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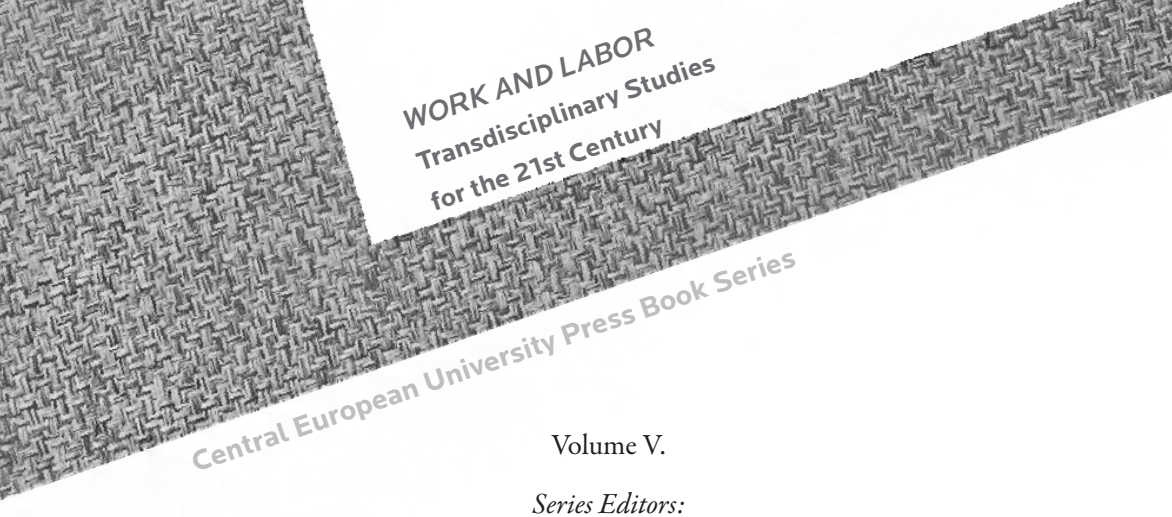
Women and Work in the North-Eastern Adriatic

Postwar Transitions

Edited by
MARTA VERGINELLA
URŠKA STRLE

WOMEN AND WORK IN THE NORTH-EASTERN ADRIATIC



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A Note on Toponymy

The turbulent socio-political aspects of the north-eastern Adriatic region's past and its multicultural realities are reflected in the changing toponymy of urban and rural settlements in the region. Nearly all of them manifest denominations in the languages that have intersected in the area. For instance, the Carniolan capital *Klagenfurt* is known as *Celovec* in Slovenian, while the Slovenian capital *Ljubljana* used to have the German name *Laibach* until 1918 and the Italian name *Lubiana* during the Italian occupation (1941–43). Now-Italian *Trieste* also has its German name *Triest* and its Slavic version *Trst*, while the Istrian town of *Rovinj* also bears the Italian name *Rovigno*.

This note is necessary since the alternating use of place names is difficult to render properly in English texts. In the case of the north-eastern Adriatic, these involve names with Slovene, Italian, German, Croatian, and/or Hungarian variants. However, German, Italian, and Hungarian texts frequently refer to place names in other dominant languages. For example, the German name *Klagenfurt* is commonly used in Italy (although there was an archaic Italian name for it, *Clanforte*). A similar principle is used in the Hungarian name for *Rijeka* (in Slovenian: *Reka*), which is adopted from the Italian *Fiume*. The toponym *Udine* (in Slovenian: *Videm* or *Viden*) is used in Italian and German alike (although ancient German texts also refer to it as *Weiden*).

The order of place name variants is not random and is related to a common practice in English texts: the place names refer to the official language used in the nation-state context today (for example, Slovenian in present-day Slovenia, Italian in present-day Italy, German in present-day Austria, and Croatian in present-day Croatia). Some toponyms also have English variants (Florence, Rome, Piedmont, Vienna, Carinthia), which we naturally follow, given that the text is in English.

In order to avoid a cumbersome listing of multiple variants and to be reader-friendly, we generally use that variant of a place name commonly used in the area, while we emphasize its multi-language use in the section of the index and below this very Note. Some of them can also be found on the enclosed maps.

Select Historical Place Names in the Region
Present-day Slovenia
Bovec (*ger.* Flitsch, *it.* Plezzo)
Cerknica (*ger.* Zirknitz, *it.* Circonio)

Kranjska (*eng.* Carniola, *ger.* Krain)
Idrija (*it.* Idria)
Jesenice (*ger.* Aßling)
Karavanke (*eng.* Karawanks, *ger.* Karawanken)
Kras (*eng.* Karst, *it.* Carso)
Kobarid (*it.* Caporetto, *ger.* Karfreit)
Kočevje (*ger.* Gottschee, *it.* Cocevie)
Komen (*it.* Comeno)
Koper (*it.* Capodistria)
Ljubljana (*ger.* Laibach, *it.* Lubiana)
Postojna (*it.* Postumia, *ger.* Adelsberg)
Prekmurje (*hun.* Muravidék)
Primorska (*ger.* Küstenland, *eng.* Littoral)
Ribnica (*ger.* Reifnitz, *it.* Ribenizza)
Sežana (*it.* Sesana)
Vipava (*it.* Vippaco, *ger.* Wippach)
Vrhnika (*ger.* Oberlaibach, *it.* Nauporto)
Tolmin (*ger.* Tolmein, *it.* Tolmino)

Present-day Italy
Alto Adige (*ger.* Südtirol, *eng.* South Tyrol, *slo.* Južna Tirolska)
Aurisina (*slo.* Nabrežina)
Barcola (*slo.* Barkovlje)
Cividale del Friuli (*slo.* Čedad)
Friuli (*slo.* Furlanija)
Gorizia (*slo.* Gorica, *ger.* Görz)
Venezia Giulia (*eng.* Julian March, *slo.* Julijska krajina)
Carso (*slo.* Kras, *eng.* Karst)
Longero (*slo.* Lonjer)
Monfalcone (*slo.*, *hr.* Tržič, *ger.* Falkenberg)
Opicina (*slo.* Opčine)
Piemonte (*eng.* Piedmont)
Plavia (*slo.* Plavje)
Prosecco (*slo.* Prosek)
Roiano (*slo.* Rojan), (Trieste)
Roma (*eng.* Rome, *ger.* Rom, *slo.*, *hr.* Rim)
Ronchi (*slo.* Ronke)
San Giovanni (*slo.* Sv. Ivan), (Trieste)
San Giacomo (*slo.* Sv. Jakob), (Trieste)
Stramare (*slo.* Štramar)
Tarvisio (*slo.* Trbiž, *ger.* Tarvis)

Toscana (*eng.* Tuscany)
Trieste (*slo.*, *hr.* Trst, *ger.* Triest)
Torino (*eng.*, *ger.* Turin)
Udine (*slo.* Videm)
Venezia (*eng.* Venice, *slo.* Benetke, *hr.* Venezija, *ger.* Venedig)

Present-day Austria
Ferlach (*slo.* Borovlje)
Kärnten (*eng.* Carinthia, *slo.* Koroška)
Graz (*slo.* Gradec)
Karawanken (*eng.* Karawanks, *slo.* Karavanke)
Klagenfurt (*slo.* Celovec)
Steiermark (*eng.* Styria, *slo.* Štajerska)
Villach (*slo.* Beljak)
Völkermarkt (*slo.* Velikovec)
Wien (*eng.* Vienna, *slo.* Dunaj, *hr.* Beč)

Present-day Croatia
Rab (*it.* Arbe)
Rijeka (*it.*, *ger.* Fiume, *slo.* Reka)
Kanfanar (*it.* Canfanaro)
Kvarner (*it.* Carnaro)
Poreč (*it.* Parenzo)
Pula (*it.* Pola, *slo.* Pulj)
Rovinj (*it.* Rovigno)
Senj (*it.* Segna)
Zagreb (*ger.* Agram, *it*. Zagabria)

Acronyms and Abbreviations

Anon.	Unknown author
a. u.	archival unit (folder etc.)
AG	Atti Generali (1918–1922), (General Acts)
AMG	Allied Military Government
ARS	Arhiv Republike Slovenije, Ljubljana (Archives of the Republic of Slovenia)
ASTs	Archivio di Stato di Trieste (State Archive of Trieste)
BCAHT, FAP	Biblioteca Civica Attilio Hortis, Trieste, Fondo Anita Pittoni (Public Library Attilio Hortis, Trieste, Collection of Anita Pittoni)
CCCTT	Commissariato civile per la città di Trieste e Territorio, 1919–1922 (Civil Commissariat for the City of Trieste and Territory, 1919–1922)
DAMSP	Diplomatski Arhiv Ministarstva spoljnih poslova Republike Srbije, Beograd (Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia)
ERC	European Research Council
f.	file (document)
GNAM, FAGB	Galleria Nazionale di Arte Moderna e Contemporanea, Fondo Anton Giulio Bragaglia (National Gallery of Modern and Contemporary Art, Collection of Anton Giulio Bragaglia)
Kingdom of SCS	Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Kraljevina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev)
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD
ONAIR	Opera Nazionale di Assistenza Italia Redenta (National Assistance Organization for Redeemed Italy)
PNOO	Pokrajinski narodno osvobodilni odbor (Provincial National Liberation Committee)
POLAD	Political Advisor
RGCVG	Regio Governatorato, then the Regio Commissariato Generale Civile per la Venezia Giulia (Royal Civil Commissariat for the Julian March)

SI PAK	Pokrajinski arhiv Koper/Archivio regionale di Capodistria (Regional Archives of Koper)
SI ZAC	Zgodovinski arhiv Celje (Historical Archives of Celje)
SI ZAL	Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana (Historical Archives of Ljubljana)
s. a.	sine anno (without year)
t. u.	technical unit
TNA	The National Archives, Kew-London
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

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Introduction: Women's Labor in the North-Eastern Adriatic during the Postwar Transitions of the 20th Century

Marta Verginella

The present volume serves as a comparative and transnational analysis of women's labor in the postwar periods of the twentieth century in the north-eastern Adriatic, an area that encompasses the borderlands of Italy and Austria, Croatia, and Slovenia. The studies published in this volume are the result of the ERC EIRENE project *Post-War Transitions in Gendered Perspective: The Case of the North- Eastern Adriatic Region*.[1] As such, they are the result of an effort to explore individual issues related to women's labor during transition periods as deeply as possible, with an equal focus on comparativeness. With an emphasis on comparability and based on the analysis of yet unexplored archival sources, the historicization of women's work focuses on the analysis of issues related to gender, education, class, and ethnicity and confirms the necessity of addressing intersectionality in labor history.

The primary aim of the research has been to examine women's employment in the specific fields of education, civil service, the intellectual and artistic spheres, and industry. In pursuit of this, a longer-term perspective has been employed, embracing the period after both world wars as well as changes in the women's labor market after the collapse of socialist Yugoslavia and the subsequent wars. As such, the volume examines the very diverse issues that have concerned employment policies and the reconciliation of productive and reproductive work, while also taking into account class and education. By opting for a biographical and micro-historical approach with the inclusion of oral history, both the individual and collective specificities of women's labor have been addressed by the research. Moreover, we have attempted to expand the number of perspectives on historical analysis of women's studies through the inclusion of research by Nina Vodopivec, Chiara Bonfiglioli, and Ivan Simic.[2] Special attention has also

[1] Project EIRENE is funded by the European Research Council under the Advanced Grant Funding Scheme / ERC Grant Agreement n. 742683, funded by Horizon 2020. More on the project: https://project-eirene.eu/. The book is partly the result of the efforts by the ARIS funded project History of Women's Labor in the 19th and 20th Century in Slovenia (J6-50190).

[2] Nina Vodopivec, *Tu se ne bo nikoli več šivalo: doživljanja izgube dela in propada tovarne* (Ljubljana: Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2021); Chiara Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry in the Balkans: The Rise and Fall of the Yugoslavian Textile Sector* (London: Bloomsbury, 2019); Ivan Simic, *Soviet Influences on Postwar Yugoslav Gender Policies* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

been given to border regions in order to identify the role that peripherality and the fluidity of geopolitical frameworks have played in women's work during the postwar transitions, and to what extent their professional experiences and productive activities have diverged from those of women in the center of the country.

These historiographical choices and approaches have undoubtedly contributed to the original and in some respects pioneering results presented here, which confirm the necessity and importance of a comparative treatment of the wider north-eastern Adriatic region and which call for further transnational studies of women's labor and the utilization of the *longue durée* approach to history. At the same time, such approaches also call for greater consideration of gender in the historicization of this area in general and not only in the context of labor history. Last but not least, the evaluation of the transnational approach in the broader field of women's history, gender studies, and labor history also allows for the possibility of studying those segments of the female population that too often fall out of nationally focused syntheses, thus ignoring the dynamics between the center and the periphery. Indeed, it is such dynamics that are particularly relevant in the labor market.

More specifically, the volume focuses on the occupational categories that employed the most women during the periods under review. Therefore, the focus of the individual chapters is on female teachers, clerical workers, textile workers, and tobacco workers. Women writers and artists are also included in the analysis, since intellectual and artistic work had become an important employment niche from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards, especially for educated middle-class young women. The division of the volume into three parts—the first dealing with teaching and administrative work, the second with intellectual and artistic work, and the third with industrial work—stems from the need to separate the topics of women's employment profiles from their attained levels of education and their employment prospects on the labor market. At the same time, such a division makes it easier to identify similarities between women's profiles and to focus on the specificities of women's labor in particular sectors of the economy.

The chapters studying labor and gender issues in postwar societies in the north-eastern Adriatic region build on the current insights provided by women's and gender history studies in the last decades, specifically in the field of women's labor history during the war and postwar period in twentieth-century Western Europe. Specifically, the context considered is that of the UK, France, Italy, Central Europe (especially Germany and Austria), as well as Eastern Europe, and especially Yugoslavia. Dialogues sought to reveal not only the extent to which the processes and dynamics of women's work and the employment policies that affected women held true in general, but also the extent to which they overlapped with or diverged from the cases in the north-eastern Adriatic region specifically.

In order to discover the extent to which women's labor markets were affected by geopolitical shifts, new borders, and changes in citizenship and ideology, the authors of the individual contributions each paid particular attention to the establishment of new political regimes and economic policies after WWI, WWII, and the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s, and their impact on women's labor markets.

In the multiethnic environment of the north-eastern Adriatic, the collapse of the prewar state formations and the establishment of new state frameworks in 1918, 1945, and 1991 coincided with the exclusion and persecution of certain sections of the population on the basis of ethnic or religious affiliation. At the end of each war, new collective identities were negotiated, as dictated by the victors and new state authorities, each of which required individuals and communities to adapt both politically and nationally.

This volume seeks to determine to what extent postwar national relations influenced the shaping of women's labor markets and to what extent postwar geopolitical shifts hindered or supported women's employment with regard to their nationality. The individual cases discussed here show how women responded to the geopolitical upheavals both as individuals and as members of particular occupational and national groups, and the extent to which they sought to use them to their advantage.[3]

The question of the degree of discontinuity between the prewar, wartime, and postwar periods and the impact of the new legal and ideological systems on the labor market for women is raised against the backdrop of individual treatments. The attention paid to the specificities of the labor market in economically peripheral border areas of national labor markets is undoubtedly the volume's most innovative contribution to previous research on women's labor. This applies not only to the north-eastern Adriatic region but also to the broader European context, for it highlights the shortcomings of the historicization of women's labor in the twentieth century, which insists on state-centered studies and a rigid division between women's labor in the West, under capitalism, and in the East, under communism.[4]

A "Hot" Chronology of Transitions in the North-Eastern Adriatic Region

The geographical area under study could be defined in the twentieth century by "hot" chronology paraphrasing the distinction between cold and hot societies, proposed by Claude Lévi-Strauss to denote periods in which rapid and disruptive

3 Anne Applebaum, *The Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe 1944–1956* (New York: Anchor, 2013), xxxii.

4 Joanna Regulska and Bonnie G. Smith, *Women and Gender in Postwar Europe: From Cold War to European Union* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

changes occur.[5] A synthetic synopsis thereof lies ahead, with the aim of further facilitating the understanding of the political and economic climate that influenced women's labor in the area where the research has been conducted.[6] In 1918, the Republic of Austria and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (later, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, in 1929) were both established on ground zero of the Habsburg Empire.[7] After the Armistice of Villa Giusti on November 3, 1918, the Italian army occupied the areas promised by the London Memorandum (April 26, 1915), namely, the Austrian Littoral with parts of Notranjska, renamed the Julian March (or Venezia Giulia in Italian) by the Italian authorities.[8]

On November 12, 1920, the Treaty of Rapallo incorporated the new provinces into the Kingdom of Italy. The parts of the population that considered themselves Italian and had lived within the borders of the Habsburg Empire until 1918 now automatically acquired Italian citizenship. This process was more complicated, hindered, or even prevented for former Austrian citizens who saw themselves as German, Slovene, or Croatian, many of whom had been dismissed from jobs in the civil and public service. Some were exiled from the Kingdom of Italy altogether. Trieste, together with the other major cities of the Julian March (Gorizia and Pula), became the destination for a massive flow of immigrants from various provinces of the Kingdom of Italy. They were attracted by the possibility of employment after the departure of those former Austrian citizens who spoke German, Czech, Polish, and, above all, Slovene and Croatian.[9] Marta Verginella, Ana Cergol Paradiž, Matteo Perissinotto, and Irena Selišnik write in more detail about how the loss of prewar citizenship status and the acquisition of a new one influenced the labor market for women, especially office workers and teachers. Furthermore, they elucidate how nationality paved the way to employment for some and limited opportunities for others, forcing them to emigrate.

According to Piero Purini's calculations, the majority of the German community had left the area of the former Austrian Littoral after 1918. In the twenties, the German community had been reduced by two-thirds, down to 3,700 people. The departure statistics are unclear since the papers do not mention the

5 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 259.

6 Eviatar Zerubavel, *Mappe del tempo: Memoria collettiva e costruzione sociale del passato*, trans. Rinaldo Falcioni (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2005), 47.

7 On the gestation and birth of Yugoslavia, see Sabrina P. Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918–2005* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 39–57.

8 Gorazd Bajc, "Dieci mesi che sconvolsero la Venezia Giulia: Il Memorandum di Londra 1915; questioni storiografiche e dettagli terminologici," *Acta Histriae* 25, no. 4 (2017): 825–50.

9 In 1919, most of the 25,500 Italian citizens who had emigrated to the Apennine Peninsula because of the war returned to the Julian countryside. Together with the new immigrants, who were mainly employed in the civil service, there were 39,483 Italian citizens in 1919 (Piero Purini, *Metamorfosi etniche: I cambiamenti di popolazione a Trieste, Gorizia, Fiume e in Istria, 1914–1975* (Udine: Kappa Vu, 2010), 54. Immigration from Italy was so massive that in 1921 the authorities refused to settle 10,651 people (Purini, *Metamorfosi etniche*, 56).

nationality of those who left. Similarly, there is no mention of gender. Yet context clearly points to the fact that these were Germans or so-called "Austrians" who emigrated to Austria as foreigners (*Ausländer*), in particular to Vienna and Graz.[10] It is indeed telling to note how in the period 1922–1925, one-third of Gorizia's population had shifted.[11] The emigration of around 30–40,000 Slovenes and Croats who left the Julian March between 1919 and 1922 and settled in the new Yugoslav state also remains just that—an estimate.[12] By 1934, their number was believed to have risen to 50,000, and according to other estimates to 70,000 or more. The migrants were mainly civil servants, officials, railwaymen, and teachers who had lost their jobs or objected to being transferred to the Apennine Peninsula, or those who had not acquired Italian citizenship. The rise of fascism certainly increased the number of departures to Yugoslavia, especially among those who opposed it and were therefore persecuted. By the end of the 1920s, the fascist government had abolished all national rights for Slovenes and Croats and dismantled their organizational structure with the aim of national homogenization or Italianization of the multiethnic border area. Slovenian and Croatian emigrants mainly settled in the Slovenian and Croatian parts of Yugoslavia, but also to a lesser extent in Serbia and Macedonia. A part of the emigration from the Littoral region also set its sights on other European countries, in particular France, whereas an even larger number left for Argentina.

Under the Treaty of Saint-Germain (September 10, 1919), the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (SCS) was granted the southern part of Styria and the Mežica Valley (Mežiška dolina). In the area of Carinthia, Yugoslav soldiers chose a demarcation line along the Zilja and the Drava rivers at the end of the war; the subsequent Carinthian plebiscite was held on October 10, 1920, and awarded both Zone B, comprising the Klagenfurt basin (with a German-speaking population mainly settled in the towns), and Zone A, the area of Völkermarkt/Velikovec (with a majority Slovene-speaking population), to Austria. 22,000 people voted for Austria and 15,279 for Yugoslavia. With the pro-Austrian result of the plebiscite (only 41.96% of the population voted for annexation to the Kingdom of SCS) and the new border in the Karawanks, which followed the former provincial demarcation line, 65,000 Slovenes remained within Austria's borders.[13] The hostility and hindrances they experienced at the hands of Austrian

[10] Purini, *Metamorfosi etniche*, 34–49.

[11] Anna Di Gianantonio and Gloria Nemec, *Gorizia operaia: I lavoratori e le lavoratrici isontini tra storia e memoria 1920–1947* (Gorizia: LEG, 2000), 34.

[12] Purini, *Metamorfosi etniche*, 53.

[13] According to the data collected and presented by the geographer Jernej Zupančič, in 1923 there were 37,292 Slovenes in Austrian Carinthia (66,463 in 1910) according to the official count, some 90,000 according to the Schematisms or ecclesiastical lists (99,006 in 1910), and 100,000 according to a private count (115,807 in 1910). Slovenes also lived in Austrian Styria, where in 1934 there were approximately 3,000 Slovenes. More in Jernej Zupančič, *Slovenske*

nationalists led to the emigration of many members of the newly formed Slovenian minority, especially teachers and other educated individuals who experienced the most political control during the transition periods, as seen in the readings of Marta Verginella and Gorazd Bajc. Although the statistics regarding departures in the case of Carinthia are not clear, it is possible to infer from the fragmentary data available that the most nationally committed members of the Slovenian middle class emigrated. This group was also the target of persecution, in particular after the rise of Nazism in Austria and the Austrian Anschluss of March 12, 1938.

There was also a large migration in the area of Carniola and Lower Styria, which, after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, belonged to the Kingdom of SCS. This mainly concerned German-speaking inhabitants, who accounted for 13% of the entire population, with much higher figures in larger towns such as Celje, Maribor, Ptuj, and Ljubljana. Their departure was not only a consequence of the collapse of the monarchy and its administrative bodies, but also of the anti-German sentiment of the new Yugoslav authorities and the nationalist sentiment of the Slovene population. There was also a strong migration to the Carniola and Lower Styria areas, prompted by the new Yugoslav authorities and (middle class) nationalist circles, which cultivated a strong resentment towards the Germanic element and wanted to establish Slovene national and political supremacy in the new Yugoslavia, especially in multiethnic urban contexts. Of the approximately 30,000 Germans who remained in the territory of the Kingdom of SCS until 1931, the German minority in the Slovene part of the country was concentrated in Kočevje and settled more dispersedly in Styria and Ljubljana.

Population movements also preceded and followed the Treaty of Trianon, which established the new border with Hungary in June 1920 and assigned the area between the Mura and Raba rivers to Yugoslavia. Some 15,000 Hungarians had lived there in 1910, yet according to the 1931 census, only 7,961 Hungarians remained at that point, which means that almost half of them had moved away, mainly civil servants and members of the upper class.[14]

The above clearly points to how, in the north-eastern Adriatic region, the transition period after WWI was marked by the migration of the most highly educated members of the middle class, especially teachers or those professional categories (officials and functionaries) that identified most with the state or with the nation. They found themselves in the minority and as such were often discriminated against in the new state formations. A large percentage of departing officials and teachers was linked not only to the obstacles and difficulties in

manjšine v sosednjih državah (Ljubljana: Založba Univerze v Ljubljani, 2022), 189 and 218.

[14] More in France Kresal and Jurij Perovšek, "Razvoj prebivalstva," in *Slovenska novejša zgodovina: Od programa Zedinjena Slovenija do mednarodnega priznanja Republike Slovenije 1848–1992*, vol. 1, ed. Jasna Fischer et al. (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 2005), 178; Miran Komac, "Narodne manjšine v Sloveniji 1920–1941," *Razprave in gradivo* 75 (2015): 54.

acquiring new citizenships, but also to the employment policies of the new administrations and authorities which favored recruiting from the ranks of "their own." This is featured in all its intensity in the chapter by Marta Verginella and is characteristic of all the studied regions within the north-eastern Adriatic space.

Education and state administration were both feminized during the war, and the subsequent dismissal and placement of women in the workforce in the postwar context was based on their allegiance to the victors, as evidenced by studies conducted by Marta Verginella, Ana Cergol Paradiž, Matteo Perissinotto, and Irena Selišnik. The effects of what Žarko Lazarević calls the "nostrification of economic entities," which took place in Yugoslav territories after 1918,[15] contributed to the country's rapid economic growth in the first half of the 1920s.[16] To illustrate the point, the number of textile mills increased almost tenfold in the 1920s. The modernization of Slovenian industry and the acquisition of the new Yugoslav market contributed not only to a reduction in male unemployment in the Slovenian part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia but also to an increase in female employment, especially in the textile industry. Much of the same holds true for Friuli and Gorizia, where the majority of the female population held jobs in the agrarian sector, yet an increasing number of (young) women were finding employment in the textile factories of Gorizia, Ajdovščina, and Podgora despite the latter's struggles with "ownership, delayed war reparations, and competition from within the boundaries of Italy proper."[17]

That the transition from old to new was indeed a difficult one was made evident after WWI by the introduction of new currencies and novel customs and tax policies, all conditions for inclusion in the postwar national economies. These processes did not go smoothly or without resistance from parts of the entrepreneurial elite.[18]

For the new Italian authorities, who tried to inject a national element into the economy after 1918 and restrict those entrepreneurs in the Julian landscape who "leaned too Austrian," local entrepreneurship as a whole was considered to

[15] At the end of 1918, the National Government placed the property of foreigners, that is, businesses, real estate, and land, under state control and forced foreign companies with foreign headquarters to open branches in Slovenia. In 1918, the central government ordered an inventory and liquidation of the property of those hostile to Serbia during the war. Žarko Lazarević, "Premoženje tujcev pod nadzorom," in *Slovenska kronika XX. stoletja*, ed. Marjan Drnovšek and Drago Bajt (Ljubljana: Nova Revija 1997), 224–25.

[16] Žarko Lazarević, "Industrializacija, obrt, trgovina," in Fischer et al., *Slovenska novejša zgodovina*, vol. 1, 450.

[17] Branko Marušič, "Poskus orisa industrije na Goriškem pred in po prvi svetovni vojni," in *Industrijska dediščina na Goriškem – prispevki in pričevanja*, ed. Inga Miklavčič Brezigar (Nova Gorica: Goriški muzej, 2015), 12.

[18] Dominique Kirchner Reill, *The Fiume Crisis: Life in the Wake of the Habsburg Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020).

be too close to Austria.[19] Last but not least, the entrepreneurial activity of the artist Anita Pittoni, about whom Teresa Bertilotti writes in this volume, was also closely linked to the prewar Habsburg and, more broadly, German cultural milieu.

In many administrative aspects concerning labor market legislation, both the Italian and the Yugoslav authorities opted for either a transitional continuity with the previous Austrian norms or a gradual shift. The reorganization of the economy was typical of all the former participants in the wars. According to Marie-Janine Calic, economic nationalism and the collapse of exchange relations as a result of currency devaluation, protectionism, and bilateralism greatly reduced the value of international trade.[20] The negative effects of the loss of the former Habsburg Danubian-Balkan and Central European markets were especially evident in Austria, which absorbed 22% of the population, 30% of the national income, and 32% of the industry from what had been Cisleithania prior to 1918. Austria "was more consistently in the news" as it became a republic with a population of six and a half million,[21] with its traumatic demobilization after the end of the war, the immigration of officials from the former imperial administration and their families, the starvation of broad swathes of the population, and the deprivation that defined the daily life of even the bourgeoisie and the nobility, especially in Vienna. The ravages of war destroyed the lives of millions and not only crippled many soldiers but also loosened notions of "family ties and the institution of married life."[22] The tail end of the war saw the system of the wartime economy continue past the cessation of conflicts in the form of

[19] On the process of the Italianization of the Trieste economy and banking system, see Daniele Andreozzi and Loredana Panariti, "L'economia in una regione nata dalla politica," in *Il Friuli-Venezia Giulia*, vol. 2, ed. Roberto Finzi, Claudio Magris, and Giovanni Miccoli (Torino: Einaudi 2002), 835; on the conflict between the old entrepreneurial elites of Trieste and the initiators of the new postwar economic policy in the fields of shipping, insurance, and banking, and the quest for a radical break with the prewar entrepreneurial elites, see Giulio Sapelli, *Trieste italiana: Mito e destino economico* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1990), 58–90.

[20] Marie-Janine Calic, *Zgodovina jugovzhodne Evrope* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 2019), 391.

[21] David Fales Strong, *Austria (October 1918–March 1919): Transition from Empire to Republic* (New York: Columbia University, 1939), 5. The establishment of the Republic of German Austria "must be considered in terms of economic and social confusion and not in the outlines of a purely political narrative." (Fales Strong, *Austria*, 91).

[22] Jay Winter, "Some Paradoxes of the First World War," in *The Upheaval of War: Family, Work and Welfare in Europe, 1914–1918*, ed. Richard Wall and Jay Winter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 9–10. In the Austrian part of the empire, approximately 4.3 million men, or 60% of the male population between the ages of 18 and 53, were conscripted, of whom 810,000 were killed in the war, see Wilhem Winkler, *Die Totenverluste der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie nach Nationalitäten*: *Die Altersgliederung der Toten, Ausblicke in die Zukunft* (Vienna: Seidl, 1919); David F. Good, Margarete Grandner, and Mary Jo Maynes, eds., *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives* (Oxford: Berghahn Books 1996). During the war, Austrian citizens lost between 60% and 90% of their monetary savings.

food rationing, which triggered frequent hunger riots. The shortage of coal in industry had extremely negative effects. Smuggling was practiced widely and, in fact, by different segments of the population, most of whom were women. Unemployment hampered the integration of demobilized soldiers.[23]

It bears mentioning that the postwar economic situation varied by region. In Carinthia, for example, the industrial sector recovered more quickly than in other Austrian regions.[24] On the basis of the findings presented in the volume by Urška Strle and Dagmar Wernitznig, it can be concluded that the need to maintain an economically stable Carinthia within the framework of the Austrian Republic played an important role. For much the same reasons, some women tobacco workers gained a prominent position in the ranks of the Social Democrats, one of whom, Marie Tusch, became a long-serving member of the Austrian Parliament, where she represented women's interests and worked towards solutions to the most acute socio-political problems.

Even the post-WWII transition in the north-eastern Adriatic was strongly influenced by wartime events. Following the German, Italian, and Hungarian attacks on Yugoslavia in April 1941, the Slovenian part of the kingdom was divided between the three occupying forces—Italian, German, and Hungarian—and incorporated into the three occupying economic systems.[25] As a result of the war economy, many industrial plants were converted into arms factories, as was the case in Austria and Italy. In the German occupation zone, especially in Styria, conscription into the German army and the *Reichsarbeitdienst* (uniformed state labor service) soon led to a shortage of male labor, which increased the demand for women workers, who were employed in sectors vital to the war industry, such as the airplane parts factory in Maribor, where 4,278 workers were involved in the production program in 1942. The Italian-ruled Ljubljana region also faced labor shortages, especially from the summer of 1942 onwards, when the national liberation resistance against Italian occupation led to mass internment of both the male and female population in fascist camps.

Friuli and the Julian March were included in the special operations zone of *Adriatisches Küstenland* and were directly annexed to the Third Reich along with Ljubljana province. The intense fighting on the territory between the German

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23 Reinhard Sieder, "Behind the Lines: Working-Class Family Life in Wartime Vienna," in *The Upheaval of War: Work and Welfare in Europe, 1914–1918*, ed. Richard Wall and Jay Winter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 130.

24 Elisabeth Koch, Viktorija Ratković, Manuela Saringer, and Rosemarie Schöffmann, *"Gastarbeiterinnen" in Kärnten: Arbeitsmigration in Medien und persönlichen Erinnerungen* (Klagenfurt: Drava, 2013), 27.

25 In fact, even the Independent State of Croatia (Croatian: Nezavisna Država Hrvatska) occupied a 20 km² swath of territory around villages of Slovenska vas, Nova vas pri Mokricah, Jesenice na Dolenjskem, Obrežje, and Čedem. For a synthetic overview of wartime developments in the area of Slovenia during the Second World War, see Oto Luthar, ed., *The Land Between: A History of Slovenia* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013), 416–40.

army and the partisan troops, along with the Allied bombardments, severely affected the economic activities in the entire occupied area, especially industry. The productive potential of Trieste was reduced by 30% in the last two years of the war. Port activity was particularly affected, alongside industrial activity.[26]

With the victory of the national liberation movement and the arrival of Tito's troops in Trieste on May 1, 1945, the eastern part of the former Julian March was annexed to Yugoslavia and the new Yugoslav economic market. After 40 days of Yugoslav administration, Trieste and Gorizia were included in Zone A of the Julian March under Anglo-American military administration by way of the Belgrade Agreement (similarly to Pula), while Istria was incorporated into Zone B under the military administration of the Yugoslav army.

In Zone A, the Allied administration, serving as a temporary occupation authority, sustained the economies of Trieste and Gorizia with favorable loans and aid. It gave priority to existing industrial activities, in particular shipbuilding.[27] Despite Allied subsidies, however, the formerly prominent Habsburg port was unable to rebuild its former maritime trade and broader economic strength. Yet even in the new postwar situation, with the mass immigration of Italians and, to a lesser extent, Slovenes and Croats who were unwilling or unable to live under communist rule, it remained the most important urban and economic center for the wider region.[28]

A comparison of postwar economic policies in Italy, Yugoslavia, and Austria shows that the distribution of state subsidies and international aid was crucial to the postwar economic recovery in all three countries that are the focus of this book. After WWII, Austria faced the aftermath of the destruction of several factories alongside wartime subordination to the needs of the German economy, which in turn forced it to nationalize part of its industry and banking sector. The Allied control of the Austrian government and administration, however, made a decisive contribution to solving the postwar food crisis.[29] Similarly, Allied

[26] Jože Prinčič, "Economia della zona B: avvicinamento all'ordinamento jugoslavo e ricerca di fonti aggiuntive nella zona A (1945–1954)," in *Dopoguerra di confine / Povojni čas ob meji*, ed. Tullia Catalan et al. (Trieste: Istituto regionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia, 2007), 433.

[27] On the difficulties of implementing economic aid and the Americanization of the local economy, see Giulio Mellinato, "La lunga recostruzione: Opulenza e debolezza del piano Marshall nel Territorio Libero di Trieste," in Catalan et al., *Dopoguerra di confine*, 371–79.

[28] Between 1945 and 1954, around 250,000 people emigrated from Istria and Dalmatia. Pamela Ballinger, *History in Exile: Memory and Identity at the Borders of the Balkans* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003); Cristiana Columni et al., *Storia di un esodo: Istria 1945–1956* (Trieste: Istituto Regionale di Storia del Movimento di Liberazione nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia, 1980); Raoul Pupo, *Il lungo esodo: Istria; le persecuzioni, le foibe, l'esilio* (Milan: Rizzoli, 2017); Sandi Volk, *Esuli a Trieste: Bonifica nazionale e rafforzamento dell'italianità sul confine orientale* (Udine: Kappa Vu, 2004).

[29] Austria was divided into four zones of occupation ruled by the US, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union from April 27, 1945, to October 26, 1955, when Austria gained independence. Tyrol, Styria, and Carinthia were part of British zone.

aid organized by UNRRA had a positive effect on the territory of Italy and Yugoslavia. Austria's involvement in the Marshall Plan in 1948 was also of major significance for the country, beginning a period of major investment and, with it, the reconstruction of the Austrian economy and its integration into the Western capitalist bloc.[30]

In Zone A of the Julian March, Allied economic and financial aid also proved vital in the early postwar years, as administered by the Anglo-American authorities. Their efforts to improve living conditions were intended to counter the excessive political influence of the pro-Yugoslav camp, which was advocating for the annexation of Zone A to Yugoslavia, and to hinder the employment of communist-oriented individuals, as can be seen in Gorazd Bajc's treatise on employment criteria in education. The creation of two occupation zones with special administrative and economic arrangements, where the capitalist and socialist models confronted one another, undoubtedly contributed to the weakening, if not interruption, of the traditional flow of goods along the new Italian-Yugoslav border. The border hindered the customary female mobility between the city and the countryside, as well as the daily migration of workers from the Istrian hinterland to Trieste, but never completely interrupted them, as Petra Testen Koren points out in her study.[31]

Allied financial assistance was crucial for the start-up of the textile and food sectors in Gorizia, which lost more than three quarters of its administrative territory after the Treaty of Paris and its annexation to Italy in September 1947. In Gorizia, the Cotonificio triestino remained an important operator in the textile sector, with two factories employing 3,346 workers—mostly women—in 1951, in Gorizia and Ronchi, respectively.[32] Also in Gorizia, a new tobacco factory was set up, employing a majority female workforce, while in Friuli, the agrarian economy[33] remained dominant after 1945 and continued to be an important source of livelihood in much of Slovenia and Austrian Carinthia.

After the Paris Peace Treaty on September 15, 1947, the Yugoslav authorities began to accelerate the integration of Zone B into the Yugoslav economy. The confiscation of fascist property was followed by the nationalization of industrialists' assets and the reorganization of individual factories.[34] Various factories—textiles

30 On US financial assistance under the Marshall Plan in Italy and, after the separation from Moscow, in Yugoslavia, see Benn Steil, *The Marshall Plan: Dawn of the Cold War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018).

31 Marta Verginella, *Donne e confini* (Rome: Manifestolibri, 2021); Aleksander Panjek, "La disintegrazione fra Trieste e Capodistria," in Catalan et al., *Dopoguerra di confine*, 462.

32 Andreozzi and Panariti, "L'economia in una regione," 881–82.

33 Furio Bednarz, "Il mercato del lavoro nel Friuli Venezia Giulia: Contraddizioni e dilemmi di uno sviluppo," in *Friuli e Venezia Giulia: Storia del '900* (Trieste: LEG Edizioni, 1997), 477–90.

34 After the annexation of Primorska, or the Slovenian Littoral, to Yugoslavia, a branch of the textile industry was established in Ajdovščina. The company transitioned into a joint-stock company in 1995. At this point, it had 450 employees, 2/3 of whom were women. At the end

among them—were established from the late 1940s onwards, but especially in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. Here, the Yugoslav authorities employed women from a predominantly rural background in order to accelerate the building of a new socialist society on the border periphery as well. Their transition into the ranks of workers and the self-managed economy was seen as a fundamental stage in the formation of a new socialist society, which promoted the idea of gender equality. The extent to which women's industrial labor contributed to the reconfiguration of gender hierarchies and the possibility of women's financial autonomy, and the extent to which women workers recognized themselves in the system of self-management and the ideals of a socialist society, is made evident in the treatises by Urška Strle, Dagmar Werniztnig, and Petra Testen Koren.

The process of nationalizing enterprises and the transition from the private to the state sector after the end of WWII were characteristic of the entire Yugoslav region. The introduction of the state-planned economy, introduced in 1947, also eliminated private entrepreneurial initiative. By 1948, all non-agricultural industries were nationalized.[35] The aim of the planned economy, which followed the Soviet example, was to develop the textile industry alongside the metal, chemical, and wood industries.[36] In the late 1940s and especially in the 1950s, the Communist Party, as noted by Ivan Simic, "removed obstacles to women's employment, education, and advancement, while rapid industrialization opened new opportunities for women to have careers in industries considered inappropriate before the war."[37] The textile sector employed the largest number of women workers among all industrial sectors. After WWII until the 1980s, up to around 80% of women workers were employed in the textile sector.[38]

of 2013, the company still had 57 employees. On the emergence of textile mills in the 1950s and 1960s in the North Primorska region, see Aleksandra Pavšič Milost, "Kratek pregled razvoja industrije in rudarstva severnoprimorske regije v razdobju 1947–1997," in *Industrijska dediščina na Goriškem – Prispevki in pričevanja*, ed. Inga Miklavčič Brezigar (Nova Gorica: Goriški muzej, 2015), 17–30.

35 Jože Prinčič, "Podržavljanje gospodarstva," in *Slovenska novejša zgodovina: Od programa Zedinjena Slovenija do mednarodnega priznanja Republike Slovenije, 1848–1992*, vol. 2, ed. Jasna Fischer, Zdenko Čepič, and Neven Borak (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 2005), 873–92.

36 Jože Prinčič, "Razvoj gospodarstva do sredine petdesetih let," in Fischer et al, *Slovenska novejša zgodovina*, vol. 2, 967.

37 Simic, *Soviet Influences on Postwar*, 12. For more on the party's patronizing attitude towards women's employment and the new opportunities for the working-class women in Simic, see pages 91–99.

38 As explained by Chiara Bonfiglioli, who researched the history of the garment industry in Yugoslavia, the postwar shift away from accelerated industrialization towards more sustainable economic policies of self-management further removed women from better-paid and more prestigious jobs. More: Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*. On lower paying work in textile sweatshops compared to other branches of industry, see Nina Vodopivec, "Od niti in majice do družbenega standarda: pogled v socialistično tovarno," in *Žensko delo: delo žensk v zgodovinski perspektivi*, ed. Mojca Šorn, Nina Vodopivec, and Žarko Lazarević (Ljubljana: Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2015), 173–74.

The socialist transformation of society not only promoted women's employment but also their education, which led to them being increasingly employable in the civil service, especially in the health sector. In the latter, the pioneering development of many new medical and, more broadly, scientific fields was due to the women doctors who were placed at the head of medical institutions in the postwar period.[39]

In the 1960s, when Yugoslavia began to exhibit increasing differences between its economically developed and underdeveloped constituent republics, internal migration was accompanied by emigration abroad, mainly to West Germany and Austria.[40] Among the Yugoslav expatriates whom the word *Gastarbeiter* referred to, there were also women who, like men, often transformed "temporary work abroad" into permanent arrangements. They were mostly employed in the tertiary sector, as waitresses and housekeepers, and partly in industry.[41]

The economic crisis of the late 1970s, followed a decade later by a political crisis, created the conditions for a split between the political leaderships of the individual republics and the end of the system of socialist self-management. In the plebiscite of December 1990, Slovenia voted for political and territorial independence, but the transformation of its economy from a socialist to a capitalist one was a preliminary step. To a large extent, it had already begun in the 1980s, as is evident in the two treatises in this book focused on the tobacco and textile industries. Independence led first to restructuring and then to the complete abolition of the social economy, much like in the other republics of the former Yugoslavia. The break-up of socialist Yugoslavia and the subsequent war contributed to the fragmentation and destruction of the former Yugoslav market, and with it, the end of trade links with non-aligned countries and the former communist bloc.[42]

In Slovenia, the accession to the EU in May 2004 ushered in a period of strong neoliberal reforms and deindustrialization. This led to the exclusion of a large number of women from the industrial process, pushing them into unemployment, illegal employment, or requalification. The findings of Petra Testen Koren, Urška Strle, and Dagmar Wernitznig in relation to women's labor following

[39] To cite just two cases: Zora Konjajev née Stritar (https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zora_Konjajev), a pioneer of perinatology, and Boža Logar née Sernec, a pioneer in neonatology (https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bo%C5%BEena_Sernec_Logar).

[40] Ulf Brunnbauer, "Yugoslav *Gastarbeiter* and the Ambivalence of Socialism: Framing Out-Migration as a Social Critique," *Journal of Migration History* 5 (2019): 413–37.

[41] On the phenomenon of female labor migrating to Carinthia from Yugoslavia, see Koch et al., *'Gastarbeiterinnen' in Kärnten.*

[42] In the early 1990s, economic activity declined sharply in all parts of the former Yugoslavia, not just the war zone, even though it was about a third smaller than in the years 1979, 1989, and 1999. Vladimir Gligorov, "Yugoslavia and Development: Benefits and Costs," in *Yugoslavia from a Historical Perspective* (Belgrade: Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, 2017), 414.

the dissolution of socialist Yugoslavia confirm what had been ascertained by Nina Vodopivec and Chiara Bonfiglioli, and also shine a light on the specifics of border regions and local practices during the acceleration of the privatization processes of social economies. Constitutional and legislative reforms paved the way for a multi-party system in both Slovenia and Croatia, accompanied by the process of returning former social enterprises to private ownership.[43]

With the precarization of work, deindustrialization, and the end of the Fordist vision of work and the general redistributive welfare mechanism, the socialist world in which "factory life provided workers with means and structure" collapsed, setting in motion the transformation of labor relations that neighboring capitalist countries like Italy and Austria experienced in the 1980s. The process of deindustrialization and the transfer of industrial activities, first to Eastern Europe—to the former Warsaw Pact countries and to the Balkans—and later to the Far East, coincided with the devaluation of industrial labor, especially of women, as confirmed by the discussed examples of the tobacco and textile factories.[44]

The general decline in the number of people employed in industry, which in the case of Austria started in the 1970s, was accompanied by an increase in the proportion of people employed in the service industries. In 1995, half a million more people were employed in Austria's service sector than in 1981. This phenomenon was matched in the border areas of north-eastern Italy after the 1980s and especially in the 1990s, when, as a result of the disruption of the textile and tobacco industries, workers sought further employment following layoffs, particularly in the tertiary sector. Meanwhile, the sphere of paid (often illegal) domestic work became a refuge for many female war refugees from the former Yugoslavia as well as unemployed industrial workers from Slovenia and Croatia, who found a means of survival or a better standard of living in Italy and Austria.

The Labor Market in Wartime and the Postwar Era through the Lens of Gender

Historical and gender studies focusing on the position and agency of women in twentieth-century wars have sought to determine to what extent the departure of men to the battlefield changed the status of women, the extent to which it expanded their sphere of agency, accelerated their emancipation, and increased the amount of political and civil rights that women acquired after the wars, and how much the disruptive power of the wars in the realms of collective mentality

[43] Žan Zupan, "Poldruga milijarda evrov revidirane škode družbene lastnine," *Borec* LXXIII (2021): 787–89, 53–73.

[44] Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*, 14.

and values transformed the relationship between the genders.[45] In their search for answers, they have examined to what extent the long-term nature of warfare, the length of captivity, and the massive military commitments in the context of the specific needs of wartime economies actually restructured the respective labor markets and increased the number of employed women, and in particular whether they also made it possible for women to be employed in occupational fields that had previously excluded them.

It turns out that both world wars re-evaluated the list of dangerous, permissible, and suitable occupations for women. The wars of the twentieth century in Europe undoubtedly undermined the traditional belief that women's employment in wartime was a threat to their morality and, indirectly, to men's honor, and thereby increased women's chances of entering the labor market.[46]

It is clear from many studies that women's labor involvement in the war did not necessarily lead to lasting change, nor did it necessarily lead to the recognition of women's equality in society or the universal suffrage of women.[47] The persistence of patriarchal structures after both world wars prevented the automatic valorization of women's emancipation that resulted from the mass conscription of men to the front.[48] Women's employment proved to be a temporary affair in some sectors; it was more permanent when it suited the needs of the modernization process, as is also evident from this book.[49]

WOMEN'S WORK AFTER THE GREAT WAR

Françoise Thébaud, using France as a case study, noted that WWI brought about a disruption in the traditional family and the social order and the beginning of new activities—a time of new possibilities.[50] The conscription of men into the

[45] Anna Bravo, "Simboli del materno," in *Donne e uomini nelle guerre mondiali*, ed. Anna Bravo (Rome: Laterza 1991), 97.

[46] Angela Groppi, Introduction to *Il lavoro delle donne*, ed. Angela Groppi (Bari: Laterza), xii.

[47] Françoise Thébaud, *Les femmes au temps de la guerre de 14* (Paris: Payot, 2013), 23. Following Margaret H. Darrow, Thébaud asserts that the war did not erase rigid prewar gender stereotypes in France but to some extent even reinforced them. Margaret H. Darrow, *French Women and the First World War: War Stories of the Home Front* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2000); Laura Lee Downs, *Manufacturing Inequality: Gender Division in the French and British Metalworking Industries, 1914–1939* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).

[48] About inappropriate to talk about role reversal in times of war. More: Franca Alacevich and Alessandra Pescarolo, eds., *Effetti inattesi: Le donne fra disciplina militare e nove libertà*, vol. 4 (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2017), 213.

[49] On the new social image of women workers and the self-representation of women's professionalism, see Franca Alacevich, "La 'scoperta' delle donne: dal lavoro alle radici dell'emancipazione femminile," in *Effetti inattesi: Le donne fra disciplina militare e nove libertà*, vol. 4, ed. Franca Alacevich and Alessandra Pescarolo (Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2017), 1.

[50] Thébaud, *Les femmes au temps*, 22.

war and the shortage of male labor encouraged the employment of women in factories and service industries. However, the end of the war also saw the mass layoff of women in the metalworking industry in France. On the other hand, women's employment was maintained in the clerical sector, despite opposition from the trade unions, stemming mainly from women's lower wages. According to Françoise Thébaud,[51] however, the net outcome of WWI was conservative in terms of gender relations, even though a large number of women were forced to find work after the end of the war just to ensure their families' survival.[52]

The case of Austria shows that the size of the female labor force before and after WWI did not change significantly, which is also attributable to the reduced export activity of the textile industry and its crisis after 1918.[53] It is worth noting that part of the female labor force moved from one productive sector to another during WWI, for example, from the agrarian sector to the industrial sector, especially to the manufacture of weapons. Similarly, the general economic crisis and the impoverishment of the upper classes reduced the need for paid domestic work, leading some of the laid-off domestic help to find work in factories.[54] Major fluctuations in women's employment were also triggered by the Great Depression between the two wars.[55] Even though Austrian women gained the right to vote and be elected to political bodies in 1918, their increased political visibility did not make the emancipatory model of the "new woman" as pursued by the bourgeois and educated girls accessible to all women, especially not those in the Austrian periphery. As is evident from the treatment of the Carinthian tobacco workers in this book, women's suffrage and political representation were not prerequisites for achieving economic equality.[56]

The Social Democrats, who defended the new order against the authoritarian model of society, still saw motherhood as the highest duty of proletarian mothers.[57] Postwar social welfare in the new democratic Austrian Republic, and in the so-called "Red Island of Vienna" in particular, was inclined to the formation of a new working class, yet the dilemma between equality and difference shifted into

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51 Thébaud, *Les femmes au temps*, 56.

52 Françoise Battagliola, *Histoire du travail des femmes* (Paris: La Découverte, 2000), 54–55.

53 Ernst Bruckmüller, *Sozialgeschichte Österreichs* (Munich: Herold, 1985), 470.

54 On general trends in the postwar labor market: Gail Braybon, *Women Workers in the First World War* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Ute Daniel, *The War from Within: German Women in the First World War* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1997).

55 Gudrun Biffl, *Women in Austria: Their Work in the Labour Market and in the Household* (Vienna: Austrian Institute for Economic Research, 1991), 133–34.

56 James C. Albisetti, "The Feminization of Teaching in the Nineteenth Century: A Comparative Perspective," *History of Education* 22, no. 3 (1993): 203. Erna M. Appelt, "Women in the Austrian Economy," in *Women in Austria*, ed. Gunter Bischof, Anton Pelinka, and Erika Thurner (New York: Routledge 1998), 203–28.

57 On the ideal of the nuclear family, welfare, and attention to children, as well as how housework and childcare remained on the shoulders of women, see Sieder, "Behind the lines," 110.

support for women to become the effective centers of their families.[58] This women's role was generally subsumed under various higher social goals: the creation of orderly worker families; the need for rational and controlled reproduction, leading to a "healthy" new generation; and the desire to make a varied party life central to the lives of workers. Since female workers accounted for about 40 percent of the labor force and because 80 percent of married women were in some way employed, the party literature devoted considerable space to the plight of women compelled to beat the triple burden of work, household, and child-rearing.[59] The rationalization of housework was seen as a way out of the triple burden.

The eight-hour working day introduced between 1918 and 1921, the right to workers' leave, new labor laws for domestic servants and maids, and the prohibition of night shifts for Austrian women and minors undoubtedly improved the living conditions of women and children.[60] Yet behind Austria's postwar reconciliation of maternity and modernity, Richard Sieder identifies the persistence of the patriarchy, which did not allow women to take the lead in the family and gain equality.[61] The influence of the state on all areas of domesticity and community increased in other European countries after WWI.[62] Both in Yugoslavia and Italy, the general postwar climate was not favorable to women's employment in sectors of the previous "war economy."[63] In the case of Italy, the temporary nature of their employment was evident from the fact that most of them stopped working outside the home immediately after the end of the war, and certainly before the end of 1919.[64] In Yugoslavia, women's employment

58 On the socialist image of the "modern mother" and the disavowing of other models of the modern woman: Helmut Gruber, "The 'New Woman': Realities and Illusions of Gender Equality in Red Vienna," in *Women, Gender and Fascism in Europe 1919–1945*, ed. Kevin Passmore (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 48–49.

59 "Although a law of 1920 regulated hours of work, wages, time off, and vocations, working conditions remained largely unsupervised," Gruber, "The 'New Woman,'" 69. The situation of female domestic workers was often characterized by no labor contracts and 50 percent lower wages than female workers in industry. Gruber, "The 'New Woman,'" 61.

60 Ernst Bruckmüller, *Österreichische Geschichte: Von der Urgeschichte bis zur Gegenwart* (Weimar: Böhlau, 2019), 407–8. For more on the female labor market in Austria after 1918, especially in the field of paid domestic work, see Edith Rigler, *Frauenleitbild und Frauenarbeit in Österreich: Vom ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Vienna: Verlag fur Geschichte und Politik Wien, 1976), 94–113.

61 Sieder, "Behind the lines," 129–30.

62 Winter, "Some Paradoxes," 9–41. See also: Mary Gibson, "Women and the Left in the Shadow of Fascism in Interwar Italy," in *Women and Socialism—Socialism and Women: Europe between the Two World Wars*, ed. Helmut Gruber and Pamela Graves (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1998), 386–87.

63 Alacevich, "La 'scoperta,'" 32.

64 On the reversibility of women's employment and the notion of women's labor force as complementary and useful in times of crisis, see Angela Groppi, Introduction to *Il lavoro delle donne*, ed. Angela Groppi (Bari: Laterza, 1996), 777.

in heavy industry was also perceived as temporary and therefore did not enjoy broader approval at the end of the war. The fact that women were engaged in *Heimatarbeit* (productive activities in support of war operation) during the war did not prevent their dismissal after its end. As Ernst Bruckmüller explains, this was also due to female labor being perceived as flexible.[65]

In postwar Italy, continuity in women's employment was for the most part found in the tobacco and chemical industries, that is, in those sectors where women had been employed even before the war. There was also a significant increase in their employment in the textile industry,[66] which was also true for the Kingdom of SCS—the Slovenian part in particular. The increased employment opportunities for women were linked to structural changes in certain sectors of industrial production, and in particular to the development of the service sector,[67] which employed mainly younger and unmarried women. A significant increase in the number of employed women compared to the prewar period occurred in the clerical sector, both public and private. The "new army" of precarious and underpaid female labor in the service sector persisted after the end of the war, either because women were sought after for the lowest or at least low-paid clerical jobs or because the postwar authorities often employed war widows as clerks and typists.[68] For more on the topic, refer to the chapter by Ana Cergol Paradiž, Matteo Perissinotto, and Irena Selišnik.

The Italian press not only fueled the national rhetoric by utilizing images of young girls handling ammunition and howitzers during the war; afterwards, it also abandoned the female war iconography in favor of a functional strengthening of national solidarity in the fight against the enemy.[69] The woman who emerged from the war as emancipated was often stigmatized as masculinized. According to the journalist Irena Brin, by 1921 the last elements of "war fashion" had disappeared: "the lace-up boots, the dusters, the umbrella godets, the monopole gloves."[70] Women's work in traditionally male jobs was an extension

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65 Bruckmüller, *Sozialgescichte Österreichs*, 451–52.

66 Michela De Giorgio, "Donne e professioni," in *Storia d'Italia, Annali, 10, I professionisti*, ed. Maria Malatesta (Torino: Einaudi, 1996), 439–87. The proportion of women workers in Italy in 1921 was higher than before the war.

67 Barbara Curli, *Italiane al lavoro (1914–1920)* (Venice: Marsilio, 1998); Linda L. Clark, *The Rise of Professional Women in France: Gender and Public Administration since 1830* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 13.

68 Alessandra Pescarolo, *Il lavoro delle donne nell'Italia contemporanea* (Rome: Viella, 2019), 182–217, 229, 240–41.

69 De Giorgio, "Donne e professioni," 471. On how the portrayal of women in Italy also changed in the postcards illustrated at the end of the war and how the image of women as vestals of mourning was proposed, see in Teresa Bertilotti, "Stabilire la visibilità: Il lavoro delle donne nella Grande guerra," in *Narrazioni e immagini delle donne in guerra (1914–1918)*, ed. Giulia Albanese, Alessandro Faccioli, and Carlotta Sorba (Torino: Kaplan 2016), 91–92.

70 Irene Brin, *Usi e costumi 1920–1940* (Palermo: Sellerio, 1981), 75–89, esp. 78.

of the "reverse world" that peacetime society had to do away with.[71] The suddenness with which the "recognition" of women's work increased during the war and was equally eroded afterward, or maintained in only exceptional cases, was matched by the speedy dissolution of national solidarity in the face of increasing class and political conflict, and with it, the demand for a new yet traditional gender dynamic, which was particularly the case in Italy. Nonetheless, the new behaviors that constituted female modernity endured and were reinforced in individual professional and social settings.[72] Education and employment, which enabled women's emancipation as well as autonomy, however, were the domain of middle- and upper-class women in Italian, Austrian, Slovenian, and Croatian national environments. Even after WWI, university education was within reach for only a small number of women; their enrolment was determined by class and family support.[73] Teresa Bertilotti points this out aptly in her case study on Anita Pittoni, a textile entrepreneur and artist able to overcome the limitations that fascist society imposed on women's labor, especially in the entrepreneurial field.

When considering the postwar history of women's labor, it should not be forgotten that certain postwar norms allowed women to enter specific professions that were closed to them before the war. Law No. 1776 of July 17, 1919, known as the Sacchi Law, allowed university-educated women in Italy to pursue liberal professions such as, for example, law.[74] It also abolished the doctrine of "marital authorization" from the Civil Code (*istituto dell'autorizzazione maritale*).[75] Despite these changes, the top positions of administration, diplomacy, the judiciary, and important public offices remained out of reach.[76] In the Kingdom of SCS, a law was approved in 1923 allowing married women and unmarried mothers to work in the civil service and providing several weeks' maternity leave, which made white-collar jobs accessible to more women, as can be seen

71 Curli, *Italiane al lavoro*, 22.

72 De Giorgio, "Donne e professioni," 471.

73 The attempt to hinder women's access to higher education was at the forefront of a new school policy in Italy. The Gentile Reform sought to prevent girls from going on to university by creating a special lyceum for women. Despite the obstacles, the number of university-educated girls increased in the postwar period, especially in Northern Italy, many of whom were foreigners and or Jewish. Between 1921 and 1930 there were 1166 women graduates and 8279 men. De Giorgio, "Donne e professioni," 456.

74 De Giorgio, "Donne e professioni," 469. Stefania Bartoloni, ed., *Cittadinanze incompiute: La parabola dell'autorizzazione maritale* (Roma: Viella, 2021).

75 "According to this doctrine, married women had to seek their husband's permission for property transactions such as taking out mortgages, bequeathing gifts, or opening bank accounts." Gibson, "Women and the Left," 384 and 386–87.

76 Pescarolo, *Il lavoro delle donne*, 215. Law 471 of April 6, 1922 prohibited night work for women. Italy also adopted the Washington Convention on the Prohibition of Child Labour and the Abolition of Child Labour for Pregnant Women. The following year, a law banned the dismissal of industrial workers during pregnancy, while other occupational categories, such as teachers, were left without protection in the event of pregnancy.

from the data presented in the chapter by Ana Cergol Paradiž, Matteo Perissinotto, and Irena Selišnik.

Alongside the legislative changes just mentioned, which undoubtedly improved the position of women workers in some areas of work, it would be wrong not to see a general tendency to restore the patriarchal order and to hinder the emancipatory process of women—a tendency that also extended to the areas of the former Habsburg Empire that passed to Italy in 1918, such as the Julian March. With Mussolini's rise to power in 1922 and the subsequent formulation of a new demographic, pro-natalist policy, the number of women employed outside the home in Italy visibly declined.[77] Whereas in Italy women represented 31.2% of the total workforce in 1911 and 28.6% in 1921, the number dipped to 22.6% in 1931 and 25.1% of the total workforce after WWII, in 1951.[78]

The need to protect women's reproductive capacities for the benefit of the nation was not only at the forefront of fascist ideology, however.[79] This much is confirmed by way of comparison with the Kingdom of SCS, where pro-natalist tendencies were on the rise starting in the 1920s. The sphere of women's labor in the Kingdom of SCS did not experience a significant departure from prewar trends, with the exception of the increase in female employment in the textile and service sectors. However, the increased accessibility to higher and university education, which was particularly exploited by middle-class women, became a route to a professional career and economic independence for many young women. As documented in the study by Manca G. Renko, this only exacerbated the often difficult reconciliation between reproductive and productive work, both in the family and in the professional environment.

WORLD WAR II AND WOMEN'S LABOR

The findings on the "cyclical," inhomogeneous nature of the "short-term variations" of the emancipatory process in the postwar transition after 1918 are evident when analyzing the effects of WWII on women's labor.[80] The war transformed

77 Curli, *Italiane al lavoro*, 42.

78 Pierfrancesco Bandettini, "The Employment of Women in Italy 1881–1951," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2, no. 3 (April 1960): 374.

79 Fascism, as Rossi Doria notes, left women "a complex and contradictory legacy. On the one hand, women were limited to the role of procreation, seen as a biological function, yet on the other, motherhood received great social recognition: Fascist (like Nazi) strategy aimed to give mothers not a private but a public function." Anna Rossi-Doria, "Italian Women Enter Politics," in *When the War Was Over: Women, War, and Peace in Europe, 1940–1956*, ed. Claire Duchen and Irene Bandhauer-Schöffmann (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), 89.

80 Margaret R. Higonnet and Patrice L. R. Higonnet, "Double Helix," in *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, ed. Margaret Randolph Higonnet et al. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 31–48.

the hierarchy of identity markers in terms of gender, nationality, political persuasion, and class. This is why the end of the war was followed by complex negotiations concerning the distribution of power between men and women at both the individual and collective levels.

The return to peacetime normality took place amid contradictory tendencies between creating the new and preserving the old.[81] As was the case in WWI, women were included in the war production process and, if necessary, excluded at the end of the war. This was also due to the expectation that they would devote themselves to bearing children and help remedy the large demographic deficit caused by the war.[82] The return of men from the front or from captivity often became a source of divorce and misunderstanding, and above all a source of difficulty in unifying the "distribution of power in the family" and in the labor market itself.[83]

Many women who had found employment outside their homes during the war and who had acquired a prominent role in the workplace were pressured to leave their jobs after the war ended.[84] This was especially true on the defeated side, in countries such as Austria, where devastation (both economic and physical), famine, poverty, mass migration, captivity, and reprisals burdened postwar life, while the livelihoods of the majority of the population generally rested on women's shoulders during the early postwar period.[85] The same held true for Italy, although it did not emerge from the war completely defeated and could benefit from Allied material aid even before the Marshall Plan.

As for the victors, both Western and Eastern Europe expected women to become involved in rebuilding society and promoting peace. Their participation in public and political life was supported, especially in those countries where they had played an important role in liberation movements and had gained the right to vote after the end of the war. This was the case both in Italy and Yugoslavia, where women won their own political representation, which tried to steer political priorities during the transition and also promote women's right to work.

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81 Penelope Morris, ed., *Women in Italy, 1945–1960: An Interdisciplinary Study* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 9–190.

82 Curli, *Italiane al lavoro*, 42.

83 Ela Hornung, "The Myth of Penelope and Odysseus: An Austrian Married Couple Narrate Their Wartime and Post-war Experiences," in Duchen and Bandhauer-Schöffmann, *When the War Was Over*, 53–54. Claire Duchen and Irene Bandhauer-Schöffmann, Introduction to *When the War Was Over*, 3.

84 Penelope Morris, Introduction to *Women in Italy*, 3.

85 Bonnie G. Smith, "Introduction: Historical Overview," in *Women and Gender in Postwar Europe: From Cold War to European Union*, ed. Joanna Regulska and Bonnie G. Smith (New York: Routledge, 2012), 1. On how millions of children, wounded men, and old people in postwar Europe depended on women and their livelihoods, see Irene Bandhauer-Schöffmann, "Women's Fight for Food: A Gendered View of Hunger, Hoarding and Black Marketeering in Vienna after World War Two," in Duchen and Bandhauer-Schöffmann, *When the War Was Over*, 71–86.

Both countries strove to rebuild their economies and improve living standards.[86] But, unlike Italy, which revived the system of prewar capitalism, Yugoslavia embarked on a path of radical economic and social change by joining the Soviet bloc. The construction of a socialist society was supported by the elimination of gender inequalities and a policy of female employment,[87] which was to be facilitated, among other things, by the normative protection of reproductive rights. In the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a decree on leave before and after childbirth was adopted in July 1946. Women workers were entitled to 12 weeks' leave, 6 weeks before and 6 weeks after childbirth. In 1949, maternity leave was extended to 90 days and a nursing mother was entitled either to cease working in order to breastfeed her child or to reduce working hours for a period of 6 months after childbirth. In 1957, maternity leave was extended to 105 days.[88] Many studies confirm that the socialist ideology of equality, both in Yugoslavia and in the other countries of the Soviet bloc, did not succeed in abolishing the traditional division of labor within families. It promoted the figure of the equal worker, the politically engaged mother and wife supported by the socialist economy, but it did not reach into agrarian areas and those environments where the church still retained a strong influence.[89] Therefore, even in a socialist society, the expectation that women would maintain a balance between motherhood, their vocation, and political engagement remained during the postwar period. How they dealt with the triple burden and the contradictions of being intellectuals, writers, and artists in the post-WWII period is addressed in depth by Manca G. Renko, who highlights the contradictions between official discourse and life experience filtered through autobiographical and literary sources.

In Italy, 1948 saw a new constitution giving women equal status in society and equality before the law. This also encompassed the sphere of labor, yet women's freedoms were still restricted by some fascist and pre-fascist laws, and the constitution was not fully implemented. A wife remained unequal in the family environment in relation to her husband.[90] The postwar authorities, thanks in part to the persistence of women's parliamentary representation, took steps to protect working mothers: in 1950, a law was passed on paid maternity

86 M. Jane Slaughter, "'What's New' and Is It Good for You? Gender and Consumerism in Postwar Europe," in Regulska and Smith, *Women and Gender*, 104–21.

87 On the paradigm of the working mother as an integral element of socialist ideology in Yugoslavia and the persistence of misogynist patterns, see Vodopivec, "Od niti in majice," 173.

88 Vesna Leskošek, "Vpliv porodniškega dopusta na zaposlitev žensk v času socializma," in *Žensko delo*, 75. See also: Mateja Jeraj, *Slovenke na prehodu v socializem* (Ljubljana: Arhiv Republike Slovenije, 2005), 156–60.

89 Janet Elise Johnson and Jean C. Robinson, "Living Gender," in *Living Gender after Communism*, ed. Janet Elise Johnson and Jean C. Robinson (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007), 6.

90 Morris, *Women in Italy*, 4.

leave during pregnancy and for one year after childbirth.[91] It was not until 1956, however, that Italian women workers were granted the right to equal pay with male workers, although women continued to be paid less than men.[92]

The women's issue was at the forefront of the Italian political agenda in the postwar period, with two of the most important political parties, the *Partito Comunista Italiano* PCI (Communist Party of Italy) and the *Democrazia Cristiana* DC (Christian Democrats), seeking to establish political and moral primacy over Italian society. The PCI, which supported the autonomous action of women in the Unione Donne Italiane (UDI), apparently advocated for the spread of the Soviet family model, which encouraged women's economic independence and their political commitment.[93] In reality, however, despite the fact that the PCI supported women's political activity and economic emancipation, the party remained bound to a traditional conception of the family that differed little from that proposed by the Christian Democrats, who, close to the position of the Catholic Church, saw women as a guarantee for the preservation of the traditional family and Catholic primacy. For the Christian Democrats, who represented the Western and capitalist world in the first postwar elections, women were the bearers of a postwar moral and civil rebirth in line with traditional Catholic values.[94]

In all the countries covered in this book, women gained more than just greater protection of their reproductive rights. They also received better educational opportunities following the end of WWII. Yet, as the Italian example shows, the increased number of female university students during the war did not translate into increased female enrolment after it ended. The prevailing view was that the best professions for women were those that allowed them to combine motherhood, housework, and a vocation. As noted previously, this pattern also persisted in the postwar socialist reality. Thus, the opportunities that individual university-educated women had bears emphasizing, especially if they were active in the national liberation movement during WWII, at least as far as the Yugoslav space is concerned. After the end of the war, they appeared at the forefront of important scientific and professional fields. In Slovenia, the women doctors who took charge of the development of individual medical specializations and institutes bear particular mention.

In the West, the postwar era was also favorably inclined toward the expansion of women's labor into new occupational segments, but it rarely allowed women to take on leadership positions. One such example was the entry of

91 Home workers, who then constituted a large part of female workforce, were otherwise not included. Morris, *Women in Italy*, 4.

92 Pescarolo, *Il lavoro delle donne*, 249.

93 Sandro Bellassai, *La morale comunista: Pubblico e privato nella rappresentazione del PCI (1947–1956)* (Rome: Carocci 2000), 256–92.

94 Pescarolo, *Il lavoro delle donne*, 6.

women into lower positions in the police when the latter were on strike, as Molly Tambor has explored previously.[95] A look through the magazines published in Italy (*Noi Donne)* and Slovenia (*Naša Žena*) by women's organizations provides insight into topical issues, pointing to the notion that women's work in both the Italian-Western and Yugoslavian-Eastern-Socialist milieus was understood primarily in the context of family survival strategies rather than as a lever for the emancipation of women in general.[96]

Contents

It is clear from the above that the historicization of women's work in the postwar transitions of the twentieth century is a highly complex task, one that is rife with both research and epistemological challenges. On the one hand, it requires close attention to political and economic history; on the other hand, it cannot bypass analyzing family relations and taking into account age, marital status, and household income, just as it cannot avoid examining the relationship between gender and class and its embeddedness in broader cultural and social processes.[97]

In the north-eastern Adriatic region, which is the focus of this book, intersectionality and the importance of factors such as nationality, citizenship, and the generational affiliation of women workers have proved crucial in the study of women's work. Similarly, geopolitical factors such as the multiethnicity of the territory, the high level of war violence, and the proximity of economically and ideologically opposed systems have all proved to be important in terms of their impact on the women's labor market. The political, social, and economic situation in neighboring countries was more severe after 1945 than after 1918; however, this shows that there were some similarities between the two transitions in terms of gender-specific embedding practices. Following both dates, the employability of female teachers, clerks and in some cases industrial workers in the north-eastern Adriatic region, depended on the priorities of postwar state and nation building and on the emerging political-economic dynamics between the center and the periphery of each country.

In the border areas of Italy, Austria, and Yugoslavia, the promotion of women's employment after both world wars, especially in education and public

95 Molly Tambor, "The Origins of the *Polizia Femminile*, 1948–1961," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 27, no. 2 (2002): 178–99.

96 Slaughter, "'What's New,'" 104–21. Rebecca West, "'What' as Ideal and 'Who' as Real: Portraits of Wives and Mothers in Italian Postwar Domestic Manuals, Fiction, and Film," in *Women in Italy*, 21.

97 On the complexity of studying not only working experience but experience in general, see Joan W. Scott, *Théorie critique de l'histoire. Identités, experiences, politiques* (Paris: Fayard, 2009), 65–127.

administration, operated in a manner consistent with nineteenth-century national ideology, which saw women as the guardians of national interests and borders. Transnational analyses of women's labor and women's occupational groups carried out on the basis of individual cases show similarities in transitional employment policies tending towards national homogenization. This is particularly confirmed by the findings of Marta Verginella, Gorazd Bajc, Ana Cergol Paradiž, Matteo Perissinotto, and Irena Selišnik. Comparative analysis of the diverse documentary material has disclosed the ability of women workers to cross the borders of their own national communities and to exploit the differences between the post-1945 socialist and capitalist worlds to their own advantage and thus increase their own employability, which provides an opportunity to reflect on the impact of the Italian-Yugoslav as well as the Austrian-Yugoslav border on the women's labor market.

All the studies in this volume, whether they employ a longitudinal or a horizontal analysis of women's work, show the multi-faceted burdens that women have faced in their daily lives, whether the analysis is based on a bottom-up or a top-down view, on a biographical analysis, or on a statistical treatment of data pertaining to the cultural capitals and peripheries of the analyzed countries. The same is true in the cases of politically engaged women, mothers, wives, and workers, as well as of members of the intellectual elite. Future research merits continuing along the path of a tractable and comparative analysis of women's labor, especially in order to more accurately understand the differences seen in women's labor following the 1950s and the increasing differences between the Italian, Austrian, and Yugoslav systems, themselves an expression of the discrepancies that emerged between the Western and socialist, self-managed forms of welfare.[98]

During the transition periods studied in the ERC EIRENE project, flexibility and precariousness were fundamental characteristics of women's work, as were the growth and expansion of the women's labor market. It is clear from the individual chapters of this book, in their analysis of intellectual, artistic, and manual labor, how the postwar periods were in many respects—especially during moments of intense political uncertainty and unstable state borders—an open window for women's work, and that both inclusive and exclusive mechanisms were possible within individual occupational profiles, activated according to broader political, economic, and societal needs. The dynamics of inclusion and exclusion of the female labor force in the labor market in the postwar periods highlighted in the individual case studies treated in this volume should also be pursued for other female occupations not treated in this volume. This is the only way to understand the nature of their dynamics.

[98] Noteworthy indications towards a comparative approach between Western and Eastern Europe, Austria, and Hungary can be found in Éva Fodor, *Working Difference: Women's Working Lives in Hungary and Austria, 1945–1995* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

Marta Verginella analyzes such a dynamic in her "Female Teachers—The Ferrywomen of Transitional Education," using the postwar periods of both world wars as examples. Changes in borders, nationality, and political order triggered control and oversight over teaching staff, and in many cases even their dismissal and exile. The feminization of the teaching profession, which increased at the *fin de siècle*, led to a particular focus on female teachers, their formation, and their recruitment in transitional education policies. The establishment of post-imperial school policies in both the Yugoslav and Italian environments of the former Austrian Cisleithania did not signify a radical break with the Habsburg pedagogical heritage, but it did mean the abandonment of the multilingual education model. In the various transition contexts of both the postwar and wartime periods, the female teaching staff was identified as the most suitable for implementing new postwar school policies and changing previous frameworks, both mentally and linguistically. Through a transnational analysis and employing an entirely innovative methodology, the author demonstrates the similarity in transnational school policies both after 1918 and after 1945 in the broader north-eastern Adriatic region, as well as in the roles assumed by women teachers in terms of national, political, and generational affiliations. The individual cases show that as members of a defeated national community or minority, female teachers were better able to avoid losing their jobs compared to their male counterparts, and that working under adverse circumstances encouraged them to become more active in trade unions, political activities, and the struggle for women's emancipation. The chapter's strength lies in its acknowledgement of the benefits of a transnational approach as well as in its recognition of the importance of studying women's work over the long term. The case study of women teachers is used in identifying important factors in their employment as well as in their functioning, such as generational affiliation and geographic origin.

On the basis of Slovenian and Anglo-American archival documents and other relevant sources and publications, Gorazd Bajc investigates the working conditions of female teachers in the Slovene schools of Trieste and Gorizia in the first years of the Allied Military Government as a yet unexplored topic of Allied schooling policy. Although a considerable bibliography already exists on the subject of education at that time, there are no specific works on female or male teachers, while the issue of women's labor in other sectors, both in services and in industry, has also been marginalized and hardly studied at all. Bajc's essay therefore represents a novelty, for which the author examined many Slovenian and Anglo-American archival documents and other relevant sources and publications. He highlights how the battle for political primacy in the field of education, which took place in the territory of Trieste, in the so-called Zone A, was based on the policy of inclusion and exclusion of teachers on the grounds of national and political affiliation. Although the Yugoslav army had already left

Trieste at the beginning of June 1945, it took care through its representatives and organizations to maintain a pro-Yugoslav-oriented teaching staff. Teachers who had been dismissed by the Allied authorities because of their political ideas were provided for by the "informal Yugoslav welfare system," which through Slovenian organizations extended to the area under Anglo-American administration. The precariousness of the Slovene teachers' workforce is visible in the background of the postwar school policies, especially those teachers who had come as political (anti-communist) migrants to the territory of Trieste from Yugoslavia, as well as those who had to work well into their advanced years, a result of having lost their employment during the fascist period. The author shows how important it is to take the gender perspective into account in his analysis of such a complicated context, in which the political and cultural activism of the female teaching staff was at the forefront.

The chapter "Women Clerks in Transition after World War I in the Kingdom of Italy and Yugoslavia: Two Case Studies from Trieste and Ljubljana" focuses on the female clerical ranks and the employment of women in administrative positions after the end of WWI. The novelty of the chapter written by Ana Cergol Paradiž, Matteo Perissinotto, and Irena Selišnik lies in its analysis of the recruitment policies of the Italian and Yugoslav authorities regarding administrative positions and the degree of discontinuity or continuity with the prewar Habsburg administrative framework. The focus on female personnel offers a clear view of the transformations of the civil service in the postwar world and facilitates an analysis of the administrative and cultural transformations involving legislation, the role of women within society, and the world of work and its related issues. The authors have analyzed a category of female civil servants that has thus far been very poorly researched. Compared to other (female) occupational groups, the category of female civil servants is difficult to define and is thus historiographically elusive, as it represents rather diverse occupations with clerical profiles ranging from secretaries, typists, and archivists to clerks in protocol offices.

In their quantitative and qualitative processing of sources, the authors have disclosed that the work of women civil servants in the Julian March and Slovenia was additionally linked to changing borders, national rivalries, and migrations. The civil service was seen as a social corrective, especially for female relatives of male civil servants, and preference for employment was given to women who demonstrated moral integrity and political loyalty to the state. While the Italian authorities insisted on dismissing married female civil servants after the end of the war, the Kingdom of SCS showed a greater receptiveness to employing women regardless of their marital status. The 1923 Civil Servants Law, enacted by the SCS government, was an immediately effective, temporary postwar regulation that allowed married women and unmarried mothers to work and even granted them a few weeks' maternity leave.

In "Intellectual Labor: Gender, Emotions, and Circumstances during the Postwar Transitions," Manca G. Renko provides a comparative analysis of the characteristics of women's intellectual work by looking at the case of Slovenian, Croatian, German, Italian, and Hungarian women intellectuals. According to her research, most of these women were able to pursue their intellectual careers (mainly as writers) only after they finished their day jobs (as teachers, doctors, editors, clerks, translators, etc.), which they held on to in order to take care of their family responsibilities. Renko uncovers the importance of their upbringing and education in a multicultural society that was disintegrating alongside the creation of nationally profiled societies. In particular, she highlights how their belonging to a multicultural environment contributed to their emancipation, even after their integration into the new state framework.

The burden of family, domestic, and maternal work that Renko detects in the biographies of individual women writers also weighed on women intellectuals after WWII. Those who were politically active in particular faced a multifaceted burden after the war had ended. The author shows that the difficulties in reconciling intellectual work, political activity, and motherhood were specific not only to intellectuals living in the capitalist system but also to those working in the Yugoslav space, where, despite the socialist transformation of society, the onus of housework and motherhood remained squarely on women. Women after WWII were well aware of the unequal conditions of artistic creation and work, but in most cases they did not thematize or highlight them. The article analyzes intellectual work from a labor history perspective and detects the historical tropes that often still leave women's intellectual work inadequately analyzed, especially in the context of the north-eastern Adriatic area. It focuses on issues such as "separate spheres," the "concept of an intellectual," and "gender bias" with regard to intellectual work.

In "A Soul with Hands: Anita Pittoni, Artist and Entrepreneur," author Teresa Bertilloti sheds light on the entrepreneurial path of an artist and businesswoman who, in tandem with other women, combined art and design with artisanal activity. This is an area that has been very poorly researched and neglected until now, especially with regard to the relationships that Pittoni, as an employer, established with the Italian army's female workers. The author shows how, after WWI, professional autonomy was a prerequisite for women's emancipation and how, even under fascism, which hindered women's employment outside their homes, individual women were still able to overcome political barriers. Anita Pittoni made a name for herself in the wider Italian and international art and crafts scene with her artistic creations and artisan products. Even though she worked on the periphery of the Italian state in the 1920s and 1930s, she drew her inspiration for independent activity from the Habsburg and broader German environment in which she grew up and lived throughout her formative years. Teresa Bertilotti

highlights that Pittoni's entrepreneurial story was not exceptional in the eastern periphery of fascist Italy, where she also collaborated with two Trieste-based Wulz photographers. Pittoni took advantage of the possibility of autonomous professional activity even after WWII, when the national affiliation of Trieste, the city in which she lived and worked, was uncertain. She became a publisher for important writers and a key interlocutor in Trieste and the broader Italian intellectual milieu.

In "Tobacco Workers between Marginalization and Opportunities: A Regional Perspective," Urška Strle and Dagmar Wernitznig apply a transnational, comparative, and longitudinal approach to the tobacco workers of three tobacco factories located in the north-eastern Adriatic region, namely, in Ljubljana, Klagenfurt, and Rovinj. The authors' methodological approach encompasses the three postwar periods and is undoubtedly the greatest novelty of the chapter. Subordinated to the common Austrian tobacco monopoly before 1918, the tobacco factories were incorporated into the national economies of the new states (Yugoslavia, Austria, and Italy), which took over the monopoly after 1918. The authors draw attention to the different burdens and marginalizations that women tobacco workers had to face. They upgrade the concept of a "triple burden," which encapsulates the triple assumption of duties and responsibilities as reproductive, productive, and representative factors, into a "multiple burden." It is clear from the case study that the tobacco workers in Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Rovinj faced duties and obstacles that went beyond the triple division of labor exploitation, household chores, and service to their homeland, not least because they were saddled with agricultural work in their original family environment alongside industrial work. The authors also focus on the changes in the tobacco industry triggered by the socialist transformation and the self-management system, as well as its demise and they identify new research avenues to be pursued in the study of industrial women in the north-eastern Adriatic.

In the chapter "Slovene Female Textile Workers and Their Alternative Employment," Petra Testen Koren focuses on the women working in a textile factory in the agrarian and border area of the Slovenian Karst. In doing so, she also highlights the characteristics of women's work along the Slovenian-Italian border. Her article explores the process of industrialization and socialization of female labor in the Yugoslav border periphery, as well as its shift towards precarious labor in the 1990s after the dissolution of Yugoslavia. By setting up industrial plants in the immediate vicinity of the Italian-Yugoslav border, the socialist authorities attempted to disrupt the traditional labor mobility between the Slovenian countryside and Italian urban centers, which represented the transit of women from the socialist to the capitalist world.

The novelty of the chapter lies in its analysis of the self-identification of women textile workers who remained embedded in an agrarian environment

despite their integration into the industrial process. Using oral sources, the author explores the women workers' understanding of the collapse of the former socialist economy and the dominance of the new neoliberal economic model. In the narratives of the interviewees, she discovers a positive valorization of the socialist period, mainly due to the social benefits and services that the industrial workers enjoyed. During and after the crisis of the self-managed economy, the female population, which previously had the opportunity to abandon or at least integrate agrarian work and traditional income-generating activities as a result of industrial work, started to re-engage in traditional income-generating activities, especially in paid domestic work on the other side of the border, in Italy. Often, this was also as a result of the low wages paid in the factories. The case study uses new data to shed light on women's ability to enter the cross-border female labor market and to exploit the differences between two neighboring systems, in this case, where one belonged to socialism and the other to capitalism.

As is evident from the content presented, this is a book that offers vital and insightful findings in the fields of labor history, gender studies, and transition and border studies, not only for the context of the north-eastern Adriatic region but also for Central Europe and Europe in general. By analyzing recently found archival sources or those that have been under-reported, by collecting and analyzing oral sources, and by following the biographical method, each chapter reaffirms the necessity of taking gender into account in the comparative study of the labor market in capitalist and socialist societies of the twentieth century. The present work does not offer definitive answers to the questions we set out to answer in the ERC project EIRENE, but it does offer a glimpse into the under-recognized history of women's labor in the subfields of intellectual, artistic, and industrial labor. In the present volume, however, we have tried to find answers to questions about women's labor in the north-eastern Adriatic from a gender perspective during the postwar transitions of the twentieth century. Through them, we aim to draw attention to the need to continue the effort and to pursue the possibilities opened up by a transnational and comparative historicization of women's work and gender work in the north-eastern Adriatic as well as in the wider European area.

PART I

PEDAGOGICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE LABOR

Female Teachers—The Ferrywomen of Transitional Education

Marta Verginella

"Teachers were the first to plant the spade in the soil of national education and were quite respected at the time."[1]

Introduction

The following chapter is a comparative study on the direction of postwar educational politics in the north-eastern Adriatic, with an additional focus on the multinational border regions of Italy, Austria, and Yugoslavia in what is now Slovenia and Croatia. The research spotlight is aimed at the role the political authorities entrusted to women teachers following both world wars. In order to grasp the nuance of the role entrusted to female teachers by the authorities during transitional periods, both a transnational approach and consideration of the relevant institutional framework are necessary, as are individual choices. As Philip Gardner posits, "[t]o be a teacher has involved constant struggles, both personal and collective, to steer difficult crosscurrents of uniformity and diversity, tradition and transformation, ambition and service, impartiality and engagement, personality and professionalism, into navigable channels also capable of satisfying the prescriptions of policymakers, the conventions of cultural sensibility, and the expectations of the wider public interest."[2]

Ever since the latter half of the nineteenth century, female teachers have been playing an important role in schooling and educating the wider strata of European society. First trained privately,[3] and later in state-run teacher training colleges, female teachers would go on to work in primary education and kindergartens. Due to a large increase in hiring rates for women at both the preschool and elementary level, the teaching profession also encountered feminization in

1 Zgodovinski arhiv Celje (Historical Archive Celje, hereafter SI ZAC), 1319 Osnovna šola Slovenske Konjice 1763–1919, Chronicle, sig. 1/A, School year 1918/19, 168.

2 Philip Gardner, "Teachers and Teaching," in *A Cultural History of Education in the Modern Age*, ed. Judith Harford and Tom O'Donoghue (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), 120.

3 Tatjana Hojan, "Vzgoja učiteljic," *Zbornik za historiju šolstva i prosvete* 5 (1969–1970): 132.

Italy and Austria-Hungary, much like elsewhere in Europe.[4] Access to university education at the turn of the century allowed women to work at the secondary level of education. Nonetheless, women remained in the minority there until the middle of the twentieth century.

At the turn of the twentieth century, women teachers almost everywhere in Europe had become the very "core of teaching,"[5] and women's teacher training schools were the seedbed of educated women. Initially seen as an extension of motherhood—education and love of children were supposed to be innate to them as women[6]—women teachers were often also members of charitable, cultural, and political associations, in addition to being publicists, writers, and campaigners for women's rights.[7] An analysis of the public activities of women teachers at the turn of the nineteenth century shows that their educational work often coincided with both national engagement and the struggle for women's emancipation.

This model of the teaching profession, which included the assumption of public engagement alongside schoolwork, was reinforced in the first half of the twentieth century. It became particularly binding after both world wars. In the multiethnic areas of the north-eastern Adriatic countries, the acquisition of a teaching qualification and entry into the teaching profession coincided in many cases with national activism and intellectual engagement in favor of one's own national community. Indeed, from the 1860s onwards, the education of young women and their involvement in the sphere of national activity became one of the political priorities of the national elites in the Austrian Littoral,[8] as was the case elsewhere in Cisleithania and more broadly in the Habsburg Monarchy.[9]

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4 Ester De Fort, "L'associazionismo degli insegnanti elementari dall'età giolittiana al fascismo," *Movimento operaio e socialista* 4 (1981): 375–404; James C. Albisetti, "The Feminization of Teaching in the Nineteenth Century: A Comparative Perspective," *History of Education* 22, no. 3 (1993): 253–63.

5 Simonetta Soldani, "Nascita della maestra elementare," in *Fare gli italiani. Scuola e cultura nell'Italia contemporanea*, vol.1, ed. Simonetta Soldani and Gabriele Turi (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1993), 67–130, 73.

6 On educating female teachers in the spirit of tradition but also in the face of new challenges: Janina Trotman, *Girls Becoming Teachers: An Historical Analysis of Western Australian Women Teachers, 1911–1940* (New York: Cambria Press, 2008), 5; James C. Albisetti, "Female Education in German-Speaking Austria, Germany, and Switzerland, 1866–1914," in *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*, ed. David F. Good, Margarete Grandner, and Mary Jo Maynes (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996), 39–57.

7 Michelle Perrot, "1914: Great Feminist Expectations," in *Women and Socialism – Socialism and Women: Europe between the World Wars*, ed. Helmut Gruber and Pamela Graves (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1998), 35.

8 On the nationalist education of girls in Trieste schools: Diana De Rosa, *Spose, madri e maestre: Il Liceo femminile e L'Istituto magistrale G. Carducci di Trieste, 1872–1954* (Udine: Del Bianco, 2004).

9 Marta Verginella, Introduction to *Women, Nationalism, and Social Networks in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848–1918*, ed. Marta Verginella (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2023).

The efforts of the national elites to open women's teacher training colleges answered the need to involve the female population in national movements.[10] The latter was particularly important in multiethnic areas during the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries, when the intensity of national confrontation increased, a trend that intensified at the end of World War I. According to Machteld Venken, an "obsession with language" accompanied the redrawing of borders and reshaping of borderlands after 1918. In the aftermath of World War I, "language was considered the primary denominator of national belonging, while the national paradigm was to become the foundation stone of the new political world order."[11]

In the postwar period and with the corresponding change in state sovereignty, teaching faculty were subjected to both control and supervision due to their politically recognized national mission. They were often made redundant or even exiled. Teachers' colleges were the first secondary schools to be abolished, yet at the same time also represented the type of school that would be the first to open to meet the needs of the new regimes, that is, educating a new type of faculty better suited to the new systems.[12] National and political priorities, as well as the language spoken in the classroom, thus became focused on the opening, closing, and reshaping of these schools. To illustrate, when, in the 1945–1946 school year, there was a shortage of 266 Slovene teachers in Zone A and Zone B of the Julian March (chiefly in Zone B), the Provincial National Liberation Committee (Pokrajinski narodno osvobodilni odbor, PNOO) first set up the Tolmin Teacher Training College on November 25, 1945. On January 15, 1947, the PNOO established the independent Portorož Teacher Training College dedicated to the Slovene Littoral. The college later moved to Koper in 1953.[13]

In the area of Croatian Istria, which belonged to Yugoslavia, the Italian teachers' college in Poreč/Parenzo was closed after the end of World War II. The new authorities decided that the Rijeka/Fiume Teacher Training College should take over the education of Italian school staff, and students of both genders were given the opportunity to stay in a boarding school.[14] In many respects, the practices and concerns of the Yugoslav authorities regarding the formation of a new teacher body after the end of World War II echoed those enforced by the Italian

10 Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage Publications, 1997).

11 Machteld Venken, *Peripheries at the Centre: Borderland Schooling in Interwar Europe* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2021), 8. See also: 200–201.

12 Adriano Andri and Giulio Mellinato, "Scuola e confine: Le istituzioni educative della Venezia Giulia 1915–1945," *Quaderni di Qualestoria* 5 (Trieste: Istituto regionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia, 1994), 33.

13 Mirjana Kontestabile and Majda Cenčič, "Učiteljišče Portorož—Koper od ustanovitve leta 1947 do ukinitve leta 1968," *Kronika: časopis za slovensko krajevno zgodovino* 66, no. 1 (2018): 113–16.

14 Giovanni Radossi, *Documenti dell'Unione degli Italiani dell'Istria e di Fiume*: *(gennaio 1947–maggio 1948)*, vol. 10 (Rovigno: Centro di Ricerche storiche, 2010), 143.

authorities during the military occupation of the former Austrian Littoral in the fall of 1918.[15] The pedagogue Giuseppe Lombardo Radice (1879–1938), who after the end of World War I played an important role in the reform of Italian education in the Julian March,[16] fostered additional education and training courses for teachers in Istria and advocated for the necessity of establishing teaching schools in the annexed territory, where a new generation of Italian teachers were to be trained.[17]

Transition Education and Nationalizing School Practices in Multiethnic and Border Areas

In the transition periods after World Wars I and II, education was recognized as one of the most important areas of activity of the new state authorities and their functioning. "Establishing and maintaining control over education was crucial for the functioning of the modern nation-state, since it offered the prospect of a common national socialization for its youngest citizens," notes Machteld Venken, who takes a comparative approach to the study of borderland schooling in interwar Europe.[18] In the north-eastern Adriatic areas covered in this article, youth education also belonged to the most important goals of transition policies after both world wars. In what is now north-eastern Italy, Slovenia, and south-eastern Austria, postwar school authorities pursued a common national socialization project focused on the youngest members of the population, which, in addition to establishing national primacy in the framework of state nation-building, also implied an ideological adaptation.

[15] On transition and women teachers after the First World War in the case of semiautonomous city-state Fiume, see Francesca Rolandi, "Female Public Employees during a Post-Imperial Transition: Gender, Politics and Labour in Fiume after the First World War," *Contemporary European History* 33, no. 1 (2024): 159–72. doi:10.1017/S0960777321000850.

[16] Radice advocated for a soft transition from the Austrian education model to the Italian. For more on his efforts to improve teacher education and create a type of "national education," see Andrea Dessardo, *Lo spirito nazionale nella scuola: Lettere dalla Venezia Giulia a Giuseppe Lombardo Radice* (Trieste: Edizioni Meudon, 2018), 7–8.

[17] In all likelihood, a contributing factor to such beliefs may have been the influence of his wife, Gemma Harasim, a pedagogue and teacher from Rijeka. Gemma Harasim, *L'impegno educativo: Antologia di scritti su cultura, scuola, famiglia*, ed. Nella Sistoli Paoli (Rome: Aracne, 2009); Natka Badurina, "Linguistic Policy and Pedagogical Issues in the Schools of the Austro-Hungarian Littoral: The Participation of Women in the Public Debate," in Verginella, *Women, Nationalism, and Social Networks in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848–1918*. The postwar oscillation between Austrian and Italian school legislation is mentioned in Jože Pahor, "Učiteljstvo v Slovenskem Primorju in Istri v letih 1906–1926," in *Zbornik Primorske založbe Lipa*, ed. Bogomir Magajna (Koper: Lipa, 1956), 69–81.

[18] Venken, *Peripheries at the centre*, 31.

THE SOLEMNIZATION OF TEACHING

In all three countries, there was a tendency towards centralized management of the school system, which was reinforced during the transition periods. The tendency towards reforming the school system was realized in the form of limiting and also entirely doing away with lessons in the languages of minority groups.[19] The Slovenization of primary and secondary education in Lower Styria and Slovenska krajina, as the area of the formerly Hungarian Prekmurje (Muravidék) was initially called, began immediately after the establishment of the new Yugoslav state.[20] After November 16, 1918, Slovene became the official language of instruction in the Slovene territories that were incorporated first into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918 and later, in 1929, into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, while German was given the status of a minority or foreign language, as was the case with Hungarian.[21] In Carniola and Styria, the reduction and obstruction of German education began,[22] as did the dismissal of school supervisors and German-Hungarian teachers. This held especially true after a demonstration on January 27, 1919, calling for the "German character of Maribor."[23] At that time, the new school authorities dismissed a considerable number of teachers, most of whom then emigrated to the Austrian Republic.[24]

Due to the large number of German-speaking children in Maribor in particular, and similarly in other towns and market towns in Lower Styria, the abolition of classes being held in German went slower than the new school authorities had planned.[25] The Styrian politician and educator Karel Verstovšek, who headed the Board of Education and Worship (Poverjeništvo za uk in bogočastje) until December 1920, labored intensely to expedite the process.[26] He was in favor of

[19] Narte Velikonja, "Razvoj šolske uprave: Splošni pregled s posebnim ozirom na osnovno šolstvo," in *Slovenci v desetletju 1918–1928*, ed. Josip Mal (Ljubljana: Leonova družba, 1928), 691–744.

[20] Velikonja, "Razvoj," 691–744.

[21] On anti-German educational and cultural policy in Yugoslavia, see Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Nationalitätenpolitik in Jugoslawien: Die deutsche Minderheit 1918–1978* (Göttingen: Sammlung Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 20–25.

[22] Venken, *Peripheries at the Centre*, 205.

[23] Massive anti-Yugoslav demonstrations and riots on January 27, 1919, accompanied the arrival of the American demarcation commission in Maribor, and in the following months individual measures were taken that unambiguously implemented the Yugoslavization or Slovenization of the administration and especially of education. The most active in their organization were members of the German elite, including many teachers and students. More about this event, see "Maßnahmen gegen die deutschen Lehrkräfte" (*Marburger Zeitung*, February 26, 1919, 3); and this period, see Darko Friš, Gregor Jenuš, and Ana Šela, "Maribor med prevratom in senžermensko pogodbo: 'Zasijalo nam je sonce svobode: Maribor je jugoslovanski!'," *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino* 60, no. 3 (2020): 110–48.

[24] Velikonja, "Razvoj šolske uprave," 692.

[25] Glej SI ZAC, Osnovna šola Slovenske Konjice 1763–1919, Kronika, sig. 1/A, 168.

[26] Ervin Dolenc, *Kulturni boj: Slovenska kulturna politika v Kraljevini SHS 1918–1929* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1996), 24–26.

replacing individual teachers and school leaders who were not reliably Slovenian. His views were also supported by the Association of Slovene Teachers in Styria, which opposed the government's actions, which they viewed as too slow, and its excessive tolerance towards German teachers and German language teaching in general. They demanded Slovenian teachers be installed, and the removal of those not proficient in Slovene.[27]

With regard to the radical abolition of education in German, neither Verstovšek nor the Association of Slovene Teachers in Styria gained the support of the national government, the majority of which was not in favor of radical changes to the structure and order of schools. Even the Association of Slovene Professors, which itself advocated for the immediate dissolution of the regional women's teachers' college in Maribor, did not support the radical reorganization of the educational structure. It tolerated the right to hold classes in German but opposed German secondary schools and especially the training of new German teaching staff.[28] The national government, which prescribed Slovene as the language of instruction in elementary education, allowed for the opening of minority elementary schools where Slovene was a compulsory subject, on condition that there were a sufficient number of minority school-age children.[29]

The dismissal of prewar teaching staff and the abolition of education in Hungarian were also priorities in the area beyond the Mura River. According to the school superintendent's report, out of 151 teachers in Prekmurje, only 64 were considered suitable for teaching under the new conditions in 1919; three were retired, and 84 were dismissed because they did not speak Slovene language, or because they were politically suspect with regard to the national question. The vacant posts were filled by teachers from other parts of Slovenia, especially from the Littoral refugee population, who had no intention of returning to the Gorizia region and other areas of the former Austrian Littoral now occupied by Italy. Several were employed as contract teachers and therefore received lower wages.[30]

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27 The polemical tones regarding the preservation of the German language in Ljubljana are also recorded in the Kronika in listina Osnovne šole ob Ščavnici, 1864–1945 (SI PAM). See also Barbara Čučko, "Pedagoško delovanje v Mariboru med obema vojnama" (master's thesis, University of Maribor, 2020).

28 Dolenc, *Kulturni boj*, 30.

29 The pro-German demonstrations for the "German character of Maribor" were followed by a wave of dismissals of German teachers and school supervisors. At that time, 36 secondary school teachers and between 200 and 300 primary school teachers in urban schools were dismissed. Most of them emigrated to Austria (Dolenc, *Kulturni boj*, 26–27 and Velikonja, "Razvoj šolske uprave," 692). German classes were to be attended exclusively by children of "genuine German nationality" (Velikonja, "Razvoj šolske uprave," 702).

30 Miroslav Kokolj and Bela Horvat, *Prekmursko šolstvo od začetka reformacije do zloma nacizma* (Murska Sobota: Pomurska založba, 1977), 309. Arhiv Republike Slovenije (Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, hereafter ARS), SI AS 231, Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Slovenia (1900–1959).

According to Narte Velikonja, 214 teachers from Carinthia came to Slovenia after the referendum, some of whom also found work in Prekmurje.[31] The majority of these were teaching staff who were directed to Carinthia by the Yugoslav authorities after the end of the war, with the aim of developing a Slovene school network as densely webbed as possible from a structural standpoint. This was to take place in the area occupied by the Yugoslav army and in places where classes were held mostly in German despite the presence of the Slovene-speaking population.[32] In order to attract the necessary teaching force to the border region of Prekmurje, which was economically underdeveloped and remote, the Yugoslav school authorities offered a financial bonus to the teaching staff.

THE ITALIANIZATION OF EDUCATION IN THE JULIAN MARCH

In the same manner, the Italian authorities in the former Austrian Littoral also used their additional financial resources to try to recruit new Italian teaching staff in the most remote border towns populated by Slovenes and Croats. The Commissioner for Autonomous Affairs of the Istrian Governorate (Commissario per gli Affari autonomi della giunta istriana), who attempted to recruit pro-Italian teachers, did not intend to open the Croatian schools that had remained closed for a number of reasons after 1918, "until they had politically and nationally trustworthy teachers at their disposal." On one hand, the commissioner thus proposed a tender for scholarships aimed at those Italian teachers who were willing to learn Croatian and Slovene and, on the other hand, a salary increase (up to 50%) for those who were willing to take teaching positions in these "Slavic" schools. His set of instructions was very comprehensive and dealt with the necessity of control over the "Slavic" teaching staff, the acceleration of the dismissal of the teachers who had been installed up to then, control over the clergy who resisted the teaching of religious education in Italian, and the increase in the teaching of Italian as an independent subject in all existing "Slavic" schools.[33]

The policy of growing hostility towards the Slovene and Croatian population was, according to Almerigo Apollonio, a manifestation of the growing influence of the Italian irredentists in the new administrative structures, as well as of the

[31] Velikonja, "Razvoj šolske uprave," 692.

[32] "Recently, a significant number of female teachers have appeared in Carinthia," *Učiteljski tovariš* 59, no. 33 (August 13, 1919): 6.

[33] Andrea Dessardo, "Scuole al limite: L'istruzione primaria in lingua italiana in Alto Adige e nell'Istria interna, 1918–1922; Analisi d'una contraddizione," *Qualestoria: Rivista di storia contemporamea* 43, no. 1 (June 2015): 96.

growing level at which the Slovenes and Croatians were organizing, all the while making no secret of their dislike for the new authorities and the annexation of the occupied territories to Italy.[34] The planned Italianization of education began first in Istria, continued in Trieste and Gorizia, and later also in the interior of the Littoral, as was reported in the Slovene and Croatian press. It warned of the duplicity of the Italian occupation policy. In the trilingual area of the Kanal Valley, where German and Slovene speakers predominated, the establishment of the Italian education system was slower,[35] which can be attributed to the geopolitically peripheral nature of the area as well as to the support given by the Kingdom of Italy to Austria in its anti-Yugoslav struggle for the annexation of Carinthia. [36]

The governor's reconciliatory tone, announcing respect for all the languages and customs of the population of the new Italian land (Nuova Regione d'Italia) and disavowing any desire for revenge and persecution,[37] met with criticism from the spontaneously formed "epuration committees" dedicated to rooting out collaboration with the opponent. It was these advocates of "patriotic moralization" who accused him of harmful caution and of being too sympathetic to Italy's opponents.[38] After the abolition of the military command on July 4, 1919, and the creation of the Central Office for the New Provinces of the Kingdom (Ufficio Centrale per le nuove provincie del Regno) headed by the Istrian Francesco Salata, known for his irredentist zeal, the attitude of the Italian authorities towards the Slovene and Croatian teaching staff became more severe. The authorities followed the guidelines advocated, among others, by Rodolfo Corenich, former president of the Lega Nazionale in Pula, and Francesco Rauni, founder of *Il nuovo giornale di Pola*. According to them, Italian schools and kindergartens had to be set up in every Slovene or Croatian settlement and staffed with competent Italian teachers from Istria, Trieste, and Gorizia,[39] so that the Italianization of the new provinces could proceed as swiftly as possible.

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[34] Apollonio notes that the military authorities initially controlled mainly the teachers of the secondary schools in Idrija and Pazin, facilitating the departure of the teaching staff who were foreigners; only then did they begin to exercise control over the entire teaching staff. More in Almerigo Apollonio, *Dagli Asburgo a Mussolini: Venezia Giulia, 1918–1922* (Gorizia: Libreria Editrice Goriziana, 2001), 53.

[35] On the difficulties in recruiting staff and the delays in obtaining Italian teaching material in the schools of the Kanal Valley, see Fella, "Condizioni dei maestri e delle scuole del distretto di Tarvisio," in *Battaglie per la scuola* 3, no. 39 (June 1, 1922): 7.

[36] Gorazd Bajc et al., "L'intervento italiano in Carinzia dopo la Prima guerra mondiale e i britannici," *Acta Histriae* 28, no. 4 (2020): 711–54; Andrea Di Michele, "L'Italia in Austria. Da Vienna a Trento," in *La vittoria senza pace: Le occupazioni militari italiane alla fine della Grande guerra*, ed. Raoul Pupo (Bari: Laterza, 2014), 18–25.

[37] Angelo Visintin, *Disagio militare e attivismo rivoluzionario nel primo dopoguerra giuliano, 1919–1920* (Ronchi dei Legionari: Centro Culturale Pubblico Polivalente, 1991), 27.

[38] Visintin, *Disagio*, 29–30.

[39] Dessardo, "Scuole al limite," 75–98. Carmelo Cottone, *Storia della Scuola in Istria. Da Augusto a Mussolini* (Capodistria: Scuola Tip. Edit. V. Focardi, 1938), 162.

Upon taking over supreme military and civil authority in the Julian March, formerly the Austrian Littoral, General Carlo Pettiti di Roreto[40] declared that the Italian administration would maintain all schools in the occupied territory regardless of the language of instruction, with the exception of German. According to the governor, Italy's intention was to respect international law. This is why the individual official reports of the Italian administration also brim with positivity about the fact that Italy, as the occupier of the new provinces, did not wish to change the existing legislation excessively, nor to abolish the Austrian curricula or the prewar school system.[41] However, very soon demands for the reduction and abolition of the Slovenian and Croatian school networks began to emerge alongside declarative statements of national reconciliation and recognition of minority rights. The former came from irredentist circles which took leading positions in the new administrative and educational system and initially focused on the abolition of German education in Trieste and Gorizia. Italian nationalist associations such as the "Dante Alighieri" and the "Unione generale degli Insegnanti" were also very vocal. In November 1918, they launched a newspaper campaign against minority education. A section of the Italian military hierarchy which supported the dismissal of ethnically and politically unreliable teachers also favored the closure of Slovenian and Croatian schools.[42] The example of the Julian March shows that in the field of education, the departure from Habsburg prewar and wartime education depended not only on the speed and radicalness of the state-building process but also on the bargaining and organizational strength of the individual national communities and interest groups present in a given territory.[43]

After November 1918, the abolition of Slovene and Croatian education in the Julian March took place first in those areas where the school system had been severely impacted by the war—especially in Gorizia and the area of the Isonzo basin along the frontlines, but also in the nearby hinterland and Istria, where school buildings had been commandeered by the military.[44] During the conflict, some of the teaching force that had not been conscripted into the army fled

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40 *Brevi cenni sull'azione spiegata dal Governo italiano nella Venezia Giulia dalla data dell'armistizio al novembre 1920* (Trieste, 1921), 17; Borut Klabjan and Gorazd Bajc, *Ogenj, ki je zajel Evropo: Narodni dom v Trstu 1920–2020* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 2021), 115.

41 On transition and continuity, see Giuseppe Secoli, "La scuola triestina prima e dopo il 1918," in *Contributi per una storia delle istituzioni scolastiche a Trieste* ed. Gianfranco Spiazzi (Trieste: Libreria Internazionale Italo Svevo, 1968), 92–95. "In the new provinces," Secoli argued, "Italian school authorities should combine the functionality of the former Austrian school system with Italian patriotic culture (Secoli, "La scuola triestina," 11–13).

42 Andri and Mellinato, *Scuola e confine*, 18–30.

43 On the bargaining capacity of local communities in the transition period, see Dominique Kirchner Reill, *The Fiume Crisis: Life in the Wake of the Habsburg Empire* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020), esp. 211–17.

44 Dessardo, "Scuole al limite," 87; Andri and Mellinato, *Scuola e confine*, 42–49.

inland, partly to refugee camps in Styria and Lower Austria,[45] from where many did not return to the Julian countryside. The most irredentist leaning Italian teachers volunteered to join the Italian army. In 1918, Gorizia was short 75 Slovenian teachers, and in 30 cases they were replaced by teachers from the ranks of the army despite them often lacking any kind of teaching experience. A similar situation occurred in Istria, where there was a shortage of 60 Croatian teachers.[46] The shortage was the result of voluntary departures to Yugoslavia, but also employment being denied to those teachers who did not have homeland rights and the persecution and internment of the nationally and politically unsuitable, especially those who had spent time in refugee camps during the war. [47]

The belief that Slovenian and Croatian teachers who did not choose to emigrate to Yugoslavia were "mere agents of Yugoslav irredentist propaganda,"[48] was in line with the program of comprehensive national homogenization of the Julian March. In many respects and in its final realization, the stigmatization of Slovenian and Croatian teachers was similar to that experienced by Slovenian teachers in Carinthia immediately after the collapse of the monarchy and especially after the Carinthian plebiscite. After 1918, the verification of political reliability and moral integrity was a frequent criterion for the recruitment and refinement of teaching staff in the entire north-eastern Adriatic area, both within the Italian, Yugoslav, and Austrian borders, and especially in multilingual and multiethnic areas. This is also confirmed by a letter from the Trieste prefect, who mentions the questionable morality of the teacher Štefania Biekar, born in Trieste and residing in Trieste at via Pietà 31, who was unfit to be a teacher. According to Sub-Prefect Ceccato, she was unsuitable to be a teacher as "a politically dangerous element ... obviously showing Slovenian sentiments, opposed to the spreading of Italian sentiments." According to the established practice which was strengthened after 1923 and the rise of fascism, her removal was to be followed by installing a person with Italian sentiments who could manage anti-Italian propaganda.[49]

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[45] On the work of Slovenian schools in refugee camps, see Mateja Ribarič, "Goriško in istrsko begunsko šolstvo med prvo svetovno vojno," in *Begunsko šolstvo v 20. stoletju—naše in pri nas*, ed. Mateja Ribarič (Ljubljana: Slovenian School Museum, 2002), 17–26.

[46] Andrea Dessardo, "Scuole al limite," 87. Andri and Mellinato mention that in the school year 1918–1919, 85 soldiers—Italian teachers—were stationed in Slovenian and Croatian schools (Andri and Mellinato, *Scuola e confine*, 42–49).

[47] The Italian school authorities were very wary of Slovene teachers returning from refugee camps "because they had carried out political propaganda contrary to the interests of the state and national reconciliation." Archivio di Stato di Trieste (State Archives in Trieste, hereafter ASTs), Signor Commissario civile: Corrispondenza personale. Riservatissime, 1° marzo 1920, Commissariato civile per Trieste e territorio (1919–1922), t. u. 24.

[48] Andri and Mellinato, *Scuola e confine*, 39. Before the war, there were 1007 Slovene teachers and 343 Croatian teachers in 488 private and public schools in the Julian March (Lavo Čermelj, *Sloveni e Croati in Italia tra le due guerre* (Trieste: EST, 1974), 41).

[49] Narodna in študijska knjižnica, Odsek za zgodovino, Trst (History Department of the National

In a review of the state of schools in the Julian March published in 1933 in *La porta orientale*,[50] Mario Todeschini triumphantly concluded that the revival of "Italianism" had succeeded even in places like Gorizia, where it had been under serious threat before the war.[51] Kindergartens "scattered here and there throughout the territory of the alloglots (speakers of the region's second language) form the real vanguard of Italianism in the border area; it is the elementary schools and other auxiliary and extracurricular institutions that make up the militia of World War I. These institutions are the most responsible for the return, penetration, conquest, and daily reconquest of the 'Italianness' of this land."[52] The Gentile Reform, which on October 1, 1923,[53] designated Italian as the compulsory language of instruction in the Kingdom of Italy, prepared the legal basis for the abolition of all Slovene and Croatian schools including private ones in the Julian March. This also held true for German schools in South Tyrol and the Kanal Valley. Fascist Italy had already carried this out in a fractal-like structure before the end of the 1920s. The suppression of minority education in the Julian March lasted until the fall of 1943, when partisan education began to operate despite the German occupation of the *Adriatisches Küstenland*. In 1944, the Home Guard (*domobranci*) also unsuccessfully attempted to open Slovene schools.[54]

and Study Library of Trieste, hereafter NŠK OZ), All'Ill.mo Signor Prefetto, 4 aprile 1925, t. u. Šolstvo 1920–1940.

50 Mario Todeschini, "La scuola primaria della Venezia Giulia nel primo decennio della Redenzione," *La porta orientale* 3, fasc. 5, no. 11 (1933): 327–47.

51 Mario Todeschini, "La scuola primaria della Venezia Giulia nel primo decennio della Redenzione," *La porta orientale* 3, fasc. 6–7, no. 11 (1933): 430–31.

52 Todeschini, "La scuola primaria," fasc. 5, 329. The Italian authorities abolished most non-Italian kindergartens in 1918. In 1920, the number of Italian kindergartens had risen to 94 (34 maintained by the Lega Nazionale, 10 by Italia Redenta), only three of which were foreign-speaking. In 1922, only one foreign-language kindergarten was still operating, and by 1928 all 209 kindergartens were Italian (Todeschini, "La scuola primaria," fasc. 5, 330). The great attention paid by nationalist organizations to kindergartens was consistent with the belief that "the first and most certain spiritual conquest of the new generations, who participate in an Italian life to which adults are not disposed, occurs in kindergartens; it prepares them for the further compliance, which takes place during their elementary schooling." Todeschini, "La scuola primaria," fasc. 5, 335.

53 On November 22, 1925, Royal Decree 2191 was issued, which abolished the teaching of Slovene in additional lessons. On the intellectual and political context of Gentile's reform, see *La Riforma Gentile unica riforma generale della scuola nel XX secolo*, 14–31. On national education as an ideal of postwar Italy, see Giuseppe Tognon, *Benedetto Croce alla Minerva: La politica scolastica italiana tra Caporetto e la marcia su Roma* (Brescia: Editrice La scuola, 1990).

54 Milan Pahor, *S knjigo v vojni: Partizanska šola na Tržaškem 1943–1945* (Trieste: ZTT, 2021), 76–77.

TEACHING AFTER TURBULENT 1945

Upon comparing the employment criteria after 1918 and those after 1945, one may find that in addition to nationality and national commitment, ideological orientation played an important role after the end of World War II—not only in the Yugoslav school context, which was itself undergoing a revolutionary renewal. Political orientation was also an important factor for recruitment in areas under Anglo-American administration. In the establishment of the postwar school system in both Austrian Carinthia and Zone A of the Julian March, the Anglo-American authorities favored teachers who met Allied political standards. They employed "politically moderate and conservative" headmasters and superintendents at the head of school administrations.[55] In Zone A of the Julian March, they obstructed and prevented the recruitment of strongly communist and Yugoslav-oriented teachers despite pressure from the Yugoslav political representatives who organized the Slovene school network in May 1945.[56] The reticence in recruiting Slovenian staff in the postwar education system is confirmed by the fact that the latter remained unstaffed well into the 1950s and the early 1960s. The first tender for primary school teachers in Slovenian schools was not held until 1967, whereas Slovenian secondary school teachers were allowed to join the staff three years later.[57]

The Anglo-American policy of "law and order" tended towards consolidating the political order, yet it abolished the model of the politically militant school organized under the Yugoslav administration. In the first postwar period, the Anglo-American authorities also banned the employment of teachers who had compromised themselves by their proximity to the fascist and Nazi regimes.[58] However, they soon relented in Carinthia as well as in Gorizia and Trieste and began to regard fascism and Nazism as a footnote or an anomaly.

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55 Alfredo Venier, "La politica scolastica della amministrazione militare a Trieste dal 1943 al 1954," in *Contributi per una storia delle istituzioni scolastiche a Trieste*, ed. Gianfranco Spiazzi (Trieste: Libreria internazionale "Italo Svevo," 1968), 217. For more about Anglo-American school policy in the Julian March area in this volume, see the chapter written by Gorazd Bajc.

56 In September 1944, there were 315 partisan elementary schools, with 415 teachers and 15,142 pupils, throughout the territory of the former Julian March, which facilitated the rapid establishment of the school network in May 1945 and its operation after June 12, see (Pavel Stranj, *The Submerged Community: An A to Ž of the Slovenes in Italy* (Trieste: Editoriale stampa Triestina, 1992), 159. In the Trieste area, the partisan schools were attended by 1,500 pupils and taught by around 100 teachers (Milan Pahor, *S knjigo v vojni*, 10).

57 Stranj, *The Submerged Community*, 161.

58 On the school policy of the Allied Military Administration in Trieste, directed by the American educator and chairman of the Sub-Commission for Education of the Allied Commission for the Supervision of Italy, Carleton Washburne, see Adriano Andri and Giulio Mellinato, *Scuola e guerra fredda: Le istituzioni educative a Trieste 1945–1954*, Quaderni di Qualestoria 14 (Trieste: Istituto regionale per la storai del Movimento di liberazione nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia, 2001): 40–161; Venier, "La politica scolastica," 210–36.

They began to recruit defectors who had left Yugoslavia as a result of their activities in the Home Guard ranks or because of their political disagreement with the new communist regime.

After the end of World War II, international agreements guaranteed the restoration of minority education in Italy, Yugoslavia, and Austria. However, an analysis of its renewal shows that alongside the decisions made by the political centers, the pressure exerted by local political actors also played an important role. In Prekmurje, the postwar Yugoslav authorities quickly restored all levels of minority schools: "While the Hungarian minority in Slovenia before the war had only one primary school with a single department, there were 6 primary schools with Hungarian-only classes and 9 schools with Hungarian and Slovene language classes in the period between 1945 and 1949. A further 22 Hungarian sections were added to the Slovenian schools. In 1950, the Hungarian youth had access to one lower secondary school and two departments with instruction in Hungarian and Slovene, as well as an evening secondary school in Dolnja Lendava."[59]

In Trieste and Gorizia, where the reconstruction of the Slovenian school system had already taken place during the war on the partisans' initiative, the postwar establishment of a Slovenian school network was possible immediately after the cessation of hostilities and before the arrival of the Allied authorities.[60] After the end of World War II, the reconstruction and denationalization of education in Carinthia moved towards the establishment of bilingual education and national reconciliation. However, the decision to introduce bilingual education in the entire ethnically mixed area in the summer of 1945 became problematic even before the signing of the Austrian State Treaty in 1955. Each passing year, there was an increase in protests from parents' associations and especially from the German nationalist organizations *Kärntner Schulverein Südmark* and *Kärntner Heimatdienst*, opposing the teaching of the Slovene language.[61]

The reconstruction and normalization of education were priorities of the Yugoslav authorities, who nationalized all educational institutions. Teachers were civil servants and as such were stripped of their positions if they were convicted in a court of law and sentenced to forfeiture of their civil rights. In 1945–46, 83 students at the Ljubljana State Teacher Training School were removed for

[59] "Madžarska narodna manjšina in njeno šolstvo," *Slovenski vestnik* 5, no. 95 (16.12.1950): 2.

[60] On the new postwar school order and the differences between the Allied authorities and the PNOO on the topic of programs, ideas, and teaching power, see Venier, "La politica scolastica," 226–44. On the obstruction of Slovene instruction in Carinthia, see "Učiteljstvo na Koroškem zagrenjuje šolarjem pouk v slovenščini," *Slovenski vestnik* 5, no. 35 (May 13, 1950): 5; "Šolska politika na Koroškem je skrajno šovinistična in protislovenska," *Slovenski vestnik* 5, no. 4 (January 18, 1950): 2.

[61] Arnold Suppan, "Koroški Slovenci v 19. in 20. stoletju," *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino*, nos. 1–2 (1990): 34–35, 21–37.

political reasons.[62] The school chronicles testify at length about the difficulties that arose from the ideological orientation of the postwar teaching staff. For the new school authorities, it was important that the Slovene teaching force was not compromised during the occupation and that "all the former teaching forces here" were easily employable.[63]

Just as the postwar Slovenian school authorities in Styria cited the consequences of forced Germanization, which they attributed to poor morale among the student body, those in Istria also held the Italian pro-fascist and reactionary teaching staff responsible. The solution lay in the installation of politically reliable teachers.[64] After the establishment of the Yugoslav Military Administration in Zone B, the reinforcement of Slovenian and Croatian education began very rapidly, and with it also came a reliable teaching staff. Schoolchildren were redirected from Italian schools to Slovenian and Croatian ones, provided their parents were of Slovenian or Croatian origin. The Italian teaching staff, even if they were anti-fascist, were often the subject of suspicion, especially after the Tito-Stalin split in 1948.

Ita Cherin, who taught in rural schools in the 1930s and in Rovinj after 1945, first as a teacher and then as headmistress of an Italian primary school, mentioned that pupils from Croatian and Serbian families were initially allowed to enroll in the Italian school. Later this was no longer the case. She added that, because of the previous fascist dictatorship, some postwar political representatives were suspicious of Italian teaching staff. Many Italian teachers were dismissed for their supposedly "modest results" (*scarso rendimento*), but in fact it was due to a difference in politics. In her view, women teachers were more careful and were able to avoid political disputes: "Women in general avoided venting useless and harmful sentiments, not least because the political problem was closer to the male mindset and because of their innate spirit of practicality. So, they avoided conflict on every occasion by being able to both have their cake and eat it; they did not make enemies and complied with the demands of their superiors, and similarly they were always able to come to an agreement with the families [of the pupils]."[65]

The postwar image of Italian education in the areas of Istria and Rijeka, both part of Yugoslavia after 1945, shows a very rapid attempt to reorganize the Italian school network and to establish or form an Italian anti-fascist teaching staff. The new authorities demanded that the Italian teachers submit to the dicta

[62] Aleš Gabrič, "Šolstvo na Slovenskem v letih 1945–1961," *Zbornik za zgodovino šolstva in prosvete: Za povijest školstva i prosvjete* 24 (1991): 71–76.

[63] SI ZAC, 1319 Osnovna šola Slovenske Konjice, Kronika, "Okupacija 1941–1945."

[64] On the cruelty of the Nazi school policy, led by the Regional School Board in Graz and some educators who worked in Celje before the war (SI ZAC 0845, I. Gimnazija v Celju, Gimnazijska kronika za dobo od aprila 1941 do konca avgusta 1945).

[65] Ita Cherin, "Maestra nelle scuole per allogeni in Istria durante il periodo fascista," *Quaderni Centro di ricerche storiche di Rovigno* 9 (1988–89): 171.

pronounced by the new socialist pedagogy. Any instance of dissent resulted in expulsion, termination of employment, and the migration of the Italian school employees to Italy, as evidenced by a number of such cases.[66] In August 1947, the Union of Italians from Istria and Rijeka (UIIF), with the help of individual sections of the Communist Party of Italy, attempted to recruit anti-fascist employees from the areas of Rovigo, Venice, Milan, Bologna, Udine, Ravenna, and Benevento. This was done against the backdrop of the exodus of the Italian population from Istria and the lack of teaching staff sympathetic to the Yugoslav communist authorities.[67] There was an active search for suitable teaching staff in Zone B, where the proportion of Italian pupils dropped sharply due to the mass emigration of the Italian population in the early postwar years. Other reasons for this decrease were forced expulsions and the redirection of pupils from Italian schools to Slovenian and Croatian ones. In several cases, the school authorities decided to employ Slovenian teachers for work in Italian schools who had been educated in Italian teacher training colleges during Mussolini's Italy and were therefore qualified to teach in Italian schools, but who were pro-Yugoslav in their political outlook. It is not easy to verify from surviving testimonies and sources the effects that such employment choices had on both the pupils and the teachers themselves. However, we can see how traumatic the education of primary school children was due to the fluid nature of the border and the politically charged postwar reality.[68]

As the school chronicles from the Celje area confirm, the fight against reactionary teachers was not strictly limited to the border and ethnically mixed areas as a priority of the revolutionary-minded new school authorities. The communist authorities were in a hurry to establish a new order and new values in the whole territory of Slovenia, including in the field of education. Thus, they expected the teaching profession to be involved in the pre-election period and in the electoral seats, and following November 1945, also in organizing celebrations and other activities. It was the teachers' duty to attend teachers' conferences, to be active in political agitation,[69] and to act in accordance with the ideological orientation

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66 On the topic of terminations and departures due to ideological disagreements especially in the fifties, see Cristiana Colummi "Le premesse del grande esodo" in *Storia di un esodo: Istria 1945–1956*, ed. Cristiana Colummi et al. (Trieste: Istituto regionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia, 1980), 391–94.

67 Radossi, *Documenti dell'Unione*, 145.

68 Silvio Pecchiari Pečarič, *Fuori dai confini: Memorie di un bambino sulla linea Morgan* (Trieste: Battello, 2020), writes about the difficulties he faced during his first years of schooling in the postwar period along the border between Zone A and Zone B.

69 SI ZAC/O846, II. gimnazija Celje (1945–1958), "Kronika dekliške meščanske šole oz. po l. 1945 dekliške nižje gimnazije, 1941–1956"; SI ZAC/1318 Osnovna šola Frankolovo (1816–1993), "Šolske kronike 1816–1989"; SI ZAC/0889 Osnovna šola Vojnik (1887–1997), "OŠ Šmartno v Rožni dolini." SI ZAC, /1577/002/00003 1919/1939–1969/70 Šolska kronika 30619411946.

of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.[70] In an environment where the people were still "sticking to their old ways" and where there was a lack of a class-conscious proletariat who, as such, also lacked consciousness of their role in socialist society, the teacher had to assume the role of political activist and interpreter of the new era. The existence of such priorities within the Slovenian territory is confirmed by the decree of the People's Republic of Slovenia on the organization of departments in primary schools, which passed in the 1947–48 school year and contributed to the fact that "each district lost 5 to 10 teachers in October 1947, who were sent to the Littoral."[71]

WOMEN TEACHERS

The image of transitional education thus far, especially in the border and ethnically mixed environments covered by this chapter, shows that the arrival of new school authorities led to the replacement of a large proportion of the teaching workforce.[72] This holds especially true for those who were not compatible with the national and political agendas of the new authorities. After the arrival of the Italian army in the former Austrian Littoral (1918), the first order of business was the secondary school teaching staff coming under political control, especially the Slovenes in Idrija and the Croatians in Pazin. The Italian authorities, first the military and then their civilian counterparts, exerted a variety of pressures on the teaching staff who did not possess Italian homeland rights or who were not entitled to Italian citizenship. The acquisition of Italian nationality was an important factor in maintaining employment and, with it, seniority under the new school authorities, but it was not always a criterion for maintaining employment. In some cases, the pro-Yugoslav orientation of the teachers, or so-called "political insecurity," was sufficient grounds for dismissal and was also enough to warrant a refusal of applications for Italian citizenship. Establishing the extent to which dismissals were gender-specific is not easy, mainly because of the lack of consideration given to gender in the data and the very nature of statistical processing. It is clear from individual newspaper reports and official decrees that male teachers were placed under greater control immediately upon the arrival of the Italian authorities. However, it is also clear that the Italian military and civilian authorities quickly turned their attention to female teachers as well.[73]

70 Gabrič, "Šolstvo na Slovenskem," 74.

71 Gabrič, "Šolstvo na Slovenskem," 82.

72 *I maestri delle Vecchie Province nella Venezia Giulia: quadro della loro situazione tratteggiato da un gruppo di meastri e pubblicato sotto gli auspici della Federazione. Trieste, Federazione Magistrale Giuliana* (Trieste: Tipografia Mutilati Invalidi, 1922).

73 Gorazd Bajc, "Internments after the First World War: The Case of Women in the Northern Adriatic, 1918–1920," *Acta Histriae* 26, no.4 (2018): 1017–1040.

Italian interference in the school network in the Julian March and the obstruction of minority education after 1918 until the introduction of the Gentile Reform in 1923 are comparable to Yugoslav interference in the school network in Styria and Prekmurje after 1918, but not to the radical nature of Nazi school policy in the Styrian part of the Drava province after its annexation to the Third Reich. Similarly, the interference did not mirror the school policy introduced by the Mussolini regime in the second half of the 1920s and 1930s in the Julian March. The latter was comparable to the Hungarian authorities' behavior in Prekmurje after April 1941, when they dismissed all the faculty installed by the Yugoslav school authorities after 1918. According to Miroslav Štubl, there were 150 schools in the whole of the Délvidék area in 1941, with a faculty which numbered 617, just over 400 of whom were female.[74] The first results of the intensive Hungarianization were already visible the following year, when Hungarian-oriented teaching staff, predominantly female and belonging to the younger generation, were recruited throughout the area.[75]

After their arrival in April 1941, the Nazi authorities disbanded Slovenian schools and dismissed or expelled most Slovenian teachers. Many of them found work elsewhere.[76] For example, Helena Friedel, who taught at the primary school in Sv. Jernej from 1920 to 1941, was employed in Wildon, Austria, from September 1941. After the end of World War II, she was again employed at the primary school in Sv. Jernej.[77] Like her, many other Styrian teachers who had been transferred to Austria returned to their former teaching posts after the end of World War II,[78] which during the German occupation had been taken by teachers who had left Lower Styria after 1918 or when the German schools were abolished and closed.

The arrivals and placements of new teaching staff usually took place against a backdrop of dismissals, blackmail, and persecution of the old faculty, but also of voluntary departures encouraged by the new postwar situation, or in the aforementioned case, also by the wartime situation. A comparison of the school authorities' actions in the transition periods shows that nationality or political orientation played a greater role than gender in discriminatory and repressive practices. This was not the case for recruitment policies and strategies for the transformation of school networks, in which female teachers were often favored.

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74 Sindi Časar, "Učiteljstvo v Prekmurju med drugo svetovno vojno," in *Zbornik soboškega muzeja* 28, ed. Metka Fujs (Murska Sobota: Pokrajinski muzej, 2023), 13. In 1941, the Hungarian term Délvidék (Southern land) referred to those former Hungarian territories, including Prekmurje, that became part of Yugoslavia after 1920.

75 Časar, "Učiteljstvo v Prekmurju," 13. The number of schools in Délvidék increased to 167 and the number of teachers to 684.

76 SI ZAC 1319, Osnovna šola Slovenske Konjice, Kronika 1920–52, "Okupacija 1941–1945."

77 SI ZAC 1319, Osnovna šola Slovenske Konjice, Angela Povšnar, Sv. Jernej, June 20, 1947, in Osnovna šola Sv. Jernej, 1920–1950, 4/57 Šolska kronika, 1945/46.

78 From the autumn of 1942 until the spring of 1945, German teachers were often subjected to attacks, especially if they worked in more isolated schools far away from major centers ("Okupacija 1941–1945") in Osnovna šola Slovenske Konjice, Kronika 1920–1952.

In the context of school transition policies, whether it was a process of Italianization, Germanization, Hungarianization, Slovenization, or Croatization of the school environment, a special role was reserved for the younger female teaching staff. In the newly occupied areas, younger female teachers who had just completed their education and were unmarried were particularly sought after, as this meant they could devote themselves more to teaching as well as extra-curricular work. As one source notes, "Recently, a significant number of female teachers have emerged in Carinthia. This is all the more gratifying because they have bravely taken on the enormous task of cleaning house as far as Germanism goes."[79] The expectation on the Slovenian side was that young Slovenian schoolteachers would facilitate schooling in Slovenia and thus contribute to changing the balance of power between Slovenes and Germans in Carinthia in favor of the former.

In this context, the increased availability of female teaching power in the postwar period and the feminization of the profession in general are also worth noting. Women outnumbered the male teaching staff as a consequence of the war, during which many male teachers were conscripted into the army. Some failed to return to their homes and jobs at the end of the war because of captivity, illness, or death. Even in wartime, the greater availability of female teachers led to the organization of partisan education being based primarily on female teaching staff, which, alongside trained teachers, also included girls and women without formal teacher training.[80] In the reorganization of partisan education in the Littoral, women teachers active in the partisan movement were usually placed in leading positions. Mara Samsa stands out among them, who, as provincial supervisor from February 25, 1944, organized evening courses and partisan schools in the Littoral, particularly in the Trieste area. At the end of the 1943–44 school year, the Karst district had 10 qualified teachers, 18 peasant girls, 2 peasant housewives, 7 students, 4 priests, 5 clerks, 1 shopgirl, 1 knitter, 1 seamstress, 1 bookbinder, 1 chauffeur, and 2 stonemasons. Professional teachers accounted for only 23% of the total teaching staff, while in Sežana and the surrounding area, they accounted for only 15.5%. The situation in Istria was even worse for professional teachers.[81]

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79 "Recently, a significant number of female teachers have appeared in Carinthia," *Učiteljski tovariš*, no. 33 (August 13, 1919): 6.

80 Using the example of Greek women teachers, Katarina Dalakoura points out the contradictions and series of paradoxes related to the education and perception of women teachers and their deprofessionalization in constant transition from tradition to modernity. See Katarina Dalakoura, "Paradoxes, Contradictions, and Dilemmas in Greek Women Teachers' Life and Work (19th Century–Interwar Period)," in *Women's Education in Southern Europe: Historical Perspectives (19th–20th centuries)*, vol. 1, ed. Antonella Cagnolati and Antonio Francisco Canales Serrano (Ariccia: Aracne editrice, 2017), 63.

81 Drago Pahor, *Prispevki k zgodovini šolstva na Primorskem, 1943–1945* (Trieste: ZTT, 1974), 10–11.

Conspiratorialism and combativeness were more important than a degree, especially when it came to forming and renewing a broader political body, as is also evident from the report of the district school superintendent, Breda Preinfalk Bara:

> So far we have 29 evening courses which run two or three times a week. The number of these courses is growing. Not only young people are signing up, but also older wives. There are 128 students who study quite diligently and seriously and attend classes regularly, so the level of success is considerable. The education in these courses is not only devoted to a thorough study of the Slovene language, but considerable attention is also paid to the political formation of the participants. What comes out of these courses is a truly capable and well-used cadre of activists. We have already been able to use several of the female students as teachers in the new courses after a short period of time, as we are quite short on teaching manpower; this is a bit of a hindrance to our work.[82]

The fact that the school authorities preferred young female teachers to the already proven male teaching staff during other transition periods as well is evident from the recruitment policies of the Hungarian occupation authorities in Prekmurje and the German occupation authorities in Lower Styria. Young female teachers were credited with an easier and friendlier adjustment process in contexts where the local population was largely hostile to the occupation regime and therefore also to the new school authorities. The Yugoslav authorities also counted on the commitment of young women teachers who had taught in partisan schools and who, after the end of the war, were able to obtain a formal education, especially in the Littoral region, which had become part of Yugoslavia but had been subjected to Italianization and fascization for more than twenty years. Their involvement was particularly important in Zone B of the territory of Trieste, which came under the Yugoslav Military Administration and where the situation between the local population and the new popular authorities was often tense.[83]

Going back to the period after 1918, one will find that the national commitment of young women teachers was an important factor in the context of the transformation of Italian education in the Julian March after 1918. Some institutions, such as the Opera Nazionale di Assistenza Italia Redenta (henceforth ONAIR), which was responsible for pre-school education and the establishment of Italian kindergartens in the Julian March,[84] strove for a "soft" intervention in an area populated by a "foreign" population. It is clear from the reports of the ONAIR management that politically over-aggressive didactics were not

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82 Pahor, *Prispevki*, 66. See also NŠK OZ; t. u. NOB 5-45, a. e. 1.e; see also in the same fond: Mara Samsa, "Prvi učiteljski pedagoški tečaj v slovenskem Primorju," typescript (August 21, 1944), t. u. Mara Samsa.

83 Marta Verginella, "Istrsko podeželje v vrtincu revolucije," *Acta Histriae* 6, no. 6 (1998): 203–14.

84 Laura L. Downs: "'The Most Moderate Italianization?' Social Action and Nationalist Politics in the North-Eastern Adriatic Borderlands (1919–1954)," *Acta Histriae* 26, no. 4 (2018): 1087–1100.

desirable in the context of pre-school education.[85] The government intended it for the education of a new pro-Italian oriented cadre, which predominantly came from a Slovene background—emphasis was put on "friendly didactics."[86] Other sources also show that the dedication of those educators who had distinguished themselves not only in the pre-school and school fields but also in their charitable activities in a "foreign" environment was particularly appreciated.[87]

YOUNG AND RESILIENT

Young women teachers, or *maestrine* in Italian, were also recognized as a special professional sub-category in the Istria region. They were prepared to move even to the most remote places in search of their first jobs. Even if they were not enthusiastic about the accommodation, they did not dare resist the authorities.[88] The small rural schools in the extremely politically sensitive area taken by Italy "were entrusted to very young teachers, inexperienced in every respect."[89] Ita Cherin wrote about them when she recalled the teaching work she did in rural schools in 1930s Istria.[90] These were "young eighteen-, nineteen-year-olds, sent far away from any civil contact. Even if they had once held a certain ideal of their profession, they soon lost it in the face of this extremely cruel experience."[91] Alongside them, there were also women teachers in training, or *regnicole*, who had lost their jobs in their places of origin in Italy and who had found work on the eastern border. And then there were the teachers who took up employment with the network of Italia Redenta, an organization that looked after the schools in the parts of Istria that were outside the reach of the public school network. These were second-class schools and had a second-class teaching workforce without habilitation who were prepared to accept employment in extremely difficult conditions.[92]

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85 In the 1923–24 school year, a didactics teacher, overseeing the training of future teachers in a kindergarten in Tolmin, was reprimanded by ONAIRC for the stigmatization of Slovenian children. The event was also reported in Slovenian newspapers which launched a campaign that almost halved the number of kindergarten attendees; only 46 of the 62 enrolled maintained attendance.

86 On January 1, 1925, the Slovene language was abolished as an additional subject at the Tolmin Teacher Training College.

87 Ispettrice Regionale Donna Bona Luzzato, ASTs, Roma 16 novembre 1923, Gentilissima Signorina Edvige Costantini, ff. Ispettrice, Trieste, ONAIR, t. u. 1.

88 *La scuola al confine. Bollettino del R. Provveditorato agli studi per la Venezia Giulia*, vol. 1, nos. 10–11–12. Folletto writes about the unfairness in the recruitment of female teachers from Trieste who were placed in remote towns populated by Slovenes compared to those who were given better jobs in an urban environment, "Giobbe avrebbe avuto più pazienza di alcune maestre?" *Battaglie per la scuola* 5, no. 9 (November 1924), 2. See also *Il corriere delle maestre*, no. 9.

89 Cherin, "Maestra nelle scuole," 172.

90 Cherin, "Maestra nella scuole," 167–97. See also Cottone, *Storia della scuola*.

91 Cherin, "Maestra nella scuole," 178.

92 About the poor preparation of female teachers from former Austrian German schools in Celje,

Individual examples from the Prekmurje region during the Hungarian occupation after April 1941 show that only the most determined and resilient Hungarian teachers were able to survive in completely unfavorable environments. Poor connections with major centers and the distance from urban life made it difficult for them to hold on to their assigned posts. Ernő Szász wondered "whether perhaps too much was really expected of these girls, who, given their education, could be sitting in the city cinema in the evening, or at a party or a dance, rather than sitting alone next to a kerosene lamp on long winter evenings in miserable living conditions."[93] Much greater resilience and perseverance characterized the young Slovenian teachers and trainee teachers in Zone B after the end of World War II. They came to the Koper area from various places in the Littoral and other parts of Slovenia. Some of them had completed teacher training courses organized by the partisan authorities, while others had attended teacher training colleges under Italian rule. They all shared a commitment to the special mission of teaching in an area where the Yugoslav authorities were re-establishing the Slovenian school network and where, in the past, Slovenian children had been forced to attend schools with an Italian curriculum. The belief that they were working in an extremely poor and socially backward environment encouraged them. They were therefore prepared to endure extremely poor material and school conditions, in some cases at the cost of endangering their own health.[94]

Women Teachers in the Littoral

In the study of the transition periods and of teaching in the north-eastern Adriatic region in the twentieth century, the so-called "Littoral teachers" call for a special and more detailed analysis. This was a group of female teachers who were employed in public, municipal, and state schools, as well as in private schools organized by the Cyril-Methodius Society until the 1929–30 school year.[95] Before 1918, most of them graduated from the Slovenian section of the Gorizia Teacher Training College, and after the end of World War I and the relocation and

even former Yugoslav female teachers, and those who were "forced" under the German occupation to be teachers, including former hairdressers, shop assistants, and even girls without the necessary general, much less pedagogical, education, see Kronika okoliške deške osnovne šole v Celju, 1931/32–1958/59.

93 Ernő Szász, "Tanitó-sors a Muravidéken," *Muraszombat és Vidéke* (November 20, 1942), 1. Quoted in Časar, "Učiteljstvov Prekmurju," 27.

94 Silvo Fatur, ed., *Pričevanja: prvo povojno desetletje slovenske osnovne šole v Istri: učiteljski zbornik 1997* (Koper: Uredniški odbor, 1997), 197.

95 More about the Slovene and the Croatian Teachers in the Julian March after 1918 until 1926, see Marta Verginella, "Women Teachers in the Whirlwind of Post-War Changes in the Julian March (1918–1926)," *Acta Histriae* 29, no. 4 (2021): 859–86. The five graphs included in this chapter were originally included in this study.

abolition of the Slovenian Teacher Training College, they received their high school diplomas from the Tolmin Teacher Training College. This also includes teachers who graduated before the outbreak of World War I in Carniola or Styria, and who, often because of the difficulties they faced with the conservative school authorities, immigrated to Trieste where the atmosphere was more liberal and favored emancipated girls. They were usually employed in the private schools and kindergartens of the Cyril-Methodius Society. Following their professional and political trajectories after 1918, and especially in the 1920s and 1930s, and in some cases also in the 1940s and 1950s, allows us to highlight some of the common traits that distinguished them from Slovenian teachers in other provinces, as well as from teachers of other nationalities who taught in the Julian March, Carinthia, and other provinces of the former Cisleithania. The geographical connotation was linked to their national commitment, their political involvement, and their sensitivity to women's emancipation.

Immediately after the arrival of the Italian authorities, the new school authorities took advantage of Austrian legislation which granted the right of homeland (in Italian *pertinenza* or *Heimatrecht* in German) to male and female teachers only after ten years of teaching in a given place.[96] This was to dismiss the "politically" or nationally unreliable individuals who had immigrated to the Austrian Littoral from Carniola and Croatia before the war but had not acquired the right of homeland in the Julian March.[97] After the Gentile Reform, more and more Slovene teachers were forcibly transferred to the interior of Italy, especially to Lombardy, Emilia Romagna, Tuscany, Piedmont, and Umbria. For female teachers, the peak of relocation occurred between 1927 and 1931 (Figure 1.1),[98] when the Slovenian school network was finally abolished. For some, the forced transfer to the interior of Italy (Figure 1.2) meant a definitive departure

[96] See the chapter written by Ana Cergol Paradiž, Matteo Perissinotto, and Irena Selišnik in this volume.

[97] Individual reports show that the military authorities drew up lists of undesirable teachers, or those who, on the basis of their "worst" actions from the past, were considered incapable of "becoming good Italians in the liberated territory." In one such list (Relazione Stato Maggiore sezione Politico Militare, February 16, 1919), among the fifteen schoolteachers named, ten were women who had taught in Postojna, four were substitute teachers, and three were natives of Ljubljana. AST, Commissariato civile per la città di Trieste e territorio (1919–1922), t. u. 7. In Tolmin, four persons are said to have worked to the detriment of the Italians. In addition to the innkeeper, the dean, and the parish priest, an unemployed teacher, Mezzal Ludmilla, is mentioned among them as "a propaganda element and almost a link of 'trait d'union' between the individual families in the town." AST, Commissariato civile per la città di Trieste e territorio (1919–1922), Corrispondenza inoltrata per competenza ad altri uffici. Organizzazione e personale dell'ufficio. Affari di polizia. Corrispondenza personale del Commissario, t. u. 25.

[98] What remains unexplored is how Slovenian women teachers who accepted transfer to the interior of Italy adapted to the fascist redefinition of the role of women and how they experienced it. More in Victoria De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy 1922–1945* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 15.

from the Julian March, while for others it meant giving up their teaching jobs and returning to the Julian March or continuing on to Yugoslavia and working in Slovenian schools there.

An analysis of the departures of 174 male and 143 female teachers to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia shows that the peak of said departures coincided with the years 1919, 1929, and 1930, i.e., with the most radical interventions in the Slovenian school system in the Julian March, or with its definitive abolition. An analysis of the emigrated Slovene teaching staff's years of birth shows that it was mainly the younger generation born in 1886–1890 who left the Julian March and who therefore found it easiest to find employment and adapt to the new Yugoslav environment (Figure 1.3). Most of them found work in Ljubljana, Murska Sobota, and Maribor or its surroundings. The Slovene school authorities also directed the Littoral teachers to smaller places where there was a shortage of teaching staff or to areas where a comprehensive Slovene school system had yet to be established, after having dismissed and distanced the German and Hungarian teaching staff.

The high level of unionization of the Littoral teachers was not present in the Italian female teaching staff within the Julian March, confirmed by the fact that the former represented more than half of the 753 members of the Union of Yugoslav Teachers' Associations in 1921, within the context of which the Littoral teachers were organized.[99] Despite the overwhelming representation numbering 400 members, Slovene female teachers did not have their own representation in the leadership of the Union, which caused a great deal of discontent among their ranks.[100] The demand for equal representation in the Teachers' Union was in line with the struggle for women's emancipation, which was pursued by the most politically aware teachers who were active mainly in the ranks of the Social Democratic Party. Among them, Pavla Hočevar bears mentioning in particular. She was a teacher who taught at the Cyril-Methodius School of San Giacomo and was the editor of *Ženski svet*, launched in 1923 by the Women's Charitable Association in Trieste. She often intervened in favor of women's rights and equal rights for teachers in the pages of *Učiteljski list*, the newsletter of the Yugoslav Teachers' Association, which documented the struggle of Slovenian society and especially of the Slovenian teaching staff within the context of the new institutional framework and the process of Italianization. The latter, in Pavla Hočevar's opinion, made the national and political commitment of Slovenian women teachers a mandatory pursuit. In the phase of the "disintegration of society," the teacher had a dual role: "to defend herself and to empower the coming generation, to renew it."[101]

[99] Ottorino Visintini, "Per il diritto e la giustizia," *Battaglie per la scuola* 3, no. 39 (Trieste, June 1, 1922), 3.
[100] P., "Naša organizacija in članice," *Učiteljski list* 4, no. 19 (July 1, 1923), 147.
[101] "O poklicu učiteljice," *Učiteljski list* 5, no. 2 (January 10, 1924), 9.

Although Slovenian women teachers, like their Italian counterparts, mostly did not take part in the most important ideological debates[102]—the editorial guidelines were entirely in the domain of men—we can see from the individual reports of the commissions and sections of the Union of Yugoslav Teachers' Associations that they won an increasing amount of union representation. Out of a total of 26 representatives of the teachers' association in Trieste, nine were women. The largest number of women representatives—fully half—were elected at the Assembly of the Tolmin Teachers' Association.[103] The ratio of those elected in each teachers' association shows that women represented between one third and one quarter of the total number of representatives. However, it is clear from the individual reports that female under-representation was the cause of friction at election time and increasingly strong demands for equal gender representation. Dissatisfaction also stemmed from the observation that the post of treasurer was generally reserved for female teachers.

The issue of women's representation in the ranks of the Association of Yugoslav Teachers' Societies in the Julian March was undoubtedly influenced by the example of the Association of Women Teachers, which advocated for "independent organized work" within the new Yugoslav state. Its leadership wanted to maintain "a living link between the women's movement on the one hand and the occupation on the other, which only deepens the understanding of the profession of a woman teacher. The proof of this was always the women teachers, who were known in various places as the most valiant of workers."[104] The goal of the organizers in Ljubljana and other Slovene cities was to increase the active engagement of women teachers outside the home and their all-round activity, with the aim of transforming Slovene women teachers into "conscious women; full, equal human beings, fighting for rights from their purest inclinations, to achieve common human welfare."[105]

These principles also became binding on the part of Slovenian teachers who, after World War I, had worked outside the Yugoslav country, in Trieste and Gorizia. These principals were advocated especially by the younger generation of teachers who understood the work of teaching as a broader political, national, and emancipatory engagement (Figures 1.4 and 1.5). The fascization of society, the Italianization of schools, and the closure of Slovenian and Croatian schools, dismissals, disciplining, and threats radicalized their attitudes: "The time of troubles is here, the age of searching and of turmoil, the twilight of all that is

[102] This conclusion is also based on an analysis of the Italian journals such as *Battaglie per la Scuola* (newsletter of the Unione magistrale triestina), *La scuola al confine*, *Il Corriere delle maestre*, and *I diritti della Scuola*.

[103] "Zborovanje tolminskega učiteljskega društva," *Učiteljski list* 2, no. 14 (July 16, 1921), iii–iv.

[104] Marija Sodnikova, "Delovanje 'Društva učiteljic' od svetovne vojne do danes," in *Poročilo ob 30-letnici društva učiteljic v Ljubljani* (Ljubljana: Učiteljska tiskarna, 1929), 10.

[105] Sodnikova, "Delovanje," 11.

philistine, the time of unpleasantness, of blows, and of torment. We must reckon with this. There is nothing more urgent than to want to live a patriarchal life in such times, according to the rules of law and official decrees."[106] The turn to the defense of the national and the need to protect minority language rights even led politically radical intellectual and artistic circles (to which the most politically engaged teachers belonged) to resort to tradition and the defense of said language rights.

Conclusion

As the analyzed cases confirm, the transition periods in the north-eastern Adriatic region after both world wars were marked by discontinuities in the field of education, especially at times when national borders shifted and school policy set its sights on the national homogenization of multi-ethnic environments. The establishment of post-imperial school policy after 1918 in both the Yugoslav and Italian environments of the former Austrian Cisleithania did not represent a radical break with the Habsburg pedagogical heritage. It did, however, bring about a gradual and increasingly radical abandonment of the model of multilingual education. An in-depth analysis and a reduction in the scope of historical observation show the similarities present in the practices of school authorities in the transition periods after both world wars, regardless of their national affiliation or ideological orientation. Their aim was to achieve as much national homogenization as possible, or to subordinate didactics to the ideological dicta of the new authorities. In the various transition contexts, the female teaching staff were recognized as a vital factor in the realization of new school policies and, as such, particularly suited to changing previous mental and linguistic frameworks. In the postwar period, belonging to either the defeated or victorious camp was of paramount importance for the female teachers working in multilingual environments. In the former case, their actions were marked by great uncertainty or dismissal, while in the latter they coincided with a position of power that also increased their sphere of personal autonomy. The analysis of individual biographies and different sources shows that in some cases, women teachers were better able to avoid dismissal than their male counterparts as members of a defeated national community or minority. Similarly, working under adverse circumstances encouraged them to become more active in trade union and political activities, to engage in the fight for women's emancipation, and, more broadly, in activities aimed at eliminating inequality in the teaching profession.

[106] "Ob koncu leta," *Učiteljski list* 6, no. 24 (December 15, 1925), 185.

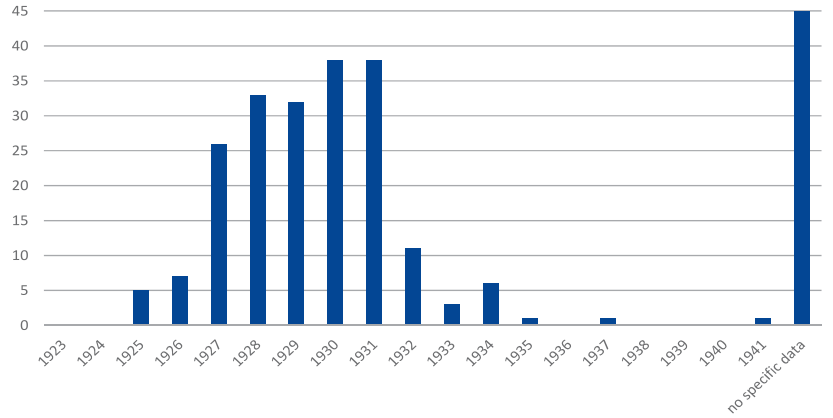

Figure 1.1. Slovene female teachers from Julian March reassigned within Italy, 1923–1941 (by year of reassignment). Based on data in Minka Lavrenčič Pahor, Primorski učitelji 1914–1941: Prispevek k proučevanju zgodovine slovenskega šolstva na Primorskem *(Trst: Tiskarna Graphart, 1994).*

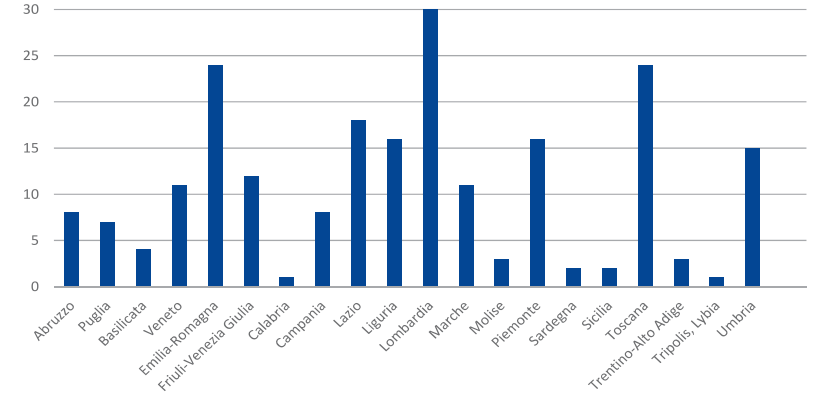

Figure 1.2. Slovene female teachers from Julian March reassigned within Italy, 1923–1941 (by region). Based on data in Lavrenčič Pahor, Primorski učitelji 1914–1941.

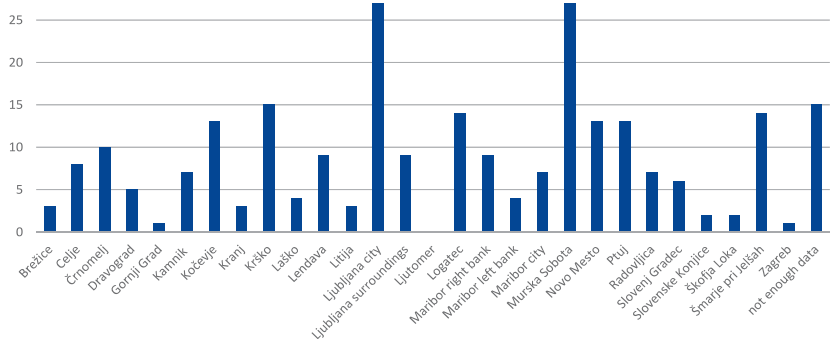

Figure 1.3. Slovene female teachers by place of migration. Based on data in Lavrenčič Pahor, Primorski učitelji 1914–1941.

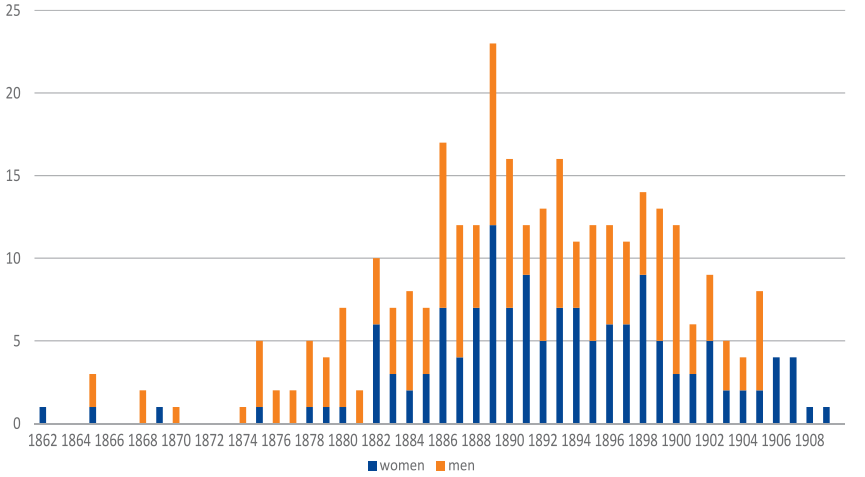

Figure 1.4. Slovene teachers emigrating from Julian March to Yugoslavia (by year of birth). Based on data in Lavrenčič Pahor, Primorski učitelji 1914–1941.

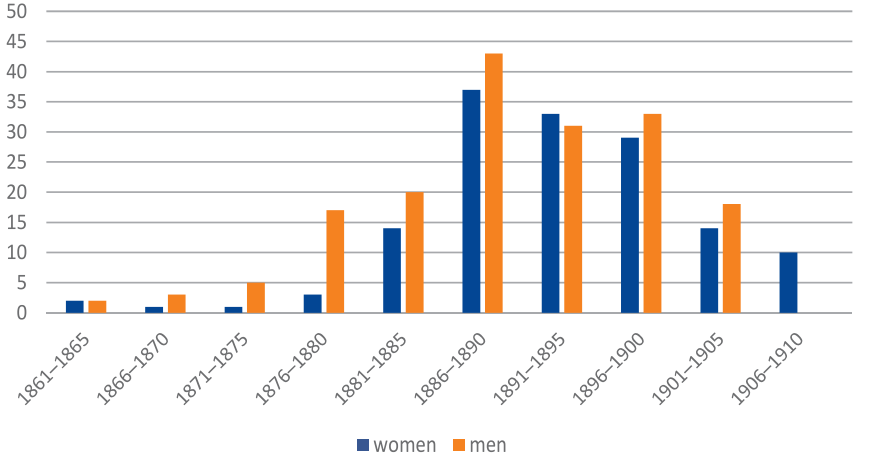

Figure 1.5. Slovene teachers emigrating from Julian March to Yugoslavia (by generations). Based on data in Lavrenčič Pahor, Primorski učitelji 1914–1941.

The Working Conditions of Female Teachers in the Slovene Schools in Trieste and Gorizia in the First Years of the Allied Military Government

Gorazd Bajc

Introduction[1]

In the first years after the Second World War, the issue of Slovene education in Trieste and Gorizia was one of the most complicated and complex in the postwar reconstruction of the northern Adriatic territory. Among the protagonists during this very important phase for the then Slovene minority in Italy were women teachers. The context was as follows: Trieste and Gorizia were part of Venezia Giulia (or Primorska and Istria), which at the end of the war was claimed by Italy and Yugoslavia. Here, on May 1, 1945, to the great disappointment of pro-Italian circles, Yugoslav partisan troops overran the Western Allies but were forced to retreat on June 12. At that point, the area was temporarily divided into two parts: a western zone, or Zone A, of Venezia Giulia (which included the cities of Trieste and Gorizia and the surrounding areas), controlled or administered by the Anglo-American Allied Military Government (AMG), and an eastern zone, or Zone B, of Venezia Giulia, in the hands of the Military Administration of the Yugoslav Army. This state of "insecurity" under the AMG lasted in Gorizia until mid-September 1947, when, with the coming into force of the provisions of the peace treaty with Italy (signed on February 10 of that year), Gorizia "returned" to the Italian state. The situation in Trieste was different, where the Anglo-American administration lasted nine years, until October 1954, when the London Memorandum demarcated the border between Italy and Yugoslavia.

After the withdrawal of the Yugoslav army from Trieste and Gorizia in mid-June 1945, the new "masters" of the area, the Anglo-Americans, began to abolish

[1] Apart from being elaborated within the EIRENE project, this article is also the result of research activities in the research program *Slovenska identiteta in kulturna zavest v jezikovno in etnično stičnih prostorih v preteklosti in sedanjosti*, n. P6-0372, financed by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency ARIS (Javna agencija za znanstvenoraziskovalno in inovacijsko dejavnost Republike Slovenije).

the system of the previous short-lived Yugoslav "people's power" in the context of an ever more pronounced global anti-communism. Furthermore, they demanded the subjugation of the education system. As an element of this they were prepared to reopen schools to the Slovenes (which the previous fascist regime had closed) but only on the following terms: firstly, the school curricula should conform to the Italian curricula, i.e., to the school program in force before the capitulation of Italy, without the parts that referred directly to Fascism; secondly, the curricula was to cover mostly Italian history and geography, because the area was legally and formally included in the Italian territory; thirdly, Italian was to be the compulsory language of instruction starting from the first grade; fourthly, only textbooks recognized by the AMG could be used and only schools recognized by the AMG could operate—the latter having to be "apolitical," and; lastly, the two superintendents for Gorizia and Trieste were to be Italian, with the superintendents for the Slovenian schools reporting to them.

The pro-Yugoslav camp firmly rejected the new administration and its Anglo-American agenda, partly due to the Yugoslav rejection of the Western model of government and partly due to the still-unresolved Yugoslav-Italian border. In opposing the Allied school policy, the pro-Yugoslav camp demanded the equalization of Slovene schools with Italian schools—starting with the appointment of a Slovene superintendent—and including the rejection of the Italian school model in force before September 8, 1943; the teaching of Slovene in Italian schools and Italian in Slovene schools; the inclusion of the National Liberation Struggle in the teaching of Slovene history and geography; the possibility of Slovene schools using their own textbooks; and the removal of those teachers and officials accused of collaborating with the enemy and/or war crimes—starting with the director of Slovene schools, Srečko Baraga—and their replacement by those forced to emigrate during Fascism.[2] The pro-Yugoslav circles remained firm on their positions, as did the AMG, which reiterated its views on Slovenian schools in Zone A in the following years.[3] Meanwhile, the AMG school system was accepted by some local anti-communist Slovenes and anti-communist political emigrants from Yugoslavia, whom the pro-Yugoslav bloc considered to be former collaborators and therefore unacceptable.

Despite the fact that in the autumn of 1945 the pro-Yugoslav camp had decided to support the establishment of Slovene schools in Zone A, its attitude did not change either towards teachers and other school personnel who accepted the conditions of the Western Allies or towards the AMG's schools in general.

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2 Gorazd Bajc, "Boj projugoslovanskega tabora na področju slovenskega šolstva v Trstu (1945–1948)." *Zgodovinski časopis* 53, no. 4 (1999): 580–82; Adriano Andri and Giulio Mellinato, *Scuola e guerra fredda: Le istituzioni educative a Trieste 1945–1954* (Trieste: Istituto regionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia, 2001), 77–79, 82–83, 85–86.

3 The National Archives, Kew-London (hereafter TNA) FO 842/14, F. D. Marshall, Education Office (FTT/AMGED/1.4): *Directives for the Slovene Elementary Schools*, February 7, 1948.

In the early postwar years, Tito's Yugoslavia even managed to maintain a kind of parallel school structure outside of Allied control. This enabled it to maintain considerable, though unrecognized, autonomy and influence among teaching staff, parents, pupils, and students. Some schools not recognized by the Anglo-Americans even functioned, along with the hiring of unauthorized teachers and the use of unauthorized textbooks. Moreover, both the Allied and pro-Yugoslav sides organized further education courses despite having been forbidden. These early years were also marked by large-scale strikes and high levels of tension.

By the time the Anglo-Americans departed in September 1947, there were 5 kindergartens, 18 primary schools, and 3 secondary and high schools in the Gorizia area.[4] A comparison of various lists and sources[5] also disclose there were 217 female teachers in this area of Zone A at that time (1945–1947). Meanwhile, by the time the Anglo-Americans departed the Trieste area in October 1954, some 22 kindergartens, 37 primary schools, 8 professional schools and courses, and 4 secondary and high schools had been established.[6] Most of the available data regarding the number of female teachers in the Trieste area relate to the period from 1945 to 1948 and disclose 248 female teachers during this time,[7] although their terms of employment did not necessarily span this entire period.

There are several studies on the re-establishment of the school network among the Slovenes in Trieste and Gorizia during this period but none shed any

4 "Povojno slovensko šolstvo v Italji v luči številk," *Primorski dnevnik*, May 16, 1965, 18–19.

5 Arhiv Republike Slovenije (Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, hereafter ARS), SI AS 1818, t. u. 10, a. u. II, f. Prosvetna Komisija; t. u. 38, a. u. III, f. 2; ARS, SI AS 1164/ZAH, t. u. 46, a. u. 191, f. 8; ARS, SI AS 1584, t. u. 9, a. u. 316; ARS, SI AS 1529, t. u. 8; Hubert Močnik, *Spomini in izkustva* (Gorica: Goriška Mohorjeva družba, 1971), 190, 198, 204–08; Alojzij Geržinič, *Boj za slovensko šolstvo na Primorskem: Za delovanje dr. Srečka Baraga pri ZVU* (Buenos Aires: Slovenska kulturna akcija, 1983), 64–66.

6 Memorandum of Understanding, London, October 5, 1954, Special Statute, Annex II, Article 4 (c): *List of Existing Schools*, photo-reproduction in *Slovenija, Italija: Bela knjiga o diplomatskih odnosih,* ed. Branko Gradišnik and Jože Šušmelj (Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za zunanje zadeve Republike Slovenije, 1996), ix–xi. See also Janko Jeri, *Tržaško vprašanje po drugi svetovni vojni* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1961), 369–70; "Povojno slovensko šolstvo v Italji v luči številk," *Primorski dnevnik*, May 16, 1965, 18–19.

7 *Izvestje za šolsko leto 1947–1948* (Trst: Zavezniška vojaška uprava, Britsko-ameriški pas Svobodnega tržaškega ozemlja, Urad za prosveto, 1948); "Dosedanje spremembe profesorjev" in *Izvestje srednjih šol s slovenskim učnim jezikom na Tržaškem ozemlju za šolsko leto 1955–1956*, ed. Martin Jevnikar (Trst: [s. n.], 1956), 64–66; "Spremembe profesorjev v šolskem letu 1956–57" in *Izvestje srednjih šol s slovenskim učnim jezikom na Tržaškem ozemlju za šolsko leto 1956–1957*, ed. Martin Jevnikar (Trst: Ravnateljstva slovenskih srednjih in strokovnih šol v Trstu, 1957), 51; ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 10, a. u. II, f. Prosvetna Komisija; t. u. 38, a. u. III, f. 2; ARS, SI AS 1164/SPL, t. u. 46, a. u. 230, f. 7; ARS, SI AS 1164/ZAH, t. u. 46, a. u. 191, f. 8; ARS, SI AS 1584, t. u. 2, a. u. 70; t. u. 4, a. u. 155, 157, 158, 159, and 162; t. u. 9, a. u. 316, 318, 319 and 330; ARS, SI AS 1529, t. u. 8; ARS, SI AS 1931, t. u. 461; National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD (hereafter NARA), RG 331, E British-U.S. Zone, B 873, f. 66; *Primorski slovenski biografski leksikon*, vol. 1–20, ed. Martin Jevnikar et al. (Gorica: Goriška Mohorjeva družba, 1974–1994); Geržinič, *Boj*, 66–67; Bojan Pavletič, *Prarealci iz Ulice Starega lazareta* (Trst: Mladika, 2003), 95–97, 113.

light on the role of the teaching staff at that time, let alone the role of women. The same concerns the issue of working conditions among female teachers. This chapter aims to present the main issues related to women's work in schools at that time, based on an analysis of Slovenian and Anglo-American archival documents and other relevant sources and documents. The discussion considers female teachers from both opposing camps: the pro-Yugoslav teaching staff and those Slovene teachers who accepted AMG curricula. The contributions of these teachers to the reorganization of the school system, along with the difficulties they faced due to political tensions in particular, will be presented through selected examples of individual teachers.

Inadequate Working Conditions in Schools

As in many other places, working conditions in education were fraught with difficulty at the end of the war. In particular, some school buildings in and around Trieste had been damaged by bombing during the war or, as the Allies claimed, damaged and devastated by the vandalism of German and Yugoslav troops.[8] In addition, there were few classrooms, which in many cases were makeshift and thus unsuitable, in addition to being likely unhealthy for students and teachers alike. Some schools had no heating, electricity was scarce, gyms were lacking for physical education, and some classrooms did not even have blackboards.[9] The Anglo-Americans started repairs on the school buildings in August 1945[10] and in the following year claimed that the situation had improved, at least as far as repairs were concerned.[11]

This view was not shared by the pro-Yugoslav camp, which still complained in 1949 that the situation had not been resolved satisfactorily. For example, some schools in the center of Trieste were always either too small or were in a unhygienic and poorly lit state. The situation was even worse in some parts of the Trieste district, as classes were held in private buildings where the hygienic

[8] NARA, RG 331, 11304/122-3-1, HQ AMG, 13 Corps: *General Report*, August 1945 (Secret), 18; 11304/122-3-3, HQ AMG, 13 Corps, *Monthly Report*, October 1945, 3 [Summary].

[9] ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 15, a. u. IV, f. 2, Okrajni I.N.O.O. za Nabrežino, Prosv. Kom.—odd. za šolstvo to Okrožni N.O.O. za Tržaško okrožje, Prosvetna kom.—odd. za šolstvo Trst (no. 519/2168/46): *Mesečno poročilo*, December 19, 1946; Alfredo Venier, "La politica scolastica della amministrazione militare a Trieste dal 1943 al 1954," in *Contributi per una storia delle istituzioni scolastiche a Trieste*, ed. Gianfranco Spiazzi (Trieste: Libreria internazionale "Italo Svevo," 1968), 226; Pavletič, *Prarealci*, 109–111, 118.

[10] Transcript of AMG Order, Circular No. 3, August 1945, in Daniele Bonamore, *Disciplina giuridica delle istituzioni scolastiche a Trieste e Gorizia: Dalla monarchia A.-U. al G.M.A. e dal memorandum di Londra al trattato di Osimo* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1979), 501–2.

[11] NARA, RG 331, 11304-122-3-13, HQ AMG 13 Corps, *Monthly Report for August 1946*, 29.

and sanitary conditions were very precarious or which were occupied by Anglo-American soldiers. Few schools had adequate teaching materials, lacking books, exercise books, and other supplies which were supposed to be free for those from poor families. Teachers in the more peripheral areas were not provided accommodation near the schools and were forced to travel up to two hours every day. Nor did all pupils receive regular medical check-ups.[12]

In general, there was so much poverty in Zone A that appeals were made in the daily newspapers to collect school supplies for the students.[13] The AMG was well aware of the precarious situation and attached great importance to welfare policies, in particular for maintaining consensus and public order. However, in the early years between 1945 and 1949, the AMG managed to deal with some emergency situations.[14] Thus, in early 1947, the AMG extended the canteen program to the poorest children from secondary schools.[15] Moreover, at least at the beginning, some of the teachers faced obvious financial difficulties, as recounted by Bojan Pavletič,[16] a Trieste student at the time, who later became a gym teacher and author of an informative book on the events of the time. There were likely other cases of deprivation among teachers, but we were not able to obtain more specific information on this or on the type of assistance they may have received and from whom. The only information we were able to obtain were some lists concerning financial aid provided by pro-Yugoslav organizations to some teachers, which will be presented later.

The pro-Yugoslav camp tried to alleviate the situation by creating a new institution specifically for poorer students, the Dijaški Dom (Student House). Set up in January 1946 with aid from Yugoslavia in what had previously been a Red Cross collection center, it became a focal point for Slovenian students, housing a hundred of them from the surrounding area, aged between 10 and 21.[17] Two female teachers were also active in this organization. The first, Valerija Glavič (1914 in Roč, Istria–2000 in Trieste), was active at least at the beginning, while also teaching Slovene at the Trieste Secondary School.[18] The pro-Yugoslav

[12] Diplomatski Arhiv Ministarstva spoljnih poslova Republike Srbije (Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia, hereafter DAMSP), MSP, PA, 1949, t. u. 105, Pov. Br. 419668, *Problemi slovenskega šolstva na anglo-ameriškem področju STO-ja*, October 4, 1949.

[13] E.g. "Darujmo 'Za našega dijaka,'" *Primorski dnevnik*, November 3, 1945, 2.

[14] Tullia Catalan, "Il ruolo del GMA nelle politiche assistenziali: Fu direct rule?," in *Dopoguerra di confine / Povojni čas ob meji*, ed. Tullia Catalan et al. (Trieste: Istituto regionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia et al., 2007), 159–62.

[15] NARA, RG 331, 11304-122-3-18, HQ AMG 13 Corps, *Monthly Report for January 1947*, 21.

[16] Pavletič, *Prarealci*, 104–5.

[17] Gloria Nemec, "Ai margini del paradiso: Percorsi assistenziali e modelli istituzionali per le donne e i minori danneggiati dalla guerra," in *Carità pubblica, assistenza sociale e politiche di welfare: il caso di Trieste*, ed. Anna Maria Vinci (Trieste: EUT-Edizioni Università Di Trieste, 2012), 106.

[18] *Izvestje za šolsko leto 1947–1948*, 54; *Primorski slovenski biografski leksikon* 5 (1978): 423; Geržinič, *Boj*, 66.

camp also considered her "theirs" probably due to the fact that she was involved in Dijaški Dom.[19] A more prominent role in this organization was played by Zora or Zorka Ličen,[20] who in the early postwar years was also one of the main pro-Yugoslav organizers in the field of education. Born in Trieste in 1915, she had Yugoslav citizenship because she had lived in Yugoslavia before the war (her parents evidently had to move from Trieste). She graduated from a trade school in Ljubljana, where she worked in the Ljubljana municipality and was also involved in the famous Sokol patriotic organization. In June 1945, the pro-Yugoslavian camp sent her to Trieste, where for a year she became a teacher of manual labor at the Trieste Lower Secondary School and of gymnastics at the Upper Secondary Technical School. She was later no longer employed at the school because, according to the Anglo-Americans, "she did not abide by AMG regulations."[21] Consequently, she received monthly financial aid from pro-Yugoslav organizations.[22]

The Dijaški Dom was run by the charitable organization Dijaška Matica,[23] which was viewed with great suspicion by the AMG (a characteristic of the time): it was extremely nationalistic; its membership included several individuals who held strong anti-British and communist sentiments; and at the height of Yugoslav resistance against the AMG and intelligence activities against the Anglo-Americans, there were undoubtedly some students active there who were in fact Yugoslav agents.[24]

Working conditions for teaching staff, both female and male, were difficult for a variety of reasons, including the advanced age of some of the teachers. In the early postwar years, given the obvious shortage of teaching staff, some teachers were compelled to return to work. Among the female teachers, the two oldest were 66. Before the end of the war, Ana Cencič Scheiner (born 1879 in Trieste) had 28 years of service and started teaching in elementary school in Barcola (Barkovlje) in May 1945; records show she also taught here in the 1946/47

[19] ARS, SI AS 1164/ZAH, t. u. 46, a. u. 191, f. 8, *Seznam profesorjev na slovenskih srednjih šolah pod ZVU v Trstu in Gorici. Stanje 1. 12. 1946*, 1 [for the Trieste area]; ARS, SI AS 1584, t. u. 9, a. u. 330, *Elenco degli insegnanti dipendenti dalle scuole medie inferiori slovene di Trieste* [probably 1946].

[20] ARS, SI AS 1164/ZAH, t. u. 46, a. u. 191, f. 8, *Vodilno osebje Šolskega oddelka ZVU-Trst* [December 1946].

[21] TNA FO 842/14, Leonard Unger, U.S. POLAD to Senior Staff Officer (No. 182): *Unfair Treatment of Slovenes in Zone A, F.T.T.*, August 17, 1951, and *Persons who applied for work and were refused*. On her teaching, see also Geržinič, *Boj*, 66–67; Pavletič, *Prarealci*, 97, 111.

[22] ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 38, a. u. III, f. 2, *Seznam profesorjev in nastavljancev PNOO in njihovi službeni prejemki*, May 14, 1946.

[23] DAMSP, MSP, PA, 1949, t. u. 105, Pov. Br. 419668, *Problemi slovenskega šolstva na angloameriškem področju STO-ja*, October 4, 1949.

[24] TNA FO 842/14, Leonard Unger, U.S. POLAD to Senior Staff Officer (No. 182): *Unfair Treatment of Slovenes in Zone A, F.T.T.*, August 17, 1951, and *Dijaška Matica*.

school year.[25] Next was Antonija/Tončka Daneu Ozbič (1879–1965). She had 23 years of service before the end of the war. From the end of May 1945, she started teaching at the school in Opicina. When she retired a few years later, she was already 70 years old.[26] There was also the case of Franja or Frančiška or Franica Stipanič. Born in 1884, she had 41 years of service before the end of the war. Nevertheless, in October 1945, she started teaching at the school in San Giovanni (Sv. Ivan) and retired in 1948.[27]

AMG Dismissals and Subsidies from the Pro-Yugoslavian Camp

The American Lieutenant John P. Simoni, in charge of the Slovenian schools within the AMG, explained in a press conference on August 4, 1945, that the Anglo-American administration would only open secondary schools where there were students, school premises, and qualified teachers. With regard to the latter, the question of the approximately 60 Slovenian teachers who had been transferred to other parts of Italy during Fascism was still unresolved. Simoni announced that the Education Department of the AMG would discuss this with the Subcommission for Education of the Italian Ministry of Education.[28] The pro-Yugoslav side opposed his explanations in the pages of the daily newspaper *Primorski dnevnik*, but apparently, at least as far as the Gorizia district was concerned, things were soon resolved: some teachers were permanently transferred to that district as of October 1, 1945. Here, however, the matter was complicated because they received appointments from the local administration that were valid for only one year and could be revoked by the authorities at any time. One of the protagonists, Hubert Močnik, who was not on the side of the pro-Yugoslav

[25] ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 38, a. u. III, f. 2, *Seznam učiteljstva v Trstu*, [probably mid-1946], [1]; ARS, SI AS 1584, t. u. 9, a. u. 330, *Seznam učiteljev v slovenskih osnovnih in srednjih šolah v Trstu v šolskem letu 1946/47: Učiteljstvo po šolah* [s.a.], 3.

[26] ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 38, a. u. III, f. 2, *Seznam učiteljstva v Trstu*, [probably mid-1946], [4]; ARS, SI AS 1584, t. u. 9, a. u. 330, *Seznam učiteljev v slovenskih osnovnih in srednjih šolah v Trstu v šolskem letu 1946/47: Učiteljstvo po šolah* [s.a.], 1; *Izvestje za šolsko leto 1947–1948*, 25; Vaščani, "Tončke Ozbičeve ni več med nami," *Naša zemlja—Mesečna priloga Primorskega dnevnika*, September 26, 1965, II; Minka Lavrenčič Pahor, *Primorski učitelji 1914–1941: prispevek k proučevanju zgodovine slovenskega šolstva na Primorskem* (Trst: Narodna in študijska knjižnica, Odsek za zgodovino, 1994), 40, 120.

[27] ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 38, a. u. III, f. 2, *Seznam učiteljstva v Trstu*, [probably mid-1946], [6]; ARS, SI AS 1584, t. u. 9, a. u. 330, *Seznam učiteljev v slovenskih osnovnih in srednjih šolah v Trstu v šolskem letu 1946/47: Učiteljstvo po šolah* [s.a.], 2; *Izvestje za šolsko leto 1947–1948*, 35; Lavrenčič Pahor, *Primorski učitelji*, 380.

[28] "Odgovori na pereča vprašanja," *Glas Zaveznikov*, August 6, 1945, 1.

camp, commented that the Gorizia administration had acted ambiguously.[29] In other words, the AMG introduced a system that conditioned the retention of school staff: if they were not politically acceptable, they could be dismissed at any time.

At the same time, the pro-Yugoslav camp argued that when the AMG established the Slovene schools in October 1945, it recognized the qualified teaching staff but not the auxiliary teachers.[30] We do not have much information about their fate, but archival documents show that 22 of these teachers were still teaching in Trieste at the beginning of 1946.[31] This was most probably because initially the AMG was not immediately able to check the qualifications of all the school staff, although in the following months it began to dismiss in particular those who had participated in partisan schools during the war and those who did not have the appropriate qualifications.

As Alfredo Venier writes, in February 1946, at the suggestion of the security services, 24 teachers, almost all of them communists, were sacked.[32] However, they were not the only ones to suffer this fate. According to Yugoslav sources, there were as many as 114 teachers in the Trieste and Gorizia areas up to the beginning of July 1946;[33] Drago Pahor (the main representative of the pro-Yugoslav educational bloc) wrote of even higher figures, namely, 122.[34] It is clear that most of the teachers were dismissed after the AMG had drawn up a list of recognized and non-recognized schools before the beginning of the 1946/47 school year. Among those who were dismissed were many female teachers who, our research indicates, were sympathetic to the pro-Yugoslav camp.

The case of the teacher Antonija Čok (1897–1978)[35] deserves special mention. Her story is paradigmatic, as it contains almost all the elements that characterized the situation of women teachers in the pro-Yugoslav camp. She

[29] Močnik, *Spomini*, 211–12.

[30] ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 10, a. u. II, f. Prosvetna Komisija: *Eno leto Zavezniške vojaške uprave na področju šolstva* [1946], [1]; cf. Julij Beltram, *Tukaj je Jugoslavija: Goriška 1945–1947* (Koper-Trst: Lipa-Založništvo tržaškega tiska, 1983), 67.

[31] ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 9, a. u. V, f. Tržaško okrožje, Okrožni Narodno osvobodilni odbor za Tržaško okrožje, Prosvetna komisija: *Poročilo o šolstvu in prosveti za mesec januar*, February 20, 1946, 1–2.

[32] Venier, *La politica scolastica*, 228–29; cf. Pavel Stranj, "La scuola elementare slovena a Trieste (1945–1980)" (BA diss., Trieste: Università degli Studi di Trieste, 1979–1980), 123.

[33] See in particular the report ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 10, a. u. II, f. Prosvetna Komisija: *Eno leto Zavezniške vojaške uprave na področju šolstva* [1946], [2].

[34] Drago Pahor, "Primorska osnovna šola v prvem letu svobode," in *Koledar Gregorčičeve založbe: Za navadno leto*, ed. Jože Pahor (Trst: Gregorčičeva založba, 1947), 90.

[35] Specific information about her in *Primorski slovenski biografski leksikon* 3 (1986): 244–45; "Antonija Čok—Tončka," *Primorski dnevnik*, January 10, 1978, 2; Lavrenčič Pahor, *Primorski učitelji*, 20, 23, 114, 478; Lejla Rehar Sancin, "Antonija Čok (1897–1978), učiteljica in kulturna delavka," *Primorski dnevnik*, January 6, 2008, 16; Lejla Rehar, *Nojevo pero, del 1: Rojstvo 20. stoletja v znamenju primorskih žena rojenih do leta 1900* (Trst: ZTT-EST, 2012), 289–95.

began teaching in 1917, was dismissed by the fascists in September 1923, and, like many other teachers, had to emigrate to Yugoslavia, where she continued to teach in various schools. In August 1941 she joined the partisan movement, but was captured on October 15, 1942 and then deported to a prison camp. Immediately after the end of the war, she was again very active, teaching in the summer of 1945 at the Slovenian summer school in Roiano and founding the first postwar children's choir in Trieste, which she directed (she had previously been a choir director before the war). In October 1945, Čok began teaching at the primary schools in San Giovanni, and in the spring of 1946, she was transferred to the school in Plavia (Plavje), after which she was no longer assigned a position in the school. In the years that followed, she was employed by the pro-Yugoslav Slovene Education Association (Slovenska prosvetna zveza) and continued to be involved in school matters; she was very passionate about Slovene pupils, was involved in the puppet theater, dealt with school legislation and the issue of escorts for Slovene pupils, and was in charge of loaning out schoolbooks and the maintenance of the school premises. She was also very active in the student organization Dijaška Matica, which she chaired for many years, and was a supervisor at the dormitories in Trieste and Gorizia and student education, as well as being involved in financial support for students. The pro-Yugoslav camp wrote about Antonija Čok that she was unmarried and childless and had 28 years of service before the end of the war. In the 1946/47 school year, she stopped teaching because she was opposed to the AMG—this was the opinion of the pro-Yugoslav camp, which held her in high regard.[36] According to AMG documents, she was dismissed because she was part of a group of teachers who were communists, had very strong political convictions, and, among other things, used unauthorized textbooks. Like some others who had been dismissed, she wrote (unsuccessfully) on September 29, 1951, to the commander of Zone A, General John T. Winterton, to be reinstated in the Slovenian school. She explained that since the school where she had taught in Plavia had been disbanded in June 1946, she had been left without a job.[37] Pavel Stranj writes that she was not accepted for employment because the Field Security Section (FSS) opposed her further

[36] ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 38, a. u. III, f. 2, *Seznam učiteljstva v Trstu*, [probably mid-1946], [2]; *Seznam učiteljstva došlega iz Jugoslavije in njihovi prejemki* [probably March 1946]; *Seznam učiteljstva MOS-a in njihovi službeni prejemki*, May 14, 1946; ARS, SI AS 1584, t. u. 9, a. u. 330, *Seznam učiteljev v slovenskih osnovnih in srednjih šolah v Trstu v šolskem letu 1946/47: Učiteljstvo po šolah* [s.a.], 4.

[37] TNA FO 842/14, Antonija Čok to Major General T. J. W. Winterton, September 27, 1951; cf. Leonard Unger, U.S. POLAD to Senior Staff Officer (No. 182): *Unfair Treatment of Slovenes in Zone A, F.T.T.*, August 17, 1951, and *Teachers who applied for work and were refused*; P. D. Miller, Office of the Military Governor, British-United States Zone, Free Territory of Trieste to British POLAD, U.S. POLAD (AMG/FTT/PL/333): *Slovene School Teachers*, November 6, 1951; P. D. Miller, Office of the Military Governor, British-United States Zone, Free Territory of Trieste (AMG/FTT/PL/333), November 26, 1951.

employment (which also happened to Andrej Budal, Minka Lavrenčič Pahor, and Danilo Maver).[38]

The reaction of the pro-Yugoslav camp was fierce, again accusing the British and Americans of protecting the fascists and excluding democratic school personnel. In addition to this, the Yugoslav camp tried to assist those among the staff who had been dismissed and who could not be hired by the Allied administration. The unrecognized or dismissed school staff received financial or maintenance aid from pro-Yugoslav organizations. In our research, we found some interesting lists on this subject. They show that in mid-May 1946, 10 teachers were receiving aid in Trieste, six of whom were men and four women.[39] During the same period, 44 primary school teachers received monthly aid in Trieste, 19 of whom were men and 25 were women,[40] while in Gorizia, 31 teachers received monthly aid, 13 of whom were men and 18 were women.[41] Even more interesting are the lists of allowances for teachers from Trieste who came from Yugoslavia and were associated with the pro-Yugoslav camp. There were 35 of them—14 men and 21 women. Most of them were "hired" by the pro-Yugoslav organizations from the summer of 1945 until the end of that year, almost at the same time as they were accepted by the AMG (except in two cases, those of Drago Pahor and Ana Župan). Later, some of them had problems with the Allied administration.

In these lists, there is also other interesting information: whether the teacher was single or not and how many children he or she maintained. Of the 21 female teachers, six were married (three of them had no children, two had one child, and one had two children), one was a widow (without children), and the largest number, 14, was made up of single women, none of whom had children.[42] If we compare the names on these lists with all the names of the female teaching staff in Zone A, we see that some of them received aid from the Yugoslav side despite teaching in schools recognized by the AMG. In other words, apparently, some of them were receiving double pay and were therefore in breach of the rules. In fact, all school staff had to comply with the instructions of the AMG not to receive salaries from elsewhere.[43]

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38 Stranj, "La scuola," 169.

39 ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 38, a. u. III, f. 2, *Seznam profesorjev in nastavljancev PNOO in njihovi službeni prejemki*, May 14, 1946.

40 ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 38, a. u. III, f. 2, *Seznam učiteljstva MOS-a in njihovi službeni prejemki*, May 14, 1946; *Seznam učiteljstva tržaškega okrožja in njihovi služb. prejemki*, May 14, 1946.

41 ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 38, a. u. III, f. 2, *Seznam učiteljstva goriškega okrožja in njihovi službeni prejemki*, May 14, 1946.

42 ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 38, a. u. III, f. 2, *Seznam učiteljstva došlega iz Jugoslavije in njihovi prejemki* [probably March 1946]; cf. *Seznam učiteljstva v Trstu* [probably mid-1946]; *Seznam učiteljstva Tržaškega okrožja* [probably mid-1946].

43 ARS, SI AS 1164/ZAH, t. u. 46, a. u. 191, f. 8, *Seznam profesorjev na slovenskih srednjih šolah pod ZVU v Trstu in Gorici. Stanje 1. 12. 1946.*

Unresolved Legal Situations and Lack of Italian Citizenship

In the pro-Yugoslav camp, it was initially argued, and then insisted upon for several years, that the AMG refused to recognize many schools and teachers. As we have already seen, the AMG filled the teacher shortage with immigrant teachers. In the meantime, the pro-Yugoslav camp was already planning to recruit its own teachers from Ljubljana for Trieste and Gorizia at the end of July 1945,[44] and by the beginning of August, there were already indications that the number of candidates might almost be sufficient, with a shortage of only 14 teachers for Trieste and 44 teachers for Gorizia (but with a considerable shortage for Zone B).[45] Regardless of these and similar plans, the AMG went on its way. On October 8, 1945, the aforementioned John P. Simoni explained at a press conference that they would place the teachers in the lyceums in one of two ways: either temporarily as substitute teachers for one year or permanently. In both cases, the teachers had to have a relevant university degree.[46]

But this is where the issue came to a standstill. The Anglo-Americans always referred to the "temporary" nature of the situation at the time and never fully resolved the question of the legal status of the school staff serving in Slovene schools. Teachers were hired from year to year.[47] The AMG, for its part, also justified its actions by the fact that the situation with the Italian teachers was even more difficult[48] and had been complicated from the very beginning of 1945, as the number of pupils enrolled in the Slovenian schools varied, some teachers did not have Italian citizenship or did not have the appropriate qualifications, etc.[49]

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44 ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 17a, a. u. I, f. 3, Minutes of the meeting of Group III, July 28, 1945.

45 ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 1, a. u. III, f. 2, Minutes of the meeting of the responsible PNOOs, August 2, 1945; f. 3, Minutes of the meeting of the Education Commission, October 15, 1945.

46 "Vprašanja prehoda preko zahodne meje, o odpeljanih ljudeh, osebnih izkaznicah itd.," *Glas Zaveznikov*, October 9, 1945, 2.

47 Maks Šah, "Pregled natečajev," in *Slovensko šolstvo na Goriškem in Tržaškem 1945–1985* (Trst: Odbor za proslavo 40-letnice obnovitve slovenskih šol v Italiji, 1986), 121; Tomaž Simčič, "Pravna podoba slovenske šole od Zavezniške vojaške uprave do Zakona 38/2001," in *Na oni strani meje: Slovenska manjšina v Italiji in njen pravni položaj; zgodovinski in pravni pregled 1866–2004*, ed. Gorazd Bajc (Koper: Univerza na Primorskem, Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče-Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko, 2004), 207.

48 TNA FO 842/14, P. D. Miller, Office of the Military Governor British-United States Zone Free Territory of Trieste to Dott. Ciril Carova and Dott. Josip Agneletto (AMG/FTT/PL/333.2), May 16, 1951, and draft February 1951.

49 TNA FO 842/14, US POLAD to Senior Staff Officer (No. 56): *Slovene Schools*, March 2, 1951; Vonna F. Burger, HQ AMG, British-United States Zone Free Territory of Trieste, Office of the Executive Director to SSO, OMG (3) (AMG/FTT/410): *Slovene Schools*, February 8, and March 30, 1951; P. D. Miller, Office of the Military Governor British-United States Zone Free Territory of Trieste to The Zone Commander (AMG/FTT/PL/333.2): *Slovene Schools*, February 1951 and April 1951.

On October 13, 1945, the AMG introduced Ordinance No. 19 (which came into force on the day of its publication in the official gazette, i.e., November 1, 1945),[50] which abolished the rule that only Italian citizens could be employed in the civil service. This was done—as Pavel Stranj observes—not to allow the return of school personnel expatriated before the Second World War (under Fascism), but to allow the employment of postwar anti-communist political emigrants.[51] The following data show that the measure was necessary. For the first school year in Trieste, the picture is as follows: in primary schools, there were 224 teachers, of whom 133 were Italian, 73 Yugoslav, and 18 without nationality; in middle and high schools, there were 65 teachers, of whom 22 were Italian, 42 Yugoslav, and one without nationality.[52] The situation did not stabilize in the following years, and the pro-Yugoslav camp continued to protest against the Anglo-American leadership. Thus, for example, in 1953, Slovenian schools and school staff had only temporary status.[53] The non-systematization of the teaching staff was emphasized by the Yugoslav camp even after October 1954.[54]

The lack of Italian citizenship continued to create problems for many years; in particular, this was a major problem for political immigrants. Those who were not granted citizenship sooner or later had to leave Trieste and move abroad. We have a list from 1956, which shows that from 1945 to 1955, 123 teachers, 52 of whom were women, left the secondary and higher education institutions in Trieste. Five of them found employment in primary schools, some were not hired, but most of them left in 1955—with the "return" of Trieste to Italy, and without Italian citizenship, they had few prospects and few opportunities.[55] In another list concerning the 1956/57 school year, there is data on how 23 teachers, including 10 women, left the Slovene secondary and high schools in Trieste. Most of them were not hired, which was also the case for four female teachers; among the others, one left the school, two moved to primary schools, and three moved abroad—one to Koper, one to the United States, and one to Indonesia.[56] Finally, in 1960, it was determined that until then there had been a total of approximately 130 teachers who had left the Slovene schools in Trieste.[57] Probably among them were almost all political migrant teachers. In fact,

50 *Uradni list Zavezniške vojaške uprave* 5, November 1, 1945, 8.

51 Stranj, *La scuola*, 122.

52 Venier, *La politica scolastica*, 228.

53 TNA FO 371/107426 WE 1822/21, Jože Dekleva et al. to Anthony Eden: *Memorandum Concerning the Discriminating Treatment of Slovenes, Submitted by the Slovene Mayors and Communal Councillors of the British-United States Zone of the Free Territory of Trieste*, October 19, 1953, 9.

54 TNA FO 371/117986 RT 1823/2, British Embassy Belgrade to Southern Department Foreign Office, March 18, 1955.

55 "Dosedanje spremembe profesorjev," 64–66.

56 "Spremembe profesorjev v šolskem letu 1956–57," 51.

57 Martin Jevnikar, "Razno," in *Izvestje srednjih šol s slovenskim učnim jezikom na Tržaškem ozemlju za šolsko leto 1959–1960*, ed. Josip Seražin (Trst: Ravnateljstva slovenskih srednjih in strokovnih šol v Trstu, 1960), 77–78.

in our research, we verified that 140 were employed in schools and among them 52 were women.[58]

Some migrants, however, persisted and stayed. Among them was Vilma Kobal (born in 1912 in Sv. Lovrenc, near Pazin). She was one of the teachers who changed schools and places of residence many times.[59] In 1954, the AMG Special Office for Welfare and Displaced Persons still considered her to be a migrant and a teacher.[60] This status, for which she did not have all the conditions (citizenship), influenced the fact that she did not have a permanent position in school for a very long time. This obviously led to the fact that she had to teach several subjects: pedagogy, psychology, didactics, Slovene, philosophy, history, and geography. In addition, she was a second-level teacher for a few years, then in the 1958/59 school year she was "demoted" and became a substitute teacher, only to return to the rank of second-level teacher in 1969/70. It was not until the 1974/75 school year that she became a first-level teacher. She was also one of the longest-serving teachers at school, retiring in 1981.

Kobal's personal history is also of interest and will be briefly presented here. According to information gathered from the pro-Yugoslav camp, she was stationed at the bourgeois school in Logatec in 1944/45 and escaped before the arrival of the Yugoslav army.[61] This information corresponds with Helena Jaklitsch's account that Vilma Kobal was a substitute teacher for geography and history at the bourgeois school in Logatec, and especially that immediately after the war she was a teacher at the gymnasium for Slovenian refugees in Monigo, a suburb of Treviso, where political emigrants arranged provisional Slovenian schools. Here she was still a member of the examining board for the matriculation exams, because in the autumn of 1945, like others, she decided to move to Trieste, where new teachers were needed.[62] Immediately after her arrival in Primorska, the leaders of the pro-Yugoslav camp labeled her one of the undesirable teachers, although she was considered uninvolved in political issues or discussions and at the same time hard-working and quiet. Other descriptions of her were that she was not "ours" and that she was an emigrant.[63] After the war,

58 See footnote 7.

59 *Izvestje srednjih šol s slovenskim učnim jezikom na Tržaškem ozemlju za šolsko leto* [for different school years].

60 NARA, RG 331, E British-U.S. Zone, B 873, F 66, HQ AMG, British-United States Zone Free Territory of Trieste, *Nominal Roll of Refugees Living in Trieste, Listed according to the ILO Code of Professions*, February 24, 1954, 4.

61 ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 28, a. u. III, f. 3, Zorko Jelinčič, PNOO za Slovensko Primorje in Trst to Javno tožilstvo za Slovenijo v Ljubljani, December 14, 1945, 2.

62 Helena Jaklitsch, *Slovenski begunci v taboriščih v Italiji 1945–1949* (Ljubljana: Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2018), 236, 255, 257.

63 ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 28, a. u. III, f. 3, Zorko Jelinčič, PNOO za Slovensko Primorje in Trst to Javno tožilstvo za Slovenijo v Ljubljani, December 14, 1945, 1–2; ARS, SI AS 1584, t. u. 9, a. u. 330, *Elenco degli insegnanti dipendenti dalle scuole medie inferiori slovene di Trieste* [probably 1946]; ARS, SI AS 1164/ZAH, t. u. 46, a. u. 191, f. 8, *Seznam profesorjev na slovenskih srednjih šolah pod ZVU v Trstu in Gorici. Stanje 1. 12. 1946*, 1–2 [for Gorizia area].

she first taught in Trieste, then moved to Gorizia on April 18, 1946, before returning to Trieste for the 1947/48 school year, after which, as we have seen, she was often transferred from one school to another.

The Female Role in Writing Textbooks

In October 1945, the AMG was aware of the shortage of textbooks for Slovene primary schools. For this reason, books were ordered from Yugoslavia. However, when they were checked by "a qualified and objective textbook commission," as the AMG officials stated, they were rejected.[64] The members of this commission were Srečko Baraga, Rudolf Perhavec, Edvard Mizerit, Martin Jevnikar, Alojz Bele, and Justina Urbančič, a teacher from Roiano[65]—all people opposed to the pro-Yugoslav camp. The pro-Yugoslav side argued the opposite, namely, that when the AMG established the Slovenian schools in October 1945, no provision was made for school textbooks. Therefore, on their own initiative, the pro-Yugoslavs also introduced books published in Ajdovščina for Zone B schools into Zone A. These were not recognized by the AMG as they contained a picture of Tito and some parts contained narratives about the spirit of the National Liberation Struggle. According to those who accepted the AMG rules, however, the situation was as follows: during Fascism, no textbooks were printed for Slovene schools in the Trieste and Gorizia regions from 1925 on. At first, schools had to make do with reproduced texts on mimeographs and the few surviving copies of old schoolbooks. It was therefore necessary to start publishing new textbooks that the pro-Yugoslav side refused to accept. Thus, in the early years, there was a great deal of tension regarding the use or non-use of unauthorized textbooks.

By the end of 1948, 67 AMG-recognized textbooks had been published (some cyclostyled), 15 of them written by women; it should be added that the authors of 10 textbooks are unknown. All the books were published in large print runs, mostly of 3,000 or 5,000 copies, and some of them went out of print immediately, only to be reprinted in the following years when the print run was high again.[66] In 1946, 16 textbooks were published: 12 in Trieste and 4 in Gorizia.

64 NARA, RG 331, 11304/122-3-3, HQ AMG, 13 Corps, *Monthly Report*, October 1945, 15.

65 ARS, SI AS 1164/ZAH, t. u. 46, a. u. 191, f. 8, *Vodilno osebje Šolskega oddelka ZVU-Trst* [December 1946].

66 All data on the number, authorship and print run of textbooks in Robert Petaros, "Seznam učnih knjig za osnovne in srednje šole na Tržaškem in Goriškem (1946–1985)," in *Slovensko šolstvo na Goriškem in Tržaškem 1945–1985* (Trst: Odbor za proslavo 40-letnice obnovitve slovenskih šol v Italiji, 1986), 136–41; cf. Anton Kacin, "Slovensko šolstvo v britansko—ameriškem pasu Svobodnega tržaškega ozemlja," in *Izvestje za šolsko leto 1947–1948*, 6–7; see also Marija Kacin ed., *Anton Kacin 1901–1984: Zbornik ob stoletnici rojstva* (Gorica: Goriška

The very first schoolbook printed by the AMG in Trieste and published in March 1946 was written by Gizela Bellinger Ferjančič: *Slovensko berilo za višje razrede slovenskih osnovnih šol*. In the same year, some of the textbooks of the most active teachers in the field, Ivanka Cegnar, Marija Polak, and Marija Vera Polak, were published in Trieste: *Rast: berilo za II. razred slovenskih osnovnih šol; Zorenje: berilo za III. razred slovenskih osnovnih šol; Žetev: berilo za IV. razred slovenskih osnovnih šol*; and *Korak v življenje: berilo za V. razred slovenskih osnovnih šol*. In 1947, 16 textbooks were published: 8 in Trieste and 8 in Gorizia. In Trieste, the AMG printed Mafalda Zangone's book, *Učimo se računati! Knjiga za II. Razred slovenskih osnovnih šol*; then in Gorizia, in cyclostyled form, they published Roža Šturm's *Zgodovina Slovencev*. In 1948, 35 schoolbooks were published: 23 in Trieste and 12 in Gorizia. In Trieste, they published Lina D'Atena's *Italijanska slovnica za slovenske srednje šole* and Mara Blažina and Valerija Glavič's (together with Martin Jevnikar and Anton Kacin) *Slovenska čitanka za I. razred nižjih srednjih in strokovnih šol* and *Slovenska čitanka za II. razred nižjih srednjih in strokovnih šol*. Moreover, they published second, updated editions by Ivanka Cegnar, Marija Polak, and Marija Vera Polak: *Rast: berilo za II. razred slovenskih osnovnih šol* and *Zorenje: berilo za III. razred slovenskih osnovnih šol*. In addition, they also published a volume by Mafalda Zangone together with Peter Horn, Alojz Bole, Ivo Bergant, and Martin Globočnik: *Računica za slovenske ljudske šole, III. del*. In Gorizia, they published Neda Močnik's *Storia della letteratura italiana* and Vida Rijavec's *Matematika za I. in II. razred nižjih srednjih šol*—both in cyclostyle.

Thus, in the first two years, the AMG entrusted the task of writing or editing new schoolbooks exclusively to school staff who accepted the rules of the Anglo-American administration (this is also the reason why the covers of the books mostly did not bear the authors' names.) In this connection, it is interesting to read brief biographies of these authors; only for Mafalda Zangone was no information found.

Gizela Bellinger, or Belinger (written erroneously in some documents as Belnige), Ferjančič was born in Gorizia on May 2, 1887, and died in Trieste on June 16, 1976.[67] She graduated from the Gorizia high school in 1906, where she passed the qualifying examination in 1911. On November 18, 1908, she

Mohorjeva družba, 2001), 99–101; "Nove šolske knjige." About reprints cf. "Ponatisi." The data was verified using the official website of all Slovenian libraries https://www.cobiss.si.

[67] Specific information about her life and work (as well as that of her husband) is found in ARS, SI AS 1584, t. u. 9, a. u. 330, *Seznam učiteljev v slovenskih osnovnih in srednjih šolah v Trstu v šolskem letu 1946/47: Učiteljstvo po šolah* [s. a.], 3; *Izvestje za šolsko leto 1947–1948*, 38; *Primorski slovenski biografski leksikon* 2 (1975): 57–58; "Umrla je Gizela Bellinger bivša učiteljica in urednica," *Primorski dnevnik*, June 20, 1976, 3; Lavrenčič Pahor, *Primorski učitelji*, 73, 136, 470; Lelja Rehar, "Gizela Bellinger Ferjančič (1887–1976) (Strokovna pisateljica in urednica)," *Primorski dnevnik*, November 9, 2008, 20.

married a teacher, Fran Ferjančič (Radoslav) (1884–1968), who had mainly taught elsewhere before the war and had emigrated to Maribor as early as 1919. Everything suggests that she and her husband separated after the First World War. In order to provide for herself and her children, in 1932 she had to move to southern Italy, to Palermo, where she taught German at the Berlitz school. She returned to Trieste in 1940 and taught again in an Italian school, and then in Verona from 1943. After the war, her husband taught in Ajdovščina, i.e., in Zone B. According to information gathered in the pro-Yugoslav camp, they had two children and, according to her 1948 declaration for permanent service under the AMG, four. Gizela Bellinger, according to the calculations of the pro-Yugoslav camp, had 13 years of service before the end of the war. She started work in Trieste at the San Francesco school. She continued to teach at the same school in 1946–1948. In 1949 and 1950, she taught in Stramare (Štramar) and from 1950 to 1952 in Prosecco (Prosek). In addition to writing the above-mentioned textbook, *Slovensko berilo za višje razrede slovenskih osnovnih šol*, she was also a prolific writer and journalist in her younger years. Writing primarily under the pseudonym Gizela Majeva, but sometimes under the initials G.B. or Gizela F., she published many educational and sociological articles (some of them conservative) in women's magazines, as well as a few pieces of fiction. She also published five books between 1926 and 1934.

In the pro-Yugoslav camp, Gizela Bellinger was regarded in the early period as an undefined or neutral figure.[68] More negative were the opinions about the teachers Ivanka Cegnar (born in Škofja Loka, 1888, and died in Trieste, 1968), Marija Polak (born in Sevnica), and Marija Vera Polak (born in Rodni Vrh, near Ptuj).[69] All three taught at the primary school in San Giacomo (Sv. Jakob) for the 1946/47 and 1947/48 school years, although we also have information that Cegnar taught there from October 1945 to September 1955. Lina D'Atena was also assessed as not being "ours" or as belonging to the "others."[70] She was a teacher of Italian at the Slovene scientific high school in Trieste from the very beginning and was present at the first staff meeting, which took place on November 10, 1945.[71]

Roža (Ruža in some documents) Šturm née Obradović (born on June 26, 1902, in Valjevo, Serbia, and died April 13, 1982, in Belgrade)[72] was the subject

[68] ARS, SI AS 1584, t. u. 9, a. u. 330, *Seznam učiteljev v slovenskih osnovnih in srednjih šolah v Trstu v šolskem letu 1946/47: Učiteljstvo po šolah* [s. a.], 3.

[69] ARS, SI AS 1584, t. u. 9, a. u. 330, *Seznam učiteljev v slovenskih osnovnih in srednjih šolah v Trstu v šolskem letu 1946/47: Učiteljstvo po šolah* [s. a.], 3.

[70] ARS, SI AS 1164/ZAH, t. u. 46, a. u. 191, f. 8, *Seznam profesorjev na slovenskih srednjih šolah pod ZVU v Trstu in Gorici. Stanje 1. 12. 1946*, 2 [for Trieste]; cf. ARS, SI AS 1584, t. u. 9, a. u. 330, *Insegnanti dipendenti dal Ginnasio tecnico superiore sloveno di Trieste* [probably 1946].

[71] Pavletič, *Prarealci*, p. 113; Lidija Rupel and Neva Zaghet, "Nastanek realne gimnazije leta 1945," in *Licej Prešeren, Trst... šola, ki daje korenine in peruti...*, ed. Lidia Rupel and Neva Zaghet (Trst: Državni znanstveni licej France Prešeren-Liceo Scientifico Statale France Prešeren, 2016), 39.

[72] Specific information about her life and work (as well as about her husband) in *Izvestje srednjih šol s slovenskim učnim jezikom na Tržaškem ozemlju za šolsko leto* [for different school years];

of extremely negative remarks. After teaching in various parts of Yugoslavia, Mrs. Šturm (like the aforementioned Vilma Kobal) was also among the emigrants to Monigo at the end of the war, from where she moved to Trieste. Here, in the early postwar years, she was among the most committed emigrant teachers on the side of the AMG and, apparently, was also considered an enemy in the pro-Yugoslav camp for this reason. Her name appears in almost all lists of opponents.[73] This is also evident in a letter to the Allied captain H. P. Robertson, which she signed on behalf of selected representatives of the Catholic teachers in Gorizia and Trieste, together with France Gorše and Jože Prešeren, protesting that at the end of 1945 and the beginning of the following year the teachers were very concerned about the frequent kidnappings and murders that had occurred since the autumn of 1945. At the same time, the pro-Yugoslav press published serious accusations, to the extent that pupils and colleagues were also threatened. The three authors of the letter argued that the communist spirit was also spreading in schools, while Catholic teachers were fighting for democratic and apolitical schools. If the authorities did not guarantee the safety of schoolchildren at risk, they would be forced to resign.[74]

It is evident that the students were also aware of Roža Šturm's political leanings. As Alojz Geržinič, one of the most opposed by the pro-Yugoslav camp, wrote, a picture of Tito hung on the front wall of the classroom, and they refused to take it down. A tearful Šturm was helped by Geržinič, who called a school caretaker to remove the photo.[75] She was immediately very active at the Slovene Gymnasium in Trieste. She was also present at the first meeting of the teachers' assembly, which was held on November 10, 1945, and on November 23, 1948, she was elected to the school board together with Prof. Ivan Sosič. As there were few or no professional teachers in Zone A after the Second World War, the AMG organized a few courses. The two-month course in Trieste in the summer of 1946 was held by Šturm, as well as Vinko Beličič and Peter Zavratnik; 119 students attended the Trieste course (91 attended a similar course in Gorizia).

Jem. [Martin Jevnikar], "Prof. Roža Šturm umrla," *Katoliški glas*, October 7, 1982, 3; Geržinič, *Boj*, 67; *Primorski slovenski biografski leksikon*, 10 (1984): 520; Pavletič, *Prarealci*, 95, 113; Rupel and Zaghet, "Nastanek realne gimnazije," 39; Geržinič, *Boj*, 98–99; Majda Cencič, *Šola za znanje učiteljev: Od učiteljskih tečajev do Univerze na Primorskem* (Koper: Univerza na Primorskem–Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče–Založba Annales, 2004), 162–63.

73 E.g. ARS, SI AS 1818, t. u. 30, a. u. III, f. 1, France Bevk and Zorko Jelinčič, PNOO za Slovensko Primorje in Trst to Komisija za ugotovitev vojnih zločinov, November 16, 1945; ARS, SI AS 1164/ZAH, t. u. 46, a. u. 191, f. 8, *Seznam profesorjev na slovenskih srednjih šolah pod ZVU v Trstu in Gorici. Stanje 1. 12. 1946*, 1 [for Trieste]; ARS, SI AS 1584, t. u. 9, a. u. 330, *Insegnanti dipendenti dal Ginnasio tecnico superiore sloveno di Trieste* [probably 1946].

74 Geržinič, *Boj*, 63; cf. Pavletič, *Prarealci*, 131.

75 Alojz Geržinič, *Pouk v materinščini—da ali ne? (delo za slovensko šolstvo na Tržaškem v zadnjih mesecih nemške okupacije)* (Buenos Aires: Sij, 1972), 133; Alojz Geržinič, *Od Save do Srebrne reke* (Trst: Mladika, 2015), 295.

In addition to the 1948 history textbook, *Zgodovina Slovencev*, mentioned above, she had compiled three other history textbooks by 1950 and had arranged for a revised edition for one of them.

Neda Močnik (born November 27, 1922) was the author of a textbook published in 1948 in Gorizia, and was also very negatively evaluated by the pro-Yugoslav camp. Among other things, her name was on a list of teaching staff at the Slovene Gymnasium in Gorizia, which during the war the Germans had allowed to be used by a Slovene collaborationist formation (the Home Guard, *domobranci*). The list states that she began teaching Latin and Italian on December 1, 1944, and that she was unmarried.[76] Immediately after the war, she began teaching as a substitute teacher at the junior high school in Gorizia.[77] The pro-Yugoslav camp then wrote about her teaching Italian and Latin at the teachers' training school and that she was the niece of one of the main opponents of Tito's Yugoslavia, Humbert Močnik, who opposed "our organizations" and at the same time demanded more Italian than was necessary at school.[78] It should be pointed out that she should not be confused with another teacher in Gorizia, also called Neda Močnik, who taught at the Gorizia Lower Secondary School and was considered "ours" by the pro-Yugoslav camp in 1946/47.[79]

For the year 1948, we can observe that some textbooks were published with the participation of female teachers who, at least in the early years, were on the side of the pro-Yugoslav camp, which highly valued the teachers Vida Rijavec, Mara (or Marija) Blažina (or Blasina) (born February 17, 1899, in Hrpelje-Kozina, died April 17, 1971, in Trieste), and Valerija Glavič[80] (whom we have already mentioned). This indicated that, at least as far as textbooks were concerned, the situation had calmed down.

Conclusion

The comparison of various lists and sources discloses that the total number of female teachers in the Gorizia area in the period between 1945 and 1947 was 217, with a total of 248 female teachers in the Trieste area in the period between

[76] ARS, SI AS 1931, t. u. 461, *Zahlenliste für das Lehrpersonal am Slov. Gymnasium in Görz für den Monat December 1944*, December 15, 1944.

[77] Geržinič, *Boj*, 65.

[78] ARS, SI AS 1529, t. u. 8, *Seznam profesorjev na goriških srednih šolah* [s.a.], 2.

[79] ARS, SI AS 1164/ZAH, t. u. 46, a. u. 191, f. 8, *Seznam profesorjev na slovenskih srednjih šolah pod ZVU v Trstu in Gorici. Stanje 1. 12. 1946*, 1 [for Gorizia district].

[80] ARS, SI AS 1529, t. u. 8, *Seznam profesorjev na goriških srednih šolah* [s.a.], 2; ARS, SI AS 1164/ZAH, t. u. 46, a. u. 191, f. 8, *Seznam profesorjev na slovenskih srednjih šolah pod ZVU v Trstu in Gorici. Stanje 1. 12. 1946*, 1 [for Trieste]; ARS, SI AS 1584, t. u. 9, a. u. 330, *Elenco degli insegnanti dipendenti dalle scuole medie inferiori slovene di Trieste* [probably 1946].

1945 and 1948. Not all of them taught throughout this time, as some of them only taught at the beginning, others came later, and some no longer taught (often for political reasons).

As we have seen, the material working conditions in the Slovene schools in Trieste and Gorizia in the early postwar years under the Allied administration were extremely precarious. For instance, some school buildings had been damaged, there were few classrooms, and in many cases they were only makeshift and therefore unsuitable. Furthermore, working conditions for teachers, both female and male, were difficult for a variety of reasons, including the advanced age of some of the teachers. On the one hand, this was due to objective reasons, as at the time the entire society was still very shaken by the war that had just ended. On the other hand, some data demonstrates that the Allied Administration also conditioned aid according to political choices. This aid was linked to the fact that all pro-Yugoslav teachers—both men and women—were perceived, often too simplistically, as merely communists. In fact, politically, the Allies had constantly linked the growing local tensions concerning the Slovenian schools in Zone A to developments in the international confrontation between West and East; they were convinced at the time that the school issue was the main problem for the AMG in relation to the pro-Yugoslav camp.[81]

The military administration was entirely unwilling to give in; on the contrary, we could say they tailored their choices regarding the working conditions of teachers. For example, the AMG introduced a system that conditioned their retention: if they were not politically acceptable, they could be dismissed at any time. Most of the teachers (more than a hundred of them) were dismissed before the beginning of the 1946/47 school year, and among them were many female teachers who sympathized with the pro-Yugoslav camp. The Yugoslav side tried to alleviate their situation by providing monthly financial or maintenance aid to some of them. Furthermore, in January 1946, they created a new institution specifically for poorer students, the Dijaški Dom (Student House), and some women were also active in this organization. Both the teachers and the organization were suspected by the Anglo-Americans of working against the AMG.

The AMG filled the teacher shortage with teachers who were anti-communist political emigrants from Yugoslavia (thus, the pro-Yugoslav camp considered them unacceptable). For these teachers, the Allies sought formal but only temporary solutions. Indeed, for these teachers the lack of Italian citizenship posed a serious problem and after a few years many left Trieste to move abroad. However,

[81] TNA FO 371/59405 R 6997/58/92, W. J. Sullivan, Office of the Representative of the British Political Adviser to SACMED to W. G. Hayter, Western Department, Foreign Office (Secret), May 3, 1946; Foreign Office to Washington (No. 4876), May 20, 1946; *Weekly Political Intelligence Summaries*, Vol. 13: No. 332, February 20, 1946, 16; No. 334, March 6, 1946, 14; No. 335, March 13, 1946, 14; No. 336, March 20, 1946, 14; No. 338, April 3, 1946, 10, 13.

in the early postwar years, some were very active in the field of education. These included female school personnel who were very involved in the preparation of school textbooks. By the end of 1948, 67 textbooks had been published, with 15 of them written by women. It should be added that the authors of 10 textbooks are unknown.

In particular, with regard to teachers, both male and female, their precariousness during the years of the Anglo-American administration persisted and constituted a problem not only with respect to the salary issue but with all the other benefits that came with it, such as the right to a pension and the other economic benefits that permanent civil servants enjoyed. One of the grievances of the pro-Yugoslav camp in 1953 was that this was a clear violation of social rights.[82] We could say that it was indeed a violation, but at the same time, we must add that this clear violation also affected those (political emigrants) who opposed the pro-Yugoslav camp.

Finally, from the data collected, we can say that it provides us with a whole series of reflections, for example, on the amount of work that female teachers took on. They were also very active in other fields, both in welfare and, of course, in politics—issues that were then often directly or at least indirectly related to schools. In this regard, they were certainly not inferior to men, although the fact remains that little has been said about their role in the Slovenian schools in Zone A up to now.

[82] TNA FO 371/107426 WE 1822/21, Jože Dekleva et al. to Anthony Eden: *Memorandum Concerning the Discriminating Treatment of Slovenes, Submitted by the Slovene Mayors and Communal Councilors of the British-United States Zone of the Free Territory of Trieste*, October 19, 1953, 9.

Women Clerks in Transition after World War I in the Kingdom of Italy and Yugoslavia: Two Case Studies from Trieste and Ljubljana

Ana Cergol Paradiž, Matteo Perissinotto, and Irena Selišnik

Introduction

During World War I, women had increased job opportunities as a result of the war economy and the absence of men. They entered occupations previously closed to them and had better chances for career advancement. However, these advancements were not sustained after the war. Propaganda campaigns and the postwar economy negatively impacted women's employment prospects, leading to their displacement from jobs in favor of veterans. Consequently, the proportion of women in the labor force returned to prewar levels.[1] White-collar professions, particularly government administration, stood out as an exception during this period. Studies conducted in the US, France, and Italy have revealed that improved conditions and an increase in the number of women clerks in state administration were among the few lasting effects of the progress made in women's employment during the war economy.[2] The postwar progress and opportunities for female civil servants varied across different countries. Factors such as the country's economic situation, unemployment rates, changes in the state apparatus, women's educational opportunities, and the reputation of the bureaucracy influenced the extent to which female civil servants benefited.

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1 Susan R. Grayzel, *Women and the First World War: Seminar Studies in History* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Maurine Weiner Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers in the United States* (Westport, CT: Cornell University Press, 1990).

2 Gregory Anderson, ed., *The White-Blouse Revolution: Female Office Workers since 1870* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); Barbara Curli, *Italiane al Lavoro, 1914–1920* (Venice: Marsilio, 1998); Linda L. Clark, *The Rise of Professional Women in France: Gender and Public Administration since 1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Female civil servants were likely to have better career prospects in France[3] than, for instance, in Germany[4] or Great Britain[5] after WWI.

It should also be noted that the feminization of the profession of state, city, and private officials was linked to more general social changes independent of the temporary wartime situation and had been firmly established in the most industrially developed countries before the war.[6] The technological revolution and the development of state administration were accompanied by the feminization of administrative personnel.[7]

Compared to other professional groups and with few exceptions, there has been a lack of in-depth historical examination of women civil servants.[8] This is primarily due to the elusive and ambiguous nature of this occupational category, which renders it challenging to study and analyze. Indeed, it is difficult to define precisely which "state" occupations fall within the category of civil servants. As Helen Boak points out, "public sector workers range from postmen to state secretaries, from cleaning ladies to judges."[9] This chapter will focus on the strictly clerical occupations (secretaries, typists, archivists, clerks in the protocol office) in state administration, therefore those who are "in-between." They are not generally regarded as exceptional individuals or intellectuals, nor do they fall into the category of women manual workers. Nonetheless, the topic is important for understanding the progress made in the field of women in the workforce, since "the government itself can use its own policy towards its employees to set an example to other employees."[10] Thus, it could be understood "as a barometer by employers everywhere."[11]

This chapter will focus on women civil servants from two regions of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, which, after World War I, became parts of new countries and attempted to homogenize and create a state apparatus. In Ljubljana, data primarily comes from the personnel files of women clerks

3 Clark, *The Rise of Professional Women*.

4 Helen Boak, "The State as an Employer of Women in the Weimar Republic," in *The State and Social Change in Germany 1880–1980*, ed. W. R. Lee and Eve Rosenhaft (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 61–98.

5 Helen Glew, *Gender, Rhetoric and Regulation: Women's Work in the Civil Service and the London County Council, 1900–55* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016).

6 Melanie Nolan, "Making Clerks and Reshaping the White Collar Workforce in the Twentieth Century," *Labour History* 63 (1992): 65–82.

7 Weiner Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work*, 9.

8 Meta Zimmeck, "'Get Out and Get Under': The Impact of Demobilisation on the Civil Service, 1919–32," in Anderson, *The White-Blouse Revolution*, 88–120; Francisca de Haan, *Gender and the Politics of Office Work: The Netherlands 1860–1940* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998); Glew, *Gender, Rhetoric and Regulation*; Boak, "The State as an Employer of Women"; Clark, *The Rise of Professional Women in France*.

9 Boak, "The State as an Employer of Women," 62.

10 Boak, "The State as an Employer of Women," 62.

11 Glew, *Gender, Rhetoric and Regulation*, 8.

employed in public and state administration. Among the 5,653 extant files, 1,043 belonged to women, with 634 of them employed as civil servants between 1919 and 1940.[12] We will focus on these 634 civil servants. Similar material was used for Trieste: personnel files of female civil servants from the Regio Governatorato and then the Commissariato Generale Civile per la Venezia Giulia in the postwar transition phase (1918–1922).[13] Some 3,500 files were identified, among which 243 concerned female clerical staff: 215 clerical assistants, 16 clerical officers, and 11 files of teachers who had been reassigned to clerical duties.[14]

By focusing on female personnel, our study provides a unique perspective on the transformations within the civil service during the postwar era. This approach enables us to analyze the administrative and cultural changes that occurred, including shifts in legislation, the role of women in society and the workforce, and related issues. Furthermore, it allows for an observation and comparison of employment changes among female civil servants in two territories, Venezia Giulia[15] and the Slovenian part of the Kingdom of SCS (Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes), which shared similarities in economic, social, political, and administrative aspects but also had notable differences. Prior to World War I, both regions were governed by similar Austrian legislative and administrative regulations. However, after the war, these territories found themselves situated on the border of two different countries, leading to nationalist pressures and issues related to citizenship.

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12 Arhiv Republike Slovenije (Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, hereafter ARS), ARS, SI AS 67, Kraljeva banska uprava Dravske banovine, Splošni oddelek (1919–1941).

13 On the postwar transition phase in the region: Elio Apih, *Italia, Fascismo e Antifascismo nella Venezia Giulia (1918–1943): Ricerche storiche* (Bari: Laterza, 1966); Ester Capuzzo, *Dall'Austria all'Italia: Aspetti istituzionali e problemi normativi nella storia di una frontiera* (Rome: La Fenice Edizioni, 1996); Angelo Visintin, *L'Italia a Trieste: L'operato del governo militare italiano nella Venezia Giulia (1918–1919)* (Gorizia: LEG-IRSML FVG, 2000); Almerigo Apollonio, *Dagli Asburgo a Mussolini: Venezia Giulia, 1918–1922* (Gorizia: Istituto Regionale per la Cultura Istriana-LEG, 2001). For a comparison with Alto Adige, see Andrea Di Michele, *L'italianizzazione imperfetta: L'amministrazione pubblica dell'Alto Adige tra Italia liberale e fascismo* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2003).

14 Archivio di Stato di Trieste (State Archives in Trieste, hereafter ASTs), RGCVG, AG Regio Governatorato, and then the Regio Commissariato Generale Civile per la Venezia Giulia, Atti Generali (1918–1922). The personnel files are out of order, not numbered but divided in alphabetical order. The fund contains the files of personnel employed by the institution, such as forest rangers, veterinarians, prison guards, public security guards, etc., but also unsuccessful applications for employment, pension, and survivor's benefits. The files of female civil servants make up about 15% of the files present. There are also files of 7 teachers from the Idrija/Idria mines, 69 cleaning women, and 11 female prison guards, for a total of 330 female civil servants. By cross-referencing the data in other envelopes from the same fund, it is evident that several personnel files are missing; see, for example, the files contained in the fund "Prefettura di Trieste – Gabinetto 1923–1952," t. u. 1–29.

15 We have chosen to use the Italian name given to the area occupied and then annexed to the Kingdom of Italy after WWI.

The war and postwar period in both territories were characterized by a severe crisis, and the aftermath of the conflict presented urgent challenges that each state had to address: demobilization, the return of refugees, an increase in unemployment, the continuation of the economic crisis, "socialist danger," an increase in the cost of living and the shortage of housing and food, and the spread of the Spanish flu are only some of the factors that created many difficulties for the population.[16] Migrations became extremely intensive, in particular of administrative personnel.

During the establishment of the new administration in Slovenia, Venezia Giulia experienced a different process as it gradually became integrated into the existing Italian state. Similar to Alto Adige, the Italian authorities aimed to maintain continuity with the Austrian administration in Venezia Giulia for several reasons. Firstly, from an international perspective, this continuity aimed to uphold the terms outlined in the armistice and secure favorable peace agreements. Secondly, from a bureaucratic standpoint, it aimed to ensure administrative continuity and territorial control. Lastly, it was intended to project an image of the state as respectful towards the local population.[17]

The administrative apparatus in the Slovenian part of the Kingdom of SCS became part of the newly established state; however, as in other post-Austro-Hungary states, the Slovenian national government initially operated within the old Austrian administrative system.[18] In particular, the local apparatus and structure was preserved,[19] while on the state level the system of decision-making changed more quickly.[20] As soon as the national government was established, plans for reforms and changes to the civil sector were made.[21]

This chapter aims to explore the opportunities for improvement in the employment situation of female civil servants within the transitional conditions of Trieste and Ljubljana. It seeks to establish a transnational narrative of women's officialdom in these two territories, despite being separated by a new border while sharing a common administrative past. The chapter begins by examining the position of women clerks in Trieste and Ljubljana before World War I. It then delves into the differences between female civil servants and their male counterparts, focusing on the progress made and the subsequent backlash. Finally, the chapter analyzes the variations among female servants, shedding light on their recruitment methods and practices.

16 See footnote 13.

17 See footnote 13.

18 Jurij Perovšek, "Položaj Slovencev v Državi Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov," *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino* 59, no. 2 (2019): 40–74; Bojan Balkovec, *Prva slovenska vlada 1918–1921* (Ljubljana: Znanstveno in publicistično središče, 1992), 165.

19 Balkovec, *Prva slovenska vlada*, 58.

20 Jurij Perovšek, *Slovenski prevrat 1918: Položaj Slovencev v Državi Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov* (Ljubljana: Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2018), 170.

21 Perovšek, "Položaj Slovencev," 40–74.

The Position of Women Clerks in Trieste and Ljubljana before the First World War

The clerical profession in Austria-Hungary witnessed the feminization trend seen the world over. In the 1860s, women began to be employed in administrative roles, primarily in lower clerical positions and in the postal service. Unlike in the United States, where women were hired as cheap labor, the motivation in Austria-Hungary was to provide employment for the widows and orphans of male civil servants. This also offered an alternative for unmarried daughters of the bourgeoisie, who would otherwise have relied on their families for support. Before the late 1860s, their employment options were limited to governesses or teachers.[22]

The clerical profession became attractive to young, middle-class women due to its social prestige and favorable working conditions. Initially, they were employed in new services such as the postal and telegraph sectors. The number of women employed in the civil service grew over time, with 8,950 women working in various government departments and state enterprises by 1900.[23] The introduction of typewriters and the expanding functions of public administration created a need for cheaper labor, leading to the increased employment of women.[24] By 1910, women constituted 26.5% of the total number of civil servants in the Austrian half of the monarchy.[25]

Initially, the situation in Carniola was similar to that of the rest of the monarchy. The employment of women in the postal service began in 1872, and it was also at this time that the first private female clerks were employed. In 1905, the first female magistrates' clerks were employed at the Ljubljana magistrate's office, and in 1907 the first female office assistant was employed in the civil service in Carniola.[26] In 1914, the political administration of Carniola was staffed by 3 clerks and 5 clerical assistants.[27] Before 1914, the Carniola Regional Diet and the Regional Committee employed nine typists (exclusively women), the first of whom were hired in 1908.[28]

Serving as the main port of the Austrian Empire, Trieste was the location of significant political and administrative offices where women had been employed

22 Anderson, *The White-Blouse Revolution*.

23 Waltraud Heindl-Langer, *Josephinische Mandarine: Burokratie und Beamte in Osterreich*, vol. 2, *1848–1914* (Graz: Böhlau, 2013).

24 Erna Appelt, "The Gendering of the Service Sector in Austria at the End of the Nineteenth Century," in *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. David F. Good, Margarete Grandner, and Mary Jo Maynes (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1996), 115–32.

25 Appelt, "The Gendering of the Service Sector," 122.

26 Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana (Historical Archives of Ljubljana, hereafter SI ZAL) LJU 494/2 MOL, Personalni spisi.

27 *Standesausweis der. K.k. politischen Behörden und Organe in Krain* (Ljubljana: n. d., 1914).

28 *Deželni zbor in deželni odbor kranjski: po stanju 1. maja 1913* (Ljubljana: n. d., 1913).

since the 1880s. Apart from the postal and post-telegraphic sector, there was the notable presence of banks, insurance companies, and private sector employment opportunities in the city. The relatively high rate of education for women in Trieste facilitated their participation in these roles. Courses for typists specifically catered to the daughters of the petite bourgeoisie, who viewed office work as a viable means for social advancement.[29]

In 1910, the proportion of female civil servants in Carniola was slightly above the average for Austria, while in the Austrian Littoral and Trieste, it was slightly below the national average. Notably, among the various categories of female civil servants in Carniola, female teachers stood out with a significantly higher proportion compared to Trieste and the Habsburg Monarchy as a whole. Conversely, Trieste had a higher proportion of women in the civil service as well as in municipal and regional administration, compared to the average for Austria.

Table 3.1. Number and percentage of (total and female) civil servants in the Carniola, Ljubljana, Littoral, and Trieste regions of Austria-Hungary according to statistical types of economic activity, 1910.[30]

Region	*A: Agriculture and Forestry*	*B: Industry and trade (craft)*	*C: Trade and Transport*	*D: Group of public and military personnel (Subgroup 26: State Appointees in imperial, state, and other public offices)*
Carniola	168 total 12 women (7%)	725 total 107 women (15%)	1,660 total 500 women (30%)	3,063 total 553 women (18%)
Ljubljana	10 total 0 women (0%)	269 total 58 women (22%)	860 total 248 women (29%)	1,285 total 386 women (30%)
Littoral region	197 total 10 women (5%)	2,177 total 220 women (10%)	8,813 total 1431 women (16%)	6,516 total 936 women (14%)
Trieste city	12 total 4 women (33%)	1,466 total 171 women (12%)	7,097 total 1,133 women (16%)	3,049 total 357 women (12%)
Austrian average	22,319 total 497 women (2%)	110,177 total 14,676 women (13%)	168,713 total 36,811 women (22%)	172,125 total 26,173 women (15%)

[29] Curli, *Italiane al lavoro*.

[30] Based on *Berufsstatistik nach den Ergebnissen der Volkszählung vom 31. dezember 1910 in den im Reichsrate Vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern*, vol. 3, no. 1, *Hauptübersicht und Besprechung der Ergebnisse*; vol. 3, no. 5, *Kärnten und Krain*; vol. 3, no. 6, *Küstenland und Dalmatien* (Vienna: K.K. Hof-und Staatsdrukerei, 1915–16).

Progress and Backlash

THE NEW ARMY OF "WHITE SHIRTS"

After World War I, there were positive changes for professional women in several European and Western countries. Legal reforms were implemented to remove discriminatory regulations against women in public administration. Germany's Weimar Constitution abolished discriminatory rules, while in England, the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act of 1919 ensured that neither sex nor marriage would disqualify someone from public functions or civil professions. Italy's Sacchi Law of 1919 also improved women's access to the civil service. In the United States, pressure from the Women's Bureau and women's new-found voting rights led to the federal Civil Service Commission rescinding rules that limited women's access to a majority of the civil service entry examinations.[31] The numbers of women employed as civil servants during the war and the early postwar period also generally increased compared to prewar conditions.[32]

Estimating the exact increase in the number of female civil servants compared to the prewar period is challenging due to changes in administrative borders, statistical criteria, and the structure of the state apparatus. However, Peter Melichar's estimates suggest that in the territory that became the Republic of Austria after 1918, the proportion of female civil servants rose from 3.9% in 1910 to 16.2% in 1934.[33] In England, the number of female civil servants increased significantly from 59,308 (21%) in 1914 to 269,869 (42%) in 1919.[34] Similarly, in the French central administration, the percentage of women rose from 3% in 1906 to 45% in 1926. This significant increase in France can be attributed to the overall expansion of state employees during postwar reconstruction. Additionally, the postwar recovery economy and inflation incentivized educated men to leave state administration and pursue opportunities in the private sector.[35]

Although the statistical data for the Slovenian part of the Kingdom of SCS is incomplete, it indicates a significant feminization of the civil service during the studied period. In the main department of the regional government of Carniola, the proportion of female civil servants rose from 11.5% in 1914 to 22.7% in 1918, and further to 25% in 1922. Similarly, the proportion of civil office assistants increased from 33.3% in 1910 to 50% in 1918 and then to 65% in 1922.

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31 Perry Willson, *Italiane: Biografia del Novecento* (Bari: Laterza, 2011), 94–95.

32 Clark, *The Rise of Professional Women in France*, 142.

33 Peter Melichar, "Objekt Bürgerlicher und Anderer Begierden? Staatliche Verwaltung und Bürgertum in der Ersten Republik," *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 12 (2013): 1–12.

34 Zimmeck, "Get Out and Get Under."

35 Clark, *The Rise of Professional Women in France*.

The growth in the number of female civil servants was even more pronounced in Ljubljana's city administration.[36]

Regarding the city of Trieste, there is a lack of quantitative studies on employment during the wartime period. However, it is known that the number of female employees increased both as replacements for male employees and due to the expansion of offices to support the war effort. For instance, at the K. und K. Statthalterei für das Küstenland (Imperial Regia Luogotenenza del Litorale), where there were 231 employees before the occupation, 51 women were employed in the Subsidies Office and the Chancellery.

At the end of the war, there was an increase in the number of clerical staff, including typists, protocol clerks, and archivists. In order to cope with the "bureaucratic emergency," the government hired a large number of casual clerks and tried to keep costs down by recruiting women.[37]

Despite initial numerical improvement compared to the prewar period, the feminization of the clerical profession in the interwar period met with considerable resistance and progress was neither linear nor indiscriminate. As data from a number of countries show, female civil servants faced (1) periods of increased layoffs or dismissals, (2) occupational segregation, and (3) few opportunities for advancement.

PERIODS OF INCREASED LAYOFFS OR DISMISSALS

The dismissals followed pressure from veterans to replace women in the civil service and were also linked to political and economic crises in the postwar years.[38] In addition, specifically in the Slovene part of the Kingdom of SCS and in Venezia Giulia, they were also marked by national conflicts.

In the case of Venezia Giulia, in the first few weeks of the occupation, the Italian authorities suspended the remaining civil servants, who were then replaced by soldiers or officials from the Kingdom of Italy, but were paid their salaries for the period of forced absence. As previously mentioned, at the Luogotenenza, where 51 out of 231 employees were women before the occupation,[39] many left the region in the first months of the occupation, and only 36

[36] *Standesausweis der k. k. politischen Behörden und Organe in Krain: Nach dem Stande vom 1. Jänner 1914* (Ljubljana: n. d., 1914); *Standesausweis der k. k. politischen Behörden und Organe in Krain: Nach dem Stande vom 1. August 1918* (Ljubljana: n. d., 1918); SI ZAL LJU 336, Deželna vlada za Slovenijo (1919–1921), Politična uprava I., Knjige "Osobja," t. u. 209–12.

[37] Alessandra Pescarolo, *Il lavoro delle donne nell'Italia contemporanea* (Rome: Viella, 2019), 163–215; Laura Savelli, "Le relazioni di genere nei servizi postelegrafonici dal XIX secolo al secondo dopoguerra," *Genesis* 15, no. 2 (2016): 89–91.

[38] See for example: Zimmeck, "Get Out and Get Under"; Clark, *The Rise of Professional Women in France.*

[39] ASTs, Commissariato civile per la città di Trieste e Territorio (1919–1922) (henceforth CCCTT), t. u. 3, f. List of personnel of the ceased Lieutenancy as of May 2, 1919. The detailed information

civil servants applied for re-employment. Among the latter, eleven were chancellery clerks (two Germans, six "Slave" [Slavs], and three Italians) and four were chancellery assistants (three "Slavs" and one German). Even after their return to service, these clerks remained the object of particular attention.

The first sectors to undergo thorough background checks of personnel from a political and national perspective to assess their trustworthiness after the occupation in Venezia Giulia were justice and public security. At the beginning of February 1919, in a report on the Court of Pula/Pola, there was mention of the intention to Italianize the institution through the "replacement of the untrustworthy elements" with Italian personnel.[40] These included ten workers on the order staff, nine of whom were women. Of these, two had already been dismissed, one was Italian, and three were defined as "moderate Croats" and one a "fanatical Croat." The tribunal official who had compiled the report claimed that a quick solution could be found since they were all adventitious and could therefore be easily dismissed.

The position of officials was also affected by a decree from April 15, 1919, which made loyalty to the state the criterion for the performance of their duties. This was a very elastic concept, which the authorities interpreted as they saw fit. Mussolini's rise to power was followed by decrees in 1923 which further accelerated the dismissal of Slovene and Croatian employees, as they presumably did not offer a sufficient guarantee of loyal service.[41]

Female clerks were, of course, no exception. This "peaceful penetration" was accompanied, however, by changes in the political leadership of the offices and by control over subordinate personnel that focused on three aspects: national and political trustworthiness and control over morale. These investigations were carried out by senior clerks, the Carabinieri, and, in the early stages,[42] by the Army through the Operating Troops Information Office (ITO).[43] ITO officials were inclined to view the information they gathered in a nationalist light.[44] To avoid

sheet noted the following: Valeria Petschar, Slavic nationality, left for Vienna; Emilia Zgur, Italian, moved to Tarvisio; Albina Ungar, described as "Italian, recoverable, and recommendable"; and Andreina Bohorg, "an Italian already in Gorizia." The four assistants were characterized as "auxiliary personnel who can be considered definitively dismissed."

40 ASTs, RGCVG, Gabinetto, t. u. 76, February 19, 1919.

41 Gorazd Bajc, "Fašistična zakonodaja in Slovenci med obema vojnama," *Acta Histriae* 11, no. 2 (2003): 19–40.

42 At the outbreak of Italian involvement in World War I, on May 24, 1915, the Italian Supreme Military Command was established, into which the former military intelligence complex called the Information Office (Office 'I') was incorporated, which remained in existence until October 16, 1916, when it was split into the Information Service (Service "I") and the Ufficio informazioni truppe operanti (Troop Operations Intelligence Office). The functions of the ITO Office were those relating to information in the operational area.

43 Visintin, *L'Italia a Trieste*.

44 According to Visintin, the ITO Office "represented the real crossroads between nationalist officialdom, former irredent volunteers, patriotic associations, anti-socialist environments, and committees in the Julian and Istrian-Dalmatian capital." Visintin, *L'Italia a Trieste*, 87.

incurring errors and resentment on the part of the population, an initial attempt to systematize the collection of information was made only at the end of 1919, when the Commissariat, admitting some errors in their information gathering, especially in the first months of the occupation, announced the possibility of reconsidering applications.[45] As can be understood, the information available was not always true or reliable but was, in fact, the basis on which decisions were made.

The situation in Ljubljana was similar to some extent in relation to employees of German origin.[46] If someone in the service declared himself to be moderate German and pledged allegiance to the Kingdom of SCS (and was also hard-working), he or she remained in their current job.[47] However, those who declared themselves to be Germans were generally dismissed.[48]

Civil servants identifying themselves as Germans could potentially retain their employment under specific conditions. They were directly asked about their nationality and given three days to declare if they still wished to work for the Kingdom of SCS. The request required substantiation, and their willingness to take a new oath was assessed. Superiors also provided their opinion on the application, considering factors such as the civil servant's behavior in and out of service regarding nationality, their suitability for acceptance into the Yugoslav civil service, and their contribution to maintaining the smooth functioning of their office. The length of service in the Slovenian territory and place of birth were also considered during the evaluation process.[49] Civil servants were then classified into three groups: Slovenes, civil servants of German nationality, and those who could not give their statements because of their absence (e.g., captivity).[50] In some cases, officials of German nationality were allowed to keep their jobs if they wished, despite their initial resignation. One such example was Ivana Wolbart from Ptuj, who initially resigned from her job in the Yugoslav state but was then reinstated because she was "very conscientious and well-trained," and

[45] ASTs, CCCTT, t. u. 10, Confidential Circular n. 2366, January 1, 1920, and t. u. 18, December 31, 1919.

[46] Cf. Therese Garstenauer, "Unravelling Multinational Legacies: National Affiliations of Government Employees in Post-Habsburg Austria," in *Narrated Empires: Perception of Late Habsburg and Ottoman Multinationalism*, ed. Johanna Chovanec and Olof Heilo (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 213–36.

[47] ARS, SI AS 66, Odslovitev uradnikov nemške narodnosti in Slovenci prošnje za premestitev, t. u. 4, f. Poročilo predsedstvu v Ljubljani o razmerah v Borovljah, 3. 7. 1919.

[48] The national government in Ljubljana addressed the issue of civil servants at a meeting in December 1918. The terms and conditions for the repatriation of former Austrian civil servants of Yugoslav nationality were discussed. (*Sejni zapiski I. del*, 193.); *Uradni list Narodne vlade SHS v Ljubljani*, December 19, 1918, 53–54.

[49] ARS, SI AS 66, Odslovitev uradnikov nemške narodnosti, t. u. 2, f. Računski oddelek deželnega sodišča, 10. 2. 1921.

[50] ARS, SI AS 66, Odslovitev uradnikov nemške narodnosti, t. u. 2, f. Izvršilna naredba k naredbi celokupne narodne vlade SHS v Ljubljani, uradni list 202, 21. 12. 1918.

at the same time she replaced two people with her work.[51] Then, after this first wave of replacement, the German clerks were usually fired only in the case of their "anti-Slovene and anti-state activity."[52]

Besides the national question, various factors contributed to the increased dismissal of civil servants, particularly women, across Europe after World War I. In Austria, the number of civil servants initially grew to support postwar reconstruction efforts. However, starting in October 1922, the country implemented significant reductions in its civil service as part of the austerity measures related to inflation, state apparatus restructuring, and obligations imposed by the League of Nations upon the defeated country. These austerity measures disproportionately impacted precarious and temporary workers as well as women.[53] In England, the total number of civil servants started to decrease in 1920 together with the percentage of female employees, while the percentage of ex-servicemen in the state administration rose dramatically.[54] In Weimar Germany, the opportunities for women civil servants likewise diminished.[55]

During the early 1920s, and later during the economic crisis, reductions in the number of civil servants occurred in the Kingdom of SCS. The impact of these measures on the female clerical workforce, similar to other European countries, remains somewhat uncertain. However, an examination of personnel files reveals a clear trend of increasing dismissals, particularly after 1923. This period saw job reorganizations and the termination of temporary office assistants, a majority of whom were women, similar to the situation in Austria. Many employees lost their permanent positions and were reassigned to temporary status.[56] Interestingly, war invalids in Slovenia were also affected by downsizing in the early 1920s. Their dismissals led to protests in newspapers, especially considering that, like in other countries, they had priority for civil service employment according to a law enacted by the Slovenian authorities shortly after the war's end.[57]

In Venezia Giulia, we can find a clear tendency to attempt to reduce the number of female staff, especially after 1920–1921, in conjunction with the economic crisis, protests by civil servants, and the increasing demands of veterans and members of the public for jobs.[58] It should also be said that not all of the

[51] ARS, SI AS 66, Odslovitev uradnikov nemške narodnosti, t. u. 2, f. Poverjeništvu za pravosodje, 28. 2. 1919.

[52] Balkovec, *Prva slovenska vlada*, 110.

[53] Melichar, "Objekt Bürgerlicher," 1–42.

[54] Zimmeck, "Get Out and Get Under," 103.

[55] Boak, "The State as an Employer of Women," 61–98.

[56] "Ljubljana, 13. januarja," *Jutro* 3, no. 12, January 14, 1922: 1; "Zakon o civilnih uradnikih in ostalih državnih uslužbencih, July 31, 1923," *Uradni list pokrajinske uprave za Slovenijo* 5, no. 86, September 12, 1923, 533–43.

[57] "K pritožbi invalidov državnih nameščencev," *Vojni invalid* 2, no. 2, August 3, 1922, 1–2.

[58] Patrizia Ferrara, "Le donne negli uffici (1863–2002)," in *Impiegati*, ed. Guido Melis (Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier, 2004), 137–39.

female civil servants who left their jobs did so because they were forced; some decided to leave of their own accord because they had found more remunerative work in the private sector. As the offices connected with the needs of the war came to an end, the authorities proceeded using a Habsburg law from 1914 to lay off civil servants due to the decrease in work, which affected female civil servants in particular.[59] Moreover, the economic crisis led to a reduction of employment in the private sector, and already in June 1919 the Municipality of Trieste stated that it could not hire two female clerks "given the overabundance of female staff employed by the municipality."[60] There was a general tendency to consider the presence of women as excessive, a tendency that was accentuated with the return of men from the front, fueling a clash for jobs in which women became the target of the unemployed and fascists.[61]

In 1922, for instance, the fascist newspaper *Il Popolo di Trieste* launched an appeal in which readers were asked to support the action of the war invalids so that they could replace all the young women employed in offices.[62] What emerges here is the whole rhetorical apparatus aimed at branding women as profiting from the war, accused of having used the conflict to break the family and social structure that maintained order and social security through gender roles, and where the need to leave jobs to ex-combatants was dictated by an economic vision that saw the work of the breadwinner as a guarantee for the recovery of the national economy.[63]

The feminization of the civil service in Slovenia faced opposition from both the public and state professionals. Preserved correspondence reveals numerous requests from county chiefs, among others, advocating for the employment of male staff instead of female employees. Opponents of women's employment sought to present their arguments as objective and scientific. For instance, the journal *Učiteljski tovariš* (Teachers' Comrade) shared the findings of an Austrian study suggesting that female teachers (and potentially female civil servants) retired earlier than male teachers. The study implied that the working life of female teachers was roughly two-thirds that of male teachers. Additionally, female teachers took longer sick leave.[64]

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59 The dismissals took place under Section 10 of the Act of January 25, 1914 B.L.I. no. 19, January 27, 1914.

60 ASTs, RGCVG, Gabinetto, t. u. 33, June 14, 1919.

61 Franca Pieroni Bortolotti, *Femminismo e partiti politici in Italia (1919–1926)* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1978)*;* Annamaria Galoppini, *Il lungo viaggio verso la parità: I diritti civili e politici delle donne dall'Unità ad oggi* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1980), 106–8; Victoria de Grazia, *Le donne nel regime fascista* (Venice: Marsilio, 1993).

62 "Il diritto dei mutilati," *Il Popolo di Trieste*, April 18, 1921.

63 Françoise Thébaud, "The Great War and the Triumph of Sexual Division," trans. Arthur Goldhammer, in *A History of Women in the West*, vol. 5, *Toward a Cultural Identity in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Françoise Thébaud (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 74.

64 "Ali je ženska delovna moč cenejša v javni službi?" *Učiteljski tovariš* 63, no. 20, May 17, 1923, 2.

The head of the Department of Social Policy and National Health justified his desire for male staff in the following way: "Since men do not fall ill so often, it is opportune, for reasons of service, to have as few female office staff as possible in the office."[65] The county chief wrote to the great mayor of the Maribor authority,[66] "I ask that the post advertised be given to a male person who can be entrusted with military business, work with arms lists, and hunting cards."[67] But there was a shortage of men to apply for the post of office assistant, so many of the chiefs' wishes could not be met. Thus, the head of the Department of Social Policy and National Health noted that in his department there were only two men among the eight "office assistants," while the Mozirje branch of the Political Exposition noted that "the reputation of the office and the administration suffers greatly" because there was "no man to be the official head," the only man employed there being a valet.[68] The reason for this was that the male clerks, similarly to Austria during that period,[69] preferred to be employed in the private sector, where salaries were higher than in state administration.[70]

POSSIBILITIES FOR HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL MOBILITY

Prejudice against female officials led not only to periods of increased dismissal, but also affected their chances of promotion to higher positions. They were rarely given any assignments that were not considered routine or intellectually undemanding and thus not suitable for women.

In Venezia Giulia, or more precisely, at the General Commissariat, there were 51 women in service after the war, equal to 17% of the total number of civil servants. Looking at the roles in which women were employed, a clear segregation of employment emerges: women accounted for 11 out of 14 archivists (78.6%), 25 out of 29 typists (86.2%), 5 out of 6 clerks (83.3%), 3 out of 7 protocol clerks (42.8%), and six assistants.[71] Unfortunately, we do not have the personnel files of many of these women, and it is therefore difficult to make an analysis of their permanence in the offices of the various civil servants.

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65 ARS, SI AS 67, t. u. KARL-KAT, f. Karlin Zupančič Marija, Uradno poročilo, 24. 7. 1931.

66 The Maribor authority led by the *great mayor* was one of the two administrative parts of the Slovenian part of the Kingdom of SCS in the twenties.

67 ARS, SI AS 67, t. u. GORJ-GOŠ, f. Gorup Ana, Prošnje za službo. Sreski poglavar Maribor levi breg, dne 10. Marca 1925.

68 ARS, SI AS 16, IV 2 56, t. u. 88, Politična ekspozitura Mozirje, n. 71.

69 Melichar, "Objekt Bürgerlicher," 1–42.

70 ARS, SI AS 67, t. u. STEI-STRAŠ, f. Stojkovič Karmen.

71 The other woman hired was a temporary civil servant out of the total seven. The only case in which an assistant depended on a woman is that of Margherita Marsilli, who was employed by the clerk of the Chancellery, Elda Boethge, in the accounting office where the other four clerks were also employed. ASTs, RGCVG, Gabinetto, t. u.1, f. "Personale civile e militare del Governatorato."

In postwar Slovenia, despite a significant increase in the number of women in clerical positions, higher-ranking positions such as "clerks" remained predominantly held by men. Women were prominently represented as temporary and regular office assistants and officials, but were rarely found among the higher-paid and more demanding roles of "clerks." Becoming a clerk required a higher level of education, including a full secondary education and a professional examination, or a longer period of service compared to regular office assistants or officials.

Due to educational requirements, few women were able to reach the position of clerk in the early postwar period. In a sample of 633 employees, only 120 were women clerks throughout the interwar period. By 1924, only six women had been recruited as clerks. However, over time, the percentage of female clerks gradually increased, as shown in the following table.[72]

Table 3.2. Number of female civil servants in the Slovene part of the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia by grade during the period 1918–1939.[73]

Temporary office assistants, regular office assistants	304
Officials	181
Clerks and clerk trainees	121
Other	11
Unknown	16
Total	633

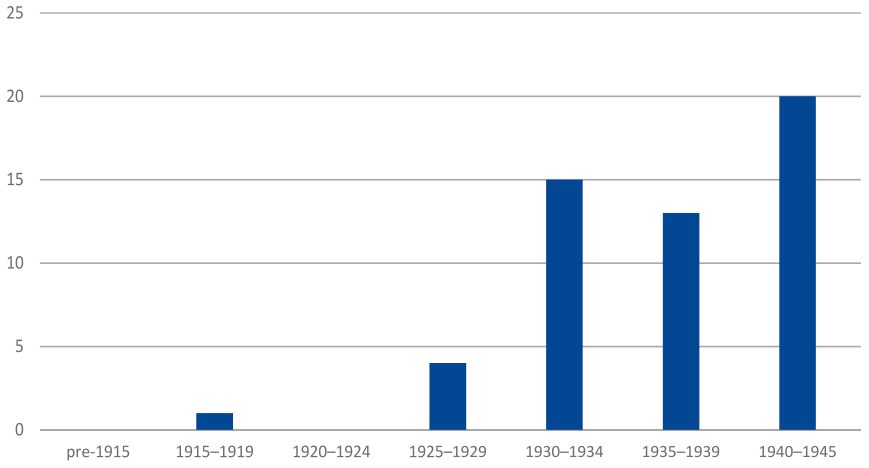

Figure 3.1. Number of "clerks" in the Slovene part of the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia (1915–1945)

[72] ARS, SI AS 67.
[73] SI AS 67.

THE ORGANIZED STRUGGLE FOR RIGHTS

After World War I, the feminization of the clerical profession led to increased initiatives by women civil servants seeking to improve their circumstances across Europe. They joined trade unions and professional organizations alongside their male colleagues and even established their own associations.[74] Women participated in general strikes and organized protests, challenging the stereotype of passive obedience associated with female clerical staff.[75] However, in the regions under analysis during the interwar years, there were no all-female professional associations as found in neighboring Austria[76] or Great Britain.[77]

Despite the absence of all-female associations, progress was observed during the postwar period. In Slovenia, the Association of Clerical Officers and Assistants was renamed the Association of Clerical Male and Female Officers and Assistants for Slovenia, with women serving on its board. This was the only professional society among the 31 included in the Union of State Appointees for Slovenia in 1930 that changed its name to include the female form. [78]

Independent protests by women civil servants and other female clerical employees were held in Slovenia, demanding financial protection during times of economic crisis.[79] Similar protests also took place in Venezia Giulia, where typists at the Civil Commissariat in Trieste requested increased pay due to the challenging economic conditions.[80] Female clerks, regardless of their economic and contractual differences, united in pursuing common demands.

In Venezia Giulia, female employees joined their male colleagues in participating in general strikes, such as the strikes in August 1919 and December 1920. The demands of the December strike included addressing the high cost of living, hardship allowances, and equal treatment between employees from the former regime and those of the Kingdom. The strike gained significant momentum, leading the authorities to express concern and make concessions to some demands. However, efforts were made to divide casual and permanent employees with threats of dismissal if work did not resume, particularly targeting the permanent employees.[81] Casual employees, many of whom were women, also organized separately on other occasions.[82]

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74 Helen Glew, "'[A] Stronger Position as Women Alone': Women's Associations in the British Civil Service and Feminism, 1900–1959," *Women's History Review* 30, no. 4 (2020): 669–87, https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2020.1814511.

75 Pescarolo, *Il lavoro delle donne nell'Italia contemporanea*, 199.

76 Rosemarie Fehrer, *Die Frau als Angestellte in Wirtschaft und Verwaltung Österreichs: Ihr sozialer Aufstieg seit dem letzten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Linz: R. Trauner, 1989).

77 Glew, "[A] Stronger Position as Women Alone," 669–87.

78 "Iz Zveze državnih nameščencev za Slovenijo," *Učiteljski tovariš* 70, no. 26, February 13, 1930, 3.

79 "Ženska kot uradnik," *Naš glas* 3, no. 26, June 30, 1921, 2; SI ZAL LJU 494/2, Personal files, f. Beta Otujac.

80 ASTs, CCCTT, t. u. 25, 4. 3. 1920.

81 Antonio Mosconi, *I primi anni di governo italiano nella Venezia Giulia* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1924), 37–39; "L'agitazione degli impiegati statali," *Il Piccolo*, December 3, 1920 and December 10, 1920.

82 "La condizione degli addetti ai Commissariati Civili," *L'emancipazione*, May 1, 1920.

Recruitment

The recruitment of female civil servants in Venezia Giulia and Slovenia was influenced by the unique conditions of the war and postwar periods, the specific requirements of the newly formed states, and, to some extent, continuity with the civil service codes and traditions of the Habsburg Empire.

SOCIAL ORIGINS

The social background of female civil servants in the state administration of the Slovene territory within the Kingdom of SCS after 1918 clearly reflects the continuation of the employment rules established during the Habsburg period. According to laws passed in 1906 and 1914, priority in employment was given to war veterans, war invalids, and the daughters and widows of "civilian civil servants and military persons."[83] Civil servants also informally used their social networks to secure positions for their daughters.[84] Consequently, it is not surprising that the majority of the sample under consideration immediately after 1918 consisted of the daughters of civil servants (60%).[85]

As was already the case in the Habsburg period, the "inheritance" of the clerical profession from one's father provided an important social corrective for female civil servants in cases where the much-needed family income had fallen short due to the father's retirement, disability, unemployment, and especially death.[86] Such cases were, moreover, even more frequent during the war and postwar period, when civil servants were more affected by poverty than, for example, other population groups, and when many fathers (or other income-earning family members) were killed while serving as soldiers or died of illness (Spanish flu).

The importance of the income earned by female civil servants, thus presented as a social corrective, is also evidenced by examples from Venezia Giulia (and Italy in general). There are dozens of applications for employment in the documentation examined where one can find descriptions of precarious circumstances (often in correlation with the death of the father), although their circumstances may have been written in such a way as to gain sympathy and hence employment.[87] What emerges from these demands is the realization that in fact

[83] "Ukaz, s katerim se izpreminja ukaz z dne 19. julija 1902 o pisarniškem pomožnem osebju pri državnih oblastvih, uradih in zavodih," *Državni zakonik za kraljevine in dežele v državnem zboru zastopane* 19, no. 66, July 17, 1906, 891.

[84] See for example: ARS, SI AS 67, t. u. MALE-MAM, f. Malerič Vera, Predsedstvu pokrajinske uprave za Slovenijo, May 22, 1922. Compare with: Heindl, *Josephinische Mandarine*, 152.

[85] ARS, SI AS 67.

[86] Heindl, *Josephinische Mandarine*, 172.

[87] Curli, *Italiane al Lavoro*, 202.

these women, often orphans, whose father had died or who had younger siblings to support, were the breadwinners, as their pay would become the main income of the household.[88]

As for instance, Lydia Cassoviz wrote in her application:

> The devoted undersigned ... is fatherless and must provide for the support of her sick mother and a younger sister, still a schoolgirl. After 3 ½ years of long physical and moral suffering, the day of liberation having arrived, she too believed that she would enjoy it, but instead she suddenly saw herself utterly destroyed.[89]

GEOGRAPHIC ORIGIN

In terms of the geographic origins of female civil servants, notable differences can be observed between the two analyzed regions. In Trieste, the majority of women in question were either born in the Venezia Giulia region or had been residing there before the war. This indicates that there was a significant pool of local women available for these positions, attributed to the high level of female education. However, due to the low salaries paid for clerical work, women often relied on family support as it was challenging to sustain themselves independently. Consequently, the transfer of female civil servants from the Kingdom was limited (in contrast to their male counterparts, who were more likely to migrate).[90]

In Slovenia, the majority of female civil servants were born in urban areas, and over half of them worked in the same place where they were born (53%). Many came from other areas, including regions that came under Italian rule after World War I. The Slovene government did not actively encourage Slovene clerks from Venezia Giulia to relocate to Ljubljana, unlike the situation in Trieste, where civil servants from the "Old (Italian) provinces" were sought after. The reluctance of the Slovene government to hire Slovene immigrants from Venezia Giulia was influenced by the scarcity of positions in the Slovene public administration at the time. Additionally, Slovene nationalists advocated for Slovene civil servants, seen as part of the Slovene national elite, to remain in their posts in Venezia Giulia and actively resist the Italianization of the region.[91]

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88 Alessandra Pescarolo, "Il lavoro e le risorse delle donne in età contemporanea," in *Il lavoro delle donne*, ed. Angela Groppi (Bari: Laterza, 1996), 299–344.

89 ASTs, RGCVG, Gabinetto, t. u. 33, f. Domanda di impiego di Lydia Cassoviz, 2 agosto 1919.

90 Chiara Giorgi, "L'emarginazione femminile nella pubblica amministrazione tra le due guerre: storie di donne," in *L'altra metà dell'impiego: la storia delle donne nell'amministrazione*, ed. Chiara Giorgi, Guido Melis, and Angelo Varni (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2005), 81–82.

91 *Sejni zapisniki Narodne vlade Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov v Ljubljani in Deželnih vlad za Slovenijo: 1918–1921*, part 1 (Ljubljana: ARS, 1998), 191; ARS, SI AS 16-IV-2-40. Uredništvo 1919, t. u. 73, f. Državni uslužbenci slovenske narodnosti v Trstu, April 14, 1919; ARS, SI AS 66, Odslovitev uradnikov nemške narodnosti in prošnje Slovencev za premestitev, t. u. 4, f. Alojzij Žigon sodnik v Podgradu, Ljubljana 2. prosinec 1920. 4741.

Female officials employed in Trieste before World War I provided evidence of the authorities' treatment and attitudes towards refugees from Venezia Giulia. One such official, Franja Finžgar from Gorenjska, expressed her inability to serve under foreign rule and left Trieste in 1920 to avoid being dismissed by the Triestine authorities. In 1919, she had already requested a transfer to Slovenia, explaining the difficult situation in Italy and the expectations of the Slovenian National Council. However, her name was mistakenly omitted from the transfer list, and she was eventually transferred to Kastav in Croatia.[92] It is worth noting that even with recommendations from prominent Slovene political associations and the Office for the Protection of Refugees, some individuals, such as Olga Hlače, faced difficulties finding employment in Yugoslavia.[93] Despite her political expulsion and unsuccessful job search in Italy, Hlače was denied employment in Yugoslavia on the grounds of being a foreign national.[94] This response highlighted the presence of an abundant labor supply and the lack of preference given to less-educated staff, particularly women, who found themselves in a more precarious situation as a result.[95]

POLITICAL MERITS

In the postwar period, the recruitment of women officials in both regions was influenced by their life experiences and personal competences. Applicants emphasized their merits or suffering during the war, the achievements of their families toward national goals, and their loyalty to the new country.

In Venezia Giulia, they thus tended to emphasize their Italianness and possibly the services rendered to the homeland during the war by family members or directly by themselves if they had been refugees in the Kingdom and had held positions and duties in the army or state bodies during the conflict. Those who had remained in the territories of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, on the other hand, highlighted the persecution suffered by their family and any internment for political reasons. To plead their case, in several cases they also enclosed letters of recommendation from irredentist volunteers, military chaplains, the Duke of Aosta, or military commanders; several even attempted to ask for the Queen's intercession.[96]

92 ARS, SI AS 67, t. u. FI, f. Finžgar Franja.

93 ARS, SI AS 66, Odslovitev uradnikov nemške narodnosti in prošnje Slovencev za premestitev, t. u. 4, f. Dopis predsedstva pokrajinske uprave z dne, August 2, 1921.

94 ARS, SI AS 66, Odslovitev uradnikov nemške narodnosti in prošnje Slovencev za premestitev, t. u. 4, f. Predsedništvu d.s.v.v Ljubljani, February 5, 1921.

95 ARS, SI AS 66, Odslovitev uradnikov nemške narodnosti in prošnje Slovencev za premestitev, t. u. 4, f. Poverjeništvu za pravosodje 1.12.1918; Prošnja pisar. oficjanta Alojzija Puppis, September 14, 1919.

96 ASTs, RGCVG, AG, f. Elisa Depangher, cousin of the irredentist volunteer Nazario Sauro.

Similar arguments were made by aspiring female civil servants in Slovenia, but in relation to the Slovene national struggle. For instance, in her job application, Maria Rudolf wrote:

> I am a Carinthian refugee who had to remove myself from my hometown at the time of the plebiscite in Carinthia because I had acquired a lot of hatred as a public speaker and agitator for the SCS state.... As a result of the hatred of the Germans, I cannot stay in Carinthia, especially since as a Yugoslav citizen I cannot get a job anywhere, nor can I get a residence permit in Austria.[97]

These arguments aimed to secure employment by equating their contributions to those of veterans.[98] However, the "right" nationality alone did not always guarantee recruitment, especially in multi-ethnic regions. Knowledge of the language of the "national" opponent, such as Italian or Slovene, was advantageous for clerical work. In some cases, individuals with different national backgrounds were hired when there was a shortage of educated individuals within the local population.[99]

CITIZENSHIP

There was another criterion which had a significant impact on the selection of (female) administrative staff in the immediate postwar years. In both Slovenia and Venezia Giulia, laws were passed in the postwar period that allowed only those who had acquired Yugoslav or Italian citizenship, respectively, to enter the civil service. Due to special provisions in the peace treaties in the successor states of the Habsburg Monarchy, many people did not acquire the citizenship of the country in which they resided because they had so-called "pertinency" (Heimatrecht, Pertinenza, Indigenat) in communities elsewhere before the war.[100] If we look back in history, the right of pertinence in a particular municipality of the Habsburg Monarchy was conferred upon those who had resided and worked there for more than 10 years. Later, in the second half of the nineteenth century,

97 ARS, SI AS 67, t. u. ROZ-RUG, f. Rudolf Marija, Oddelku za socialno politiko, November 11, 1923.

98 Zimmeck, "Get Out and Get Under."

99 ASTs, RGCVG, Gabinetto, t. u. 9, March 1, 1919. "Lack of Italian order and concept staff, need a typist or clerk to keep protocol." Ibid., t. u. 3, n. d., likely late 1919.

100 Dominique Kirchner Reill, Ivan Jeličić, and Francesca Rolandi, "Redefining Citizenship after Empire: The Rights to Welfare, to Work, and to Remain in a Post-Habsburg World," *The Journal of Modern History*, 94, no. 2 (June 2022): 326–62; Maura Hametz, "Borderlands," in *The Politics of Everyday Life in Fascist Italy: Outside the State?* ed. Joshua Arthurs, Michael Ebner, and Kate Ferris (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 151–78.

however, the attribution system became more rigid. Thus, in many areas, only 40–50% of the inhabitants had pertinence in the place where they resided. The application of the principle of pertinence in the peace treaties thus led to the creation of a number of situations in which people remained without citizenship or had dual citizenship, but even more frequent were cases of people with unwanted citizenship. For women, the situation was further complicated as they acquired their husband's citizenship after marriage, reflecting the exclusion of women from the public sphere based on traditional gender roles.[101]

When investigating female civil servants, the question of pertinence, and from 1922 of citizenship, is central. This is due to the fact that several of the female employees who worked in Venezia Giulia had citizenship (or their husbands and fathers had pertinence before the war and therefore citizenship afterwards) in towns and cities located in the Kingdom of SCS or in Austria, and vice versa, while several female employees who worked in the Kingdom of SCS had citizenship in Italy.[102] Lina Niccolini's case exemplifies the challenges faced by female personnel during these critical periods. Born in Arbe (now Rab, Croatia) in 1886, she underwent a legal separation from her husband and became a refugee in Rome during the war. After the war, she was hired by the Governorate in December 1919 but was dismissed in June 1923 due to the rule prohibiting the employment of married women, even though she had obtained a legal separation. Complicating matters further, she was married to a foreign citizen. Despite efforts from Senator Giorgio Pitacco and the Council of Italian Women, Lina Niccolini ultimately lost her job. This case highlights the discriminatory practices and obstacles faced by married women in employment during that time.[103]

We find similar cases of "undesirable citizenship" in Slovenia as well. Eliza Bufon had pertinence in Trieste before the First World War, which means that she acquired Italian citizenship although she had lived in Ljubljana after 1918. In order to get a job in the Yugoslav administration, she had to apply for Yugoslav citizenship. Since the commission found that she was "Slovene by language and descent," her application was granted.[104]

[101] Angela Groppi, "Le radici di un problema," in *Il dilemma della cittadinanza: Diritti e doveri delle donne*, ed. Gabriella Bonacchi and Angela Groppi (Bari: Laterza, 1993), 6.

[102] On the various provisions and the relationship between the reappointment of civil servants and the issue of citizenship in the New Provinces, see Di Michele, *L'italianizzazione imperfetta*, 120–34.

[103] ASTs, RGCVG, AG, Personnel File.

[104] ARS, SI AS 67, t. u. BURS, f. Eliza Bufon.

THE MARRIAGE QUESTION

Prewar Austrian legislation explicitly excluded married women and mothers from state administrative occupations.[105] However, as in many other countries, the war brought about many changes in this respect.[106] In March 1918, due to pro-natalist motives and a shortage of manpower, the Austrian authorities abandoned the rule of celibacy for female civil servants, but only in exceptional cases and under strict conditions. Only those civil servants who had already served for five years and obtained their husband's written consent were allowed to retain their employment.[107]

After the war, married female civil servants from Slovenia encountered very different employment regulations than those in Venezia Giulia, where the new Italian public administration still imposed a ban on married female employees. The prohibition served to "inculcate norms of life, to indicate what the woman's place was after marriage, to get her out of a circuit which—as a public body—was in itself incongruous with her new condition."[108] However, married women already employed by the imperial administration were not dismissed because the Austrian law passed during the war allowed them to keep their jobs. This provision remained in force only during the transition phase until 1923 and only for female civil servants from the former regime;[109] those who had taken up employment after 1918 had to be unmarried.

As seen in some instances from Venezia Giulia, employed women tried to avoid such restrictive measures; for instance, they managed to hide their married status for as long as possible. Another reason for dismissal was pregnancy, and in this case, several civil servants tried to keep their condition hidden by presenting letters from their doctors until the birth so as to earn their salary for a few more months. We can suppose that these situations could happen on the one hand because of a lack of communication between public offices, and on the other hand because there may have been a certain complicity or at least a complicit silence on the part of colleagues—and probably superiors—who did not report the marriages or pregnancies to their office manager.

With a series of decrees in 1923, the Mussolini government sanctioned the juridical arrangement of the civil servants of the New Provinces, and in November

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105 "Ukaz vsega ministrstva z dne 25. 1. 1914. l. o pisarniškem pomožnem osebju pri državnih oblastvih, uradih in zavodih," *Državni zakonik za kraljevine in dežele, zastopane v državnem zboru* 27, no. 9, January 27, 1914, 124.

106 Grayzel, *Women and the First World War*, 106–8.

107 "Možitev pisarniških oficijantk," *Slovenski narod* 51, no. 81, April 10, 1918, 1.

108 Simonetta Soldani, "Strade maestre e cammini tortuosi: Lo Stato liberale e la questione del lavoro femminile," in *Operaie, serve, maestre, impiegate: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Il lavoro delle donne nell'Italia contemporanea; continuità e rotture*, ed. Paola Nava (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1992), 289–352; 296.

109 ASTs, RGCVG, AG, f. Nelda Michellitsch.

of the same year the career system in the public administration was also reformed.[110] A decisive step from a political and legal point of view was taken with Royal Decree no.153 from January 28, 1923, which provided for the revision of the hiring and arrangement of personnel made after May 24, 1915. Only widows who had not remarried, unmarried sisters of the fallen, orphans of civil servants who had died in the service and who were not married, the mothers of the fallen who were the only support for the family, or women "privileged for 'male' merits," were exempted.[111] But not even these women were guaranteed a job, as shown by the case of Antonlina Ceriani, the sister of an irredentist volunteer who died during the war, who was fired.[112] As a result of Decree 153, all female civil servants were reassessed and in many cases the wording "mediocre civil servant" appeared, an appellation applied even to someone like Gemma Petronio, who had been praised for years for her zeal and dedication even outside working hours.[113]

On the other side of the border, in a special decree issued in 1919, the Provincial Government of Slovenia abolished the condition that female civil servants had to be single and childless.[114] However, this measure, which was taken because of the poor postwar economic situation and for "social reasons," as those present at the Provincial Government meeting noted,[115] was likely only temporary and not strictly applied. In fact, unlike the Ljubljana magistrate, who early on had allowed married women to work,[116] the Slovenian provincial government often continued to follow the old, prewar rules in the following years, often dismissing married civil servants and unmarried mothers.[117] Permanent changes were then brought about by the Law on Civil Servants, adopted by the Kingdom of SCS in 1923, which, like the immediate temporary postwar regulation, allowed married women and unwed mothers to serve and even provided a few weeks' maternity leave.[118] However, like in many other countries, the economic crisis in the early 1930s once more resulted in stricter conditions for married women. Compared to their male counterparts, their allowances were reduced, against which the women's associations reacted with protests.[119] Nevertheless, the percentage of married civil servants increased in Slovenia during the

110 Di Michele, *L'italianizzazione imperfetta*, 162–63 and 191.
111 Galoppini, *Il lungo viaggio verso la parità*, 107–8.
112 ASTs, RGCVG, AG, Personnel File.
113 Ibid., Personnel File.
114 "Službena pragmatika za oficijante in oficijatinje," *Slovenec* 47, no. 71, March 28, 1919, 4.
115 Ribnikar, Zapisnik 72. seje Deželne vlade za Slovenijo, z dne 14. marca 1919, 43.
116 "O možitvi javnih mestnih uslužbenk uradnic in učiteljic," *Naprej: Glasilo jugoslovanske socialne demokratične stranke* 1, no. 52, September 14, 1917, 2.
117 See for example: ARS, SI AS 67, t. e. TERG-TG, Teuerschuh Velkovrh Helena.
118 "Zakon o civilnih uradnikih in ostalih državnih uslužbencih, 31. julij 1923," *Uradni list pokrajinske uprave za Slovenijo* 5, no. 86, September 12, 1923, 533–43.
119 "Ženino plačilo," *Učiteljski tovariš* 79, no. 9, March 2, 1939, 2.

interwar period. In this regard, the Yugoslav public administration proved to be very progressive in comparison to Italy and other (Western) European countries. Great Britain, for instance, did not abolish the marriage bar during the interwar period[120] and the Netherlands reaffirmed it in 1924.[121] Weimar Germany and Austria allowed married women to enter public service right after the war, but both countries revoked the decision for certain categories of female employees during times of economic crisis.[122] The conditions in France, on the other hand, were similar to those in Yugoslavia. French authorities "still denied women the vote but, unlike some democracies which had enfranchised women, imposed no marriage bar on civil servants."[123] Moreover, out of pronatalist sentiments they even applied some measures that helped women to combine work with maternity; for instance, they introduced a 2-month paid maternity leave and, in cases where civil servants married their colleagues, they "gave a spouse preferential rights to public employment in the department where a mate served."[124]

Regardless of the measures and legislation in place, prejudice against married women persisted in France as well as in Yugoslavia, Italy, Austria, and other countries. The arguments made by public authorities, superiors, and even single female colleagues were similar everywhere. They revolved around the problem of "double earning" within the family (especially when both husband and wife worked in state administration), the inability to reconcile work and family care, and the fear that married employees stole jobs from their single female colleagues.[125]

A poll conducted in the late 1920s, published in the newspaper *Slovenski narod* (Slovene Nation), for instance, revealed that the majority of respondents supported reintroducing the marriage ban on female civil servants, particularly teachers. Their opposition stemmed from concerns over unemployment among single female civil servants and the belief that women could not effectively balance family life with work outside the home. Interestingly, some single female civil servants themselves advocated for celibacy. These attitudes reflected persistent societal views on gender roles and the (in)compatibility of women's professional and domestic lives.[126]

120 Glew, *Gender, Rhetoric and Regulation*, 1–12.
121 De Haan, *Gender and the Politics*, 122.
122 Boak, "The State as an Employer of Women," 61–98.
123 Clark, *The Rise of Professional Women in France*, 169.
124 Clark, *The Rise of Professional Women in France*, 161.
125 Boak, "The State as an Employer of Women," 61–98.
126 "Za celibat uradnic ali proti," *Slovenski narod* 62, no. 261, November 14, 1929, 2.

Conclusions

The attitudes of the Italian and Yugoslav state authorities towards female civil servants in Venezia Giulia and Slovenia reflect the broader emancipatory context of the postwar period. Similar trends observed in other European countries after WWI can be seen in these regions, including increased employment followed by redundancies tied to state restructuring, economic crises, and the replacement of female workers with veterans. Women officials faced segregation and unfavorable working conditions, leading to individual industrial action. Recruitment methods remained rooted in Habsburg tradition, prioritizing moral integrity and political loyalty. However, there was a difference in the treatment of married female civil servants, with Italy dismissing them while Yugoslavia did not. The lives of women civil servants were also influenced by changing borders, national rivalries, and migrations, emphasizing the need to analyze these regions in their transnational interconnectedness.

PART II

INTELLECTUAL AND ENTREPRENEURIAL LABOR

Intellectual Labor: Gender, Emotions, and Circumstances in the Postwar Transitions

Manca G. Renko

> "I want to dedicate a few lines to you, my friend, through joy and suffering. I have wanted it since October 30, your day of honor, the day you got your doctorate. You made it through despite deprivation, suffering, despair, and doubt; despite weakness and discouragement. May your future path be easier for you.... In your case, a doctorate is not just an act of formality. It is a confirmation from the public, which is awarded in front of the same public, that you have fulfilled a difficult task in an honest search, unlike a Viennese child or one who grew up in orderly surroundings. All of us from Bukovina want that, but we cannot move from our place. In childhood and youth, we struggle to clear up old prejudices, we waste the best part of our energy on this work, and when we want to become something, we are already old—old or sick—often both."[1]

This is a passage from the 1926 diary of 27-year-old Marija Vinski[2] (1899–1941), a Jewish-born, Austrian-educated, German-writing, and Croatian-living medical doctor, pedagogue, anti-fascist, and aspiring writer. She dedicated it to her old friend Rosäle, with whom she had enrolled in the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Vienna in the turbulent year of 1918. Between her matura exams and the first year of university, the whole world had changed. She became a citizen of a different country, her sense of nationality (Austro-Hungarian, Ukrainian, and Romanian) and identity (Jewish) were conflicted, and she felt alone and lost in postwar Vienna, where the Spanish flu, riots, demonstrations, rising antisemitism, and general unrest made it hard for her to concentrate on

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1 Marija Vinski, *Velik je misterij života: Dnevnik 1917–1934*, ed. Lucija Bakšić and Magdalena Blažić (Zagreb: Disput, 2021), 248.

2 Marija Vinski was a German-writing Jewish medical doctor and intellectual, who lived in Zagreb, Kingdom of SCS (later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) from 1924. Her diary from the years 1917–1934 was discovered in the archive of her last partner, the Croatian writer and political worker August Cesarec. The diaries with the title *Velik je misterij života* (Vast is the Secret of Life) were edited by Lucija Bakšić and Magdalena Blažić and published by Disput in 2021. All the quotations of Marija Vinski in this chapter are directly translated from Croatian by the author of the chapter.

her studies. A few years later, she met a Croatian man who wanted to marry her—and being eager for love and the fulfillment that she lacked in postwar Vienna, she followed him to Zagreb, Yugoslavia.

In 1924 she had a child and abandoned her studies, despite the fact, as seen from her diaries, that education was the most important thing for her. Her friend becoming a doctor was a huge inspirational and intellectual push for her, and soon after this diary entry she continued with her studies. In 1931 her husband died and she became a widow at 32. In the next three years, she finished her studies and became a medical doctor herself. In her diary, she often called work "her biggest comfort."[3] In the thirties, she became a communist and an anti-fascist. Together with her new partner, the Croatian writer, communist, and political activist August Cesarec, she went to the Soviet Union in November 1934.[4] In 1941, she was killed by Croatian Fascists (Ustaša) for being an anti-fascist and a Jew. The diary of this highly intelligent, extremely sensitive, and very literate woman was found some years ago by Croatian historians Lucija Bakšić and Magdalena Blažić in the archive of her partner Cesarec.

The introductory paragraph and Vinski's life story, here reduced to some basic biographical facts, will serve as the leitmotiv with which to analyze the concept of *work*, focusing on intellectual work, from different historiographical perspectives. She was eager to perform intellectual work, yet she found it thoroughly exhausting and demanding. While believing that intellectual achievements were the most important in one's life, she was willing to sacrifice her own for a family. She did a great deal of invisible labor and she herself became invisible—with her archival legacy being discovered as a forgotten appendix in the archive of a "great man."

This chapter will analyze the concept of "intellectual work" from a gendered perspective, focusing on working conditions, emotional attitudes towards work, and the reception and status of an intellectual. It will combine three methodological approaches from the fields of the history of emotions, intellectual history, and the history of labor to show what kind of role intellectual work played in the lives of women in postwar transitional periods. Included are women from the north-eastern Adriatic region who belonged to different nationalities and wrote in Slovene, Croatian, German, Italian, and Hungarian. The works of 14 women were closely studied, spanning three generations.

The first generation, born between the 1850s and 1870s (Rosa Mayreder, Zofka Kveder, Alice Schalek, and Marija Jurić Zagorka), experienced the majority of their lives within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and encountered the

[3] Vinski, *Velik je misterij života*, 328.

[4] Avgust Cesarec reports in his autobiography, written in 1936: "Following the decision of the Central Committee of the Party, together with my wife, I went on a journey and arrived in Moscow at the end of November 1934." See Avgust Cesarec, "Autobiografija," in Vinko Brešić, *Autobiografije hrvatskih pisaca* (Zagreb: AGM, 1997), 801.

post-WWI world as a profound shock. The second generation, born between the 1880s and 1900s (Marija Vinski, Anica Lokar, Ilka Vašte, Alma Karlin, and Gusti Jirku Stridsberg), transitioned into adulthood amidst the aftermath of WWI. The third generation, born between the 1900s and 1920s (Magda Szabó, Mira Mihelič, Nada Kraigher, Natalia Ginzburg, and Branka Jurca), had little experience of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy but navigated the tumultuous interwar period and the changes following World War II. While the national identities of the first two generations were somewhat fluid, and they extensively traveled, the third generation tended to be more static in both national self-identification and place of residence. While the article does not specifically delineate these generational distinctions, it is important for readers to consider them along with the geographical contexts while engaging with the text. It is worth noting that the educational and professional opportunities for women underwent significant changes across the three generations, profoundly shaping their attitudes toward work. Nevertheless, certain similarities persisted, particularly concerning caregiving responsibilities and the intellectual positioning of women within broader society.

The aim of this chapter is to understand the various emotional components of intellectual work, present the predominant ideas of the women involved, and shed light on the role of gender in discussing intellectual achievements and (re)producing intellectual work. The primary sources used for this chapter are varied and they include archival findings, autobiographies, letters, newspaper articles, and works of literature.

The Myth of Separate Spheres: Domestic and Intellectual Work

One of the strictly gendered perspectives on women's intellectual history is the way in which they were positioned within the "domestic sphere." Linda K. Kerber points out that one of the presuppositions within our culture has been that men and women live in separate spheres. This has allowed historians to select what to study and how to report their findings. However, after decades of pushing women and men into "separate spheres," historians who study the lives of working women have made it clear that the phrase "separate spheres" is a metaphor for "complex power relations in social and economic contexts."[5] The trope of "separate spheres" affects working women as well as intellectuals or artists, whose labor was often used by their better-known spouses who had access to the "public sphere." Kerber identifies "separate spheres" as social constructs that are neither

[5] Linda K. Kerber, *Toward an Intellectual History of Women: Essays by Linda K. Kerber* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 428.

a cultural accident nor biological determinism but are rather social and economic service in disguise. In this way, women's energy has been used to "maintain or advance the status of the men in their families."[6]

Magda Szabó (1917–2007), a Hungarian writer whose several works deal with the impact of the wars on those (mainly women) who had to live with the consequences, used the concept of "work," domestic and intellectual, as one of the central conflicts in her 1987 novel, *The Door*.[7] The novel contains certain autobiographical elements and deals with the precarious relationship between the narrator, also named Magda, and her housekeeper, Emerence. The narrator, the "lady writer," and her husband, who is an academic, need domestic help in order to live and work together. Or as Magda describes at the beginning of the novel: "I had become a full time writer, with increased opportunities and countless responsibilities which either tied me to my desk or took me away from home … / It had become clear that if someone didn't take over the housekeeping there would be little chance of me publishing the work."[8]

In the above quote, we can hear the echo of Virginia Woolf's "Shakespeare's sister," who could never produce a work of art because she was too busy mending stockings or minding the stew. Magda, however, whose work was gaining national prominence, was aware of the fact that she could not be a devoted intellectual worker if she also needed to do domestic work. Thanks to Emerence, she had the possibility to do more intellectual work and also to gain public recognition for it. Moreover, Szabó's novel also confirms Kerber's point that there are no "separate spheres;" both women were involved in public life. While Magda sat at her desk and typed, Emerence did all sorts of work for the community and took care of eleven households. But there was another dimension to Emerence's work which was purely emotional. "And I've never in my life been a day without work,"[9] she said to Magda right after she told a traumatic story from her childhood that ended with the deaths of her siblings and the suicide of her mother, for which she directly blamed herself. She worked every day in order to save enough money for a magnificent crypt for her dead family. Her ongoing and never-ending work functioned as a sort of redemption, and it helped her forget about the emotional burdens of her life. For her, free time would mean a chance to reflect on the tragedies and trauma that she witnessed as direct and indirect consequences of both world wars. In order to survive, she could not think but was capable of performing only essential tasks. She could find her own self-worth and the meaning of her own existence exclusively through work.

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6 Kerber, *Toward an Intellectual History*, 391.
7 Magda Szabó, *The Door*, trans. Len Rix (New York: New York Review of Books, 2005).
8 Szabó, *The Door*, 5.
9 Szabó, *The Door*, 31.

Emerence, however, did not let Magda believe that she, as a writer and a member of a privileged class (in the seemingly classless society of the Hungarian People's Republic), had any sort of moral or emotional superiority over her. When Magda tended to behave in a superior manner, Emerence snapped: "Don't think it's only your sort who have feelings."[10] Szabó's novel shows us how different kinds of labor—domestic as well as intellectual—can serve the same impulse for self-realization, but also, more importantly, how there is no intellectual work without someone (usually a woman) taking care of the household.

Mira Mihelič (1912–1985), a Slovenian writer, translator, and Vice President for Life of PEN International, also dedicated attention to her housemaids. Some of them served as models for her literary characters and all of them facilitated her intellectual work. As she observed in her memoir, she could "write a humorous novel about the women who helped me and sometimes, for better or worse, did the work for me, which I now know is time-consuming and thankless."[11] Like Szabó's characters, she and her maids had a complicated relationship, "sometimes friendly and then hostile again, as it happens in families, even among the closest relatives."[12] Later on, she listed the names of all her maids, adding that she could not have done her intellectual work without domestic workers and for that she was eternally grateful to them.[13]

However, being partly freed of domestic labor did not also mean being excluded from the family dynamics that were at the time still based on the domestic labor of wives and mothers. Mira Mihelič, married to the painter France Mihelič, reflected on this in one of her interviews, when she was describing her typical day as a writer:

> I always get up early and when I warm up at the typewriter, other members of the family also get up and invade my study with their desires.... I have already gotten used to not being fenced off from my family and everyday duties, and that my writing can be interrupted at any moment, and I continue with it when I am lucky enough to be alone again.... Of course, I envy my fellow male writers who can act differently, but the fact that you have come to terms with your fate is almost a victory.[14]

Women, despite being intellectuals, did not have the privilege of working in peace behind the closed doors of their study. The testimonies of women intellectuals did not always correspond to the official socio-political climate of socialist

[10] Szabó, *The Door*, 28.
[11] Mira Mihelič, *Ure mojih dni* (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 2000), 186.
[12] Mihelič, *Ure mojih dni*, 186.
[13] Mihelič, *Ure mojih dni*, 186.
[14] Branko Hofman, "Mira Mihelič: S pisateljsko srečo je kakor z mavrico—bolj se ji bližaš, bolj se ti odmika," in *Pogovori s slovenskimi pisatelji* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1978), 309.

Yugoslavia and the party's attitude towards women. Despite the changes in gender dynamics that were brought on by the war and the emancipatory struggle of the antifascist resistance, everyday life after the war quickly "normalized," that is, the traditional division of labor in society continued, even though gender equality had been implemented at the legislative level.[15]

The Yugoslav Constitution of 1946 guaranteed equality for women, but it did not translate from law into action. Women remained in an unequal position in their private lives, as they were mostly left to take care of the household and children.[16] This was the case even when a woman was married to her socialist comrade. Branka Jurca (1914–1999), a partisan, activist, and writer who was married to fellow writer Ivan Potrč, described her writing process as follows:

> Look, I'm a wife, a mother, I had a daily job, was a housewife, a political worker, and, nevertheless, a writer. I say "nevertheless" because I can only devote myself to writing after I am done with other work. So I write "in between" when the household work is done, when the family is taken care of, when the meetings are over, when I buy the groceries, when I settle the invoices with the bill-collectors, when the guests leave, when ...—when ...—in short: *in between*.[17]

After World War II, women in Yugoslavia gained many social rights, such as the right to vote, and in return the state demanded active participation in economic and political life. Given that they were still burdened with housekeeping and motherhood, as well as dealing with poor housing conditions, particularly in the first postwar years, many women began to feel overworked. The new woman had to be a caring mother, a devoted wife, a resourceful housewife, and at the same time be busy, educated, and politically active. If in the first years after the war women's participation was still necessary to build a new world, towards the end of the fifties, when their work in industry and the reconstruction of the country was no longer so urgently needed, one could already see a shift towards women being encouraged to return to the home and family life. It turned out that the national liberation struggle shook the patriarchal social order, but it did not really redefine gender roles in the postwar period.[18] Although the new party politics retained the radical rhetoric of the war, it remained prewar conservative in its messaging. In everyday life, there was no confrontation between the revolutionary and the traditional, but only an adaptation of traditional values

[15] Maca Jogan, "Seksizem in oborožene sile: Zgodovinski in sociološki kontekst," in *Seksizem v vojaški uniformi*, ed. Ljubica Jelušič and Mojca Pešec (Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede: Ministrstvo za obrambo Republike Slovenije, Generalštab Slovenske vojske, 2002) 23.

[16] Mateja Jeraj, *Slovenke na prehodu v socializem: Vloga in položaj ženske v Sloveniji 1945–1953* (Ljubljana: Arhiv republike Slovenije, 2005), 92–94.

[17] Branko Hofman, "Branka Jurca: Pri otroških zgodbah se mi zdi izredno pomembno, da otroka čustveno prevzameno, da razpoloženjsko podoživlja zgodbo," in *Pogovori s slovenskimi pisatelji*, 112.

[18] Mateja Jeraj, *Slovenke na prehodu v socializem*, 16, 93, 94.

to revolutionary rhetoric. Jelena Batinić noticed how local traditions remained firmly rooted and that change only happened at the demonstrative level: traditional folklore met revolutionary vocabulary.[19]

There are still considerable research gaps in the field of women in public life in socialist Yugoslavia, especially when it comes to the field of intellectual work and the relationship between intellectual work and motherhood. Since intellectual work is distinctly individual and cannot be observed at the level of collective political orders or work processes, the experiences of individual female intellectuals are also strongly individualized. As a result, there are sometimes conflicting or contradictory experiences of women from this period. Certain women intellectuals in socialist Yugoslavia opposed "sentimental motherhood," as Slovene writer Nada Kraigher (1911–2000) called it. She despised the myth of motherhood being "a God-given mission" and believed that "sweet mommies go around with a sentimental halo and do not see that it was put on them by men and thus pushed them out of the social environment where they could work creatively and develop personality."[20]

A Slovene intellectual,[21] who belonged to a later generation of women intellectuals, recalled how many difficulties she and her colleagues had encountered in order to balance intellectual work with motherhood. She remembered how they left their children without any supervision and went to a party meeting. The meetings were mandatory every evening, and no one asked the women who attended where their children were or whether they needed childcare or not. Or as the historian Milica Kacin Wohinz (1930–2021) recalled: "In those days, you weren't even allowed to talk about children, motherhood, or families because it was believed to be too personal. Everything had to stay on the collective level. It was out of the question, for instance, to dedicate your book to your child; that would be considered a sin because nothing personal was allowed to interfere with our public activity."[22] She could afford to do intellectual work because her mother, sister, and cousin helped her, but nevertheless, she spent her whole salary on childcare and domestic help. Husbands expected their wives to work because two salaries were needed in order to afford a decent life, but they were not prepared to help with the household or children.[23]

Yugoslav party ideologues were aware that changing gender relations was more difficult to achieve in the family than in society. To this end, active efforts were made to change household work into community work. In this way, women

[19] Jelena Batinić, *Women and Yugoslav Partisans* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 259.
[20] Branko Hofman, "Nada Kraigher: Človek se mora prilagajati okoliščinam in delati na sebi pa lahko do konca dejavno živi" in *Pogovori s slovenskimi pisatelji*, 163.
[21] Her name has been withheld at the request of her family.
[22] Marta Verginella, "Dr. Milica Kacin Wohinz (13. 10. 1930–28. 12. 2021)," *Zgodovinski časopis* 76, no. 1–2 (2022): 244.
[23] Verginella, "Dr. Milica Kacin Wohinz," 245.

would be freed from the drudgery they were subjected to only because of their gender.[24] However, it was easier for women to have the status of an intellectual outside than inside their own homes.

According to the autobiographical novel *Onkraj groba* (Beyond the Grave), nothing was as superfluous to the Slovene writer Nada Kraigher as housework, and neither motherhood nor the life of a married woman made her happy. She believed that the world should be rearranged so that women could also develop intellectually and artistically, even though they bore children. She later regretted not delivering the following speech to her husband (the artist Nikolaj Pirnat):

> Look,... let's stay friends, but come on, let's live separately. You are a great artist, you live in higher spheres; in this physical world you only need services for your existence. I am too qualified only to be providing these services. I would also like to develop myself, improve myself, I would like to get closer to my true self ... Can you understand that?[25]

For many prominent men (intellectuals, artists, politicians), regardless of geopolitical location, women continuously produced both intellectual and did domestic labor, while also providing at least the essential care work. As shown in the volume *The Wives of Western Philosophy: Gender Politics and Intellectual Labor*, edited by Jennifer Forestal and Menaka Philips, wives were critical to establishing the gendered dimensions of intellectual production and canon construction. Moreover, the intellectual world always worked in tandem with domestic labor to produce scholarly work. The work of the wives (also partners, lovers, daughters, etc.) was systematically overlooked or acknowledged only on an anecdotal level. Studies of political thought, canonical texts, and great artistic achievements are focused on the constructors of "achievements," while emotional and practical labor is often unseen. By studying the labor of wives (lovers, partners, daughters), as Menaka Philips observes, "we can revalue forms of intellectual labour that operate between the constructed dichotomy of authoring great texts and the ostensibly everyday, even 'mundane' acts of care and living that are often unremarkable by studies of the canon."[26]

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[24] See the writings of Vida Tomšič, for instance, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana (National University Library of Slovenia, hereafter NUK), MS 1432 VIII, 1. 24 Vida Tomšič: *Plenum ZŽDS 10. 11. 1958* or *Problemi naše današnje družine*, lecture from Zagreb, November 19, 1958.

[25] Nada Kraigher, *Onkraj groba* (Ljubljana: Kraški krog, 1995), 55.

[26] Menaka Philips, "The 'Beloved and Deplored' Memory of Harriet Taylor Mill: Rethinking Gender and Intellectual Labor in the Canon," in *The Wives of Western Philosophy: Gender Politics in Intellectual Labor*, ed. Jennifer Forestal and Menaka Philips (New York, London: Routledge, 2021), 149.

One such case is one of Austria's most productive intellectuals: the writer, theoretician, lecturer, painter, and women's rights activist Rosa Mayreder (1858–1938).[27] She and her husband never knew financial hardship and were never forced to sacrifice time for money. This meant that she always had domestic help, but at the same time she was the one who had to take care of her sick husband, architect Karl Mayreder. The end of World War I coincided with a radical deterioration in his health. He suffered from mental illnesses that she named "cyclic melancholy" and would be, in today's terminology, best described as bipolar disorder. "All my life, I have had to wrest my intellectual activity from the most adverse circumstances,"[28] she wrote in her diary in 1923, referring to her carework and emotional labor for her family (her parents as well as her husband). She also never received recognition for this invisible domestic labor. When her husband was named rector of the Faculty of Architecture in 1922, she complained bitterly in her diary that none of the family members, including Karl himself, could be bothered to thank her for the work that she did for him.[29] In 1924, she estimated in her diary that she had sacrificed at least ten years to her husband and his illness, which she could otherwise have devoted to her own intellectual work.[30]

Women as intellectuals supported their husbands not only caringly, emotionally, and intellectually, but in some cases also financially. Such was the case of Anica Lokar (1897–1976), whose husband Dragotin Gustinčič was one of the crucial Yugoslav communist activists after World War I. To be an activist for an illegal communist party meant that the whole family was involved in this activism; divisions between the personal and the political became meaningless. In the case of the revolutionary activity of Dragotin Gustinčič, his wife Anica Lokar had to agree to the lifestyle dictated by that activity. It was up to her to take care of her husband's or the family's economic survival, and she also had to agree to live in unenviable conditions of deprivation, fear, and frequent displacement. Many women in the interwar period agreed to such a role because they themselves also adhered to communist beliefs, yet their work—the maintenance of their husband and family—was not seen in historiography as revolutionary

[27] Rosa Mayreder was an Austrian author, painter, musician, and feminist who was a critic of the patriarchal structures of bourgeois society. Her most influential work was *Zur Kritik der Weiblichkeit* (published in German in 1905 with an English translation titled *A Survey of the Woman Problem* in 1912). In 1923, she published her second book of essays with the title *Geschlecht und Kultur* (Gender and Culture), where her views were strongly influenced by the experience of World War I. All the quotations of Rosa Mayreder in this article are directly translated from the German language by the author of the chapter.

[28] Hilde Schmölzer, *Rosa Mayreder: Ein Leben zwischen Utopie und Wirklichkeit* (Vienna: Promedia, 2002) 225.

[29] Rosa Mayreder, *Tagebücher 1873–1937*, ed. Harriet Anderson (Frankfurt a M: Insel Verlag, 1988) 214.

[30] Mayreder, *Tagebücher*, 237.

work but at most as care-giving. Behind closed doors these women performed domestic, economic, intellectual, and emotional labor that supported the revolution.[31] According to Maria Todorova, many socialist women became socialist wives, rather than socialist wives becoming socialists.[32]

Anica Lokar described her life in Moscow, where she followed her husband with their two young sons, as extremely tiring. The commute to and from work was long, and there were endless queues in the shops. Lokar worked long hours (as a translator or censor) and took care of the children herself. When the whole family went to bed, she started rewriting and editing her husband's communist manuscripts. Her husband dedicated his life entirely to revolutionary work. Once, when she was with their sick son in a health resort outside of Moscow for a month, she noticed on her return that her husband and his comrade had not changed the bed linen for a whole month because they were so passionately discussing revolution that they forgot about the world around them. She could never allow herself to be that passionate, nor did she have the same opportunities that her husband did. She could think about the revolution only after she had changed the dirty sheets.[33]

For Anica Lokar, this was not the first time she encountered sacrifices for the well-being of a man. Before World War I, she had to forgo her own education so that her brothers could go to school. In a letter in 1958, she chastised her brother Danilo Lokar, who was a doctor and writer, with the following words:

> I did the work of four, five people. You mustn't forget that you got a higher education paid by our family, which I had to forgo at the expense of my brothers. That I had to hurry after the war if I didn't want to be run over by people who were much more rested and educated than I was. But this is a matter of social affairs that you, a psychologist, have no idea about.[34]

Just like Anica Lokar, the Austrian writer, translator, journalist, and secret agent Gusti Jirku Stridsberg (1892–1978) traveled to the Soviet Union in the 1930s. She had several reasons for her dangerous expedition: she traveled as a journalist in order to report from Moscow for Viennese newspapers; she traveled as the lover of the Yugoslav communist activist Vilim Horvaj, whom she met in Vienna; and last but not least, she traveled for her beliefs, since at the time she still

[31] Corinne Painter, Veronika Helfert, Manca G. Renko, and Judith Szapor, "Life Trajectories: Making Revolution and Breaking Boundaries" in *Socialist Women and the Great War, 1914–21: Protest, Revolution and Commemoration*, ed. Corinne Painter, Ingrid Sharpe, and Matthew Stibbe (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022), 135.

[32] Maria Todorova, *The Lost World of Socialists at Europe's Margins: Imagining Utopia, 1870s–1920s* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020), 262.

[33] Anica Lokar, *Od Anice do Ane Antonovne* (Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 2002), 97–106.

[34] NUK, Ms 1389, Lokar Danilo. Letter by Anica Lokar, Ljubljana, July 27, 1958.

believed that communism would make the world a better place. She soon realized that she had no time for writing her articles because Horvaj burdened her with party work on a daily basis and then also expected her to spend evenings with him. As she had to do more and more invisible work for the party, her income also dried up, as she did not write enough to make a decent living.[35] Not only did she sacrifice her intellectual work for hidden political work, she later also lost both her lover (he was killed in a Stalinist purge) and her faith in communism.

However, this was not the first time that Gusti Stridsberg did a job that her partner relied on. Soon after the end of World War I, she and her first husband, Bernhard Jirku, moved to Hartenstein Castle (close to Velenje in what is now Slovenia). She exchanged her identity as a young Viennese bourgeois lady for that of the mistress of a rural estate, where she was engaged in the maintenance of farm buildings, farming, and disciplining the Slovenian servants. "For me," she wrote, "those years were a school of discipline. I had to stay at Hartenstein to facilitate Bernhard's studies."[36] In this way, she made it possible for her husband (just like Anica Lokar did for her brother) to become a medical doctor.

But even when she was engaged in the most mundane affairs, she remained an intellectual. During this period, she learned Slovenian and discovered the literature of the Slovenian writer Ivan Cankar. His literature was a "religious experience" for her,[37] and she became the first translator of his literature into German.

When discussing the intellectual work of women, we often come across limitations in our understanding of what can be perceived as intellectual labor and who can be called an intellectual. The disciplinary norms have privileged a type of intellectual labor as historically grounded in the individualistic characterization of male authors and their texts.[38] But as Linda K. Kerber has shown, there is another trope beside "separate spheres," and this is the trope of the "lone individual."[39] And, as she observes, "The language of individualism was not a woman's language."[40] This can also be seen from the examples above. Regardless of the generation, nationality, worldview, or class to which the intellectuals discussed above belonged, what they all had in common was that none of them worked for themselves. They were not isolated from the world but were part of a wider family and social ecosystem within which they had to find a place for their intellectual work. Women could not afford to be "lone individuals" because there was always some care work expected of them. Moreover, men were almost never "lone individuals" because they always relied on at least one woman to provide the conditions necessary for their intellectual work.

35 Gusti Jirku Stridsberg, *Mojih pet življenj* (Maribor: Obzorja, 1983), 231, 239.
36 Jirku Stridsberg, *Mojih pet življenj*, 144.
37 Jirku Stridsberg, *Mojih pet življenj*, 140.
38 Kerber, *Toward an Intellectual History of Women*, 151.
39 Kerber, *Toward an Intellectual History of Women*, 497.
40 Kerber, *Toward an Intellectual History of Women*, 498.

Also, in cases where women risked being individuals, "independence and autonomy came at a price," observed Kerber while referring to Louisa May Alcott.[41] Moreover, Alcott's most famous literary character, Jo March (*Little Women*, 1868), known to be independent, smart, and artistically talented, established a school with her husband at the end of the book. This was such a disappointing ending for generations of girls who saw themselves as Jo that many tend to only remember that she became a writer.

However, the dream of a woman intellectual establishing a provincial school is not uncommon; we can also find it in the works of other authors, such as Yugoslav writer Zofka Kveder (1878–1926),[42] who concluded her novel *Hanka* (1918) with a utopian scene of establishing a rural school in a stable. It was not enough for a woman of the late nineteenth or early twentieth century to be an intellectual—a writer or a thinker—she also had to provide care not only for her family but also for future generations. Even in utopian scenarios, a woman had no chance of becoming a "lone individual." The cases of Alcott and Kveder share another telling similarity: for both of them, a rural school represents an allegory for a better future. In Alcott's case it is about the generation of children growing up after the Civil War, and in the case of Kveder it is about the new world after World War I.

Intellectual Labor as a Vocation

In 2016, Claire Langhamer pointed out that while "historians have developed new concepts for understanding emotions in the past ... there has been little attempt ... to use emotion as a category of analysis within the history of work."[43] In recent historiography, some attempts have been made to change this, in particular with the publication of *Feelings and Work in Modern History: Emotional Labour and Emotions about Labour*, edited by Agnes Arnold-Forster and Alison Moulds in 2022. In the introduction to the volume, the editors observed that "work—whether paid or unpaid—is an almost ubiquitous human experience and it provokes a range of strong emotions and often contradictory feelings. The history of work and the history of emotions have, therefore, obvious points of intersection, and questions pertaining to feelings and work are politically and

41 Kerber, *Toward an Intellectual History of Women*, 504.

42 Zofka Kveder was the first Slovene professional woman writer and belonged to the first generation of Slovene feminists. She lived in Ljubljana, Trieste, Prague, and Zagreb. The majority of her writings from the time after 1915 were written in Croatian.

43 Claire Langhamer, "Feeling, Women and Work in the Long 1950s," *Women's History Review* 26, no. 1 (2017): 79.

theoretically pressing."[44] The volume is an important contribution to connecting emotional labor and emotions about labor, but with a few exceptions, it focuses mainly on the labor practices traditionally included in the discipline of the history of work (the work of shop assistants, waitresses, hospital personnel, textile workers, domestic servants, and so on).

Intellectual work is only one form of work. Just like any other job, it is also based on specific skills, training, conditions, and ambitions. For women from the upper and middle classes, intellectual and artistic work were the only forms of work available to them. For them, intellectual work meant the possibility of economic independence as well as the possibility of intellectual and emotional self-realization. Hanka, the protagonist of the novel of the same title (1918) by the Yugoslav writer Zofka Kveder, regretted that she had no profession during World War I. Her days of idleness dragged on; she felt unfulfilled and fell into an ever-increasing hopelessness, from which she thought only work could save her. She longed for any kind of work, not necessarily intellectual, but it is clear from the way that the story unfolds that she hoped for intellectual self-realization. She also saw the young women who would start living their lives after World War I as being in danger of losing their inner and emotional lives. She saw how work for young women was becoming increasingly valuable:

> What will become of these young girls who become, so to speak, redundant throughout Europe? And many of them will be redundant. Isn't it better for them to stifle their feelings before they develop? That they don't even have desires that are unfulfilled? Isn't it better for them to remain cool, sane, sober, and not yearn in vain for love and warmth?... Even the best of them should avoid idealistic daydreaming and only want one thing, to become solid workers, wherever fate puts them.[45]

Zofka Kveder, who herself made a living exclusively from intellectual work, worried that the postwar world would reduce women's desire to become "solid workers," which would rob them of a rich inner life. Women intellectuals of her generation had difficulty adapting to the world that awaited them after the war. When the Austrian intellectual Rosa Mayreder published the second volume of her essays, *Geschlecht und Kultur* (1922), which she had been working on for almost two decades, she wrote in her diary that the world had become so alien to her that she could imagine whether her intellectual work could still

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[44] Agnes Arnold-Forster and Alison Moulds, Introduction to *Feelings and Work in Modern History: Emotional Labour and Emotions about Labour*, ed. Agnes Arnold-Forster and Alison Moulds (London: Bloomsbury, 2002), 2–3.

[45] Zofka Kveder, *Hanka* (Ljubljana: Ženska založba belo-modra knjižnica, IX knjiga, 1938), 138.

find "an echo in this world."[46] Nonetheless, she worked tirelessly every day until her death, because, as she wrote in 1919, she believed that work meant "that ultimate, highest development of personality, which, overcoming all external inhibitions and adverse coincidences, creates a relationship with the world on its own, in order to determine it according to the immanent laws of one's own being."[47]

The longing for spiritual or intellectual work was common for women after World War I and many saw it as salvation: "There are two things that can comfort people in imaginary or real trouble: work and faith in God," wrote Marija Vinski in her diary in 1926.[48] After World War II, the vocabulary of socialist Yugoslavia became less metaphysical, but the attitude towards the beneficial effects of work remained the same. Or, as the Slovene writer Ilka Vašte (1881–1967) called it: "the best medicine" for different sorts of troubles, from mental exhaustion to love problems.[49]

But (intellectual) work is not only something that can comfort or heal women; it is also a responsibility—both to oneself and to others. In her famous essay from 1949, the Italian writer Natalia Ginzburg (1916–1991) characterized her work as a vocation: "I could only have ever followed one profession," she wrote, "the one I chose and which I have followed almost since childhood."[50] There is nothing else in life she could do—"my vocation is to write and I have known this for a long time."[51] However, once she had children, she realized that her *vocation* was strongly connected to her gender:

> And then my children were born and when they were little I could not understand how anyone could sit herself down to write if she had children.... I began to feel contempt for my vocation.... But I felt a ferocious longing within me and sometimes at night I almost wept when I remembered how beautiful my vocation was.[52]

Becoming a mother, she continued, made her a different writer, and motherhood convinced her to no longer "write like a man."[53] But motherhood was not the only transition that changed her writing, as she wrote in her essay *On Women* from 1948;[54] another was the transition to "normality" after 20 years of fascism.

[46] Mayreder, *Tagebücher*, 211.
[47] Mayreder, *Tagebücher*, 188.
[48] Vinski, *Velik je misterij života*, 226.
[49] Ilka Vašte, *Podobe iz mojega življenja* (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga, 1964), 137, 200.
[50] Natalia Ginzburg, *The Little Virtues*, trans. Dick Davis (London: Daunt Books, 2018), 67.
[51] Ginzburg, *The Little Virtues*, 85.
[52] Ginzburg, *The Little Virtues*, 99–100.
[53] Ginzburg, *The Little Virtues*, 101.
[54] This essay was first published in *Mercurio*, a monthly journal specializing in politics, arts, and sciences, established in Rome in September 1944. Its editor was Alba de Céspedes and she

In the introduction to the essay, she emphasized that she wrote "for the sake of writing to see if we are still alive."[55] Here, we can again see the metaphysical approach to the question of intellectual work and writing: language is what keeps us alive even after the unimaginable horrors of war.

In the same text, Ginzburg also emphasized that active engagement in life, whether writing, painting, politics, or sports, for a woman necessarily brings first fear and then disappointment. When women decide to engage in something, they are full of fear that they will, at a certain point, no longer be able to do what they love most. These women decide, wrote Ginzburg, not to have children, "and this is misfortune … because at some point all things they used to do with ardor—writing and painting and politics and sports—become wasteland and boredom."[56]

Intellectual labor can be extremely fulfilling, but at the same time it can bring the biggest disappointments, and one needs to learn how to navigate between these two opposites.

However, not all emotions regarding intellectual work are so conflicted and complicated. Many women produced intellectual labor after they were done with their regular jobs and domestic work. They did so because it made them happy and fulfilled them. Or, as Nada Kraigher, a Slovene lawyer and economist by profession and writer by choice, said about her writing: "I don't work because I have to, I work because I want to."[57]

Gendered Reception of Intellectual Work

Bernice A. Carroll famously defined "the politics of originality" as a concept used to "justify and rationalise a class system based upon claims of property in ideas."[58] According to Carroll, the concept of "originality" is just a "class system of intellect" that has a long tradition in its exclusion of women from intellectual

also responded to Ginzburg's letter. Her response was published in the same issue. In 1950, de Céspedes had written a novel called *Quaderno Proibito* that was published in 2023 in English as *Forbidden Notebook* (Pushkin Press, translated by Ann Goldstein). One of the important topics of the book is also women's work, along with self-fulfillment through work and the ideological role that women's work played in the postwar Italian society.

55 Natalia Ginzburg, "On Women," *New York Review of Books*, December 22, 2022, https://www.nybooks.com/articles/2022/12/22/on-women-an-exchange-natalia-ginzburg-alba-de-cespedes/?lp_txn_id=1406004 (December 12, 2022), translated from Italian by Alessandra Bastagli.

56 Ginzburg, "On Women."

57 Branko Hofman, "Nada Kraigher: Človek se mora prilagajati okoliščinam in delati na sebi pa lahko do konca dejavno živi" in *Pogovori s slovenskimi pisatelji*, 159.

58 Bernice A. Carroll, "The Politics of 'Originality': Women and the Class System of the Intellect," *Journal of Women's History* 2, no. 2 (1990), 136.

history.[59] Just like "separate spheres" and "individuality," "originality" is also a trope, a concept empty of substance that fails to acknowledge that ideas always emerge out of previous ones and out of a social condition that has previous origins.[60]

It is also wrong to conclude that "originality" (or "genius" or "intellect" or "talent"—whichever term one cares to use) in itself brings recognition. As Hilda L. Smith points out, it is not simply the integration of institutional history into the history of ideas that has limited the place of women thinkers, but it is also the assumption "that the worth of an idea ... is to be judged by its level of influence.... It's much easier to be influential if one has students or one's work is recommended in an academic or public setting."[61] Moreover, even when women reach an audience with their intellectual labor, their work is often labeled trivial, and so is their audience. This is obvious, for example, in the cases of women travelers and authors of travelogues, who held large and well-attended public lectures or sold out several editions of their books. One of these cases was the German-speaking writer of Slovene descent Alma Karlin (1889–1950), whose book *Einsame Weltreise* (1929), translated into English as *The Odyssey of a Lonely Woman* (1933), was printed in several editions and sold 20,000 copies. In the interwar Slovene or Yugoslav sphere, she remained unrecognized: not a single "serious" literary magazine mentioned her literary work, and her writing was reduced to the "curious" persona of an emancipated world traveler and "women's writer."[62] As we can understand today, she was non-binary on many levels; certainly in the sense of language, culture, and gender. Some of her writings were extraordinary, and she most definitely lived a very dangerous life. However, none of this was enough for her to earn her the status of an intellectual.

A similar situation was faced by the Austrian world traveler, journalist, war reporter, writer, and photographer Alice Schalek (1874–1956), whose lectures on the Isonzo front had more than 40,000 attendees during a tour of 20 German towns.[63] Schalek broke through the glass ceiling in several areas: as a war correspondent, as a world traveler, and as a woman who supported herself all her life with her own intellectual work. Her work was in many ways marked by ideology (a member of the KPQ[64]) and prejudices (orientalism), but these not-so-unusual

[59] Carroll, "The Politics of 'Originality.'"

[60] Carroll, "The Politics of 'Originality,'" 145.

[61] Hilda L. Smith, "Women Intellectuals and Intellectual History: Their Paradigmatic Separation," *Women's History Review* 16, no. 3 (2007), 357.

[62] Alma Karlin, *Samotno potovanje: Tragedija ženske* (Celje, Ljubljana: Celjska Mohorjeva družba, 2010), 427–29.

[63] Christian Rapp: "'Das ganze ist so grandios organisiert...': Der Weltkrieg der Alice Schalek," in *Von Samoa zum Isonzo: Die Fotografin und Reisejournalistin Alice Schalek*, ed. Elka Krasny et al. (Vienna: Jüdisches Museum Wien, 1999), 31.

[64] Schalek was invited as one of only two women reporters to the k. u. k. Kriegspressequartier (KPQ), the central propaganda institution of the Austro-Hungarian armed forces during

features for her generation of intellectuals were much more detrimental to her than to her male colleagues. This brings us to the most conflicted and gendered part of the concept of "intellectual labor," namely, not everyone who produces intellectual work is considered *an intellectual*. There is no definite concept of an *intellectual*: the term itself is vague and was used in the first half of the twentieth century in various cases, all of which have one thing in common: they excluded women, not necessarily by definition but by the possibilities of achieving that definition.[65]

Marking women's intellectual achievements as unoriginal or even *trivial* is just one of the ways to dismiss women's intellectual work. Croatian writer Marija Jurić Zagorka (1873–1957)[66] is even now often called the "mother of Croatian trivial novels." In 1947, she wrote an autobiographical text titled *What is My Fault?* in which she analyzed the reception of her literary work. She made it clear that she saw her own "triviality" on the one hand as *necessary* and on the other hand as *political*. It was *necessary* because, as a woman of the nineteenth century, she decided to support herself through her own intellectual work. Although she worked as a journalist, she was paid significantly less than her male journalist colleagues, and in order to survive, she had to write books from which she could earn money. And her "triviality" was *political* because she saw her novels as the only possible way to distract the simple Croatian folks (and especially women) from Germanization and from reading German trash novels. She wrote her novels for the people and for the nation—and this seemed more important to her than the dimensions of her own artistic expression.[67] Many of her novels are extremely easy to read and conform to the rules of genre literature, but one should not overlook their clear national, class, and feminist agenda, behind which the author's clear thinking and exact wording are evident. Moreover, some of her works, such as the autobiographical novel *Kamen na cesti* (A Stone on the Road, 1934), transcend genre literature and offer a complex reading experience that can only be trivialized to the extent that women and their experiences are trivialized and not taken seriously within the intellectual or artistic canon.

Literature written by women was trivialized for several generations after Marija Jurić Zagorka. Such examples are, for instance, the novels of the Italian writer Elsa Morante (1912–1985). In an interview with Peg Boyers, Natalia

World War I. She saw this as a great career opportunity; she was accepted into the elite society of artists whose job obligation was to promote the success of the Austro-Hungarian armed forces and to awaken patriotic sentiments in their readership.

65 Manca G. Renko, "The Woman without Qualities? The Case of Alice Schalek, Intellectual Labour and Women Intellectuals," *Acta Histriae* 29, no. 4 (2021): 939.

66 Marija Jurić Zagorka was the first Croatian professional woman journalist, writer, and women's rights activist. Her mostly historical novels were widely popular with readers, yet she was not taken seriously by the intellectual establishment for a long time.

67 Marija Jurić Zagorka, "Što je moja krivnja," in Brešić, *Autobiografije hrvatskih pisaca*, 451–99.

Ginzburg reminisced about the loss of Morante as a friend and as "the greatest writer of our time."[68] She emphasized that "while she had great success she was also rejected by a number of people" who despised her work, believing it to be "designed for consumption."[69] No matter how complex literature written by women is, the reception often tends to mistake accessibility for banality. This may also be one of the reasons why Natalia Ginzburg, Elsa Morante, and several other Italian authors of their generation did not welcome the label "woman writer." When Ginzburg was asked in 1990 if her friendship with Morante was different from that of other writers because they were both women, she declined, saying that "a writer is a writer. You care about writing. It isn't men or women."[70]

Although she resisted labels that would mark her literature as female or even feminist, she was aware that her voice as a writer was different from that of men, something that became especially clear to her after she became a mother. She wrote in *My Vocation*: "Now I no longer wanted to write like a man because I had children, and I thought I knew a great many things about tomato sauce, and even if I didn't put them in my story, it helped my vocation that I knew them."[71]

It was not only Natalia Ginzburg whose writing was influenced by motherhood. Slovene writer Branka Jurca (1914–1999) described how her prewar political commitment, the horrors of war, antifascism, and postwar activism blocked her "mentally and emotionally." This shaped her "emotional experience, the one that is rooted in the deeper layers of female intimacy, blocked and unresponsive."[72] Only motherhood brought her a real transition into a new, postwar era. As she looked at her children, she realized that they knew nothing of the horrors their parents had endured. They had never heard of "fascists, prisons, partisans, or bombings." Suddenly, she opened up to this "bright and unburdened childhood" as a writer.[73]

Just like the writers above, Slovene author Mira Mihelič also opposed the division between men's and women's writing. Although she was aware that she was burdened with tasks that her male colleagues were not, she did not want to call her literature "women's." She believed that literature could only be good or bad, not male or female: "And when women had to deal with greater obstacles in their work than men, the greater the success for them if they made it to the top."[74]

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68 Peg Boyers, "An Interview with Natalia Ginzburg," in *Natalia Ginzburg: A Voice of the Twentieth Century*, ed. Angela M. Jeannet and Giuliana Sanguinetti Katz (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 16.

69 Boyers, "An Interview," 16.

70 Rebecca West, "Introduction," in Jeannet and Katz, *Natalia Ginzburg: A Voice of the Twentieth Century,* 3.

71 Natalia Ginzburg, *The Little Virtues*, 101.

72 Hofman, "Branka Jurca," 107.

73 Hofman, "Branka Jurca," 106.

74 Mihelič, *Ure mojih dni*, 201.

Regardless of how much the women discussed in this chapter wanted their intellectual work to be seen as equal to a man's, none of them received this equality. They received occasional recognition and rare honors, but otherwise their work remained less well known and less well universally received than the comparable work of their male colleagues. The Slovenian writer Nada Kraigher, who was an avid Simone de Beauvoir reader from the 1950s on but nonetheless did not call herself a feminist nor wanted to hear that she was a "woman writer," described in her autobiographical novel *Onkraj groba* the following conversation between her and her male colleagues:

> I am accused of introducing premature ideas that Simone de Beauvoir may be propagating in ten years or so. If she will.... Because women in their opinion have never had any sense for literature. They claim that there are no women-geniuses at all! I reply that men have created such conditions in which we women cannot develop. Genius, my dear, they reply, is madness in talent ... women are not meant for that. You can find some talented women ... and many mad women. But there is no woman who has real madness in talent! (Followed by thunderous laughter.)[75]

After World War II, women were well aware of their unequal conditions, but in most cases, they refused to use this to make excuses for their intellectual or creative work. Despite all the civil and political rights gained after World War II, women were still far from the possibility of being recognized as geniuses. This concept implies a set of ideas about individual creativity that has been present in Western thought for millennia but gained new momentum around 1800 in connection with other components of modern thinking.[76] The myth of genius was clearly defined as a male concept.[77] It was impossible for almost any woman to achieve this status, no matter how "talented," "original," or "unconventional" she was. Not only were women aware of this themselves and therefore often reduced the value and importance of their own achievements, but they were also made aware of this due to public reception, which never took their works, or their lives, with the same seriousness as the lives and works of men. Or, as the French writer, playwright, and essayist Marguerite Duras (1914–1996) said in her conversation with Jérôme Beaujour (1987) about a husband and wife that both happen to be writers and equally talented at that: "When both members

[75] Kraigher, *Onkraj groba*, 104.

[76] Martha Woodmansee, *The Author, Art and the Market: Rereading the History of Aesthetics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 35–55.

[77] Katharina Prager and Vanessa Hannesschläger, "Gendered Lives in Anticipation of a Biographer? Two Intellectual Relationships in Twentieth-Century Austria," *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies* 19, no. 3 (2016): 338.

of a couple are writers, the wife says: 'My husband is a writer.' The husband says: 'My wife writes too.' The children say: 'My father writes books, and so does my mother, sometimes.'"[78]

In Conclusion

In examining the gendered perspectives and societal constructs surrounding women's intellectual labor, this investigation has unraveled a complex tapestry of domestic responsibilities intertwined with intellectual pursuits. Rooted in the myth of "separate spheres," women across various national, generational, class, and social backgrounds historically found themselves confined to domestic roles, often masking intricate social and economic power dynamics. This comparative study has juxtaposed these globally lesser-known intellectuals against better-known canonical figures, shedding light on the undervalued contributions and unacknowledged support pivotal to canonical achievements.

Authors such as Magda Szabó and Mira Mihelič exemplify the intricate relationships between domestic responsibilities and intellectual aspirations. Szabó's *The Door* illuminates the tensions between intellectual pursuits and the necessity of domestic support, echoing the sentiments of Virginia Woolf about domestic duties hindering intellectual endeavors. Meanwhile, Mihelič's memoirs portray the indispensable role played by her housemaids in enabling her intellectual pursuits. However, these relationships often mirrored complex power dynamics and blurred the boundaries of "separate spheres." For instance, the character of Emerence in Szabó's work undertook not just domestic chores but also substantial community work, showcasing multifaceted labor intertwined with emotional redemption and survival. The aftermath of World War II witnessed transformative socio-political changes, yet the persistence of traditional gender roles persisted despite formal legislative strides towards gender equality. The lived experiences of intellectuals such as Natalia Ginzburg, Branka Jurca, and Nada Kraigher illustrate the intricate struggles of navigating domestic responsibilities while pursuing intellectual endeavors during these postwar transitions.

Furthermore, the examination of women's invisible labor, both emotional and practical, within households remained obscured by canonical intellectual achievements. The intimate narratives of intellectuals such as Rosa Mayreder, Anica Lokar, and Gusti Jirku Stridsberg underscore the untold sacrifices and unacknowledged support provided by women intellectuals to their partners' careers, unveiling the intricate web of societal constructs perpetuating the undervaluation of women's intellectual contributions.

[78] Marguerite Duras, *Practicalities*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1990), 67–68.

In revisiting the narratives of women intellectuals from diverse backgrounds, this research not only unveils the historical underrepresentation of women and marginalized groups in intellectual spheres but also offers critical insights into the perpetuation of such disparities in contemporary times. Understanding the historical marginalization of women intellectuals is pivotal in deciphering the persistent underrepresentation they face today. By uncovering the multifaceted dimensions of their intellectual labor and the interconnectedness between domestic responsibilities, public reception, educational possibilities, and scholarly pursuits, this research contributes to bridging the gaps in our comprehension of intellectual history.

A Soul with Hands: Anita Pittoni, Artist and Entrepreneur[1]

Teresa Bertilotti

To create is to organize within oneself all that one has, all that one has experienced; it is an actual, magical fact that happens in a moment, uniting everything in a clear line, in an image.[2]

The historical research on women's labor has now produced an extensive bibliography but has long neglected the role of women in entrepreneurial activities. Indeed, only in recent years have studies appeared that have begun to address this topic.[3] As Adriana Castagnoli has noted, nearly a decade had to pass after the publication of Joan Scott's essay on gender analysis[4] before the issue of gender was introduced into American business history in the late 1990s, profoundly enriching that field of study.[5] This overcame the difficulty of defining many of the economic activities carried out by women as "business" and overcame the hitherto theorized division between entrepreneur and manager,

1 "Un'anima con le mani" (A Soul with Hands) is the title of an autobiographical short story by Tullio Kezich dedicated to Anita Pittoni, in *Il campeggio di Duttogliano e altri ricordi-racconti* (Palermo: Sellerio, 2001), 131–35.

2 Anita Pittoni, *Diario 1944–1945* (Padua-Trieste: SVSB, 2012), 41.

3 Adriana Castagnoli and Emanuela Scarpellini, *Storia degli imprenditori italiani* (Turin: Einaudi, 2003); Barbara Curli, ed., *Donne imprenditrici nella storia dell'Umbria: Ipotesi e percorsi di ricerca* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2005); Adriana Castagnoli, "L'imprenditoria femminile in Italia: studi e ricerche," *Annali di Storia dell'impresa* 18 (2007): 9–15; Stefania Licini, "Donne e affari a Milano nell'Ottocento," *Annali di Storia dell'impresa* 18 (2007): 53–73; Marta Boneschi, "Le sarte milanesi del 'miracolo' tra moda, industria e cultura," *Annali di Storia dell'impresa* 18 (2007): 75–103; Adriana Castagnoli, "L'imprenditoria femminile e le sue tipologie in Italia (1896–2010)," in *Imprenditori*, ed. Franco Amatori and Giorgio Bigatti (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2012), 99–122; Rossella Del Prete, "Le Imprenditrici del Mezzogiorno: Storia e storie di donne intraprendenti a Sud," in *Il genere nella ricerca storica*, ed. Maria Cristina La Rocca and Saveria Chemotti (Padova: Edizioni Il Poligrafo, 2015), 590–626; see also Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London: Routledge, 1987), in particular chapter 6: "'The hidden Investment': Women and the Enterprise," 272–315.

4 Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053–75.

5 Castagnoli, "L'imprenditoria femminile in Italia"; in this article see also the bibliography that was generated in the United States.

demonstrating how in everyday work these two roles gradually came to be interchanged.[6]

In the case of female entrepreneurship, this is also a history characterized by the dyscrasia between "being present" and "being valued," that is, by the constant "dysfunction between the actual value of women and their scant social recognition," as Angela Groppi[7] stated ten years ago, and as Mariuccia Salvati underscored regarding female employees as well as for women entrepreneurs, stating that "as in every newly defined field ... it becomes the initial and crucial work to excavate ... what we could call the side of 'being there.'"[8]

This work of excavation is precisely what I propose to undertake by analyzing the evolution of Anita Pittoni (1901–1982), a non-religious Italian-speaking Austrian citizen who, after being orphaned, became the ward of her uncle Valentino Pittoni, a noted socialist deputy in Vienna's Parliament.[9]

Anita Pittoni's activities as an artist and businesswoman began in the late 1920s, became established during the 1930s, and, as shall become evident, were focused on Italy. Pittoni experienced first-hand the absorption of Trieste into Italy, previously the fourth-major city of the Habsburg Empire. Living through Trieste's movement into a new Italian context allowed Pittoni to evaluate her city first as an artist-craftswoman and businesswoman, then as a cultural organizer and publisher, at two critical historical moments: after 1918 and after 1945. Her position was viewed favorably by Trieste's intellectual circles due to her ability to interface with the Italian world, a world with which she continued to maintain relations. This, however, never induced her to leave Trieste, a choice for which she paid a price: "I did not feel like leaving my city and moving; this feeling was always the obstacle that stood in the way of what could be termed my 'arriving.'"[10]

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6 Adriana Castagnoli, "L'imprenditoria femminile in Italia nell'ultimo mezzo secolo: idealtipi e autorappresentazione," *Annali di Storia dell'impresa* 18 (2007): 17–52.

7 Angela Groppi, *Il lavoro delle donne* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1996).

8 Mariuccia Salvati, Afterword to *L'altra metà dell'impiego: La storia delle donne nell'amministrazione*, ed. Chiara Giorgi, Guido Melis, and Angelo Varni (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2005), 194.

9 A detailed biography of the artist that also provides a list of the exhibitions in which she participated as well as a bibliography on her work can be found in Laura Vasselli, "Anita Pittoni: per una biografia," in *Anita Pittoni, straccetti d'arte: Stoffe di arredamento e moda di eccezione*, ed. Marilì Cammarata (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 1999), 17–55.

10 Bruno Maier, "Due scritti inediti di Anita Pittoni," *Archeografo triestino* 53 (1993): 123–36; this citation is from Pittoni's *Note autobiografiche*, which gives an account of a talk read at the Trieste Soroptimist in June 1951, see Maier, "Due scritti inediti," 131.

Figure 5.1. Anita Pittoni (on the right) with a worker and a carpet created by her, 1950. Photo by Wanda Wulz. Courtesy of Alinari Archives-Wanda Wulz Archive, Florence.

Equally important was her relationship with the cultural world of Vienna, which always remained a fundamental point of reference for Pittoni. It was during a trip to Vienna in 1928 that she decided to devote herself to textile craftsmanship and consequently chose to leave her family and open a workshop on the premises of her friends, the sisters Wanda and Marion Wulz.[11] At that time, the Wiener Werkstätte school-workshop for applied arts was active in Vienna, founded in 1903 by the architect Josef Hoffmann and the graphic designer and painter Koloman (Kolo) Moser, both supporters of the Viennese Secession, together with the entrepreneur Fritz Waerndorfer. In 1911, the Wiener Werkstätte opened a section devoted to fashion.[12] Although Pittoni never refers to this or other European applied arts movements, in the 1960s she would recognize the affinities between her own work and those movements "which in regard to the applied arts take on a character of absolute novelty also because of the ethical and social need, as well as the artistic need, that informs them" and explicitly referred to "the pioneer William Morris," the Wiener Werkstätte, and Jugendstil:

[11] Pittoni, *Note autobiografiche*, 17, cited in Maier, "Due scritti inediti."

[12] See Gabriele Fahr-Becker, *Wiener Werkstätte* (Cologne: Taschen, 1995) and Angela Völker, *Moda, Wiener Werkstätte* (Florence: Cantini, 1990).

> At the end, or rather, at the outbreak of World War I, these movements fell into oblivion (though today they are part of the careful reconsideration of the "neo-pioneers"), so that, until recently, I believed that my philosophy, which gave life to my school of art in 1928, *was mine alone* (the need for the three voices in the work: matter, technique, idea; social exigency, etc.). Today I realize that *my* thinking is *fairly ancient*. I know that I can link the ideas of my craft to what has been the great modern European spiritual current; and this of course comforts me: it strengthens my discoveries. And if my school—which seemed to me to have fallen into oblivion following World War II—will rise forth again, it will be a continuation of those same ideals that animated my illustrious predecessors, another link in the brightest spiritual chain, a source of joy and wisdom: ARTISANRY. A new artistic craftsmanship, modern, in the spirit of the times, and therefore vital.[13]

The 1930s, when Anita Pittoni's activity as an entrepreneurial artist unfolded, was a period that offered some opportunities to women in Italy in the wake of the 1920s but, at the same time, placed them in a subordinate position. As has been noted, however, Anita Pittoni "is an example of the delicate and contradictory transition from arts and craft to the age of design industry, coinciding with the establishment of a political Italian regime with which Pittoni had several affinities, but at the same time escaping from the control of the female role."[14] Moreover, as we shall see, she made no attempt to extend the same model of working woman that she chose for herself to other women by offering them the opportunity to work during a period when fascist laws had forced women from the job market.

A complex figure, Pittoni made the transmission of her professional skills one of her priorities, not only by holding courses to teach young women her techniques but also by directing her techniques to a much wider audience through trade magazines, to which she would deliver "professional secrets in the name of the value that recognizes the female manual practice.... This confirms how much the personality of Pittoni cannot be integrated with the schemes:

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[13] Anita Pittoni, "Industria tessile senza macchine: Profilo per l'istituzione di una scuola artigiana diretta artisticamente e tecnicamente da Anita Pittoni," 2nd ed.: December 21, 1963, in Biblioteca Civica Attilio Hortis, Trieste, Fondo Anita Pittoni (henceforth BCAHT, FAP), *L'attività tessile*, b. 4, *Articoli lavoro e arte e Relazioni*, RP MS Misc. 212/118.7 (emphasis in original).

[14] Chiara Lecce and Anna Mazzanti, "Artists of the Thread between the Thirties and the Sixties, from Artistic Craftmanship to Industry: Two Exemplary cases: Anita Pittoni and Fede Cheti," in *Women's Creativity since the Modern Movement (1918–2018): Toward a New Perception and Reception*, ed. Helena Seražin, Emilia Maria Garda, and Caterina Franchini (Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, France Stele Institute of Art Institute-MoMoVo, 2018), 718–31 (720): https://re.public.polimi.it/bitstream/11311/1126707/1/Artists%20of%20the%20Thread%20between%20the%20Thirties%20and%20the%20Sixties%2C%20from%20Artistic%20Craftsmanship%20to%20Industry-%20Two%20Exemplary%20Cases%20Anita%20Pittoni%20and%20Fede%20Cheti.pdf, accessed June 16, 2024.

she is not just an artist, not just an artisan, not just an industrial designer but a bit of all these together."[15]

While Anita Pittoni's own path was highly individual, it was also paradigmatic of women in postwar Mitteleuropa, such as the female Bauhaus artists, who undertook this type of difficult career that required them to be both artists and independent entrepreneurs in a male-dominated world. In addition, their stories were intertwined with, and to a degree, determined by the upheavals that shook Europe.

The First Professional Sweater

"The beginning of my work seems very humble and modest on the outside. It is July, 1928. I am sitting on a doorstep facing the top-floor balcony and crocheting the first 'professional' sweater."[16] Pittoni chose these words to recount the beginning of her work. From the windows of that same building in Trieste, Marion Wulz had photographed the funerals of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife on July 2, 1914; from the same spot, Wulz would later go on to photograph events of World War II: the battle with the Germans before their surrender, the arrival of the Yugoslav partisans and Gen. Freyberg's New Zealanders, the partisans dancing the kolo, the marching lines of the arriving Allied armies, demonstrations of *italianità*, skirmishes between opposing groups, and religious processions.[17]

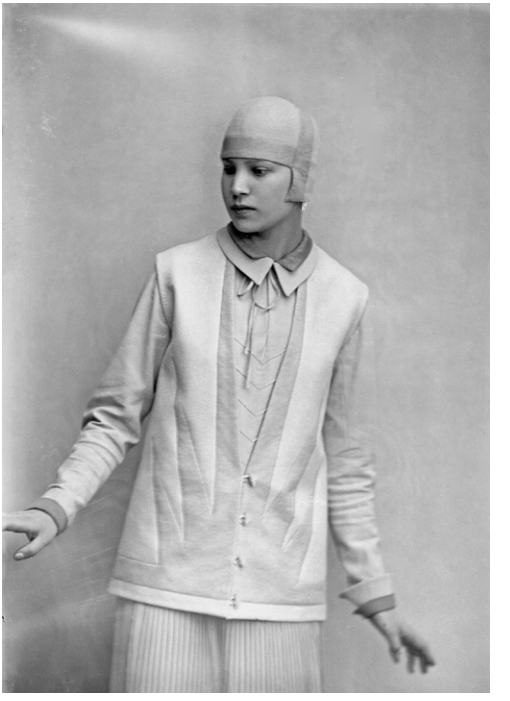

Figure 5.2. Portrait of Marion Wulz in dress designed by Anita Pittoni, around 1940. Photo by Wanda Wulz. Courtesy of Alinari Archives-Wanda Wulz Archive, Florence.

[15] Lecce and Mazzanti, "Artists of the Thread between the Thirties and the Sixties," 723.

[16] Pittoni, *Note autobiografiche*, cited in Maier, "Due scritti inediti," 125.

[17] Elvio Guagnini, "Trieste nella camera oscura: Itinerario narrativo dei Wulz," in *La Trieste dei Wulz: Volti di una storia. Fotografie 1860–1980*, ed. Elvio Guagnini and Italo Zannier (Florence: Alinari, 1989), 11–55 (49).

Marion was the younger of the Wulz sisters. Wanda was 25 years old when her father died in 1928, and she took over the daily operations of the photography studio, assisted by her sister Marion, who was two years younger. Anita Pittoni had opened a workshop at the Wulz sisters' in 1928. In that same year, she had begun an affair with a physician from Trieste, Parovel,[18] which says a great deal about her personality, described in an unparalleled way by Tullio Kezich, who described her as a "beautiful and chatty woman, always here and there displaying patterns and tapestries, an institutionally disturbing figure in the context of respectable society."[19] It surely must have troubled many to hear Anita's announcement of her union with Parovel when she sent out "bourgeois invitations, with their two names followed by the announcement 'from this day forward united in free love.'"[20]

Pittoni writes that she left her family without even "half a lira in her pocket":

> I don't have half a lira in my pocket because all my capital, 70 lire, I've spent: 35 lire on polenta flour and eggs, and 35 lire on wool. Nor do I know who will buy my sweater or when it will happen.
>
> My situation might seem somewhat desperate, indeed, so desperate as to take away any sense of confidence at first. But for me, it does not, and not just out of bravery or the recklessness of youth. For me, this situation that I wanted and achieved is a source of confidence, a confidence in myself: it is the victory of the battle that I have fought hard within myself, a battle for the love that united us as a family; it is the result of my revolution, which is always a desperate act of life or death, *my revolution* to redeem my personality, to extract it from the influence of the family circle and affections, to arrive at spiritual freedom, and only in this way, at the liberty of my own personal movement. For within me, I felt two closely intertwined exigencies: *CREATION AND INDEPENDENCE*. To devote myself to creation, to my own world of the imagination, represented such a privilege for me that it had to be paid for in advance for all it was worth: with the difficulty of beginning from nothing, to calculate my yearning for art against the power of other feelings, the necessity of facing life *ex novo* after having made a clean slate, freed from all possibility of compromise. It means acting recklessly, I admit, to refuse any possibility of defense from the very outset and thus either learn from my own experience or give up.[21]

[18] Vasselli, "Anita Pittoni: per una biografia," 18.
[19] Kezich, *Il campeggio di Duttogliano e altri ricordi-racconti*, 131.
[20] Kezich, *Il campeggio di Duttogliano e altri ricordi-racconti*, 132.
[21] Pittoni, *Note autobiografiche*, cited in Maier, "Due scritti inediti," 124–25.

These words hark back to that yearning for freedom—and the courage to pursue it—that characterized, at least for some women, the early postwar period. Considering Pittoni's choice immediately brings to mind the Bauhaus textile workshop, crowded with young women who found a path to success through that school.[22] This was the fertile terrain of the early postwar period, which characterized some areas of Europe, including parts of the former Habsburg Empire such as Trieste, a city which Pittoni treasured. We can speculate that her friendship with the Wulz sisters, themselves entrepreneurs and artists, as well as her acquaintance with the environment of Trieste, which she came into contact with thanks to the Wulzes, all had a bearing on her courageous choice.

Figure 5.3. Portrait of Wanda Wulz in dress designed by Anita Pittoni, around 1930. Photo by Marion Wulz. Courtesy of Alinari Archives-Wanda Wulz Archive, Florence.

What else could a woman have done who was determined to be independent and pursue art but knew only how to knit and crochet and had been denied any further education? Pittoni had attended the high school for girls in Trieste and graduated in 1919, but the family's economic conditions had not allowed her any further training:

> The day of my high school graduation was a bad day for me because, despite my academic abilities and my cherished dream to attend university, Mother confessed to me that her sacrifices, great as they were, would not be enough to support all three children in their studies away from home, and therefore the girl would have to be the one to give up her place. I realized then for the first time that we were unobtrusively poor, and indeed, we had always been poor. Father

[22] Elizabeth Otto and Patrick Rössler, *Bauhaus Women: A Global Perspective* (London: Herbert Press, 2019) provides thorough list of all the female Bauhaus students. See also Andy Pansera, *494. Bauhaus al femminile: 475 studentesse 11 docenti 6 donne intorno a Gropius 1 manager 1 fotografa* (Busto Arsizio: Nomos Editions, 2021); on the Bauhaus textile workshop, see also Ulrike Muller, *Bauhaus Women: Art, Handicraft, Design* (Paris: Flammarion, 2009).

> had been an engineer, but we had lost him young, when we were just tiny. I realized then that Mother, more than just making sacrifices, had made and was making actual miracles.... I did everything on my own. I reinvented those humble, homely skills that Mama had taught me since I was a child (our mother was an old-fashioned mother) and that my academic studies had neither made me forget nor despise. So, when I "took the field," I used what I knew, without any fear that it was too humble for my dreams. Any "manual skill" was enough for me to express myself; the rest would depend on my skills of another nature, if I possessed them.[23]

It was precisely by crocheting that first sweater, "studied in harmony with the body," that Anita Pittoni worked to turn that old-fashioned skill to her needs: "I try to splice the threads of the various colors so that the knots are invisible on the wrong side as well as the right side. I invented a new stitch, and this way cut the Gordian knot ... the technique I later called the '*light inlay high stitch*.'"[24]

Her early works include a tapestry designed by the Futurist painter Marcello Claris, which was displayed at the First Exhibition of the Sindacato delle Belle Arti e del Circolo Artistico of Trieste in 1927, as well as a series of wall panels and cushions made of felt, suggestive of "'sewn paintings' created with the technique of fabric inlay, brilliantly executed in the second half of the 1920s by the Fortunato Depero Casa d'Arte." Many of these would be exhibited at the Circolo Artistico di Via Margutta in December 1929 and featured in the major art magazines of the time.[25] Thanks to Marcello Claris, who also exhibited at the Bragaglia Casa d'Arte, Pittoni met Anton Giulio Bragaglia, who was destined to become her interlocutor, both professionally and personally, for the rest of her life. As she would write in 1944, "Only two people will never be surprised by what I do: Giordano and Bragaglia, both of whom have been my friends for nearly fifteen years (they are my oldest friends), they know me thoroughly, they have seen me live and, I would say, grow up, and most of all, they immediately understood me, fifteen years ago."[26]

The significance of the relationship with Bragaglia emerges from their correspondence, which sheds light not only on key moments in Pittoni's career but also on the vast breadth of her interests, probably equal to those of Bragaglia himself. Their correspondence further attests to the difficulties Pittoni encountered, for example, with institutions in Trieste, and the frequent and fluctuating

[23] Pittoni, *Note autobiografiche*, cited in Maier, "Due scritti inediti," 129.

[24] Pittoni, *Note autobiografiche*, cited in Maier, "Due scritti inediti," 125.

[25] See Rossella Cuffaro, Laura Vasselli, and Sergio Vatta, "La sensibilità futurista di Anita Pittoni," in *Futurismo, moda, design: la ricostruzione futurista dell'universo quotidiano*, ed. Carla Cerutti and Raffaella Sgubin (Gorizia: Musei provinciali di Gorizia, 2009), 67–71 (69).

[26] Pittoni, *Diario 1944–1945*, 11. On A.G. Bragaglia, see the entry written by Sisto Sallusti, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 13 (1971): https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/anton-giulio-bragaglia_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/, accessed June 14, 2024.

high and low periods that punctuated her career.[27] Thanks to Bragaglia, in 1929 she exhibited her work at the Circolo Artistico di Via Margutta and designed the costumes for *La veglia dei lestofanti* (The Beggar's Opera), as well as the first Italian staging of Bertolt Brecht's and Kurt Weil's *Opera da Tre Soldi*, directed by Bragaglia himself and whose debut took place on March 8, 1930, at the Teatro Filodrammatici in Milan. In 1930, she also participated in the I Mostra femminile d'arte e lavoro in Milan, the IV Esposizione triennale internazionale delle arti decorative ed industriali moderne in Milan, and the II Esposizione d'arte del sindacato fascista di Belle Arti of Venezia Giulia in Florence.

Figure 5.4. Album with Anita Pittoni's fashion sketches, for cushions and fabrics, n.d. (1930–32). Courtesy of Wolfsoniana–Palazzo Ducale Fondazione per la Cultura, Genova.

The Decorative Art Studio

Public appearances followed, both at exhibitions and in periodicals in the field, which proved to be instrumental to the success of the workshop, as she wrote to Bragaglia: "The exhibitions in Trieste bring me orders for work. My pieces, among all the textile pieces at the Permanent Artists' exhibit, are always the most

[27] Anton Giulio Bragaglia's archive is housed at the Galleria nazionale di arte moderna e contemporanea (GNAM) in Rome and can be partially consulted online.

cited, even by old-fashioned bearded critics. Trieste now respects me."[28] Those who traveled to Trieste did not fail to visit her workshop, such as the actress Tatiana Pavlova, a great "enthusiast" of fashion made by Pittoni: "She ordered a great deal of clothing from me. She wanted me at the theater all the time. I had seats every night."[29]

Success, and the accompanying increase in orders for work, prompted her to look for female collaborators. She hired Lidia Venezian, an "*extraordinary* and *patient* worker," able to do what Pittoni no longer had time to do "given the vast organization and work of designing." Venezian became "the lead worker," and Pittoni could thus devote herself to drawing and designing projects exclusively. As she exclaimed, "For months I have hardly touched a needle; all I do is teach techniques with all my pedantry and make sketches." Moreover, as Pittoni wanted to give lessons and often needed to be away from the city, she now could be sure "that everything was in good hands."[30]

In addition to Venezian, Pittoni hired other workers—around 90 in total between 1930 and 1942[31]—whose contracts reveal the absolute control Pittoni exercised over the organization of the workshop. These contracts stipulated that the workers participated in Pittoni's Studio d'arte decorativa "for the purpose of learning to carry out the designs of Anita Pittoni's creations on behalf of the Studio itself." The contracts also included the following pledge each worker had to take: "[I pledge] not to make copies of the designs and facsimiles either for myself or on behalf of others, nor to teach others what I have learned, neither in technique nor artistically," a commitment that was to remain in force "not only for the time during which I work for the studio in question, but also in the event that, for any reason, I cease to work for Mrs. Pittoni. This extends not only to tasks that I perform but also to everything I see performed by other people working on behalf of the studio in question."[32] The contracts further included the following clause: "we are aware that all designs by Anita Pittoni are created by herself and therefore protected by law and that any violation of my commitment will be punished with a fine and imprisonment," and that workers were "to remain at the disposal of the Pittoni Studio for the time necessary to complete five pieces, as a minimum." The completed pieces had to be delivered on the day agreed upon with the studio, and delays incurred a fine of 100 lire per day. In addition, the employees were allowed to work at home based on an average of

[28] Letter from Anita Pittoni to Anton Giulio Bragaglia, Trieste, December 23, 1930, housed in Galleria nazionale di arte moderna e contemporanea (GNAM), Fondo Anton Giulio Bragaglia (henceforth GNAM, FAGB), Serie 1, 1930, b. 4, fasc. 23.

[29] Letter from Anita Pittoni to Anton Giulio Bragaglia, Trieste, March 9, 1931, GNAM, FAGB, Serie 1, 1931, b. 4, fasc. 24.

[30] Letter from Anita Pittoni to Anton Giulio Bragaglia, Trieste, May 30, 1931, GNAM, FAGB, Serie 1, 1931, b. 4, fasc. 24.

[31] Rossella Cuffaro, "Anita Pittoni e lo Studio d'arte decorativa," in Cammarata, *Anita Pittoni, straccetti d'arte*, 73–89 (81).

[32] BCAHT, FAP, b. 5, R.P. Misc. 212/118.2, *I cartamodelli e l'attività tessile*.

working days that was determined from time to time.[33] This made it possible for Pittoni's workers to balance their professional work with the demands of their domestic life, and Anita was proud of this. As she later wrote: "For the sake of my social ideals, I invented a particular technical method that would enable women to work at home, without forcing them to come into the workplace on a fixed schedule, thus leaving them free to work the hours most convenient to them without neglecting the care of their children and husband."[34]

The prominence that her Studio d'arte decorativa had achieved brought Anita Pittoni into contact with the city's other institutions, starting with the Istituto delle Piccole Industrie. Founded in 1904, the Istituto aimed to offer vocational training to women, organizing courses to train them in skills such as tailoring and lacemaking, which became very successful.

From what she wrote to Bragaglia, it was no easy task to find a way into an institution dominated by men and, in her words, by "alarming machinations of personal interests."[35] In January 1931, she wrote about a visit she received from Ercole Rivalta, "Buronzo's personal appointee." Vicenzo Buronzo was the president of the Ente nazionale per l'artigianato e le piccole industrie (1930–1940), founder and president of the Centro internazionale dell'artigianato (1931), and he voiced Pittoni's appeals in parliament after he was elected in 1924. The artist, "tired and demoralized," had sent Buronzo "an annoyed letter, and the letter made an impression. They got down to business, and now the rubbish being produced at the Pic. Ind. [Istituto delle Piccole Industrie] in Trieste has come to light. It is a battle to get ahold of the capital (300,000 annually). And I assure you that I have struggled quite a bit myself. Finally, I see the prospects brightening up."[36]

Things seemed to start evening out. In fact, by February 1931, Pittoni was chosen by the Istituto delle Piccole Industrie to teach in the weaving workshop-school, where she directed a course devoted to artistic clothing, attended by about fifteen girls to whom she taught her own techniques.[37] In September of the same year, she wrote to Bragaglia, "For the schools, there are new struggles brewing. A board of directors of the Pic. Ind. has finally been appointed, and everything is once again subject to scrutiny. I will have to work ... with the programs, but if everything is not put into firmer hands, I will not agree to teach. I believe, however, that everything will go well, better than before, and that I will have the money-capital for this shop of mine."[38]

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33 BCAHT, FAP, b. 5, R.P. Misc. 212/118.2, *I cartamodelli e l'attività tessile*.

34 Pittoni, "Industria tessile senza macchine," BCAHT, FAP.

35 Letter from Anita Pittoni to Anton Giulio Bragaglia, Trieste, January 14, 1931, in GNAM, FAGB, Serie 1, 1931, b. 4, fasc. 24.

36 Letter from Pittoni to Bragaglia, Trieste, January 14, 1931, in GNAM, FAGB, Serie 1, 1931, b. 4, fasc. 24.

37 Vasselli, "Anita Pittoni: per una biografia," 20.

38 Letter from Anita Pittoni to Anton Giulio Bragaglia, Trieste, September 17, 1931, in GNAM, FAGB, Serie 1, 1931, b. 4, fasc. 24.

During the first half of the 1930s, experimentation and successes followed one after another. In 1931, Pittoni published a fully illustrated article on embroidery with instructions for making the "Pesce" pillow (already exhibited in Rome in 1929) in the magazine *Domus*, which was founded in 1928 by Giò Ponti and came to make a fundamental contribution to the new spotlight on textile design.[39] That same year, Pittoni reported to Bragaglia that she had "finished the design for a decorative panel. I tackled the large composition: five pictures linked by decorative bands. The design is intimately linked to the technique. The work is as exquisite as the ancient tapestries, but while those have a weave, here the fabric is created completely by hand, with a thread, knot upon knot. It is one of my new discoveries and employs an old technique that was used before with a different effect. I am satisfied with it."[40] In 1932, she was part of a group of artists called to decorate the ship Conte di Savoia; the following year, the prestigious magazine *The Studio: an Illustrated Magazine of Fine and Applied Art*, published in London and New York from 1930 to 1943, printed her piece *La Danza*; during the fall of 1933 and spring of 1934, five issues of the journal *Lil* (Woolen Works), published in Turin, came out, entirely edited by Pittoni: it presented men's and women's garments easily made in knit or crochet with directions included. The year 1934 also marked her debut at the Venice Biennale.

These successes acknowledged Pittoni's artistic abilities, but their achievement was often fraught with obstacles due in part to the fact that her business required her to deal simultaneously with the creation, production, and marketing of her work and also due to her own inability to compromise. A representative example of this was her collaboration with periodicals. In September 1931, she wrote to Bragaglia, "The magazine featuring my work is due out in November, and by October 20 I'm supposed to deliver all the material. I have to take care of a thousand different things.... If the publisher will print the issue as I want to and make the layout according to my taste, then everything will be fine; if not, I won't give them the material. And for color pages, I demand that they use trichrome."[41] A few months later, she added, "Major quarrel with the publisher over paper, format, and spirit. I drew several colored as well as some black and white modeling sketches, modern and schematic. It is revolutionary in the way it presents the modeling sketch in magazines. If they were to print it well, a very good thing would come out of it, but ... we'll have to see."[42] We do not know

[39] Grazietta Butazzi, "La moda italiana si mette a confronto, tra autarchia e nuove prospettive," in *Galleria del costume di palazzo Pitti. Moda femminile tra le due guerre*, ed. Caterina Chiarelli (Livorno: Sillabe, 2000), 12–19.

[40] Letter from Anita Pittoni to Anton Giulio Bragaglia, Trieste, September 17, 1931, in GNAM, FAGB, Serie 1, 1931, b. 4, fasc. 24.

[41] Letter from Anita Pittoni to Anton Giulio Bragaglia, Trieste, September 10, 1931, in GNAM, FAGB, Serie 1, 1931, b. 4, fasc. 24.

[42] Letter from Anita Pittoni to Anton Giulio Bragaglia, Trieste, November 25, 1931, in GNAM, FAGB, Serie 1, 1931, b. 4, fasc. 24.

whether her project succeeded or whether she was referring to *Lil* magazine, the periodical for which she edited issues that would come out, as previously mentioned, between 1933 and 1934.

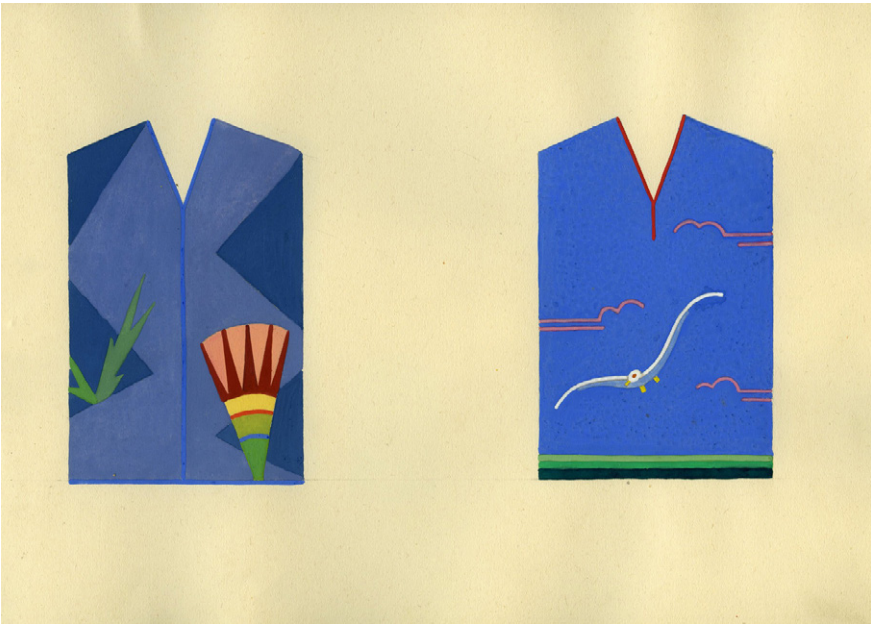

Figure 5.5. Album with Anita Pittoni's fashion sketches, for cushions and fabrics, n.d. (1930–32). Courtesy of Wolfsoniana–Palazzo Ducale Fondazione per la Cultura, Genova.

Another project relating to a periodical of women's work certainly did not follow. Considering that "publishers are frantically looking for someone who will put together a magazine of this kind," Pittoni contemplated presenting a project she was developing to Rizzoli. Her idea was that "right next to the magazine, a workshop should be situated, and I would have this be in Trieste as well. The workshop would supply the necessary nourishment and this would provide vital assurance to the periodical."[43] She planned to move to Milan to direct the magazine but was aware that this would be a difficult project to bring about, so much so that she concludes her letter to Bragaglia with the words, "We'll see what I can do in Milan. Hurrah for purism. We can console ourselves this way."[44]

[43] Letter from Anita Pittoni to Anton Giulio Bragaglia, Trieste, November 25, 1931, in GNAM, FAGB, Serie 1, 1931, b. 4, fasc. 24.

[44] Letter from Anita Pittoni to Anton Giulio Bragaglia, Trieste, November 25, 1931, in GNAM, FAGB, Serie 1, 1931, b. 4, fasc. 24.

Experimenting with Fabrics

In 1933, Pittoni participated in the Fifth Milan Triennial, and the same year she was in Turin at the First National Fashion Exhibition. The Milan Triennials followed the lead of the Monza Triennials, which had been held since 1923, and from which the importance of the textile market had arisen, thanks to several factors: the intense concern sparked by the Monza Triennials over the need to increase the quality of artistic textiles, the close relationship between artists and industrial production that began in these same years, and the focus on training textile experts who could deal with the new needs of the clothing industry, thus freeing it from dependence on French silk factories.[45]

As William Morris affirmed, if the boundaries between art and craftsmanship are blurred and art can be integrated into everyday life through clothing and furnishings, the most relevant example of the period would be the collaboration between artists and industry within the context of the Bauhaus. It is no coincidence that the Ente Nazionale per le Piccole Industrie took part in the Fourth International Exhibition of Modern Industrial and Decorative Arts in Monza with the intention of directing "national production toward a modern style that bears the mark of our time, leading industrialists and artisans back to the intimate, constant, cordial collaboration with creator artists, according to the best traditions that granted the applied arts in Italy the splendor of past centuries."[46]

In the 1930s, the textile sector experienced further significant developments due primarily to "proposals for renewal in a rational key which involved not only architecture and furniture but also all creative and productive forms considered capable of contributing to the redefinition of the entire social space. As this totalizing aesthetic vision spreads, the functions of city and home, furniture, and clothing are conceived in an integrated way."[47] Anita Pittoni participated fully in this movement by using innovative materials and new styles for both clothing and furniture and by advocating, in many of her writings, the collaboration between artists and craftsmen: "I have been using simple hemp (that same twine used by fishermen) for years to make *haute couture* patterns and upholstery fabrics. The first dress I officially presented to the public was at the first fashion show in Turin. It was made of hemp ... woven with golden stainless metallic threads.... It was March 1931."[48] Years later, she would recall her emotion "after

[45] Silvia Grandi and Alessandra Vaccari, *Vestire il Ventennio: Moda e cultura artistica in Italia tra le due guerre* (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2004), 88.

[46] "Notiziario," *Architettura e Arti Decorative. Rivista d'Arte e di Storia* 4 (1929).

[47] Grandi and Vaccari, *Vestire il Ventennio*, 129; see also Maura Garofoli, ed., *Le fibre intelligenti: Un secolo di storia e cinquant'anni di moda* (Milan: Electa, 1991).

[48] BCAHT, FAP, *L'attività tessile*, b. 4, *Articoli lavoro e arte e Relazioni*, RP MS Misc. 212/118.7, *Articoli miei vari. Articoli sulla mia attività ecc.*, *Industria tessile senza macchine*.

discovering hemp in one of those little fishermen's stores nestled along our shores, when I could touch the heavy skeins, their freshness, their smell. The material, rough, reluctant, and magnificent, spoke to me of the sea, of the sailor's life. Back at the workshop, I immediately began the first experiments with simple knitting needles, no looms, no machines; even the knitting needles, the tiny crochet hooks, unbalanced me, threw me off. I would have liked to work it in knots, with my fingers, to make fabrics."[49] In addition to hemp, the artist uses gorse plants, "raw, with tiny bits of wood in it, spun by hand, irregular, fantastic, smells like grass, sings of the sea that it sees from the heights where it is born, on the rocky soils ... the accidental element of the thread embodies the value of the product, which already triumphs in being improvised, imaginative."[50] And, as Pittoni points out, she had always had "an instinctive understanding for our natural plant textile fibers, hemp and gorse, even many years before the issue of autarky arose."[51]

As noted in one article, her textiles are characterized by "rhythms of elementary colors and simplicity of designs, to which is added as a third aesthetic element the essential, material character of the various thread, at times very fine, at others far thicker (heavy). The artist employs mainly hemp, gorse, and wool mixed with threads of gold, silver, and copper.... In other objects, such as carpets, the artist employs chenille combined with hemp threads, which are stiffer and slightly shiny. She makes the most of the main material in tandem with a poorer, secondary material, masterfully achieving delightful effects."[52] Later, Pittoni's experimentation with natural fibers broadened to include synthetic ones: among the fibers by Snia Viscosa, she "selected those that seemed most suitable for their simplicity: pure chenille, aniafiocco, bobalan, chenille mixed with hemp, milk wool, and gorse yarn." As she concluded, "These fibers allowed me to unleash my imagination in the creation of the rarest fabrics."[53]

These fabrics were displayed in many exhibitions and earned the artist numerous commissions, which, however, she was able to fulfill, as she noted, "only

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49 BCAHT, FAP, *L'attività tessile*, b. 4, *Articoli lavoro e arte e Relazioni*, RP MS Misc. 212/118.7, "Natura," 18 June 1942, *Mani e filati*.

50 BCAHT, FAP, *L'attività tessile*, b. 4, *Articoli lavoro e arte e Relazioni*, RP MS Misc. 212/118.7, "Natura," 18 June 1942, *Mani e filati*.

51 BCAHT, FAP, *L'attività tessile*, b. 4, *Articoli lavoro e arte e Relazioni*, RP MS Misc. 212/118.7, "Natura," 18 June 1942, *Mani e filati*.

52 BCAHT, FAP, *L'attività tessile*, b. 4, *Articoli lavoro e arte e Relazioni*, RP MS Misc. 212/118.7, "Stoffe d'arte tessute a mano," *Innen Dekoration*, August 1939, translation from the German in the correction by A. D. Pica.

53 BCAHT, FAP, *L'attività tessile*, b. 4, *Articoli lavoro e arte e Relazioni*, RP MS Misc. 212/118.7, *Spett.le Ente Nazionale per l'Artigianato e le Piccole Industrie, Roma. Copia della relazione sul contributo portato da ANITA PITTONI con la sua attività artigiana alla valorizzazione delle fibre tessili nazionali, vegetali e sintetiche, relazione richiesta dall'Ente Nazionale per l'Artigianato e le Piccole Industrie*.

to a small degree, given the modest apparatus of my experimental workshop, equipped a little for the artist, a little for the craftsman."[54] Pittoni appealed to the institutions in charge of promoting craftsmanship, highlighting "the level of an artisan's distress due to the imbalance between the general recognition of his value and the constantly limited nature of the equipment in his workshop." As she reasoned, "Would it not be useful, for the purpose of keeping the best artisans among their ranks, that those institutions which have been created specifically for this purpose would think of carrying out a profitable activity in this sense, organizing into a disciplined collectivity those artists who, by personal experience, you have seen achieve the best results?"[55]

As active as she was within organizations for artisans, she was equally involved with organizations concerned with fashion and took part in the debate promoted by the Centro delle Arti e del Costume on the contribution that artists could make in that sector.[56] Summing up her own experience, Anita Pittoni could only hope that particularly gifted artists could "somehow be channeled into the field of clothing and fabrics, not stopping at sketching ... but inserting themselves into the practice and knowledge of techniques, perhaps to 'revolutionize' them."[57] This is what she herself did: "I used the simplest traditional skills, which I learned when I was five years old but with a whole new interpretation of these techniques [because] an object has value to the extent that it embodies an idea. "[58] The "hypersensitive Trieste artist,"[59] in fact, crossed "the limits of the applied arts ... her technical tendencies ... mark her paths, since in this art, as in all, it is technique that creates aesthetics."[60]

Paola Giuntoli, who has made an accurate analysis of Pittoni's work in both furniture and fashion, notes that it fits "into an area of debate that, starting with the first Monza Biennial in 1923 and through the 1930s (especially with regard to

54 BCAHT, FAP, *L'attività tessile*, b. 4, *Articoli lavoro e arte e Relazioni*, RP MS Misc. 212/118.7.

55 BCAHT, FAP, *L'attività tessile*, b. 4, *Articoli lavoro e arte e Relazioni*, RP MS Misc. 212/118.7.

56 Grazietta Butazzi analyzes Italian fashion in the 1930s in the European context and the action of the Ente Nazionale della Moda (National Fashion Authority), which actually penalized Italians by isolating Italy from the rest of Europe and especially from France where Italian fashion could have drawn valuable examples of possible reactions to the crisis. See Butazzi, "La moda italiana si mette a confronto," 12–19; Butazzi directly references Pittoni (17–18). For more on the Ente Nazionale della Moda and the events organized by the regime relative to the textile industry in general, see Sofia Gnoli, *La donna, l'eleganza, il fascismo: La Moda Italiana dalle origini all'Ente Nazionale della Moda* (Rome: Il Prisma, 2008).

57 BCAHT, FAP, *L'attività tessile*, RP Ms Misc. 212/118.6, *Documenti artigiani e documenti inerenti*, *È venuta l'ora dell'artista?*

58 BCAHT, FAP, *L'attività tessile*, b. 4, RP MS Misc. 212/118.7 *Articoli lavoro e arte e Relazioni*, *Arte, artigianato, tessuti. Le arti applicate (settore tessile)*, November 12, 1935.

59 Alberto Bragaglia, "Arazzi e cuscini di Anita Pittoni," *La Nuova Italia*, Porto Alegre, September 21, 1933, in BCAHT, FAP, *L'attività tessile*, b. 4, RP MS Misc. 212/118.7.

60 Anton Giulio Bragaglia, "I ricami di Anita Pittoni," *Rivista del Popolo d'Italia*, in BCAHT, FAP, *L'attività tessile*, b. 4, RP MS Misc. 212/118.7.

fashion), proposed the revival of historical styles, folklore, and regional costume as a source of inspiration for achieving a distinctly Italian fashion and style."[61] Moreover, her search for the "primitive" (primitivism) also took an exotic direction, as evidenced by some works inspired by colonial artifacts.[62] Pittoni, therefore, according to Giuntoli, was "a true experimenter, open to the most disparate influences, an artist capable of combining them into original solutions responding to her particular aesthetic sensibility."[63] Her recognition as an artist was evident at the Triennale of 1936, where she was awarded the silver medal, and at the Exposition internationale des arts et de techniques appliqué à la vie moderne held in Paris in 1937, where she was awarded the Grand Prize of the international jury for fabrics and fashion, as well as her solo exhibition at the Palazzo delle Esposizioni in Milan in 1942.[64] Her activities in terms of entrepreneurship were less recognized, as she was obliged to perform them without any support from artistic or business institutions. As Anty Pansera has noted, Trieste, "this extraordinary borderland, was in some ways limited in the making of an extraordinary talent.... Authentic as its talent was, the city's geographical dislocation could not offer it, like Lombardy, the support of a rich market and industrial facilities."[65]

A Textile Industry without Machines

We have previously made reference to Pittoni's dedication to the transmission of her techniques through teaching. In addition to the classes she taught at the Istituto delle Piccole Industrie, she continued to pursue her project of establishing an actual school aimed at creating jobs for women and revitalizing local crafts. In order for women to have a place in the job market, she believed that women's work must be brought closer to "the new ways of art, modern decorative sensibilities, and a more refined sense of form and coloristic harmonies." By doing

61 Paola Giuntoli, "Modelli 'implosivi' ed, 'esplosivi': per un'analisi dell'opera di Anita Pittoni. Prima parte. I modelli 'implosivi,'" *Jacquard* 81 (2018): 50–61 (51).

62 Giuntoli, "Modelli 'implosivi' ed, 'esplosivi,'" 55.

63 Giuntoli, "Modelli 'implosivi' ed, 'esplosivi,'" 57; in the second part of the article Giuntoli analyzes "'explosive' designs, a reinterpretation of futurist and constructivist influences in Anita Pittoni." See, "Modelli 'implosivi' ed, 'esplosivi': per un'analisi dell'opera di Anita Pittoni. Seconda parte. I modelli 'esplosivi', una rilettura delle influenze futuriste e costruttiviste in Anita Pittoni," *Jacquard* 82 (2018): 3–17. For more on the topic, see also Cuffaro, Vasselli, and , "La sensibilità futurista di Anita Pittoni," 67–71.

64 *Riassunto cronologico dell'attività artistica e artigiana di Anita Pittoni* in BCAHT, FAP, *L'attività tessile*, RP Ms Misc. 212/118.6, *Documenti artigiani e documenti inerenti*.

65 Anty Pansera, "Artigiane/artiste-designer 'e' imprenditrici nel Novecento Italiano," in *Donne d'arte: Storie e generazioni*, ed. Antonietta Trasforini (Rome: Meltemi, 2006), 106.

so, women's work would acquire "a high moral value because, in addition to developing many latent energies, it trains the worker to exactitude and discipline with loving study and an understanding of the materials to be treated" so that female pupils learn to surmount any technical difficulties presented by the pattern and to be inspired "to constantly seek new technical means and new effects by adopting, as is required by the modern spirit, simpler methods of realization."[66] Pittoni carefully outlined all the techniques that are taught (sewing, transferring the pattern from paper to cloth, cutting fabric, etc.) and alongside these she included artistic education. She aimed at providing "artistic counseling for all craftswomen in order to set all production on a well-defined path corresponding to the needs of the modern spirit" with the purpose of reviving "the craftsmanship of Istrian and Friulian weavers by instilling a new creative spirit: reactivating inoperative looms and organizing and re-educating the workforce."[67]

She had such great confidence in the potential of the hand-made production of textiles that she had devoted herself to that she believed it was possible that this could be transformed into a bona fide industry: "a new artistic manual industry." She had not yet been able to bring this about due to "limited financial possibilities and the failure to interest an industrialist in my experiments."[68]

In commenting on the possibility of large-scale textile production without machines, Pittoni noted that this depended not only on the available raw materials but also on the "rational development of creative and manual (artisanal) skills, viewing these two elements almost as the two 'raw materials' we possess in great abundance."[69] On the basis of this assumption she draws up a plan that promoted the utilization of national textile fibers, the constructive employment of female artisan labor, and "the attainment of an Italian fashion, characteristic in terms of material, workmanship, and originality of concept, thus complementing the activities of the Ente Nazionale della Moda" for the "production of new fabrics for home furnishings, filling a gap, lamented by our best modern architects, who unfortunately still use foreign-made materials today," and for the "employment of national creative forces (artists), inasmuch as their full collaboration is necessary to achieve reliable, quality results with this project of mine, which depends first and foremost on the originality of production."[70]

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66 BCAHT, FAP, *L'attività tessile*, b. 4, RP MS Misc. 212/118.7, *Articoli lavoro e arte e Relazioni*, *Nuova scuola di lavoro femminile*.

67 BCAHT, FAP, *L'attività tessile*, b. 4, RP MS Misc. 212/118.7, *Articoli lavoro e arte e Relazioni*, *Nuova scuola di lavoro femminile*.

68 "Relazione di Anita Pittoni per una nuova industria manuale artistica ai fini di valorizzare le fibre tessili nazionali mediante nuove tecniche di lavorazione dei filati," 1935, in BCAHT, FAP, *L'attività tessile*, b. 4, RP MS Misc. 212/118.7.

69 "Relazione di Anita Pittoni," BCAHT, FAP. On Ente Nazionale della Moda, see note 56 above.

70 "Relazione di Anita Pittoni," BCAHT, FAP.

The techniques Pittoni developed made it easier to start this kind of industry precisely because no machinery was required and because "there is no woman who does not know, from her earliest years, how to hold knitting needles and crochet hooks."[71] Thus, it was possible to "develop small autonomous industries in several towns (artisanal products)" and "create a large central industry relying on manual labor." Interestingly, she pays attention to the employment of women workers "currently without jobs, especially after the newly-revised laws on women in the workplace and the overabundance of labor in other women's trades." She was referring to the fascist legislation on female employment that excluded women from some public jobs and certain teaching degrees. In 1934, the year just prior to Pittoni's writing, Law 221 had significantly limited women's employment options by restricting the number of positions that could be filled by women. In 1938, this was limited to ten percent of public and private offices, with female teachers having been barred from teaching literature and philosophy in high schools or certain subjects in technical institutes and from holding administrative positions in all schools as early as 1926.[72]

In her plan for a machine-free industry, Pittoni carefully outlined the organization of workshops and textile production. Production would be organized according to the models for different pieces—either standard patterns, original one-of-a-kind pieces, or high-end luxury pieces. A production organization of this type would be made possible by her "method of technical drawing where everything is already studied for ready and exact execution." As she specified, on the basis of technical drawings, "the worker undertakes production confident of not making mistakes, executing only what is within her competence."[73]

Cultural Organizer and Publisher

"Madam, if only you knew how much melancholy we have here at the studio without you, we hope this month passes by quickly."[74] This was written by Nelly, a dependable employee to whom Pittoni entrusted the directorship of the workshop when she had to be absent from Trieste. Between February 3 and March 4, 1942, Nelly wrote daily and made a detailed chronicle of what happened at the workshop. Anita Pittoni at that time was in Milan where her second solo exhibition was being held at the Palazzo della Permanente, which assembled "the story

71 "Relazione di Anita Pittoni," BCAHT, FAP.

72 See also Alessandra Pescarolo, *Il lavoro delle donne nell'Italia contemporanea* (Rome: Viella, 2018), especially chapter 8, "Una modernità diseguale: il fascismo."

73 "Relazione di Anita Pittoni," BCAHT, FAP.

74 Nelly to Anita Pittoni, Trieste, February 3, 1942, in BCAHT, FAP, *Nelly (lavorante)*, b. 13, 4/15.38.

of 14 years of work: pen drawings, sketches for theatrical costumes, sketches for carpets, panels, fabrics, fashion objects and furnishing fabrics; an entire wall displaying documents, teaching materials, fibers and writings. *Domus* devoted many pages to the exhibition and included a critical note by Raffaele Giolli."[75]

In September 1943, Pittoni went away again for a rest in Miasino (Novara) and once again, the workshop was entrusted to Nelly. The correspondence between the two, which ran from September 23 to December 24, 1943, highlights the hardships of the war and the problems it brought to their work. Pittoni congratulated Nelly on how she ran the workshop: "You are becoming a real workshop director little by little. We praise the workers as well. Good work to all of them and you are the best and bravest of them all!"[76] With an authoritative air, Pittoni directed the laboratory from afar and was particularly attentive, considering the circumstances, as to what could be done to increase the orders for work and to promptly collect payments due for completed pieces. However, "the war, painful family misfortunes, and the condition and fortunes of our city"[77] dealt a mortal blow to the workshop.

For Pittoni, the war years, which took her brother away, and the postwar years, with all they entailed for Trieste, were spent at home and devoted to writing: "Writing, for me, is just like making a fabric, I truly take myself back to this humble craftsmanship of mine ...; the same law directs me, indicates the same movements, even the workmanship, the structure of my fabrics, with intertwined meshes and loose threads, corresponding to the unfolding of my thoughts."[78] With the same commitment she had devoted to the workshop, she now immersed herself in writing, convinced that "by working, by completing, one goes to the deepest part of oneself."[79]

Having discontinued the activities of the laboratory almost permanently in 1948, all that Pittoni had learned throughout a lifetime—and her never-suppressed desire to devote herself to intellectual work—would find fulfillment in a new activity: in 1949, she opened a publishing house, "Lo Zibaldone," thanks to the contribution of Giani Stuparich and friends such as Virgilio Giotti, who participated in the "literary Tuesdays" organized at Pittoni's own home.[80]

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75 Pittoni, *Note autobiografiche*, cited in Maier, "Due scritti inediti," 140–41.

76 Letter from Anita Pittoni to Nelly, Miasino, November 30, 1943, in BCAHT, FAP, *Nelly (lavorante)*, b. 13, 4/15.38.

77 *Riassunto cronologico dell'attività artistica e artigiana di Anita Pittoni*, in BCAHT, FAP, *L'attività tessile*, *L'attività tessile*, b. 4, *Articoli lavoro e arte e Relazioni*, b. 4.

78 Pittoni, *Diario 1944–1945*, 6.

79 Pittoni, *Diario 1944–1945*, 7.

80 See Sandra Parmeggiani, *Far libri: Anita Pittoni e lo Zibaldone* (Trieste: Parnaso, 1995); *Anita Pittoni* (Comune di Trieste: Biblioteca Civica, 1995); on Pittoni's work as a writer and editor, see the entry by Elvio Guagnini in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 84, 2015: https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/anita-pittoni_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/, accessed June 17, 2024. For more on Pittoni's focus regarding transmission and archives, see Gabriella Norio,

"Lo Zibaldone" published works by contemporary Trieste authors, such as Italo Svevo, Umberto Saba, Virgilio Giotti, and Giani Stuparich, as well as authors from the past and those who had visited Trieste and dedicated their writings to the city. As she wrote in the publisher's note included in each volume, "the editorial initiative of the Zibaldone has matured out of necessity: to show the complex features of Trieste and its region in a quick and easy-to-read series.... The past and present, memoirs and fiction, epistolary and poetry, diaries, music, and figurative art, thought, economy, commerce, and social problems find their place. The Zibaldone—a faithful mirror of the soul of Trieste, the gateway of Italy opened to Europe—also includes works by foreign authors translated by writers from Friuli-Venezia Giulia."[81] The editorial format of the various series, as well as the bulletins and catalogs, testify to Pittoni's attention to the aesthetics of the books into which she poured her experience as a craftswoman and artist. Tullio Kezich, who published his first novel, *Il campeggio di Duttogliano*, with Lo Zibaldone in 1959, was impressed by the "extreme care with which [Pittoni] chose the paper, the fonts, and the layout. Proofreading for her was a hunt for every error, which she conducted according to a relentless strategy. She was horrified that the slightest unnoticed typo appeared in her books and was capable of unleashing a scene of epic Greek proportions on the unfortunate printers for a trifle. She loved homely materials and inexpensive paper, and the rough, greenish paper on the covers was the same, she assured, that the *venderigole* [women selling fresh produce] of Ponterosso used to wrap fruit and vegetables."[82]

As evidence of Pittoni's editorial breadth and depth, it suffices to mention her brief note introducing Kezich's novel, a volume that was initially rejected by all the other publishers the author had approached but was reprinted repeatedly after publication until 2001. In this introductory note, Pittoni related the text to a critical essay by Kezich on western film, demonstrating in just a few lines her remarkable attention to and knowledge of both genres, which is further evidenced in her letters to Anton Giulio Bragaglia.

The publishing house, which won praise from intellectuals of the time, including Benedetto Croce, Gaetano Salvemini, Bernard Berenson, and Mario Luzi, ceased operation in 1976. Her involvement in publishing, however, did not cause her to completely abandon her textile work and her hopes of reviving her workshop. In 1963, expounding again on the project of a textile industry without machines, she wrote: "I would still like to say that many people from the world of culture and art, from Trieste and outside, and also, yes, the people

"Lavorare per la storia: L'Archivio Pittoni nella Biblioteca Civica di Trieste," in Pittoni, *Diario 1944–1945*, 58–71; Pietro Spirito, "Tutto ha importanza quando è scritto: Il diario e gli archivi di Anita Pittoni tra memoria e oblio," in Pittoni, *Diario 1944–1945*, 72–79.

81 Tullio Kezich, *Il campeggio di Duttogliano* (Trieste: Edizioni dello Zibaldone, 1959).

82 Kezich, *Il campeggio di Duttogliano e altri ricordi-racconti*, 133.

of Trieste themselves, would greet with satisfaction and sympathy my 'return' to craftsmanship, to this characteristic school of mine that has carried the name of Trieste and of Italy throughout the world, as my abundant archive of newspapers and magazines attests."[83]

She never had the opportunity to do so.

Conclusions

Anita Pittoni worked as an artist-craftswoman and businesswoman, then as a cultural organizer and publisher, at two critical historical moments: after 1918 and after 1945.

The focus of this article centers specifically on outlining her career as an artist and businesswoman. Pittoni's aim was to create and be independent; her yearning for freedom—and her courage to pursue it—characterized the paths of other women who were able to take advantage of the fertile terrain of the early postwar period. Other examples include the women involved in the Bauhaus workshop, or even Sonia Terk Delaunay and her *Atelier Simultané* in Paris, the most important workshop run by a woman in the 1920s and 1930s.

This contribution analyzes Anita Pittoni's artistic work and, at the same time, her career as a businesswoman: the successes and awards, both national and international, that her creations received went hand in hand with her daily work as an entrepreneur. And as historiography has highlighted, this relationship overcame the hitherto theorized division between entrepreneur and manager. As we have seen, hers was a job fraught with difficulties that Pittoni tackled with courage. That courage was tied in with her behavior toward her workers (around 90 total between 1930 and 1942), promoting their working conditions at a time when, during fascism, women's work was undervalued and thwarted.

The study of women artists and that of women entrepreneurs hardly proceed together on the same level of analysis, but, as I have attempted to demonstrate, holding them together contributes to an intersectional approach which seems quite convincing and fruitful because it allows us to highlight the difficulties women encounter in a male-dominated world in both the artistic and entrepreneurial fields, two aspects that cannot be separated.

[83] Pittoni, "Industria tessile senza macchine," BCAHT, FAP.

PART III

INDUSTRIAL LABOR

Tobacco Workers between Marginalization and Opportunities: A Regional Perspective

Urška Strle and Dagmar Wernitznig

> *There were several of us,* [tobacco] *girls, we were friends. Even if someone did something hard to any of us, we all cried, one for another. True friendship! I don't know if there still is such a friendship as the one we had between us, really.*
>
> Francka Jeglič, a worker at the Ljubljana Tobacco Factory (1949–1961)

Introduction

This chapter applies a transnational, comparative, and longitudinal approach to a study of tobacco workers at three of the eight tobacco factories located in the north-eastern Adriatic region in the twentieth century.[1] The tobacco factories in Ljubljana, Klagenfurt, and Rovinj were established in the nineteenth century and, as such, were subordinated to the Austrian tobacco monopoly in Vienna, which at the turn of the twentieth century controlled altogether 30 enterprises within the tobacco industry in Habsburg Austria. There are quite a few common denominators stemming from the executive politics of the tobacco monopoly and the relevant labor legislation. When taking the three factories in the Austrian context into consideration, a rather favorable reputation of the state as a tobacco industry employer may be observed, in particular, alongside the gradually improving work legislation and the predominance of women within the workforce. Even though the factories initially belonged to the same state, they also exhibited profoundly different starting points established on diverse socio-political foundations. Also, alongside the manifold shifts in national and cultural settings, they underwent a divergent development throughout the twentieth century.

[1] Apart from the three factories discussed in this paper, there were factories in Rijeka/Fiume (1851–1947), Senj/Segna (1894–1945), Pula/Pola (1920–1945), Trieste/Trst (1957–1999), and Gorizia/Gorica (1953–1986) that operated in the north-eastern Adriatic region in the twentieth century.

This chapter is aimed at presenting the observed territory over a longer spectrum of time, defined by alternating forms of capitalism and socialism in the twentieth century. It brings into focus periods after both world wars and the disintegration of Yugoslavia, all of which significantly affected the observed region. The longitudinal view testifies to the fact that not only economic recessions and upturns but also changing political frameworks fundamentally affected the quality of life and work in the region. Such a temporal framework also mirrors the complex interactivity between historical actors and social institutions. The term "institution" is used here in the manner proposed by North as a system of written and unwritten rules in interpersonal interactions, which are subjected to variability in space and time.[2] The purpose of these rules was (and still is) to ensure social stability (and to maintain the *status quo*), which significantly co-shaped international power relations, market mechanisms, social hierarchies, value systems, etc. The institutional view, which determines both the possibilities and the limitations of human activity in a working collective, has a significant impact on social development and presents a valuable lens with which to better understand historical change.

In order to present the historical matter in its human complexity, the article favors the intersectional approach,[3] which tends to explain social relations in an extended scope of observation. The term intersectionality was coined in the late 1980s by Kimberle Crenshaw, an American lawyer and human rights advocate, whose approach "sets forth a problematic consequence of the tendency to treat race and gender as mutually exclusive categories of experience and analysis."[4] On the contrary, she considered overlapping, intersecting concepts of *gender* and *race* to be crucial to understanding power relations and social inequality in American society. During the following decades, scholars from various disciplines added to the exciting concept of intersectionality other aspects of intra-group differences: *class*, *ethnicity*, *age*, *(dis)ability*, *sexuality*, and *nation*.[5] In rethinking the

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2 Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

3 For a similar approach used in analyzing tobacco workers, see Tamara Nikolić Đerić, "Intersekcijska analiza uloge i položaja rovinjskih industrijskih radnica u razdoblju 1872.–1970.," (PhD diss., University of Zagreb: FF UZ, 2020), 51–55; Efi Avdela, "Class, Ethnicity and Gender in Post-Ottoman Thessaloniki: The Great Tobacco Strike of 1914," in *Borderlines: Genders and Identities in War and Peace 1870–1930*, ed. Billie Melman (New York: Routledge, 1998), 421–38.

4 Crenshaw, Kimberle, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1 (1989): 139. Available at: http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8 (accessed May 22, 2022).

5 Michele Tracy Berger and Kathleen Guidroz, *The Intersectional Approach: Transforming the Academy through Race, Class, and Gender* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Sumi Cho, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, and Leslie McCall, "Toward a Field of Intersectionality Studies: Theory, Applications, and Praxis," *Signs* 38, no. 4 (2013) : 785–810, jstor.org/stable/10.1086/669608; Ange-Marie Hancock, *Intersectionality: An Intellectual*

long-term position of tobacco workers in Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Rovinj, it is possible to add several additional social factors to better define workers' social position, including their relationship (1) to the working collective, (2) to the factory with its internal rules and norms, (3) to the framework of unions, and (4) to the state as a carrier of the social and political system. These may point to the categories of *ideology*, *citizenship*, *marital status*, *educational degree*, and *position within the factory*.

But even with such a long list of identifiers, power relations and modes of social exclusion cannot explain social hierarchy within the factories in absolute terms. For instance, they overlook the meaning of certain—from a historical point of view, less measurable—psychological features of social agents and the quality of their social networks, which affect power relations in the observed social setting as well. Although power relations are often associated with (undesired) forms of social inequality, and even oppression, they are—according to Michel Foucault—dynamic, flexible, sometimes destructive, sometimes productive, yet far from strictly negative.[6] Since listed social categories can be useful for analytical-interpretive insights, it is also necessary to understand that the boundaries between the majority of them may turn out to be porous and mutable at certain times.[7] The north-eastern Adriatic region offers convincing empirical evidence that, at various turning points in the past, certain social groups could fundamentally change the charge of their social reputation and opportunities in relation to how various social groups in certain temporal segments enjoyed more privileges and social protections than in others, and how even marginal social positions contain a limited possibility for social inclusion. The empirically-based findings supporting the analysis of observed tobacco workers clearly exhibit *mutable social hierarchies*, even more so when a long-term perspective is employed. The social meaning of gender appears to be mutable as well, but only in nuances, as women workers seem to have been perceived as secondary to their male colleagues all through the observed period.[8]

It must be emphasized that women workers in the tobacco industry also had to tackle a variety of obstacles in conjunction with the marginalization that derived from intersectionality. The expression "triple burden" frequently appears in analyses of female employees—especially those in socialist states—to describe their threefold shouldering of duties and responsibilities as reproductive, productive, and representative agents.[9] Yet it seems quite adequate to expand this

History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge, *Intersectionality* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016).

6 Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry* 8, no. 4 (1982), 777–95.

7 Charles Tilly, *Durable Inequality* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998).

8 Cf. Laura Lee Downs, *Manufacturing Inequality: Gender Division in the French and British Metalworking Industries, 1914–1939* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).

9 Jiping Zuo, *Work and Family in Urban China: Women's Changing Experience since Mao* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), esp. ch. 4 "Women's Triple Burden," 67–76; Chiara

trinity and classify it as a *multiple burden*. Palpably, female tobacco workers in Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Rovinj faced an array of challenges and obstacles in both the public and private realms that went beyond the threefold division of labor exploitation, domestic chores, and service to their country (i.e., political unionism and/or representative duties of near-obligatory tasks provided by the Yugoslav self-managed society).

Given that a considerable number of tobacco workers belonged to the agrarian proletariat and commuted daily to the factory from rural villages, engagement in agricultural work could be listed as another burden associated with work, a burden which, on the other hand, provided them with access to nutrients, essential in times of crisis. This manifold complexity of burdens also included a probability of gender-based disrespect and even sexual harassment in the factory. In this respect, the paper seeks to emphasize the societal biases aimed at working women, which stemmed from the traditional perception of the ideal vocation for women, and which appears to have lasted in such small-town environments at least until the mid-twentieth century. Female wage workers, who were more visible in the public sphere due to their employment in places like factories, ran the risk of being considered 'dubious creatures,' signifying prostitution, as compared to 'bourgeois' women, who were mainly confined to their homes, fulfilling domestic chores.[10] This moralizing component, constructed by the patriarchy, was exacerbated by the Catholic rhetoric present in all three locations. Although Catholicism was officially marginalized in socialist Yugoslavia, its mental assumptions still resounded in the wider social strata.

However, upon applying a thorough historical *view from below*, a more ambivalent image of the past comes to light.[11] The qualitative implications of the interviews conducted in Ljubljana and Rovinj and confirmed in the oral history studies dealing with workers elsewhere[12] clearly demonstrate that the memories of the tobacco workers contain both unpleasant and exciting aspects related to factory work. Memories of fatigue and hard work, injustices committed by supervisors, rivalry, rigid rules, low salaries, and misery are juxtaposed with memories

Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry in the Balkans: The Rise and Fall of the Yugoslav Textile Sector* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2019), esp. 56–60.

10 Cf. Karin J. Jušek, *Auf der Suche nach der Verlorenen: Die Prostitutionsdebatten im Wien der Jahrhundertwende* (Vienna: Löcker, 1994).

11 Cf. Andrea Komlosy, *Delo: Globalnohistorčna perspektiva od 13. do 21. stoletja* (Ljubljana: Založba /*cf, 2021), 13; Francisca de Haan, "Women as the 'Motor of Modern Life': Women's Work in Europe West and East since 1945," in *Women and Gender in Postwar Europe: From Cold War to European Union*, ed. Joanna Regulska and Bonnie G. Smith (London: Routledge, 2012), 90–92.

12 Vincenzo Santoro and Giorgio Torsello, *Tabacco e tabacchine nella memoria storica: Una ricerca di storia orale a Tricase e nel Salento* (Lecce: Piero Manni, 2002). Cf. Komlosy, *Delo: Globalnohistorična perspektiva*, 16; Victoria de Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922–1945* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 191–92.

of becoming part of a community, making new friends and even confidants, building new aspects of identity, earning one's own income, acquiring new competences, the chance to be publicly and politically active, adding excitement to the workday by leaving the monotonous tasks of the domestic household, enhancing the feeling of dignity through participation in collective work, etc. Thus, a noteworthy laboratory environment comprising the three factories in the north-eastern Adriatic region confirms the ever-changing spectrum between the social polarities of the workers' fate: marginalization, exclusion, and disempowerment on one side, and inclusion, empowerment, and opportunities on the other.

Addressing the workforce in this chapter is set within a gender framework which pays close attention to gender roles and ideologies, which are occasionally compared with men's positions. As already indicated, special attention is given to women workers, although a minor yet significant share of the male workforce was always present in the factory. It bears noting that women are quite visible in relevant historical sources as the dominant workforce within tobacco factories, which, due to their fiscal impact and mobilization of the workforce, economically, socially, and culturally, influenced their surroundings. Still, they remain rather poorly historicized. The major research effort related to the tobacco factories in the observed region was aimed at their production, architecture, and, only recently, at the social history of their workforce.[13] As the position of workers in a factory is not only a matter of internal factory politics, we also observe the socio-political context in which they lived and from which they originated. In this sense, we modestly engage perspectives of the *new working-class studies*, which promote interdisciplinary viewpoints on workers and strive to take a closer look at their integration in the environment of daily living, engagement outside the workplace, and their private lives.[14]

[13] Avdela, "Class, Ethnicity and Gender," 421–38; Gila Hadar, "Jewish Tobacco Workers in Salonika: Gender and Family in the Context of Social and Ethnic Strife," in *Women in the Ottoman Balkans: Gender, Culture and History*, ed. Amila Buturović and Irvin Cemil Schick (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 127–52; Gulhan Balsoy, "Gendering Ottoman Labor History: The Cibali Regie Factory in the Early Twentieth Century," *International Review of Social History* 54 (2009): 45–68; Pamela Radcliff, "Elite Women Workers and Collective Action: The Cigarette Makers of Gijon, 1890–1930," *Journal of Social History* 27, no. 1 (1993): 85–108; Lina Galvez Munoz, "Breadwinning Patterns and Family Exogenous Factors: Workers at the Tobacco Factory of Seville during the Industrialization Process, 1887–1945," *International Review of Social History* 42, S5 (1997): 87–128; Angelika Willis, *Arbeit und Tabak in Tirol im fin de siècle: Die Tabakfabriken Schwatz und Sacco (1900–1913)* (Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press, 2014).

[14] John Russo and Sherry Lee Linkon, eds., *New Working-Class Studies* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005).

The Historical Triptych of the Tobacco Industry Locations: Klagenfurt—Ljubljana—Rovinj

In the Austrian part of the monarchy, no less than 30 factories were in operation before the beginning of the Great War.[15] Another four tobacco factories were operating in Bosnia and Herzegovina, occupied by the monarchy in 1878 and annexed to it in 1908.[16] In contrast, only eight tobacco factories were established in the Hungarian part of the state,[17] while 19 were active at the time in neighboring Italy.[18] Austrian economic and social development was rather slow during the nineteenth century, especially when compared to Germany, France, England, and Belgium. By building the tobacco factories, the Austrian regime sought to foster industrialization and urbanization to expand its socio-political position within Europe.

As in many places across Europe and beyond, the Austrian tobacco monopoly and the associated tax revenues were extremely lucrative. In addition to their profitable status, the three observed factories in Klagenfurt (1858–1940), Ljubljana (1871–2004), and Rovinj (1872–) were considered socially oriented. They were aimed at lowering the unemployment rate and extending social possibilities for the population of the localities where they were established. In contrast to many other monopolies which built their factories in developed urban areas,[19] Austria chiefly set its factories in developing towns to foster a more decentralized economic development, a fact that may also be juxtaposed with other capitalist aspects. The reason to prioritize building factories in smaller towns might have been due to attempts at preventing the stimulation of mass-supported (socialist-led) labor movements in the state, where conservative worldviews prevailed among the governing elite. Furthermore, these factories were built in places where a cheap labor force could be found, originating from small towns,

[15] The list of K. u. K. (imperial) tobacco factories can be found at the online archive register of the AT-OeStA/FHKA SUS Tabak Österreichische Tabakregie, 1830–1967 available at: https://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=3059943.

[16] Rachel Trode, "The Sarajevo Tobacco Factory Strike of 1906: Empire and the Nature of Late Habsburg Rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina," *Central European History* 55, no. 4 (2022): 499.

[17] Elisabeth Ernst, *Tabak in der Steiermark: Von den Anfängen eines Genußmittels bis zur industriellen Produktion in Fürstenfeld* (Graz: Historisches Landeskommission für Steiermark, 1996), 10–11.

[18] Rossella Del Prete, "Tabacchine di terra e di fabbrica: Storia di un lavoro femminile all'italiana," in *Tabacchine: luoghi, archivi e memoria del lavoro delle donne*, ed. Rossella Del Prete (Narni: Crace, 2011), 161–62.

[19] Del Prete, *Tabacchine: luoghi, archivi e memoria*; Antonio Ceci, "Il monopolio del tabacco in Italia: Ascesa e declino di una industria di Stato," *Historia et ius rivista di storia giuridica dell'età medievale e moderna* 8, paper 16 (2015): http://www.historiaetius.eu/uploads/5/9/4/8/5948821/ceci_8.pdf (accessed November 27, 2022); Avdela, "Class, Ethnicity and Gender," 421–38; Radcliff, "Elite Women Workers," 85–108; Galvez Munoz, "Breadwinning Patterns," 87–128.

densely interlacing rustic and urban lifestyles. These towns provided a workforce from their own proletariat but also attracted their workforce from the surrounding rural areas.[20] Within this social trend, women presented a huge share of rural to urban migration, which intensified to an unprecedented extent from the second half of the nineteenth century onward.[21]

After the collapse of the Habsburg Empire in late 1918, the three factories faced quite diverse fates due to the substantial changes in their geopolitical position, which also affected the social roles of workers and women. Although its geographical and political status was disputed by 1920, Klagenfurt remained the capital of Carinthia, led from Vienna in a territorially reduced Austria. Despite turbulent interwar times (marked by economic and political crises, refugee issues, the "Austrofascist" Dollfuss government in 1932, and the *Anschluss* in 1938), such a political continuity presented possibilities for steadier socio-economic development than the other two factories. Namely, following the Great War, Ljubljana and Rovinj entered new cultural circles less favorable to the emancipatory demands of women and laborers. Ljubljana belonged to the Yugoslav Kingdom, which throughout its existence exhibited growing centralizing tendencies in favor of Belgrade. The newly established kingdom turned out to be less favorable with regard to addressing the rights of workers and women.[22] Rovinj was included in the Italian Kingdom, itself a corporatist, fascist state from 1922 to 1943. The fascist state undoubtedly slowed down the emancipatory tendencies of women but also provided some benefits, such as a variety of leisure activities and foster care for the working mothers, which is not reported for tobacco factories of the Yugoslav Kingdom or the Austrian Republic. In the longitudinal perspective, these benefits produced significant changes affecting women's roles in the socio-economic context.[23]

The situation drastically changed again in the post-WWII era, when Ljubljana and Rovinj were included in socialist Yugoslavia, which treated workers better than the regimes before it and also granted women more rights.[24] After 1991, when socialist Yugoslavia disintegrated into states with capitalist tendencies, the position of industrial workers gradually worsened.[25] The public discourse on women

[20] Jože Maček, *Zgodovina slovenskega agrarnega prebivalstva* (Ljubljana: SAZU, 2020), 215.

[21] Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003), 126–43.

[22] Jovanka Kecman, *Žene Jugoslavije u radničkom pokretu i ženskim organizacijama: 1918–1941* (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga/Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1978); Ivana Aritonović, "Društveni položaj žena u Srbiji u doba Kraljevine Jugoslavije," *Baština* 27 (2009): 233–57.

[23] Del Prete, "Tabacchine di terra," 166–200.

[24] Cf. Mary C. Neuburger, *Balkan Smoke: Tobacco and the Making of Modern Bulgaria* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2013), 199–228.

[25] The complex topic of transition and women's industrial work is thoroughly treated in Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*; Nina Vodopivec, *Labirinti postsocializma: Socialni spomini tekstilnih delavk in delavcev* (Ljubljana: ISH, 2007); Nina Vodopivec, *Tu se ne bo nikoli več šivalo: Doživljanja izgube dela in propada tovarne* (Ljubljana: INZ, 2021).

was subjected to a certain degree of retraditionalization across the territory of former Yugoslavia, including Croatia and Slovenia.[26]

The following few pages are dedicated to bringing closer attention to those places in which tobacco factories were established. They also provide a social historical outline of the developing towns, which remain at the margin of European historical anthologies, in addition to providing a noteworthy observational position for rethinking the past from the perspective of the tobacco factories and those who worked there.

Klagenfurt, the Center of Carinthian Tobacco Manufacturing (1858–1940)

Tobacco had been processed in Carinthia since the eighteenth century. Accordingly, the varying manufacturing sites in Klagenfurt signified the changing nature and degree of industrialization in Carinthia. The initial, humble beginnings of mass production (as compared to earlier, de-centralized manufacturing) were located at a building complex in the northwest of the city that initially served as a factory for white lead and fine cloth, as well as an educational home for military orphanages and later a military training camp, respectively.[27] For a brief time, from 1858 to 1864, these houses were appropriated as military processing sites for cigars until the actual, modern-day tobacco factory near the well-connected Klagenfurt railway station in the south of the city was established. In the succeeding decades, this factory metamorphosed into an expanding tobacco production area with rising numbers of female wage-laborers and a repertoire of tobacco products. As a result, the tobacco industry became the foremost employer for women workers in Carinthia due to the absence of other (more favorable) options.

Besides the tobacco factory in Klagenfurt, Carinthia only had the Bleiberger Bergwerks Union, which employed mainly men, as a large provider of jobs.[28] In contrast, a variety of food and textile processing industries were established in Ljubljana and its wider surroundings, while fish canning factories dominated in the Istrian region,[29] which meant that both sectors provided ample jobs for women. Consequently, latent hierarchies among the workers in the individual

[26] Vesna Nikolić Ristanović, *Social Change, Gender and Violence: Post-Communist and War Affected Societies* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002).

[27] Erich Blüml, ed., *Wehrhaftes Kärnten: Das Österreichische Bundesheer in Kärnten von 1955–2005* (Graz: Vehling, 2005).

[28] Less than a third of the employees of the Bleiberger Bergwerks Union were female. See Thomas Zeloth, *Zwischen Staat und Markt: Geschichte der Bleiberger Bergwerks Union und ihrer Vorläuferbetriebe* (Klagenfurt: Verlag des Kärntner Landesarchivs, 2004).

[29] Iva Kosmos, Tanja Petrović, and Martin Pogačar, eds., *Zgodbe iz konzerve: Zgodovine predelave in konzerviranja rib na severovzhodnem Jadranu* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2020).

sectors emerged. For instance, the tobacco factories in Ljubljana and Rovinj were much more prestigious as workplaces than the one in Klagenfurt, since textile and fish processing ranked at the social bottom due to the adverse and odorous outdoor working conditions. Consequently, female tobacco workers in Klagenfurt were generally derided by the people living near the factory. The average perception of this profession among the general population was characterized by contempt and scorn because of the women workers' tobacco-stained hands and the odor of tobacco which clung to their clothes. Marginalized as pariahs, the *Tschickweiber* in Klagenfurt with their brown fingers and the typical smell of tobacco were "considered offensive," as Andrea M. Lauritsch aptly puts it.[30]

In conjunction with this underdeveloped industrial scope in the predominantly rural territory of Carinthia, which offered workers little or no choice between individual workplaces, restrictive inheritance laws when passing Carinthian farms down to descendants also played a significant role. More precisely, legal differentiations and dimensions were relevant for improved employment standards on the Adriatic because female citizens in Rovinj could rely on more benign marriage and family laws, for example.[31] In contrast, family members living on farmsteads in Carinthia were disadvantaged by the strict inheritance law. This stipulated that the parental farm could only be taken over by one heir. As a result, the remaining siblings—aptly referred to in technical jargon as "exiles" (*Weichende*)—were forced to earn a living as subdued servants and maids on their family farm or to migrate to the more promising urban centers in their search for work. The Klagenfurt Tobacco Factory could thus rely on an almost endless supply and inexhaustible reservoir of cheap and willing workers escaping from their rural existence on family farms. This enabled the tobacco management to keep the working conditions for these migrants from the countryside comparatively inferior for a long time.

Nevertheless, the factory was also a platform where individual women could network and organize. Thus, the quasi-public space of the plant (beyond the supposed private or domestic sphere) served for politicization and mobilization, social action, and emancipation. In particular, the retrogressive setup of their factory environment necessitated and facilitated the exceptional and almost unique political engagement and agency of these women workers as members of the Social Democratic Party, a newly forming political ideology and movement which was eventually very strong in Carinthia.[32] As, for example, Selina Todd

[30] Andrea M. Lauritsch, "'Tschikmenscher, sehend, beleidigend betrachtet:' Die Tabakarbeiterinnen von Klagenfurt 1890 bis 1914," in *Bewegte Provinz: Arbeiterbewegung in mitteleuropäischen Regionen vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg*, Rudolf. G. Ardelt and Erika Thurner (Zürich: Europaverlag, 1992).

[31] Tamara Nikolić Đerić, "Tobacco Industry Changing Lives: Women Workers at the Turn of the 20st Century," *Narodna umjetnost* 52, no. 1 (2015): 179–82.

[32] Karl Dinklage, *Geschichte der Kärntner Arbeiterschaft* (Klagenfurt: Johannes Heyn, 1976–1982).

emphasizes in her research, factory workers were essential for the comparatively young socialist parties, and in the case of Great Britain, the Labour Party, because they could be recruited *en masse* and thus directly on the factory premises.[33] In contrast, contact with domestic servants or maids, who were more isolated in individual households and therefore more difficult to reach, was less efficient for these parties. Tobacco workers were therefore ideal "membership targets" for the Austrian Social Democratic Party, as Gabriella Hauch emphasizes.[34] Many of the union's members acted as representatives (*Betriebsräte*) or "confidantes" (*Vertrauenspersonen*) for the mostly female employees of the plant in relation to and negotiations with management. Social Democratic activism also enabled the "tobacco women" to counteract the adverse association law provisions for female citizens in Austria to a significant extent.[35] Its advantage, by comparison to the Christian Social *Ortsgruppe*, itself of a similar nature, was precisely the inclusion (rather than exclusion) of female members.[36]

The women workers had to fight against discrimination and misogyny "on all fronts"—not only within the tobacco company but also for daily survival outside of the factory walls as shunned and vilified "Others," based on an intersectionality of gender, class, or milieu and a migratory background alongside the urban divide. Male workers, as in other industrial sectors, often resented their female colleagues with the irrational argument that they were stealing their jobs and decreasing salary levels. This existence as social outcasts resulted in intense practical and tactical networking among the female tobacco workers in the private, non-professional arena as well. Subsequently, an effective communal microcosm sprang forth in the St. Ruprecht district of Klagenfurt near the tobacco plant, which would turn out to be beneficial for further political organization in the post-WWI period.[37] Problems like a severe housing shortage and inadequate nutritional supply were just as drastic as the working conditions in the actual factory: accommodation as well as food were scarce and expensive, and the women's

[33] Selina Todd, "Domestic Service and Class Relations in Britain 1900–1950," *Past & Present* 203, no. 1 (2009): 181–204, 189; Selina Todd, *Young Women, Work, and Family in England 1918–1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 166–94.

[34] Gabriella Hauch, *Vom Frauenstandpunkt aus: Frauen im Parlament 1919–1933* (Vienna: Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik, 1995), 349.

[35] Section 30 of the Associations Act of 1867, which existed until 1918, prohibited female citizens from participating in political organizations or groups. See *Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich*, Jahrgang 1867, LVIII. Stück vom 24. November 1867, 134: Gesetz vom 15. November 1867 über das Vereinsrecht, 380, http://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=rgb&datum=1867&page=408&size=45 (accessed September 22, 2022).

[36] Women could not become full members of the Christian Social group. See Lauritsch, "Tschikmenscher, sehend, beleidigend betrachtet," 250.

[37] Vinzenz Jobst, *Marie Tusch: Lebensbild einer Tabakarbeiterin* (Klagenfurt: Archiv der Kärntner Arbeiterbewegung, 1999), 27; Anna K. Benedikt, "*Von diesen Stunden an ist unser Geist erwacht": Arbeiterinnenbewegung in Kärnten 1900–1918* (Klagenfurt: Institut für die Geschichte der Kärntner Arbeiterbewegung, 2014), 62.

burden of housekeeping and long shifts in the plant left little time, opportunity, or money to deal with the essentials of everyday life. All of these problems were particularly evident at the Klagenfurt Tobacco Factory, as compared to Ljubljana and Rovinj, and started improving only in the 1920s, when new houses for workers were built.[38]

From this community in St. Ruprecht, an unprecedented number of politically visible women sprang forth. Marie Tusch's (1868–1939) narrative stands out in particular because she propelled herself to political stardom on a national level by becoming one of only eight women MPs after the first universal elections in the newly created Republic of Austria after the First World War.[39] Ostensibly, Austria had already introduced women's suffrage in 1918, in contrast to neighboring Italy, which only enabled women's participation in local elections from 1925 on and full suffrage from 1945 on, or Yugoslavia, where women were first able to vote in 1945. In the interwar years, Marie Tusch's former workplace, the tobacco factory in Klagenfurt, epitomized the socio-economic and socio-political turmoil of the Great Depression, the gradual sinking into fascist politics, and the Austrian *Anschluss* to Hitler's Germany. The post-1918 infrastructure of the plant mirrored the dire economic straits of the rest of the country. The machinery was obsolete and ineffective, a relic of former times that could barely compete with more modernized production sites. Most importantly, the supply chain of raw materials stayed permanently disrupted while postwar inflation and market speculation rendered the tobacco business less profitable. Thus, the tobacco monopoly of the Austrian Republic suffered from diminished revenues, resulting in a reform of this sector in the 1920s. This step was imperative as the monopoly's income had to serve as a backup for gold bonds, as stipulated in the Geneva Protocols of 1922.[40]

The political instability of interwar Austria peaked with the Nazi invasion in 1938, further deteriorating the fate of the tobacco factory in Klagenfurt. Conveniently located on transport lines to service the Third Reich, it underwent nazification by becoming utilized as an armaments production site in 1940, similar to the tobacco factory in Hallein near Salzburg.[41] The well-known fact that Nazi Germany strongly opposed smoking as polluting the "national body" may have added to this decision.[42] Finally bombed and destroyed in an air raid in 1944,

38 Gabriel Benjamin Logar, "Eine Geschichte des 'Genusses': Tabak und Tabakverarbeitung in Klagenfurt" (master's thesis, Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt 2017), 103.

39 See Dagmar Wernitznig, "Rauchzeichen: Tabakproduktion und Gender im globalen und historiographischen Kontext," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften / Austrian Journal of Historical Studies* 33, no. 3 (2022): esp. 61–65; doi.org/10.25365/oezg-2022-33-3-4.

40 Cf. Karl Ausch, *Als die Banken fielen: Zur Soziologie der politischen Korruption* (Vienna: Europa Verlag, 1968), 76.

41 Ingrid Bauer, *"Tschikweiber haum's uns g'nennt...": Frauenleben und Frauenarbeit an der "Peripherie": Die Halleiner Zigarrenfabriksarbeiterinnen 1869 bis 1940* (Vienna: Europaverlag, 1988).

42 Neuburger, *Balkan Smoke*, 9.

the factory was never revitalized as a "civil" plant after World War II. With this abrupt end, the tobacco factory in Klagenfurt, as the oldest of all three of the plants presented herein, joined the fate of quite a few other tobacco factories, like the ones in Pula, Bologna, Rijeka, and Senj, all of which failed to recover their production in the postwar economic plans.

The Tobacco Industry in Ljubljana (1871–2004)

The existence of the factory covers 133 years of the continuous production of tobacco products, which were gravely affected by devastating wars and the Great Depression. The transition from the Habsburg Monarchy to the Yugoslav kingdom was marked by WWI, the transition from capitalist Yugoslavia to socialist Yugoslavia by the end of WWII, and the transition from socialist Yugoslavia to capitalist-oriented nation states by the Yugoslav Wars. Consequently, the factory went through very diverse periods as far as its management is concerned. Between 1871 and 1943, the Ljubljana Tobacco Factory was part of several state monopolies: the Austrian (1871–1918), the Yugoslav (1918–1941), and the Italian (1941–1943). During the German occupation (1943–1945), it was subordinated to the Ljubljana City Self-Government. After the war, the tobacco factory initially operated as part of the Administration of State Monopolies in Belgrade and was declared a company of general national importance in 1946. In 1950, it passed into republican jurisdiction, and in August of the same year, based on the state law on self-government, it was transformed into a self-governing entrepreneurial body. In 1971, the factory entered into a business partnership with the Hamburg tobacco giant Reemtsma to penetrate the international market as well as to become acquainted with modern technology and marketing principles.[43] In 1990, the factory was restructured into a company with the status of a limited liability company. About a quarter of its shares were invested in the Development Fund of the Republic of Slovenia, while three quarters were bought by foreign investors, namely the French Seita and German Reemtsma in 1991. In 2002, the Ljubljana Tobacco Factory became the property of Imperial Tobacco from Bristol, which abolished tobacco production with Slovenia's accession to the EU—somewhat ironically on Labor Day 2004.[44]

The idea of establishing a tobacco factory in Ljubljana was seriously considered by the city's financial administration in the mid-nineteenth century.[45]

[43] Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana (Historical Archives of Ljubljana, hereafter SI ZAL) LJU/134/II, t. u. 1, f. 2, Ljubljana Tobacco Factory and Reemstma Hamburg cooperation agreement, 1971.

[44] Urška Strle, "Družbeni položaji tobačnega delavstva v perspektivi dolgega trajanja," in *Sočutje in stigma: Družbene razlike in revščina v slovenski novejši zgodovini*, ed. Ivan Smiljanić (Ljubljana: INZ, 2022), 74.

[45] Ivan Slokar, "Začetki tobačne industrije v Ljubljani," *Kronika* 9, no. 1 (1961): 16–19.

Founding a bigger industrial plant under the direct supervision of the Austrian government would increase the economic significance of Carniola's capital and of the land itself. Ljubljana, although a growing commercial center with a railyard constructed by 1870,[46] had long remained a sleepy provincial town which still held on to its rural characteristics.[47] In 1869, when the first population census was undertaken in the country, the town had less than 23,000 inhabitants, while in 1910 it boasted a little more than 41,000, but still less than Klagenfurt at the same time.[48] In the interwar years, the population of Ljubljana grew by about two-thirds. The growth trend continued between 1945 and 1965, when newcomers represented nearly an equal share of the prewar population.[49] During the 1960s and 1970s, Ljubljana witnessed steady immigration from other parts of Yugoslavia,[50] something that is also reflected in the composition of workers in the tobacco factory.[51] The intense trend of city population growth slowed down in the late 1980s.[52] When the factory closed in 2004, Ljubljana had slightly over 270,000 inhabitants.

As is usually the case with urban centers, Ljubljana's demographic expansion was driven mainly by immigration, with women accounting for a noteworthy share of immigrants from the late nineteenth century onward.[53] Women, mostly of rural backgrounds, were moving to Ljubljana from near and afar to apply for work in a varied array of services. Moreover, a considerable share of the job seekers was not recorded in the population censuses, as they belonged to the considerable corpus of daily commuters living outside of the city.[54] In the first post-WWII years, women were invited to take part in the postwar reconstruction and industrialization. They were also encouraged to apply for more "masculine" positions.[55]

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46 Ivan Mohorič, *Zgodovina železnic na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana: Slovenska matica, 1968).

47 Marija Vojskovič, *Hiša št. 15* (Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga 1988), 85; Mojca Šorn, *Življenje Ljubljančanov med drugo svetovno vojno* (Ljubljana: INZ, 2007), 24. Andrej Studen, *Stanovati v Ljubljani* (Ljubljana: Studia humanitatis, 1995), 15.

48 Studen, *Stanovati v Ljubljani*, 17; Sabina Ž. Žnidaršič, *Ora et labora—in molči, ženska! Socialni položaji in statusi žensk na Kranjskem 1890–1910* (Ljubljana: Založba /*cf, 2000), 44–45.

49 Zvone Miklavič, ed., *Gradivo o razvoju Ljubljane v prvem desetletju po osvoboditvi 1945–1955* (Ljubljana: Mestni arhiv, 1965), 229; David Petelin, *Živeti v socialistični Ljubljani: mestno življenje v prvih dveh desetletjih po drugi svetovni vojni* (Ljubljana: ZAL, 2020), 55.

50 Miran Komac, ed., *Priseljenci: Študije o priseljevanju in vključevanju v slovensko družbo* (Ljubljana: INV, 2007); Silva Mežnarić, *Bosanci: a kuda idu Slovenci nedeljom?* (Ljubljana: ZSMS, 1986).

51 SI ZAL LJU/134/I, t. u. 33, f. List of workers and employees from 1921 to 1966.

52 *Statistical Yearbook* various volumes. Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Ljubljana.

53 Žnidaršič, *Ora et labora*, 55–57; France Kresal, "Ženske v gospodarstvu do druge svetovne vojne na Slovenskem," in *Ženske skozi zgodovino*, ed. Aleksander Žižek (Ljubljana: ZZDS, 2004); cf. Marta Verginella, *Ženska obrobja: Vpis žensk v zgodovino Slovencev* (Ljubljana: Delta, 2006), 136–77.

54 Miklavič, *Gradivo o razvoju Ljubljane*, 7–13; Urška Strle, "Družbeni položaji," 90.

55 Arhiv Republike Slovenije (Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, hereafter ARS), ARS, SI AS 1800 Glavni odbor AFŽ, t. u. 17, f. Paper at the Belgrade conference of AFŽ by Branka Jurca (1947); Urška Strle, "Tobacco Workers in Ljubljana (1912–1962): Some Gender-Sensitive Insights into Social Transformation," *Acta Histriae* 29, no. 4 (2021): 967–77.

Moreover, women gradually took on more qualified and intellectual positions as a result of the fostering of progressive educational politics by the state.[56] As a university town (since 1919) and a place with a multitude of secondary schools, Ljubljana offered a large pool for summer students and apprentices who were encouraged to apply for jobs in various factories as a result of state educational policy since the late 1950s. The tobacco factory even offered a symbolic reward for schooling young workers at various positions, which were usually unpaid.[57]

In economic terms, Ljubljana has long been more of an artisanal than an industrial center, acting as the commercial, administrative, judicial, military, ecclesiastical, educational, and cultural hub of the territory. Its industrial image reflected the cultural and educational role of the town, composed merely of processing and light industry (textile, food, graphics, and paper) with a considerable share of women workers.[58] Moreover, unlike other nearby industrial centers, it was based on small and medium-sized enterprises.[59] The concept of "a town without factories and smoke" changed after WWII, when Ljubljana also gained a more saturated industrial character. Such a change aimed to promote the socialist project by increasing economic capacities and self-sustainability. In contrast to many other industrial places in the state where industrial infrastructure was built anew, industrialization in Ljubljana was in large part executed by means of the reorganization, unification, and renovation of existing enterprises.[60]

In this sense, the economic meaning and the social role of the Ljubljana Tobacco Factory also changed during that time. At the turn of the century, it was not only the largest industrial plant in town but also one of the most significant industrial enterprises in Carniola.[61] It comes as no surprise that as much as one half of all women laborers in Ljubljana worked in the tobacco factory at that time.[62] The rest of the industrial female workers in Ljubljana were employed by textile, paper, and food-processing enterprises. Quite a significant share of them also worked at Saturnus, Ljubljana's biggest metal processing factory, as well as in various brick-making companies. By establishing new companies in the city, the Ljubljana Tobacco Factory became a more standard industrial employer (for women) after the end of WWII. However, the tobacco factory remained one of

56 Aleš Gabrič, *Šolska reforma 1953–1963* (Ljubljana: INZ, 2006).

57 SI ZAL LJU 134, Tobačna tovarna Ljubljana 134/2 t. u. 13, a. u. 23, Pricelist for apprentice awards.

58 Zdenko Čepič, "Prispevek k problematiki industrializacije Ljubljane v prvem desetletju socialistične graditve," in Ferdo Gestrin, ed.. *Zgodovina Ljubljane: prispevki za monografijo* (Ljubljana: Zgodovinsko društvo, 1984), 523–39.

59 Žarko Lazarević, *Plasti prostora in časa: Iz gospodarske zgodovine Slovenije prve polovice 20. stoletja* (Ljubljana: Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2001), 111.

60 Čepič, "Prispevek k problematiki," 524–27.

61 Čepič, "Prispevek k problematiki," 527.

62 Jasna Fischer, "Delavke tobačne tovarne v Ljubljani v letih 1871–1914," *Prispevki za zgodovino delavskega gibanja*, nos. 1–2 (1984): 12.

the most impressive industrial locations in the city of Ljubljana until its closure. The share of its female employees also remained dominant. It remained the only tobacco factory in the territory of modern-day Slovenia.

Before 1918, the trade union movement of tobacco workers in Ljubljana was associated with those from elsewhere in the monarchy, divided between the politically competitive Christian Socialists and Social Democrats. In contrast to the Klagenfurt Tobacco Factory, where Social Democrats prevailed, Christian Socialists comprised a large but declining (rural) majority in the Ljubljana Tobacco Factory. After the war, the Union of Monopoly Workers was founded in Belgrade, bringing together socialist-oriented workers and engaging a smaller share of tobacco workers. In 1935, Frančiška Vode headed the Christian Socialist Union at the Ljubljana Tobacco Factory, testifying to the greater role of women in the factory union movement in the post-depression years. The interwar era did not produce many notable, politically active female tobacco workers. On the contrary, at this point in the research timeline, it seems that Ljubljana's factory as part of the Belgrade tobacco monopoly was politically rather conservative, especially in comparison to the textile factories. During the war, the factory secretly organized a communist party cell where a handful of women were included as resistance members.[63] Some of them, like Slava Japelj, also had a prominent role in the factory in the post-WWII period.

Ljubljana's tobacco factory did not play a prominent role in women's political engagement but merely mirrored aspects of the gradual emancipation of women in Slovene society. The long-term perspective, however, testifies to the meaning of changing legislative frameworks, political consensus, and social values. They all affected the position of tobacco workers, chiefly their quality-of-life levels, involvement in society, and participation in decision-making. It bears noting that changing national frameworks also modified the aims and ideological charge of worker's movements, as they were organized within state contexts.[64]

Rovinj, the Head of the Istrian Tobacco Region (since 1872)

A small yet vivid Istrian town of medieval origins, Rovinj has historically been connected to a multicultural maritime space. Its Mediterranean climate and geographical realities defined the economic characteristics of the settlement,

[63] SI ZAL LJU 134, t. u. 102, a. u. 1907, f. A revolutionary movement before and during the war, manuscript by Franci Miš [s. a.].

[64] Sabine Rutar, "Towards a Southeast European History of Labour: Examples from Yugoslavia," in *Beyond the Balkans. Towards an Inclusive History of Southeastern Europe*, ed. Sabine Rutar (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2013), 326.

which was, before industrialization, a coastal town inhabited by sailors, fishermen, merchants, and farmers who cultivated Mediterranean plants and bred livestock.[65] In 1870, the town achieved its own municipal status and was subordinated directly to the governor of Trieste.[66] The establishment of the tobacco industrial plant in the small town of Rovinj is allegedly related to the "enterprising spirit" of the Rovignians, including women.[67] The then mayor of Rovinj, Dr. Matteo Compitelli, took the initiative to begin tobacco production in order to decrease the high unemployment rate among women.[68]

Even before the establishment of the cigar-making production in 1872, which was located in the building in San Damiano Street for the first four years, small enterprises emerged to increase the town's economic activities.[69] Already by the late nineteenth century, more Rovignians were engaged in craft and industrial production than in the traditional occupations of fishing, sailing, and trade; women contributed to the growing share of new working posts to a considerable degree, as they worked in the majority of Rovinj's new enterprises.[70] Throughout the twentieth century, there were two major industrial enterprises in Rovinj: tobacco and the fish-processing/tinning industry, where a predominantly female workforce was employed.[71]

In 1876, the same year the new tobacco plant was constructed, Rovinj was connected to the railroad line, which branched off from the main railway line of Divača-Pula and Kanfanar. Although important for industrial transportation and marginal as a means of public transport, the line was closed down in 1938, reopened for strategic purposes at the dawn of WWII, and finally closed permanently in 1966.[72] However, the railway did not particularly increase the economic significance of Rovinj, as the prime industrial position was held by Pula, which became of consequence as a result of being the military harbor for the monarchy. As such, it became a gravitational point for many industrial workers from all of Istria, including thousands of workers from Rovinj.[73]

A steady economic emigration from Rovinj resulted in stagnant or even decreasing population numbers, ranging from between 9,000 and 15,000

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65 Krešimir Džeba, *Duhanski put u Rovinj: 115 godina Tvornice duhana Rovinj (1872–1987)* (Rovinj: TDR, 1987), 23–30.

66 Džeba, *Duhanski put u Rovinj*, 44–45.

67 Džeba, *Duhanski put u Rovinj*, 20.

68 Stefano Marizza, *L'importanza economica del tabacco: un'esempio istriano. La fabbrica tabacchi di Rovigno* (Trieste: Università Popolare, 1997), 59–62.

69 Džeba, *Duhanski put u Rovinj*, 35.

70 Džeba, *Duhanski put u Rovinj*, 35; Bernardo Benussi, *Storia documentata di Rovigno* (Trieste: Famia Ruvignisa, 2004 [1888]), 286.

71 Nikolić Đerić, "Intersekcijska analiza uloge," 122–28.

72 Josip Orbanić, "Željezničke stanice i stajališta: uz 140. godišnjicu pruge Divača-Pula i Kanfanar-Rovinj, 1950," *Franina i Jurina: istarski kalendar* (2016): 6–7.

73 Džeba, *Duhanski put u Rovinj*, 33–37.

throughout the twentieth century. In the post-WWI era, the numbers regarding Rovinj demonstrate a noticeable decrease in population size, chiefly of German and Slavic origins. In the post-WWII period, Rovinj, like many Istrian towns, experienced a dramatic decrease in population due to the mass emigration of the Italian community and those who were opposed to the socialist regime. In contrast to Ljubljana and Klagenfurt, both of which demonstrated steady population growth over time, Rovinj was marked by emigration much more than immigration, if only the numbers are taken into account. However, the life-history narratives suggest that a nearly even *migration saldo* conceals the high number of commuters into and out of the town, especially in postwar times.[74]

The notion that Rovinj's tobacco factory, the biggest plant in the town offering a stable and good salary, did not attract more of the population from other parts of Istria may also be a result of the fact that there were no less than four tobacco plants in Istria and Kvarner (Carnaro) since 1920. The ones in Rijeka (1851–1947) and Senj (1894–1945) were part of the Hungarian financial ministry from 1867 to 1918.[75] The factories, all within a radius of 160 km, were founded with the declared intention to better the economic prospects of destitute seaside families, whose *pater familias* were often either away (sailors, emigrants) or earned modest and unstable incomes (fishermen, small farmers), by employing women. In the negotiations between city councils and the relevant state authorities to establish the tobacco industry, a lucrative aspect always appeared as well—financial benefits for the municipality and for the *erarium*.[76] In the postwar period, Senj belonged to Yugoslavia in 1919 and Rijeka to Italy in 1924. In addition, another tobacco factory was established by the Italian authorities in Pula (1920–1947) to alleviate the demographic decline and economic crisis of the post-WWI period.[77] In the post-WWII era, when Istria and Kvarner belonged to Yugoslavia, only Rovinj kept its tobacco factory in the area, while the other three were closed between 1945 and 1947. This gave the Rovinj Tobacco Factory a new push in the challenging postwar period.

In contrast to the Klagenfurt Tobacco Factory, which remained within the framework of the Austrian monopoly throughout its existence, the one in Rovinj was, similarly to the one in Ljubljana, affected by several changes of political regime. These in turn gravely influenced not only the production and entrepreneurial aspects of the tobacco factory but also the social roles and activities of

74 Nikolić Đerić, "Intersekcijska analiza uloge," 134.

75 Miroslava Despot, "Tvornica duhana u Senju: njen postanak, razvoj i prestanak rada (1894–1945.) Prilog privrednoj povijesti Hrvatskog primorja," *Senjski zbornik: prilozi za geografiju, etnologiju, gospodarstvo, povijest i kulturu* 6, no. 1 (1975): 407–20; Mira Kolar-Dimitrijević, "Tvornica duhana u Senju i njeno radništvo od godine 1918. do 1941," *Senjski zbornik: prilozi za geografiju, etnologiju, gospodarstvo, povijest i kulturu* 7, no. 1 (1979): 39–58.

76 Despot, "Tvornica duhana u Senju," 411.

77 Raul Marsetič, "La Regia Manifattura tabacchi a Pola," *Quaderni* 27 (2016): 81–139.

the tobacco workers as well. From its establishment in 1872 to 1918, the Rovinj Tobacco Factory was part of the Austrian monopoly. From 1919 until 1943, it belonged to the *Monopoli di stato italiani*,[78] as Istria was occupied by Italian forces in December 1918 and annexed to the Italian Kingdom in November 1920 by signing the Treaty of Rapallo. Following the capitulation of Italy, Istria became a part of the German-controlled Adriatic Littoral (*Adriatisches Küstenland*) authorities. In May 1945, Tito's partisan troops entered Rovinj. The town came under the control of the Yugoslav Army under Zone B of the Julian March. During the Paris Peace Conference in 1947, it became clear that the peninsula of Istria would belong to Yugoslavia. In its first postwar years, the factory became part of the Yugoslav tobacco industry. In 1950, it fell under the direct jurisdiction of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, embracing a self-managing policy in September. For similar reasons as in Ljubljana, in 1972, a partnership between the Austria Tabakwerke AG was established. In 1990, the last Yugoslav prime minister, Ante Marković, introduced economic reforms; these dictated that the employees of the Rovinj Tobacco Factory could acquire private ownership of the company by buying its shares. This possibility was utilized by around 70% of the tobacco factory employees, who became owners of the factory shortly before the Yugoslav Wars broke out.[79]

Wars could be labeled triggers of intense socio-political postwar changes. Moreover, in Rovinj, production was seriously affected by both the world wars and the Yugoslav Wars. During WWI, the factory was closed due to the proximity of the warzone from mid-1915 to early 1919. Many tobacco workers are reported to have been resettled as refugees, while others were transferred and hired in other Habsburg tobacco factories. Also, the worker's register in Ljubljana testifies that there were eight workers hired at the Ljubljana Tobacco Factory.[80] Based on the available literature, it remains rather unclear what happened to tobacco production during the German occupation of Istria and to which institution it was subordinated. Various sources report grave social conditions for the Istrian population, including violence and hunger. The factory's production also suffered from a serious lack of raw goods, disorganization of work, lack of professional preparation, and misuse of machinery.[81] Additionally, the Pula Tobacco Factory was bombed, while that of Rovinj was left intact during the war.

The effects of war were not entirely negative for the factory, especially if we consider that war tends to increase demand for tobacco products. When the

78 Nikolić Đerić, "Intersekcijska analiza uloge," 129–30.

79 The authors owe this information to Predrag Grubić, Corporate Communications Director of the Adris Group, also confirmed by the Report of the State Audit Office on the conversion and privatization of the Rovinj Tobacco Factory, issued in Pazin, 2003.

80 SI ZAL LJU 134/I t. u. 8, a. u. Worker's register 1908–1926; Urška Strle, "K razumevanju ženskega dela v veliki vojni," *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino* 55, no. 2 (2015): 116.

81 Marizza, *L'importanza economica*, 72.

break-up of Yugoslavia escalated into the Yugoslav Wars (1991–1995), the production of cigarettes in Rovinj increased, as it was not directly part of the war zone. In the mid-1990s, the Rovinj Tobacco Factory was named one of Croatia's most successful enterprises.[82] Conversely, traditional tourism and tourism-related activities, along with many other economic branches in the coastal part of Istria (and Rovinj alone), suffered considerable damage due to the war. Consequently, much of the tourism infrastructure was threatened with bankruptcy and sold for a considerably lower price—also to the shareholders/owners of the tobacco factory. They unified and formed the Adris Group, which was the result of the accumulation of the majority of Rovinj's entrepreneurship (tobacco, food, tourism, and insurance); the successful company has offered new working positions to the locals and frequently awarded scholarships and donations in the fields of art and scientific research since 2007.[83] In 2015, the tobacco factory was sold to another international tobacco giant, the London-based British American Tobacco. The factory is still operating under the name Tvornica duhana Rovinj (TDR), although it was relocated 20 km north-west to Kanfanar, closer to the railway and highway. The industrial production of tobacco goods in Rovinj is the longest-running business in the region, altogether spanning over 150 years. With the relocation of production away from the town proper, Rovinj lost its industrial character.

Although the Rovinj Tobacco Factory facilitated financial gain and new forms of identity for many women, there is no evidence about the political engagement of women workers. In fact, we have yet to encounter any data about union movement in the factory thus far. Reports of *Opera nazionale del dopolavoro* introduced in the time of fascism—a *casa sociale del dopolavoro* was erected inside the courtyard of the Rovinj Tobacco Factory in 1933. *Dopolavoro*, as the place was commonly known, literally means "afterwork" and offered state-controlled leisure activities for workers which could also be seen as a medium for political instrumentalization. Activities offered by *dopolavoro* included various forms of social assistance, hygienic and sanitary courses, excursions, and a variety of recreational, artistic, and cultural activities for women workers.[84] Despite conservative gender policies under fascism, *dopolavoro* possibly added to the general emancipation of women in this region. From September 1950, when the tobacco factory within socialist Yugoslavia began to employ a self-managing approach, it theoretically became acceptable and even desired for women workers to take on political assignments, yet the sources related to the Rovinj Tobacco Factory (in contrast to those of its Ljubljana tobacco rival) remain silent on this topic as well.

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82 Predrag D. Grubić, "Tvornica duhana Rovinj, kratak povijesno gospodarski pregled," in *Tvornica duhana Rovinj, 1872–2002: Arhitektura, povijest i suvremenost* (Rovinj: TDR, 2002), 15.

83 Predrag Grubić and Božo Skoko, eds., *Adris: jedna hrvatska priča* (Rovinj: Adris group, 2016).

84 For more about dopolavoro, see Victoria De Grazia, *The Culture of Consent: Mass Organisation of Leisure in Fascist Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Tobacco Workers at the Intersection of Several Identifiers

In the earliest days of the factories' operation, work duties and job positions in the tobacco factories were deeply *gendered*. The approximately 1,200 white-collar workers in the Austrian tobacco monopoly were almost exclusively male until the Great War. They acquired a good social reputation and far better earnings than the poorly—if at all—qualified blue-collar workers, who were predominantly women and numbered 38,000 people altogether.[85] Such a gendered division in the productive hierarchy was clearly reflected in the three observed factories as well. A blatant gender imbalance remained one of the lasting features of the tobacco factory working collectives, which nonetheless occasionally demonstrated (nonlinear) tendencies towards equality as a response to the complex, altering socio-political context. In the interwar period, the tobacco administration gradually underwent feminization, and after WWII, the field of management also opened up for women.[86] Eventually, female workers even achieved qualified positions in traditionally male jobs, such as production line manager. This phenomenon was more evident in Ljubljana than in any other Yugoslav tobacco factory, which reflects the uneven course towards women's social equivalence within the Yugoslav state.[87] Officially, unequal educational opportunities according to gender as well as women's personal subordination to the figure of the *pater familias* seem to have been the remains of the past, but the mentality of gender differences continued to resonate even from the mid-1950s onwards. The latitude of gender-biased work practices depended on the governing structures of the state, as well as on internal tobacco factory politics. Shifting social and cultural agendas, however, also mirrored the efforts and effectiveness of the union movements and the workers themselves.

Archival sources suggest that immediately after WWII, quite a few women workers in Ljubljana received promotions from blue- to white-collar positions. After 1950, when self-management principles were introduced in Yugoslavia,

[85] Manuela-Claire Warscher, "K.K. Tabakindustrie: Zur sozioökonomischen Lage der Arbeiter und Trafikanten in Zisleithanien 1850–1918," in *Tabak und Gesellschaft: Vom braunen Gold zum sozialen Stigma*, ed. Frank Jacob and Gerrit Dworok (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2015), 163.

[86] This, for instance, was not the case in Greek tobacco factories, where the division between female workers and male management prevailed deep into the postwar era. For more, see Thanasis Betas, "'In Order to Safeguard the Lives of Our Children and Families': Resistance and Protest of Women Workers in the Greek Tobacco Industry, 1945–1970," in *Women, Work, and Activism: Chapters of an Inclusive History of Labor in the Long Twentieth Century*, ed. Eloisa Betti, Leda Papastefanaki, Marica Tolomelli, and Susan Zimmermann (Budapest–New York: CEU Press, 2022), 145–55.

[87] Štefan Horvat, *Delovodje v Tobačni; diplomska naloga* (Ljubljana: FSD, 1960).

women became a (visible, yet disproportionate) part of the management boards and workers' councils alike. Those female workers who achieved a better education and were both professionally and personally capable of performing their tasks were promoted to and remained in their positions permanently, such as the analyst Zora Šoba, agronomist Ela Vranjek, biologist Anastazija Smole, lawyer Metka Mesec, operative planner and newsletter editor Malči Makarovič, accountant Ivanka Podbregar, personnel officer Jana Kušar, and chemist Marica Šorak-Pokrajac. Oral sources also add some psychological features to these women, such as ambition, determination, and dedication to their work, but also social criticism and/or political activity. When considering their biographies within the possibilities of the existent sources, it becomes clear that their position in the hierarchy of the factory was in great part also related to their social networks. Tangibly, they were usually relatives of visible figures, either in the factory or among political elites of various levels. Social networks could thus be considered an important means for advancement at work. Even in a socialist context, which officially promoted gender equality, they seem to have been of crucial importance for women workers, defined by tenacious traditional outlooks on gender.

In times of changing regimes, the concept of loyalty to the state has greatly affected numerous fields of civil life.[88] This is also evident in the tobacco processing field, which was monopolized by the state, a pivotal political organization enforcing rules over a population within its national territory. The establishment of national states in the ashes of the European dynastic empires made loyalty in the post-WWI era valued largely through an ethno-national prism.[89] In this sense, it is particularly indicative to observe state-positioned members of the tobacco administration, i.e., (semi)qualified white-collar workers. After WWI, the employment of the administrative staff in the observed tobacco factories was predicated on *ethnic origin* (or support of nationalist politics). As empirical sources for Klagenfurt are for the most part lost or scattered across various archival institutions, no direct evidence on this has thus far been established. Historical evidence testifies that in Ljubljana, again, the pro-Habsburg or German tobacco administration was supplanted with a Slovene or pro-Yugoslav one as soon as new political elites came to power.[90] Similarly, German and Hungarian tobacco officials were replaced with Italian ones in Rovinj; new public

88 Annemarie H. Sammartino, *The Impossible Border: Germany and the East, 1914–1922* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), 3; Francesca Rolandi, "Female Public Employees during a Post-Imperial Transition: Gender, Politics and Labour in Fiume after the First World War," *Contemporary European History* 33, no.1 (2024): 159–72.

89 Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, eds., *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Empires* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2013).

90 SI ZAL LJU 134/I, t. u. 11, Worker's register 1923–1939; SI ZAL LJU/134/I, t. u. 13, The Chronicle of the Ljubljana Tobacco factory by Viktor Ambrož.

servants came either from the Istrian community or settled from the interior of the Italian state.[91]

In times of prolonged postwar socio-economic crises shaped by limited opportunities for work, not only the state-imposed administration but also ordinary (mostly female) workers underwent a selection process. The Rovinj Tobacco Factory is reported to have favored hiring Italian over Slavic workers once it became part of the Italian state monopoly.[92] However, the position of tobacco workers clearly manifests the need to introduce the aspect of political or *ideological identification*, which was at times even more important than ethnic origin. Namely, workers in Rovinj were reportedly more likely to be employed if they exhibited pro-fascist adherence regardless of their non-Italian origins—although all workers in the Italian tobacco industry had to be fluent in Italian, which was common in Istria regardless.[93]

This situation differed greatly in Ljubljana, where nearly all tobacco workers were Slovenes, so no major changes in the workers' ethnic composition were reported in the interwar years. However, given the strictly anti-Bolshevik state politics, socialists and communists were considered "the threatening other" and were more likely to be fired if the human resources department decided to reduce the workforce. The leaders of the Klagenfurt Tobacco Factory, whose workforce mostly originated from the surrounding rural areas, consisted of German- and Slovene-speaking Austrians, most probably discriminated against as "conscious Slovenes." During the plebiscitary battles in Carinthia (Kärnten, Koroška), which were ardently fought along ethnic lines, similar practices were reported in some other enterprises.[94] Although in postwar Carinthia the ethnic factor seems to be crucial, the ideological aspect also bears mentioning. The well-developed Social Democratic movement in Klagenfurt faced great difficulties when Engelbert Dollfuss, a clerical fascist politician, was appointed Chancellor of Austria between 1932 and 1934. Socialist and communist worldviews became even more frequent targets of persecution after the *Anschluss* in 1938.[95] These structural changes most probably affected the workforce in the tobacco factory as well.

After WWII, the political situation took a turn when a socialist regime was introduced in the predominantly Slavic Yugoslavian state. Italian tobacco workers

91 Džeba, *Duhanski put u Rovinj*, 84–86.

92 Nikolić Đerić, "Intersekcijska analiza uloge," 130.

93 Nikolić Đerić, "Intersekcijska analiza uloge," 130; cf. Marsetič, "La Regia Manifattura," 83.

94 Tina Bahovec, ed., *Eliten und Nationwerdung: Die Rolle der Eliten bei der Nationalisierung der Kärntner Slovenen/Elite in narodovanje: Vloga elit pri narodovanju koroških Slovencev* (Klagenfurt: Hermagoras, 2003); Danijel Grafenauer and Bojan-Ilija Schnabl, "Vertreibung 1920 ," in *Enzyklopädie der slowenischen Kulturgeschichte in Kärnten*, ed. Katja Sturm-Schnabl and Bojan- Ilija Schnabl (Vienna: Böhlau, 2016), 1413–16.

95 Wolfgang Abendroth, *Socialna zgodovina evropskega delavskega gibanja* (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1971), 110–12.

left the now-Yugoslav Rovinj for Italy *en masse*. Many Istrian *tabacchine* were indeed reported to be proponents of an Italian Istria at the war's end.[96] Once in Italy, they often found jobs in other plants in the Italian tobacco industry, chiefly in Turin, Venice, Rovereto, Florence, and Lucca.[97] Moreover, due to a huge influx of the so-called *esuli* into Italy, the Scelba Law (1952) provided an obligation for larger enterprises to employ a 5% quota of Istrian refugees, which also held true for major tobacco factories.[98] Massive departures of *tabacchine* were reported to have had a negative effect on the quality of the work at the Rovinj Tobacco Factory since experienced workers, including many supervisors (*maestre*), had left.[99] The absent tobacco workforce in Rovinj was eventually replaced by inland workers and immigrants from other parts of Yugoslavia.[100]

Participation in the resistance movement resulted in a better social position after the war and the possibility for upward mobility across Yugoslavia, which also affected the working collective of the tobacco workforce in Rovinj and Ljubljana. This aspect hints at how fundamentally the ideologically-based events of WWII determined the postwar social hierarchies in Yugoslavia. Archival records in Ljubljana demonstrate various privileges at the factory (job status, promotion) and social benefits (housing, yearly leave, pensions, loans, etc.).[101] Such a pattern lingered on until the 1980s, after Tito's death, when the politics of the tobacco factory gradually took on more capitalist nuances.[102]

Only scarce data is available about the turbulent events in the 1990s, marked by the demise of the concept of "brotherhood and unity" and the resurrection of nationalist agendas. It remains an open question if tobacco workers "from the South" were discriminated against after the dissolution of Yugoslavia. We also have not come across any information on whether any of the tobacco workers in Ljubljana were classified among the 'erased' (*izbrisani*), i.e., removed from the registry of permanent residence in February 1992, consequently losing all social,

96 Enrico Miletto, *Istria allo specchio: Storia e voci di una terra di confine* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2007), 105.

97 Enrico Miletto, *Novecento di confine: L'Istria, le foibe, l'esodo* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2020), 185–86; Nikolić Đerić, "Intersekcijska analiza uloge," 133.

98 Miletto, *Novecento di confine*, 186.

99 Gloria Nemec, *Nascita di una minoranza: Istria 1947–1965; Storia e memoria degli italiani rimasti nell'area istro-quarnerina* (Rovigno, Fiume, Trieste: Centro di ricerche storiche, Unione italiana, Università popolare, Università degli studi, 2012), 370, Nikolić Đerić, "Intersekcijska analiza uloge," 132.

100 Cf. Gloria Nemec, *Un paese perfetto: Storia e memoria di una comunità in esilio; Grisignana d'Istria (1930–1960)* (Trieste, Gorizia: Istituto regionale per la cultura istriana, Libreria editrice goriziana, 1998); Aleksej Kalc, "The Other Side of the 'Istrian Exodus': Immigration and Social Restoration in Slovenian Coastal Towns in the 1950s," *Dve domovini* 49 (2019): 145–62; Katja Hrobat Virloget, Catherine Gouseff, Gustavo Corni, eds., *At Home but Foreigners: Population Transfers in 20th Century Istria* (Koper: Annales University Press, 2015).

101 Strle, "Družbeni položaji," 91–92.

102 Impressions from the Ljubljana Tobacco Factory newsletter *Harman* in the 1980s.

civil, and political rights.[103] Similarly, we have no data so far on the share of refugees of the Yugoslav Wars, neither in the tobacco factory in Ljubljana nor in that of Rovinj.

In addition to ethnic or political identifiers, generations, age, and health status also reflected the social hierarchies of the tobacco industry and affected their employment politics. These three aspects are not only biological concepts but categories that reflect changes in social and historical components, whose rhythms point less to sudden political shifts and more to the gradual modification of social norms. Despite its internal diversity, the members of a certain *generation* will to some extent share values, identities, and collective experiences (wars, epidemics, crises, cataclysms, legal options, etc.).[104] Sources suggest that tobacco workers were often perceived along generational lines by the management and also among themselves.[105] Also, the aspect of generational conflict is relatively well covered in the archival material of the Ljubljana Tobacco Factory,[106] whereas data is lacking for Rovinj and Klagenfurt. Frequently, there were clashes between experienced older workers and their younger colleagues who took on apprentice tasks. Naturally, these cannot be presented as absolute practices, since oral sources confirm that working alliances were also formed beyond generational lines.[107]

In this simple yet rather slippery outline of the generational aspect, the question of age comes to the fore. *Working age* has been understood and evaluated in different ways over different periods, but there is a constant regarding the most numerous age group of female workers: women of childbearing age from 20 to 40 accounted for about two-thirds of female workers throughout the observed period. The share of younger female workers between the ages of 14 and 20 gradually fell, while child labor was labeled as an unacceptable labor practice, although the implementation of the legal ban on child labor was not always applied in reality.[108] Due to low wages, younger workers of both sexes seem to have mostly been hired during economic crises. Archival material in Ljubljana clearly shows that from 1929 to 1935, factory management introduced the systematic

[103] The term relates to more than 25,000 people of non-Slovenian or mixed ethnic origin who were removed from the registry of permanent residence in February 1992, losing all social, civil, and political rights. For more, see Jasminka Dedić, Vlasta Jalušić, and Jelka Zorn, *The Erased: Organized Innocence and the Politics of Exclusion* (Ljubljana: Peace Institute, 2003). The lack of relevant information—which in itself is not evidence that there were no "erased" among tobacco workers—was also confirmed in correspondence with Jelka Zorn and Sara Pistotnik in November 2022.

[104] Peter Burke, "Generation: Strengths (and a few Weaknesses) of the Concept," in *Gender and Generations: Spaces, Times, Identity*, ed. Gabriella Valera, Ecaterina Lung, and Christopher Heath (Pesaro: Cronica mundi, 2018), 17.

[105] SI ZAL LJU 134; many records of various meetings bring up the generational issue.

[106] Strle, "Družbeni položaji," 86–88.

[107] Oral interviews held in the project's archive.

[108] Fischer, "Delavke tobačne tovarne," 40–41; Strle, "Družbeni položaji," 86.

recruitment of temporary "volunteers," young men between the ages of 15 and 23 who worked for a third or a quarter of a day laborer's wage. After 1932, the mass employment of young single women workers, who received lower wages than already employed women, became quite common. This confirms the practice of the tobacco management, who, in times of crisis, hired lesser-paid young and single workers, as they would not present additional costs for family allowances, absences due to a child's illness, etc.

A variable chronological boundary was also applied for old age. In 1877, the Austrian monopoly introduced internal rules that prevented employment in the Ljubljana Tobacco Factory if workers were deemed too old. This rule also contained a clear gender-based difference, since for females the boundary was at the age of 35, while for males it was 40.[109] After WWI, female and male tobacco workers in Ljubljana over the age of 35 and 40, respectively, could only be employed on a limited-time basis if they were first-time hires.[110] It bears emphasis that only permanent workers were entitled to a pension and other social benefits, and that the tobacco factory management obviously tampered with workers' statuses to lower their salary costs.[111] In addition, many older and/or disabled tobacco workers were retired after WWI so as not to become a social burden on the factory; some of them were younger than 30 years of age. Retired workers were given the colloquial term "almswomen," *miloščinarke*, hinting at the fact that their pensions were below the minimum necessary for survival.[112] Moreover, work registers show that retired workers were occasionally rehired for a substantially lower daily salary. These facts show the interwar Yugoslav state as an employer and the head of the tobacco monopoly in a very unflattering light.

Compared to the interwar period, the attitude towards disabled elderly workers and pensioners in socialist Yugoslavia changed considerably, not only on a financial but also on a symbolic level. Directly after WWII, there was a dire need for physically fit workers to rebuild the war-torn country and strengthen heavy industry. Consequently, many health-compromised workers were appointed to the tobacco factory, now considered light industry.[113] The socially endangered elderly, disabled, and sick were included in the tobacco factory's domain with more respect, social privileges, and financial benefits than ever before. We have no access to data to reconstruct the trends of social welfare in the tobacco industry from the 1990s onward. Studies in other fields of women's work report on the deterioration of workers' social rights in general, in addition to the lowering of their symbolic capital.[114]

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109 Ernst, *Tabak in der Steiermark*, 193.

110 Strle, "Družbeni položaji," 86–87.

111 Tatjana Čepič, *Opojnost tobaka* (Ljubljana: Mestni muzej, 1991), 39–41.

112 Strle, "Družbeni položaji," 87.

113 ARS, SI AS 561, Union of workers of the food and tobacco industry, t. u. 3, f. Meetings of the union's city committee, 8. 4. 1954.

114 Vodopivec, *Labirinti postsocializma*; Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*.

Consideration of family status brings about other gendered aspects of social and economic transformations and provides insight into social inequality, as working mothers were often discouraged from seeking employment, if public discourse is taken into consideration. However, many women were forced to work despite their family status. The late-nineteenth century tobacco factories in the region are considered a trendsetting industry with a special sensitivity for working mothers, especially in comparison to other industrial branches.[115] Public debates involving pediatricians, public health workers, and psychologists related the high mortality rate among the workers' children to the lack of suitable childcare facilities.[116] However, it seems that the major pressure for day-care facilities, remembered as "a social symbol of Austrian tobacco management,"[117] seems to have been requested *from below*, by unions and working mothers themselves.[118]

The decision to provide nursing mothers or mothers with small children among the tobacco workers with a place for daycare was left to the management of the factory, based on the fact that some factories did not accommodate this option. The Klagenfurt Tobacco Factory employees, for instance, had no such space established within the factory, and its workers most probably relied on the old habit of leaving children with members of extended families or neighbors, and on some occasions with foster parents in the countryside.[119] Already in 1834, the *Kleinkinderbewahranstalt Klagenfurt*, a humanitarian institution, was established by the local women's society to serve this purpose, yet information is insufficient on whether the tobacco workers used this service at all.[120] In the tobacco factories of Ljubljana and Rovinj, however, the institutions of kindergartens within the factory were reported as early as the early twentieth century, but there are no details about the other circumstances at play.

Post-WWI social state politics for working mothers differed significantly across the three factories, reflecting diverse and alternating trends in each of the successor states. For the tobacco workers in Klagenfurt, no internal factory daycare institution was established despite requests. Moreover, the establishment of a factory-led daycare in the Fürstenfeld Tobacco Factory in Austrian Styria was reported only in 1941,[121] when the Klagenfurt Tobacco Factory had already been restructured into an aircraft miscellanea factory. Within the Ljubljana Tobacco Factory, a daycare institution was not reported during interwar times but was again confirmed for the post-WWII period; it was gradually substituted by a state-led system of preschool educational institutions accessible to children

115 Friedrich Benesch, *150 Jahre Österreichische Tabakregie, 1784–1934* (Vienna: Generaldirektion der österreichischen Tabakregie, 1934), 36.
116 Čepič, *Opojnost tobaka*, 34.
117 Nikolić Đerić, "Intersekcijska analiza uloge," 146.
118 Benedikt, *Von diesen Stunden*, 56.
119 Cf. Ernst, *Tabak in der Steiermark*, 253.
120 Logar, "Eine Geschichte des 'Genusses,'" 104.
121 Ernst, *Tabak in der Steiermark*, 254.

of working mothers in general. However, oral sources suggest that the habit of entrusting child-care to relatives or neighbors still remained in practice.[122] The Rovinj tobacco monopoly's kindergarten was also maintained by the Italian monopoly authorities (like elsewhere across Italy's tobacco factories) up to the post-WWII period.[123] The fascist monopoly seems to have ensured a relatively high level of social protection for the *tabacchine*, in some aspects even higher than at the time of Yugoslav socialism.[124] The nursery in the factory functioned according to the principle of self-government, so tobacco workers took turns looking after the children themselves.[125] Oral sources refer to complaints regarding the inadequate hours of operation of the daycare. Consequently, many children were still, like in Ljubljana, taken care of by their relatives—or by the street.[126]

Final Thoughts

The study of tobacco workers in the researched area has long remained at the margins of historiographical attention, despite its great potential for the fields of labor history studies and gender history alike. This belated interest comes down to not only the tardy nature of the research into the gender aspects of workers' movements but also the lack and fragmentation of archival and other sources across various institutions, a fact that very much obstructs the research process itself. This is very evident in the case of the Klagenfurt Tobacco Factory, which was restructured into a war-industry factory in 1940 and destroyed by bombing in 1944 after nearly a century of existence. Also, archival sources about the still-operating Rovinj Tobacco Factory are minute and fragmentary. A great deal of historically relevant information seems to be permanently lost, or at least concealed. We recently uncovered information about a tobacco factory that also existed in Gorizia, although collective memory about its existence seems to be quite weak. Gorizia's tobacco production, which began in the post-WWII era to employ chiefly Istrian refugees and war orphans[127] and waned in the 1980s, in the very period when Europe hit the crisis of mass industrial production and flexibilization of labor relations,[128] has thus far failed to become a subject of historical studies. A similar notion holds true for the tobacco factory in Trieste (1957–1999).

122 Interviews with Lojzka Eržen, Francka Jeglič, Marija Urbas, conducted by Urška Strle in 2020/21.
123 Nikolić Đerić, "Intersekcijska analiza uloge," 105, 146–48.
124 Nikolić Đerić, "Intersekcijska analiza uloge," 142.
125 Nikolić Đerić, "Intersekcijska analiza uloge," 146.
126 Nikolić Đerić, "Intersekcijska analiza uloge," 205.
127 Clarified by D. P. M., a formal tobacco worker in the Gorizia tobacco factory.
128 Komlosy, *Delo: Globalnohistorična perspektiva*, 8.

As we have attempted to demonstrate, the analysis of each of the observed factories brings about many local and national specifics, yet they also exhibit profoundly transnational and global patterns. The core of this chapter is related to outlining an intersectional approach stemming from longitudinal observation of the tobacco workers in the three selected factories. Such a perspective seems quite convincing; in reconstructing the tobacco workers' past, it becomes clear how numerous social aspects simultaneously delineate the workers' mutable position over time and space. Social hierarchies within the microcosms of tobacco factories resonate with aspects of ethnicity and ideology in particular, whereas facets such as gender, generations, social origin, family status, and health conditions also play an important role. The timespan of over a century underlines the notion of considerable changes in the hierarchical value of social identifiers. When approached *from below*, the tobacco proletariat is also presented through the lens of their inner heterogeneity and multivocality.

A longitudinal view of the observed tobacco factories manifests an interplay of economic recessions with upswings and reflects the unique socio-political context of each of the state frameworks. However, the considerable extent of socio-political alterations can also be traced within individual political periods. By observing legal, political, and social parameters, it was possible to trace the development of broader geopolitical circumstances. A perspective of over a hundred years clearly hints at breaks affected by the changed socio-political structures which defined the unpredictable shifts in social hierarchies in the tobacco industry, where women accounted for such a sizeable share of the workers. However, it also shows that changes were far from absolute and that some historical attitudes lingered on.

Slovene Female Textile Workers and Their Alternative Employment: A Case Study in Komen

Petra Testen Koren

The socialist ideal envisaged that rural girls from backward villages throughout Yugoslavia would modernize and become active members of the new socialist society. Many young girls crossed the threshold of their homes for the first time and began to work in the public sphere, challenging patriarchal norms and traditions.[1] The model of women's postwar socialist employment, considering new possibilities within rapid industrialization, especially within the textile sector, which employed the largest number of women workers, can also be identified to a certain extent in the Komen textile factory—the case study that is the focus of this chapter—although, as shall be demonstrated, the latter is also distinctive in many respects due to its location in the border area.

In the 1950s, according to the provisions of the Sežana District People's Committee and, above all, in order to meet "the demands of the workers in this industrially underdeveloped area, which was cut off by an unjust border from the natural industrial centers of Trieste, Gorizia, Monfalcone, and others,"[2] the first factories were established in the Komen area: the Aluminium Company, the Woodworking Company, the Tailor's Co-operative, the Agricultural Co-operative, and the Crafts Construction Company, which provided employment for the inhabitants who had been impoverished after the war. This "laid the basis for the development of a small industrial center in Komen and limited the emigration of workers, especially young people, to other major centers of Slovenia,"[3] motivated by the need to find work elsewhere. This is also the origin of the initiative for a textile factory in Komen, which would provide employment for the surrounding female population.

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1 Chiara Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry in the Balkans: The Rise and Fall of the Yugoslav Textile Sector* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2019), 22.

2 "Aluminij Komen," *Glasilo Arhivskega društva in arhivov Slovenije* 4, no. 1/2 (1981): 228. See also Anna Di Gianantonio and Gloria Nemec, "Lavoro femminile e identità: Le operaie tessili isontine tra fascismo e dopoguerra," *Qualestoria* 23, no. 3 (1995): 111–37; Anna Di Gianantonio and Gloria Nemec, *Gorizia operaia: I lavoratori e le lavoratrici isontini tra storia e memoria 1920–1947* (Gorizia: LEG Edizioni, 2000).

3 "Aluminij Komen," 228.

Figure 7.1. Map of the Karst with the Italian-Slovenian border after 1945 and the Komen region. Source: American Foreign Policy, 1950–1955: Basic Documents, Wikimedia Commons.

The female workforce in this specific environment is deserving of a thorough examination. Transnational contextualization enables one to see and analyze textile work in Komen in close correlation with paid domestic work in Italy. Despite the opportunity offered by the development of industry in Yugoslavia after WWII, a process which, for ideological reasons, also sought to limit the outflow of the female working population across the border in the Slovenian-Italian border zone, the labor migration of women to other socio-economic spaces remained a constant throughout. It can also be understood as an alternative to the Yugoslav socialist employment model. As Marta Verginella points out, it is precisely this model that the peasant women from the periphery of the Karst often resisted for the sake of ideological conformity.[4] Many preferred to work in the domestic sector across the border, as it gave them control over their own time and freedom, and the pay was better. After all, the sight of a different political and economic structure in a neighboring country, where one lives and works differently, was telling enough.

By analyzing oral and archival sources and using literature that allows for a comparative analysis of the micro-case with the broader Yugoslav socialist context, the chapter provides an insight into the additional opportunities that the border area, marked by the duality of the political-economic model, offered for women's earnings, especially during transition periods. The first part focuses on the post-WWII period, when the impoverished (female) population was given a much wider choice of survival strategies due to industrialization and the simultaneous availability of a labor market beyond the border. The second part of the text focuses on the decline of the textile industry in the transition period of the 1980s and 1990s, where this duality was once again at the forefront. The Slovenian-Italian border space, unlike other geographical spaces with perhaps larger and more rigid industrial systems, retained a social and personal vigor in the choice of alternatives. In the case of the collapse of the textile plant in Komen, these can be identified in the form of opportunities to earn or find employment across the border. At the same time, the chapters raise the question of women's social and economic emancipation, and thus empowerment, which is significantly increased by the possibility, recognition and ability to benefit from the advantages of both socio-economic systems along the border.

4 Marta Verginella, *Donne e confini* (Rome: Manifestolibri, 2021), 113.

The First Transition Period, after WWII: Postwar Labor Market Possibilities and Changes

THE BEGINNINGS

After the end of 1948, attempts were made in Komen to establish a company that would "perform all the tasks of the tailoring profession."[5] Local entrepreneur and tailor Baldomir Jazbec founded the company, which first operated out of his home. Jazbec was acutely aware of the resources he had in his proximity—those being women workers. Over the next decade, the number of employees ranged up to ten.[6] It is interesting to note that at that time, Jazbec was inspired by the dressmaking he had seen in Trieste, where he also studied and where there was open access to the fashion market of the Western world and thus to the larger and more established fashion houses.[7] Almost at the same time, in 1950, a tailoring and dressmaking department was also set up in Komen on the initiative of the local Agricultural Cooperative, but mass production did not take place and work was limited to individual orders.[8]

In line with the new postwar doctrine, it was important that there was no room for individuals or the capitalist way of doing business, not least because of the need for a clear break from prewar ideologically unacceptable private enterprises.[9] This is also the reason why Jazbec's *private* tailoring business was initially unable to take off, despite his efforts and repeated attempts.[10] Among the ideas and plans of the new socialist reality, which changed from the initial postwar years (fast industrialization, infrastructure, and heavy industry, etc.) to the self-managed socialism of the late 1950s and early 1960s, and which also emphasized rural development and favored the creation of small industrial plants (decentralization, more initiative from below, etc.), Jazbec's initiative found a place. He became a director, managing a *state* enterprise.[11] Production officially started on April 1, 1960,

5 Pokrajinski arhiv Koper (Regional Archives of Koper, hereafter SI PAK) 617, t. u. 1, f. 1. The founding of a local tailoring workshop in Komen, December 14, 1948.

6 SI PAK 617, t. u. 1, f. 3. Labor quotas; Report on employees.

7 Interview with E. J., born 1943, recorded in Komen, October 17, 2019. The ten interviews were conducted by Petra Testen Koren and Jasna Fakin Bajec (ZRC SAZU researcher, originally from the local area, which facilitated access to the interviewees), who also kept the transcripts and recorded testimonies.

8 Jasna Fakin Bajec, Marija Umek, and Petra Testen Koren, *Žensko delo v Konfekciji Komen*. Exhibition on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Komen Library, opened on June 21, 2022.

9 Aleksander Lorenčič and Jože Prinčič, *Slovenska industrija od nastanka do danes* (Ljubljana: Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2018), 49.

10 SI PAK 617, Local tailoring workshop in Komen.

11 Interview with E. J.

with three machines and five employees, in a corner of the Cooperative Home in Komen (now the Komen Library).[12] In September of that same year, new workers joined the enterprise and production moved to the basement of the former People's Militia station (now the "Pri brajdi" tavern).[13] Initially, there was a warehouse, a tailor's workshop, and a sewing room. When the police station moved into a new building, "Konfekcija" acquired the entire premises. The work plan foresaw only one shift.[14] Aprons, housecoats, and work trousers were sewn. They also worked on special orders, making wedding dresses, coats, etc.

The textile factory was strongly embedded in the wider local community, which was underdeveloped and impoverished, not least because of the recent war. In a small and cohesive community like the villages in the Karst, Jazbec approached individual families he knew, convincing mothers in particular that daughters, often underage, even with only a primary school education, would be given the opportunity to earn a steady income, something vital to the needs of the family, while remaining in their local community. An informant from Gorjansko recalls her hardship, immaturity, and unpreparedness for a real job right after school, which she was forced to do as a 14-year-old girl because there was not enough income at home on the farms to support everyone. While her sister worked as a domestic worker in Gorizia, she went to work in Konfekcija: "I was put behind that machine and had to work. I was very lucky to have [a job]. I cried terribly. I came home, and I said, 'No, it's not for me.'"[15] Aware that it was an important opportunity for employment, many mothers and aunts, as well as daughters, came to the tailor asking for a job.[16]

Young girls from Komen and the surrounding villages entered the labor market without fear of (sexual) modernization and the (morally and ideologically) controversial pitfalls of going "out into the world" and working in the public sphere.[17] This set them apart from many other rural areas across Yugoslavia, where it took more than a decade for both the wider society and themselves to make such a change in mentality. This may also have been because of the proximity of major cities such as Trieste and Gorizia. Moreover, Udine and other major, mainly northern, Italian industrial towns had already in the past offered young rural girls the possibility of being employed before marriage in the domestic servant sector, especially on a temporary basis, which in the course

12 Fakin Bajec, Umek, and Testen Koren, *Žensko delo* (exhibition material).

13 All the working spaces of the former textile factory in Komen are now at the service of the wider local community, which is particularly important to the former workers still living in the community.

14 Fakin Bajec, Umek, and Testen Koren, *Žensko delo* (exhibition material).

15 Interview with A. B., recorded in Sveto, July 27, 2020.

16 Interview with M. S., born 1946, recorded in Komen, November 8, 2019.

17 Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*, 39. See also Vera Stein Erlich, *Family in Transition: A Study of 300 Jugoslav Villages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966).

of the nineteenth century became a regular practice and the most widespread form of women's employment outside the home.[18] Over the last two centuries, women in this area, precisely because of the proximity to major cities and the possibility of rural-urban labor migration, also engaged in income-generating activities such as working as bread-makers, dairy workers, laundresses, and sellers of home-made products in the city markets, thus taking the initiative in the fight against poverty in their home environment.[19] As such, it is understandable why, after years of experience of encountering the "Other" and the different in multicultural centers, the rural population found it "easier" to some extent, at least in practice, to accept the entry of women into the work process outside the home when it came to the question of the survival of their families and alleviating their economic situation. However, it should be stressed that the duality and ambivalence in relation to women's work persisted to some extent. It was manifested in the discomfort that women were thus escaping the traditionally male control in the community of origin, both by national elites and church representatives (in the predominantly Catholic countryside). Above all, after WWII, it was seen in the problematic relationship with another country, one oriented differently both ideologically and economically and often hostile towards Yugoslavia.[20] Against this backdrop, the proximity of the Komen textile factory was considered advantageous in maintaining patriarchic (moral) control, whereas in fact, as we will see, it would actually contribute locally to the empowerment of women.

OPPORTUNITIES

Due to the postwar shortage of raw materials and human resources, the socialist state of Yugoslavia mobilized young rural girls as cheap labor for the needs of industry, in particularly large numbers in the textile industry.[21] However, as the state not only encouraged the employment of women but also established a social system for employees, the textile factory in Komen was also seen as an opportunity. One of the key questions is: What impact (idea and implementation) did the

[18] Similar situations were also found with respect to other major European centers, cf. Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, "Temporary Service? A Global Perspective on Domestic Work and the Life Cycle from Pre-Industrial Times to the Present," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 43, no. 2 (2017): 217–39; Leonore Davidoff, "Domestic Service and the Working-Class Life Cycle," *Bulletin of the Society of the Study of Labour History*, no. 26 (1973): 10–13; Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work and Family* (London: Routledge, 1978).

[19] Marta Verginella, *Ženska obrobja: Vpis žensk v zgodovino Slovencev* (Ljubljana: Delta, 2006), 141; Verginella, *Donne e confine*, 112; Vida Rožac Darovec, "L'attraversamento del confine nei ricordi delle donne istriane," *Qualestoria* 35, no. 1 (2007): 37–58.

[20] Verginella, *Donne e confini*, 112.

[21] Lorenčič and Prinčič, *Slovenska industrija*, 309; Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*, 22, 31; Mateja Jeraj, *Slovenke na prehodu v socializem* (Ljubljana: Arhiv republike Slovenije, 2005).

social and economic transformation of labor under socialism have on the emancipation of women textile workers? In the case of the recruitment of women from the surrounding villages of Komen, as we have seen, it was first an opportunity to earn money close to home where employment opportunities were otherwise limited, especially for those without professional training. In the first years and decades of Konfekcija's operation, most of the women workers had only a primary school education and were employed as unskilled workers who learned their profession on the job. Later on, only three of them—the production manager, the work preparation manager, and the standard setter—received additional training.[22] In the 1970s, Konfekcija also provided training and courses, either by organizing them and inviting lecturers or by sending workers on paid courses. As an informant from Komen explains, later on, in the 1980s, there were a lot of girls who had a professional education: "There was no need before, but then it became necessary."[23]

Yet, aside of what Konfekcija offered, there were in general not many employment opportunities for women in the Karst region on the Slovenian side of the border at all, as an informant from Gorjansko recalls: "We asked, there was no work back then, in '67, there was no work, it was very difficult to get a job."[24] Against this backdrop, the factory gained even more importance, as it is clear from the evaluation of an informant from Sveto: "And Konfekcija, whether they want to believe it or not, has saved an awful lot, this whole region from here.... Our golden Konfekcija, it has given bread to many."[25]

In similar fashion, during the period before Konfekcija Komen was established, the duality offered by the two different politico-economic systems along the border was crucial for better survival opportunities and strategies, as an informant from the village of Ivanji Grad evaluated the additional earning potential in Italy: "Italy rescued and helped many. I remember from before ... when they opened this border, in 1953, the situation improved. After the war, by '53, it was very, very bad. There were heavy taxes..."[26]

Many of the girls who worked as domestic workers in Italy sent their earnings to their families and only gradually became independent or earned a living simply to start their own families or improve their own economic situation. The economic crisis and an opportunity for higher wages in the cities on the other side of the border were key factors in the re-solidification of the old, traditional migration from the countryside to the cities. The differing politico-economic situations of the neighboring states intensified and maintained the existing

22 Interview with E. S., born in 1953, recorded in Komen, December 16, 2019.
23 Interview with M. G., recorded in Komen, July 20, 2020.
24 Interview with A. B.
25 Interview with E. R., recorded in Kobjeglava, December 16, 2019.
26 Interview with N. Š., born in 1953, recorded in Ivanji Grad, November 15, 2019.

migration routes, bridging two worlds, one of which was economically more attractive and privileged. The ability of women to take advantage of this duality of economic systems was of key importance. Slovene women from the Karst, Istria, Vipava Valley, and Soča Valley (still) looked for work on the other side of the border, in Trieste and in smaller urban centers, e.g., in Gorizia, Monfalcone, and Udine.

In the period when the border was closed after 1945, many women living along the entire Italian-Yugoslav border temporarily moved in with their employers. This practice was discontinued when the border was reopened in 1954, and the majority of these women chose to migrate daily across the border, preferably on foot or even by bicycle, which was a rare commodity at the time. Later on, they took buses and eventually drove there themselves.[27] With the opening of the border in the 1950s and the opportunity to obtain a permit for local border traffic, the retail trade—often in the form of or in combination with small-time smuggling—was also revived. Small-scale farmers, men and women, as well as factory workers and state employees who had farms at home, supplied the cities with produce (eggs, meat, crops, etc.). The supply of their employers' households with home-grown produce was often also inseparable from the work performed by Slovene domestic workers. It is also significant that despite the strict border regimen, which caused discomfort and fear among the surrounding population, the free passage of people and goods remained a constant. As Verginella writes, a ban would have caused too much discontent among the poorest strata of the population living along the border, especially the Slovenes, who, after all, formed the backbone of the new Yugoslav socialist regime.[28] For a number of women, this trade in petty goods, combined with smuggling, was the mainstay of the family's survival strategies.[29]

The lack of employment opportunities on the Slovenian side of the border was therefore continuously solved by women working in Italy. To some extent, this did not change even after the state started to stem the outflow of female labor, as in the case of the textile industry in Komen, by offering new jobs in the local factory. As this study shows (which also applies to the broader Italian-Slovenian border area), they only partially succeeded in doing so. Many

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27 Petra Testen Koren and Ana Cergol Paradiž, "Slovene Servants/Domestic Workers in Italian Towns in the Second Half of the 19th and in the 20th Century," in *West Meets East*, ed. Beatrice Zucca Micheletto and Nicoleta Roman (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2024, forthcoming).

28 Verginella, *Donne e confini*, 111.

29 For more, see Rožac Darovec, "L'attraversamento del confine"; Špela Ledinek Lozej and Nataša Rogelja, *Potepanja po poteh Šavrinke Marije* (Ljubljana: Slovensko etnološko društvo, 2000); Verginella, *Donne e confini*, 134. For comparison, see also Rory Archer and Krisztina Racz, "Šverc and the Šinobus: Small-scale Smuggling in Vojvodina," in *Subverting Borders: Doing Research on Smuggling and Small-Scale Trade*, ed. Bettina Bruns and Judith Miggelbrink (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2012), 59–83.

informants interwove their own experiences of this duality in their narratives, in which family strategies of choice were embedded. For example, the informant from Ivanji Grad (born 1953) had already started working across the border in Italy at the end of the 1960s, as a 15-year-old girl, in one of the local taverns. The difficult conditions on the family farm did not allow her much room for maneuver, despite her desire to go to the textile technician school, which was already operating in Kranj at the time, and then join the collective of female workers at Konfekcija Komen. The scholarship already awarded to women for education at Konfekcija was not an option for her. As she recalled, when she shared her desire for education with her mother, "money was always a problem. I couldn't get a scholarship, probably because we had a farm, but there was no money on the farm; it was just for taxes, for keeping up to date. They couldn't wait for me to go back to work, to help them."[30] Later, her aunt intervened and extracted a promise from director Jazbec that she would be tested and then eventually hired, which she was.

The story of the informant from Komen (born 1953), who lost her father at the age of fifteen and was left at home with three sisters and their mother, is also particularly interesting for our analysis. The elder sister had been sewing aprons for Konfekcija for some time. The informant said that she "wanted very much to be a shop assistant, but at that time they said because I was a girl, 'We won't hire her.'" So her mother went to ask if she could be hired at Konfekcija. At a certain point, an opportunity for further education presented itself when Konfekcija offered two half scholarships to the textile school in Kranj. The responsibility was enormous. As she tells it herself, she struggled terribly at school, knowing she could not afford anything else because the half scholarship only covered half of her schooling and accommodation at a boarding school, and half of the amount was contributed by her sister, who, in fact, worked as a domestic worker in Trieste.[31]

For women, proximity to the border was important not only for the possibility of income-generating work but also for the increased possibility of consumption. When factory work, which was supposed to provide symbolic and material access to what the Fordist model promised—a rise in living standards, facilitated consumption, and a good life—failed to meet this challenge, efforts to find better opportunities were directed beyond the border. As an informant from Gabrovica stated, "there was nothing to buy at that time.... Not that there was no money, there was nothing to buy. Well, it was a bit different for us, here in the village. We went to Gorizia..."[32] The improvement in the standard of living in the 1970s in Yugoslavia (also due to the success of industry) triggered greater

[30] Interview with N. Š.
[31] Interview with E. S.
[32] Interview with A. C., born in 1957, recorded in Gabrovica, October 15, 2020.

appetites for the goods that make life better, and not simply for those goods necessary for survival. For the citizens of Yugoslavia in general (particularly Slovenes, considered to be the most economically developed within Yugoslavia), the more plentiful and choice-ridden sales market in Italy also provided opportunities to buy items that were either unavailable at home or too expensive. The main destination was the city of Trieste, the symbol of Western capitalism, modernity, diversity, and luxury, the "shopping Mecca."[33]

The women who lived and worked along the Italian-Slovenian border, including textile workers from Komen, were in a privileged position when it came to improving their standard of living because of their proximity and access to goods in Italy. The constant view across the border not only sharpened their critical eye towards differences in political and economic terms but also shaped their need and desire for beautiful things and for a better life. As will be presented further on, this desire persisted even after the economic crisis of the 1980s, when they solved the income gap caused by the increasingly devalued factory work with additional domestic work in Italy. However, it should be stressed once again that the continuity of Slovene women's domestic work in Italy was never interrupted, despite the new opportunities in industry and the significant rise in living standards, bearing in mind that the welfare state reached its peak in the 1970s. Nevertheless, in order to understand the feelings of women workers in the subsequent processes of the intensification and precarization of labor in post-industrial reality, it is necessary to introduce a brief insight into the everyday social life in the self-managed factory.

THE EMANCIPATORY ASPECTS

The question of what impact the Yugoslav self-managed economy and the idea of gendered modernization through productive labor had on the social and economic emancipation of women textile workers is also answered through the interpretation of equality and the attempts to introduce the idea of the "socialist family model" into the everyday life of workers. Indeed, women's equal rights as citizens and workers were enshrined in the Yugoslav Constitution in 1946, as was the demand for the protection of mothers and children, especially working-class mothers. However, the legally recognized autonomy of women, as we have already indicated, clashed in many places with rural patriarchal practices and the questionability of (dis)control over women. The idea of a new "socialist

[33] Breda Luthar, "Shame, Desire and Longing for the West: A Case Study of Consumption," in *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, ed. Breda Luthar and Maruša Pušnik (Washington, DC: New Academia Publishing, 2010); Dušan Nećak, "Trst, mesto nakupov," *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino* 40, no. 1 (2000): 301–10; Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*, 45.

family model" with more modern and egalitarian family relations was alien to the majority of the population, so the changes were gradual.[34] In changing rural patriarchal traditions, there was a tendency to recognize that women's reproductive tasks must first be socialized by enabling them to enter the labor market. The concept of the "working mother gender contract," based on the aforementioned Yugoslav Constitution (1946), and the concept of "social motherhood," with the idea of the socialization of domestic work and social reproduction, allowed working mothers in the socialist regime to have a special position and to be entitled to special social rights, in order to somehow balance their "double burden" of paid work on the one hand and (unpaid) domestic work in their homes.[35] In practice, the difficulty of reconciling productive and reproductive work persisted; although symbolically valorized by protective legislation, the "double burden" was nevertheless naturalized as an unavoidable social phenomenon.

Women were left with deeply ambivalent feelings, which, as Bonfiglioli puts it, were not only naturalized but also privatized. Each woman found her own way of balancing productive and reproductive work, which depended on the size of the family, the household income, and the support she received from her partner and relatives.[36] In the case of the women from Konfekcija Komen, the support of the extended family at home was one of the key points in the discussions with the informants. They said that with the stressful daily routine in the factory, it would have been difficult for them to manage on their own, both with regard to childcare and in organizing employment and additional work, either in Italy or on the farm, or in building or renovating the house. Therefore, this kind of coordination of paid work and their family obligations was recognized as a legitimate form of livelihood both by families and by the broader village community.[37]

Despite state interventions and help from family members, the problem of the double burden in this rural environment still persisted for many, as evidenced by the comment of one informant, a member of the management staff from Komen:

> My opinion at the time was that society was actually neglecting women. I mean, the mentality was that the man was the head of the family. And the woman actually worked 8 hours, took care of the childcare, took care of the education, and everything. Because I hardly knew a father who knew how to change his child [diapers] the way they do nowadays. The laundry, the washing, and the

[34] Susan L. Woodward, "The Rights of Women: Ideology, Policy, and Social Change in Yugoslavia," in *Women, State, and Party in Eastern Europe*, ed. Sharon L. Wolchik and Alfred G. Meyer (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1985), 241, summarized after Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*, 34.

[35] Yugoslav Constitution (Article 24). See Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*, 57n9.

[36] Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*, 60.

[37] Martina Orehovec, "Delo Istrank v Trstu," *Etnolog* 7 (1997): 124–25.

> cooking, that was completely on the woman's shoulders, and at the end of it all there was also the physical work around the house and things like that, which was done in those days.... I think that's the period when women felt it most ... the equality, you could say, of taking on the old and the new burden. At that time, that equality was so unequal that we were burdened 24 hours a day, not just like today, when you can take some time off for yourself.... March 8 was a terrible holiday for me because it was a farce, a carnival, I would say. That day they brought you one flower, and they didn't even say a word; a different word, like they did on other days, didn't make up for the other 365 days of work in society.... We were equal on paper, we were, but I think we women just lost with that equality.[38]

The division between men's and women's work was also manifested in the textile factory in Komen. As elsewhere in Yugoslavia, the director's position in the industrial plant was occupied by men, just as the levers of decision-making were far from the ranks of the workers, in the hands of individuals, who often established a corporatist and paternalistic relationship with the workers.[39] This was particularly felt by the workers in Komen after the merger of Konfekcija with the Pletenine Sežana textile factory (1981), which was reflected in the general mistrust of the leadership there. The situation was different within the collective itself. In Komen, almost family-like relations prevailed; "Konfekcija was one family,"[40] there was a lot of trust in the director, "Baldo," but also in "our girls from the management." The textile plant in Komen, as already stated, had three educated women from the local area in management positions (the production and work preparation managers and the standard setter). These were people who came from a close-knit community and who had forged a particular bond with each other. As in factories all over Yugoslavia, the factory was spoken of as a "second home," with the informants also claiming that "we looked after our company as if it were our own home."[41] Parallels are to be found here with the concept of the "industrial structure of feeling" that developed during socialism in Yugoslavia, as Bonfiglioli claims, between state ideology, socio-economic transformation and workers' everyday lives. The way this concept was represented in the narratives of the interviewees/women workers contributed to a positive valorization of the socialist period, especially in light of the subsequent crises and devaluations of women workers in the post-socialist era.[42] In the case of the

38 Interview with A. K., born in 1954, recorded in Komen, July 27, 2020.

39 Ichak Adizes, *Industrial Democracy: Yugoslav Style* (Los Angeles: Adizes Institute Publications, 1977).

40 Interview with E. R.

41 Interview with E. J.

42 Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*, 29, 55–61; Susan L. Woodward, *Socialist Unemployment: The Political Economy of Yugoslavia 1945–1990* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995); Rory Archer, Igor Duda, and Paul Stubbs, eds., *Social Inequalities and Discontent in Yugoslav Socialism* (London: Routledge, 2016).

textile plant in Komen, this positive valorization is also linked to the feeling of the small collective itself, along with conviction that women were better off, or at least they felt that women's rights were taken care of differently under socialism.

The relationship with the factory, understood as a social practice, therefore went beyond socialist paternalism. The concern for welfare was mutual, as is also evident, for example, in the concept of social property, which was interdependent, especially from the 1960s onwards, with the introduction of market socialism and with it greater autonomy for individual factories (the economic reforms of 1965).[43] With this, the success of the factory depended, on the one hand, on the ingenuity of the directors and managers, and on the other, on the women factory workers, their dedication (tight deadlines, overtime), and their work (the norm). They built the factory with their labor. Success depended on them; they were an indispensable part of the factory.[44] Despite the harsh working conditions and low pay, women workers had status under the socialist regime and were recognized symbolically and *de facto* as a formative part of society. Work empowered them and enabled their socialization.[45] Hence the need to study women's experiences at the level of everyday life, which significantly problematizes the concepts of state patriarchy, emancipation "from above," and, last but not least, the "double burden."

Women's emancipation is linked to opportunities for access to paid work, actual formal employment, and education in the spirit of a socialist wife, as well as other bonuses such as health care, access to workers' housing, directed leisure activities, commodities, etc. In this respect, the fact that the very low income of the textile workers (despite the not-insignificant consideration that it was reliable and regular) was compensated for by the welfare benefits, i.e., the organization and distribution of social welfare services and other benefits, played a key role in the "socialist microcosm" of the factory.[46] The policy of decentralization also meant that the implementation of welfare services, especially in small districts, as was the case in Komen, was on the shoulders of the factory. Individual women

[43] Adizes, *Industrial Democracy*; Goran Musić, "Yugoslavia: Workers' Self-Management as State Paradigm," in *Ours to Master and to Own: Workers' Control from the Commune to the Present*, ed. Immanuel Ness and Dario Azzellini (Chicago: Haymarketbooks, 2011), 172–91.

[44] Jurij Fikfak and Jože Prinčič, eds., *Biti direktor v času socializma: Med idejami in praksami* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2008); Ivan Rajković, "For an Anthropology of the Demoralized: State Pay, Mock-Labour, and Unfreedom in a Serbian Firm," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 24, no. 1 (2018): 47–70.

[45] Nina Vodopivec, *Tu se ne bo nikoli več živalo: Doživljanja izgube dela in propada tovarne* (Ljubljana: Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2021), 13; Nina Vodopivec, *Labirinti postsocializma: Socialni spomini tekstilnih delavk in delavcev* (Ljubljana: ISH, 2007); Tanja Petrović, "Towards an Affective History of Yugoslavia," *Filozofija i društvo* 27, no. 3 (2016): 504–20.

[46] Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*, 40–41. See further Rory Archer and Goran Musić, "Approaching the Socialist Factory and Its Workforce: Considerations from Fieldwork in (Former) Yugoslavia," *Labor History* 58, no. 1 (2017): 44–66.

were given (partial) scholarships and additional training, all within the company's capital capacity. Similarly, bank loans were offered to employees, mainly for renovating or building houses. Periodically, lists were drawn up to evaluate and select the best candidates in need of a loan. Solidarity funds were one of the benefits of the socialist system. Among other things, women workers were obliged to work a certain number of so-called solidarity Saturdays for underdeveloped areas in Yugoslavia, areas affected by natural disasters.[47] Among the social welfare services, we should also mention the canteen, or rather the food distribution center, which was transported from the neighboring company in the village, Aluminij.[48] Subsidized housing was also organized. Although the company did not provide its own health services, this was arranged at the municipal level. Similarly, a kindergarten was run at the municipal level but was financed by contributions from both Konfekcija and Aluminij workers. In the village of Materia, where Konfekcija had a branch office, there was even a factory kindergarten "in the good times."

The company had a well-organized system of workers' social rights, including maternity leave and sick leave with bonus benefits, i.e., special days off to care for sick and elderly family members. The practice of allowing mothers with young children to work the morning shift played a major role. While maternity leave was limited to six weeks in the early socialist period, from 1946 onwards, it was extended to 105 days in 1957. An informant from Komen recalls these early socialist times and her work after childbirth as follows:

> Two months after giving birth, I went to work—or 105 days or whatever it was—or three months.... I know, because I was sewing a flat nightgown. "You! There's a spot on the shirt! Milk!" The foreman had come ... it was him, he was also the tailor, he had come. He brought me a piece of cloth. I was [ashamed].... Then he brought a nappy to me and he said: "Come on, put it on underneath, because one can see that your milk is spurting." What does one expect. I breastfed my child before I left home and then I went to work for four hours. Because I was working for four hours.... Mummy was looking after them, she was looking after all three [children]. Then we started building our house. I had a lot in loans, there was nothing to do but work.[49]

47 Interview with M. S.

48 Aluminij Komen (founded on February 8, 1955) employed a predominantly male workforce in Komen and the surrounding area. It often happened that the wife worked in Konfekcija and the husband in Aluminij. See "Aluminij Komen," 228. For comparison, see Rory Archer and Goran Musić, "'Not All Canteens Are Created Equal': Food Provision for Yugoslav Blue-Collar Workers in Late Socialism," in *Brotherhood and Unity at the Kitchen Table? Cooking, Cuisine and Food Culture in Socialist Yugoslavia*, ed. Ruža Fotiadis, Vladimir Ivanović, and Radina Vičetić (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2020), 75–95, etc.

49 Interview with M. S.

Beginning in the 1960s, each republic was able to set aside additional days of maternity leave. In Slovenia, starting in 1974, this was 141 extra paid days, which could be shared by both parents. It was not until 1986 that maternity leave was extended to one year and included 100% salary compensation.[50] Night shifts were banned for pregnant women and mothers with a child under the age of one. As we have already mentioned, from the start there was never a night shift in Komen.

Lastly, the factory was involved with family and leisure time as well. In addition to the notions of the working collective, solidarity, and individual sacrifice for the common good, the factory ensured that collective bonds were deepened by encouraging and creating space for leisure activities. Throughout Yugoslavia, it was common practice for factories to organize holidays. Summer holidays by the Adriatic Sea were the privilege of the first generations, who could stay in subsidized resorts for a symbolic price.[51] Even Konfekcija, when they could afford it in the 1970s, had some caravans for holidays in Istria. They were looked after by the trade union. Throughout Yugoslavia, this type of service was supported or even run by the trade unions in cooperation with the workers' council and management. At the same time, the socialist factories, and with them the plant in Komen, also encouraged participation in sports clubs, the fire brigade, territorial defense, women's organizations, and various cultural clubs, and supported blood donation and the mastery of first aid skills, which were successfully demonstrated in competitions, with factory strengthening links with other factories and the local workforce.[52] Konfekcija also organized collective educational and leisure trips around Slovenia and Yugoslavia, even abroad (e.g., to San Marino, Italy, the Czech Republic, France, etc.).[53] Workers said that they went to places they would never have dreamed of going. As already pointed out, social life was also shaped by women's actions organized in conjunction with the union, such as celebrations of Women's Day, New Year's Day, and various dances, always accompanied by humorous interjections from a local trade unionist with a remarkable sense of humor and a personable nature. Particularly important was the carnival in Komen, when a group of women took a holiday, sewed costumes, and visited both villagers and representatives of the local industrial plants.

To sum up, under socialism, the factory structured more than just the workspace but also society, the home, the local community, and the state, and in so

[50] Aleksandra Kanjuo-Mrčela and Nevenka Černigoj-Sadar, "Starši med delom in družino," *Teorija in praksa* 43, nos. 5–6 (2006): 716–36; Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*, 58.

[51] Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*, 101; Igor Duda and Igor Stanić, "Izza vrata radničkih odmarališta: Službeni zapisi o nestašnima i gladnima 1947.–1950.," *Historijski zbornik* 64, no. 1 (2011): 99–119.

[52] SI PAK 693, t. u. 32, f. 53. Konfekcija "Primorka" Komen: Awards and diplomas for various achievements, merits; Interview with A. K.

[53] Fakin Bajec, Umek, and Testen Koren, *Žensko delo* (exhibition material).

doing shaped the norm of the working person.[54] So-called "socialist gendered pedagogies," which were introduced through educational courses by so-called women's "actives" (*aktiv žena*) in factories throughout Yugoslavia[55] and based on a holistic social transformation, sought to transform women's productive and reproductive spheres and to educate rural girls in the spirit of self-management, but on the assumption that they would also be autonomous as wives and mothers in their own families.[56] In practice, however, their activities were often limited to the celebration of festivals such as Women's Day or to participation in women's requests for additional social services. At the same time, it is also telling that in the struggle for women's advancement, narratives and ideas of material advancement and economic growth often prevailed alongside individual sacrifice for the collective, common good. Nevertheless, these "industrial structures of feeling," together with the social transfers, were essential for ensuring that even in times of crisis, women wanted to retain some of the added value of the socialist system, which not only gave them value and a place in society but also recognized their needs in their private lives. From this point of view, as we shall see below, we can better understand the possibility and ability to benefit from the duality of economic systems by retaining the bonuses of the remnants of the welfare state while working in parallel in Italy, which not only established additional economic independence for women but also strengthened their social emancipation.

The Second Transition Period, in the 1990s: Between the Peak and the Decline of Industrial Development Mergers, "Lon Deals" and the Weight of Collapse

Yugoslavia, which, on the basis of international loans and export growth, had successfully embarked on the path of an industrialized country in the 1960s, was faced with an economic crisis in the 1980s and a transition to market capitalism in the 1990s. How were the crisis and the decline of the textile industry experienced in Komen? An informant from the village recalls the peak as follows: "In 1977, 1978, 1979, I think, we were somewhere near the peak [of production].

54 Nina Vodopivec, "Ženske in industrija na Balkanu: Refleksija o raziskovanju izkušenj industrijskega delavstva in deindustrializacije," *Glasnik Slovenskega etnološkega društva* 63, no. 1 (2023): 58; for more, see Andrea Muehlebach and Nitzan Shoshan, Introduction to Special Issue "Post-fordist Effect," *Anthropological Quarterly* 85, no. 2 (2012): 319; Rajković, "For an Anthropology of the Demoralized."

55 Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*, 36.

56 Igor Duda, ed., *Stvaranje socijalističkoga čovjeka: Hrvatsko društvo i ideologija jugoslovenskog socijalizma* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2017).

At that time we were the most numerous, some 105 or 102 of us were employed, mainly women."[57] By the end of the 1970s, the textile companies in Slovenia had reached the maximum development that the market allowed. At that time, there were 68 major textile companies with 155 industrial plants, employing 49,600 workers, or 15.2% of all industrial workers in Slovenia, and the value of production was 10% of all industrial production in Slovenia.[58] Over the years, more and more work was done at Konfekcija, which expanded its premises in Komen (tailoring room, sewing room, warehouse, offices, sample room, and shop) and employed over 100 women in its best years. First the warehouse and then the tailor's room were moved to the school building in the village of Sveto in 1986. As already mentioned, the company initially produced a relatively broad array of products that ranged from dressing gowns to work trousers and even included tailored coats and wedding dresses, but in the 1970s, at its peak, the focus shifted to the mass production of some basic clothing items, such as dressing gowns, aprons, and knitted shirts. After the merger with the Pletenine Sežana textile factory in 1981, they started to try out women's ready-to-wear clothing, but success was achieved with children's clothing models. Despite the fact that after the merger, the textile factory in Komen was relegated to production only, without creative work and without management to decide on strategies, visions, markets, and, last but not least, personnel policy, the factory nevertheless tried to survive. One informant commented on the events by saying that "it only went downhill."[59] She goes on to say that in the meantime they had expanded into the Croatian and Serbian markets, where they also had a representative everywhere.[60] This was the case until the mid-1980s, when their merchant traveler, Marica Šegula, retired. For many years she was the sole sales representative of the factory in Komen, and, as a family member, she kept an eye on what was being sewn and what was being sold. Then the "lon deals" (*lon posli*, from the German *Lohn*—external contract work) began, first with Germany, then with Italy (Benetton, Perla, Stefanel, Hugo Boss, etc.). When they became too expensive, they started losing jobs, orders, and control over production. Nonetheless, their products were valued and sold all over the world. They sewed for the internationally renowned Mura Textile Factory in Slovenia and for the Dutch, while for the Italian companies they only made the finished product and sewed their labels on it.[61] As a production worker vividly describes the situation: "Then we were just, how shall I say, tools. Silence, work, the machine.... Then it was no

[57] Interview with A. K.
[58] Lorenčič and Prinčič, *Slovenska industrija*, 309.
[59] Interview with A. K.
[60] Until the end of the 1980s, the Yugoslav market was almost the main trading area for Slovenian companies. See Lorenčič and Prinčič, *Slovenska industrija*, 65.
[61] Fakin Bajec, Umek, and Testen Koren, *Žensko delo* (exhibition material).

longer so nice."[62] At the same time, this increasingly intensive work was also becoming more and more risky: "Even when we were already working, after we were under Pletenina's "lon deals" for Italy as well, we lost these "lon deals" at the expense of Hungary and so on, because there's always someplace cheaper to do work like that."[63] The informant who was in charge of the "technical support" of the plant in Komen said that everything "was going well, for a while, until the Germans found out that our work was being done in Bosnia (laughs),"[64] and the work was moved to a cheaper market without a middleman.[65]

Figure 7.2 Textile workers behind the conveyor belt. Source: Pokrajinski arhiv Koper, f. 693. Sežana – tovarna pletenin in konfekcije, t. u. 31, f. 52. photography.

However, in the 1980s, the textile factory in Komen continued to invest in production; new laying machines were bought for the tailoring shop, the building was renovated, a new canopy was built, the conveyor belt was modernized, etc.

62 Interview with M. S.

63 Interview with A. K.

64 Interview with M. G.

65 For comparison, see Lorenčič and Prinčič, *Slovenska industrija*, 310; Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*, 92–93; Goran Musić, "Outward Processing Production and the Yugoslav Self-Managed Textile Industry in the 1980s," in *Global Commodity Chains and Labor Relations* (Studies in Global Social History, 42), ed. Andrea Komlosy and Goran Musić (Boston: Brill, 2021), 251–73; Milenko Srećković, *Corporate Imperialism: The Zones of Exploitation in Serbia* (Belgrade: Pokret za slobodu, 2015); Andreja Živković, "From the Market ... to the Market: The Debt Economy after Yugoslavia," in *Welcome to the Desert of Post-Socialism: Radical Politics after Yugoslavia*, ed. Srečko Horvat and Igor Štiks (New York: Verso, 2015), 54–78, etc.

After 1988, investment stopped. In Sežana, where everything was decided, they had trikotaža (machine-made knitted fabric) and thus a better chance of selling to the Russian market via Belgrade. However, commercial opportunities and market access became increasingly difficult. After independence, access to the former Yugoslav and Russian markets was completely cut off.[66]

The so-called post-socialist and post-conflict changes and transformations of society at all levels in the 1990s, and later the global economic crisis of 2008, led to most of the former socialist factories going bankrupt or closing their doors. Many local privatized companies and foreign firms took over existing workplaces and workforces, often in flagrant violation of workers' laws and rights. The so-called processes of de-industrialization, strongly associated with massive job losses and unemployment, were directed towards processes of intensification of work and precarization of employment for the remaining labor force.

While the industrial sector in general throughout Yugoslavia was severely affected by such processes, the textile industry, traditionally feminized and already a fundamentally labor-intensive industry, was even more vulnerable to the transformation of the global garment industry, which was characterized by the need to reduce production prices as much as possible in order to respond to the demands of "fast fashion." Similar social patterns and trends across Yugoslavia testified to the changed situation of industrial workers—their marginalization, the general devaluation of work, and the loss of social rights.[67]

Bonfiglioli illustrates the transformation of the industrial sector with figures. In the 1980s, when Yugoslavia was the world's top textile and clothing producer, large textile complexes employed thousands of people. In Slovenia, the Mura Textile Factory in Murska Sobota employed 6,200 workers, with the Maribor Textile Factory (MTT) employing about 6,500. Furthermore, the Makedonka kombinat in Štip (Macedonia) employed more than 5,700 workers in the 1970s, and the Croatian Varteks kombinat in Varaždin almost 10,000 workers (including all branches). Based on available statistics, in the late 1980s the textile industry employed about 474,000 workers (17% of all industrial workers), while the post-Yugoslav region has in recent years recorded about 128,000 workers. The largest job losses occurred in Croatia and Slovenia.[68] Before independence, Slovenia employed more than 53,000 people in textiles, but by 2012 the number had shrunk to less than 5,000. In 1995, there were around 1,800 companies involved in clothing production; in 2005, there were less than 1,000, and in

66 Interview with A. K.

67 Iva Kosmos, Tanja Petrović, and Martin Pogačar, eds., *Zgodbe iz konzerve: Zgodovine predelave in konzerviranja rib na severovzhodnem Jadranu* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2020); Vodopivec, *Tu se ne bo živalo*.

68 Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*, 94.

2011 just under 800.[69] While work in Slovenia and Croatia is better paid nowadays because they are part of the European Union, it is less competitive. In the less "healthy" post-Yugoslav countries, textile production is still very important today.[70]

The textile plant in Komen was not privatized in the 1990s; they closed their doors instead in 1996. Asked if the workers understood that it was coming to an end, the production manager said:

> We weren't the only ones who went to hell: Pletenina [Sežana] was gone, Ideal Nova Gorica was gone, Kroj Škofja [Loka] was gone, even Mura, Mura, for God's sake, which was the top, everything was gone.... As workers, we truly achieved quality, I would say, but we were too expensive; it was not competitive anymore.... And here, then, it gives you that bitter taste. The worker works for such small wages and then is left without even that. Because there was employment, there was social security; it was for everybody.[71]

Workers who observed and experienced this process on the shop floor recalled: "Hm, (sigh) you know what, what do I know, they always started to squeeze somewhere harder.... The norm was too high, too high.... We were in fear, I know that we were worried about how it was going to be.... We didn't know much. You know what, we were, we were just like that, so, yeah, we weren't, I don't know, educated so that we could understand.... And then they kept us on a short leash."[72] Another informant said with a lump in her throat: "It dragged on, it dragged on, it dragged on, it dragged on from month to month, it dragged on.... Then, they said something about extending the work with Pletenina [Sežana], that Pletenina would stay, and then it all went to hell. They consoled some girls; they even went to work at Pletenina for three months. But then it all went wrong, it didn't last..."[73] She continued her agonizing account of the collapse by noting that they were simply not competitive, that the whole textile industry was collapsing, and that "these old women of ours, they didn't understand this modern tempo, that it's not like it used to be."[74]

After 1994, according to an informant who was part of the management of the textile factory in Komen, there was talk of bankruptcy. From 1992 onwards, there was no more recruitment but as much retirement as possible: "Those of us who were able to retire were put out first. Let's say I went, I did, and I bought out my last 11 months of service. And so I went at the age of 50, I would have

69 Lorenčič and Prinčič, *Slovenska industrija*, 309–10.
70 Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry*, 94.
71 Interview with E. S.
72 Interview with E. S.
73 Interview with A. C.
74 Interview with A. C.

35 years of work, it was 35 for women then."[75] Some women stayed to the end: "I was there until the end, yes. Then I went to the Employment Service; I was there for 24 months.... [Then] I got a job in Italy. And those were my good years, because I had a lot of money."[76] The same informant explains that she was counted for retirement purposes for the time she worked for Konfekcija, then for the time at the Employment Service, and finally for the time she worked in Italy. When she had exhausted all possibilities, she arranged for social insurance: "I was insured as a farmer because we have a farm.... My sister was insured as a citizen [at the municipal level]."[77]

Those workers who persevered to the end at the textile factory in Komen reported how relations in the collective had completely broken down. The rest of the workers ended up at the Employment Service, and "then we helped each other as we knew how."[78] The deep turmoil experienced by the women workers at the time of the collapse of the Komen plant is also evidenced by the words of another informant:

> It was terrible. Maybe today, if a company goes bust, it's terrible. I just think that young people, or people who are working, are prepared for that somewhere. We were not ready. We were still like, "you get a job and I'll live to retire there." There was no job-hopping; we were not used to that system. It was sad.... We were brought up in socialism, and we lived like that, with blinders on. You saw neither left nor right. And if somebody said to you that ... we will take care of it, that everything will be solved, they would solve it. But, unfortunately, it was not like that.[79]

After the 1980s, especially in light of the difficult economic situation in the 1990s, in the post-socialist reality, when textile workers were faced with precarious work, the possibility to work across borders became all the more important. This alternative, even among traditionally established work choices, separated the Komen region (and the Italian-Slovenian border region in general) from, for example, larger regions with almost zero alternative employment opportunities, such as the Prekmurje region, where the Slovenian textile giant, the Mura factory in Murska Sobota, faced collapse.[80]

75 Interview with E. J.
76 Interview with A. B.
77 Interview with A. B.
78 Interview with A. K.
79 Interview with A. K.
80 Vodopivec, *Tu se ne bo živalo*.

THE VIEW ACROSS THE BORDER

From the late 1970s and particularly in the 1980s, when the economic crisis was already felt, many women who were employed in the (textile) industry worked as domestic workers in Italy a few afternoons a week. Unlike this type of work immediately after WWII, which still attracted mostly young girls prior to marriage, in the 1980s and 1990s the middle-aged generation of women, or the age group just before (or after) retirement, were employed in this way. They worked for better living standards, to improve their families' tight budgets, because factory work was always less well paid (and the working conditions were worse). Even those women who managed to retire were surviving on low incomes. In the 1990s, during the economic recession in the post-independence transition period that brought about the closure of a large number of factories and companies in Slovenia, many people became redundant, making domestic service across the border an important and often even the only source of income for many families. It meant not just higher living standards; it made women economically independent and improved their self-confidence. Being paid in Italian *lira* also raised the value of housework because their earnings made women economically independent from their husbands as well.[81] Even more, owing to different economic standards, girls and women with lower education could earn more than their counterparts in Slovenia.

It is important to note that the women workers from the Komen factory, who also worked as domestic help across the border, always benefited at home from the remnants of the welfare state,[82] such as social insurance, pension, and other benefits. The informant from Komen had already been working in Italy for two years before the factory collapsed, for a total of five years, to pay for her retirement: "Because I went to work, and then I was going to work in Italy in the afternoons. Can you imagine it, what a life?! So, I would leave home at five thirty in the morning. I was working at six, and then I finished at two. By two thirty, I was already in Nabrežina (Aurisina) in Italy. And I was already working there without lunch, without anything..."[83] The work process in the textile factory in Komen was carried out in two shifts, initially seven and then later eight hours long, running from 6 am to 2 pm and from 2 pm to 10 pm.[84] The work was, as we have already written, incomparably worse paid compared to that in Italy.

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81 Ana Barbič and Inga Miklavčič Brezigar, "Domestic Work Abroad: A Necessity and an Opportunity for Rural Women from the Goriška Borderland Region of Slovenia," in *Gender, Migration and Domestic Service*, ed. Janet Henshall Momsen (New York: Routledge, 1999), 175.

82 For a comparison, see Elisabetta Vezzosi and Roberta Nunin, eds., *Donne e famiglie nei sistemi di welfare: Esperienze nazionali e regionali a confronto* (Rome: Carocci, 2006).

83 Interview with M. S.

84 Interview with N. Š.

There were not a few women who, in the last few years, perhaps even a decade before the closure of the textile factory in Komen, chose to work in Italy and thus pay for their working time in Slovenia, where they were also insured, either by their husbands or on the farm, as citizens. Living along the border allowed women to benefit from two systems at the same time: "Everyone helped themselves. There were grandmothers with Italian [pensions] and there was work [in Italy] and there were no shortages. In fact, there weren't any [shortages], the interior was much poorer."[85]

A few women working in Italy in the hospitality industry benefitted from the Osimo agreements, which enabled them to work there legally from the mid-1970s onward and to obtain the *soggiorno* that covered health insurance as well.[86] However, both in the field of the hospitality industry and that of domestic service, the bulk of women remained part of the black market. It is therefore almost impossible to estimate the proportion of the female population who took up work in Italy, as there are no official statistics. Work was generally undeclared, which suited both the women who were working as domestic servants and those who employed them.[87] The daily migration of women across the border was tolerated by both the Yugoslav and Italian authorities, who, according to Verginella, were aware of the existence of the retail trade and, even more so, of the masses of domestic workers who responded to the great need for domestic services on the Italian side, especially in Trieste and Gorizia.[88] During Slovenia's transition in the 1990s, the broader community regarded them as a (new) factor in the region's growing prosperity.[89] Last but not least, with the constant cultural (ex)change occurring between the countryside and the city, the modelling after the capitalist West of consumer norms, criteria, and status symbols became more tangible on the border region of Slovenia than in other parts of Yugoslavia. As was repeatedly mentioned by the informants, they "longed for beauty."[90]

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85 Interview with E. S.

86 "Soggiorno" or "permesso di soggiorno" is a residence permit, in this case a work permit, which was regulated under the scope of the Treaty of Osimo. These were international legal acts signed by the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Italy on November 10, 1975. They came into force on October 11, 1977, after having been ratified by both parliaments. They regulated the Intergovernmental Agreement (which concerned border-related questions) and the Agreement on the Development of Economic Co-operation, including the Protocol of the Free Zone (which concerned economic questions, including logistical matters such as roads, navigable waterways, and ports).

87 From 1952 on, the law stipulated that in order to receive health insurance, a worker had to work at least four hours a day for the same employer, which did not suit Slovene women in the Italian-Slovenian border area who wanted to create their own work schedule (i.e., to visit a greater number of households per week to earn more). See Raffaela Sarti, ed., *Lavoro domestico e di cura: quali diritti?* (Rome: Ediesse, 2010), 37–47.

88 Verginella, *Donne e confini*, 113.

89 Verginella, *Ženska obrobja*, 148; Orehovec, "Delo Istrank," 121–23.

90 Interview with A. K.; Orehovec, "Delo Istrank," 122–23.

Conclusion

(Textile) workers are still seen in Slovenia today mainly as a remnant of a socialist world, which was ideologically and economically unsuccessful from the point of view of capitalism.[91] However, the view from below, i.e., micro-studies, although still scarce, persistently shows that the workforce did not disappear with the transition. Although the latter brought about the collapse of many factories, the industry itself was transformed. And, as Nina Vodopivec points out, even where it is gone, it still shapes the lives of people, both former workers and their families, as well as the broader local community.[92]

The case of the textile industry in Komen is specific precisely because of the opportunities that women were able to seize, despite the newly established state border after WWII, by maintaining the continuity of labor migration routes between the countryside and the larger urban centers as an alternative to the socialist reality. In this way, as "cross-border mediators," they also established links between the Italian and Slovenian communities, crossing the boundaries between social classes, national communities, rural and urban environments, and between different political, economic, and value systems—especially when they were able to benefit from the advantages of both worlds.[93] At the same time, the dynamics of their work and choices allow us to understand another concept, the "inclusion/exclusion paradox." Aspects of exclusion and marginalization on the one hand and aspects of women's inclusion and empowerment on the other, both through factory work, on the margins of the industrial world and through domestic work in Italy (as ancillary or full-time employment), are brought together in a complex mosaic of survival opportunities in the labor market in a specific space along the Italian-Slovenian border. And just as it is not possible to dismiss former (textile) workers as mere relics of a bygone, failed, and decaying world, neither is it possible to seek a simple, two-dimensional explanation for those who helped themselves as domestic workers across the border in order to understand women as the unprotected workforce on the one hand and as emancipated, independent players on the other.[94] Understanding women as

[91] Vodopivec, *Tu se ne bo živalo*.

[92] Vodopivec, "Ženske in industrija," 58.

[93] Verginella, *Ženska obrobja*; Verginella, *Donne e confine*; Testen Koren and Cergol Paradiž, "Slovene servants."

[94] Verginella, *Ženska obrobja*, 150; Verginella, *Donne e confini*, 114–15; Bojan Baskar, *Dvoumni Mediteran: študije o regionalnem prekrivanju na vzhodnojadranskem območju* (Koper: Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko, ZRS RS, 2002), 208; see also Marlou Schrover and Eileen Janes Yeo, *Gender, Migration, and the Public Sphere, 1850–2005* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Rhacel Salazar Parreñas, *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration and Domestic Work* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001); Petra Testen Koren and Ana Cergol Paradiž, "The Excluded amongst the Excluded? Trst/Trieste and (Slovene) Servants after the First World War," *Acta Histriae* 29, no. 4 (2021): 887–920.

individuals who know their way around the system, who can make use of or take advantage of it, and who are at the same time capable of overcoming obstacles brought about by two legal orders and economic systems allows for a more complex understanding of work and of women in general in this border area.

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Chapter Abstracts

Female Teachers—The Ferrywomen of Transitional Education

Marta Verginella

In the transition periods after both world wars, education was recognized as one of the most important areas of activity of the new state authorities in the north-eastern Adriatic areas, in what are now north-eastern Italy, Slovenia, south-eastern Austria, and Croatia. The postwar school authorities pursued a common national socialization project directed at the youngest members of the population. This project, in addition to establishing national primacy within the framework of state nation-building, also involved ideological adaptation. Educating the young was one of the most important objectives of the transition policies after both the First and Second World Wars. The arrival and placement of new teaching staff was usually accompanied by the dismissal, blackmail, and/or persecution of those who were teaching before the war and also by their voluntary departure, triggered by the war and the postwar realities. A comparison of the actions of school authorities in the transition periods shows that nationality or political orientation played a greater role than gender in discriminatory and repressive practices. The article shows that in the context of school transition policies, younger women teachers played a special role, especially in the newly conquered areas, as they were able to devote themselves to a greater extent to teaching and also to extra-curricular work. They were identified as best suited to implement the new postwar school policy and to change the previous frameworks, both mentally and linguistically.

The Working Conditions of Female Teachers in the Slovene Schools in Trieste and Gorizia in the First Years of the Allied Military Government

Gorazd Bajc

Based on an analysis of Slovenian and Anglo-American archival documents and other sources and publications, the paper aims to present the main issues related to the theme of women's work in Slovenian schools in Trieste and Gorizia in the first period after the Second World War (in the very tense atmosphere of the emerging Cold War). In our discussion, we have considered the inadequate working conditions in schools; the dismissals of politically suspect teachers by the Anglo-American Allied Military Government; the aid given to those who

had been dismissed by the pro-Yugoslav camp; the unresolved legal situation for teachers and professors; and the female role in writing school textbooks.

Women Clerks in Transition after World War I in the Kingdom of Italy and Yugoslavia: Two Case Studies from Trieste and Ljubljana

Ana Cergol Paradiž, Matteo Perissinotto, and Irena Selišnik

The aim of this chapter is to compare how female civil servants were integrated into public administration offices in Ljubljana and Trieste (and more broadly, Slovenia and Venezia Giulia) after the First World War, highlighting both similarities and differences. The chapter commences by examining the status of women clerks in both regions before the First World War. It then delves into the distinctions between female civil servants and their male counterparts in general. Similar trends observed in other European countries after the First World War can also be seen in these regions. This includes a surge in female employment followed by job redundancies linked to state restructuring, economic crises, and the replacement of female workers with veterans. In the final part, we analyze the differences among female servants, shedding light on their recruitment practices, which remained rooted in Habsburg tradition, prioritizing moral integrity and political loyalty. There was, however, a divergence in the treatment of married female civil servants, with Italy dismissing them while Yugoslavia did not. By centering our study on female personnel, we offer a distinct perspective on the cultural changes that unfolded after WWI, particularly with regard to the evolving roles of women in both society and the workforce.

Intellectual Labor: Gender, Emotions, and Circumstances in the Postwar Transitions

Manca G. Renko

The purpose of the chapter was to present the ways in which women from different national, cultural, and social backgrounds in the north-eastern Adriatic experienced intellectual work and what the reception and conditions of this work were like. At the same time, the chapter highlights several common themes and experiences of women intellectuals from this area who were active in the transitional periods after the First and Second World Wars. Due to the individuality of intellectual labor and the uniqueness of the artistic work of each of the discussed women, it is impossible to unify their experiences. One can, however, note certain similarities connected to their gender: the combination of intellectual and

care-giving work; their coexistence in both the private and public "spheres;" the occasional or even frequent trivialization of their work by the established public; and the hidden intellectual, emotional, and political labor that they often did for the men with whom they were in relationships. Using the examples of individual women, the chapter also deconstructs some tropes that have taken root in the field of the history of ideas, especially the concepts of separate spheres, individuality, originality, and genius. The findings presented are only the first step towards a transnational intellectual history that goes beyond the nationally bounded historiography that has the ideas of "great men" at its center.

A Soul with Hands: Anita Pittoni, Artist and Entrepreneur

Teresa Bertilotti

The historiography on women's work until recently has almost completely neglected the role of women as entrepreneurs, both internationally and in Italy. My article focuses on Anita Pittoni (Trieste, 1901–1982), whose activity as an entrepreneur seems to me to be particularly significant. Pittoni developed her handicraft activity in the fields of textiles and fashion. In her workshop, established in 1928, she created clothes and clothing accessories, furnishing elements, tapestries, and woven carpets, using all kinds of materials. Her creations were simple but also precious, sometimes made in combination with each other, making extensive use of *nazionali* yarns as well as synthetic fibers or plant-based fibers. The techniques she learned at home from her mother were combined with an original artistic talent that developed as a result of the numerous contacts she made in her youth with personalities of the most advanced art, first in Trieste and then in Milan and nationally. Her career was interrupted during the Second World War, only to resume briefly from 1947 to 1948, after which legislation on home-based businesses prevented her from carrying out her profession due to high taxation and the precarious socio-political context in Trieste.

Tobacco Workers between Marginalization and Opportunities: A Regional Perspective

Urška Strle and Dagmar Wernitznig

This article contributes to the study of the labor conditions among female employees of the tobacco industry in the north-eastern Adriatic region through the use of theoretical concepts of the new so-called working class studies and an investigation of archival sources. The novel approach for this analysis results

from both a longitudinal and a transnational perspective: three tobacco factories—located in Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Rovinj, respectively—and their historiographic significance throughout the twentieth century are examined. Particular emphasis is placed on periods of postwar transition and their socio-political as well as socio-economic implications for gender constellations within and beyond the tobacco factories. Besides exploring the paradoxes of inclusion and exclusion in the private and public spheres, the chapter further contextualizes the contrasting aspects of intersectionality. Further, commonly known notions of the "triple burden" are redefined in their complexity and expanded to a multiple-burden model that also includes pertinent factors such as gender-related discrimination and violence, for instance. This laboratory environment of the tobacco factories in the profiled sites of Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, and Rovinj hence highlights characteristics that can be applied to processes and hierarchies of industry and consumption on a global and contemporary scale.

Slovene Female Textile Workers and Their Alternative Employment: A Case Study in Komen

Petra Testen Koren

This chapter places the Komen textile plant's micro-study within the broader Yugoslav socialist context, while offering unique insights into the socio-economic dynamics of the Slovene-Italian border region. It focuses on the transition periods in the late 1940s and 1990s, which provided women with the framework to acquire (additional) income as part of (family) survival strategies. Transnational contextualization significantly transforms the understanding of the historical changes that shape the dynamics of female employment. The case study enables one to see and analyze textile work in Komen in close correlation with paid domestic work in Italy. At the same time, it raises the question of social and economic emancipation and, ultimately, the empowerment of women, which was significantly increased by the possibility and ability to take advantage of both socio-economic systems along the border.

Contributors

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Marta Verginella is a full professor of nineteenth-century history and the theory of history at the University of Ljubljana (Faculty of Arts). Since 2017, she has been the principal investigator for the EIRENE project: *Post-war Transitions in Gendered Perspective: The Case of the North-Eastern Adriatic Region* (financed by the European Research Council, Horizon 2020, and an ERC advanced grant). In 2019, Dr. Verginella was a visiting fellow at the Institute Remarque (New York University). Currently, she is the leader of two projects about history of women's work, financed by Slovenian Research Agency (ARIS). She has written extensively on many aspects of modern and contemporary north-eastern Adriatic history,

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The volume offers a comparative and transnational exploration of women's work in the twentieth century, concentrating especially on the turbulent periods after both World Wars and the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s. The spatial focus of the analysis is the north-eastern Adriatic region, which includes the border areas of Italy and Austria, Croatia, and Slovenia. The main question of the study—which constitutes one of the results of the international research project EIRENE carried out with the support of the European Research Council—is the extent to which new state affiliations, geopolitical boundaries, and the establishment of new political regimes affected the women's labor market in the three postwar constellations.

"*This superb collection explores the history of women's labor in the Upper Adriatic borderlands by placing women's individual and collective experiences in a comparative and transborder perspective. The protagonists' voices resonate throughout the volume's seven richly detailed microhistories, thus treating the reader to a kaleidoscopic journey through the changing world of women's employment across the postwar transitions that have shaped Europe's twentieth century.*"

Laura Lee Downs, European University Institute, Florence

"*Tobacco workers, teachers, and painters, among others, make visible in this impressive volume the relationship between center and periphery, gender and labor, one generation and the next. Frequently with hybrid identities that belie the nationalist discourses of wartime, here we see women building their communities and economies across each great transition of the twentieth century in the Northeastern Adriatic. An important and useful scholarly work.*"

Molly Tambor, Long Island University Post; chair, Columbia University Seminar in Modern Italian Studies

"*This fascinating collection focuses on women's labor in post-war transitional periods in the peripheral region marked by geopolitical, population, and citizenship shifts, changing borders, state ideologies and economic regimes. The attention to changes, peripherality, the fluidity of national categories, and the porosity of state borders, as well as the comparative, transnational, longitudinal epistemological framework, make this volume an invaluable contribution to women's history, labor history, gender and border studies.*"

Tanja Petrović, Institute of Culture and Memory Studies ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana

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