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HISTORY OF SOCIAL WORK IN CROATIA, 1900-1960

FINAL REPORT

Part One: 1900-1945

General overview. Political organization of Croatian lands

In the beginning of the twentieth century the provinces that form today's **Croatia** were part of the **Austro-Hungarian Monarchy**, having been under the rule of the Habsburg dynasty from the sixteenth century on. Political and administrative border between two halves of the Empire, established by the agreement in 1867, ran through the country. Croatia (proper) and Slavonia, which form the northern, continental leg of present-day Croatia, with the capital city of Zagreb, were under control of Budapest in the Hungarian half of the Monarchy. This half had certain autonomy (in internal affairs, religion and education, and justice), and was under the authority of the *ban* (viceroy). The southwestern, coastal province of Dalmatia, and the northwestern peninsula of Istria, were parts of the Austrian half. The in-between Military border (dating from the end of the sixteenth century) was demilitarized in 1873 and incorporated to Croatia in 1881. Transformation of its inhabitants from free soldiers to peasants had considerable impact on economical and social situation of the country. One other consequence of the political division was a different legal framework, noticeable in the social legislation too, which will be addressed later in this report.

After the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy at the end of the First World War, Croatian lands (Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia) first united with other South Slav provinces of the Monarchy, namely Carniola (today's Slovenia), and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Following the official proclamation of independence from the Habsburgs, they united with the Kingdom of Serbia, independent from 1878. Political ideology of Yugoslavism, asserting cultural unity of the South Slavs, was particularly strengthened after the Balkan wars (1912-1913). In the same time, the appetites of Italy threatened to seize Istria and Dalmatia, provinces for centuries ruled by Venice

and with significant Italian-speaking minority. The unification of the South Slavs in one state was therefore the most acceptable solution. The new state, proclaimed on the 1st of December 1918, was named **the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes**. It was ruled by the Serbian dynasty of Karadordevic, with Belgrade as the capital city. Istria, coastal cities of Zadar and Rijeka, and some Adriatic islands were joined to Italy by diplomatic actions.

The country was centralized and administratively divided in 33 counties (*oblasti*), six of which were on Croatian territory (counties of Srijem, Osijek, Zagreb, Primorje-Krajina, Dubrovnik and Split). However, these counties did not comprise all Croatian communities – some of them were given to neighboring counties with Serbian or Slovene majority. Unitarian and centralizing policy of the Belgrade regime provoked strong opposition from nationalist parties, such as the Croatian Peasant Party (which will be the most popular Croatian party up until 1941), as well as the Communist Party (banned in 1921). Turbulent political life, exacerbated by the assassination of Croatian leader Stjepan Radic during a parliamentary session by a Serb radical, in 1928, led to the proclamation of royal dictatorship by king Aleksandar in January 1929. The state changed the name to **the Kingdom of Yugoslavia**.

The country was divided again, but this time administrative regions, nine of them and called *banovine*, crosscut traditional and ethnic borders in an even more radical way, as a part of the king's effort to erase ethnic differences and impose one unitary Yugoslav identity. Croatia was divided to two *banovinas*, Savska (Zagreb) and Primorska (Split), the later including western Herzegovina and five Bosnian counties. However, peripheral sub-regions were given to predominantly Serbian *banovinas* (Srijem to Drinska, and Dubrovnik area to Zetska banovina – that is Montenegro). Dictatorial policy further revolted nationalists throughout the country, hence in 1934 the king was assassinated by a Macedonian nationalist in Marseilles. The regent Pavle, ruling instead of underage prince Petar II, restored parliamentary system in 1935. As the country witnessed the defeat of the integral Yugoslavism, it became clear that the future of Yugoslavia laid in federalism. The first on the list was the Croatian question. In 1939, as a result of the Cvetkovic-Macek agreement (Vladko Macek was Radic's successor at the front of the Croatian Peasant Party), Savska and Primorska *banovinas* merged and, together with Dubrovnik area and some more Bosnian counties, formed a new political unit inside Yugoslavia – **Banovina Croatia**. The affairs that were transferred from central government to the *Banovina* were agriculture, trade, industry, forests, mines, building, social policy, health, physical education, education, justice and internal affairs, while the central government retained its authority over security, police intelligence service, transportation, peace and order forces, foreign trade, religious affairs, international law and principles of workers' rights

and insurance. *Banovina* Croatia was short-lived, as Yugoslavia fell apart after Hitler's invasion in April 1941.

Monarchic Yugoslavia was undemocratic state, corrupted, centralized and hegemonic, especially towards different nationalities. Liberalism was promoted only in economy, where it favored big business. Workers' movement and the Communist party were suppressed. With the help of its notorious gendarmerie, the regime cruelly fought its political enemies. As a reaction, main nationalist parties, such as the Croatian Peasant Party in Croatia, mobilized large masses of population around nationalist cause, and the genuine nationalist movement developed. In the realm of social work, the CPP tried to establish parallel institutions that would help Croatian peasants to overcome economical crisis – such as *Seljacka sloga* (the Peasants' Concord), or *Hrvatski radiša* (giving economic help to boys and young apprentices). The Communists, illegal from 1921, also formed their own network of mutual help for workers on strike or imprisoned Communists and their families (the Red help). However, state institutions and many humanitarian NGOs, as well as women's organizations with activities in the field of social work, were often loyal to the regime – even in Croatia there were societies and foundations established under the name of members of the royal family (e.g. *Društvo kneginje Zorke* – the Princess Zorka Society – from Croatian town of Sisak) – and worked in the name of the ideology of Yugoslavism. Many of those organizations featured multiethnic, that is Croatian, Serbian, and Jewish membership. In the same time, a number of ethnically or religiously based NGOs continued to exist, some of them drawing continuity from the beginning of the century (there were Croatian, Serbian, Jewish, Evangelical, and Catholic organizations).

Economic structure of Croatia

Croatia entered the twentieth century as predominantly agricultural country. Agriculture made 85% of all economic activities, and consequently, the population was in majority rural. Illiteracy rate was 32.2% for Croatia and Slavonia, and 49.5% for Dalmatia. The world agrarian crisis had the impact on Croatian farmers as well. Moreover, coastal regions were severely affected by plant diseases that ravaged the vineyards, and provoked high rise of poverty and subsequent emigration. On the eve of the First World War, around 5.5% of population, mostly male, emigrated abroad – to Americas and Australia, causing an increase in the number of single-woman households. The peasants were heavily indebted and their purchasing power was almost nil. In 1932, Yugoslav state proclaimed the Law on Protection of Farmers and the moratorium on peasants' debts, and in 1936 those debts were liquidated. However, the state's primary goal was protection of banks. Small landowners were

particularly in grave situation, often forced to leave the land and go to the cities as manual workers and domestic servants (girls and women).

In the beginning of the twentieth century industrial plants and manufactures were mostly situated outside the cities, the leading branch being wood industry. Already in the first decade of the century, the industrial production rose. Two cities with the largest share (38%) of industrial and manufacture workers in Croatia and Slavonia were Zagreb and Osijek, with 75,000 and 28,500 citizens respectively (1910), and on the coast Hungarian (later Italian) ruled Rijeka (50,000). In smaller towns chief occupations were agriculture and crafts.

Workers' life in Zagreb was difficult, both on the workplace and at home – they lived in wooden barracks and workers' settlements where tuberculosis was common illness. Women and girls were prevalent workers in the state tobacco factory, with up to 30% lower wages than those of men. The employers preferred very young women and minors, whom they could pay less. Almost 40% of all female workers in the 1930s were in the 13-22 age group, in comparison to 27% of men.¹ Children were also exploited as cheap labor force. The Social Democratic Party for Croatia and Slavonia was founded in 1894, while the workers unions were finally permitted in 1907. Since Yugoslavia united regions with very different level of economic development, Zagreb's capitalists and bankers became leaders in Yugoslav financial sector, as well as in trade. Industry and construction business begun to flourish between two world wars. In 1935, textile industry made up 36% of industrial production value in Zagreb, with more than two thousand workers, while metal industry had 2,500 workers. However, factories were usually small, with only three plants with more than 500 workers in 1939 (the State Railways Workshop was the biggest industrial unit with 2,500 workers). According to census, in 1931 Zagreb already had 185,581 inhabitants. Workers with families (industrial workers, domestic and office servants) made up 44% of population, while private and state employees and office clerks with families comprised 25% of Zagreb citizens. On the eve of the Second World War, Zagreb had approximately 260,000 inhabitants.²

¹ Vesna Barilar, Željka Jelavic, Sandra Prlenda, "Women in Croatia: Continuity and Change", in Janet Mancini Billson and Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban (eds.), *Female Well Being: An International Perspective on Social Change* (London: ZED Books, forthcoming).

² Igor Karaman, "Industrijsko (tvornicko) poduzetništvo i radništvo na tlu grada Zagreba do 1941", in *Industrijalizacija gradanske Hrvatske (1800-1941)* (Zagreb: Naprijed, 1991), pp. 261-283.

State social policy and legislation

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy did not have particular social policy. In Croatia, social matters were regulated through the number of agencies whose primary purpose was not social care.

Orphans, abandoned and illegitimate children were under the custody of justice departments, which appointed the guardianship. Police was taking care (that is determining the custody) of foreign workers, servants, beggars and wanderers, mentally ill and deaf-mute, as well as of authorizing collection of charity aid for deaf-mutes, blinds or victims of natural disasters.³ The Army supported disabled soldiers and soldiers' widows and orphans. There was a special department for the funds and trusts, which was in charge of the trusts for the poor that sponsored almshouses and orphanages.⁴

The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes inaugurated state social policy in its first state constitution, so-called **Vidovdan Constitution** from 1921, which contained four groups of social regulations.

The first was related to the public health (articles 27,28,29). The state would attend the improvement of general hygienic and social conditions that are affecting public health, a special care of mothers and young children, protection of health of all citizens, suppression of acute and chronic diseases as well as alcohol abuse, and free medical care and free drugs and other health preserving substances to maintain the health of poor citizens. Also, the state would financially support health cooperatives, and protect the marriage.

By second group of regulations, the labor force was put under state protection (article 23, 31).

Women and young had to be especially protected from health threatening jobs. There were special measures for security and protection of workers, along with defined working hours in all companies. Workers' insurance in case of accidents, sickness, unemployment, incapacity, old age and death would be defined by separate laws.

The article 33 provided special protection for invalids, war orphans, war widows and parents of deceased warriors who were poor or unable to work. Training the invalids for work as well as the education of war orphans for work and life had to be addressed by separate laws.

Fourthly, the state proclaimed expropriation of large estates and abolition of feudalism (articles 41, 42, 43). (Feudal system was abolished in Croatia in 1848, but there were still remnants of feudalism in some parts of the new state.)

³ Even in the 1930s, in rural areas, individuals who were victims of natural disasters or similar events (e.g. whose house had been burnt), would ask, and been given, permission to beg alms in strictly defined areas (neighboring villages or towns).

⁴ Hrvatski državni arhiv (HDA – Croatian State Archives), F. 79 Zemaljska vlada. Odjel za unutarnje poslove, Osnova pismare – knjiga I.

The most important law was the Workers' Protection Law that regulated working day, protection of women and children, establishment of Workers' Chambers (for Croatia, they were founded in Zagreb and Split). Workers' Insurance Law was proclaimed on 14 May 1922. It provided social security in cases of accident, illness, incapacity for work, old age and death, but not in case of unemployment. This law did not protect agricultural workers and fishermen. The Central Bureau for Workers' Insurance was founded in Zagreb (with subsidiary offices all over the country). Private insurance was in hands of foreign societies (80%), mostly Italian. Public employment bureaus were provided by the decree of 26 November 1927.

The Law on Invalids (November 17, 1925) was criticized as "one of the worst social laws in our time".⁵ State financial help to war veterans and invalids, and their families, was minimal and it was most often overdue. The state attitude towards employed women was also a source of constant dissatisfaction. The Decree on Personal and Family Allowances of Civil Servants decreased the income of married female employees in state services by 50%. One of the main demands of women's and feminist organizations was the abolition of this decree. Female teachers were forced to remain single or to marry only a teacher, if they wanted to keep their job. By this discriminatory measure the state intended to solve the problem of unemployed teachers – at the expense of women.

Law experts observed that Vidovdan Constitution created the notion of social rights, besides civil and political rights. Those rights were not granted to the individual in relation to the state, but to different social groups ("orders", as the author put) in their mutual relationships. "Social rights did not appear in order to protect the individual against the state authority, but with the aim of protecting economically weaker orders from economically stronger ones."⁶ This was visible in the structure of the Department of social policy of Banovina Croatia (1939). Its proclaimed goal was "attenuation of the oppositions that exist between the whole and specific groups of the people, in order to enable everyone to have access to means for life".

It consisted of six sections:

1. General section.
2. Section for statistics and demography (that collected statistical data on births, infant mortality, number of mentally unstable, physically weak, and hungry persons; was responsible for protection of family, suppression of high costs of living, nourishment of the people in regions without enough food; worked on the improvement of family incomes, suppression of

⁵ Ljubomir St. Kosier, "Socijalno stanje i socijalan rad u Jugoslaviji", in Ljubomir St. Kosier (ed.), *Jugoslavenski socijalni almanah* (Zagreb, Beograd, Ljubljana, 1930), 8.

⁶ Kosier, 7.

singlehood, protection of mothers and women, illegitimate children, abandoned children and women and other legally weak; supervised all private charity, humanitarian and social organizations).

3. Section for the weak because of biological defects (physical, mental and intellectual) – (prevention and help for incurables, cripples, invalids, blinds, deaf-mutes and other disabled persons; training of mentally weak for eventual work).
4. Section for peasants (took care of peasants without any or enough land, provided measures for return from towns back to the country, monitored suppression of usury and high taxes on farm products, and worked on socio-psychological development of peasants).
5. Section for workers (helped workers and employees in their earnings, took care of wages, protected workers in case of war, illness, accidents, incapacity, old age, and against competition of foreign workers; managed the conflicts between employees and employers).
6. Section for emigrants (managed the problems and interests of emigrants, helped them to return to homeland, organized their departure and watched over denaturalization).

The extent of fulfillment of these tasks varied. The state Ministry of social policy was criticized, in the 1920s, for not doing enough for resolving the problem of emigrants and invalids, as well as the issue of private insurance. It merged later with the Ministry of public health, which was more successful. In fact, one of the biggest projects in the wider realm of social policy in Croatia was the **social hygiene**, embodied in the person of Andrija Štampar (1888-1958).⁷ In 1919 he was appointed as head of the Department of hygiene in the Ministry of health in Belgrade, with a duty to introduce new sanitary policy into the Kingdom. The suppression of contagious diseases that ravaged the country (such as tuberculosis, malaria, trachoma, or endemic syphilis, especially in Bosnia and Serbia), as well as general improvement of public health were his primary goals. In the preface to an album about socio-medical work (1920-1925), Štampar wrote: "A medical doctor has to be social worker – he cannot help a lot with individual therapy. Social therapy is the instrument that could enable the real success." Also, "A medical doctor has to be national teacher."⁸ He founded the **School for Public Health** (*Škola narodnog zdravlja*) in Zagreb in 1926, with financial help of the Rockefeller Foundation, starting the vast program of vaccine production and dissemination, education of doctors and nurses in social medicine, work in the field with peasants all over the country, rural sanitation, production of educational movies about alcohol abuse and everyday hygiene etc. The School also controlled summer schools (ferial colonies), mountain resorts and sanatoria for schoolchildren.

⁷ For biography of Andrija Štampar in English, please see <http://www.snz.hr/astampar/index.html>.

⁸ *70 godina rada na promicanju zdravlja hrvatskog puka* (Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu – Medicinski fakultet Škola narodnog zdravlja "Andrija Štampar", 1997), 9.

In 1930, the State School for Nurse Aides (*Državna škola za sestre pomočnice*), founded in 1921 by V. Cepulic for the fight against tuberculosis, became part of the School for Public Health. The Law on Vocational Schools for Auxiliary Personnel in Social and Medical Services was proclaimed on December 3, 1930 (*Narodne novine* 279/1930). According to that law, there were four types of schools for education of auxiliary professions in social and medical services at that time: Schools for nurse aides (*nudilje, sestre pomočnice*), Schools for medical assistants (*zdravstveni pomočnici*), Schools for hospital aids (*bolnicari i bolnicarke*) and Schools for midwives.

School for nurse aides was open only to female students who successfully finished four years of high school. Education lasted three years and it was equal to any education for administrative position in social or medical services. Education consisted of theoretical and practical part. After three months long preparatory course, students could be considered as real students for three-year program of study. Subjects in preparatory course were biology, physics, chemistry, anatomy, physiology, ethics of auxiliary nurses, personal hygiene and language. First year of education included subjects: internal diseases, chirurgical diseases, first aid, neural and mental disorders, and pharmacy. Second year included subjects: development of a healthy child and children diseases, obstetrics and female diseases, hygiene, contagious diseases, bacteriology, dermatological and venereal diseases, ocular diseases. Third year included subjects: social medicine, epidemiology, legislation (general and sanitary), basics of pedagogy and psychology, history of auxiliary nurses. Practical education consisted of lectures held by nurses as well as practical work (care for various types of patients) in medical institutions during all three years of studying. Teachers in this school were specialist physicians, high school and university professors, and nurses. Nurses who lectured in School had, besides diploma of nurse aides, to pass graduation exam of high-school or teachers school, special exam in pedagogy, six months of practical work in area which they teach and to have a diploma for midwives if this was what they were teaching.

The profession of nurse aides

The development of social work as a profession in Croatia started after the Second World War. However, but traces of professions which took care of people in need (who were often poor as well) can be found even before this, and the methods which were used are a lot like those used in social work today. One such profession was the profession of a nurse aide. From its beginnings in the 1930s, the nurse aides' professional activity included the provision of care for poor families and children, using the techniques and methods that are widely used in social work today. Of course,

this refers to that part of social work that is concerned with care-taking for the poor members of society and includes techniques such as fieldwork, family visits, and collection of information regarding the families' standard of living. A feature shared by both of these professions is their altruistic character, as they provide people with help in those areas where help is needed.

When connections between these two professions are made, it is necessary to review the context within which each of them developed. The nurse aide profession can be traced back to the time of the global economic crisis of the 1930s, which had an effect on this part of the world as well. Although the nurse aide profession originally belonged to the field of medical care, it developed during the time when disease, high mortality rates in infants and children, and the spread of contagious diseases became linked to the poor socio-economic conditions in which the population lived. The bad economic situation in the entire country and of the entire groups of population which lived in poverty was reflected in poor quality and hygiene standards of living, diet, little educational opportunity, and insufficient health care. It is, therefore, not surprising that a profession evolved which responded to the need for basic health care and protection. Nurse aides did different kinds of nursing jobs, provided care to patients in all kinds of medical institutions, from health centers, to school clinics, to hospitals. However, what differentiates their work from the work of the nurses and what connects their activity with social work is their fieldwork and care for the poor members of the society. The nurse aides' work was envisioned as 'education and prevention related to health'.

Their workplace extended beyond physician's office and hospital rooms. They visited poor families in their homes, monitored hygiene and health conditions in which people lived, as well as in institutions for child welfare and counseling. The fieldwork of the nurse aides in rural areas was limited to the work in physicians' offices, and fieldwork to the 'distribution of powder (drugs) and advice'. The nurses were supposed to spend half of their working hours in primary health care offices or hospitals, and the other half working directly with women and children, giving out instructions and advice on topics such as 'living space hygiene, proper diet for the family, the preparation of food for the winter, etc.' These jobs are, in the scanty records on nurse aides, referred to as social work activities.

From the preserved documents it is clear that there was an awareness of the existence of another profession – social work – whose main activity was the work with socially endangered population groups. The document in which the job of the nurse aide is described states that 'the school for nurses issues its students with a diploma, authorizing the student for hospital, hygienic and socio-medical work. A lot of the nurses, especially those who wanted to work in the social field had to

complete one of the courses abroad (in America, Vienna, Paris) and gain practical and theoretical experience in order to familiarize themselves with social work in countries which were far more developed in this regard. In these countries, such a person could become a social worker, authorized only for social work. Particularly in Anglo-Saxon countries, the work of nurses was regarded as completely separate from the work of social workers. Today, most countries, including England, consider these two professions to make a unified whole'.

As a linguistic construction in the Croatian language, social work can be interpreted as work with socially endangered groups. In the context of the poor and needy, the term 'social' can be viewed as a shorter version of the phrase 'endangered members of society', while 'work' stands for action and the provision of help to groups of this kind. While there are examples of the use of the phrase 'social work' in some of the professional literature, it is obvious from the context that this does not always refer to the professional activity of a group of people whose aim is the organized and purposeful provision of help. The above mentioned examples involved the activity of organizations or other professions who aimed to help groups of people in need, such as the poor or children, through different interventions, such as the provision of material support, the placing of children in institutions or families, all of which today belong to the profession of social work.

One of the professions which had the provision of help at its professional core was the profession of the nurse aide, who, aside from medical work also participated in the field monitoring of poor families, offered advice on the protection of children's health and carried out the assessment of families' living conditions before distributing food or other forms of material support. The Social Department of the City of Zagreb thought that work of this kind should be done by departmental clerks. Nurses defied this idea as they believed that their frequent contacts with the families allowed them to assess the families' needs better than clerks could in a one-off visit.

According to the 1940 statistical report 'Stations for the social protection of mothers and children' of the Gynecological Clinic in Zagreb, 1790 field visits were paid to families. Although it is stated that social data was collected, no information is given as to what data this actually was. All that is known is that of all the families, in 1475 families, the couple was married and 315 families were based on a common-law marriage. The undertaken interventions included 32 cases of material support provision, the placing of 2 motherless legitimate children and 11 illegitimate children in institutions, and the placing of illegitimate children into families. There is also a mention of 239 different kinds of social interventions, but nothing of their nature is known. The form that was filled in during the visits for the Social department of the city of Zagreb contained entries as follows:

Report on material and family situation of the family; Lodging; Short report on the visit and the reason for it; What the party demands and the suggestion of the commissioner.

The connection of nurse aides and the activities in the area of protection of poor citizens can be found in the close cooperation of the Nurse Aides Centre and other institutions that provided care for all endangered citizens. The nurses, therefore, cooperated with: the Anti-tuberculosis Clinic, the city Children Clinic, the Centre for the social protection of mothers and children in maternity clinics, the city School Polyclinic, the Social department of the Ministry of Health, the Centre for cancer treatment, Social care for juvenile delinquents, the branch Office for workers' insurance, the city's Health department, the city's Social department, the Social department of the police, hospitals, especially the Hospital for contagious diseases and the Foundation hospital, and the Shelter for the homeless.

One of the nurses described her work in the Zagreb Stenjevec in the following way: 'I usually meet them in from the church in Stenjevec. On Sundays, I attend the school's Holy Mass at 8 o'clock. I stand behind the children, and that allows me to see how poor some of them are. After the Mass, the children gather around me, and I accompany some of them to their out-of-the-way shanties. At first, their mothers feel awkward with me. They try to hide their poverty, but when they see that I want to be their 'nurse', and not a 'lady looking to get something out of them', we begin to make friends. First, we make friends with the children, whom there are usually many, and then their father joins us in the yard, while the mother takes us to their rooms later. The rooms are usually more like a crowded, stuffy warehouse, then an apartment in which there are over a dozen people. Now that the initial distrust is gone, every nurse knows what to do next in a home like this'.

In preserved letters, the nurses often state that they did not manage to fulfill the field part of their work within the regular working hours, as they were held up by the doctors who would not allow them to engage in fieldwork while their offices were open. For this reason, house calls had to be done after work.

The nurse aides also contributed significantly during the Second World War, working with a large number of refugees and their children, children who had lost their parents in the war, the wounded and the sick. The nurses' letters from 1944 and 1945 show that they lived and worked in poor conditions, without enough clothes and uniforms. The letters from the Second World War period show us that the nurses were hindered in their fieldwork by the war, air raids and bombings. During the Second World War the nurses extended their cooperation to private initiatives in social and

health care. They also worked with women's organizations in the provision of health and social protection to housebound patients, care for mothers and children, and in the running of the 'Household hygiene management' and 'Mother and Children' courses.

During the Second World War, the nurses also had to pass their professional exams, as this was the only way they could get ahead (without the exam, they would remain at the level of trainees) and have a higher personal income. In 1940, the exam for nurses could be taken in Zagreb, Osijek, Nova Gradiška, Vukovar and Split. The education for nurses was not recognized by the state as secondary school education. The preserved documents testify to the nurses' umbrella organization's constant efforts to have the three-year course for nurses recognized and equalized with the education of other public servants at the same level. They succeeded in this in 1939, when the three-year course was recognized as secondary school education.

The universal nurse aides' umbrella organization – the Nurse Aides Centre in Zagreb actively fought for the nurses' rights. On the basis of the working conditions and being exposed to contagious diseases, the nurses wanted free accommodation and food. They were entitled to a free meal in the institutions in which they worked, and if this wasn't possible they would get a daily allowance that could be spent on food. At the end of the Second World War the free food provision was almost cancelled but wasn't due to a strong protest of the nurses. The nurses fought for full-time employment, as well as professional staff. The arguments with which these requests were supported, concerned their professional education for 'medical-social educational work'. They believed their work to be different from other public servants' on account of the overtime and field work they did, which wore out their clothes and shoes more than the work of other public servants did theirs, and this created additional costs, for which the nurses were not compensated.

Nurse aides organized themselves into a professional association called the Association of Graduate Nurse Aides. They published a magazine – the Nurse's Gazette (*Sestrinjski vjesnik*), which later changed its name to the Nurses' Word (*Sestrinjska riječ*). The magazine's first issue came out in December 1932. The magazine continued to be published during the Second World War, and the nurses paid membership fees and magazine costs to the Association in the amount they could afford. In their letters, the nurses stressed the importance that the magazine held for them, as it brought them together and helped them to cope with day-to-day stress. The texts that were published in the magazine dealt with medical topics, the nurses' medical work and the treatment of

illness in children and adults. After the Second World War, the title of nurse aide was changed into graduate medical nurse aide.⁹

Organization of social care in the city of Zagreb

Nurse aides were not the only profession that was situated on the border between social work and some other professional area. By their everyday contact with children, teachers also often performed activities close to the modern notion of social work. Great number of them did that on their own initiative, in their free time, as volunteers of different NGOs. Some of them, such as teachers of children shelters in Zagreb, were assigned to social work by city administration. In this part of the report, we will outline the organization of social care in the city of Zagreb between two world wars, both by state professionals and by NGOs.

In 1900, the administration of the city of Zagreb consisted of several departments: economy, construction, political department, police department, department for the poor and social care, Department for poor and those under guardianship. Department of social care was in charge of taking care of poor citizens of Zagreb, taking care of the finances (foundation for poor people, giving permanent or temporary money help for poor), taking care for poor in charity homes, giving permit for free graves and coffins for the poor, issuing certificates about poverty, managing the City Bureau for work mediation, managing shelters and affairs connected to workers' issue. The Health and Charity Committee consisted of eight members. It made independent decisions about submission in charity home and about questions regarding permanent monthly help to citizens. The Committee prepared parliamentary suggestions about maintenance of charity and health bureaus, caring for sick, poor and orphans, about decisions of yearly budget for city charity etc. The Orphan Committee (*Sirotinjski odbor*) was responsible for tutorship, guardianship, alimentation, juveniles and orphan budget.

In 1918 the Department for social care changed its name to the Social department and widened its area on social care and cemetery management. Besides taking care of social affairs, it managed the work of various institutions (see below). The activities of the Department were:

- Care for orphans
- Care for poor citizens of Zagreb
- Giving and preparing data for making budget of Orphans' Fund

⁹ The source used for this part of the report: HDA, Zagreb city archive (DAZ), Fond 755 – Društvo diplomiranih sestara pomocnica, sig. 16

- Giving permanent and temporary financial allowances to the poor
- Giving help to almsmen in city charity and to poor children in homes for social care
- Maintenance of city charity administration and other offices
- Starting procedures regarding help to orphans and poor and neglected children
- Giving support to members of the families of mobilized soldiers
- Financial support to the Home for mother and child and to Children's clinic from city budget.¹⁰

When Croatian capital Zagreb faced the unprecedented number of families temporarily left without their male providers due to the general mobilization and departure of men to the frontlines in the beginning of the First World War, it became evident that the city administration was not able to organize the efficient aid relying only on its own employees. Therefore the city mayor appointed the Children Protection League (*Liga za zaštitu djece*) to perform all the charity work during the wartime.¹¹ The commissioners of the League, renamed the Mobilized Soldiers' Families Protection League (*Liga za zaštitu obitelji mobilizovanih vojnika*) were crucial for the success of the action, especially teachers, male and female. They promptly collected data about the needy families, mobilized city's wealthier families to provide for poor children, verified if assistance reached those who needed it. After it became evident that the extent of the privation exceeded that type of direct family-to-family help, by the appointment of the city council the group of citizens active in private charity organizations and businessmen organized soup kitchen. The Department for religion and education and City Council appointed seven teachers from different Zagreb schools and shelters (six female and one male teacher), to help private entrepreneur and philanthropist Šandor A. Alexander to establish soup kitchen for all poor citizens. It was the nucleus of future Zagreb central soup kitchen run by private charity society Nutrition (*Prehrana*), founded by Alexander in 1917. After the war, they took over the soup kitchen from the Humanitarian Society (*Humanitaetsverein, Društvo covjecnosti*), first humanitarian society on Croatian territory (founded in 1846 by a group of Jewish philanthropists – it was the only humanitarian society in Croatia up to 1877), to form one central city soup kitchen. In 1924, king Aleksandar and queen Marija became patrons of *Prehrana*. After Alexander's death, the Šandor Alexander Fund bought the biggest apartment block in Zagreb downtown (Kukovica House), and established there three mess halls: Students' restaurant, Jewish and Muslim restaurant, and Central soup kitchen. The Fund also offered the space in this house for other private organizations (for their meetings, public lectures, or apartments for rent – Friends of Young Girls had their home in this building). The Kitchen provided meals for persons (the poor,

¹⁰ Of all Social department, only the books about cemetery management are preserved in the Zagreb City Archives (DAZ).

¹¹ Josip Šilovic, *Karitativni rad za vrijeme rata* (Zagreb, 1915), 5.

invalids and their families, unemployed intellectuals and workers etc.) with coupons given (and paid) by whole range of institutions: the city Social department, Social department of the Croatian Peasant Party, Social Protection (NGO), Croatian Labor Union, Association of Blood Donors, and other private organizations.¹²

The whole inter-war period of social history in Croatia, and in its capital Zagreb, will be characterized by this kind of state dependency upon private charity and humanitarian organizations. The main concern of the state was the attempt to systematically alleviate the social problems through regulation of working conditions, insurance and work legislation, as well as the agrarian reform that sought to accommodate the veterans from the Great War. The local administration was left to deal with concrete social problems in the communities.

The interwar period was therefore the time of flourishing of private charity and humanitarian associations such as local societies for combating the beggary, different women's societies for helping school children in food or cloth, the section *Our children* of the Association of (female) teachers (*Sekcija Naša djeca Udruženja učiteljica*), the Croatian branch of *Fédération internationale des Amies de la jeune fille*, and other humanitarian organizations (*Prehrana, Društvo covjecnosti, Materinstvo, Dobrotvor*).¹³ They would obtain one part of the financial support from the state ministry or local government, similarly like the establishments for institutionalized help (orphanages, children homes, schools for disabled, correction facilities), and the other from membership fees, collections, and private donations (such as those from banks and insurance companies).

With regard to the form of the practical activities of the providers and of the interaction between them and their clients, two types of charity, humanitarian and social work emerged. In the older, philanthropic model, the benefactors were businessmen who managed their charitable societies much like the business company. Their wives and daughters were members of ladies' committees, whose fund raising events, such as tea parties, were foremost opportunity for socializing. The help (usually winter cloth and footwear for poor children) was distributed to the clients in staged performances. When there was a need for professional staff that would work with clients on a daily basis, they were drawn from the professional groups that were traditionally regarded as serving and helping professions, such as nuns or (female) teachers. This was the case with the humanitarian society *Prehrana* (Nutrition) that developed from the aforementioned wartime soup kitchen. The

¹² DAZ, Fond 1029 – Dobrotvorno društvo Prehrana.

¹³ See Slavica Pleše (ed.), *Pravila društava 1845-1945. Tematski vodici* (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2000).

preparation of food was managed by two nuns of the Dominican order of St. Guardian Angel and two servants; the appointed female teachers were active in organization's administration and in contact with membership.

The other, chronologically latter model of social work was based on active participation of volunteers in practical help to the individual clients in need. Several private organizations developed, or aimed to develop, small teams that addressed different client's needs, much in a manner of today's centers for social work. They usually consisted of a lawyer and a medical doctor who voluntarily cooperated with the organization and provided free legal or medical advice. One example of this type of organization, with clear feminist agenda, were the Friends of Young Girls.

Zagreb Society of Friends of young girls (*Društvo prijateljica mladih djevojaka*), founded in 1927 (and changed its name to *Zaštitnice djevojaka*, Girls' Protectors in 1931) is an example of autonomous organization of women's self help within constraints of civil society, with elements of modern social work praxis. It was formed by a group of Zagreb women of upper-middle class, teachers, doctors, lawyers and wives of respectable citizens, as an affiliate of International federation of friends of young women (*Fédération internationale des Amies de la jeune fille*, *Internationaler Verein der Freundinnen junger Mädchen*). Society of Friends of young girls was formed in Geneva in 1877, and in this period the Central office was situated in Swiss town of Neuchâtel, from where the first financial aid to form Zagreb society came. The organization drew its inspiration from abolitionist movement, an initiative to abolish the laws that regulated prostitution in certain European countries. Therefore, the Zagreb society was part of the International abolitionist movement as well. The main idea of the society was "to give protection and advice to girls, as well as women, regardless of religious, national and social differences, and especially to those that needed to leave their home to make living."¹⁴ The ultimate goal of the society was to stop young women, especially unemployed, poor and newcomers from the countryside, to become victims of trafficking of women and prostitution.

For that purpose they opened their Home on January 10 1932. Relying on the cooperation with a network of similar societies, they rented an apartment under non-market conditions in the aforementioned Kukovica house. In an apartment with three rooms and 15 beds they would take in, for overnight or longer stay, travelers, students and all other women that needed a safe accommodation. Apart from that on Sundays, in 1930 and 1932, in the hall of the Worker's Academy they organized a series of lectures aimed at Zagreb working women, and especially

¹⁴ DAZ, Fond 779 – Zaštitnice djevojaka, sig. 14, the Rules from 1931.

household maids, with subjects of trafficking of women, prevention of sexually transmitted diseases and tuberculosis as well as popular-science lectures. Their next area of work was advisory. Although *Zaštitnice djevojaka* did not help directly with employment, at the request of women seeking work, mostly governesses and household maids, they did the checks to verify the seriousness of job offers and employer families, that is “to help the girls in obtaining positions that would not endanger them in their health nor materially nor morally” (20/1934, Social department's Form). They would intervene in cases of abuse of worker's rights, they helped in putting girls without parental care into children homes and shelters, often paying for their tuitions, and one member, lawyer dr. Angelina Kaufmann gave legal advice¹⁵. Another active member was physician dr. Desanka Ristic, chief of the School polyclinic, later wife of dr. Andrija Štampar, who provided beneficiaries with medical advices and obtained educational movies about health from the Hygiene Institute for the public lectures. Finally, *Zaštitnice djevojaka* left the records on numerous interventions. They would give free accommodation to needy unemployed women (housemaids), poor students, children from abusive families, and help them by placing them in children homes, boarding schools, or with respectable families as servants.

Long-term president of the society *Zaštitnice djevojaka* (1927-1936) was dr. Milica Bogdanovic, high school professor and civil activist.¹⁶ She held lectures about trafficking of women and prostitution and popularized the ideas and work of Josephine Butler, English pioneer in fight against regulated prostitution and founder of the abolitionist league. She took part in numerous international conferences, and since the middle of 1930s was especially engaged in the reform of charity and social work. Apart from working in *Zaštitnice djevojaka*, she also founded the Society for helping the poor and suppression of beggary (*Društvo za pomaganje sirotinje i suzbijanje prosjacenja*, later *Socijalna zaštita*, the Social Protection) and tried to organize Working groups that were supposed to bring together societies with common goals to coordinate their work and make it more efficient. (see below) However, it seems that the working groups did not function very well. Milica Bogdanovic complains in a report to the Central office in Switzerland that they were too artificial and rigid. The Railways Station Mission, which was the basic activity of European societies of Friends of young girls, also remained only an experiment. In numerous European countries, the agents of the society provided female travelers with information on possibilities of accommodation in their Home and other useful information, with the aim of giving them sense of security and of preventing that they become victims of pimps and criminals already on their first arrival to town.

¹⁵ Legal advice to its clients was also given by the society Motherhood (*Materinstvo – Društvo zagrebackih žena*), within whom free legal advice “to poor and neglected women” was given by lawyer Petar Petaj, retired councilor of the Ban Court.

¹⁶ Milica Bogdanovic was the first woman to have graduated at the University of Zagreb, and the first one to have become a PhD (in 1905).

On the Main Railway Station in Zagreb, *Zaštitnice* could not obtain a separate room, but ten Samaritan volunteers (*Samaritanke zajednice društva Crvenog križa*, Samaritans of the Red Cross Society) performed an experimental daylong service between 11th and 16th of March 1937. The Society strongly sensed the economic crisis of the late 1930s, which was evident in diminished number of travelers and guests in their Home, as well as in diminished interest for voluntary work.

It became clear that the city bureaucracy faced serious problems relating to successful and systematic coverage of clients in the town. In 1931 the Social department of the City council had established the Information office with the register of all poor citizens and families that requested some form of aid or protection from them or from other private charity organizations. Its primary purpose was to control distribution of the aid and to prevent the abuse (receiving multiple support). Ideally, private organizations should contact the Information office and check if their client(s) already received some aid and then settle their own amount on. It was required that they provide the office with the list of their clients and make regular monthly updates. However, only a small part of private organizations did use the services of the office.

Couple of years later, in 1934, there was an attempt to reform the sector of social work, again by collecting information about private humanitarian, charity and social organizations for yet another city's register. This time, the intent was to improve coordination and efficiency by creating the so-called **Working groups** (*Radne zajednice*) that assembled the organizations sharing similar area of work. The Working committee was to be formed in order to create, together with the NGOs, the plans for collective cooperation, as well as to unify the methods of work. All the activities had to concentrate in the Central working group that would later found working groups for organizations that shared similar interest. In such a way, as the city council's circular letter put it, "thus reorganized social work should encompass the whole person's life from his/her birth until the death".¹⁷

Here is a couple of examples of working groups in Zagreb area. The Working group for "protection of women and girls" gathered together the representatives of the Police administration and the city's Social department, the Association of Yugoslav women (*Udruženje jugoslavenskih žena*), the Circle of housewives/keepers (*Kolo domaćica*), *Zaštitnice djevojaka*, Our home (*Naš dom*), Support for protection of young girls (*Patronaža za zaštitu mladih djevojaka*), The Bishop Lang's Home (*Langov Dom*), The Alliance of Yugoslav women (*Jugoslavenski ženski savez*), Women's

¹⁷ DAZ, 779 - *Zaštitnice djevojaka*, sig. 14, 59 (80a)/1934.

movement (*Ženski pokret*) and the School for midwives. For their first meeting settled for November 29, 1934, the initiators wanted also to convoke representatives of Dermatological clinic and the city's physician at the Police station in order to discuss combating prostitution (ZD 58 (80b)/37).

The Working group for "care for children on the street" was constituted by *Zaštitnice djevojaka*, The Society for individual development (its Social department) (*Društvo za individualni razvoj*), the Center for socio-medical work of nurses (*Središte za socijalno-medicinski rad sestara pomocnica*), the Theosophical society (*Teozofsko društvo*), the Society for helping the poor and suppression of beggary, and the Association for our children with Children's Home (*Udruženje Naša djeca s Djecjim domom*). The protocol has been signed by those organizations, chaired by the wives (not professionals from the city's administration!) of the president of Zagreb city municipality and of the commander of the Zagreb Army district, to carry on an action for taking care of children on the street. The Association of female teachers (*Udruženje uciteljica*) agreed to shelter up to fifty girls in their children's home in Zagreb and up to fifty boys on their estate in nearby Pušća. The Care for Neglected Children from Zagreb Streets Fund was established. (ZD 60/34, 22.12.1934.)

Periodically, city humanitarian societies organized seasonal actions (such as Winter Aid) of collecting food, clothing and financial help for the city poor. There was an attempt to prevent professional beggary and control the paupers by introducing coupons. Individual benefactors and private organizations would give donation to the Social department and get the coupons that would later give to paupers. The later would then be forced to come to the department for reimbursement, and to register themselves in the city's register. The Society for helping the poor and suppression of beggary directed an appeal to its members to stop the "uncritical and demoralizing" giving of charity to the unknown beggars and instead to give the money as the membership fee to the Society. In 1935 they collected 2804 clients' protocols. Their cases contained "all ages, from newborns to very old men, all degrees of health and illness, to complete paralysis and decay, and numerous degrees of mental and moral development, from complete idiocy to considerable talent and education, from untouched honesty and sorrowful goodness to the most sly immorality, the most ferocious cruelty or complete moral failure." As for the methods of work, they proposed to the members to take upon themselves the continual control over some client family, or poor single clients, and to regularly inform the Society about them. They referred to it as the "famous Elberfeld system".

Institutions of social care in Zagreb

It should be noted that Zagreb city officials were proud of the institutions of social care that existed in Zagreb. They visited cities abroad, such as Vienna and several German cities, and compared the situations here and there. While there were more private institutions and homes abroad, and more developed areas such as workers' housing projects, in Yugoslavia they regarded Zagreb as a socially progressive community. Here are some of Zagreb social institutions.

- Clinic for children (*Djecji ambulatorij*, for children health care; physicians visited sick children in their homes, provided free milk for babies that are not breastfed, provided advice and one liter of milk free of charge to the breastfeeding mothers, provided free medication for poor children).
- Home for children and mothers (*Dom za djecu i majke*, see below).
- Children Shelters (*Djecja skloništa*, since 1918, kind of daycare for children from age four to the fourth grade of elementary school, whose parents were poor, working and/or ill; employees were teachers who were regarded as social workers /see below/ and who did the visits in clients' homes; twelve shelters existed).
- City Central Reception Center (*Gradsko dječje sabiralište /Centralno prihvatilište za djecu*, in Kukuljeviceva street 19, established in 1936 by the decree of the Ministry of Social Policy, managed by the association Our Children; for neglected and wandering children; it was a transitory station, for three weeks stay, until the socio-economic condition of children, their education level and health condition were determined; also for children of working mothers who had to be placed in children home or some other educational or health institution; the Center had school, and was staffed with Dominican nuns, teachers, nurses, and administrators – mostly women; in 1946 became state institution).
- two City School Clinics (*Gradski školski ambulatorij*, for school children; Social department sent weak and anemic children to recovery in coastal town of Selce or in Amruševo; one hundred children were sent to Klinca sela for recovery every summer),
- Katarina and Marija Amruš née Novak Fund for Children Recovery Home in Amruševo and Klinca sela (*Zaklada Katarine i Marije Amruš rod. Novak za dječje uzgojište Amruševo u Klincaselima*).
- Student Residence (*Učenicki dom*, for 80 students of high or vocational schools and apprentices, poor or orphans, with free room and board, as well as clothing).
- Soup Kitchen (*Pucka kuhinja*, 1914-1947, already mentioned before, founded by Šandor Alexander; the Social department allocated the coupons for individuals and families).

- Central Kitchen (*Centralna kuhinja*, since 1936/37, prepared 2,500 meals for shelters, *Pucka kuhinja*, Reception Home for Men and Student Residence).
- Retirement Home (*Mirovni dom*, founded and sponsored by City Bank /*Gradska štedionica*/).
- City Home for Old (*Gradski dom staraca*, since 1854, exclusively for citizens of Zagreb; 350 places).
- Almshouse (*Dom nemocnika*).
- Hostel for Male Workers (*Radnicko prenočište za muške*, provided shower facilities, clean sheets and bed for 4 dinars a day).
- City Clinic for Venereal Diseases (*Gradski ambulatorij za venericke bolesti*, since 1920, for poor patients who could not afford the state clinic for venereal diseases).
- City Institute for Disinfection (*Gradski raskužni zavod*, since 1913).
- City Home for Children (*Gradsko dječje uzgajalište*, for children who finished the elementary school but not yet the vocational school; also for other abandoned children between three and fourteen year old; all children should work; situated in Klinca sela, with more than 130 beneficiaries in 1932).
- Ban Jelacic Bužinski Orphanage (*Sirotište Bana Jelacica Bužinskog*, since 1882, see below).
- Home of the Children Protection League (*Ligin dom, Liga za zaštitu djece Hrvatske i Slavonije*, since 1916, in Selska street 3; received children without parental care from six year of age until they become capable for work)
- City Recovery Center in Selce (on the Adriatic coast) (every month 70 children could go there, for average duration of 33 days).
- In 1931, 1280 families lived in small apartments (one room with stove) that city assigned to poor families with children and without accommodation and employment.

Teachers of city shelters as social workers

The term 'social work' started to be used in the 1930s as the general term for any kind of activity in the realm of social care. The first uses of the term 'social worker' can be found in the same period, pertaining to the function of specific groups of employees, regardless of their profession. This was the case of the female teachers employed in the so-called **city shelters for children** (Kinderhorten) in Zagreb. The shelters (nine of them, later 12) were social institutions, under the authority of the Social department of the city administration, receiving to the day care children from the age of four up to the fourth grade of the elementary school, coming from poor families with both parents working, or where mother was seriously ill (tuberculosis). The employees were trained schoolteachers who in 1933 formed their association (*Udruženje učiteljica gradskih dječjih*

skloništa) with the goal of promoting their interests and advancing the quality of their work. They organized pedagogical courses, lectures, and excursions – for example, they traveled to visit social institutions in Vienna.

One of their duties assigned by the Social department were the survey visits to the homes of their pupils twice a year in order to assess the family situation and the need for social intervention (accepting the child to the shelter, distribution of winter clothes). In that respect, the teachers fulfilled the role of social workers and were named as such by their superiors ("I insist: a teacher of the city children shelters is social worker in the first place, only after that she is an educator. I've heard there was some discontent because of the visits of school children in the framework of winter clothing action. You have to be conscious about your duties. Why those who are not in need could get the help at the expense of the needy? Those visits shouldn't be difficult for you, because there begins the duty of social worker."¹⁸)

Obviously, there was a constant tension between the Social department, which insisted on the primariness of their social work, and the teachers who found those visits a considerable burden. In fact, the problem was in bad regulation of their daily work – they were expected to do the visits after their regular working time (after 6 p.m.), but received no extra pay for it. Furthermore, the Social department required them to visit the families of schoolchildren that were not the pupils of the shelters when there was a need to determine if the family has the right to receive help in winter clothes. While the aforementioned nurse aides found in visits and social worker's function a source of professional legitimization, those teachers were social workers against their will. One of the differences between these two groups of professionals lays in different training. We have seen that nurse aides pursued specific training, while those teachers were not systematically prepared for their duties. When they founded their association in 1933, they worried about the inexistence of established principles for their work, of procedures to be followed in same situations, of criteria for selecting the children. From documented activities of their association, it is clear that their interests were primarily in pedagogy and pedagogical work with children, which was their primary qualification. Among couple of dozens of topics for lectures that members proposed (in a survey launched by the Association, as a part of their continual education), only two were related to the specific work with socially deprived children. And certainly there was a problem of bad working conditions. To work eight hours with more than twenty small children was exhausting enough. They complained about obligation of visiting remote workers' settlements, dark corridors,

¹⁸ City senator Franjo Gulin to the teachers during the meeting of 13 November 1937. DAZ, Fond 768 – Udruženje učiteljica gradskih dječjih skloništa u Zagrebu (1933-1941).

basements and attics, unpleasant places for woman. Since those visits were unpaid, the teachers demanded at least money for their shoes that were destroyed by long walking and mud. They would get two uniforms a year from the city administration (simple blue mantles), just like nurse aides. In the same time, there was an entry in the city administration budget for work outside the office and out of working hours for the bureaucracy – but not for female teachers.

On other occasions, however, the teachers used their function as social workers as a reinforcing argument in their struggle for better working conditions. For example, regular schoolteachers had two months of summer break, while the shelters were opened all year long. The teachers demanded 30 days of summer holidays. Some proposed that children can go to family relatives to the countryside or to Recovery Home in Selce. Others were against the closure of shelters in two summer months, since "we are a substitute home for these children, and cannot throw them on the street". In 1939 they tried to establish contact with similar social institutions in country and abroad (members visited shelters in Sofia, Budapest and Vienna in order to study their praxis), as an attempt to reinforce their professional identity.

Case study – Child care (Part One)

The legal framework – Family Law

When discussing child welfare, it is important to mention the legal framework that regulates the care, protection, rights and obligations of the children and their parents. Prior to Second World War, the area of present-day Croatia had several legal frameworks in force, which testifies to the heterogeneous character of the legal norms that were applied. In general, the Austrian General Civil Code (introduced in 1852), which was in force in the larger part of the Croatian territory, dealt with the issues of family law in two of its sections. Still, the Austrian Family Law was not applied over the entire area with the same degree of formality, nor was its content equally used everywhere.

According to the legal provisions that were valid at the time, the father had authority over children, which manifested itself in his right to bring a child up, control the child's assets and represent the child legally.¹⁹ In case the father died, or became unfit to exercise his paternal authority, the child was assigned to a tutor. The tutor could be appointed by the father, as part of his will, and the father could also exclude the mother from being a tutor. Women could not act as tutors, apart from

¹⁹ M. Alincic, A. Bakaric Abramovic, D. Hrabar, D. Jakoslav-Lozic, and A. Korac, *Obiteljsko pravo* (Zagreb: Narodne novine, 2001).

mothers and grandmothers in caring for their children/grandchildren, but even then, all the major decisions had to be approved by the signature of the co-tutor.²⁰ Illegitimate children, that is, children born out of wedlock, had no rights to their fathers' property. In Dalmatian and Istria, three new provisions were introduced that improved the protection of the children's interests (1914, 1915 and 1916). They introduced protection for children in cases when the father abused his authority. Also, in case the parents divorced, the issue of custody no longer took the child's age into consideration only, but now the court could approve the parents' own arrangement, and it took the child's best interest as its primary focus. A novelty were the lists of illegitimate children, which were compiled in order to influence the father to recognise the child and pay the costs of alimony. The child's guardian could call for legal action to determine the paternity of the child (Alincic, 2001). According to the provision from 1914, the father's death left the mother in a slightly more favourable position in the process of appointing a tutor. In this case, the mother was considered before all other relatives (such as the grandparents on the father's side). In general, women could act as tutors, but if they were married they needed their husband's permission (unless their own child was involved) (Pokrop, 1956).

After the Second World War, in 1946, the Basic Law on Marriage was passed for the entire Croatia, and was also supplemented by two laws at the national level. Until the end of the period discussed in this paper, other laws in force included the Basic law on parental relationships and the Basic law on guardianship, both from 1947. The legal provisions contained in these laws remained in force until 1971.

The constitution adopted after the Second World War made it the state's duty to protect minors, ensured equal rights and responsibilities of both parents towards the child, and partly improved the state of illegitimate children by affording them the same rights as those enjoyed by legitimate children, but this only went as far as the rights they had towards their parents (Alincic, 2001). Therefore, parental rights belonged to both of the child's parents, and if one of them died or was no longer capable of exercising the parental rights, they were given to the other parent. If the parents did not exercise their parental rights in the best interest of the child, but abused it with their behaviour, the child could be taken away from them, or their rights would be abolished. Taking the child away from the parents and entrusting it to the care (childminding and upbringing) of another person or institution could be decided by a guardianship body if the parents neglected the child's upbringing (its physical and intellectual development). If the parents were seriously violating their

²⁰ A. Pokrop, *Starateljstvo po zakonodavstvu FNRJ* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1956).

parental rights, the rights could be taken away from them in an out-of-court procedure initiated *ex officio* (Pokrop, 1956.).

The new law focused more on the protection of children and minors, since a large number of children were left without parental protection. As far as guardianship was concerned, a child no longer had to be entrusted to a guardian who was a blood relative. The guardian was appointed by a guardianship body which focused on the protection of the child's best interests (Pokrop, 1956.).

Adoption

The implementation of General Civil Code in Croatia and Slavonia made adoption possible. The law on adoption made it clear that an adoptive parent could not be a person under 50 years of age, with children or grandchildren of his/her own, a person who was a priest or ordained in any way, or who was not capable to work. For a person to be adopted, he/she had to be 18 year younger than the adoptive father, unless he/she was the adoptive parent's illegitimate child. The adopted child took on a new surname, but also kept his/her own, and had all the rights and duties as a legitimate child would. Also, the adopted child did not entirely lose contact with his/her biological family. He/she was obliged to provide for his parents in case they were poor, and they had to do the same for the child, if the adoptive father was unable to do so. The adopted child also retained inheritance rights from his/her parents. He/she was not allowed to form any kind of family ties with the adoptive father's other children. The decision on adoption was under the jurisdiction of the court. In other cases, the request for adoption was submitted directly to the court. The court entered the adoption in its register and informed all the parties of the process. Adoption was registered in official Register of Births.

In 1947, a law on adoption was passed for the entire Yugoslavia, which resulted in the decrease of adoptions, as very little attention was paid to adoptive parents' ability to form a permanent adoptive relationship. This part of legislation was changed in the constitutional reforms of the 1970s.²¹

Review of the different aspects of child care in Croatia from 1900 to 1945

At the beginning of the 20th century organizing and carrying out of the actions that were aimed at helping children as well as their, in most cases, poor families were in the hands of society, or more

²¹ B. Eisner, *Porodичno pravo* (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Hrvatske, 1950).

specifically, in the hands of church and civil initiatives. Croatia was a rural country, most of the population lived in extended families, in which the needy members were provided for. However, the beginning of the industrialization and population movement from rural to urban areas triggered the collapse of extended families and occurrence of social problems. The problems are related to the way of living and quality of living. The problems are growing bigger in urban areas in which the population no longer lives in extended families, therefore organized activities and intervention of the state and society are necessary to solve those problems. That is one of the reasons for the involvement of the state, first gradually, and later completely, in the area of child care. Other reasons are wars that caused many problems and left many children without families, so called war-orphan, for whose quality-care the state needs to be responsible for.

The beginning of the 20th century brings the understanding that children are important in the society and child care begins to be discussed as an issue that should be dealt with on the state level. One of the reasons for such a major change is a big infant mortality rate, which is no longer viewed as natural selection between the stronger and the weaker infants, but as a social problem. The number of still-born children and children who die in the first year of their life is increasing. According to Šilovic, from 1901 to 1905 in cities and districts 1/5 of those children died, that is 20% of the live-born children. In 1905, 29.41% of live-born children and 41.59% of still-born children were born in Zagreb. There is a greater number of still-born children and children who died in the first year of their life in cities than in the countryside, for example, in Osijek, mortality rate was 7% bigger than in Zagreb. The causes of the greater number of still-born children in cities can be related to socio-economic status of their parents. Namely, those are children whose mothers were maids, needlewomen and factory hands. They lived in poverty and were often tired in pregnancy, they were left without a place to live and food when they needed it the most, and therefore they had to live on the street and beg. It is important to point out that more illegitimate children die than the legitimate. According to Šilovic, in Croatia and Slavonia in 1903, there was 1874 illegitimate newborn children, and that number is growing by 7% in 1905. (Šilovic, 1922:3).

Illegitimate status of a child means that a child was not born in marriage. However, in Dalmatia, Istria and partially in Croatia from 1914 the Austrian law came into effect which requires that child's father be identified by judicial proceedings. That possibility comes from the understanding that a father has to provide for the child. The father was persuaded (or at least tried to be persuaded) to marry the child's mother so the child could be legitimate. The law requires that the father of an illegitimate child make up for all the expenses of birth-giving and all the other expenses concerning that child. The court could require that father deliver the needed money three months before the

child is born, if mother needed the money and if she lived «morally». Šilovic believes that mortality rate of illegitimate children could reach a record low. However, at the same time he comments on a great number of poor fathers that cannot support their children (Šilovic, 1922:a).

Infant mortality rate is related to the practice of feeding and supplemental feeding. Mothers who have legitimate children, but have to work, like their husbands, and have no milk to breast-feed, give their children to the countryside in the city's surroundings for wet-nursing. But, nobody keeps the track of children given for wet-nursing, so Šilovic concludes that «not many infants survive first year of their life at their providers' at the countryside» (Šilovic, 1915:6). The author sees the reason for this in the fact that peasant women breast-feed their own children first, and give the rest of the milk to the children brought for the supplemental feeding. Also, the children who are not fed adequately get the inflammation of the digestive tract, which is in most cases the cause of death in the first and second month after birth. According to the writings of the newspapers *Narodna zaštita*, supplemental feeding was paid for, so the peasant women were paid monthly and this was a sort of food bonus (*mjesečna hranibina*). Because of that money, peasant women took children from more affluent families for supplemental feeding at the cost their own children.

Therefore, the author believes that ignorance, lack of information and insufficient number of doctors are the causes of infant mortality (Šilovic, 1915). For example, 135 children who were given for supplemental feeding died in 1902 in the Zagreb surroundings, out of which 128 were given no medical care.

Giving medical aid and reaching record low when it comes to infant mortality were the main goals of all the actions taken before the First World War by charitable organizations of civil society and the city of Zagreb. One of the aspects present in the actions was mass health education. The Social department of Zagreb recognized the importance of breast-feeding and supported the activities that tried to provide feeding with the healthy mother's milk. After the First World War, mothers and nursing women were given financial aid and one litre of milk per day so they could have more milk to breast-feed their own children. In Zagreb in 1937, there was a health-service facility that did over 50,000 medical examinations and consultations. The institution kept records of newborns and mothers had to bring their children for mandatory medical examinations (Vidakovic, 1937).

Activities and programs were aimed at parents as well as children. Legal status of children that I have already mentioned – birth within marriage or outside it, that is child's legitimacy or illegitimacy, are some of the legal criteria based on which children and their mothers had rights to

any form of aid. It was important whether a child had father or not. Children who did not have father were divided in two categories: a) Orphans – those children who had no mother and no father, b) semi-orphans – those children who had no father, but had mother. If children were left without father, they had to be given a caretaker, because mother was not «child's legal representative». Mother can keep a child if she is able to take care of him/her independently or with the help of her parents. If mother cannot take care of a child or if a child was left without parents and s/he have no close relatives who would provide for them, there are two possibilities where they could be placed. They could be placed into special institutions, in orphanages or they could be placed into foster home.

These forms of childcare have existed throughout this period. Problems and groups of children on which special attention is drawn to in the certain period in the first sixty years of the 20th century differ. However, they differ regarding the way we look at them. Basically, there are no differences in circumstances and ways that society and state react to the children's problems and ways they are dealt with.

In Croatia, at the beginning of the 20th century children's homes already existed. It is important to highlight that first children's home dates back to the 15th century. It was founded in Dubrovnik so that illegitimate children could be taken care of and in that way infanticide would be prevented. That children's home still exists. During time, the locations of home and its name were changing, but it has always been an institution that takes care of children. Placing children in a foster home is mentioned for the first time in 1902. Kindergarten, that is certain form of kindergartens (*cuvališta*) exist from 1900 when there were four nursery schools in Zagreb and for private ones, mostly run by women (Frankovic, 1958.). Boarding schools, that is pupils' dormitories have existed from the 19th century and are related to religious orders. Financial assistance developed during the First World War, together with the aid in clothes, footwear and food.

Orphanages, that is institutions that provide for abandoned children were founded before 1900 with the funds from private Foundations of the affluent people from that period. In Osijek in 1870 an orphanage was founded with the funds from the Huttler-Kohlhiffer-Monspreger Foundation. The orphanage in Zagreb was founded in 1882 with the funds from the Vice-Roy Jelacic Bužimski's Foundation.

Homes were also founded within the activities of the Catholic Church. Publications about the past of the city of Požega and its district give a description of the founding of the children's home.

Children's home in Požega was founded in 1835 out of private funds. In that year the bishop and the governor Aleksandar Alagovic signed and validated a document (*zakladnica*) which says that a children's home for boys and girls is to be founded in the building which he bought in Požega. Children who were placed there were older than six years of age. Different number of boys and girls were placed there. Boys were placed in larger number (around 25) and they were situated in the main building. About six girls were situated in outbuildings. The girls went to elementary school and learned household works under the supervision of an older poor lady and two maids. In that time boys went to elementary school and high school (grammar school or they learned a trade) in order to be able to go on with the service within the religious order. The orphanage was run by a headmaster who was at the same time a priest. Money for the boys' expenses was taken from the interests on the capital (60,000 forints); that money was donated to the foundation by bishop Alagovic. In Rijeka there was Maria's orphanage in the framework of the girl's school in 1907 and 1908. The already mentioned orphanages/*(pjestovališta)* in Zagreb and Osijek were run by the nuns, Sisters of Mercy of St. Vincent de Paul, and in 1930s they ran nursing-home in Selce. The nuns of the Order of Daughters of God's Love (*Družbe kceri Božje ljubavi*) ran a correctional institution for students boys in Jastrebarsko in 1939 and during the Independent State of Croatia (in the Second World War).

Children's homes were not always called like this. Various nominations were given during the period in question: orphanage, raising centre, home for foundlings, resort centre, recreation centre. The children who were placed there were called: nurselings, boarding-school pupils, wards. Moreover, boarding schools were also called children's homes, they were institutions that provided room and board for the pupils. It is important to point out that such institutions were there to lend a hand when needed, because they placed poor children whose parents did not have enough money for their schooling. According to the boarding schools' notes, which were kept in Zagreb from 1934 to 1936, it can be seen that boarding schools were founded at the beginning of the 20th century, in 1907 and in 1917 in order to place students during their schooling. Boarding schools were in private ownership, owned by church or charity institutions. The price differed with regard to the founder and quality of accommodation (*opskrbnina*). Some boarding schools placed only the children of civil servants/officials, and the accommodation price was from 650 to 1000 dinars. The price in some boarding schools which accepted poor children was cheaper, from 100 to 400 dinars. Boarding schools were divided to boys' and girls'. One of the boarding schools, founded in 1917, was owned by the nuns of the Order of Servants of Little Jesus (*Služavke malog Isusa*). In 1935, there were 47 children in the boarding school in, out of which 28 paid for the lodgings and the rest paid 100 to 400 dinars depending on the circumstances. Children or boarding-school pupils, as they

were called, had a separate entrance in the home and five meals a day. This boarding-school was also called orphanage, probably because it accepted certain number of poor children that did not have enough money to pay for the boarding-school's lodging expenses. Boarding-school was supported by donations, economy and student's work. Another boarding-school named «Children's home» also accepted poor children. It was founded in 1909 and the wards were the children who attended elementary school.

When we talk about childcare it is necessary to mention civil society's organizations that were taking various kinds of actions with the aim of helping and protecting children. One of the most important (and influential) organizations was the Children Protection League founded on the general meeting on 11 January 1914. The aim of the organization was to help children without parents and poor children from their birth till they were 15 years of age and capable to work as well as to improve child rearing and protection. The president of the league was dr. Josip Šilovic, who was an eminent lawyer and viceroy. He taught penal law at the University of Zagreb, and in 1929 he was appointed viceroy of the Savska banovina. He was the most eminent individual who made an effort in the government toward changing the law on childcare and he warned about reasons why it was important for a state to provide for children and the poor. He wrote, spoke up, delivered many public speeches, organized and carried out actions for child's protection and made an effort to set the standards of the child's in accordance with the world standards of that period. He believed that a state should take over childcare, because that was the proper way to protect children.

After the First World War began, Children Protection League was extended to the Mobilized Soldiers' Family Protection League. It coordinated the work of all the organizations that helped women and children of soldiers (*Odbor zagrebackih gospođa za ratnu pripomoc, Teachers' association, Sekcija za našu djecu, Patronaža za zaštitu mladih djevojaka*). The League distributed bread and gave money. Illegitimate children of soldiers could also be given money (till the end of 1917, there were 62 such cases) if fathers have entered the marriage with the mothers in the mean time. Then the League had to take care of all the legal documents that were necessary for the child to be legitimate. Through its activities the league tried to accomplish that father acknowledge their children or if father had been killed in war, the league had to raise evidence based on which the fatherhood could be proved so that child could get financial aid from the state. If the father did not acknowledge fatherhood or he died without acknowledging the child the child got no support.

The League also gave aid in clothes and footwear for girls and boys. There is a list saved with 607 children that received that form of help and the list with those who did not pick up their clothes.

Clothes and footwear were given from the League's charity storehouse by commissioners, every day for the different part of city till 10am. They urged more affluent families to pay annuity for the soldier's children. They wanted to carry out one more action – to organize feeding for children in the houses of the more affluent. But, that action was never carried out, because mothers did not want to separate from their children, not even for couple of hours.

The Children's Protection League, that is Central state committee for the protection of killed and mobilized war soldiers, had local committee in which the commissioners worked (volunteered). The commissioners were chosen among priests, primary teachers, women primary teachers and other good-hearted people from the area. Among other things, commissioners were in charge of making a list of abandoned and impoverished children till 16 years of age, but not only war orphans, but all the abandoned children in certain area. There was a form to be filled for every child. The list with the names of the children in a given area was to be handed in the district committee and one list had to be handed in the Central state committee. One commissioner could take care of maximum ten children. Each commissioner has to visit his/her children every eight days and take care of child's moral and physical improvement. Mother or father should take care of a child. If mother needs help in raising children, then they can be placed in shelters/children's lodging if mother lives in city. In rural areas, commissioners gave power to neighbors to watch over the families.

Children could be taken away from mother if she has poor health or if she is an alcoholic. Male children (boys) could be sent away from home when they were twelve years old, because then they finished middle school or they could learn a trade. If children are taken away from mother, they should stay with the closest relatives and keep as far away from mother as possible. Peasant children should stay in the countryside – they should not be placed in cities or orphanages; that is Central committee's decision. Commissioners should protect their children legally and their property from squandering.

Commissioners had their own documents like social welfare commissioners and can ask for help from other services, such as the police. The expenses of this protection are covered by the money that the commissioners themselves collect by encouraging people in their region to give voluntary contributions; each committee raised funds for their wards. Expenses for children's lodgings outside family were covered by applying the subsidy principle. The expenses had to be covered by the child's parent first, by the one who provides for the child or by the income from the property that belongs to the child (in the case of illegitimate children father covers all the expenses urged by the court). If that was not possible, because in most cases the parents were poor, expenses were being

covered either by funds from the local-government offices or by funds from the district joined foundations whose aim was to secure funds for the local government people, and if they do not have enough funds, then the state covers all the expenses. Furthermore, the expenses were covered by the local-government offices in which child's parents resided at least 5 years. The case was that more affluent families did not want the illegitimate children and their mothers to become part of a community, because they did not want to cover more expenses; in that case, expenses were covered by the local government that the parent originally comes from.

Organization cooperated closely with the social department from Zagreb. League's commissioners had, for city's needs, looked into the economic circumstances of the women of the soldiers killed in war or the mobilized soldiers that asked for financial assistance from the city and economic circumstances of other citizens who had filed a request for financial assistance. Registers had mobilized soldier's name and family name, street, the house number where the family lived and the number of supported members. The League also opened soup kitchen in cooperation with the Society for nutrition of poor school youth, where mothers and children could eat every day. The city financed the kitchen from its budget. Requests for child feeding, lunch and supper, were filed by schoolteachers, student teachers and students and pupils independently. They needed feeding in soup kitchen because of low economic circumstances of their own families, parents' unemployment and many siblings.

The Children's Protection League provided for children by placing them into their own home opened on the 1st of October 1916, and closed in 1929. The League received financial aid from 1917 to 1922 from the Central state council for the protection of families of killed and mobilized soldiers for 15 children, war orphans that were in home. There had always been 30 children in home since it had opened its doors. Children came mostly from Zagreb and its surroundings and couple of them came from other Croatian regions – towns such as Senj, Bakar, Karlobag.

The League accepted children to the home based on requests that had come from all parts of Croatia. Mothers and fathers filed a request due to low economic circumstances, hunger or because they were ill and could no longer provide for one of their children. Often, single parents who were employed asked for a child to be placed at home, because they could not take care of him/her, because they had to work. Then, parent suggests the amount that s/he can pay for the expenses. The requests are also filed by brothers, sisters and relatives, caretakers that had provided for a child after their parents' death, but due to the illness, old age and low economic circumstances could no longer do that. Those who filed a request gave a detailed description of the situation in which they found

themselves at the moment, and together with the letter they enclose testimonial of their low economic circumstances. The document consists of the city government's statement that a person involved has no mobile property or real estate, and that their close relatives are poor and are not able to pay for child's placing in home. It is interesting that children themselves filed a request as well, because being placed in home they see as an opportunity to continue the schooling in city.

The home asked the City government to help children during Christmas holidays by giving them clothes that they needed. A file for that kind of request had a list with children's names, their age and a list of clothing items that they needed. Besides placing children in home, the League's president believed that children who were left without both parents in war or their mother was not able to take care of them should be placed in foster home, in country, or in the city with respectable family of craftsmen. That was the aim of many League's actions.

Besides organizing numerous actions that were aimed at helping children, the League started another great action in 1917. War, drought and hunger in Dalmatia, Istria and Bosnia and Herzegovina got Josip Šilovic and Đuro Basaricek (editor of the newspapers *Narodna zaštita*) to organize and coordinate the evacuation of children from these areas. Children were placed in the continental parts of Croatia for feeding. In 1918 *Narodna zaštita* published many articles in which families were invited to take children from Istria, Dalmatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and in which children's war suffering and hunger were described in detail. Families were invited to place children in their own homes or to donate money for the relocation expenses, clothes and footwear. People from Virovitica, Podravina and Garešnica were invited to help the children. From July 1917 to September 1918 16,349 children in total were placed, out of which 12,511 were placed in Croatia and Slavonia. In March, there were 100 children coming every day and that is the maximum number, due to hunger and the lack of food. In the spring, that number decreased, due to the blossoming and growth of the edible plants.

From the first correspondence it can be seen that the idea was that children stayed in children's home during the summer – on holidays, there were approximately 150 children from various regions. But, many more children were placed than planned, for example, according to some data, there were 2,209 children from Istria. Children first came to Zagreb and afterwards were placed in continental parts of Croatia. Central committee was responsible for the children to be placed in the same region from which they come from. But, in summer 1917, there was a crop failure and the action went on, so the children were placed over a long period of time. The League's commissioners got many families interested to place children. Also, priests and the Red Cross' health-care workers

were involved in the action. The League and the Red Cross were taking care of children, organized performances in order to raise funds, clothes and footwear. League's commissioners were mostly teachers who were solving burning issues and quarrels in the families where the children were placed. Some children changed the family, because they did not get along with the providers or there was no proper school in the area where they were placed. Apart from placing children in the family, children's home in Cepin near Osijek was founded for 50 orphans.

In 1919 children started to go back to their homes. However, because of the Italian occupation Central state committee gave an order that children were not to go back to their homes in Istria and Dalmatia. Šilovic and Basaricek tried for the children to stay in Croatia and go to school. The action of return was suppose to end in 1921, however only a small number of children returned.

In general, it can be said that the First World War got the state to take care of family and children, especially of those of the mobilized soldiers and soldiers killed in war. Along with financial aid, clothes and footwear donations, the city of Zagreb organized temporary accommodation during 1917 and 1918. This was a kind of a kindergarten or daily accommodation for children. The purpose was to prevent children's begging, stealing and tramping. Lodging was provided for those children whose family provider (a man) had been mobilized or had been killed in war, so mother had to work in order to support the family, as well as the children whose families were very poor and mother had to work. Food and lodging were free of charge, and children stayed there over working days from 8am to 6pm. On Sunday and holidays the lodging was closed, because it was believed that mothers could take care of their children during weekends and holidays. The children were at the age from 3 to 12. Women teachers looked after children in lodgings. The activities in lodgings included handwork, play, writing homework, studying and exercise. The poorest children were given clothes and footwear, and mothers could be given food and bread if the child became ill. If mother had a nursling together with an older child, children were not accepted at lodging, because mother was supposed to stay at home and look after all her children. The city of Zagreb covered the lodging's expenses.

The war caused the number of unprovided-for children (so called War orphans) and poor families with one provider, in most cases that was mother, to increase. The Vidovdan Constitution requires that the state need to provide for the children and their mothers. The constitution specially required the care of widows and children of the soldiers killed in war, but the provisions of law later concerned all children. In Croatia, the government had already dealt with the problem of childcare and child protection, so these were further tackled with the new provisions of the law. The law on

children's homes from January 1918 required that the state in Slavonia and Croatia should take care of children up to 15 years of age «for which tutorial court found that they were abandoned, and since they were not provided for or they were partially provided for, children's homes are to be founded in Zagreb and Osijek» (Children's home Law, 1918, article 1). In subsection number 2 it is stated that «only ill, less able and the children who need special medical care are to stay in home, other children are placed elsewhere outside children's home» (Children's home Law, 1918, article 2). The law required funding of homes and their wards, but Šilović states in his works that those provisions were not followed. The law required that homes should be funded from children's property or that caretakers should give them financial assistance. Moreover, they could be supported by foundations (for example *Sirotinjska zaklada Marija Terezijanska*) and other similar foundations and from the state budget (*sirotinjske blagajne*). If there was not enough money, local government office will cover the expenses for its citizens, health-care community for its members and district foundation of the joint health-care communities for its members. Citizen/member of the community (*opcinar*) was a person, that is a parent, who had resided for five years on the territory of the local community (*opcina*).

It can be seen from the law that home funding was based on the subsidy principle, but there had been difficulties while implementing it. Low economic circumstances often made impossible for parents to cover the expenses for the child's lodging, so the local government officials often did not want to sign in poor mothers with children.

Another law on childcare was passed on March 28, 1922. It is the Law on child and youth protection (*Zakon o zaštiti djece i mladeži*) that in its first section requires that war orphans, children and youth without parental care or without adequate parental care are given state protection, more specifically the Ministry of Social Policy. The children are given state protection from the birth till they were 18 years old. Child and Youth Protection Department was established within the Ministry of Social Policy, which fulfilled its functions through the local branch-offices and commissioners. Commissioners were primarily chosen through their professions – they were teachers and priests. Their duty was to find and list the children, youth and illegitimate children that needed help and they were to control the care of the illegitimate children placed in the families. State protection included a quick placing of children, primarily in his/her own family or in a friendly family. If that was not possible, the child would be placed in some other family. Families who placed children, if they were poor, had to get financial aid and also aid in food and clothes. This law did not say much about placing children in homes. Just like the Children's Home Law, it

said that ill, abandoned and the children with some sort of physical or mental disabilities should be placed in homes.

Despite provisions of the law and placing children in families, children's homes existed and their activity was never under question. They were even adjusted to the children's needs.

After the First World War, care for children's health and the fact that many children died due to the poor material resources, irregular or insufficient nutrition and diseases that had been related directly to the way of life and the conditions, for example tuberculosis, had been the reasons for founding special children's homes – so called children's resort centre on the coast. It was thought that for example rachitic children would recover if they spent some time on the coast swimming and sunbathing. Therefore, the city of Zagreb founded in Crikvenica in 1918, as a pilot-project, children's resort centre (children's colony, summer camp). The most affected children from Zagreb were sent there. After one year of work it was decided that the City government would provide the real estate and renovate it, so that children could go there the whole year. For that purpose a house in Selce was bought (it is still the children's home). In summer 1920 children's resort centre opened its doors. The camp was run by the nuns of the Order of St. Vincent de Paul. There came children from poor families on doctor's recommendations, but also children from the affluent families who covered the expenses of the child's stay. Another institution of that kind was founded on Lokrum, a small island near Dubrovnik. Since 1921 there is a Children's resort centre where the children with poor health were placed for recovery. The institution was founded as a part of the Red Cross of Yugoslavia. Originally, only boys were placed there, but since 1924 the centre placed girls as well. Boys and girls lived separately in two wooden cabins. According to the documents from 1926 it can be seen that the centre placed children from 6 to 14 years of age who were feeble, who were inclined to tuberculosis, who had gland tuberculosis or curable pulmonary tuberculosis in early stage without complications. The recovery lasted three months, but it could be extended due to the nature of the illness. Before a child came to the institution, parents were given a list with all the things that child was to bring with him/her: suit, shoes, slippers, comb, toothbrush and toothpowder, sufficient number of handkerchiefs, underwear, a bag for dirty underwear and his/her own thermometer. Parents had to bring doctor's certificate that said that child needed recovery and that s/he had no infectious disease. The resort centre was opened the whole year, and the arrival had to be announced 24 hours in advance. Within the resort centre there was a state primary accredited school. According to the available documents, it can be seen that the school was closed from 1930 to 1933 due to the financial problems, because there existed an official letter that demands reopening of school. The children had classes in the Convent's premises, and in fair weather they

had classes in the open. According to an official letter from 1935 personnel employed in the centre consisted of: headmaster who was trained physician, housekeeper, teacher, day servant and three nuns from the Sisters of Mercy Order, one day gardener and four temporary day land workers.

During the 1930s, researches were done on the conditions in which children lived in. In his works Slobodan Vidakovic mentions some of the results of the various researches from which it could be seen that high mortality rate and high falling ill rate are still present and they are related to the conditions in which the children lived in. Namely, the problem was in malnutrition of the pupils/students who eat low-quality and low caloric food (in 1935, there was 6% of the undernourished pupils/students in Osijek, 15% in Hvar and 60% in Karlovac). Children's problems come from unsatisfactory and unhygienic conditions of life in the city (crowded and damp apartments) where all kinds of diseases are generated and spread, especially tuberculosis. The author believes there is a wide range of institutions that make up social-welfare work of Zagreb, but he believes it is necessary to put a lot more work in order to improve/raise children's life standards that cause many problems. He also believes that childcare problem should be tackled on the state as well as on the city level, or as the author calls it, as "communal child protection" (Vidakovic, 1937). During the 1930s, Zagreb set an example to other Yugoslavian cities when it comes to organized child welfare. The city took the whole set of measures for child welfare that are not very different from the ones today. Some of the child welfare institutions that were active are: the Institute for Infant and Maternal Welfare, infant welfare clinic, special doctor's offices for the children who suffer from tuberculosis and syphilis, city's children's shelter, counseling centre for mothers, milk kitchens, infant's colonies, infant and mother's home, counseling centre for child raising, eight city's children's daily shelters, city's children's raising centre in Klinca sela, city's resort colonies, city's apprentice home, children's resort centre in Selce, Jelacic orphanage and student health centre.

Due to the measures that were taken, especially those concerning health care, infant mortality reached a record low.

In Zagreb, there were several institutions coordinated by the Institute for Infant and Maternal Welfare. Children's medical clinic was active and very successful in improving infant health care. There was also the Counseling Centre for Mothers and for Social Welfare of Pregnant Women, which, apart from counseling, gave financial aid, food, clothes and footwear. The city built and leased small apartments to poor families with children (for example in 1930, 1280 families lived in those apartments). In the Infant and Mother's Home a small number of beds was available to the poor pregnant women and to the mothers with babies

The poor and unprovided-for children were placed in the shelter, where they were examined and afterwards placed in a home or in a colony. In Zagreb in 1937 there were eight children's shelters at the different locations in the city.

Older unprovided-for children from three to fourteen years of age as well as those children who finished primary school and did not start to learn a trade, could be placed in Klinca Sela in City raising centre. The institution could place more than 130 children. It was funded from two sources: from Zagreb's budget and its own funds, using its own farmlands' resources (Vidakovic, 1937).

There were two colonies, in Mraclin and Krapina, near Zagreb. Younger poor children were placed in peasant families. The important factors were health and hygienic standards of the family in which a child is placed. Colonies' administrators were doctors who together with the nurses controlled hygienic conditions in the families. Before placing children in the family doctors examined children. They also examined family's hygienic, health, moral and financial circumstances. The doctors also suggested and took part in decision making on villages and places convenient for founding new colonies. It can be seen from one of the doctor's notes that the following factors were crucial for the founding of new colony: climate, environment, hygienic conditions, socio-economic conditions, ethical concept of the region in question, traffic conditions with regards to constant professional control, is a school near by, concentration of the children in colonies due to the economy and family raising». The author of the letter (she) thought that a constant presence of doctors and nurses would contribute to forming close bonds between providers and colonies' administration. That gave good results in terms of mortality decrease, hygienic conditions improvement and a small number of psychopathological manifestations. It was believed that colonies had positive effects on the village, because they enabled better socio-economic standard and were considered better lodgings than home, because unlike home they were open to public. Every month providers received a certain sum of money for child, that is money for covering the lodgings, food, clothes and footwear expenses for a child.

It is not possible to identify from the documents how many children had been placed in the colonies. In 1939 Children's bannat home in Josipovac was responsible for identifying the number of children placed in the colonies. There are 145 providers' file-cards that placed one to four children in their homes. Another example concerns the year 1942 and the state run Children's colony in Podravina, which colonies in Đurdevac, Plavšinc and Virje (413 children) are part of.

Greater number of colonies led to the founding of the Children's colony administration in Zagreb. During the Independent State of Croatia this institution was active under the Ministry of Welfare, the Department for social security, protection and welfare. The main purpose of such an umbrella institution was to coordinate all the existing colonies. The management was responsible for placing children, relocating them, covering the hospital treatment expenses for a child, financial assistance given by city's social department or parents themselves and administrative and financial work. After the Second World War it changed the name to the Children's Colony Centre (*Centar dječje kolonije*).

In Kaštel Lukšić, near Split, in 1931 the Banovina's children's home was founded. Following the rules of that period only girls could be placed in that home. The home was under the administration of Primorska banovina in Split. Documents about the beginnings and the circumstances in the home were destroyed during two world wars.

During the Independent State of Croatia (1941-1945), a correctional institution for older boys was active in Jastrebarsko. Children from home in Osijek stayed in the home's premises in Jastrebarsko from 1939 to 1941, because the building in Osijek was being renovated. The Girl's Home was founded in 1941 by Ante Pavelić, head of the state.

Now, I shall take a look at care for children with special needs. Institution for the deaf-mute as a state run institution was founded in 1891. However, the Institution had existed since 1885 when Albert Lampe got the permit from the Government for opening private institution for the deaf-mute. The founder himself was deaf-mute, he finished school in Vienna and he ran the institution in German language. In 1888 the Society for Foundation and Establishment of Land's Institute for Education of Deaf-mute Children (*Društvo za osnutak i uzdržavanje zemaljskog zavoda za odgoj gluhojeme djece*) was founded, which raised money for the institution. Another institution was founded in 1888 and it was for blind children. At the beginning it was a private institution founded by Vinko Bek in Bukevje (today this institution is named after him). In that institution, one child underwent a one-year program. The St. Vitus Society for Helping the Blind (*Društvo za pomoć slijepima Sv. Vid*) was founded on his initiative, as an association that helped blind people, which also raised money for children's schooling and training. State institution for blind children's education was founded in 1895, where Vinko Bek was the first headmaster and a teacher.

To conclude, already at the beginning of the 19th century institutions were founded that helped children with special needs and they are active till the present day.

Social work with children and youth with behavioral problems and delinquency

In 1902, on the initiative of Josip Šilovic, the Parliament proclaimed the Law about forced care for children and youth with behavioral problems the immature. Those who broke the Law in age 10-14 are to be put by a special court to a place called *Uzgajalište*. Institutions for convicted children (of closed type) were open in Slavonska Požega, Glina and Pahinsko.

One letter reveals some ideas on care for delinquents. On May 27, 1914 Mihovil Mihokovic, a priest from the small town of Novska writes about the problem of neglected children and youth. Those young people make problems and disturb other neighbors, especially "women who are alone in the house". He distinguishes youth in the city areas (who are at bigger risk) from youth in the rural areas. He mentions a word delinquent and explains how delinquent has to be punished to stop him from doing delinquent activities (by physical punishment). His opinion and experience tells about many positive outcomes from using physical punishment. He thinks "a whip" is a good discipline method for two reasons: one is physical pain that it causes and the other is shame. His opinion is that in the villages strict and consciousness teacher could be a good replacement for a father. At that time youngsters under 16 years old were forbidden to go to taverns and buy alcohol.

In 1915 the Austrian Ministry gives out an order by which teachers are obligated to take care or monitor children on holidays if they work on the land, they are also obligated to form children and youth groups (by sex, age and mental and physical health) to plan their free time. In the file of Josip Šilovic (State Archives) an interesting insight in relationships within small communities is found. It consists of several pieces, and one part is about care for children who show behavioral disturbances, children who are without one or both parents and children who are neglected. But the most revealing are letters from 1916. Mihailo Medakovic, a priest in charge for the district of Dalj. He informs about his plans to found a hospital for children without parental care, as well as some kind of kindergarten which he at that time calls "places for taking care". These places for taking care of children would be of a great help for mothers whose husbands died in the army. To be able to provide their children with everything needed for living and going to school they need to work and their children are mostly out of any care. Mr. Medakovic has noticed those children are at risk and he was writing to Josip Šilovic and asking for his help and support in putting his idea to reality. His suggestion is to use nuns for taking care of children. This would, as he sad, be a "material and moral good for the future". The same year Mihailo Medakovic writes to Josip Šilovic from Jasenovac. He explains his attitude towards cases where fathers, who are suppose to be a masters of the house die, and their role is taken over by mothers. In his opinion weak females cannot take over the role of a

master of the house, but if this happens «it can not bring anything good». The hierarchy in the society starts with the priest, than there is a teacher and at the end a father. His suggestion is to form some kind of boards, which would be in charge for the youth in the villages. Those boards would be consisted of a priest, a teacher and a representative of a village/municipality. In multi-religious communities there should be representatives of every existing religion. The board would register children without fathers. Special program would be prepared for them every Sunday including the church mass. Medakovic is against physical punishment.

There is also information about the poll about the care for children after the war, when children and youth showed all kind of behavioral problems. There was a request pointed to Josip Šilovic and the government to discuss the issue, conduct a poll and give propositions for action. Some propositions include:

- Planning not only school time but also free time for children and youth.
- Great danger from cinematographic industry (it teases young people fantasy and bring to precocious sexuality and criminality). It is forbidden for school children to visit cinema shows, except chosen educational and art programs.
- Danger of working children and youth, in cases of children working, the salary should be paid to parents.
- Forbidding selling alcohol and visiting taverns for youth under 16.
- There should be a law for youth, policy measures, special boards for youth care.

After the poll, the authorities in Novska made regulations concerning children, use of alcohol and free time. Some proposals were accepted like for instance: children under 16 cannot buy alcohol or visit taverns without parents, after 9 pm they cannot be on the street. If this would not be obeyed, parents would pay 140 crowns or go to a prison for 14 days.

Part Two – 1941-1960

The Second World War and its consequences

The importance of the Second World War for Croatian and other Yugoslav societies cannot be overestimated. As in many other European countries, the war did not only consist in the occupation of German Nazi and Italian Fascist forces, and in eventual resistance, but also in a civil war between collaborating and resisting groups. Moreover, Yugoslav anti-fascist resistance movement

(Partisans) was led by the Communists, who saw the liberation war as an occasion to conduct the socialist revolution. As collaborating factions (in Croatia, those were Croatian Ustasha and groups of Serbian royalist Chetniks) carried out a nationalistic, extreme right policy, the country was also ravaged by ethnic conflicts. Therefore, the other important part of the Communist ideology of national liberation was the emphasis on the joint struggle of all nationalities, which was after the war known as the fundamental Yugoslav motto "unity and brotherhood". The extent of material destruction and human losses in Yugoslavia during the war was one of the largest in Europe, provoking enormous social problems in the aftermath of the war. Those were dealt with in the framework of the post-war reconstruction conceived also as the building of a new, socialist society.

Although the Kingdom of Yugoslavia signed the pact to join the Axis, the country was invaded on April 6, 1941. Soon the king left the country, the army capitulated, and Yugoslavia was partitioned and occupied by German, Italian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian armed forces. On April 10, the **Independent State of Croatia** (ISC) was proclaimed as a puppet state under German protection by a group of extreme right emigrants, known as the Ustasha Movement. It covered the territory of today's Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, but large portions of coastal area (Istria, parts of Dalmatia, most of the islands) were given to Italy. The state was divided, from northwest to southeast, to German and Italian occupational zones. ISC was an authoritarian state centered around the person of the head of the state Ante Pavelic, with no active parliament. From the first months of its existence, the Independent State of Croatia carried out an extreme nationalistic policy, introducing racial legislation that targeted Jews, Serbs, and Roma. Pogroms of Serb population, especially in rural areas of Lika and Banija, started in summer of 1941. The authorities established several concentration camps for those ethnic minorities and other "enemies of the state", including the Communists and other Croatian opponents of the regime. They also organized deportation of the Jews to Nazi concentration camps as well as departure of workers for labor camps in the German Reich.

The Hitler's attack to the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, induced Croatian Communists to set off an armed uprising against the Germans and the Ustasha. From that moment, the war took form of the civil war between two Croatias, both fighting against each other and for legitimacy among the people. The collaborationist ISC inherited the institutions of the previous state, such as the ministries for social policy and public health. The structure of ministries and their departments varied a lot in the period 1941-1943, with frequent name changes and reorganizations. In accordance with new nationalistic linguistic policy, the authorities coined new words, so some of the words used in the area of welfare are meaningless and untranslatable to standard Croatian. The

new ministry was called *Ministarstvo udružbe*²², with two departments in 1941 (for Social security, protection and care, and for Social affairs). In October 1942 the Ministry was closed down and social care was assigned to the Ministry of Interior. The new Ministry for Health and *Udružba* was reestablished in October 1943. The ministries were responsible for care for the poor, disabled and orphans; social security and health insurance; work mediation, inspection of labor, mediation in labor relations and conflicts; suppression of high prices; control of all civil organizations, as well as humanitarian organizations and institutions; protection of family; emigration; physical education and sports. As the war ravaged the country, the state had to take care of large numbers of refugees and civil victims of war (provide them with food, cloth and shelter).

In all NGOs, including social and humanitarian organizations, the authorities assigned commissioners whose task was to put their activities and membership under the state's ideological control. This meant the imposition of the Ustasha principles (ethnocentric and racist policy, social conservatism, anti-Communism). The authorities frequently demanded from the NGOs to submit them the lists of the board and regular members. Although the Law on the Protection of National and Aryan Culture of Croatian People did not formally forbid the Jews to be members of humanitarian organizations, after an inquiry from *Društvo covjecnosti* the ministry responded by prohibiting it (in October 1941), so the Jews resigned from this and other organizations.²³ Somewhere the commissioners imposed new boards filled with ethnic Croats (such as in *Prehrana*, whose president Artur Maric, converted Jew and reserve officer of Yugoslav army, committed suicide after being arrested). Some organizations and associations stayed passive during the war because their membership didn't accept the new regime (such as aforementioned female teachers of child shelters), while the others continued to provide help to the needy, although with difficulties (donations were scarce since the war provoked huge economic crisis). Some organizations were closed down and their property was given to other nationalistic organizations (such was the case with the Child Protection Union in Banja Luka, whose property was given to the Croatian Catholic Woman). In mid-1942, the Ustasha founded Croatian Union of Humanitarian Societies, intending to further strengthen their ideological control over the civil society. As for the commissioners to the factories and other enterprises, whose task was to mediate and inspect the working conditions, they were more interested in suppressing Communist and other opposition than in helping the workers.

On the other side, the Communists organized popular uprising under the name of **National Liberation Struggle**, firstly in rural areas populated with Serb minority, as well as in Dalmatia

²² The root of the word is *druž-*, equivalent to English and Latin *soc-* (used in standard Croatian words such as *društvo* – society, *udruženje* – association etc.), but the morphology is artificial.

²³ Mira Kolar-Dimitrijevic, *Društvo covjecnosti 1846-1946* (Zagreb, 1998), 75.

which was under direct Italian rule, and later kept enlarging liberated territories through the armed struggle against the Germans, Italians, Ustasha and Chetniks. The partisans had to organize local government from scratch, taking care that the Communist Party exerts control over political life. The basic local political bodies were National Liberation Councils (*Narodnooslobodilacki odbori*) founded in each community (village). Their task was to organize economical and political life and the support for the armed struggle, including social care for large masses of population that were victims of Nazi and Ustasha's persecution. Since thousands of people left their destroyed villages and fled to avoid massacres, the partisans had to take care of large numbers of refugees and orphans. In 1943, there were several children homes, including refugee centers in Egypt (El Shat Tulumbat), and in Italy. El Shatt in Egypt contained three camps for refugee children from Yugoslavia (mostly Dalmatia) with altogether 20 459 children.

From the beginning of the Communist government during the war, social protection was regulated through political decisions at various levels. The highest representative body of the "new" Yugoslavia, the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (*AVNOJ*), on its first and second sessions (1942 and 1943) voted several decisions in the realm of social protection: care for the refugees, cost free timber lumbering in lumbermills for house building, opening of new children homes for orphans, crediting the families of the partisan fighters, invalids and victims of fascist terror, foundation of temporary social council for protection of mothers, children and youth, foundation of Federal direction for research on war orphan children etc.²⁴

Parallel to the NLC, from late 1941 women on the liberated territory were mobilized for the resistance through the Antifascist Front of Women, a mass organization whose important area of work was social care, especially care for camp prisoners, war orphans and displaced children.²⁵ At first the AFW developed as an independent network of local councils, giving the Yugoslav women for the first time in their history a large share of power and responsibility. However, as the Communist Party started to feel threatened in its political monopoly, from 1943 the local councils of AFW were subordinated to the local NLCs.²⁶ It is important to mention that the anti-fascist activities, including those of women and social workers, were not restricted to liberated territory, but were also carried on on the territory under Ustasha authority, as undercover resistance.

²⁴ M. Škrbic et al., *Socijalna zaštita u SR Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: 1984), ch. 2.

²⁵ The second of three large volumes of collection of documents and biographies related to women of Croatian in People's Liberation Struggle (*Žene Hrvatske u narodnooslobodilackoj borbi*, ed. by Marija Šoljan, Zagreb, 1955-1967) is devoted to the documents about Ustasha crimes against women and children, and antifascist women's activities in saving and helping them, organizing children homes etc.

²⁶ For more on this see Lydia Sklevicky, *Konji, žene, ratovi* (Zagreb: Ženska infoteka, 1996), 25-62, and also Barbara Jancar-Webster, *Women and Revolution in Yugoslavia 1941-1945* (Denver Co.: Arden Press, 1990), esp. 136-159.

One of the largest joint actions of social workers and activists from whole range of different organizations and institutions was the saving of hundreds of children from Ustasha concentration camps Jasenovac, Stara Gradiška and others. After the big military offensive of German and Ustasha armies in the northwestern Bosnia (Kozara mountain area) in spring 1942, a large number of displaced women and children, mostly Serbs, were transferred to concentration camps where many of them were executed or sent to labor camps to Germany. As the mothers were forced to leave for Germany, hundreds of babies and children were left in terrible conditions in the concentration camps. After the information about that reached Zagreb social workers, they organized the transport trains that took them to the capital. The reception center was organized in the main railway station, staffed by the Red Cross nurses (such as Dragica Habazin, Jana Koch and many others) and other social workers. One of the main organizers of the operation, Kamilo Brössler²⁷, succeeded to mobilize physicians from Zagreb hospitals, nurses, teachers, Caritas volunteers and nuns, and ordinary citizens to take care of seriously ill (with typhoid fever and other serious conditions) and malnourished children who continued dying in transport trains and hospitals. Ill children were placed in hospitals and schools for deaf and blind, and many of them were taken by the ordinary Zagreb citizens who fostered them until the end of the war. The rest of the children was transferred to Jastrebarsko (small town near Zagreb) where the "reception home" (*prihvatilište*, after the war referred to as "children camp", *djecji logor*) was organized with the permission of the authorities. It was run by the Catholic nuns and Caritas, but was also partially staffed by Communist illegal activists and sympathizers, including Tatjana Marinic (see her biography below).²⁸ Last but not the least, Diana Budisavljevic, an upper-middle-class woman of Austrian origin, organized alone, with couple of collaborators, the help for the Orthodox (Serbian) inmates of concentration camps, and participated in this action by keeping registers of children names and other data in order to help them find their parents after the war.²⁹ All social workers and activists involved in this operation showed great amount of courage while dealing with the Ustasha authorities who had to issue them with all kind of permits.³⁰

²⁷ K. Brössler (1901-1967) was one of the most active social workers before, during and after the World War Two, and one of the founders of the School for social work in 1952. He started his career as a teacher, and later worked in the Red Cross, the School for Public Health in Zagreb with Andrija Štampar, organized summer camps, homes, kitchens, vocational schools etc. From 1940 he worked in the Department for social policy of Banovina Croatia, where he established the Section for social protection of children and youth, and in 1941 was an employee of the Ministry of Health in the Independent State of Croatia. See Ciril Petešić, "Kamilo Brössler – naš Pestolazzi. Pedagoško-socijalni rad i bibliografija objavljenih i neobjavljenih članaka, knjiga i filmova K. Brösslera", in *Zbornik za povijest školstva i prosvjete* vol. 24, 1991, 145-165.

²⁸ Ciril Petešić, *Djecji dom u Jastrebarskom. Dokumenti (1939-1947)* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1990).

²⁹ See her diary, originally written in German: Diana Budisavljevic, *Dnevnik 1941-1945*. (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2003). She was motivated to organize the help for Orthodox women in camps when she realized that nobody cared about them, in opposition to still existent Jewish organizations that were sending aid to Jewish inmates and tried to negotiate with the authorities.

³⁰ These children were Serbs, who had been proclaimed the main national enemies, so radical Ustasha simply wanted them dead.

The home in Jastrebarsko was later taken over by the partisans after they liberated that area, and the children were included in the partisan system of children homes on the liberated territory. Although the action was led by the individuals of different professional and ideological background, after the war it was mainly used as the source of legitimacy and symbolic power by the group of social workers most closely related to the partisan resistance, especially female activists of the Antifascist Women's Front (such as Tatjana Marinic). The nuns that ran the home in Jastrebarsko were accused of poor treatment of children, even of violence, since those were the children of their enemies.³¹ They made them sing Ustasha songs and celebrate Catholic holidays, even though the children were Orthodox, and used obsolete pedagogic methods.

Case study – Child care (Part Two, 1945 – 1960)

During the Second World War, there had been an increase in number of children that needed accommodation and care, because the warfare left them parentless. In the early 1943, the Anti-Fascist Land Council of National Liberation of Croatia (*ZAVNOH*)³² established social departments on all levels of government. Their tasks were: "organization of aid to disabled partisans and their families, aid to families of deceased partisans, aid to those injured in the fascist destruction and arson, care for the unprovided-for children, war orphans and parentless children and helping the people in poor areas who have suffered from malnutrition due to the fascist devastation."

During the warfare in 1942, a couple of children's homes have been founded in the Lika, Kordun and Banija territory. In 1944, on the territory liberated from German occupation, there were eleven children's homes with 565 children. The sources describe the children's nutrition as very poor, because it was reduced only to beans and potatoes. Apart from children's homes, there had been organized children's shelters that also welcomed mothers, breastfeeding mothers and pregnant women. In 1944, there were up to 1089 children and 29 women in one single shelter. A report from a counseling session (attended by Tatjana Marinic) concludes and suggests that the Social Department should open new homes in order to solve the problem of child care. It also suggests that some homes be relocated from their present premises to, for instance, a school building (such as the High School in Klasnic) or to found new homes where children's shelters used to be. They

³¹ It seems that the most cruel was the headmistress of the home, s. Pulherija Barta, who was sister-in-law of the Ustasha Minister of Education Mile Budak. She fled the country after the war and lived in Austria, but was never charged for war crimes. Some other nuns even helped the partisans, such as the one that actually informed the resisters about the terrible conditions in Stara Gradiška concentration camp. Petešić, 67.

³² Croatian highest representative body on the territories liberated by the partisans. The Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) in 1943 proclaimed the new federal Yugoslav state comprised of six republics.

recommend accommodating pregnant women, breastfeeding mothers and sick children to homes and hospitals.

After the war ended in 1945, the Social welfare department took action and tried to organize children's protection. In the Dalmatian territory it took the following action: a children colony has been turned in to an establishment that served as a children's shelter, new children homes have been established, and people have been educated to run the institutions. Furthermore, already existing homes in Split and Kaštel Lukšić have been reorganized, kindergartens have been opened and provided with food, and families with children have been given a special food bonus. Anti-fascist Women's Front (AFŽ) has actively participated in actions of accommodating in children's homes.

As we can see from this example, when one talked about children's protection, in most cases it encompassed the care for parentless children. Care for the parentless children was organized through large institutions such as children's homes, and some estimates say that in 1945 approximately 5,000 children were cared for in 76 establishments. In Baška, for example, in 1945, a group of children's homes were organized which accommodated more than 3,000 children and youth.

Economic conditions in the homes were bad, the nutrition was poor, and the accommodation was inadequate and unhygienic. According to the statement from one of the witnesses, the children were poorly dressed, with a prison haircut. The Department of Social care attempted to raise the level of life quality and nourishment for the children, and the homes received financial aid, food and clothes. In order to raise the level of care for the children in children's homes, the Department thought it was necessary for a home to be managed by professional and educated people.

The data concerning the number of children left without single or both parents and the data about the total number of children accommodated in homes vary from source to source. I've come across a datum which shows that in 1948, a total of 9841 children have been included in some form of child care. The year 1954 marked the start of the initiative that would ensure such children received proper education, alongside with home accommodation. A large number of children were included in the process of foster homes, but the number gradually decreased. In that period, placing children in families had not been considered a part of the child care process. In 1952, 67 children were placed in families, and during the next 10 years, that number rose to a 1000 children. It is important to note that in that period, the State was being the main provider of all forms of social help.

We can say that during the observed period of time, the significance of the family within a society changed, when we talk about protection, care and help provided to the family members that needed it. Functions that had formerly been provided by extended families were gradually taken over by the institutions. That kind of development was especially present in large urban communities with accumulated problems that needed organized professional help.

In conclusion, similar reasons triggered the organization of child care in Croatia, during the period from 1945 to 1960. Circumstances such as families' poverty and bad housing conditions, endangerment of the child's health, legal or illegal status of children and war orphans intensified the need of organized child care. Society, and later the state, intervened in similar situations. They attempted to give financial assistance to families, advise them, and, if necessary, place children in institutions or in foster families.

Post-war reconstruction and building of socialist society

With the end of the war and the victory of Communist-led partisans, Yugoslavia became federative state comprised of six republics. As the country suffered vast destruction of infrastructure and loss of lives, the first task of the state was to organize rapid reconstruction of the country. In the same time, the Communist government's goal was to conduct massive industrialization of the country, which was effected through the first five-year plan, similarly as in the Soviet Union. Another land reform was proclaimed, with liquidation of large estates, nationalization of the land and attempts to organize the kolkhoz-style cooperatives. The masses of peasants were expected to become industrial workers during the biggest restructuring process in modern Southeast European history. The railways and roads were built by the young volunteers in the form of the working actions that were also seen as the tool of the building of a new, socialist youth. The regime also carried out the nationalization of property, leaving hundreds of entrepreneurs, owners and their families without their businesses, lands and big houses. The economy was firstly run in a form of state socialism (etatism), and later, in the 1960s, Yugoslavia developed its own economical and political system of self-management. The first post-war years were marked by a harsh suppression of the so-called "national enemies" (war criminals, collaborators, but also rich peasants and those who did not wholeheartedly welcomed the Communist regime) in a Stalinist fashion. After the Yugoslav Communists broke up with Stalin in 1948, they persecuted those Communists who stayed loyal to Stalin and the Soviet Union. Therefore, in the late 1940s and the 1950s the state held several penitentiaries for the opponents of the regime, who were later stigmatized and excluded from the society.

The new social policy and the new definition of the social work and its scope were different from earlier periods because they reflected the new ideology of Socialism. Following the Marxist explanation, the socialist state would resolve all social conflicts and problems, ensuring that everybody "gives according to her/his possibilities, and gains according to her/his needs". The existing social problems were hard to deny, but they were interpreted instead as the "relicts of the past", of the "old system" (Yugoslav kind of *ancien régime*). This became the basic doctrine of the social work that begun to develop as a profession in the 1950s. The state measures of social policy in contemporary terms were: "radical revolutionary measures (nationalization of the means of production), agrarian reform and colonization, compulsory purchase and distribution of food products, regulation of food prices, aid to devastated regions by planned building of villages and towns, quick building and distribution of apartments, increase in productivity, employment through public works, progressive taxation, social protection of children, invalids, civil victims of war, social and health insurance of employees and their families, planned construction."³³ Social protection in the narrow sense was therefore in the shadow of the large revolutionary measures, at least until 1955.

From 1945 to 1953, the main carrier of social care was the Ministry of Social Care of People's Republic of Croatia, which in 1951 changed its name to the Council for Public Health and Social Policy. The system of social care was at the beginning centralized, with the Ministry's representatives in regional, county, city, and community councils. After 1949, the process of decentralization started, in the form of transformation from state to social (collective) management.³⁴ Commissions for social care in regional national councils held responsibilities in guardianship, child care, protection of adults, and partially in protection of invalids. But the most important thing was that the socialist state monopolized the welfare from the civil society. In 1947, all private and non-governmental humanitarian organizations were dissolved, including all organizations we mentioned in this research and report. *Društvo covjecnosti*, the first humanitarian society in Croatia, was dissolved after hundred years of tradition. The civil society as it developed between two world wars was now radically erased, and was partially supplanted by the massive socialist "socio-political" organizations such as the Popular Front, the Antifascist Front of Women (renamed the Conference for social activities of women), the Red Cross, the society "Our Children", and veterans associations. The Ministry of Social Care organized educational courses for the (most often female) activists of these associations. But, as we will see later, the decentralization of social

³³ Škrbic, 234.

³⁴ In the rather complicated Yugoslav system of management, later fully developed as the so-called "self-management", the responsibility, ownership, and decisions were not properties of the state, but of the society itself, operating through various councils, committees, and self-managing interest communities (depending on the period).

care at the administrative level (from the state to the local level) specifically demanded systematic education of new professionals, leading to the establishment of the profession and the school for social workers. There was also need to depart from mostly administrative dealing with the clients problems to counseling and therapy. The first modern social center in the municipality was founded in 1959 in Pula, at the end of the researched period, marking thus the beginning of the new system of social work that is still operating today. The Republic Institute for Social Work (*Republički zavod za socijalni rad*), an institution for research of social problems and advance of social work was open on the 1st of January 1960.

Social problems in the late 1940s and the 1950s.

Immediately after the war, the social protection of children, including their schooling and training, was aimed to following categories: children of "fallen fighters of the National Liberation War", children of "victims of fascist terror", children of "war and military invalids", war orphans. Social problems are classified as:

- A. the problems inherited from the "old society", including old and disabled persons recruited from former peasant servants, housemaids and domestic servants, elderly farmers, persons with chronic illnesses, wanderers and beggars, poor landless peasants, and former convicts.
- B. the problems developed as consequence of war and post-war destruction, including children and youth without parental care, children of fallen fighters and victims of fascist terror, veterans with lost working ability, veterans from previous wars with lost working ability, families of fallen soldiers and victims of fascist terror.³⁵

In 1948, the numbers and structure of persons provided with some form of social protection were as follows:

- 10,055 persons were under guardianship (9841 minors and 1214 adults),
- 4133 children were included in 42 children homes,
- 416 children with special needs were included in 8 special institutions,
- 475 "neglected" children were included in 7 homes for "reeducation"
- 27,475 children and youth attended two-week summer camp
- 120,000 children received additional meals provided by the International Children Fund program,
- 64,194 persons received remuneration as war military invalids,

³⁵ Ante Matutinovic, "20 godina rada i djelovanja Saveza društava socijalnih radnika Hrvatske", in *Socijalni rad. Casopis za pitanja teorije i prakse socijalnog rada*, 1975, vol. 15, no. 3-4, p.6.

- 363 invalids attended educational programs in three special homes for war invalids,
- 851 invalids were employed in 64 companies for invalids,
- 2157 elderly persons lived in 36 retirement homes,
- another 5700 persons received remuneration
- around 800 visually and hearing-impaired youth and adults received special training and were employed.³⁶

Through the end of the 1950s, almost all of the children of fallen fighter and victims of fascist terror were included in school system, and by the 1965 all war invalids finished planned professional rehabilitation. In the next period, that was not covered in this research (after 1960), new social problems emerged as a result of rapid migration to the cities (dissolution of patriarchal family, employment of women and adaptation problems resulted in problems inside families, alcoholism, juvenile delinquency, prostitution etc.).

Care for delinquent children

After the Second World War the homes for children with behavioral problems existed in Sisak, Jastrebarsko, Gornja Reka, Stara Gradiška, Jabkovac, Zagreb, Korenica, Gornji Mihanovac, Guca, Požega, Ivanjica, Kosjeric, Banja Bašta. In First Constitution from 1946, Articles 24 and 26 regulated care for children and youth under the criminal law (obligatory and free primary school and health care, equal rights for children born in and out of wedlock). In 1947 The National front of the city of Zagreb founded «Children's rooms» for caring of youth who vagabonded on the streets of the cities. The first institution of that kind was formed in Katanciceva Street 3 and was called *Djecje sklonište* (Child shelter). Two pedagogues were employed as well as one administrator and two technicians. Institution would take children who came alone or where sent from school, social organization or municipality boards. The most important problem was poor educational level. This institution came under the protection of Department for education and social care of children and changed its name to *Omladinsko prihvatilište* (Youth reception center). The institution accepted youth who abandoned school, who lived in difficult social circumstances, youth who would vagabond, steal, make criminal activities. In 1952 this institution together with another institution called Reception center in Mihanoviceva Street founded one institution. This new institution had a bookbinder workshop where the youth could work. From 1947 to 1957 it took care of 4,519 juveniles. At that time, the institution employed pedagogue, psychologist, social worker, psychiatrist, medical doctor, teacher and workshop professional.

³⁶ Matutinovic, 6-7.

Criminal law recognized three sanctions for juveniles: open type institution for delinquents, closed type institution, and mixed closed and medical type institution. In using institutional care for children and youth who show behavioral disturbances, the professionals take care to use institutional care as a last mean when other measure did not show results. The first professional seminar for pedagogical workers in the institutions for neglected children and youth was held in 1953. It was emphasized that work with children and youth should be individual, their opinion should be considered (the former practice of shaving of all hair after entering the institution had to change), and there was a need for musical and sexual education. Researches among delinquent children and youth showed that the most common causes of delinquency were disturbances in family caused by father's alcoholism, vagabonding of mother, both parents working, sickness and poverty. Work with children was based on group work, therapeutic work and behavioral therapy. The goal of the treatment was personal identification, intra and inter group relationships, fulfilling of emotional needs. In 1954 the second seminar of that kind was conducted, and on this seminar some conclusions were made: there was a need for this kind of seminars at least two times a year, professionals discussed different kinds of moral education of neglected children and youth, there was a need for cooperation and exchange of experience with other countries, need for foreign literature, the issue of opening mail of children and youth who are in this institutions was discussed, the problem about the future of children and youth when they go out of these institutions and need the employment, a question whether to allow smoking cigarettes in the institutions or not, a need for connecting the institutions with social surroundings, need for individual work with children and youth. In 1954 an Institute for research in the area of neglected and delinquent children and youth is open. The view on delinquent behavior is changed and there was more research. The law begun to take into consideration the juvenile's age, circumstances of criminal act, and causes of delinquency, while the law response should be healing and treatment of causes of delinquency. With the goal of better understanding the causes and delinquency, an experimental procedure and case approach was developed.

In institutions and homes the emphasis was on case work and group work, division by sex, age, and etiology, need for small structure and as much as possible like a family (in homes in Mali Lošinj, Selce, Lovran). There were three types of institution system: Children's village, Family Home and Family groups. Problem of integration of these homes in community was much emphasized; there was a need for both men and women to be employed and work with children to create more natural environment, or more like a family. Three systems are possible: authoritative system, social-pedagogic system (members of group form regulations themselves) and special types of homes

(combination of different systems: eclectic system, individual-pedagogic system, special system – a combination of individual, group-therapeutic therapy, systems for observation).

Educational systems in institutions are mostly mixed type. Each had its positive and negative sides. Family system, for instance, can develop authoritative way of leadership. In homes there was still patriarchal way of leadership. Any new way of work or new method would bring the problems. Historically looking, treatments in Homes were changing due to the results of researches on connections to causes of delinquent behavior. The first phase of understanding of delinquent behavior as a result of genetic brings to a sanction as the only way of treating; the second phase was marked with psychological and psychiatric approach as well as the treatment in homes. In the third phase developmental understanding of group work and therapy as well as modern way of work was developed. Social behavior of children and youth in regard to home care was changed from patriarchal system to manipulative society. All homes provided basic education; some provided vocational training. The problem was the care for youth after leaving the institution. Young person should be put again in the family or community from where it was taken out, but the problem was that members of the community tried to avoid contact of their children and themselves with this youth. This so-called “caring after institution” should be provided by social service, private persons or home members.

There was also a need for differentiation of homes according to the structure of juveniles, a need for decentralization of homes and a need for permanent education of professionals. The classification of deviant behavior was made. It was defined as behavior which breaks norms and regulations made by community, as non-acceptable behavior which needs to be sanctioned. There are institutional and out of institutional ways of society's reaction. Prevention would be the best, but if intervention is needed then it should be maximal help with minimal labeling. The types of therapy in work with children and youth were group work, therapeutic community, psychomotor and behavioral therapy.

A differential treatment in institution makes a difference because it takes care of person, its needs and capabilities. The main characteristic of differential treatment is preparing and structuring the surrounding which will have the best effect on the person in treatment. Person is observed and put in some kind of differential treatment: first degree, second degree or third degree of social functioning. Free time should be in the function of treatment of juvenile delinquents. Permanent supervision is needed in work with youth of that kind.

First Croatian educational program in social work

Although the tradition of educating social workers in Croatia is much shorter than in other western European countries, in the area of southeast Europe Croatia has the longest tradition. First educational program for social work in Yugoslavia started operating in 1952 in Zagreb. **The High School for Social Workers in Zagreb** was the key and testing institution for development of education for social workers in whole Yugoslavia. Academic Eugen Pusic, one of founders of the High School for Social Workers, lays out interesting observations about the fact why exactly in Croatia was the first educational program for social workers formed in this region:

Croatia had a strong legal, pedagogical and medical tradition, and it had a good tradition of volunteering charity organizations. There was the knowledge and will to go forward in that direction. But what most likely was the key thing is that we had in Croatia what others did not have, one group of social activists that participated in the resistance movement and the national liberation struggle. Here I'm referring to people such as Tatjana Marinic, Jana Koch and Valerija Singer. ... The prevalent concept was that destiny of men depended on great social changes... Every approach on the individual level was considered wrong, an indicator of bourgeois individualism. If capitalism is brought down and socialism is instituted, then there are no longer any social problems. This opposition to education of social workers was insurmountable to all except to us in Croatia, above all because of partisan women that were active in that regard.³⁷

High Professional School for Social Workers (*Viša stručna škola za socijalne radnike*) was founded by the decree of the Government of the People's Republic of Croatia on 17th November 1952. Since 1957 this school was called High School for Social Workers (*Viša škola za socijalne radnike*) as a two-year educational program.³⁸ From today's perspective I would like to pay attention to wide preparations for its founding, which lasted for several years and included, for the time, very strong international cooperation. Even before founding of the High School its founders spent several months at study trips to the countries of Western Europe and the USA, while dr. Erna Sailer, acting as the UN expert, was sent to Zagreb to help with founding of school for social workers. A precious document that depicts this era is *Spomenica Više škole za socijalne radnike*³⁹ (Memoir of the High School for Social Workers), written by one of the founders of the School, professor Kamilo Bresler.

³⁷ Eugen Pusic, "Povijest socijalnog rada u Hrvatskoj", *Ljetopis Studijskog centra socijalnog rada* vol. 11, no. 1, 2004. Academic Pusic was interviewed in the framework of this project.

³⁸ D. Milinkovic et al., *25 godina rada Više škole za socijalne radnike* (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1977).

³⁹ Kamilo Bresler started to write down in *Spomenica Više škole za socijalne radnike* on June 27, 1954, on the occasion of the founding of the Association of Social Workers of Croatia in Zagreb. He used a thick, hard-cover notebook, titled *Spomenica Više škole za socijalne radnike* on its cover, to write down the events important for the development of the profession of social work in Croatia, and to glue some important documents in it. This is one of the key historical sources about the beginnings of education and development of the profession of social work in Croatia. *Spomenica* is kept in the library of the Center for the Study of Social work.

As we can see from *Spomenica*, the immediate occasion for the foundation of the High School for Social Workers was the decision of decentralization and democratization from 1952. That practically meant that whole range of affairs that were until then performed centrally at the level of state bodies of the Republic (Croatia) was transferred into the competency of bodies at the local community level, that is into the competency of county and city people's councils. This required a solid education of large numbers of young experts for work in local communities, which is clearly stated in the Explanation for the founding of the High School for Social Workers (*Obrazloženje za osnutak Više stručne škole za socijalne radnike*) from 1952⁴⁰:

*In the area of the People's Republic of Croatia there is around 200,000 persons (children, young, adults, disabled, old people, permanently ill and persons incapable for work, etc...) that are benefiting from any form of social protection. For this purposes around 15 billion dinars are spent annually. ... Expenditures of these substantial financial means are regulated by advanced socialist laws and regulations of our country. However, applications of these laws are governed by personnel that is not up to the task, which leads to improper application of the law and irregular usage of the above mentioned substantial finances. Therefore it is necessary to start forming the High School for Social Workers in Zagreb, and in that way to form a profession of social workers that will be able to correctly implement advanced socialist legislation and to rationally manage large finances that our country is putting aside in the field of social protection for better life of our working people. ... I would like to add that 367 of such schools exist in 45 various countries, as well as that our country representative in the UN gave an obligation that **such a school will be formed in our country in the shortest possible time.***

Minister – President of the Council for public health and social policy of the Government of the People's Republic of Croatia

It is interesting to see how this era and the decision of forming the High School for Social Workers is depicted by academic Eugen Pusic, one of its founders:

The question of what was the explanation of the need for founding the School for Social Work is very important. A decisive argument was – casualties of war. Casualties of war belonged in the period of reconstruction, it was a period of up to five years after the war, with the mottos such as “While there is reconstruction – there is no rest” and other. When that is over, it is time for

⁴⁰ Transcript of the original document can be found in Marina Ajdukovic (ed.), *50 godina studija za socijalni rada 1952.-2002.* (Zagreb: Pravni fakultet, Studijski centar socijalnog rada, 2002), pp. 19-20.

industrialization and nationalization. However, during that period we managed to convince wider public that it was not true; that there are problems caused by war that were not going away. There are invalids that will be invalids for the rest of their lives. There are people that lost their homes that they will never get back because they lack the means to rebuild them. There are people that will be swept by the wave of industrialization and urbanization. Peasants were forcefully moved to work in factories. Many problems arose when it happened that half of the family was in the city and half was in the village, and hundreds of other problems. That was the argument that “worked”. Because it was so obvious that it existed. Those were the problems that were not easily predicted how long they would last and we needed people that would be able to help in such cases and that required a special education. (Pusic, 2004)

It is important to highlight social orientation and good planning of School’s work from the very beginning. Not only the classes were held inside the school, but the building was specially modified to serve as students' residence. This allowed the selection of the very best candidates from whole of Croatia and even wider, whose financial standing therefore could not impede their study. First generation counted 34 students, of which 15 were women. Unfortunately of those 15 two left the school during second semester. Students came from all parts of Yugoslavia.

The effect of introducing education of social workers in the society during that period is well illustrated by the opinion of academic Pusic:

Introduction of the profession of social worker brought about the humanization of administration in general. Before that, people looked at documents and assumed that the job of administration was to manage the documents. Therefore a clerk waited for a document to come in front of him so he can read it and decide what to do with it. That someone would go out and see what is happening was unimaginable. Profession of social worker humanized administration. ... And the third and most important effect of the introduction of the profession of social work was the support of humanity and brotherhood. Among the wider strata it promoted the idea that human as such is valuable, not because of his/her position, wealth or influence, but human as such, as individual. Therefore, this benefit of accepting equality as an ideal that we still have not realized and may never will, made the social worker, and his/her surrounding, strong in struggle for justice and humanity. And that is a big thing. (Pusic, 2004).

First social workers, 41 of them, have graduated from the High School for Social Workers in 1955. Up until 1960 there were 221 graduates. Of that number, 83 (37.5%) were women. By the end of

September 2005, a meeting with social workers that have graduated during that period is planned, in cooperation with the veterans of social work, professor dr. Slavko Klaric and professor Božo Skeledžija.

The Society of social workers of Croatia was founded in 1955, with 253 delegates. In the same year the new journal was launched, *Zbornik socijalni rad* (published firstly once a year, and quarterly from 1960).

A biography: Tatjana Marinic

Introduction

Tatjana Marinic's life followed and reflected, in the full sense of the word, the development patterns of the 20th century, its heaviness and vulnerability, but also its search for a new social order which would resolve the huge problems of society, guided by human and legal principles of equality, solidarity and freedom.

The choice to dedicate this contribution to Tatjana Marinic is not casual: her life touches three significant social periods – the pre-war Croatia during the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and later of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Croatia and a wider social area during World War II, and post-war Yugoslavia where radical changes occurred, affecting the approach to social issues as well as the general formulation of social policies.

Childhood, Youth and World War I

Tatjana Marinic was born at the turn of the last century, on February 7th 1897 in Slavonska Požega (Eastern Croatia), in a region whose natural potential should offer a rich agricultural environment but which could not offer any economical or social security to a working class family with many children, such as was Đuro Marinic's and his wife Marina Duic's. Tatjana was their thirteenth child. Already as a little girl, Tatjana took to reading and expressed her wish to acquire knowledge. She attended school in Osijek and Zagreb. In order to support herself through her education, she worked in a shoe factory in Nova Ves in Zagreb. She was a young worker when she joined the Social-Democratic Party of Croatia and Slavonia. On the eve of World War I, she enrolled the teacher-training school but was prevented from continuing by the war events. Many men had to leave for the frontline, causing a dramatic shortage of teaching personnel; the system was forced to use

female and undergraduates, too. Therefore, just a trifle more than a child herself, Tatjana Marinic was appointed in a school in the village Poljanska, near Slavonska Požega, where she introduced changes, restored order and paid more attention to hygienic aspects of the premises; she also opened a refectory for pupils coming from far away villages. Already in this first contact with people in need Tatjana developed a particular sensibility for noticing social problems, but she also realized that she could count only on her forces and on her own strenuous work to find the answers. That realization would be the guideline of her life, no matter what her later positions in society might be, when she would lead the institutions in charge for development and promotion of social work.

Interwar period

After the end of World War I Tatjana Marinic returned to Zagreb and graduated at the State Teachers' School. The post-war period was extremely significant for her professional and political formation, but also for her emotional ripening and her life as a young woman. At that time, in 1919, she met Antun Branko Šimic, one of the leading poets of Croatian Literary Modernism. That encounter generated real love; the poet dedicated to her his most beautiful love poems and gave her the name Tatjana, which she kept until her death, instead of her real name, Josipa. The relationship between Tatjana Marinic and Antun Branko was interrupted by the poet's premature death due to the typical illness of the epoch, tuberculosis, on 2nd May, 1925. That loss left a deep trace in Tatjana Marinic. The testimony of their relationship and of the difficult circumstances in which it developed is in their intimate correspondence, out of which nine letters remained.⁴¹ After her fiancé's death, Tatjana, as she herself phrased once, "put all her being and energy into working for the party".⁴²

The period during World War I and immediately afterwards was a significant emancipatory laboratory for women. The patriarchal way of life in families and society gradually changed and women started getting public jobs, attending schools and universities; women's organizations were founded, especially of middle class origin. The activity of these organizations was slowly transformed in order to adapt to new problems and issues coming up. The benefactresses' work on taking care of war orphans, invalids and families left without their sole providers stood out in its full extent. At the same time, many female workers started to join the workers' movement.

⁴¹ See in: Mirko Rogošic, *Ljubavna pisma hrvatskih književnika, Antologija* (Love Letters of Croatian Writers), Stvarnost, Zagreb, 1984, and in: Antun Branko Šimic, *Sabrana djela, II. Proza II. (Collected Works II, Prose II)* (edited by Dubravko Jelcic), Dom i svijet, Zagreb 1998.

⁴² Antun Branko Šimic, *Sabrana djela, II. Proza II (Collected Works II, Prose II)* (edited by D. Jelcic), Dom i svijet, Zagreb 1998, p. 646.

In spite of these modifications, after the creation of the common state of all Yugoslav nations, the political position of the marginal social strata, especially women, did not change radically. Unemployment caused by the war, the increasing costs of living, and the question of real wages profoundly enhanced the union movement and the spreading of Communist ideas. The difficult position of women immediately after World War I led them to join en masse the revolutionary movements throughout Yugoslavia. Thus, Tatjana Marinic as a student learned about the ideas of the Left, met the progressive youth and, already in 1919, joined the Workers' Party of Yugoslavia (Communists). At the party school she attended in Zagreb (Varšavska St.), she had teachers such as Đuka Cvijic⁴³, Miroslav Krleža⁴⁴ and Vladimir Copic⁴⁵, among others. As one of her later biographs stated, those were the days of tough political fight, "days of underground work for the party, days of burning for the ideals of the proletarian revolution. All day long she was engaged in party tasks, working with women, working with groups in factories, with party skills. She cooperated tightly with August Cesarec⁴⁶, Nikola Hecimovic⁴⁷, Anka Butorac and others». ⁴⁸ Let's also add Ognjen

⁴³ Đuro Đuka Cvijic, journalist and revolutionary born in Zagreb in 1896. In 1918 he joins the socialist movement and becomes one of the most eminent leader of the left wing of labor movement in Croatia. Since 1920 became member of Central Council of Socialist Party and Secretary of Regional session of KPJ in Zagreb. For his revolutionary activities he was arrested several times and condemned to prison. After the «Obznana» (see the note no. 16) he became secretary of the International Committee of KP in Vienna. In 1926 he was elected to the leading position of the Yugoslavian Communist Party as secretary general but in 1928 the left fraction of the Party was criticized and Cvijic was removed from his position. In 1932 he is again in Vienna and in Moscow. In 1938 he disappeared in Stalin's purges and only in 1963 he was rehabilitated by the Supreme Military Court of SSSR.

⁴⁴ Miroslav Krleža (1893-1981), the most renowned Croatian writer with deep pro-Yugoslav feelings, broad-minded humanist. He wrote poetry, prose, drama, essays and novels of an extremely high artistic level. A point of reference for the revolutionary intelligentsia between the two world wars. His cosmopolitan spirit has left its mark in 20th century Yugoslav literature overthrowing provincialism and extreme nationalist myths.

⁴⁵ Vladimir Copic was born in Senj (Croatian coastal area) in 1891 in a family of mixed ethnic background. A prominent leftist intellectual he became a member of the Communist Party in 1919 and won a seat to Yugoslavia's Constituent Assembly. After the Yugoslav government banned the KPJ, the regime brought Copic to trial a number of times for his political work. The last trial occurred in 1925 after Copic returned from Moscow as a delegate to the Comintern's III Congress. In 1932 Copic became a member of KPJ's Politburo. In 1937 he volunteered to fight for the Popular Front government during the Spanish Civil War where was appointed commander of the XV International Brigade. He remained in charge of the Brigade until June 1948 when was recalled to Moscow, arrested and condemned to death by Soviet Military Collegium on April 19th, 1939.

⁴⁶ August Cesarec (1893-1941), writer, revolutionary, convicted for his outlaw left-wing militancy already in 1921. Released, he dedicated himself to literary and journalist work and founded, together with Miroslav Krleža, the militant literary journal "Plamen" ["Flame"]. After the magazine had been banned and after another arrest he escapes to Prague. In 1922 he participated at the congress of the Communist International in Moscow. In 1923 he founded another literary journal, "Književna republika" ["Literary Republic"] where he published his impressions on Russia. He translated from Russian, French, Czech and German. He participated in the debate "Psychoanalysis and Individual Psychology". He wrote novels, short stories, and articles about cultural and social problems where he condemned injustice suffered by the working class. Such writing caused several arrests until 1934 when he left illegally to the Soviet Union where he stayed for three years. In 1937 he traveled through France to Spain where he joins the left-wing international brigades. After his return to Yugoslavia he was arrested again. In prison he translated Capital. In July 1941 he was shot by Ustasha on his unsuccessful attempt to escape from the prison of Kerestinec.

⁴⁷ Nikola Hecimovic, (1900 – 1929), well-respected communist, studied at Commercial Academy in Zagreb. In 1920 he is in Prague where continues his studies. In 1921 he returned to Zagreb and became one of the founders of SKOJ (League of Yugoslav Communist Youth). In 1921 Hecimovic enters in Council of International Workers Red Aid and the same year he became secretary of Red Aid of Yugoslavia. After the announcement of the King's dictatorship (decree "Obznana", see the note no 16) and the prohibition of Communist Party and of trade union organizations, he was exposed to frequent persecutions. Arrested and tortured, he was killed together with the secretary of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia Đuro Đakovic and the so-called seven secretaries of SKOJ on 25th April 1929.

Prica's name⁴⁹ to this list of left wing intellectuals and revolutionaries of extreme moral strength, who influenced the development of the workers' and leftist's movement in Croatia.

Social turmoil spread in the country. In the beginning of the same year there was the first demonstration of the working class in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where a general strike was proclaimed on February 21st, 1919. Among the strikers, the most outstanding ones were women who demanded the right to vote, among the other demands. In Croatia, almost all the trade union organized women participated at the meetings of the Social-democratic Party that were held in the middle of March. Particularly revolutionary standpoints were expressed by women from Dalmatia: "We, women, present in the socialist circle today, solemnly declare that we shall not allow to be exploited and fooled by the selfish representatives of capitalist and feudal societies. [...] We, women, shall not stand by any more, but shall enter into the fight, side by side with our brothers and our husbands, for the major ideals of Communism."⁵⁰

Many women took an active part in strikes led by the working class in that period⁵¹. At the same time, international connections of the workers' movement became stronger and stronger. In March 1919 the founding congress of the Communist International was held and the "Resolution of Drawing Working Women towards Fight for Socialism" was approved. In the beginning of December 1923, led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (KPJ), Red Aid of Yugoslavia was founded, a legal humanitarian organization, whose Central Committee included also women. Tatjana Marinic was an engaged promoter in this turbulent period that gave birth to self-conscience

⁴⁸ Stanka Mihelcic, Sjecanje na Život i rad Tatjane Marinic povodom osnivanja nagrade Tatjane Marinic, (Remembering life and work of Tatjana Marinic at the Founding of 'Tatjana Marinic Award'), in: "Socijalni rad, Casopis za pitanja teorije i prakse socijalnog rada", "Social Work, Magazine of Social Work in Theory and Practice" no. 3-4, Zagreb, 1975

⁴⁹ Ognjen Prica (1899-1941), professor and journalist, political militant. He studied mathematics and physics in Vienna and Zagreb. A member of KPJ (Yugoslav Communist Party) since 1921. Since 1927 a member of Regional Committee of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Since 1928-1929 editor-in-chief of the left wing paper "Borba". After the paper had been banned, he was arrested and convicted in the prison of Lepoglava. During his stay in prison he worked with other left-wing convicts and translates The Communist Manifesto and Materialism And Empirio-Criticism by Lenin. He was executed on July 9, 1941.

⁵⁰ "Radnicke novine, glasilo Socijaldemokratske stranke Dalmacije" ("Workers' Newspaper, bulletin of the Social Democratic Party of Dalmatia"), Volume 17, Split, 29 March 1919.

⁵¹ Generally they were organized through trade unions by occupational trade unions (in which the most visible activist were women from textile industry). In April 1919 in the framework of Yugoslav Socialist Labor Party started with its activity Central Secretary of Socialist-Communist Women, the agency considered to be a «technical-executive council responsible for women's activism and organization» (see in Jovanka Kecman, p. 78). In the '20es Regional Secretariats of Women Communists were created and in 1923 the Yugoslav Central Labor Trade Union Council (CRSOJ), the body active in organizing protest-meetings and strikes against low salaries and high cost of living, was founded. The first Youth Session of Women's Movement in Zagreb was created under narrow influence of the party at the beginning of 1934 and in the meantime, in different urban centers, women's reviews started to be published: «Women today» (Belgrade), «Women's World» (Zagreb), «Our Women» (Ljubljana). These reviews will play a significant role in women's education and their acquaintance of life and struggle of progressive women in the world. In the same period the Alliance of Women's Movement in Yugoslavia will develop its activities and many militant of the Alliance will participate in international meetings and women congresses.

of the workers' movement but also exposed its leading members to an increasing political and police pressure. Already during her studies, Tatjana militated in companies and factories with organization of groups of sympathizing women, which were accepted in the Communist Party later on. The work with women in Zagreb was organized in the factories „Frank“, „Domaca Tvornica Rublja“, „Union“, mostly in alimentary, in textile and tobacco industries. Apart from Tatjana Marinic, the names of the militants and students Zlata Miler, Jelena and Zora Nikolic, Anka Butorac, Barica Debeljak and Lucija Borjan Jurin⁵² must be mentioned. At that time (1927) Tatjana married the political secretary of the Central Committee of the KPJ, Đuka Cvijic, and frequently shared with him the destiny of outstanding underground activists.⁵³

⁵² Workers and intellectuals, left-wing militants in the outlaw party work, for which they were often arrested and maltreated. Zora Nikolic, university graduate in philosophy, was condemned in 1936 for the membership in an association that propagated communism and kept contacts between communists and outlaw party leaders. Jelena Nikolic, student of medicine with communist views, was active after 1927, when the Commissions for Work with Women were founded, as an official of the Zagreb party organization among garment workers, she held meetings and worked for independent trade unions. In 1934 she stood out as a delegate of the KPJ at the World Congress of Women against War and Fascism held in Paris. The Congress formed a World Committee of Women for Activity against War and Fascism and Nikolic was its member with the pseudonym Mira Pamic. At the Congress a directive was adopted to create commissions for working with women against war and fascism, the immanent dangers of that time, in all the countries of the world. Barica Debeljak, food industry worker, a member of the Central Workers' Trade Union Committee, worked with founding commissions for working among women, reported about her work to the Local Workers' Trade Union Council (Josip Broz Tito was one of the members) and followed the work of commissions founded in Belgrade, Zagreb, Subotica, Novi Sad. Together with Zora Nikolic and Anka Butorac she traveled in 1935-36 in the Soviet Union where she attended the Communist University for Western National Minorities and the female course at the International Lenin School.

Anka Butorac, garment worker, started militating in a Zagreb underwear factory; a member of the party since 1924, since 1925 a member of the trade union and since 1927 of the Central Board of the Garment Industry and Handicraft Workers' Union. Active in the work of the commission for the work with women. Persecuted and arrested several times for her revolutionary work. In 1929 sentenced to one year of hard labor. In 1935 sent to the Soviet Union for schooling. After her return she tried to reach Spain together with other voluntaries but was arrested again. In 1940 she became a member of the Central Committee of the KPH [Croatian Communist Party] and was arrested one more time in August of the same year. Convicted in Lepoglava she was transferred several times to other Ustasha prisons. In December 1941 she escaped from the prison in Koprivnica, returned to Zagreb and joined the partisans in 1942. In the same year she was heavily wounded by the Ustasha forces, arrested and dies under torture on January 19, 1942. Declared a National Hero.

Zlata Miler, student of medicine, active in the work of Independent Trade Unions with sympathizing leftist groups in Zagreb, especially with the food industry female workers (among which also Barica Debeljak). Gathering female workers in sympathizing groups served also for the preparation of her membership in the KP. After the war Miler published a contribution on her work in the party with the title "Student Fractions, Forty Years" in the Collection of Memories of the Militants of the Yugoslav Revolutionary Workers' Movement (Belgrade, 1960).

Lucija Borjan-Jurin, active in the work of the United Trade Union Coalition of Yugoslavia (URSSJ), 10 % of whose members were women, at the beginning of 1930's. At the assembly of URSSJ in Zagreb on February 11, 1934, Lucija Borjan-Jurin held a speech about female employment and about their wages which were 15-30 % less than those received by men, specifying that wages in general are far lower than minimally necessary and cannot assure satisfaction of essential life necessities with negative health consequences. Also active in Youth Female Section which prepared the Assembly for the Right to Vote (held on October 20, 1934) where she pronounced a harsh criticism of war and fascism. As a member of Youth Female Section she took the initiative of connecting with women's movements in other towns and went to lectures in Banja Luka (Bosnia) and Novi Sad (Serbia).

For complete information about biographies of quoted women see in: Jovanka Kecman, *Žene Jugoslavije u radničkom pokretu i ženskim organizacijama 1918 – 1941* (Yugoslav Women in Workers' Movement and Women's Organizations 1918-1941), Narodna Knjiga, Modern History Institute, Belgrade 1978.

⁵³ Like many other militant women, due to her role in the worker's movement and her participation in activities promoted by the Communist party, Tatjana Marinic was arrested, imprisoned and exposed to physical and psychological torture. In order to escape the persecution of the regime Marinic was living in exile in Austria and in USSR together with her husband, a leading personality of the Communist party.

A significant part of Tatjana Marinic's biography was formed at the time when women ceased to be 'invisible' but there was no essential change in the patriarchal-authoritarian complex of the whole culture, including also the political culture.⁵⁴

On December 29th, 1920, by the proclamation of Obznana⁵⁵ the work of the KPJ was banned, the premises of union organizations were closed, union and party archives confiscated, their whole publishing activity suspended. The pressure of the absolutistic government in Yugoslavia came to a climax in 1929 with the introduction of a system of open dictatorship and terror, which profoundly transformed the social, and the political life of the country.

King Aleksandar Karadordevic carried out a coup on 6th January, he abolished the 1921 Constitution, dismissed the National Parliament and banned political parties. The '6th January dictatorship' attacked the workers' movement with all its means, especially the members of the underground KPJ, who were persecuted even more severely by the police, by arrests, torture, assassinations in prisons and out of them.

Tatjana Marinic was arrested more than once and battered heavily by the police in Zagreb. She was also fired from the Geophysical Institute where she worked at that time. The physical consequences of the beatings, were so serious – especially the spine injury – that she was sent by the Zagreb branch of the KPJ to be cured in Austria.

After the cure, Tatjana Marinic stayed in Vienna where she continued to work for the Party. In that period she was sent twice on a mission to the USSR, where she met, among other revolutionaries and members of the Comintern, Maxim Gorky, Clara Zetkin and Nadezhda Krupskaya. On her return to Yugoslavia in 1934 she was arrested already at the Zagreb railway station. Going in and out of prison was nothing new for Tatjana Marinic, who always found strength, in the meanwhile, to save starving children, organize their lodging, take care about their schooling. But Tatjana's interests were not limited to only practical activity; she continued all the while to work on her education, studying and yearning to transfer the most modern scientific achievements to Croatia for their application in the country.

⁵⁴ About inequality of women's position in the society in that period and about efforts made already in 1925, at the foundation assembly of the first feminist association in Zagreb, Women's Movement, to claim the right to vote as the essential, even if not sufficient condition of their entrance into public life on equality basis, see in: Lydia Sklevicky, *Konji, žene, ratovi* ("Horses, Women, Wars"), Ženska infoteka, Zagreb 1996.

⁵⁵ Decree of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which involved severe restrictions of the citizens' democratic rights.

During her stay in Vienna and in the USSR Tatjana Marinic carefully followed the developments in pedagogy and psychology, whose extraordinary contribution to the evolution of social sciences and disciplines became the dominant guideline of the time.

Tatjana Marinic's stay in Vienna coincided with the Socialist government in Austria, with a surge in progress of welfare, the area that became the object of Tatjana's studies. She visited with large interest institutes for children, sat in attended for days at schools, nursery schools and kindergartens and old people's homes. She attended lectures by Sigmund Freud and the psychologists Charlotte and Karl Bühler, always trying to learn more. Her experience in psychology and pedagogy was included in the debate on those disciplines carried on by the left wing intelligentsia in Zagreb, gathered around Dr Beno Stein.⁵⁶

Those discussions were centered upon a choice between Freud and Adler, determining which of the two psychological conceptions was more compatible with the dialectic materialism.⁵⁷ Leading national authors such as Mirko Kus-Nikolajev⁵⁸, Beno Stein, Vera Ehrlich Stein⁵⁹, Zvonimir

⁵⁶ Highly educated internationally oriented intellectuals belonging to Zagreb liberal middle class, often of Jewish origins, followed the mainstream impulses of European discourse and developed their own ideas contributing to the exceptionally open debate and exchange of thoughts about historical materialism and the reception of psychoanalysis and of individual psychology in the country.

Beno Stein, well known internist and antifascist, focused his professional interest on the theory of medicine in a historical-materialistic perspective. Between the two World Wars Stein gathered in Zagreb a circle of left oriented intellectuals and emigrants who, after Hitler's ascent to power, were leaving Germany and were actively contributing to the debate on the question if the Marxism is closer to Freud's or Alfred Adler's theory. Frequent guests in this circle were Miroslav Krleža, Josip Broz Tito, Rodoljub Colakovic, August Cesarec, Manes Sperber. With his wife Vera Stein Ehrlich, Beno Stein founded the first Working Community for Individual Psychology in Yugoslavia where was applied Adler's method.

⁵⁷ Božo Kovacevic, Psihoanaliza i ljevica (Psychoanalysis and the Left), especially the chapter: "Psihoanaliza i individualna psihologija u Zagrebu" (Psychoanalysis and Individual Psychology in Zagreb), Biblioteka Suvremene teme, August Cesarec, Zagreb, 1989, pp. 63-117

⁵⁸ Mirko Kus-Nikolajev, curator of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb, publisher of wide span and eminent social democrat. He considered Adler's teaching in accord with dialectical materialism. After the influence of Engel's book «The Origin of Family, Private Propriety and State» and of Bebel's «Women and Socialism», he focused his interest on defending social morality and espying the false morality of the ruling middle class. He was partisan of Alexandra Kolontay's radical ideas. In applied individual psychology he saw the possibility of conveying the proletariat to Marxism and found the answer to the question on how to build a conscience of the working class and on how to humanize life.

⁵⁹ Vera Ehrlich Stein, worldwide known pedagogue completed her studies of psychology in Vienna and spent some time in Berlin learning contemporary pedagogical methods. In 1933 Ehrlich Stein published in Zagreb the book entitled "Kolektivni rad u suvremenoj školi" (Collective Work in Modern School, ed. Minerva) in which she diffused the projective method applied in Berlin's Aufbanschule. Her pedagogy was engaged in trying to answer the question if psychology can influence social sciences and bring changes into society. She criticized Maria Montessori's method considering it lacking the realistic view on social conflictualities. With her husband Beno Stein she actively participated in the European intellectual discourse between the two wars. After the II World War she spent a long time in USA and when returned to the country, she published one of the most important studies on the transformation of Yugoslav family, the outcome of her work started since the 1930s.

Richtmann⁶⁰, Rikard Pohorsky tried to point out that the development of science is conditioned by the society and the importance of a wider social context for the progress of pedagogy.

The followers of Adler's theory argue that ethic is conditioned socially and consider the difference between the individual and middle-class moral and the collectivist working class moral insurmountable by demonstrating that the working class changes from the object to the subject of history. In order to build a collectivist working class moral, an adequate upbringing must be implemented, whose main task is to stimulate a feeling that would not result in neurotic pursuit of power but in socially acceptable behavior.

Freud's supporters tried to overwhelm the confrontation of psychoanalysis and individual psychology by some kind of synthesis but their utmost concern was to prove Freud's psychoanalysis as an exact science.

Tatjana felt, both in Vienna and in the USSR, the stimuli of the mainstreams of European thoughts, which resulted in her intellectual involvement. She desired the scientific achievements of the world, especially those in the domain of pedagogy, to be rationally and critically examined and applied in her own country. Even later, in her mature age, she continued studying and translating from Russian works in those fields. As others would say about her:

“She does not know whether it is day or night; in her whole life she generously deals out the richness of her experience to her co-workers and to the younger generations.”⁶¹

Faithful to the idea of caring for proletarian children, Tatjana Marinic, after coming out of prison, was employed in the National Health and Social Welfare Department of the Autonomous Banovina of Croatia. In this position she searched for help to improve the hard social situation in the passive rural surroundings of Zagreb, and she founded a school kitchen for poor children in the village Rude near Samobor, in a region affected by rickets and tuberculosis. The support she was awarded was minimal (only 5.000 dinars) but it did not discourage her. With the help of the headmistress and other women and girls from the area, she founded, apart from the kitchen, a kind of pre-school

⁶⁰ Zvonimir Richtmann together with Rikard Podhorsky tried to point at the causality between science and society. Richtmann was aware of reaches of modern physics and their consequences in philosophy. As one of the best connoisseur of Freud's psychoanalysis, he tried to demonstrate its scientific nature. He is one of the representatives of monistic-materialistic philosophical stream and is well known for his attempt to establish psychoanalysis in a materialistic perspective. Insisting on the dialectic character of natural processes he develops his reflections on the meaning of psychoanalysis in a social and historical framework. Podhorsky considers that dialectics does not describe natural processes but it does describe the modality of change of theories about the nature. He writes on the necessary links between rational, unconscious and social.

⁶¹ Stanka Mihelcic, op.cit. p. 21

institution on the ground floor of a private house, which later grew into a 'little school', as it was named by the local inhabitants.

Contemporarily, Tatjana Marinic was active in more than one association; let us mention two of them.

The first one is the Red Aid, where she spent much energy for collecting contributions. Its funds were divided in several sectors and so a Fund for Helping Communist Teachers was established in order to aid fired and persecuted progressive teachers and their families. One of the revolutionaries and later one of the leading politicians of the new Yugoslavia, Rodoljub Colakovic, wrote in his memoirs about Tatjana and her activity:

“I met Tatjana Marinic, active in the Red Aid. I was always looking forward to meeting her. She worked indefatigably, running and being everywhere, always in a hurry, always in a good mood. She had a wide circle of acquaintances in Zagreb, from proletarians and modest housewives to intellectuals, who in large part contributed to the Red Aid, I am convinced mostly because Tatjana asked them so.”⁶²

The second association was the Friends of Nature. It was a legal mountaineering association, which was a major stronghold for the Party. The association brought together workers, students, housewives and other citizens and organized massive outings in the countryside (there were more than 300 people in one of these excursions!). The Party used those outings to spread its influence among workers and progressive citizens, increasing thus the antifascist forces. Apart from various cultural-political performances and militancy in a series of units, they organized underground actions, transferred underground publications and collected contributions for the Red Aid. The organization had branches in whole Yugoslavia, and the head offices were in Zagreb and Sarajevo. The association existed in other countries, too and so in 1936 an international congress of the Friends of Nature was held in Brno in Czechoslovakia. When a police order banned the association, the Party founded similar groups under different names. In Zagreb there was the 'Workers' Mountaineering Society', in Ljubljana 'Slovenian Country', and similar.

World War II

Tatjana Marinic lived under continuous police control and was therefore arrested again on May 1st, 1941. The war and the German occupation of Yugoslavia aggravated even more the Communists' lives and activities. After her release from prison, she left Zagreb and definitely stayed in Rude,

⁶² Rodoljub Colakovic, *Kazivanje o jednom pokolenju (Tales of a Generation)*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1985, book II.

where she taught at a female school for nursery-school teachers. Rude became an important point of underground activity and for contact with the partisans. During the first years of the war, she and her students, already convinced leftists, distinguished themselves in saving children deported in 1942 from the Stara Gradiška concentration camp to the Ustasha concentration camps Jaska and Reka.

Since the very beginning of the occupation, the Zagreb branch of the Communist Party gathered a wide circle of militants who worked, diffusely supported by the population, on saving children from fascist concentration camps. This activity was particularly important in the second half of 1942. Tatjana Marinic was one of the organizers of these actions.⁶³

There is a series of written testimonies, both individual and by the Croatian Red Cross about inhuman treatment in the camps, which the fascist regime called 'refugee acceptance camp', 'children reception centre', 'transit camp'. Let us mention only a few witnesses: Dragica Habazin, nurse-in-charge of the Red Cross, Mihajlo Komunicki, Prof. Kamilo Bresler, Jana Koch, Anka Meleš, Dr. Branko Dragišić, Dr. Nina Dragišić, Dr. Glumac, specialized in children diseases, Tatjana Marinic, Staša Jelic, Dr. Olga Bošnjakovic, Vera Cerne and a lot of others who contributed with their testimonies to the work of the State Commission for Determining Crimes of the Occupator and His Accomplices established in 1945.⁶⁴

In Tatjana Marinic's and Staša Jelic's⁶⁵ minutes on Jaska camp we read:

“Two thousand children, two thousand children in a small space and you cannot hear the usual hubbub, the children's laughter. [...] During the day, children are outside, in front of the barracks, sitting one beside the other, listless and mute. Fear lurks in their eyes, which are the only features revealing that they are alive. They do not show interest for anything. They are not attracted even by

⁶³ Travel warrant issued for Dragica Habazin by the Red Cross for taking charge of and transporting children from the concentration camps of Jasenovac, Mlaka and Uštica, in: Marija Šoljan, *Croatian Women in the National Liberation War II*, Zagreb, 1955, p. 370.

⁶⁴ The decision of the creation of the State Commission for Determining Crimes of the Occupiers and His Accomplices was taken during the second sitting of AVNOJ (Antifascist Council of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia) on 29 November 1943, however its activation started only in 1945, immediately after the war. The objectives of the Commission were to establish modalities and extent of genocide and crimes against humanity performed on Yugoslav territory during the II World War and the identification of war criminals according to the criteria of the UN Commission for war criminals.

⁶⁵ Staša Jelic, educator and militant in antifascist group in the village Rude. She took part in Tatjana Marinic's group of nurses who together with doctors, other medical staff and pedagogues and with a huge participation of population were active in rescuing children from fascist camps. In her minutes published together with Tatjana Marinic, she reports on methods of psychical rehabilitation used with children by voluntary nurses under terrible conditions of work in children's camp in Jaska.

food. No sense of security, only distrust and fear, fear experienced as horror. Only their stature reveals they are children.”⁶⁶

As one of the woman educators in the camp described, according to Tatjana Marinic’s notes, the feelings of those tried to help the children were the following:

“The most difficult thing was to dominate the fear in the children and in ourselves. Children were dying in our arms, in their beds, in the hospital and on the barracks’ floor, and we were alone in the hospital [...] and alone in the barracks ...”⁶⁷

Božidar Skeledžija says in his writings:

“By great efforts hundreds of starving children in hardest conditions of terror and fear were saved from death. A part of them was settled underground in families in Zagreb.”⁶⁸

Tatjana Marinic found nutrition for the children by her connections with the countryside, which gave the most essential groceries available: milk, cheese and corn. In the same year Tatjana ended up in prison again, this time in Jaska. After getting out she had no doubts and in summer of 1943 joined the partisans, together with her whole class of students.

While with the partisans, she used her knowledge and experience to organize children’s homes in the regions of Banija, Kordun and Lika, in the liberated territories; sometimes she followed the partisans’ breakthroughs ending up in dangerous situations together with the children. Let me recall again with Rodoljub Colakovic his meeting with Tatjana Marinic in the hard conditions of the Revolution. It was an unexpected encounter while transporting the fighters by truck from Slunj to Drvar, where there were the Main Headquarters and the Central Committee of the KPJ. In the incredible crowd about the truck that could not take all the people, there was a minute and determined woman who insisted to be taken together with three exhausted children. Only after succeeding in getting the children and herself aboard in a rainy March night did Tatjana recognize her war comrade Colakovic. This is how he remembers it:

“I knew that Tatjana had been with the partisans since 1943, she had narrowly escaped the Ustashas. In the truck she told me that she was in charge of providing for war orphans. That was the

⁶⁶ Tatjana Marinic and Staša Jelic, *The First Laughter*, from the annotations on the Jaska camp, in: Marija Šoljan, *Croatian Women in the National Liberation War II*, Zagreb, 1955, p. 387

⁶⁷ Tatjana Marinic and Staša Jelic. *Op. cit.*, p. 387.

⁶⁸ Božidar Skeledžija, *Osnivaci studija za socijalni rad u Zagrebu (Founders of the University Course in Social Work in Zagreb)*, in: Ajdukovic Marina, (ed.), “50 godina studija za socijalni rad 1952–2002” (“50 Years of the Study of Social Work 1952-2002”), University of Zagreb, Zagreb 2002, p. 28.

proper job for Tatjana who was the personification of motherly love. She told me about our deprivations and misery, about difficulties in finding food and lodging, about hardships when, fleeing from the enemy, she had to move the children, hide deeper in the woods or in remote villages”.⁶⁹

After the liberation of Dalmatia, she moved there together with refugee children and orphans, succeeding in organizing a home in Split for 1,000 children. At the same time she was aware of the need to educate special personnel who would work in such homes and founded courses for educators of children.

After War Years

At the end of World War II she moved to Zagreb where she was in charge for the protection of children at the Ministry for Social Policies. Her work in the post-war period was directed to resolve the mass of serious social issues but her primary activity remained to take care of children victims of war terror. There were about 80,000 children who had to be provided for by the social welfare, but who also required a particular approach by expert personnel and the application of new ideas in the field of social psychology and pedagogy. Tatjana Marinic dedicated herself to the elaboration of a schooling system for first educators by supplementary courses, counseling points and technical workshops where she also taught herself and in 1948 she became the headmistress of the School for Educators for Children in Zagreb. Already in 1949 she left for Belgrade for a post in the Federal Ministry of Education where she worked on pre-school education of children.

The most significant endeavors of post-war Yugoslavia were almost totally spent to establish equality between people (with utopist yearnings for a classless society). The strategy of obtaining the socialist ideal of equality used the leveling of material sources of wealth, essentially by nationalizing and abolishing private property, which were supposed to lead to political equality of all citizens. Therefore, welfare policies were subject to general political premises of the society, while, on the other hand, they guided the theory and the practice of social work.⁷⁰ The whole post-war period has been defined as a model of “policy of social equality”. The result of this model was not obtaining greater individual freedom but an equalization of social conditions of life.

⁶⁹ Rodoljub Colakovic, op. cit.

⁷⁰ See in: Veljko Rus, *Socijalna država in družba blaginje* (Social state and welfare society), Domus, Ljubljana 1990.

It is interesting to view the social rights which were obtained and legally ratified in that period: work, education, welfare, retirement pensions, rights of people invalid for work, of handicapped people ... This was also a period of legal equalization of men's and women's work, of equal salaries for men and women, maternity leaves which comprehended the period from the beginning of pregnancy up to one year of paid absence from the post, with an 80% salary.

In the post-war period, the State was remarkably the only one to promote the sector of social welfare – non-governmental organizations or private enterprises were not present at all at that time.⁷¹

We deem it extremely important for the specific tradition of development of welfare and social work in Croatia that the major personalities such as Tatjana Marinic, Valerija Singer⁷² and Jana Koch⁷³ had participated in the people's liberation movement and were able to act in the post-war reality of the construction of a new social order with their acquired political legitimacy. We quote the key evaluation of the period by the scholar Dr. Eugen Pusic:

“In Croatia after the World War II we find a coincidence between the issues of principle and especially favorable conditions which were casual. Croatia had a tradition in all three respects: legal, pedagogical and medical, and it had a good tradition in charitable organizations as well. There was knowledge and will to proceed further in this way. But the most decisive factor was that *in Croatia we had what the others did not, a group of women social militants who participated in the national liberation movement and war*. I here allude to people like Tatjana Marinic, Jana Koch and Valerija Singer. Tatjana Marinic was the headmistress of the School for Nursery-School Teachers in

⁷¹ Private enterprises ended with their activity in 1947 due to the changes in the Law on Associations, Gathering and Other Public Meetings and the care about weak and poor population pass to the competence of National Councils (Lo w of 1 April of 1947).

⁷² Valerija Singer, born in 1903 in Czech Republic, studied in Vienna. Arrived in Yugoslavia only in 1925. In late '30 married to Beno Stein. Valerija Singer took part in National Liberation War where she was in charge of ZAVNOH (Land's Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Croatia). After the war she worked in Ministry of Social Care of Croatia and in National Health and Welfare Council of People's Republic of Croatia. Singer had an active role in creating the post-war policy of welfare and social protection in Croatia. With Tatjana Marinic, Kamilo Bresler and Eugen Pusic, she is one of founders of the first course in social studies in Croatia. In 1952 she became the first director of High Professional School for Social Workers in Zagreb and was also one of the promoters of the Association of Social Workers in Croatia.

⁷³ Jana Koch (1906-1986) social worker, started her professional education as voluntary nurse. Koch was one of the secretaries of the Croatian Red Cross before the occupation and in 1941-1943 and therefore had the possibility of participating herself in the transport of partisan children from one camp to another. Particularly touching was her written testimony given to the State Commission for Determining Crimes of the Occupier and His Accomplices about the condition of living of children in fascist 'acceptation camp' in Sisak. Jana Koch was engaged from the very beginning of the war in rescue of children from hardest condition of starving and dying in concentration camps and settling them underground in families. In year 1955 she was elected to the first Council of newly established Association of Social Workers of Croatia and took part in editorial staff of the review "Anthology of social work" edited in Zagreb.

Samobor and she left from there, with the whole school, to join the partisans, acting an important role there. The authority of these women partisans, who later arrived to Zagreb and worked in the field of welfare, was so strong that it overwhelmed even the Party channels. Only in this way it was possible to overrule the strong opposition by the regime to the idea of educating social workers. [...] The strongest idea was that people's destiny depended on great social changes. Industrial means and technology of work were being developed, contrasting the production relations. The production relations break in revolutions and all the problems are solved by new production relations. Any individual approach was considered wrong, an indicator of middle class individualism. If you overthrow capitalism and introduce socialism, there are no social problems any more. This opposition to educate social workers was probably impossible to dominate anywhere except for Croatia, mostly because of women partisans who were active along this line".⁷⁴

Tatjana Marinic continued her career in public institutions important for the growth of social work and welfare in Yugoslavia. She spent some years working in Belgrade. She became president of the National Committee for the Pre-School Education in Yugoslavia, and one of the first honorary members of the World Organization for Early Childhood Education.

After her return to Zagreb she started working for the National Health and Welfare Council of the People's Republic of Croatia. Her biographer observes:

"She initiated many actions and activities concerning welfare. Especially for the training of voluntary social workers, she held lectures, workshops, proposed and promoted the introduction of new, modern means of welfare. [...] She was totally dedicated to children's homes but did not omit to consider the needs of the elder people either and so gave the initiative for the founding of the first Club for the Elderly in Gornji Grad [the central area of Zagreb, M.R.]".⁷⁵

Contemporarily, she joined the working group for the preparation of the university course in social work. There she was included in a team of experts⁷⁶ whose members were sent to study abroad in Europe and the United States in order to learn about the education of social workers and to

⁷⁴ Pusic, Eugen, interview: "Povijest Socijalnog rada u Hrvatskoj" (History of Social Work in Croatia), unpublished material, interview took by Ajdukovic, Marina, Zagreb, 20th March 2004. Italics added by the author.

⁷⁵ Stanka Mihelcic, op. cit. p.

⁷⁶ The expert team was sent abroad with the technical assistance of the UN. Their task was to learn about "ways of educating and training social workers in advanced nations" and the team was composed by: Dr. Eugen Pusic, Tatjana Marinic, Valerija Singer, Irena Bijelic, Jelena Vitanovic, Dr. Dragana Kastla, Dr. Olga Bošnjakovic, Prof. Tomislav Špoljar and Prof. Kamilo Bresler. The destination countries were: USA, Austria, France, Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland and Western Germany. According to writings by Kamilo Bresler, *Kako je došlo do osnutka Društva socijalnih radnika Narodne Republike Hrvatske?* (Translation) and Marina Ajdukovic (Ed.), "50 godina studija za socijalni rad 1952–2002", Sveucilište u Zagrebu, Zagreb 2002, p. 17.

elaborate a profile of social workers congruent with the needs of Croatia. Tatjana Marinic accordingly spent three months in the Netherlands, where she met Dr. Erna Seiler, the headmistress of the School for Social Work of Vienna, later she invited her to Zagreb to help organizing the university course in social work with her knowledge. Erna Seiler, expert for the technical assistance of the UN organization for casework, arranged also the practical training for students in national committees and social institutions. Back in Croatia, Tatjana took part in the determination of the program of this university course and was elected professor of methodology of social work at the newly founded High Professional School for Social Workers in Zagreb. The School was founded in 1952 and was the first school of this kind not only in Croatia and Yugoslavia but also in the whole area of South-Eastern Europe.

Tatjana Marinic retired in 1957 and died on February 8th, 1966. As a recognition of her contribution to develop social work and professional training in this specific field of social sciences, the Association of Social Workers of Croatia established an award for achievements in social work named after Tatjana Marinic.

Conclusion

We could summarize Tatjana Marinic's life and work schematically as follows: 1. Already in her young age, Marinic's ideological beliefs and her faith in the possibility of a better world where the ideals of justice, equality and fraternity between humans would be achieved, led her to join the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (in 1919) and later to engage in political activism, underground activities and to participate in the Communist-led resistance movement during the Second World War. The experience of war significantly influenced her life, as well as her career in the post-war institutions of the new order (such as the Ministry of Social Care in the administration of the People's Republic of Croatia), and enabled her to impose, by her authority and her experience as a female fighter and political activist, an individual approach to the resolution of deeply rooted social problems of the country. This approach had to collide with the collectivist approach, which was then part of the official Party's conception where the individual human lives and destinies were erased in the name of the ideological tenets. The participation in the resistance movement of women open and sensible to social problems was crucial for the development of social work in the post-war Yugoslavia.

2. Marinic's travels abroad in different periods of her life (she traveled to Austria in the 1920s, to USSR in the 1930s and to the Netherlands in the 1950s) gave her the possibility to learn about

social care and policy in other European societies, as well as the possibility of a deeper study of related disciplines, such as psychology and pedagogy. She endeavored to apply the knowledge acquired in more progressive European societies in her native Croatia, not by replicating it automatically, but by adapting it to the local situation and needs, directing its practical use (development of methodology).

3. Her participation in the high state offices and bodies at the Croatian and the federal (Yugoslav) level did not separate her from the real needs of the society confronted with the complex social problems. Likewise, Tatjana Marinic always believed in the need of permanent education of social workers, the need she would often return to and direct her work.