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The History of Social Work in Slovenia

Research report

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Introduction

Slovenian team joined the international research after the invitation to participate that came from Prof. Sabine Hering and Prof. Bertheke Waaldik. Both of us are very pleased to be part of this research project that also had an impact on the growing interest for the history of social work in Slovenia. The conference that was held in March 2005 succeeded to join together researchers from different university departments and created a network of people that have similar scientific interest. It contributed to better understanding of the historical developments in the field of social policy, welfare and social work.

In the Slovenian team we decided to divide our work into two periods: the first period is before the Second World War – from 1900 till 1940 and the second period is from the beginning of the Second World War in 1941 till 1960. Vesna Leskošek is responsible for the first one and Darja Zaviršek for the second. The fact that the first researcher covers two thirds of the research period does not mean that she will do two thirds of work because the welfare development after the World War II was very intensive and complex. Although recent work shows that different people already researched the period (social workers, historians and sociologists), there was no integrated research done that would incorporate pieces and bits of the work.

Sources

We used very different primary and secondary sources for the research and also experienced some difficulties. Archives in Slovenia are not transparent and easy to manage. Different kind of material from different periods can be found at different places – from some institutions and church archives to archives in museums, libraries and in some specialized archives. The main Archive of the Republic of Slovenia (ARS) has just in Ljubljana 8 different departments. The second most important is the Archive of the city of Ljubljana (AL) and the third is the Archive of the recent history (ARH). There are also local archives, like Celje (AS), Maribor (AM), Nova Gorica (ANG), Koper (AK), Murska Sobota (AMS) etc.

For the pre-war period we used as a references also secondary sources – books, articles and research reports that were done by other researchers and was important for our project. We also made personal contact with some of them in order to clarify our findings and verify our theories. These debates were very useful and helped to establish a good relationship inside the research community.

In researching the period after the Second World War we also used different sources and the most important were the interviews with people that contributed to the development of social work from the very beginning.

For the post war period several interviews were conducted. There were five in-depth interviews done by the author of the report, and two in-depth interviews by another person for the use of this research.

Acknowledgment

At the end we have to emphasize again that our Slovenian research is direct result of the activities of the Network for Historical Studies on Gender and Social Work and the initiative of Sabine Hering and Berteke Waaldijk. We also thank Kurt Schilde for some useful advices regarding historical research and Dagmar Schulte for her excellent and effective coordination of work. We also thank the colleagues at the University in Ljubljana and at the Faculty of Social Work that dedicated their time and work to the project. Our special thanks goes to the interviewees who were willing to share with us their experiences and knowledge.

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1. Period from 1890 to 1940

1.1 Short introduction into the history of the country

At the beginning of the century Slovenia was divided between Austria and Italy and Slovenes were the nation without their own state. Through the history different nations govern different parts of Slovenia, for a short period of time we even had French government. Laws and politics changed with each new government that was in power. Northern parts of Slovenia were mostly under the power of Austria and Western side of the country was occupied by the Italians. There was a constant battle for the independence and it was gained after the First World War in 1918 and that was the first time that independent state of Slovenia was created. That was also the end of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. Soon after declaring the independence Slovenia made a pact with Serbia and Croatia to create a common state that was named Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, known as the first Yugoslavia. After the Second World War the federative republic was created, also known as the second Yugoslavia that fell apart in 1991, when most of the Yugoslav federative republics declared independence.

All these changes had an impact on social policy and development of the welfare system in Slovenia. Till the end of the World War I laws, regulations and politics was the same as in Austria or Italy. Own politics and legislation was created after the World War I, but the independence was again limited with the creation of the kingdom.

With this very short introduction into the major political framework we wanted to provide the reader with basic information to have better understanding of further writings the report.

1.2 Slovenian social policy

Social policy is an important topic of the scientific interest in Slovenia. It is broadly researched and well presented. But most of the researchers focused on the period after the World War II and there are almost no books or articles on the period before the war although we can find some secondary sources. The primary sources are difficult to find because they are in different archives under the names that are not easy to associate with social policy.

Social policy in Slovenia was based on the assurance system and was closely connected to labour. The main status for gaining social rights for the individual person and the family was employment and the majority of social policy regulations focused on this status. But before we will focus on the policy itself, let us explain ideological bases of the system.

1. 2. 1 Theories and ideologies of the welfare

Twentieth century was the period of the intensive process of secularisation. Catholic Church was losing its power from the very beginning of the century together with the complexity of social structure of the state. More it was complex; less power was in the hands of the Church. One of the activities of the Church was also an organisation of charity. The main organisation that was responsible for that was Caritas. The organisation raised the money and also decided who will receive it. They also collected goods (cloths, food etc.) and gave them to the needy.

With the development of the welfare state also other – secular – organisations started to offer aid or services to the people in need. There were different ideas how to regulate the field and what is the role of the state in this regulation. The concept could be compared regarding to following emphases (Dragoš 1998: 230 – 243):

- Political ideology
- Role of the market
- Social policy and
- Charity

Regarding to that emphases, we can divide concepts into the following categories:

1. Catholic integralism
2. Christian solidarism
3. Christian social activism
4. Christian socialism
5. Authoritarian corporativism

Ad. 1: The concept of integration developed to integrate the whole social structure into the structure of the Church as the leading institution that has the power to rule the state. The representative of this idea was Anton Mahnic (Catholic Church representative and the leading ideologist). He defined liberalism and socialism as the most dangerous ideologies because of their danger to the Christian

fate. He campaigned for the leading role of the Church and opposed to the role of the state in the field of social policy.

Ad. 2: Christian solidarism was the concept that recognised the need for the modernisation of the state. The concept also refused liberalism, socialism and communism but wanted to solve social problems in the way to promote solidarity of the whole society. The leading representative was Aleš Ušenicnik, also ideologist of the Catholic Church. Each person should be solidier to the other, and the regulation of the solidarity should be in the hands of the Church. Because of that there is no need for separate social or economic policy. Because of the solidarity, the charity is logical consequence. People will help each other and there is no need for specially developed services. The most powerful is the role of the family, associations, private donors and the Church.

The second representative of this concept was Janez Evangelist Krek, also the representative of the Church who wrote the first book on socialism. He declared himself as Christian socialist. He claimed that Christian fait is not enough to solve social problems. He was the first who raised the question of social justice and placed it before the solidarity. He claimed that Christian love is not enough to solve social problems. Social problems are the consequences of the complexity of social processes therefore they are not just the matter of interest of the Church but also of the law, history, politics, etc. He was the founder of the idea on cooperatives that applied at first to farmers and later on spread on other fields of production and services. But he didn't seen social policy as the one that should regulate the field.

Ad. 3: The representative of the third concept was Andrej Gosar. He's claimed that socialism and market economy can provide social structure that also offers ground for solving social problems.

His suggestions are following:

- Social protection should be provided to all people and social policy is needed to regulate the system of protection,
- Economic growth is only possible with market mechanisms,
- Sub-systems mustn't be based on particular ideologies (although he was Christian, he campaigned against the power of the Church),

He was the first that saw social policy as the most important. Charity is also needed but is not enough to solve social problems.

Ad. 4: Christian socialism developed inside the labour movement and left catholic intelligence. They focused on the conflict between the market and rights of the workers. The main issue was social justice but inside the Christian faith and not inside the secular communism or socialism. They never offered any concrete conceptual program how to implement such justice into the social structure of the state. They stayed on the ideological level. The only way that was suggested was the moral renewal of the society.

Ad. 5: In the period between two world wars the concept of corporativism was seen as modern, innovative and effective. It was acceptable for the Church because it was not based on the class differences and the labour movement but on the corporate power of the professional associations. It was also near the solidaristic concept because it campaigned for the powerful role of the family and charity in solving social problems. They promoted Christian values as the most important and also supported the idea of moral renewal of the state. Liberalism is dangerous because it allows the autonomy and freedom of people. They campaigned for the central regulation of the whole social structure. Because of this regulation, social problems will lower or disappear completely. There will be no need for trade unions and labour movement. There are three conditions to implement this concept:

- Just one political party
- Totalitarian state
- Patriotism

As we can see just one of the concepts saw social policy as an important field that can be used for the regulation of social problems. Ideology was far more important than policy itself. The basic debate was about the role of the Church through its charitable activities and through its power to regulate the live of the people.

Social policy was seen in a way as the tool for the secularisation of the state and weakening the power of the Church. In above concept we can also recognised different welfare systems that developed after the Second World War, like corporative, social democrat and conservative with different roles of the family, charity, market and state in solving social problems.

1. 2. 2 Social policy before the First World War

International competition had negative influence on Slovenian farming and industrialisation contributed to the “proletarianisation” of society (Erjavec, 1924). Significant process before the World War I was economic emigration to the European countries, Egypt and United States. Slovenian workers mostly work in forestry (Romania, Russia) in coalmines (Westfall and Alps countries) and on Hungarian estates. Women moved to Egypt where they worked as breast-feeders and nurselings.

In Slovenia the heavy industry (metallurgic) in Jesenice, Štore and Ravne was in decline (in 1918 the year production was 82.000 tons and in 1920 just 13.000 tons of metal). Also other industry was in bed condition before the World War I. Tobacco factory in Ljubljana employed in 1903 round 2500 people and in 1924 just 1200. There was a rapid fall in employment and raise in unemployment that also continue after the World War I. Season work was on raise what also meant that workers most of the year didn't have income because the payment for the season labour was not sufficient.

The first regulation of the work was introduced in the nineteen century in the year 1883 when the state for the first time intervene into the labour relations in the way that it protected workers. The state (in our case Austria) accepted new *Law on manufacturing*¹ (Die Gewerbeordnung) that incorporated following protection rights for workers:

- It introduced 11 hours workday
- Wages had to be paid in money and not in kind
- Wages had to be paid weekly
- 14 days notice on job loss
- Prohibition of employment of children before 14 years of age
- Children form 14 to 16 and women were not allowed to work heavy work that could damage their health and at night
- Work conditions had to be written, publicly announced and easily accessible to all workers and to the state inspection

Social and health insurance was introduced for the workers and his/her family in the cases of illness, accident or dead and later in the case of the unemployment (after World War I). Round 30% of all workers were insured for the accidents in the territory where the majority of the population were Slovenians (under the government of Austria or Italy).

¹ The reason we mentioned the law is that it was in value till the World War I with some minor changes.

In much worse position were those that were not employed or were farmers. It was the responsibility of the municipalities to take care for them. The quantity of care depended on the budget of the individual local authorities. Approximate percentage that was allocated for social security was from 6 to 8%. The Austrian government wanted to introduce the compulsory assurance also for the farmers already in 1909 but they were not successful in their efforts (Kresal 2002: 21). The most common social assistance was given in money and was connected to poverty. Sometimes it was given in kind, like cloths, coal, food and similar. Majority of social problems depended on charity. The situation was slightly better in urban and main Slovenian cities.

The other law that was important was the Housing Law from 1910 that forced some industrial factories to provide housing for the workers that mainly came to the city from the countryside. The state housing fund was created.

During the World War I the rationalisation policy concerning food supply was introduced and financial support was regulated for the families that husband was mobilised. Many of the factories stopped operating and workers got a minimum financial assistance either from the factory or from the municipality (ibid.: 41). Rationalisation of the food supply was performed with introduction of special vouchers for food, petroleum and shoes. Flour and sugar were sold just on grams and three days per week shops were not allowed to sell meat. From 1916 till the end of the also the use of potato was rationalised. The prices of food that farmers sold on markets were decided and controlled. The Agricultural ministry in Vienna accepted all the regulations.

1. 2. 3 Social policy after the First World War

1.2.3.1 Institutional framework

On the 6th of November new government² (after the breakdown of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire) introduced office for social security and reorganised the system of social insurance. The special illness desk was opened in Ljubljana for the whole Slovenia. The first Ministry for Social Policy was founded in 1921 after the new constitution was adopted. In 1931 it was joined with the health and was renamed to the Ministry for Social Policy and National Health. On the local level there were municipality offices for social security in major cities: Ljubljana, Maribor, Ptuj and Celje.

² The new state was the kingdom of Slovenes, Croats (Hrvati) and Serbs. Initial that were used to mark the new state were SHS.

Social security focused mainly on elderly and ill, youth, work protection and support of the social and charity organisations.

Government allocated less than 10% of the budget for the social policy or social protection of the citizens.

1.2.3.2 Social problems defined by the state

Fran Erjavec wrote a book on unemployment in 1924 in which he lists 8 main fields of Slovenian social policy after the WWI (Erjavec 1924: 4):

1. Youth care
2. Housing
3. Providing habitants with means like food and other necessary things for leaving (this was the period after the WWI). This strategy was called »aprovisation« care (It can also be translated into the “provision with existential means”)
4. Health care
5. Protection of workers and work
6. Different kind of insurance
7. Care for the homeless and
8. Care for poor, old and disabled

1. Youth care included financial support, books, food and care in institutions for children and young people. They also paid for child summer resources and for the foster care.

2. Housing. Because of the great need for housing after the war the authorities decided to confiscate empty and “spare” flats. An individual or a family could have just one flat. Till the April 1919 there were 7 municipalities that had to respect new housing regulation: Ljubljana, Maribor, Celje, Kranj, Jesenice, Tržic in Zagorje. New housing offices were opened and one of their tasks was to decide maximum rent for the flat. Housing protection was in operation till 1928 when it was cancelled. In between the housing market grew. The local authorities, state, industrial and mining enterprises, banks and financial institutions, retirement funds, housing cooperatives and individuals, built flats.

3. Aprovisation care (supply with food and other domestic items).

After the WWI food was still supplied on vouchers but the food regulation expired few years later when market opened and international trade developed again.

4. *Health care.* Hospitals were public and private. Public were developed later than private. Private were founded by industrial companies (mining, metallurgic) or by the church. One hospital was organised by Red Cross (Slovenske Konjice). All sanatoriums were private. There were 9 public hospitals in Slovenia and one psychiatric hospital in Ljubljana. The other one was built in 1932 in Novo Celje. There were two asylums for old age and in Ptuj and Vojnik. One public hospital in Ljubljana was for women. It was maternity hospital in it had the department for the gynaecology.

From the nineteenth-century also a spa health centres and resources were operating through the country. At the beginning they were meant just for tourists but later on they were opened for others and sometimes treatment was paid from the insurance. Spa centres were in Rogaška Slatina (first mentioned in 1141), in Slatina Radenci (first mentioned in 1833), in Laško (first mentioned in 1534), in Dobrna (first mentioned in 15th century), in Dolenjske toplice (one of the oldest in Europe), in Šmarje (discovered in 1790), than Cateške toplice, Rimske toplice, Medijske toplice, Kotlje and Topolšcica. There was one hospital for tuberculosis in Golnik (1917) and the one for lung diseases in Vulberg near Ptuj.

5. *Protection of work and unemployment.* 8 hours working day was introduced in 1918. Working hours could be extended just exceptionally when the working process demanded it. If that was the case, workers had to be paid 50% more than in regular working time. That was the beginning of the protection legislation for the workers. In 1922 new labour legislation was introduced. Workers got the right to their representatives and “trusties”, benefits for unemployment and housing protection. The first Regulation on the collective agreement, minimum wages and arbitration for the workers was adopted in 1937.

The state divided unemployed into three groups:

- Those who want to work and were in good physical condition but can't find the work
- Those that want to work but were disabled but were not able to find the work and
- Those that were in good physical condition but didn't want to work.

First two groups should be entitled to state services and the third not. Three strategies developed to respond to the problem:

- Employment agencies
- Insurance for the unemployment and
- Statistics on unemployed (for better strategy to respond to the problem)

Employment agencies in Slovenia were well accepted and developed. Statistic for the year 1919 shows that there were 14939 male job seekers and 5597 female job seekers who tried to find the job through one of the employment agency (Erjavec 1924: 43).

We got first *unemployment benefits* in 1914 when the City of Ljubljana decided to subsidised part of the money that were given to unemployed by professional organisation they were the members in. But because of the WW I, they never actually contributed the money. After the WW I they accepted the regulation No. 218 (28. 12. 1918) on the entitlement to illness and retirement benefits, but it was cancelled in 1921 because it was connected to the consequences of the war.

Statistic on unemployment was weak and didn't show the reality. After the WW I there we can find the first suggestions to create statistical office in the field of social policy.

6. *Insurance*. Legislation on the insurance of the workers was issued in Jun 1921. Workers were insured against illness and accidents. In December 1921 it was changed and also included insurance for old age, debility and dead. They were not insured for the unemployment. The Law set minimum standards but allowed more if workers were capable to pay.

8. *Care for the ill, elderly and poor*. The most extended was the care for the elderly and ill and the money went to different shelters and other institutions. Approximately half of old, ill and poor received subsidies in money. Other sorts of services were provision of medicine, food or care at home.

In 1925 a Law on Disability was adopted and was manly focused on war disabilities. One fifth of the population was effected by the war and had rights according to this law. The law applied to those that were disabled from the war and to the widows of war. War disabled had higher benefits that those who were disabled out of work.

1.3 Social activities of the NGOs

Organized care for the people in need expanded in the second half of the 19th century when also different charitable and voluntary organizations were established. In most of them women did the work. We can divide them into charitable, church run and voluntary organizations (Pceljnikov 1940: 71).

1. *Charitable* organizations had nothing to do with the church but were based on the Christianity. They were independent organizations that emphasized their Christian (in one case Jewish) roots. They were following:
 - **Zavod sv. Nikolaja. (Institution st. Nikolai)** On the initiative of Marija Skrinjar (also one of the first representative of the women's movement in Slovenia) in 1898 the first **residential home for the unemployed housemaids** was established. Except the bed and food they also offered different courses for the, like cooking, accountancy, literacy etc. They got legal advice and were represented in the court and they also helped them in jails.
 - **Društvo Dobrodelnost. (Association Charity)** Klara Vrhunčeva was a teacher for the blind children in Kočevje and she established the first library for blind people in Ljubljana. She and Minka Skaberne trained over hundred people in Braille writing so they translated books for the blind. Library was later on taken over by the Association Curatorship of blind.
 - **Društvo za varstvo deklet (Association for the protection of young women)** Ljubljana, Maribor. They protected young women in the cases of homelessness, unemployment and when they traveled. They offered:
 - Railway missionary
 - Shelter
 - Counseling
 - Employment agency
 - Also worked in jails and with prostitutes
 - **Podporno društvo za služkinje (Supporting association for the house-maids)**, Ljubljana. Support was offered in the cases of unemployment and illness.

- **Mursko-Soboško jevrejsko žensko društvo. (Association of the Jewish Women in Murska Sobota).** It is a charitable organization for women that will give birth and they also trained midwives.
 - **Kolo Jugoslovanskih sester (The Circle of the Yugoslav Sisters)** The first one was organized in Belgrade and after the federation of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs they were organized also in Slovenia. There were 27 local organization and they mostly worked with orphans and poor children. They had over 7000 members.
2. *Church charity* organizations were established as associations but actually run by the priests that were always chairpersons. It was also common that the treasurer is also man but members were mostly women and they did the work. Organizations were following:
- **Evangeljsko žensko društvo, ustanovljeno 1856 (Evangelic women's association, established in 1856).** It was charity organization for the promotion of the religious life. Members were only married women and virgins. They also invited women from the non-catholic religions if they agreed with the roots.
 - **Gospojno društvo kršćanske ljubezni ustanovljeno l. 1882 (Virgin Mary Association of the Christian Love).** They funded and managed the institution for poor young women, called Jožefinum. One part of the building was for the old and poor housemaids.
 - **Zavod sv. Marte (Institution st. Marta)** was founded in Ljubljana also for the house-maids. The president was priest but work was done by the women.
 - **Družba sv. Elizabete (association of st. Elisabeth)** was established from the church. They offered aid to the poor, orphans, to the children and youth that were “morally and religiously endangered”, to the ill etc. They tried to turn them into good Catholics.
3. *Voluntary organization* had nothing to do with the religion (religion or Christianity was not mentioned in their papers). They were following:
- **Detoljub (Child-love),** Maribor (second largest city in Slovenia). Half of the board of the organization were women. The purpose was to join proletarians for the mental and physical

welfare of the children. They organized parents evenings, library, journals and papers and organized different courses for parents.

- **Društvo decji in materinski dom kraljice Marije (Association Children and Mothers Residential Home of the Queen Maria)**, Ljubljana. The main activities were:
 - Counseling service for mothers,
 - Free of charge health care for poor mothers and children,
 - They took care for abandoned or ill babies and
 - They organized camps for children

- **Društvo za podporo revnih ucencev (Association for the support of the poor pupils)**, Maribor. They provide poor pupils with cloths and shoes.

- **Društvo za zdravstveno zaščito otrok in mladine (Association for the health protection of children and youth)**, Maribor. They run a summer cottage in Pohorje where they organized vacations for poor children. Members of the association were men and women.

As we can see charity organizations focused mainly on the problems of children (poor, orphans or pupils), than housemaids and those that were “morally” endangered.

1.4 Important biographies

Following list consists of women that didn't just give money for the charity but were personally engaged into the care for different groups of people in need. The second criteria to include them to the list were their capabilities to overcome the classical charity position of giving money to the needy but to question justice of the social order and to try to influence social change.

Marija Mehle 1879 – 1934

She was a teacher³ and she established shelter for the girls that went to school in Ljubljana but were coming from the other towns. She offered them food and place to stay during the day. The problem was that there were no warm and safe place for pupils to stay after the school while waiting for the

³ Women teachers had to live in celibat till the Second World war – if they married, they lost all their social rights.

train. This was the first shelter of the kind in Slovenia. Angela Vode⁴ wrote that this was the first »social institution« that was not »without the soul and hart« but was the real shelter where the access was free and not conditional. After Marija Mehle died Association for Women Teachers inherited the shelter.

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Angela Vode 1934, »Požrtvovalna socialna delavka«. (Sacrificing social worker) *Ženski svet*, str. 238-239.

Tatjana Hojan 1969, »Iz dela in življenja naprednih učiteljev. MARIJA MEHLE (1879-1934)«. (Work and life of progressive teachers) *Prosvetni delavec*, št. 9, str. 5.

Terezina Jenko 1870 – 1938

She was engaged into the public work from the 1890 and was active in different fields. She established with her husband Ljudovit Jenko the “Russian circle” because they wanted to promote Russian culture and language. She invited many of the Russian scientists and artist to Slovenia and she organized exhibitions and lectures. Between the First World War she was controlled and watched by the police. She secretly and with great risk helped the Russian and Serb prisoners, giving them food and tobacco. She closely cooperated with Janez Evangelist Krek⁵ in his office for refuges in Ljubljana. After the war she advocated the rights of prisoners of war. She also supported pupils and students and organized medical care and food for the poor. She advocated their rights at the local authorities. She traveled a lot and wrote poems and essays. Both of her daughters studied abroad, one was a medical doctor and the other one worked with Marie Curie, where she studied physics and chemistry.

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Anglea Vode 1938, »Terezina Jenko«. *Ženski svet*, str. 42-43.

Minka Govekar 1932, »Šestdeseta obletnica Glasbene matice in žena«. (Sixty anniversary of Glasbena matica and woman) *Ženski svet*, št. 9, str. 266.

⁴ Anglea Vode is one of the most important women of the first half of the twentieth century. She was very active in women's movement and was the first head of the social work activities at the Yugoslav Womens Comittee.

⁵ Janez Evangelist Krek was one of the most important Slovenians. He was Catholic priest, most active in poltical and social life in the turn of the twentieth century. He wrote many books, among the the one on Socialism and Cooperative economy. He established many associations and strongly supported women right to vote.

Alojzija Štebi, »Slovenska žena v raznih poklicih«. (Slovenian women in different professions) V: Minka Govekar 1926, *Slovenska žena*. Ljubljana: Splošno slovensko žensko društvo.

Marija Maister 1885 – 1938

As the wife of general Rudolf Maister⁶ she was not just passive companion but was actively involved into the public life. She organized care for the wounded soldiers, organized aid for the poor children at the northern border and established few associations and charity actions in Maribor. She helped establish the first women's organization in Maribor, the Queen Mary summer camp for children in Pohorje. She was encouraging women to establish their own small businesses to achieve material independence and ensure their own income.

She was also president of the French circle and was awarded by the French government.

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N.N. »Dvojno slavje ženske poštvovalnosti«. (Double celebration of the women's work). *Ženski svet*, 1939, str. 171-172.

Janez Švajncar (2002), »Marija Maister (Sterger)«. *Notranjske novice*, št. 12, 5. julij, str. 7.

Marija Wessner 1856 – 1951

She was a teacher and worked all her life in different schools for girls – from basic education to women's gymnasium. She was active in promoting education for women. To achieve that she established first boarding school for girls in the hired building in Ljubljana. She founded association called Mladika - the purpose was to build a residential home for girls and has different vocational trainings for them. The association (members were just women) succeeded to gather enough money to build their own building where they established their own boarding school with quite a lot of activities. During the First World War the Austrian soldiers occupied the school and after the war they continued their work but they lost the building because of the lack of the money. Now the Foreign Ministry is in the building and there is no notice on the building about the original owners.

⁶ Also very important in Slovenian politics because of his fight for the northern border of Slovenia. He was actively involved into the politics.

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Ivan Lah (1926), »Marija Wessnerjeva«. *Ženski svet*, str. 321.

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Marija Skrinjar 1858 – 1931

Marija Skrinjar is one of the most important Slovenian women because of her activism and capability for change. She worked in Trieste and was one of the founders of the Slovenian women's movement. Her idea was the first women's journal that was first issued in 1898. She published many articles and was writing for different newspapers. Her husband was accused of being under the influence of his progressive wife and was strongly controlled because of that. But that didn't stop her in her activism. They have a large family and they had to move a lot, but she was active wherever they were. After the retirement of her husband they moved back to Trieste where she started a broad women's movement. First she established the shelter St. Nikolaj for homeless and jobless house-maids and servants. She bought the house out of her own money and she offered shelter to more than 1000 women per year. She advocated their rights, proposed law changes and publicly accused housekeepers of abuse and maltreatment. She offered women in the shelter education and training and also safety and care.

Because of her work she was often attacked from the wealthy and powerful citizens and even members of some women's organizations. She demanded better care for the servant and also their social rights in case of illness and age. She mediated in conflicts and safe maids from prisons. One of the important issues was also prostitution. She saw the solution in education. The shelter offered the knowledge in accountancy, arithmetic, language, sewing and similar. Church strongly opposed to her shelter because of her advocating role for the powerless servants against wealthy citizens. They also opposed to the association of women working for women in need. Marija Skrinjar saw the main reason in breaking the trafficking with house-maids. She also invented a special serum against louse and named it "Morana". After the accident she had in the shelter she retired but her work continued.

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Franja Tavcar 1968 – 1938

As the wife Ivan Tavcar⁷ she had the access to all important centres of power at the time. She was active in many of the women's organizations she helped to establish. She was also companion of the queen Marija. She was one of the founders of the first women association called General Slovenian Women's Association, established in Ljubljana in 1901. She was also the president of the first Slovenian gymnastic women's association called Athena. Together with Cilka Krek she organized a broad action for Slovenian independence in 1918, known under the name May Declaration. Cilka nad her managed to organize signing the declaration and in a month time they gathered 200.000 signatures. That action also ensured broad and strong support for the independence. She was a president of some charitable catholic association, that residential home for children and orphans and maternity home of queen Marija. She was also advocating for many of the individual people that were victims of injustices or were in need. Women that were evicted from their housing, prisoners and other were often asked her for help. She was also engaged into the fight for women's right to vote and to be active in politics.

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Angela Vode 1892 – 1985

Angela Vode is one of the most important feminist and also one of the first two persons that chaired the first committee of social work, established at the Yugoslav Women Union (umbrella organisation that connected together women organisation throughout Yugoslavia. It was active till the end of the Second World War). She was also the teacher by profession and she worked with

⁷ He was progressive politician, writer and mayor of the city of Ljubljana.

disabled children. She was active in many associations in left political parties and she published over 200 articles and several books, among them *Women in Contemporary Society*, *Fascism and Women and Gender and destiny* (two books). She was an active member of General Slovenian Women's Association, she founded an organisation called Women's movement, and she was a secretary of Social democrat Party and later on active in the Association of Labour Women and Girls. She was lecturing around the whole Yugoslavia and the main topic was the political participation of women, right to vote, the position of women in labour etc. She contributed also to the development of social work with translating articles and writing biographies of Alice Salomon and Jane Adams. Her work in the Committee for Social Work in the Yugoslav Women's Union was dedicated to children orphans and working conditions of women. After the Second World War she was prosecuted by the communist regime and imprisoned. She was not allowed to publish and to be present in public life. In recent years her works were published in three books and she is now recognised as an important person in Slovene history.

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Alojzija Štebi 1883 – 1956

Her contribution to the development of social policy was mainly in the field of child protection. She was the second person that chaired Committee for social work, established at the Yugoslav Women's Union. She was a teacher and because of the troubles she experiences with the authorities, she started working for a socialist newspaper *Zarja (Dawn)*. In 1918 she started to work in the Department for youth protection of the Government of SHS in Ljubljana. In 1922 she was appointed as a chair of the Department for the protection of Children and Youth. In 1926 she started to work as a deputy at the Department for social policy at the municipality of Ljubljana. In 1927 she was forced to retire because of her political activities but was soon appointed to the similar position in Belgrade. She managed the Shelter for morally endangered women (*zavetišče za moralno ogrožene ženske*). From 1933 till 1940 she worked at the Ministry of Social Policy and National Health of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In 1949 she was retired. After the Second World War she was employed again at the Ministry of Social Policy and in 1950 she was again retired.

She was also active in many of the women's groups and labour organisations. She wrote a book *Women and Democracy* in which she campaigned for participation in politics. She also published articles, had lectures and organised protests. She travelled to the women's congresses in Italy, United States and elsewhere. During her visit to foreign countries she always visited institutions and organisations for protection of children and youth. She also visited Hull-House and personally met Jane Adams. She spoke about her work and wrote several articles on her visit. She stressed the importance of social care for poor and marginalised people.

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1.5 Case study: The role of Slovenian women's movement in development of social work

The beginnings of Slovenian women's movement can be placed into the eighties of the 19 century. That was the time when women in Slovenia were already part of public sphere, mostly active in theatre, opera, literature and poetry⁸. They did not have access to education (except teachers and midwives) and politics. They published literature, poems, literary critics and articles on topics that were understood as part of their "natural" social roles – articles on household, mothering, family health and similar. In the eighties they started to write about the women's question⁹ and they experienced much more criticism than when they published articles written in accordance with their social positions. This was also the time when they started to challenge the power of the Catholic Church, which was the main actor in the construction of gender. Because of the problems they experienced when they tried to publish more critical articles¹⁰ they founded their first journal called *Slovenka*¹¹. It was founded in Trieste¹² in 1897 as the supplement of newspaper *Edinost*¹³. First

⁸ In the thirties of the 19 century the movement for the independence as a state intensified in Slovenia. In these specific circumstances women's contribution in public life was appreciated and enabled but only connected to the national question.

⁹ "Women's question" was the term that was used at the time to question the role of the women in private and public sphere.

¹⁰ Such kinds of articles were often rejected by the publishers.

¹¹ Slovene women.

¹² Slovenia was part of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire till 1818 when it gained independence for the very first time. Soon after that Slovenia joined Serbs and Croats in creation of common state called first Yugoslavia. It was a kingdom. Northern and western border of Slovenia changed a lot through the history. Western Slovenian border with Italy was

editor of the journal was Marica Nadlišek-Bartol and the second Ivanka Klemecic. It was issued till 1902. The articles published in the journal raised most relevant problems on the status of women at the time: access to education and paid work, right to vote and to participate in politics, social rights and social inequalities. They also raised the right to divorce and to civil marriage. Amongst the other topics they wrote about the women's movement and the need to create their own spaces. In 1899¹⁴ one of the feminist writers Elvira Dolinar appealed to women to create their own organisation that will provide the space for more effective and easier cooperation. They needed the organisation to create a collective action on their wrights in public life. She also raised the need to connect with similar organisations round the world and to become a part of the international women's movement. In 1900¹⁵ we can already find articles on the women's movement in Slovenia.

The first two women organisations were founded in 1898 and were professional organisations of women teachers and lace-makers. The main purpose of both was to fight for the write to vote and for equal pay for equal work. The first women organisation that was not bound to a certain profession was founded in Ljubljana¹⁶ in 1901 and was called General Slovenian Women's Association. That was the symbolic act that encouraged other women round the country to start creating their own organisation. Most of them were founded in the period after the First World War (WW I). Most important were following¹⁷:

1901 – General Slovenian Women's Association (Ljubljana): it has very important role in the movement because it had an extensive and influential membership. From the very beginning they created the association just for women and did not allow male members. They organised campaigns, protests, individual advocacy actions, education etc. They organised their own library that was also a space where women met and associate.

1901 – Women's Gymnastic Association (Ljubljana): One of the most advanced and sometimes although radical organisations. They also founded the first (and the only) women's publishing house called *Belo-Modra knjižnica*¹⁸. They founded it because they wanted to promote women's writings

also very flexible through the time and a lot of Slovenes lived in Trieste where Slovene language was publicly used as equal to Italian.

¹³ Unity.

¹⁴ *Slovenka*, 1899/4

¹⁵ *Slovenka*, 1900/5

¹⁶ Slovene capital.

¹⁷ Vesna Leskošek (2004), "Women's movement in Slovenia and fight for the rights.« In: Vlasta Jalušič, Dean Zagorac, Women's Human Rights. Ljubljana: Amnesty International, Mirovni inštitut, p. 89-110.

¹⁸ White-Blue Library.

and to translate the books that were important for women at the time. They also organised a public library.

1901 – Christian Women’s Association (Ljubljana): It was founded as partly independent organisation that also campaigned for the write to vote and to have an access to education. They participated to some public actions together with other women’s organisations. After WW I they became more closely associated to the Catholic Church and stopped participating in the women’s movement.

1906 – Association Mladika (Ljubljana): They promoted women’s education and raised money to build boarding school for girls. Although they lost the building after the WW I because they did not have enough resources to maintain it, they managed it till the WW II.

1916 – Association of Carers of the Orphans of War (Trieste): it was founded to provide care and to place orphans into the foster families. After the WW I they renamed the association to Association of Carers of Widows and Orphans.

1919 – Union of Karintian Women’s Associations: They worked in the part of Austrian Karintia where the majority habitants were Slovenians. They joined political fight for the northern Slovenian border but also raised the right to education and equal rights.

1919 – Slovenian Women’s Association (Maribor)¹⁹: They had similar program as Ljubljana’s association. They were closely connected to the Karintian Women’s Association.

1919 – Association Katarina Zrinjska (Trbovlje): It was a Christian organisation but was not associated to the Church. Main activities are advocating for political rights of women.

1919 – Women’s Association (Celje): They founded one of the largest libraries and organised mostly education and cultural events.

1920 – Women’s Club (Primorska): They supported women and students that came from the seaside part of Slovenia to study in Ljubljana. They also campaigned for the western border and raised awareness on the status of Slovenes in Italy.

¹⁹ Second largest city in Slovenia.

1921 – Association of the Yugoslav sisters: It was first founded in Serbia and was the first Yugoslav organisation after the new federation was established. It was mostly charitable organisation.

1922 – Consortium Women's World: Women's review that was issued from 1923 till the WW II. It was one of the most influential reviews that offer the most relevant material to study the movement before the WW II. Firstly it was published in Trieste and after few years in Ljubljana.

1924 – Association of Labour Women and Girls: it was the first women's labour organisation that was forbidden in 1935 because of the socialist programme. It was one of the most radical women organisation that raised problems like the right to abortion, civil marriage and divorce. They also organised protests, petitions and similar. They published their own newspaper.

1926 – Women's Movement: the first feminist organisation that was very political. They also published their own newspaper. They had organisations all over Yugoslavia.

1930 – Jewish Women Association (Murska Sobota): It was a charitable organisation that promoted birth in hospitals and education of midwives.

1930 – Association of Housewives: It was established to promote housekeeping as a women profession. Because care for the family and home was understood as an essential part of the women's natural role, housekeeping was conceptualised as demanding and responsible work that need a lot of skills and knowledge. Although accepting the social position given to women, members of the association debated also on payment for the work they do and on social rights, like seek-pay and pension. To achieve that, they constructed housework as a profession.

1930 – Association of the Domestic Servant: Domestic servant were mostly women that and no rights. They often lived in abusive and hostile households, were abused and victims of violence. They worked 24 hours a day 7 days in a week with no breaks. Often they did not have their own private space and were not paid for the work. They joined to demand their rights and to fight for the law on domestic work.

1931 – Association of the academically educated women: It was a Yugoslav association that promoted education of women and political participation.

1931 – Residence of Teachers: this was a cooperative of teachers. The main purpose was to offer peaceful and safe housing for retired teachers. They wanted to build their own building for women where they would also offer places for different women associations.

1934 – Association “Residence of Women Students”: They founded the organisation to protect women’s right to education and to fight for equal opportunities in education and in employment. They had their own boarding school that was also a political place for young women in Ljubljana. They provided housing also for poor students.

1937 – Association of Women Cooperatives: Cooperatives were very popular form of employment on equal grounds for all employed. The association promoted them especially for women because they can be independent from the abuse of the employers.

1937 – Association for the Education of Women (Murska Sobota): They organised political protests and demanded equal access to education and political rights of women.

Slovene organisations were members of several Yugoslav unions and as part of Yugoslavia they participated in international organisations. Yugoslav unions were following:

- National Women’s Union of SHS²⁰ that were in 1926 renamed into the Yugoslav Women’s Union.
- Union of Yugoslav Sisters
- Feminist Alliance of the Kingdom SHS
- Women’s Movement
- Union of the Academically Educated Women

International Organisations were following:

- International Council of Women
- International Alliance of Women
- Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom
- Small Antanta (association of women from the Balkan)

²⁰ Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

Most organisations developed in the years after the WW I. Many of them were active in the fields of education, employment and political participation of women. Some of them also focused on labour and social rights. They organised different activities for children and women in need.

Demands and activities

As we already stated, the most important topics across the whole movement were political rights (active and passive right to vote, membership in political parties), education (access to university) and employment (equal pay for equal work, social rights). There were also other equally important topics that they raised to achieve their position in public sphere. Some of the topics they raised at the end of the 19 century, others later. Three basic demands – two of them claimed already at the end of the 19 century and the third in twenties of the 20 century – were civil marriage, divorce and abortion²¹. All three were defined as basic rights for the liberation of women. They have seen catholic marriage as one of the basic reasons for subordination of women. It was constructed on strict dichotomies where women were the heart and men were the mind²². Although only two of them together could create the whole, man was able to survive on his own but woman was not. She can only keep her decency in marriage where she is controlled and guided by her husband. Catholic marriage was constructed as the only safe place, where woman is protected from danger that waits for her outside her home. For the protection she has to pay a price, she has to obey her husband simply because she is the weakest half of the whole.

Women understood that liberation is only possible when they can escape so constructed marriage. They had seen the solution in civil marriage that can be divorced and not just separated. Separation was not enough because it did not provide them with an access to the public life, with the opportunities to educate and to employ or to be active elsewhere. The third demand that was raised was the right to abortion. Labour women organisations were the one that raised it because they wanted to gain control over their own lives. This was one of the most difficult battles; it was the longest and dirtiest. They were prosecuted by the Church, called all kind of names and often excluded from the communities they lived in. This was also the issue that joined together different women's organisations from the academic to labour ones. It was closely connected to social rights because with claiming the right to abortion they also thought about how to assure that it will not be the only method of birth control.

²¹ Vesna Leskošek (2003), *Rejected tradition. Women and gender in Slovenia till the WW II*. Ljubljana: Založba *cf.

²² Anton Mahnic (1893), *Rimski katolik*, Peti teczaj, Gorica: p. 317-321.

To prevent women to use the abortion as a means of the birth control, society has to assure basic rights:

- the right to decent housing,
- equal pay for equal work,
- minimum wages,
- cash benefits in cases of disability, illness, old age,
- maternity benefits and maternity leave.

They also demanded equality between married and unmarried mothers; between children born in marriage or out of it; they raised issue of domestic violence and they also demanded special treatment for women that killed their child at birth. They have seen double moral standards, different for men and women as the basic injustice that put women in the position to take actions against their children. Once woman was pregnant she had to take full responsibility for the child. Men were not responsible for alimonies till the twenties of the 20 century. The debate on abortion reflected on double morality and even though women did not gain the right to abortion they contributed to some changes in legislation that improved position of unmarried mothers and children.

Other fields of actions that women's organisations undertook were:

- woman medical doctor for venereal disease,
- women police officers to work with women that commit crime and prostitutes,
- counselling service for couples and to inform women on their rights,
- woman juvenile judge that will also be a chair of department,
- shelters for domestic servants and other women that easily lose their jobs,
- care for the women that came from the prison,
- preventative work against the prostitution,

There were many more actions undertaken by the movement. We listed ones that are connected to the early understanding of social work and had an impact on development of the welfare state.

Women's movement and social work

The term social work was first introduced in Slovenia in the thirties of the 20 century when Yugoslav Women's Union was founded. The Union was divided into different sections that covered issues like political participation, international cooperation, peace work etc. One of the sections was

responsible for social work. It was led by Slovenian activists Angela Vode²³ and Alojzija Štebi²⁴. Main areas of activities at the beginning were two: protection of children and youth and women's work and professions. There were no education for social work and the term was not used outside the women's movement.

Women read Alice Salomon work and translated her articles. In 1912 one of them was published in a very first number of the journal *Slovene woman*²⁵. It was an article on international women's movement. The second article on Alice Salomon was published in 1932 in the review *Women's world*²⁶. It was a short biography that focused on her role in the development of social work, written by Angela Vode. Alice Salomon was presented as social worker that dedicated her life to the education of women; she was advocating for the rights of employed women and founded the education of social workers. Vode also emphasised her role in women's movement, especially her persistent demand that the movement should be closely connected to everyday life of women and not just an academic discourse on equality between genders. Movement should advocate for the social right and protection of the labour women.

In the description of Alice Salomon as social worker, we can identify following elements of the profession:

- Helping people in need
- Diminish differences between rich and poor
- Working in institutions for children, with blind and poor
- Supporting labour women with helping them in the household
- The goals of the social work should be collective and not individualistic
- Protection of labour women
- Enabling women to educate and to employ
- Influencing social policy

Angela Vode also wrote a short biography of Jane Adams. It was published in the review *Women's World* in 1930. Jane Adams was presented as social worker that dedicated her life to the poor and

²³ Angela Vode is one of the most important pre-war feminist in Slovenia. She wrote over 150 articles, several books, amongst them *Gender and destiny* and *Woman in contemporary society*. After the WW II she was prosecuted and was not allowed to publish. She died in 1983, forgotten and unknown. During her activism before the war she was working in different organisations. She was a teacher by profession. Her biography was published in 1998 and since then her work was reprinted in three books, the latest with her memoirs was published in 2004.

²⁴ Alojzija Štebi was also very important member of the women's movement. She was employed in the field of social security and also published a lot of articles and a book "Women and democracy".

²⁵ It was founded in 1912, but was published just for a year.

²⁶ *Women's world*, 1932/11, p. 309-312.

other people in need. She founded special kind of settlements called Hull-House that was open to all people in need, also provided education and training and paid special attention to children, migrants, and mothers with children and others. It was connected to Chicago University. In the Hull-House there was also a library and theatre for adults and for children. She advocated for those that were oppressed and she campaigned against social injustices.

The elements of social work as a profession that can be identified in the article were following:

- Working with poor and people in need
- Offering shelters and housing to children and single mothers
- Developing child-care
- Offering education to migrants and to women
- Enabling voluntary work, especially of the students
- Offering advocacy for poor when their rights were violated
- Campaigning against social injustices (also against the effects of capitalism)
- Charity is not enough for successful solutions of social problems, because it is private and individualistic, social work should be a collective action that involves also local and national authorities
- Raising awareness of general public about social problems and social inequalities
- Developing social rights and the system of social benefits (in the cases of unemployment, illness etc.)
- Influencing social policy (also with researching the everyday life of people in need)

Although social work as a profession was not developed in Slovenia before the WW II, we can find elements of it inside the women's movement. The use of the term applied to the work with children and women. In two biographies it was described as political and not individualistic. It is not just individual help to people in need but a collective action against social injustice and inequalities what was one of the most powerful goals of women's movement. Social work was connected to labour movement and to the development of social rights. Decent housing, education and employment for all were the claims that were significant for women's movement and they overlap with the description of social work in two biographies.

There was also a clear distinction with the charitable work. The first was seen as private, individualistic with no political claims and actions against injustices. The second was described as public and directed to social change. Offering help in kind and in money was not any more seen as the good will and moral act of the people that had resources but it was defined as a right of those

that did not have them. It was defined as the right because of recognition of social inequalities while charitable work was often based on individual failures of people in need. Therefore a collective action aimed at the development of the state responsibility to care for the people that could not provide for themselves and for their families.

We can conclude that although social work in Slovenia was not developed as a profession before the Second World War we can find element of it inside the women's movement. Their collective actions were directed to social change in favour of those without a power to represent themselves. Women influenced the development of welfare state and also took a responsibility for some of the services offered to people in need.

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2. Period from 1940 to 1960

The development of Social Work Education in Slovenia During the Period 1940-1960

*“Social help is not and should not be anymore
alms for those, who need social protection,
but a holy duty of every individual and the whole.”*

The report of the work of the Department of social policy from the end of the national liberation war until 28. December 1945.²⁸

2.1 Introduction

The professionalisation of social work in Slovenia can not be separated from the raise of the schools of social work across other parts of former socialist Yugoslavia. The first School for social workers was found in Zagreb in the year 1952 and the second in Ljubljana in 1955. Later on new Schools for social workers were found in Belgrade, Sarajevo and Skopje (1958). All of them were based on a 2-years curriculum, fairly similar in all four national contexts (Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia), except for some minor differences.

After the 2WW social work education in the countries with communist governments were either dismissed or had not been developed until the early 1990ies. Therefore, the establishment of social work education in former Yugoslavia was not an obvious activity of the new political elites. It was rather strongly connected with the major ideological break up of the Yugoslav Communist party with the Soviet Union government in 1948. Some respected members of the communist party who already had their doctorates in law, were in the early fifties sent to the United States, to learn about social work. One of the interviewee said: “The first concepts of social work in Slovenia well as in Croatia were American concepts. The reason for that was because US were the only friends, other countries which were closer and also had social work training were our enemies, such as Germany or Austria. Our government wanted to show that we were something else, and different from other communist countries” (Gabi Cacinovic Vogrincic, social work teacher since 1966; interview April 2005).

²⁸ Okrožni odbor OF Maribor. Oddelek za socialno politiko. Maribor, 27. 12. 1945. ZAL, LJ 479 a.e. 216, t.e. 3.

The similarities of social work training across different schools of former Yugoslavia were caused by similar formal institutional structure of social welfare in the whole country as well as by the fact that the first curriculums were either set up by a special commission of the United Nations or supported by some foreign expert.²⁹ Vida Miloševc Arnold, remembered: “At one of the international congresses I met a social work teacher from Norway who told me that she was in Zagreb in 1955, when a group of people prepared the document about the field of work for the future centers for social work.” (personal interview , 26. May 2005). The differences were marked by the individual ideas of the pioneers of the professional training and some political and institutional specificities within the former republics. While for instance the first vocational training in Zagreb emphasized social administration³⁰ and became part of the Faculty of law, the teaching program of the School for social workers in Slovenia stressed social protection and started with its own institutional development of higher education.

2.2 *Social workers: a disappearing profession in socialist conditions*

After the formal establishments of the vocational trainings, the shift toward the recognition of social welfare work was seen in some leading political documents from that period. In one of his speeches, the Yugoslav president Josip Broz Tito said: “Of course, we are not any kind of Samaritans, but we are communists, and the communists have in the first hand be humanists.”³¹ One of the leading member of the Communist party Aleksander Rankovic, emphasised that the local community (*komuna*) is a place of harmonisation the “individual and common interests” and the place where a shift from “big questions” (*velika vprašanja*) towards “minor questions” (*drobna vprašanja*) is taking place.³² The 7th Kongress of Communist party in 1958 stressed the need for general improvement of the living standards, the increase of the activities in local communities and the development of professional social workers: “We need to solve difficulties and to meet the needs of

²⁹ Vida Miloševic, Some current problems of social work in our country. In: Zbornik clankov in razprav, Higher School for Social Workers, Ljubljana 1980, p. 64. See also documents about foreign expert planned to visit some particular institutions in Slovenia, during 1953 and 1954. Uprava za ekonomsko I tehnicku pomoc, br.44, Beograd, 6.januar 1954. ZAL, 1-54. Vida Miloševic Arnold, the former social work student who later became a teacher recalled: “Soon after Informbiro Yugoslavia became member of United Nations. Un promoted social work a lot, and probably our politicians signed a document to establish social work training.” (personal interview, 26. 5.2005).

³⁰ In the first teaching program in Zagreb, one of the five major groups of the subjects was »Administration of social services«. In the Slovene curriculum two of six were called »Social protection« and »Hygiene and health«. The full Slovene program see bellow.

³¹ Opening Speech in Zrenjanin, Ljudska Pravica, 20.11. 1958 in Vodopivec 1959: 8. Orig.. »Mi razumljivo, nismo nobeni samaritani, toda mi smo komunisti in komunisti, morajo v prvi vrsti biti hmanisti.« J.B. Tito, Zdravica v Zrenjaninu /Keynote in Zrenjanin/, Ljudska Pravica 20.11. 1958.

³² VII Kongres Saveza komunista Jugoslavije, Kultura, 1958, Beograd.

every particular person, regardless, if these difficulties and needs come from objective living conditions or from the psychical or physical conditions of the individual person. (...) In order to solve all these problems we need to increase the network of social services and institutions with societal leadership, especially the network of counselling services. A special focus has to be given to the formation of the professional social workers.”³³

At the same time, some written material and testimonies³⁴ which cover this period show, that the need for professional social workers was also seen as something transitional and a surplus, which would only be needed until the socialism would not reach its most important goals. In one of the earliest documents from that period we read: “The goal of the today’s new social policy is big, namely, the current social welfare money, which are now still necessary needed, will become unnecessary during the next years. Every worker will be insured and will get, when he will become unable to work, a pension. With other words, the living standard of the wide people’s masses can be increased.”³⁵ Later on, a “transitional nature” of the vocational training can be assumed from a source about the establishment of the school. In 1954 Nika Arko, herself a lawyer, a political figure and later a teacher at the School for social workers, wrote, that because of the future bigger needs for social workers, “the school’s existence is ensured for a longer period”.³⁶ The vocational training for social workers was obviously not supposed to be a continuous education, but a temporary training, being developed from the “needs of the field”. One of the founders of the vocational training and one of the first professors at the school, also a lawyer, Katja Vodopivec has recalled: “Our politicians were rather ashamed than proud to establish the School for social workers.” (personal interview 9. march, 2005).

“Project socialism”, was based on the belief, that formal equality can change everyday inequalities. Katja Vodopivec remembered: “When I came back from US in 1952, it was decided that we also have to do something in civil society. The principles of social work were the same abroad and here. Sometimes we annoyed them, because the politicians believed, that all social

³³ Program Zveze komunistov Jugoslavije sprejet na VII kongresu ZKJ, Cankarjeva založba, Ljubljana, 1958, str. 213).

³⁴ Personal interview with Bernard Stritih: »The first director, Mica Jancar, has broken the silent agreement and the belief that the school was more or less something transitional. She started in the mid 1960ies to employ more people, professionals with degrees and those who had a vision about social work. She was the person who emphasized »science«, and those things. Only because of that the school remained.” (personal interview 20. may 2005).

³⁵ Okrožni odbor OF Maribor. Oddelek za socialno politiko. Maribor, 27. 12. 1945. ZAL, LJ 479 a.e. 216, t.e. 3.

³⁶ Orig.: (...) »je obstoj šole za dalj casa zasiguran«. Svet za zdravstvo in socialno politiko LR Slovenije, II/1 – 451/1-54. Ljubljana 13.3.1954. Mestni Arhiv Ljubljana, LJU 479; a.e. 161/11; 2360/1.

problems could be solved with legislation. People didn't have any knowledge what is social work, it has the echo of charity, philanthropy. ” (personal interview, 9.3. 2005). Another respected professor of social work Gabi Cacinovic Vogrincic remembered the times during the 1970ies: »When I've told the director of the school for social workers Ivan Jenko that I would need more teaching hours in order to include all of the topics I wanted to, in my teaching subject, he answered: »Don't worry Gabi, you will teach them something, the rest will do the socialism« (personal interview, May 2005).

At the same time social case work was known to some people as the synonym of “western bourgeois values”, where the individual needs dominated over the needs of the whole society. This was in opposition to the core values of socialism, oriented at the “well-being of the society as the whole”. Bernard Stritih³⁷, one of the oldest social work professors remembered: »It was said between the lines, that social case work was not okay. The only accepted method was social policy, which meant giving social support money to individuals, according to the legislation from that time. This was the understanding of social work. Additionally to that, social work also meant writing written orders for those who came under guardianship. (...) In practice the word social work was often avoided, they rather spoke about ‘societal’ or ‘sociopolitical’ work. The word was not nice; it did not go into the ears like ‘socialism’. It was as that the word itself has something to do with religion and the church. In the lectures of Ada Klanjšek, one of the teacher from the early period, it was often said, that social work is not a caritative work. But all these, were only on the level of words, people were not used to rethink all these things. What did all that mean? It meant actually, that the church did caritative activities, and that that was a danger for the revolution“ (personal interview, may 2005).

If the emphasise towards the individual needs and individual “problems” were seen as “bad” arguments for the establishment of the vocational training at the beginning of the 1950ies, the “right” arguments that influenced the political elites to establish schools for social work across ex Yugoslavia were the structural “un-solved problems” such as: the society suffered from the pre-war inequalities caused by capitalism; the society was burdened by the consequences of war especially from a large number of “war invalids”; a big need to help those children who were left without

³⁷ Bernard Stritih was a social work teacher since 1966 and was in the early 1970ies strongly attacked by the members of the communist party and by the members intellectual political elites for translating and publishing a book by German – American Jew Friedlander. The critic was partly directed towards the choice of the book, since it was focused at social work with groups, and partly towards Stritih's Introduction which didn't go in lines with the understanding of social work as “social policy” activity. The chair librarian from that time Lidija Kunic remembered: “As I was not a member of the communist party, I was not allowed to be present at all those many “party meetings” where the issue of this book and Bernard Stritih was discussed. (personal interview, June 2005).

parents and those families without a breadwinner; new societal problems (delinquency, inner mobility of the population from the rural to the urban areas, employment, housing issues, prostitution) that have to be solved.³⁸ Professionals in the field of social protection started to work with some “long term social problems” such as: war invalids, peasants moving into the cities, orphan children, families without breadwinners, housing issues especially in the cities, women’s employment and moral misbehaviours of some individuals (especially prostitution and alcoholism).

2.3 *The raise of the state as the “big father” within the field of social protection*

The overall decentralisation of the political institutions in early fifties made possible, that each federal republic developed its own local municipalities and regional councils that were responsible for the “social protection work”. The development of state administration shows an enormous fragmentation of different professional bodies dealing with social issues across every national republic of former Yugoslavia. Between the years 1945 and 1950 the Committee for social protection (*Komite za socialno skrbstvo*) at the federal level coordinated all social issues in ex Yugoslavian republics. The only exception was the Supreme Invalid Commission (*Vrhovna invalidska komisija*), which was a supreme organ that decided about disability issues. In every republic there were ministries for social protection with different responsibilities such as: leading the already existed social institutions; organising collective children’s holidays; being a supreme organ of complaints. Beside the ministries³⁹ each republic had invalid commissions (*invalidske komisije*) which defined “invalidity” of a particular person. At the district people’s bodies (*okrajni ljudski odbori*) which were established in 1945 (they operated from 1945 until 1965), were commissaries for social protection.⁴⁰

The term social help has been after 1945 gradually replaced with the term ‘social protection’ and ‘social policy’. Although one of the earliest documents of the new communist government from 1945 still uses a pre-war terminology of charity, ‘holy duty’ and social help (a sigh of the historical continuity), it also shows the paradigmatic shift from ‘individual charity work’ towards ‘societal work’: »The improvement of social condition of wide people's masses is one of the most important

³⁸ Cf. Interview with Croatian academic Eugen Pusic, 2004.

³⁹ Republic ministries were soon replaced by the Council for Health and and Social Policy People's Republic of Slovenia (*Svet za zdravstvo in socialno politiko LRS*).

⁴⁰ Nika Arko, Organizacija socialnih služb /Organisation of social services/ in: Društvo socialnih delavcev Slovenije: Socialne službe v Sloveniji. Gradivo I. obcnega zbora Društva socialnih delavcev Slovenije dne 17. In 18. Maja 1957 v Ljubljani. Ljubljana, 1958. pp. 85-102. /Association of social workers of Slovenia, Social Services in Slovenia. Material from the 1.st assembly of the Association of social workers/.

duties of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and actually the core meaning of the liberation war (...) Social help is not anymore and should not be anymore the alms for those who are in need for social protection, but it is a holy duty of every individual and the whole.«⁴¹ The idea of the »improvement of social condition for everyone» goes partly along in the line with the radical social work tradition, oriented towards the structural changes of human conditions in western countries.⁴² At the same time, it already shows one of the core elements of the communist ideology, where the duty of the state as the “big father”, was to take care after the society as the whole. Not the struggle against Fascism and Nazism, but people themselves, becomes the »core meaning of the liberation war«. The pre-war ideology of charity was replaced with the post-war ideology of the »duty of every individual and the whole”. The idea behind the words was, that if everyone behaves according to “supreme duty” (which was kept on an abstract level), there will be no one anymore, who will need social help.

One of the interviewee confirmed these with his thoughts: “At the beginning it was taken for granted that the activities which were earlier carried out by the church had to be replaced. It was important to cure the wounds remained from the war. It was even not so important that the methods of help were very similar than before the war, it was more important to help the people. Later on, it became important to see instead of social help and social work only the accomplishment of the aims of social policy.” (Bernard Stritih, personal interview, 20. may 2005).

From the year 1950 the decentralisation had taken place on a large scale. The federal Committee for social protection (*Komite za socialno skrbstvo*) was dismissed and replaced with national Councils for people’s health and social policy (*Svet vlade za ljudsko zdravstvo in socialno politiko*) which operated between the years 1951-1953. After 1953 the Council for health and social policy People’s Republic of Slovenia (*Svet za zdravstvo in socialno politiko LRS*) became the most important legal body in every republic.⁴³ A person who served as the vice secretary of the Council and was in later years an important person for the establishment and development of the vocational training in Slovenia, was Nika Arko.⁴⁴

Beside this legal body there existed district people’s boards (*okrajni ljudski odbori*), towns people’s boards (*mestni ljudski odbori*) and since the year 1955 local municipality bodies for social welfare

⁴¹ ZAL, LJU 479, arhivska enota 216, tehnicna enota 3, 27.12. 1945.

⁴² Cf. Michael Reisch, Janice Andrews: *The Road not taken. A History of radical Social Work in the United States*. Brunner, Routledge, 2001.

⁴³ It replaced the Ministry for Social Policy of the National Government of Slovenia.

⁴⁴ Vice secretary (*pomočnik sekretarja*) was the second most important position within the Council, immediately after the secretary general (*sekretar*).

(*obcinski organ za socialno varstvo*) which were the lowest in the hierarchy of social welfare system. In some parts of Slovenia local municipal bodies existed already before the year 1955. In every republic Councils for people's health and social policy (*Svet za ljudsko zdravstvo in socialno politiko*) were gradually divided into health and social policy councils (from 1956). The Law of the state administration (*Zakon o državni upravi*) also defined that since 1. June 1956 a new Council for Social Welfare (*Svet za socialno varstvo*) should start to work in every federal republic. In 1956 another Law on competencies of the municipal and district people's boards (*Zakon o pristojnosti obcinskih in okrajnih ljudskih odborov*) started to operate. According to that law almost the entire work of "social workers" who already worked in the municipalities, was decentralised and transferred to the municipal people's boards (*obcinski ljudski odbori*), and to the district people's boards (*okrajni ljudski odbor*) which remained the second-level bodies. The district people's boards also included the executive council for social protection (*sveti za socialno skrbstvo*).

The town's people's boards (*mestni ljudski odbori*) existed until the year 1954. In the same year for instance, the Town's people's board of Ljubljana was divided into three sectors: a.) guardianship and social protection of young people (*skrbništvo in socialno varstvo mladine*); b.) guardianship and social protection of adults (*skrbništvo in socialno varstvo odraslih oseb*); c.) invalid protection (*invalidsko varstvo*).⁴⁵

After the year 1955 the local municipalities became the substantial bodies of state administration. They took over some of the responsibilities from the districts and towns people's bodies (which were already dismissed). The municipal people's boards consisted of different councils, secretariats, departments and sections. Most of them have for instance council for family welfare (*svet za varstvo družine*) and the council for social protection (*svet za socialno skrbstvo*). They also have secretariats with different departments. One of them was a department for health and social welfare (*oddelek za zdravstvo in socialno varstvo*) with four sections (*referati*): for guardianship; for general protection (*splošno skrbstvo*); for invalid matters; for the family welfare (*varstvo družine*).

By 1957 there were already 130 municipal people's boards, 77 councils for family welfare, 71 councils for social protection, 30 councils for social protection and work, 29 councils for health and social policy, 11 councils for health and social protection, 9 councils for social protection and family welfare (*svet za socialno skrbstvo in varstvo družine*), 1 council for health, social protection

⁴⁵ ZAL, LJU 497, a.e. 160; 1954

and the protection of the family (*svet za zdravstvo, socialno skrbstvo in zaščito družine*). These councils operated within the municipal people's boards and made decisions upon a large variety of matters:

- guardianship issues (Law on guardianship slov.: *Temeljni zakon o skrbništvu*);
- different family matters such as sending a child into a foster care, intervention in cases of violence, etc. (Law on the relationships between parents and children (*Temeljni zakon o razmerju med starši in otroki*);
- about adoption of children; Law on adoption (*Zakon o posvojitvi*);
- dealing with the entitlements of social benefits according to special regulations (for the victims of fascist violence, for persons who need "general social help");
- sending people to social institutions such as boarding schools, asylums for children, youth, adults, old people's homes;
- they were supposed to cover the costs for individuals who needed institutional care but had no money or relatives who would cover the costs.

Above the local municipality councils there were district councils (*okrajni svet za socialno varstvo*) that designed the policy of social welfare, and the republic Council of social welfare (*republiški Svet za socialno varstvo*) which was responsible for the policy of social welfare within the particular republic.

In 1956 a Law on federal administrative bodies (*Zakon o zveznih upravnih organih*) made possible to establish a Secretariat for social welfare of the Federal Executive council (*Sekretariat za socialno varstvo Zveznega izvršnega sveta*). Another Law of the state administration (*Zakon o državni upravi*) from 1956 defined that the Secretariat was a legal administrative body. In Ljubljana district (the capital of Slovenia) all health and social issues became part of two different secretariats. The Secretariat for social welfare and work (*tajništvo za socialno varstvo in delo*) was divided into two sections:

- Section for social welfare (*Odsek za socialno varstvo*) which included:
 - a.) guardianship, the education of abandoned youth and foster care;
 - b.) school kitchens and children's organised holidays;
 - c.) the protection of adults (financial issues and statistics).

- Section for invalid protection (*Odsek za invalidsko varstvo*) which included:
 - a.) defining invalidity;

- b.) entitlements for invalid money and children's benefits;
- c.) revisions, administrations.

The activities were financed locally since every local municipality has a budget for social welfare. The only exception was invalid welfare, still financed from federal and state budget.⁴⁶ The term "social work" was in some occasions explicitly mentioned as one of the responsibilities of local municipalities. In 1957 when the Association of social workers had its first assembly, Nika Arko said: »Beside all these (*social problems, op. cit. D.Z.*), the competencies of local municipalities include also field work, all curative and preventative activities, this is individual social work, social action, and group social work. The local municipality is therefore responsible for the majority of activities regarding family welfare, welfare of adult persons, and social preventative work.«⁴⁷

2.4 *The early social protection work between social action and bio-power*

During the first period after the end of the liberation war and the establishment of the new communist government, the major activities in social field were done by civic organizations. One of the most important was the Antifascist Front of Women (*Antifašistična fronta žensk- AFŽ*), consisted of women doing unpaid "societal work".⁴⁸ Antifascist women's front was the leading women's organisation during the 2WW in the territory of former Yugoslavia and was a political antifascist women's organisation.⁴⁹ In 1949 it has around 4000 women members.⁵⁰ The work of many of them was to "collect information" (*zbiranje podatkov*) of individuals and families in need

⁴⁶ Nika Arko, Organizacija socialnih služb. In : Društvo socialnih delavcev Slovenije: Socialne službe v Sloveniji. Gradivo I. obcnega zbora Društva socialnih delavcev Slovenije dne 17. In 18. Maja 1957 v Ljubljani. Ljubljana, 1958. p. 89.

⁴⁷ Nika Arko, Organizacija socialnih služb, in: Društvo socialnih delavcev Slovenije: Socialne službe v Sloveniji. Gradivo I. obcnega zbora Društva socialnih delavcev Slovenije dne 17. In 18. Maja 1957 v Ljubljani. Ljubljana, 1958.1958, p. 89.

⁴⁸ The other most important civic organisations since 1945 were: Associations of the friends of the youth (*Zveza prijateljev mladine*) which was responsible for the parent education, education of children, organisation of the leisure time activities for children etc.; Red Cross (*Rdeči križ*) which was responsible for the organisation of school kitchens; trade unions, The Associations of soldiers, of war invalids, of blind, organisation of deaf and the Association of pensioners. See Nika Arko, Ljubljana, 1958.

⁴⁹ In 1953 AFŽ was dismissed and transformed into Association of women's' organisations (*Zveza ženskih društev*). The activity of the new association was to give a "societal help to the employed wife" (*družbena pomoč zaposleni ženi*). In: Nika Arko, Organizacija socialnih služb. V: Društvo socialnih delavcev Slovenije: Socialne službe v Sloveniji. Gradivo I. obcnega zbora Društva socialnih delavcev Slovenije dne 17. In 18. Maja 1957 v Ljubljani. Ljubljana, 1958.

⁵⁰ Nika Arko, Organizacija socialnih služb. V: Društvo socialnih delavcev Slovenije: Socialne službe v Sloveniji. Gradivo I. obcnega zbora Društva socialnih delavcev Slovenije dne 17. In 18. Maja 1957 v Ljubljani. Ljubljana, 1958. p.90.

and to report about the “situation in the field” to the district and municipal people’s boards.⁵¹ Nika Arko described it as the association in which many voluntary social workers perform the work in local communities.⁵² Women of the association got different names: ‘field visitors’ (*terenske obiskovalke*), ‘field visitors of the children’ (*terenske obiskovalke otrok*), ‘voluntary social workers visitors’ (*prostovoljne socialne delavke obiskovalke*).

The town's people's boards were responsible for all sorts of data collections and censuses such as: listing “social problems”, cataloguing the social backgrounds of the pupils, who were under the social protection (done by school teachers),⁵³ listing the children in need for medical check ups,⁵⁴ gathering data about the school enrollment of the children who were under the protection of the state⁵⁵, making an inventory of the adult persons receiving social help. Those people who received social help were predominantly from the category of »victims of the national liberation war« (disabled, orphans, families of the heroes). By the end of the 1945 there were 6830 persons who were entitled for such social support money and 9939 children.⁵⁶

Beside the collection and cataloguing of the data the members of AFŽ were also responsible for carrying out social actions organized on a large scale. Many of these actions focused at children such as care for the Bosnian orphans children⁵⁷ or the action “No child has to stay unprotected” (*Noben otrok ne sme ostati nepreskrbljen*), during which the members of AFŽ made a list of those children who lost one or both parents during the war, put them in special institutions, into foster care or they placed them with other relatives.⁵⁸ A special group of children were the Bosnians and

⁵¹ ZAL, LJU 479, a.e. 216, t.e. 1, 1945.

⁵² Nika Arko, Organizacija socialnih služb. in: Društvo socialnih delavcev Slovenije: Socialne službe v Sloveniji. Gradivo I. obcnega zbora Društva socialnih delavcev Slovenije dne 17. In 18. Maja 1957 in Ljubljana. Ljubljana, 1958. p. 90.

⁵³ Okrožnica Narodne Vlade Slovenije, Ministrstva za prosveto: 'Socialni izvor otrok' z dne 6.2.1946 in obrazec št. 4 'Socialni izvor učenecv' (oboje ZAL, LJU 480, a.e. 3, t.e. 28, spis 923)

⁵⁴ Odstopanja od 'zdravega telesa' so prikazane s pomočjo natancnih preglednic in grafov številnih 'bolezenskih' kategorij, kot denimo 16 vrst ocesnih obolenj, 4 vrste tuberkuloznih, 21 vrst ortopedskih okvar itd. (dokument 'Analiza zdravstvene zaščite šolske mladine v letu 1952/53', ZAL, LJU 479, a.e. 187, t.e. K-976/55).

⁵⁵ Glej pozive Sveta za ljudsko zdravstvo in socialno skrbstvo, 'Vsem skrbniškim organom!', z dne 9.7.1951; Komiteja za socialno skrbstvo Vlade FLRJ, Uprave za skrbstvo in mladinsko varstvo, v Beogradu, 'Vključenje otrok v šole in gospodarstvo v letu 1950', z dne 5.3.1951 (ARS, AS 243, 1,6 t.m. /15 š., 3 kt., š 5, LRS).

⁵⁶ Okrožni odbor OF Maribor. Oddelek za socialno politiko. Maribor, 27. 12. 1945. ZAL, Lj 479 a.e. 216, t.e. 3.

⁵⁷ gl. Zapisnik konference socialno zdravstvenih svetov z dne 11.9. 1947: ZAL, LJU 479, a.e. 216, t.e. 4, in Kikelj, 1986, poglavje Bosanski otroci v Sloveniji (1945-1951), str. 99-109.

⁵⁸ Ministrstvo za socialno politiko je dalo pobudo za akcijo in navodila za preskrbo otrok, ki so ostali brez enega ali obeh staršev, ki se je vršila od 20. avgusta do 5. septembra 1945 (Slovenski poročevalec, 19.8. 1945, Ljudska pravica 21. in 24.8. 1945, v Kikelj, 1986).

children from Vojvodina, who were also registered with the aim that the state would be able to follow their development (housing, school, employment).⁵⁹

The daily newspaper Slovene reporter (*Slovenski poročevalec*) wrote on September 13. 1945: »The camerades of AFŽ made a census of the children, who lost the father, mother or both of the parents during the occupation. They found so far, that during the occupation 225 children from Ljubljana area became orphans. If we add to this group all those children who were in need for support already before the war, all foster children, some of those children who were cared by the ex organization for children's protection and youth care, and the inmates from the children's institutions, then the picture shows that Ljubljana has about 750 unprotected children.»⁶⁰

Some other early large scale actions were the »The Week of Cleanliness« (*Teden cistoce*) in October 1947⁶¹, and "The protection of the mother and the child" (*Zaščita matere in otroka*) between 1950 and 1952. The latter encompassed different activities focused at the reduction of the infant's mortality rate, the health education of mothers (organizing public lectures, evening discussions, radio broadcasting, information in daily newspapers), issues of care of the children and youngsters, the moral and material responsibility of the parents towards their children. "The protection of the mother and the child" activities were carried out by the women members of AFŽ, and defined at the meeting of the Initiative Board of AFŽ in 1950. The activist women spoke also about the need for the "expansion of a network of counseling services for pregnant mothers in order to bring the professional help closer to women and children in the field".⁶² They also spoke about the need to ensure the professional check ups of the pregnant women, and to educate them about healthy nutrition.⁶³ Social protection workers were also involved into the establishment of the »milk kitchens« (*mlecne kuhinje*), for children and young people sending children into summer

⁵⁹ Leta 1951 je v Sloveniji pri rejnikih in v domovih živelo še približno 300 Bosanckov in 150 Vojvodinckov. 'Ob vkljucevanju v gospodarstvo in šole se pojavljajo težave, ker nimajo svojih osebnih listin. Zato nameravamo opozoriti skrbniške organe in Svet za kulturo in prosveto LRS [...] da oskrbijo tem otrokom potrebne osebne listine' (ARS, AS 236, š. 3, 26.5.1951).

⁶⁰ Slovenski poročevalec, 13.9. 1945 in Kikelj Anton, 1986.

⁶¹ Namen tedna cistoce, ki naj bi se vršil po celi Sloveniji, je proti-tuberkolozna zdravstvena dejavnost (odkrivanje in zdravljenje obolelih) in zatiranje delamržnosti, prostitucije, pijancevanja, razuzdanega življenja in podobno (ZAL, LJU 479, a.e.216, t.e.4; z dne 11.9.1947).

⁶² Orig.:«...razširitev mreže posvetovalnic za nosece matere, z namenom, da cimbolj približamo strokovno pomoc materi in otroku na terenu«. ZAL, LJU479, a.e. 160, t.e. 1211/54.

⁶³ Sklepi, sprejeti na seji IO AFŽ dne 8.2. 1950 in sestanku s sekretarkami dne 9. in 10.2. 1950; gl. tudi članek 'Skrb za zdravje matere in otroka – naša največja skrb', Naša žena, št. 3, leto IX, 1915, str. 111, 112. Kasneje se je dejavnost razširila tudi na socialna vprašanja (gl. 8. sejo Sveta za zdravstvo in socialno politiko LRS z dne 23.7. 1953, AS 243, 1,6 t.m. / 15 š., 3 kt., š. 1; sejo Odbora za zaščito matere in otroka pri MLO Ljubljana, dne 13.5. 1954, ZAL, LJU479, a.e. 160, t.e. 1211/54. Komisija za zaščito matere in otroka je bila ena od 5 stalnih komisij Sveta za zdravstveno in socialno politik o LRS (ARS, AS 243, š. 1).

colonies, systematic check ups for children, delivery of the vitamins, organizing kitchens for the workers in factories, made some actions against tuberculosis etc.

Some persons who later become professional social workers started to work voluntarily in these actions directed by the district people's board. One of oldest social worker Justina Felicijan has told: "After the war I got a job at the district people's board in Slovenske Konjice. At first we worked day and night, voluntarily without payment. With the help of local organisations we collected information from the field about economic vulnerable families and individuals. The work in the field was most often done by the midwives and voluntary women from AFŽ. They were called "visitors" (*obiskovalke*), who reported about the cases. We often met with them, they reported to us about the situation in the field." (interview, February 2005).

It was obvious, that the state started to collect information about every aspect of human's conditions and started to control all aspects of people's activities. These universal large scale state activities which started to control birth, personal health, biological reproduction, ill-health, food manners, public health, psychological conditions⁶⁴ and death as well, show how the new government established itself through state control over the biological conditions of human lives. Michel Foucault called this processes bio-power or bio-governance (Foucault, 2003). This was a large scale technology of the regulation of the whole population, which ensures the state control on the micro as well as macro level of every day life. The government became responsible for the living conditions of the people »from the birth until the grave« (*od spocetja dalje, pa do groba*), as was written in one of the document of the town's people's board of Ljubljana.⁶⁵

People responded to these novelties with enthusiasm and great hope and also with fear and suspicion. One of the oldest social workers, who worked as voluntary worker since 1945 and was also responsible for the organization of the social-health colonies⁶⁶ between 1957-1975 has told: "In a social-health colonies we involved children with biggest health and economic problems. We got the money for them from the local municipality. At the beginning the people didn't trust us. They didn't dare to give children to the colony or to the youth health center (*mladinsko okrevališče*), because they thought that we will take them to Russia. We solved the suspicion in that way, that we

⁶⁴ Denimo leta 1952/53 so v Ljubljani pri sistematskih pregledih otrok zapisali, da narašča število neurotiziranih otrok: psihoastenij, psihoneuroz in izrazito neurolabilnih otrok. Prvic je bilo pregledanih 32.927 oseb in ponovno pregledanih je bilo 38.400. Od tega števila je bilo diagnosticiranih 224 otrok med 6 in 14 letom, 238 pa otrok nad 14 letom: 35 so jih napotili k mentalnemu higieniku, 12 pa v bolnico (ZAL, LJU 479, a.e. 187, t.e. K-976/55).

⁶⁵ Mestnega ljudskega odbora Ljubljane iz leta 1954 (ZAL, LJU 497, a.e. 160, t.e. 1211/54).

⁶⁶ Orig.: *socialno-zdravstvene kolonije*.

later on also invited to the colonies children who didn't have health and economic problems"(Justina Felicijan, interview 2004).

2.5 *Deserved and undeserved*

The regulation of everyday activities did not happen only through the collection of the data and information, but also through dividing people into the "deserved" and "undeserved" which was done according to two major criteria. The crucial condition for entitlement for social money was that the person took an active part in the liberation army. Another condition, strongly dependent from the first one, was the »real needs« defined by the field visitors, having most information about the »field«. There was a fear that social support money might "demoralize those who are supported."⁶⁷ Therefore, the social protection documents emphasized the urge for work instead of social money: "Our era is the era of work and only secondary to that, the era of social aids."⁶⁸

The decisions upon the entitlement for the social money, pensions and the invalid allowances, was in the first period after the end of the war very transparent. The Ministry for social policy of the National government of Slovenia (*Ministrstvo za socialno politiko Narodne vlade Slovenije*), demanded that the list of the names of people entitled for social transfers, has to be publicly known and were put in a public place, "that the voters could have a continuous control over the work of the commission".⁶⁹ The most common method for categorizing someone of being in need for a social support money between 1945 and 1954 was through field visits.⁷⁰ Field visits didn't only have the aim to find people who would need some social money but they also control those who already got some social money. Ela Zupancic, a former director of a Center for social work and one of the first social workers remembered in her interview, that the women field-visitors were "checking what people, who received social support money cook, that they didn't by chance dare to cook meat." (interview 17.9. 2004).

The poverty and social vulnerability were not enough for the entitlement for social support money. Those people who "deserved it" were in most cases individuals who worked for the liberation front

⁶⁷ Porocilo Mestnega odbora OF iz leta 1945 (Porocilo Ministrstvu za socialno politiko, ZAL, LJU 479, a. e. 34).

⁶⁸ Orig.: *Naša doba je doba dela in šele v drugi vrsti doba podpor.* Town's board of the liberation front in its public announcement from 1945 (Mestni odbor OF v svoji okrožnici iz leta 1945). ZAL, LJU 479, a.e. 216, t.e. 1.

⁶⁹ ZAL, LJU 479, a.e. 216, t.e. 1; z dne 27.5.1945.

⁷⁰ ZAL, LJU 479, a.e. 166, t.e. 2307/54-III, 10.4.1954.

(*Osvobodilna fronta*), were partisans or became orphans after their relatives died in liberation war. They were called “our people” (*naši*) in order to be distinct from “not-ours” (*ne-naši*) who were the Nazi-collaborationists, CA⁷¹ (*OR*) and the “expropriated” (*razlašenci*). The latter were mostly former owners of shops, factories, banks, some Jewish survivors (some of them coming back from the concentration camp), who were all expropriated by the new socialist government.

Not only immediately after the end of the war, but also later on, social money was given to »our people«. ⁷² The document from the Secretariat of social protection of the town's people's board (*Tajništva za socialno varstvo pri MLO*) from 1955 had an appendix for defining someone as entitled for social welfare money. The questionnaire started with: »What was the relationship of the person to the national liberation struggle since 1941 until today? ⁷³

A Jewish survivor who returned from Auschwitz when she was 14 years of age, in April 1945, with her mother and sister (father died in the camp), had told: “When we came back home, this was another difficult time for my mother (...) Our house was destroyed, we slept on the floor, there were no heating, we only got some food in the public kitchen. We haven't received any packages from the Red Cross. Everyone got something, we haven't got anything. It was not until 1947 that we got packages from the United Nations” (Spielberg Foundation testimonies, 1996). ⁷⁴

During these national divide, the voluntary “field visitors”, members of AFŽ, seemed to play a crucial role. As voluntary workers they made a huge unpaid “women's job” while providing the local bodies with necessary data about people in need. At the same time some documents show that at least in the 50ies their work in the field became part of political control. In the eyes of ordinary people the power of field visitors was very big. They could entitle someone of social welfare money or to refuse the entitlement, if the person or the family was “not-ours”. ⁷⁵ Ela Zupancic, one of the oldest social workers called them “simple-minded women” (*preproste ženske*), even

⁷¹ CA = »carefull ashes« were called the individuals and families who didn't take the sides during the war (*OR* = 'oprezne riti'). Interview with Ela Zupancic, nov. 2004, made by Jelka Zorn. The same expression confirmed one of the social work professors.

⁷² Zorn mentions several documents between 1945 and 1955 where the division between »our people« and »not ours« took place. In the report of the Town's division of LF (*Mestni odbor OF*) from the year 1945 it was written: »We have big concerns to entitle with social money to those families, who were our opposition, but we agree because of the children.« (*Precejšnje pomisleke imamo pri nakazovanju podpor družinam, ki so bili sicer naši nasprotniki, vendar radi otrok jim odobrimo.*) (Porocilo Mestnega odbora OF iz leta 1945, ZAL, LJU 479, a. e. 34). The same was confirmed in the interview by Ela Zupancic, who emphasised that the work of the field-visitors women (coming from AFŽ organisation) was very much based on this division. Interview with Ela Zupancic, made by Jelka Zorn.

⁷³ Orig.: »Kakšen je bil njen odnos do NOB od leta 1941 dalje do danes?« Secretariat of social protection of the town's people's board (*Tajništva za socialno varstvo pri MLO*, ZAL, LJU 479, a.e. 187, spis 997/55.

⁷⁴ Soon after the end of the war the house of her parents was confiscated and became the state property. She is now 74 years of age, lives in Slovenia, wants to remain anonymous.

⁷⁵ ZAL, LJU 479, a.e. 187, t.e. 965/55/III, 10.10. 1953.

“primitive women” (*primitivne*), which meant that they did not have any education in helping professions. In her view, field- visitors too often used the political criteria for cataloguing someone on the list for the social welfare money, and they made sure that the money was given to people who were “ours”. Therefore, one of her aim, when she became director of the Center for Social work in the early 1960ies, was “to get rid of the field visitors” and to replace them with professional social workers. (Ela Zupancic, interview 2004).

Something similar was confirmed by one of the founders of the vocational training and the writer of the first book on social work methods professor Katja Vodopivec : “ They gave the care for children into the hands of AFŽ women (*Afežejevke*). These women thought that they had to work like they did. I saw that they were good women who wanted to help. They were simple-minded women, and they often believed that they help people when they talk a lot. This annoyed me, and pushed me to write the book. (...) Later on I’ve heard that people experienced us as social control. This was far away from my understanding of social work, which I understood as help, but probably it was a control.” (personal interview, march 2005)

In my interviews I wanted to know weather it was publicly known that some people got some social benefits and the others did not? Bernard Stritih responded: “This was much hidden. In an overall poverty it was of a great help if someone didn’t need to pay something. These were the most usual sources of social welfare at that time. It seems to me that the awareness about discrimination didn’t come up. The children of the “other side” had great feelings of guilt because of the masses propaganda against the church. It was as that they internalized that they were on the other side, and because of that they didn’t deserve any help and should not complaint as well.” (personal interview, 20. May 2005).

2.6 *The development of the vocational training*

Most of the professionals within social field called officers for social protection (*referenti za socialno skrbstvo*) didn’t have any formal education for the work with people in need. During the early 50-ies they got some knowledge from different seminars, short trainings and lectures organised across Slovenia. They had to pass some tests and show their skills in front of the people from the Ministry, District people’s boards and also the higher officers from the municipalities.

The legal body which was responsible for the decision of the vocational training was the Council for health and social policy of the People's Republic of Slovenia (*Svet za zdravstvo in socialno politiko LRS*). A person who served as the vice director (*pomočnik sekretarja*) and was an important person for the development of the vocational training was a lawyer Nika Arko. Soon after the first school of social workers was established in Croatia, also the Slovenian Council for health and social policy of the People's Republic of Slovenia (*Svet za zdravstvo in socialno politiko LRS*) discussed the need for the establishment a school for social workers. The idea was brought up by the Commission for the protection of mother and child (*Komisija za varstvo matere in otroka*), which was part of the Council.⁷⁶

The commission which met in December 1953 emphasized that the existent workers in different social bodies, didn't have proper education for dealing with social issues and especially not for preventative work. They also expressed the urge for having more professional workers within the growing social institutions, schools and organizations. They proposed to set up a 2 year school with a status of a high school (*rang visoke šole*) and accept students with secondary degree, teachers, educators, nurses and some possible layers with diploma. Nika Arko sent the report to the Secretariat for people's health and social policy (*Tajništvo za ljudsko zdravstvo in socialno politiko*)⁷⁷. She also added a proposed teaching curriculum (one from Zagreb and the one made by her and some other people in Slovenia).⁷⁸

The new proposed program consisted out of the following subjects⁷⁹:

1. Social studies (Introduction in social studies; Basics of political economy);
2. Social and law system of the federal people's republic of Yugoslavia (Constitutional law; Labor system; The municipal system; The role of the societal organization);
3. Law (The introduction into the science of law; Social protection laws in the civil and criminal law system);
4. Social Protection (The history and development of social protection, Social bodies and social- and health protection of Federal People's Republics of Yugoslavia (FLRJ), Social welfare money and the care in institutions, The social protection of children and the youth; The social protection of

⁷⁶ Svet za zdravstvo in socialno politiko LR Slovenije, II/1 – 451/1-54. Ljubljana 13.3.1954. Mestni Arhiv Ljubljana, LJU 479; a.e. 161/11; 2360/1.

⁷⁷ To the director (nacelnik) dr. Marjan Dular.

⁷⁸ Svet za zdravstvo in socialno politiko LR Slovenije, II/1 – 451/1-54. Ljubljana 13.3.1954. Mestni Arhiv Ljubljana, LJU 479; a.e. 161/11; 2360/1.

⁷⁹ Svet za zdravstvo in socialno politiko LR Slovenije, II/1 – 451/1-54. Ljubljana 13.3.1954. Mestni Arhiv Ljubljana, LJU 479; a.e. 161/11; 2360/1.

work; Social protection of the adults and weak people; Social protection of the defect and invalid persons;).

5. Hygiene and health (The organization of the social hygiene; School hygiene; Industry hygiene; The hygiene and health of the children; The hygiene of the wife; The societal problems of the sickness, chronic and long-term illnesses; The basic of psychopathology, mental hygiene and clinical psychiatry; Alcoholism; Hygiene and the content of nutrition);

6. Psychology, pedagogy, and the methods of the social protection work (The basic of psychology; the basics of the pedagogy and defectology, educational counseling, work counseling, mental hygiene therapy; Methods of the work with individuals, groups and organizations; Documentation, inquiries and mass observations).

These basic six courses were supposed to fill the first 3 semesters, the fourth semester was planned to be an individual choice. The students could choose one of the following topics: Youth protection; the protection of adults and weak persons; the protection of the defect and invalid persons; health protection and the Labor protection.

The teaching program was sent to 18 evaluators, from the State secretariat of the inner affairs, to the Central Hygiene Institute, a psychiatrist and to some individual professors.

They all agree that not the Croatian but the new Slovene version of the social work program should get implemented, and no one had any substantial comments or critical remarks. Some evaluators suggested the urge for a foreign language, another one to increase the school into 4 years study.

Marjan Dular from the Secretariat for people's health and social policy (*Tajništvo za ljudsko zdravstvo in socialno politiko*) proposed some new topics like: employment and labor protection; the organization of social protection in other more developed countries; foster care; how to lead a household economically; youth criminal and prostitution: "*The teaching program should pay a special attention to the growing forms of youth criminal and prostitution.*"⁸⁰ The same was suggested by some other evaluators, as well. Dular also made clear, that a 2-year education can not have the status of a high school but only a higher school.

⁸⁰ Orig.: »Posebno pažnjo bi bilo potrebno v ucnem programu posvetiti mldinskemu kriminalu in prostituciji, ki zavzemata vse širše oblike.« Tajništvo za ljudsko zdravstvo in socialno politiko. Pripombe k programu šole za socialne delavce Slovenije. Ljubljana, 15.4. 1954. Mestni Arhiv Ljubljana, LJU 479; a.e. 161/4; 2360/1-54.

On the 19.th of July 1954 the board of the Council for health and social policy of the PRS agreed upon the need for the establishment of the school for social workers (*šola za socialne delavce*).⁸¹ In the following year in 1955 the same Council made the law to establish the School for Social Workers (*Šola za socialne delavce*), with one of the core aims to give a professional training to those people who already worked with social issues. 23 persons started to study within the 2 year vocational program. During the first years not many students entered the vocational training, although it was planned that the local municipality boards would provide the stipends for everyone.⁸²

Katja Vodopivec remembered: “In those days one of the person responsible for social politics was Vida Tomšič. I wrote her a letter sometimes between 1953 and 1954 and described that countries abroad had such schools. Vida heard me but she didn't replay and never afterwards gave any comments to my letter. Later on I got the information that they decided to establish the school. (...) This was a political decision. I think that some intellectuals who thought the same managed to persuade Vida Tomšič that the school is needed. At the opening ceremony they said that someone has to give a talk, and told me to give the speech. I spoke at the day when the school was opened.” (personal interview, 9. march 2005).

The initial idea for a vocation training where only students with secondary education can be enrolled, had been changed. The final law from 1955 allowed that in the first years also people with no secondary education, but with “experiences” can enter the school. Bernard Stritih commented on these early days with the words: “The politicians such as Nika Arko established the school more like, ‘Zagreb has a school, why shouldn’t we have one as well, this will give us good jobs?’ And the partisan heroes could get education as well” (personal interview, 20. May 2005).⁸³

2.7 *The recruitment of the first students*

The majority of the early students has the roots of their social work activities in the partisan war and had already worked as appointed officers in district and municipal bodies. Some of them had

⁸¹ Sklepi seje Sveta za zdravstvo in socialno politiko LRS 18. in 19. julija 1954, ZAL, LJU 479, box1; 6 pages ; p. 6. ; Svet za zdravstvo in socialno politiko LRS. II/1 -2946/28, Ljubljana 3.12.1954. ZAL, LJU 479; arhivska enota 166; tehnicna enota 2360/54IM.

⁸² Svet za zdravstvo in socialno politiko LRS. II/1 -2946/28, Ljubljana 3.12.1954. ZAL, LJU 479; a.e. 166; 2360/54IM.

⁸³ See also: Blaz Mesec: Neskoncna ali samo dolga pot do celovitega sistema izobraževanja za socialno delo? Journal for Social Work, vol. 35, no. 5, pp. 363-384.

continued to work voluntary work most often as the members of AFŽ (field visitors) strongly linked with the district people's boards and some others got a paid job as social protection workers sometimes also called social workers. One of the social work teachers called them "formed cadre" (*izgrajeni kadri*), a word used in a pejorative sense and meant those persons who were seen as trustworthy and who already showed a strong commitment to the new communist government⁸⁴. They were already seen as the part of the 'nomenclature'.

One of the oldest social worker from Slovenske Konjice Justina Felicijan (80years) told her story: "I got familiar with social work during the war. Partisans who were leading an organized struggle against the enemy made links with people in the field, who were trustworthy and willing to help. My family collected the material in the field (food, medicine) and I got involved as well. We made pullovers, stocks, warm clothes. I realized then that I like to help other people and that this gives me a feeling of satisfaction.(...) After the war the first aid was in the form of clothes and food. (...)We divided help through the commissions and worked together with the local boards, health services and field visitors. At first the list of those who were entitled was very long, later on, with the opening of the factories, when people started to get jobs they were able to care for themselves."(interview 2004).

When in 1954 the board of the Council for health and social policy PRS agreed upon the establishment of a school for social workers (*šola za socialne delavce*)⁸⁵, the board opened up the question how many of those persons who had already worked in social services (*refrenti v socialnih službah, na oddelkih za zdravstvo in socialno politiko*) would want to study at the school for social workers in order to get professional knowledge. It was also emphasized that the district and municipal people's boards are supposed to give stipends to their officers.

In December 1954 the Secretariat for social protection (*Tajništvo za socialno varstvo*)⁸⁶, send to the Council for health and social policy PRS a list of their employers who applied for social work vocational training.⁸⁷ All of the very first 15 applicants (12 women and 3 men) already worked as appointed officers (occasionally called "social workers"), some of them even as directors in social protection offices in the area of Ljubljana, and 2 of them also at the Secretariat for social

⁸⁴ Blaz Mesec: Neskončna ali samo dolga pot do celovitega sistema izobraževanja za socialno delo? Journal for Social Work, vol. 35, no. 5, pp. 363-384.

⁸⁵ Svet za zdravstvo in socialno politiko LRS. II/1 -2946/28, Ljubljana 3.12.1954. ZAL, LJU 479; a.e. 166; t. e. 2360/54IM.

⁸⁶ At that time the president (*nacelnik*) of the Secretariat was Iva Rakar, also one of the first social work students.

⁸⁷ Tajništvo za socialno varstvo, A letter send to the Council for health and social policy people's republic of Slovenia, Ljubljana 20.12. 1954. ZAL, LJU, 2360/2-54-I-Ra-Z1.

protection.⁸⁸ Many applicants worked in social field since 1945. One woman was explicitly described as being employed at the AFŽ from 1946 until 1950. Out of 15 applicant across the country only 5 of them had finished secondary education (all 3 men and 2 women), and five of them only had elementary school.⁸⁹ The youngest applicant was a man of 22 years of age, and the oldest was a woman of 47 years of age. Most of the applicants were in their 30iests. Similar recruitments took place in different parts of Slovenia. Regardless the formal conditions, almost none of the enrolled students fulfilled the formal conditions of having finished secondary school to enter the higher school for vocational training, since most of them didn't finished the entire secondary education. The right for breaking the formal condition of having secondary education (gymnasium, school for teachers, educators and nurses) was already approved in the early document which speaks about the establishment of the school: "At the beginning the school would also accept, under certain conditions, the most capable appointed officers."⁹⁰

The appointed officers ('referents') who didn't have the formal education were most often women voluntary workers who were members of AFŽ, female and male referents working in the district and municipal boards and some other individuals who got their "special status" because of the achievement during the partisan war. In one of the cases in February 1955, the Towns' people's board wrote a recommendation letter to the Secretary of the Social Protection (*Tajništvo za socialno varstvo*), to enroll one of their worker who already worked with the Employment Bureau (*Biro za posredovanje dela*) into the school for social workers: "(...) He already has some years of practice, and as an invalid from the liberation war himself, he feels special vocation for solving the problems of employment and re-qualification of the socially vulnerable persons. (...) The comrade was the solder from the national liberation war since 15.sept. 1943, and is a 50% war invalid. Because of this fact we strongly support him to be accepted to the school."⁹¹

The described examples can be compared with the recruitment of the students across other republics of former Yugoslavia and was best expressed by a respected professor of social work Divna Lakinska Popovska from Macedonia:

⁸⁸ Tajništvo za socialno varstvo, A letter send to the Council for health and social policy people's republic of Slovenia, Ljubljana 20.12. 1954. ZAL, LJU, tehnicna enota 2360/2-54-I-Ra-Z1.

⁸⁹ Tajništvo za socialno varstvo, A letter send to the Council for health and social policy people's republic of Slovenia, Ljubljana 20.12. 1954. ZAL, LJU, 2360/2-54-I-Ra-Z1.

⁹⁰ Orig.: »V zacetku bi šola sprejemala pod gotovimi pogoji tudi sedanje sposobnejše referente.« Sklepi seje Sveta za zdravstvo in socialno politiko LRS 18. in 19. julija 1954, ZAL, LJU 479, box1; 6 pages ; p. 6.

⁹¹ Mestni ljudski odbor, Biro za posredovanje dela, Ljubljana. Štev.120/4-Ci/Si, Ljubljana 12.2. 1955. ZAL, LJU 479 a.e. 184, 752/55.

“The first social work students were the partisan commandants, who only had elementary school. They were not educated and the school for social workers was a kind of secondary school for adults. After 1949 these people became the first directors of social institutions. Many of those partisans finished higher education and became high commissioners, who worked in this field during the whole communist time. They created all laws in the field. Although they were illiterates, they had many experiences with working with people and were able to make the discipline. The first old people’s homes were organized like the barracks. Social work has been developed from the practice, this was education for adults. In my family all relatives from that time became social workers.” (personal communication 9.4. 2005).

Not only the Council for health and social policy of the People’s Republic of Slovenia (*Svet za zdravstvo in socialno politiko LRS*), also regional councils discussed the need for better educated professional workers, especially “social workers”. In Celje for instance, the complaint targeted the absence of the Councils of Social Welfare (*svet za socialno varstvo*), which were planned to be responsible for “social work” activities, and were still not established in every municipality. Instead of that some municipalities still had social welfare linked together with health issues. In those municipalities, as the report complained, there were not enough properly educated professionals and the work of the Councils of health and social welfare was very slow.⁹²

The report of the Council of Social welfare Celje meeting from 1956 stressed that the “responses from the field are very bad”, which meant that also in the 2. Generation of students not many applied for social work study.⁹³ In that year for instance, 5 student’s places were reserved for the district Celje (*okraj Celje*). This example shows that the enrolment into the school was a planned activity inevitable linked with the needs of different regions to get some educated professionals. The national bodies made sure that higher education would be equally spread among officers working in the field. Beside that, there was little enthusiasm of the firms, factories and hospitals to give scholarships for social work students. The report even mentioned the names of the firms who refused to stipend the students, which obviously shows that giving scholarships was almost an

⁹²The topic was discussed at the 8.th meeting of one of the Council of Social welfare Celje (VIII. Seja Sveta za socialno varstvo pri Okrajnem ljudskem odboru Celje, ki je bila dne 1/8-1956), the president of the council was Helena Borovšak. Zapisnik, VIII. Seja Sveta za socialno varstvo pri Okrajnem ljudskem odboru Celje, ki je bila dne 1/8-1956 ob 8. uri v prostoru tajništva za zdravstvo in socialno varstvo. Strani 1-6. Zgodovinski Arhiv Celje, Spisi tajništva za zdravstvo in socialno politiko –OLO Celje.

⁹³The topic was discussed at the 8.th meeting of one of the Council of Social welfare Celje (VIII. Seja Sveta za socialno varstvo pri Okrajnem ljudskem odboru Celje, ki je bila dne 1/8-1956), the president of the council was Helena Borovšak. Zapisnik, VIII. Seja Sveta za socialno varstvo pri Okrajnem ljudskem odboru Celje, ki je bila dne 1/8-1956 ob 8. uri v prostoru tajništva za zdravstvo in socialno varstvo. Strani 1-6. Zgodovinski Arhiv Celje, Spisi tajništva za zdravstvo in socialno politiko –OLO Celje.

obligatory investment. The report warned that the School for Social Workers might get closed, if there would be not enough candidates.⁹⁴ It was also decided, that the priorities for the stipends should be given to the children of the heroes who died in the war (*padli borci*) and to the children of the victims of the fascist terror (*ŽFT- žrtve fašisticnega terorja*).

As already mentioned, the number of male students were almost the same as female, which shows that in spite of the fact that caring work was inevitably a female responsibility, the post-war period made new vocational training desirable for men, too. One of the reasons was the lack of paid employment for man as well as the chance to get stipends offered for the early students. Justina Felicijan, who worked as social worker before the establishment of the vocational training expressed this with her example: “When the School for social workers was established in 1955 I wished to continue my education. At first they told me that I could become the student, but later on my boss decided that he would study social work. He never worked in the field of social welfare.” (interview 2004).

Bernard Stritih remembered: “When I start to teach in 1966, it was probably for the first time, that there were no partisan-solders between the students, anymore. They were all students with a finished secondary school. One of the important characteristic of the early students was, that they were oriented towards the action work. They were not used to talk much. Another characteristic was that they very sharply distinct between the orphans of the partisan families and those of the collaborationists. For the former I saw they were willing to do a lot, for the latter not.” (personal interview, 20. May 2005).

2.8 *Women founders of the School for social workers*

Although the founding of the School for social workers was a “top down” federal decision, which involved a number of leading political figures, there were three women whose activities in the fifties carried out the establishment of the school: Nika Arko, Katja Vodopivec and Marija Jancar. They had very different careers and played very different roles during the fifties and sixties of the 20th Century. Today, their joint work shows that the establishment of the school was only partly designed by the politicians but it was also created by the leading academics and social activists who believed in the future of social work. These three women were very different: Nika Arko was

⁹⁴ Ibid. p.4.

predominantly a political person, Katja Vodopivec was an academic and Marija Jancar a teacher and a manager who believed that social work has to become a profession in its own terms.

Nika Arko, a lawyer, took some leading roles in national ministry for social policy and later on at the Council for health and Social Protection of the People's Republic of Slovenia. She was obviously one of those persons who designed the first curriculum. At the school she taught the 'organisation of the social welfare' and 'social policy'. Vida Milošević recalled: "When I became a student in 1960 she was not very attractive teacher for us students. She was always late and most of the times read out of the books. We called her 'aunt with a bag', because of her big bag with books and the way how she walked since she was slightly physically disabled. There were no cars and she walked from her first job from the city centre to the school. She came always very tired from her job at the Secretariat for social welfare and was most of the time interested in those students who came out of the field. I was young and came directly from the secondary school, she was not interested in us. But she knew the whole social welfare structure very well, as she was one of the early ministers." (personal interview, 26. 5.2005). Bernard Stritih has told: »She was rather a dogmatic person. I think that Mica Jancar, the first director needed her and gave her symbolically the leading position at the school." (personal interview, 20. 5.2005).

Katja Vodopivec came from a left wing oriented family, whose members were part of the Christian Socialists before the 2WW, and later on after the war entered the communist party. She and her family were not without a dark spot, since her father was a director of the City Bank of Ljubljana (*Mestna Hranilnica*) before the war and the whole family lived a petit bourgeois style of life. She was a lawyer as well, well educated and knew several languages. Soon after the establishment of the school she started to write a book on social work methods which came out in 1959. Before the book came out she already started to experience several political pressures, which was the reason that the manuscript came out only in several copies but not printed as a book⁹⁵. Katja Vodopivec herself tried to come to the Faculty of Law which she managed to do in 1958.⁹⁶ She recalled these times: "I taught all these methods which I wrote in the book. But already in 1958 I left the school, the pressure was big and I finished always wanted to come to the Faculty of law. I was a critical woman, and therefore they didn't really like me «

When she left the school the books disappeared from the shelves for the teaching material. The new teacher of the social work methods was well-known political activist who wrote several pages of the

⁹⁵ Until now the Faculty of Social Work only has 2 of the copies.

⁹⁶ Afterwards she became a professor of law and set up the first Institute for Criminology in Slovenia.

teaching material for the students. The book disappeared also from the memory of the people. But not for long. Bernard Stritih remembered the remaining books from the end of the 60ies, but also got the message that they are not allowed to use. The leading librarian Lidija Kunic said: "When I started to work in the early 1970ies I remember loads of the books by Katja Vodopivec in one of the closets. We open it, some of them were taken away by the students, and the rest we threw away." (personal communication 2005).

Katja Vodopivec herself recalled: »For me writing the textbook about social work method was a big thing. When I finished the book, they told me that I have to put into the book all of the quotes from different congresses of the communist party and all other speeches of the leading communists. I will not tell who asked me to do that. Therefore, I started to add all those footnotes when the book was already finished. Before that, I've quoted those writers by whom I learned about social work in the United States in the 1952. The circles which were skeptical towards the school, criticized the book, they wanted me to emphasize that our people said all those things before the foreigners. The foreign writers were allowed in the book but not as those who said something before our people. We had the ideas of social work incorporated in the ideology. They told me that all those things were not said by the foreigners first, but that our people told them earlier. The atmosphere at the school was such that we were told that it has no sense to translate from other environments, but to use the writers from Slovenia and Ljubljana. The book was not enough political, led by the ideas from that time. If I would live in different times everything would be different, there would be no political pressure." (personal interview 9. March 2005).

Bernard Stritih said: »The government needed a scapegoat from time to time. Nobody told me explicitly but I knew that what Katja Vodopivec wrote is not desirable and should not be recalled. » Vida Miloševic social work teacher from the 1960ies reflected upon the reaction of the politics towards the book on the methods of social work: »I got the lesson that social work methods are the most dangerous thing to do at school. Social work with individual persons was rejected."

Katja Vodopivec is now in her late 80ies and is still not seen as one of the most important figures for the establishment of the vocational training.

The third woman was the first director of the School for Social Workers Marija Jancar, who was a teacher and remained the director from 1955 until 1972. Everyone remembers her with warm feeling such as "she was a mother for all of us", "she was a great personality", "she was close with

me and told me sometimes important things”; “she was a person who really wanted to make a school that would educate social workers and which would also be science” etc.

She came from a partisan family and was very active during the war herself. Living in Bela Krajina, which was the liberated territory, she helped to establish some homes for deported children, some provision homes for people who lost their homes etc. Bernard Stritih said: “During the war people showed who they are, weather they are active, willing to take the initiative, ready to scarify themselves for the ideas and the work, and these things were very important. Mica Jancar, I guess, got very good marks in all these matters. Although she was only a teacher, was able to talk with university professors. She had close contacts with Kržišnik and Rudi Kioovsky, who were a kind of patrons of the school and social work. Kržišnik was in pension already and had no power, but Kioovsky was very influential and seemed to protect Katja Vodopivec.”(personal interview 20.5. 2005).

Vida Miloševic remembered: »Mica Jancar told me that she got a communist party duty to start and to prepare everything to start social work education: ‘I didn't have any idea, I was a teacher. What should I do? I invited everyone whom I thought to know foreign language and could know something like Katja Vodopivec, Kržišnik, Rudi Kioovsky, Majda Štrobl a layer as well, and some doctors from medical faculty.’ Mica was able to bring together the most important people from that time.”(personal interview 26. May 2005).

In her speech at the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the school Marija Jancar said : “The establishment of the school for social workers reflects the care of the society for the destiny of its each individual member.” (*V ustanovitvi šole za socialne delavce se izraža skrb družbe za usodo vsakega njenega člana.*)⁹⁷ The statement shows the personification of the society which is more important than the individual person, but according to the testimonies, the first director of the school was a woman who believed in universal equality.

2.9 *Social problems continue*

Until 1957 the students did not get an official document that they finished higher education. Not earlier that in 1958, after 3 years of the establishing of the school, the new law on education legally

⁹⁷ Marija Jancar, *Naša pota in cilji./Our ways and our aims/ 10-letnica Višje šole za socialne delavce.* Ljubljana, 1965.p. 7. /10th Anniversary of the Higher School for Social Workers/.

defined that social work training can be part of higher professional education. The School changed the name into Higher School for Social Workers (*Višja šola za socialne delavce*) and was established as 2 year educational program. In 1960 the Higher School for Social Workers became part of university education (University of Ljubljana).

In 1957 the first 2 social workers finished the School for Social Workers.⁹⁸ Marija Kompan wrote a diploma work with the title: Mentally defected children excluded from families and the work of social workers. Stefan Ovsenar wrote a diploma with the title: The family influence on a young person who made a criminal act.⁹⁹ Between 1955 and 1965 there were 997 (regular and mature) students that were enrolled into higher education, out of them 68% (699) women and 32% (318) men. Out of them only 240 got a degree between 1955 -1965.¹⁰⁰ Since 1964 the number of women started to increase rapidly.¹⁰¹ Regardless of the fact that the first generation of the students already graduated, the state still did not established the legal name “social workers” for those who were employed in social welfare and was not clear what is the legal status of social work education (name of the degree; the higher education was not legally confirmed etc.).¹⁰²

In 1957 the first research on the situation of “social workers and social services in Slovenia” took place.¹⁰³ The research found out that the census of professionals, working in social welfare were 293 persons. The official number included every person who performed paid work within social welfare in local municipalities and districts. The census included also the students of the School for Social Workers who all worked in practice before they entered higher education. Although the written documents named them “social workers”, they were legally defined and paid as administrative workers with different statuses according of their educational degree (lower, middle,

⁹⁸ In the history of naming the School, the word »social worker« always had the male form. Women-social workers were always subsumed under the male form of social workers. Also all other sources and books which are used in the text use only male form when they refer to women and men.

⁹⁹ Journal of Higher School of Social Work, *Višja šola za socialno delo*. Ljubljana 1975.pp. 27-75.

¹⁰⁰ Ivan Jenko, Introduction, *Journal of Higher School for Social Workers*, Ljubljana, 1966, p. 10.

¹⁰¹ Anton Kržišnik, *Nastanek in razvoj stroke socialno varstvenega dela /The beginnings and the development of social work profession/, Journal of Higher School for Social Workers, Ljubljana, 1966. p.32.*

¹⁰² In opposite to that Nika Arko claimed that another 2-years education at the School of public administration, which was established in the same period, immediately got a higher status than the School for social workers. The students from public administration got some social benefits which were not given to social work students (extra money as the reimbursement for the salary, reimbursement for divided family life etc.) See: Nika Arko, *Organizacija socialnih služb*. in: *Društvo socialnih delavcev Slovenije: Socialne službe v Sloveniji*. Gradivo I. obcnega zbora Društva socialnih delavcev Slovenije dne 17. In 18. Maja 1957 v Ljubljani. Ljubljana 1958. p. 100.

¹⁰³ *Društvo socialnih delavcev Slovenije: Socialne službe v Sloveniji*. Gradivo I. obcnega zbora Društva socialnih delavcev Slovenije dne 17. In 18. Maja 1957 v Ljubljani. Ljubljana, 1958, pp. 28-30.

higher administrative title- *nižji, srednji, višji upravni naziv*).¹⁰⁴ The majority of them were employed in local municipalities and districts:

Council of social welfare LRS	4 persons
Districts	53 persons
Local municipalities	202 persons
Masses organizations	6 persons
School for social workers	28 persons ¹⁰⁵

The minority of social workers were employed in different public care institutions (32 persons). Slovenia was divided into 130 local municipalities, out of which 16 did not have any officers for social welfare (*referent za socialno varstvo*) by that time. Most of the employees in social welfare were in the Gorica district (7 persons). Out of 293 social workers there were 121 (41,3%) male and 172 (58,7%) female. 134 persons (46,5%) of them were between 30-40 years old and the average age was 37,5 years.¹⁰⁶ The educational degree of 48,5% of them was the lower secondary school. 43,7% of them had completed or partly completed the secondary school. Until 1957 there were 23 (7,16%) social workers with higher or faculty education. Two of them already finished School of Social Workers.

The report mentioned that out of 293 professional social workers in Slovenia, 24 persons (8,2%) work in social welfare more than 10 year (which means since the end of the war). The majority worked 1-2 years (53,9% or 158 persons) which corresponded with the establishment of local municipalities in 1955. The census showed a low educational structure of people called social workers, since only 16,7% of finished secondary school, 3,1% finished higher school and 4,7% had university degree.¹⁰⁷ This was one of the reasons to establish a 2-year School for Social Workers.

The numbers also show that during the establishment of social work education, social work was not as gendered profession, as it has been developed in later years, since a quite large number of men

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Nika Arko, Organizacija socialnih služb. V: Društvo socialnih delavcev Slovenije: Socialne službe v Sloveniji. Gradivo I. obcnega zbora Društva socialnih delavcev Slovenije dne 17. In 18. Maja 1957 v Ljubljani. Ljubljana, 1958. p. 98.

¹⁰⁵ Nika Arko, Organizacija socialnih služb. V: Društvo socialnih delavcev Slovenije: Socialne službe v Sloveniji. Gradivo I. obcnega zbora Društva socialnih delavcev Slovenije dne 17. In 18. Maja 1957 v Ljubljani. Ljubljana, 1958. p. 97.

¹⁰⁶ Nika Arko, Organizacija socialnih služb. V: Društvo socialnih delavcev Slovenije: Socialne službe v Sloveniji. Gradivo I. obcnega zbora Društva socialnih delavcev Slovenije dne 17. In 18. Maja 1957 v Ljubljani. Ljubljana, 1958. p. 97.

¹⁰⁷ Nika Arko, Organizacija socialnih služb. V: Društvo socialnih delavcev Slovenije: Socialne službe v Sloveniji. Gradivo I. obcnega zbora Društva socialnih delavcev Slovenije dne 17. In 18. Maja 1957 v Ljubljani. Ljubljana, 1958. p. 99.

were enrolled into the vocational training. It was obvious, that in the post-war society, the gendered working spheres were blurred and the concept of gender more fluent than before the war. Gender barriers were easily to transgress. Similar social transformations could be found in other western countries, where women after the 2WW worked in the male occupations and professions (Germany, England etc.). In Slovenia there were probably 2 major reasons for such situation: a.) the lack of paid work for men and b.) the socialist ideology that defined social work as a “societal work” for the development of the communist society – a vocation that men as well as women wanted to take part in.

The quickest development of social welfare institutions was after 1960ies, when in 1961 the highest political bodies in the republic made a recommendation to establish centers for social work. In 1961 there was the 1. National conference for social work with the plenary lecture "Workers self-management and social work" (*Delavsko samoupravljanje in socialno delo*).¹⁰⁸

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¹⁰⁸ Marija Jancar, Naša pota in cilji./Our ways and our aims/ 10-letnica Višje šole za socialne delavce. Ljubljana, 1965.p. 12./10th Anniversary of the Higher School fo Social Workers/.

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Personal interviews:

Katja Vodopivec, founder of the vocational training and one of the first professors of social work (personal interview, March, April 2005).

Gabi Cacinovic Vogrincic, social work teacher at the School for social workers since 1966 (personal interview, April 2005).

Bernard Strith, social work teacher at the School for social workers since 1966 (personal interview, May 2005).

Vida Milošević Arnold, social work student from 1960-1962, and social work teacher since 1970 (personal interview, May 2005).

Justina Felicijan (80years), first social worker in Slovenske Konjice (interview conducted by current social worker Slavica Videcnik in Zrece, December 2004)

Ela Zupancic, social work student from 1958- 1960, first Director of the center for Social Work in Ljubljana (interview done by dr. Jelka Zorn, september 2004).

Ivanka Kukovec (born 1951), social work student from 1960-1962; between 1965-1966 social work practice placement teacher and the teacher of social group work (personal interview 31.5. 2005).

2.11 Discussion of the main results and contribution to the comparative conclusion

Because Slovenia first gained independence in 1918 it was strongly influenced by the politics of the states that controlled the territory through the centuries. It was under the governments of Italy, Austrian-Hungarian Empire and for some time also under the French government. The politics and policies changed what also have an impact on the reconstruction of the historical events in Slovenia. It is difficult to deconstruct the history of the development of the welfare system and particularly difficult to be accurate on chronology. Regarding the fact that this research is one of the first of a

kind, we have to understand the results as the basic findings that need to be further explored in details with intense work in the archives. This is should be long term research project for a team of researchers.

But we can also make some very interesting conclusions from the material we succeeded to collect till now. To do that, we will summarise the main findings:

- Social policy was based on an assurance system, connected to labour status of a person
- With the complexity of the social structure the service providers were also organisations, that were not connected to Church
- Before the World War II different concepts of the development of the state existed, that also influenced development of the welfare system: integrative (Everything should be integrated into the structure of the Church); solidaristic (the Church is the coordinator of the solidarity between people – charity should be the main source of the care for the people in need); Christian social activism (social policy is needed to regulate the social problems that are not solved just by the Church but also by other agencies); socialistic (because of the conflict between the market and workers, there is a need for social policy based on social justice); corporativistic (family and Church should have an important role in solving social problems – Christian values are also important)
- Development of the welfare system was also one of the means of the secularisation of the state. Because social policy was seen as a means to achieve that, it was not popular for the Church
- There was a huge immigration to Germany and Alp countries (coalmines), United States, Russia and Romania (forestry) and Egypt (breast feeding, nurselings).
- The first labour protection legislation was adopted in 1883 (Austrian Law) and later other rights (sick-pay, disability benefits, pensions, rights in relation to housing etc.) were regulated
- Most of social problems that did not relate to labour were not considered as the state responsibility and different charitable organisation were developed to provide services to cover the needs
- After the World War I, when Slovenia gain independence and join Serbs and Croats in creation of the common state, social policy became an official state policy that also got separate ministry.
- Different kind of associations were founded, some of them were religious and some not (we can also find Jewish women's organisation, that provided education for girls and women)

- That was also the period when the term social work was used for the first time inside the women's movement. It was first used in the short biographies of Alice Salomon and Jane Adams
- In the thirties special committee was named as a committee for social work at the Yugoslav Women's Union and two Slovenes were chairing it – Alojzija Štebi and Angela Vode. After a few years it was renamed
- We can not trace any other use of the term before the World War II.
- We also found some women that were active in the field of social work, although they did not use the term to describe their work.

The results of the research shows that even though the term social work was not broadly used in the period before the World War II, we can find evidence that it was known and connected to activities of the women's movement. The term itself was not used in the same way as charity. It marked the activities for social change and social justice.

Social policy was debated and we can find ideological backgrounds in the particular ways the policy developed in a certain period of time. In this sense we can connect Slovenian debates to the debates in other European states and also can find the elements of different welfare regimes that developed in Europe (Social democrat, conservative etc.).

The WW2 meant a huge social, political and ideological break. After 1945 old welfare organisations were dismissed and new arose. Social help done by charity organisations disappeared. The most important changes and discoveries analysed within the research project within this period of time was the following:

- the system of welfare after 1945 was based on the principle that the social welfare money was predominantly reserved for those people who committed themselves to the liberation war;
- new civil organisations, including women organisations, were predominantly set up from above and a huge fragmentation of the welfare system took place;
- the development of the vocational training was a political decision supported by the western political forces in order to give professional education to those persons who already worked in social welfare;
- social work as the word and as activity was only partially acceptable by the political elites, because it was linked together with "western values" and "social problems" which was supposed to disappear;

- social work training was not meant as a continuous training but as a temporary education which would not be needed in the future when socialism solves all social problems;
- the leading person in the development of the vocational training were women who almost disappeared from the public knowledge ;
- social work which was taught between 1955 and 1960ies can be described as “social work without methods” and few individuals who emphasised the importance of social work methods in their books had experienced several “soft” political persecutions, which gave a clear message to other social work teachers that the society as the whole is always more important than the individual person.

The research period 1945-1960 shows that social work as the training and the practice made some crucial steps towards the modern understanding of social welfare and social justice. At the same time it also shows that social work was often used by the political party for control, surveillance and punishment during the same period. Its history is marked with ambivalences, grey spots and still needs a lot of historical reflection.

2.12 Appendix: documents