

TOBACCO WORKERS IN LJUBLJANA (1912–1962): SOME GENDER-SENSITIVE INSIGHTS INTO SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

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ABSTRACT

The article addresses the social aspects of tobacco history, the empirical basis of which are mainly serial sources but also other fragmental remains of the archival fund of the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana. The scope of the article will cover the final years of the Habsburg Empire, the period of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (from 1929 on known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), and the initial years of Tito's Yugoslavia, with ruptures inflicted by the two world wars. Such a temporal framework was chosen deliberately to detect continuities and discontinuities of social transformations throughout various political regimes, in particular how they affected the sphere of labor in the tobacco industry. Due to manageable numbers of workers stretching from about 500 to 2500 over the observed period and among which women always dominated, the sources used also allow for a thorough analysis of gender aspects in the intersectional perspective.

Keywords: tobacco workers, socio-political transitions, gender, labor relations, social history

LAVORATORI DEL TABACCO A LUBIANA (1912–1962): ALCUNE OSSERVAZIONI RIGUARDANTI IL GENERE E LA TRASFORMAZIONE SOCIALE

SINTESI

L'articolo si concentra sugli aspetti sociali della storia del tabacco e sull'analisi delle fonti seriali in particolare sulla documentazione conservata nel fondo archivistico della fabbrica di tabacco di Lubiana. Cronologicamente l'articolo prende in considerazione gli ultimi anni dell'Impero asburgico, il periodo del Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni (dal 1929 conosciuto come il Regno di Jugoslavia), oltre ai primi anni della Jugoslavia di Tito, con le due interruzioni durante le due guerre mondiali. L'ambito temporale è stato scelto deliberatamente per poter rilevare le continuità e le discontinuità delle trasformazioni sociali durante i vari regimi politici e soprattutto per capire come avevano influenzato la sfera del lavoro nell'industria del tabacco. L'entità dei lavoratori, che nei periodi trattati oscillava tra 500 e 2500 persone, era in gran parte composta da donne. Le fonti usate ci consentono di studiare gli aspetti legati al genere in una prospettiva intersezionale.

Parole chiave: lavoratori del tabacco, transizioni socio-politiche, genere, rapporti di lavoro, storia sociale

INTRODUCTION¹

The Tobacco Ljubljana Factory had a long tradition of making diverse tobacco products, stretching from 1871 until 2004. Its production, management, marketing as well as the composition of the work force changed quite extensively throughout the years of the factory's existence. These sectors were affected by technological developments and other panoptic phenomena, such as both world wars, the break-up of Yugoslavia and global economic curves, and also by profound socio-political changes following each war. Although the factory was in operation for 133 years, this article deals only with a sequence of 50 years in this dynamic period. It covers the final years of the Habsburg Empire, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia from 1929 onward), and the initial years of Tito's Yugoslavia, with ruptures inflicted by the two world wars. Within the chosen period, an abysmal economic crisis also occurred in the 1930s, which severely affected the factory's operational abilities. Such a temporal framework was chosen deliberately to detect continuities and discontinuities of the social processes following the crisis, in particular how it affected the sphere of labor in the tobacco industry. This ever-changing nature of labor relations, which allows for intriguing observations, should not be considered an unusual perspective, but a key research paradigm.

Why is a factory of tobacco products, which from the very start employed predominantly women from economically underprivileged town in the first half of the 20th century, significant at all? Where does its historical explanatory value lie? What can it tell us about the past? Although the current scholarly trend leans towards writing a comprehensive global history of labor, notable historians such as Jan Lucassen, Marcel van der Linden, and Andreas Eckert express awareness of a myriad of regional variations of world economic developments, of which particularly underrepresented areas should be brought into focus and contextualized globally (Lucassen, 2006; Linden, 2003; 2008; Linden & Himmelstoss, 2010; Eckert, 2016). Jan Lucassen in particular stresses that classical scheme, based primarily on theoretical knowledge, in many aspects contradict complicated historical facts. Lucassen therefore calls for a more empirical and comparative approach (Lucassen, 2013, 28).

Many global socio-economic phenomena affected work processes and labor relations in Ljubljana's tobacco factory. Because it – like the tobacco industry in general – has been recognized as an important provider of high excise tax throughout its history, it can also serve as an observatory to follow changing social trends induced directly by the state. Naturally, archival material mirrors trends on a macro level, influenced in its nuance also by its own local and historical specifics. Despite their richness, historical sources of the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana remain inadequately analyzed and have failed to be compared to tobacco manufacturing elsewhere. The current state of research is still far

1 This article was first elaborated upon within the EIRENE project (full title: Post-war transitions in gendered perspective: the case of the North-Eastern Adriatic Region), founded by the European Research Council under Horizon 2020 financed Advanced Grant funding scheme [ERC Grant Agreement n. 742683].

from finalized. Its findings are based on intense empirical analysis while its comparative prospect is still rather weak.

The points of departure for the research are made difficult by the poor bibliography and relatively recent research engagement regarding the tobacco factory history in the region. Austrian State Monopoly, the long-term manager of Tobacco Factory Ljubljana, administrated 29 other tobacco factories in the Austrian part of the Habsburg monarchy and was established in order to increase the belated industrialization in the state and to collect a significant amount of taxes. Other nearby tobacco factories active throughout the twentieth century – with the exception of two relatively short-lived ones, the one in Trieste that operated between 1957 and 1999 (Cenzon, 2012) and the other in Pula/Pola, established in 1920 to alleviate the WWI crisis and shut down in 1947 once Pula belonged to Yugoslavia (Marsetič, 2016) – were initially part of the same monopoly:

- Tobacco factory Rovinj, the factory with the longest tradition of tobacco production in the northeastern Adriatic region, established in 1872, and aside from a war-induced break between 1915–1919, still in operation (Marizza, 1997; Nikolić Đerić, 2015);
- Tobacco factory Klagenfurt, established in 1864, was transformed into a factory of aircraft parts manufacturing in 1941 and was razed in a bomb raid in 1945 (Kreuzer, 2009);
- Tobacco factory Rijeka/Fiume, established in 1851, closed down in 1941 with the dawn of WWII and finally terminated production in 1947 (Claessens & Duin, 2004).

As is evident from the operating periods alone, the existence of tobacco factories in the region was transient, despite growing demands for tobacco products. By bringing forth an outline of the factories' existence, I argue that this vulnerability was related also to the sweeping socio-political changes that affected the observed border region. Publications addressing the factory and listed in the bibliography address the workforce and labor relations in the factory only to a lesser degree. Thus, this article will address findings in regard to the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana alone. The intention is to thoroughly analyze labor relations within the factory, thereby constructing a solid basis for future comparative examinations.

The article highlights some considerations emerging from the not yet completed examination of available archival files of the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana, kept in the Historical Archive of Ljubljana. Its empirical basis is drawn mainly from serial historical sources such as worker's booklets and worker's registers, containing personal data and work-related information. Various administrative entries were observed also to elucidate upon aspects of changing social processes such as workers' physical and social mobility, job fluctuation, trends of employability, and workers' organizations and interpersonal relations, thus adding to numbers and facts a multi-faceted historical matter. I also tend to understand these trends in a gendered perspective, which is well perceptible in the observed sources.

Apart from these two kinds of sources, there is a vast layer of other documents, addressing the history of labor in the Tobacco factory Ljubljana. They refer to reports, minutes, public speeches, attempts to write a chronology of the factory, occasional ego-documents and are part of newer documentation relevant to socialist Yugoslavia. The more we approach the modern day, the more the nature of sources changes, becomes less strictly numerical and becomes more human. Last but not least, younger periods also shed light onto the phenomenon of interpersonal relationships, proving impactful on the formation of values, knowledge and social activities. All these sources, despite their valuable subjective insights, arose in accord with censorship and party control that affected their accuracy and reliability to a certain degree.

Observation of qualitative aspects of these kinds of sources confirms the notion that nothing had ever been achieved on a permanent basis and that there is no simple linear development in the sense of a monochromatic progressive trend, but a changeable and barely predictable developing line, conditioned by a complex set of socio-economic factors. Such a remark is not valid only by observing the period as a whole, as evolutionary variability is evident also within a certain political regime.

K. K. TABAKHAUPTFABRIK LAIBACH (UNTIL 1918)

Some of the most thorough historical changes in relation to factory workers (including tobacco workers) were already achieved in the Austrian monarchy (Kresal, 1997, 65–68). Since the late 1860s, workers started to organize into syndicates, educational associations, and political organizations, thus becoming a recognized agent in relation to their employer and the state, respectively. In 1883, the post of labor inspectorate was introduced in Austria, presenting a feeble starting point for the gradual and long-lasting process of worker protection in terms of social security and hygiene conditions.² Although the Austrian period is not crucial for this article, it has to be emphasized that in decades before the Great War, the workers' movement accomplished a great deal. Legally – alas, not always validated in practice – this meant a fixed minimum salary, regulated working hours (11 per day) with a break, restriction of work for minors under 14 years of age, prohibition of employing women and minors in difficult, hazardous work places and overnight shifts. An employer had to ensure appropriate work place and housing if factory apartments had been offered to workers. The legislature defined relations between an employer and employee in terms of responsibilities and rights of both parties, by constituting the basics of a collective contract between worker and employer (Kresal, 1997, 65). There were still many things to be achieved, especially in the field of work insurance. Whereas for the case of accident at work and sickness Austria followed Germany and introduced general mandatory insurance already by 1888 (before Italy, England, France, Russia, Norway and Sweden), unqualified workers could not compensate their loss of payment in case of retirement, disability, unemployment, maternity, or death (Kresal, 1970, 216–217; Brussatti, 1965, 154–157). Also, the gender-based battle for equal payment for the same work and equivalent participation in decision-making still had a long way to go.

2 For an overview of Austrian legislature of social politics cf. Brussatti, 1965, 151–154; Brügel, 1919.

In 1912, the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana had already passed four decades of continuous production of various tobacco goods. The Tobacco Factory Ljubljana was the second largest tobacco factory in the state, labeled as first class. By the end of the war, the factory was by far the greatest factory in the Carniolan capital which was home to a dispersed and small-range industrial and artisan production (Lazarevič, 2001, 111). Establishment of the factory contributed to an evident shift in the town's employment image taking into focus the aspect of gender. Studies have shown that not only Ljubljana but Carniola as a whole (and other Slovenian lands) demonstrated a rather high share of employed women from the turn of the 20th century on, affecting women's position economically and socially. The crucial reason for such a trend lies in the nature of industrial development in the region, exhibiting a considerable portion of textile, nutritional, and paper production, as well as other industrial sectors labelled as *labor-intensive industries* (Lazarevič, 2015, 9–10). From the 1890s onward, women started to outnumber men among Ljubljana's industrial workers, and more than half of them worked in the tobacco factory (Fischer, 1984, 26).

Once the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana was established, it attracted the female work force from other factories.³ Such a trend probably reflected the fact that the Austro-Hungarian tobacco factories in general were regarded as socially oriented (Augeneder, 1987, 181). At the turn of the century, the one in Ljubljana had a kitchen, dining room, decent toilets for men and women separately, medical spaces with a doctor, a library and kindergarden (Fischer, 1984, 16–17), outdoing working conditions of other factories in the town and alleviating domestic duties of female workers considerably. These places could be regarded as progressive welfare aspects of factory labor, which were taken over and upgraded across many other industries in the post-WWII period.

Although the situation in the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana was far from optimal, it was much better than elsewhere. "Cigararice", a colloquial term, literally meaning a female cigar-makers, were considered the most privileged factory workers in the country;⁴ the salary was rather high and they also had the possibility to retire on a pension. The tobacco factory attracted a lot of younger girls, at least about 40% from the countryside and from the field of domestic service.⁵ The growing aspirations of women to earn their own wage reflects not only a wish to be financially autonomous and socially more desired, but also shows the need for cash, indicating a growth in consumerism (Studen, 2016). A trend

3 SI ZAL, LJU 134/3, t. e. 86, a. e. 1004, Chronicle of the Tobacco factory Ljubljana with commentaries, a collective assignment of the historical circle of the Marjan Novak Jovo Primary School, Ljubljana Vič, 1976.

4 Similarly, the article concerning »tabacheine« in Rovinj at the turn of the 20th century, claims that »the factory has always been perceived as a gift to the local community, especially women«, although it demystifies this statement (Nikolić Đerić, 2015, 173–188).

5 SI ZAL, LJU 134/3, t. e. 86, a. e. 1004. Moreover, ethnologist Slavko Kremenšek states that Ljubljana-born workers counted less than a third of all female workers. This share is based on a fairly narrower idea of what he considered as Ljubljana proper at the turn of the century (Kremenšek, 1976, 96). An interesting, yet quite cynical observation of "cigararice" as "venus ultraliberalis" was presented by Jakob Aleševc in his satirical account on inhabitants of Ljubljana (1876).

which at the turn of the century obviously involved not only urban parts of Ljubljana, but also increasingly the surrounding rural, agricultural areas as well.⁶

In pre-war years, Slovenian women from nearby locales prevailed among unqualified workers, males of Slovenian descent were largely qualified or semi-qualified artisans, while administration was almost exclusively male and mostly German speaking. The first two female auxiliary white-collar workers were employed only in 1913.⁷ Besides occasional clashes which mirrored tensions based upon the ever more actual “national question” present among Slovenes and Germans, the factory workers were also divided ideologically, which reflected in the formation of two unions. The social democratic union, encompassing majorly those stemming from the town’s proletariat, was gathered around the figure of Etbin Kristan. One of the social democrat trade unionists was also “a decisive and combative” Ljubljana-born tobacco worker, Edvard Kardelj’s mother Ivanka, née Brecljnik (1881–1944) (Ratej, 2014, 69), whose sisters Micka and Antonija also worked in the factory.⁸ The other trade union followed Christian-democratic ideas spread by Janez E. Krek and encompassed 70–90% of the workers, mainly those originating from rural areas (Čepič, 1991, 30; Kremenšek, 1976, 98).

Foremen treat tobacco workers much better than before. Health conditions improved considerably. As a result, tobacco workers are now healthier than they used to be, and far fewer workers (delavci in delavke) are dying from TB, exhausting work and starvation. Tobacco workers also gained a significant improvement in their material condition. They are proud to get better wages and regulated pensions. However, not everything that tobacco workers should get has been achieved yet, wrote Josip Gostinčar, Christian democrat, Krek’s associate and politician (Krek, 1912, 5).

In 1912, when Gostinčar’s lines were published, the number of workers started to decline. The work force dropped below 2200 persons for the first time in 17 years. This was a sign of economic recession, conditioned also by the start of tragic prelude of the Great War, the Balkan Wars, which gravely affected the surrounding area. Also, enterprises across Austria-Hungary felt its consequences, especially those economically involved with South-Eastern Europe. The Great War imposed a huge change in tobacco production and trade, but also a notable drop in administrative activities. As the majority of white-collar workers were enlisted, there is great lack of historical sources for all years of the war. Comparison of various sources elucidates on inconsistencies – whereas workers’ registers enlisted 14 new employees, namely female refugees from Galicia and Istria (mainly from the factory Rovinj), newspapers and various memoirs report on work of refugees from Gorizia as well (Strle, 2015, 115).

6 The rural population did not put much stock into luxury goods, which were advertised in the newspapers. They instead invested money into items for agricultural needs and, as evident from the interesting notes of peasant housemaid Neža Rejec, for medical purposes (TM, Osebni in družinski fond, t. e. 9, *Rejec, Neža: Dnevnik stroškov in dogodkov* [Diary of costs and events]).

7 SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 11, *Matična knjiga stalnih radnika* [Register of permanent employees], 1879–1935.

8 *Popisi prebivalstva* [Population censuses] 1890, 1910 and 1910.

UNDER THE MONOPOLY OF BELGRADE (1918–1941)

Economic growth after the Great War demonstrated its slowest rate in contemporary European history (Berend, 2013, 94). This troublesome reality affected the newly established kingdom even more and on almost all levels of socio-political life, as presented through its ambiguous interplay of aspects both continuous and sporadic. Pro-Habsburg management and administration were left no choice but to leave their positions. The state tobacco monopoly moved from Vienna to Belgrade, which from 1918 supervised eight tobacco factories, among which the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana was the oldest and among the most significant.⁹ War exhausted the tobacco warehouse, production declined by two thirds compared to the pre-war years, the number of workers almost halved and their social security was at stake.¹⁰ Poor working conditions, indecent salaries, layoffs, slow governmental responses, and growing inflation pushed tobacco workers to the edge.

Impressed by the worldwide strike movement and following solidarity calls for strike actions of tobacco workers in Zagreb, Sarajevo, Banja Luka, and Niš, the tobacco workers in Ljubljana also organized a strike in 1920. It is noteworthy though, that women were reported to be excluded from the protests during the strike by its social-democratic organizers, and thus the majority of tobacco workers continued working.¹¹ It is not yet clear why such a gender-based decision took place, although it most probably reflects the mental and ideological framework of the social democracy in Ljubljana. In the turbulent post-war time, social-democrats split into progressive and conservative factions where the latter clearly withdrew from the support of political claims of women. It seems that the gender-biased context of the strike was a consequence of various local features, including the interpersonal realities within the social-democratic movement itself.

To a current-day historian, the most evident change exhibited by the political regime lies in the nature of administrative sources, which became more sporadic, poorer and statistically undervalued, especially in comparison to former Austrian standards, although many procedural and regulative proceedings remained the same. According to these sources, the employment rate in the factory increased only in the mid-1920s.¹² In 1925, the first new women workers were employed. Moreover, among the 43 workers hired, women represented 58% of the newly employed working force. Whereas women occupied unqualified positions in the production of tobacco goods, men were hired also as carpenters, locksmiths, night-

9 The Yugoslav tobacco factories were in Banja Luka, Ljubljana, Mostar, Niš, Sarajevo, Travnik, Zagreb, and Senj.

10 Harman, *glasilo Tobačne Ljubljana*, 3. 3. 1959: V. Ambrož, *Delavsko gibanje med obema vojnama v Tobačni tovarni Ljubljana* [The workers' movement between the two world wars in the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana], 16.

11 Slovenec, 14. 4. 1920: *Stavka v tobačni tovarni* [Tobacco factory strike], 3; *Naprej*, 14. 4. 1920, *Stavka tobačnega delavstva* [Tobacco workers' strike], 2. In parallel, female tobacco workers in Rovinj attended solidarity strikes as well.

12 SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 9, *Knjiga sezonskih delavcev* [Book of seasonal workers] (1915–1935); t. e. 11, *Matična knjiga delavstva* [Workers' register] (1923–1939).



Fig. 1: Production hall in the 1930s, author: Hugon Hibšer (Mestni muzej Ljubljana / City Museum of Ljubljana – MGML, št. / No. 65574).

guards and officials. A year later, 9 unqualified female workers as well as 3 women officials were employed out of the 23 new employees total.

Despite all the effort and good intentions reflected in the social legislature of the Kingdom SHS, the tobacco workers' conditions did not improve (Kresal, 1982, 109–115). Furthermore, in comparison to the pre-war times, their situation actually worsened in many aspects. Workers' booklets of the interwar time demonstrate a division in the work force between permanent, temporary and seasonal workers. Whereas permanent workers had represented the largest group of employees until 1913, they became a rare breed after 1918, getting their status only after 5 years of permanent work. The status of temporary or seasonal worker was much cheaper for management, as only permanently employed workers were entitled to receive pension insurance. That stimulated a manipulative trend, one that is clearly visible in workers' registers: workers were often fired and employed again shortly thereafter, and thus lost the possibility of achieving permanent employment. Strikingly, registers of permanent workers listed no women from 1918 up to 1935. In this period, permanent positions were only reserved for administrative decision-makers, a few dozen qualified artisans and some unqualified male workers.

Another obstacle for permanent employment in the interwar was the age of an employee. Many of those who had permanent records were prematurely retired. On the other hand, notes in the workers' registers clearly show the practice that dictated men

who were over 40 and women older than 35 at the time of employment could not be permanently employed. Thus, Elizabeta Matjašič, born in Ptuj in 1889, could not attain permanent employment in 1926 because she was considered too old. Some factual details of Elizabeta's unfortunate fate add to the harshness of that time: the 37-year-old mother of four children became a widow just 10 days before she was accepted in the factory, which insinuates financial difficulties triggered by the death of her husband, while her seasonal status in the factory did not resolve her vulnerable social position.

The unfavorable post-war years added to an overall dejection with the global consequences of the Wall Street Crash of 1929, which left a deep imprint upon the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana as well. However, only 20 new employees had been employed already between 1927 and 1929. They were all men, apart from one poorly paid female auxiliary worker. Massive layoffs due to "lack of work" followed in 1930 and 1931, however many of the workers left by themselves. This clearly indicates worsening in the tobacco workers' status. Salaries were lowered several times and ninety workers retired in 1932. Among them was also 29-year-old Marija Gorup from Ljubljana, an inspector with a permanent labor contract. It is also obvious from the workers' register that the factory had not hired any new workers from August 1930 until November 1932. Only then did work positions for 19 women and 13 men open up. The newly occupied working places reveal that the management was struggling with the crisis by saving money on salary expenses. Women workers earned 25 dinar, regardless of actual position (worker or auxiliary worker), while male auxiliary workers were employed for 29 dinar daily.¹³

At this point we should briefly focus our attention on the interesting practice of payment according to gender. Before the crisis, unqualified workers of both sexes had the same salary. When payment cuts of 20% hit both men and women workers alike due to the crisis, the eventual increase of salaries from 1932 and onward did not apply to women. Women were also not entitled to receive child benefits applying to children up to 14 years of age unless they were widows or wives of disabled husbands. Despite all the difficulties, the position of tobacco worker was still one of the most coveted among factory workers. This indicates the difficult position of workers across the country, reflected in the archival material as unstable and precarious and pointing toward a large amount of undeclared work. According to Tomažič (1972–73, 83), many tobacco workers often increased their poor income by helping out ("*pedenunga*") in the taverns.

The economic restoration in the 2nd half of the 1930s is also evident from the workers' registers. They indicate that permanent employment contracts became a rule from November 1936 onward, valid for those temporarily employed who had demonstrated 5 years of work. During 1937, the factory employed 151 new workers. Among them were 145 women (96%), the majority of whom were let go and then re-hired a month later (comp. Kresal, 1998, 99). Up to the outbreak of WWII, no further employment on such a massive scale took place.

13 Salaries in the Tobacco factory Ljubljana in 1934 for the comparison (din/daily): engineer 56, officials 34–48 (depending on the position), carpenter 42, locksmith 42, mason 38,5, electrician 38, gardener 37, inspector 35 daily worker 28,50, apprentice 8 (SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 11, *Matična knjiga delavstva* [Workers' register] (1923–1939)).

THE DISTURBANCE OF WAR (1941–1945)

Although Yugoslavia was not yet a war-ridden state in September 1939, it was affected by economic changes due to the conflict, which gradually hit the greater part of Europe. By April 1941, almost all European states faced troubles with free trade of various goods and introduced war economy (Berend, 2013, 92), including the neighboring states of Yugoslavia, all members of the Axis powers. The Yugoslavian government and other authorities responded to those changes with a series of measures in anticipation of war (Ferenc, 2005, 506). Also, the Tobacco factory Ljubljana showed signs of growing uncertainty, going by the already negative employment rate in 1940; according to workers registers, it only hired 4 male workers and let go 10 of them.¹⁴

The remaining worker booklets (majorly belonging to women) give us an impression of women's employment within interwar Ljubljana and its nearby surroundings. The vast majority of tobacco workers employed during the war had prior work experience. Before being hired at the tobacco factory, they worked as house-maids, textile workers, farmhands, seamstresses, clerks, workers in paper-making enterprises and brick-making manufactures. In short, the majority of women came from the field of domestic service and from private artisans.

With the Italian occupation of the Province of Ljubljana, the tobacco enterprise in May 1941 belonged to the third state monopoly in its history, *Monopoli di Stato Italiani*. Conspicuously enough, workers' registers do not mark any new employment from April 1941 until March 1942 while 40 new workers are employed afterwards, all of them women. Under Italian management, the salaries lowered drastically. They were more than halved in comparison with pre-war years; women received a miserable 10,74 lira daily up to May 1943, when it rose to 13,91 lira.

After the armistice with Italy, the Tobacco factory Ljubljana did not belong to a German monopoly, but, following October 1943, to a pro-Nazi autonomous monopoly office in the city of Ljubljana, subordinated to the head of the provincial management, general Leon Rupnik. Although salaries in this period rose again, the production of tobacco products dropped severely and was intended primarily for the German army. Tobacco "leftovers" meant for civil use were distributed using ration cards in 1944, demonstrating noteworthy gender-based particularities. Namely, ration cards initially allowed 10 daily cigarettes to men and only 5 to women. In 1945, the daily amount dropped to 5 for men and 2 for women (Čepič, 1991, 42–43). However, not all women were allowed to receive ration cards. They were limited additionally according to age: those under 22 and over 55 were not entitled to such "benefits".¹⁵ Consequently, the tobacco black market flourished. Prices quadrupled during the war, reaching from 13 to 15 lira for a single cigarette in 1944. There were also frequent

14 SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 10, Matična knjiga delavstva [Workers' register] (1939–1945).

15 UL, Naredba o potrošnji tobaka [Order on Tobacco Consumption], Ljubljana, dne 21. decembra 1943, Službeni list šefa pokrajinske uprave v Ljubljani [Official Gazette of the Head of the Provincial Administration in Ljubljana], 1943, 478–479.

cases of theft of tobacco items from the factory by the workers themselves – despite threats of dismissal (Čepič, 1991, 43).

The merciless reality of war left a lasting mark on the personnel in the factory. According to workers' registers, permanent employment was an exception, there was also great insecurity due to the harsh militarized social climate. Quite a few cases of incarceration and internment of tobacco workers were reported due to confirmed or suspected relations with the resistance movement.¹⁶ Surprisingly, arrested workers' wives received a maintenance fee and child allowances, unless they were suspected of cooperation with the resistance as well. Although women were not as noteworthy as targets of military interest as men, they too were dismissed from the factory in quite a few cases. As their dismissal left behind no explanation in the workers' register, their participation in the resistance movement could not be excluded as the cause, given the large number of women taking part in a varied spectrum of illegal activities in the liberation movement (Gerk, 1970; Jerina-Lah, 1996; Bernik Burja, 2009; Deželak Barič, 2015). Women tobacco workers were present in the liberation movement from the very beginning.¹⁷

On the other hand, notes in the workers' register also point at a handful of male workers who were not on the side of the resistance movement, were reluctant to it or simply chose the non-partisan option as being more comfortable and socially secure. Although we cannot be sure of their ideological adherence, it is clear that the pro-Nazi and anti-communist head of the provincial management economically stimulated anti-partisan military choices. Thus, two workers were engaged in the Todt organization and one "went to work for the SS soldiers und Waffen Unterführerschutz Laibach". They received no payment from the tobacco factory, just assurance of a position in the factory after their return.

According to the workers' register, three workers entered the Slovene Home Guard paramilitary service (*domobranci*), led by Leon Rupnik, the managing chief of the Tobacco factory Ljubljana, and received substantial social benefits for the duration of their service – a full factory salary. To bring the insight of the utilized historical source closer, I decided to point to Anton Slana, a single, 28-year-old daily worker without qualifications from Brezovica. The three-part remark in his personal file is indicative:

On 6 September 1944, he went to serve in the Home Guard, as a result of which, according to the decision of the head of the provincial administration in Ljubljana, I. no. 6431 item 17 on 29 August 1944, he was entitled to the full salary for the period of service. See act Tov. no. 1155 of 30. 9.1944.

On 22 January 1945, he resumed factory work. See act. Tov. no. 138 of 18 January 1945. On 9 June 1945, dismissed inclusive 31 May 1945 for violation of §25 point 2 of the Rules of Work.¹⁸

16 SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 34, Speech of the director Mirko Knez in 1952.

17 A handful of "cigarace" were members of the Liberation Front (SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 102, a. e. 1907); Revolutionary movement before and during the war, manuscript by Franci Miš [s.a].

18 SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 10, *Matična knjiga delavstva* [Workers' Register] (1939–1945).

Without any biographical context of Anton Slana's case, we cannot speculate what stimulated his decision to join the Home Guard. However, even if his military service lasted only a couple of months, it was most probably evaluated as unacceptable in the post-war society. The last remark, already written in the post-war period, presumably relates less to the violation of work rules and more to an administratively supported removal of a worker who was most probably considered a pro-Nazi collaborator, a traitor. While existing data make any conclusions open-ended, the fact of Slana's dismissal doubtlessly points at the birth of a new era. The era of state-induced socialism, which brought far better opportunities for the working class than ever before, yet – marking no significant difference compared to previous historical periods – turned out to be exclusionary to its ideological opponents. The dividing wartime reality, properly embedded in the widespread phrase “either with us or against us,” stretched into the post-war period.

“HONOR AND AUTHORITY TO WORK!” (1945–1962)

The Yugoslav legacy of the war appears quite tragic in the comparative perspective as given by Tony Judt in his renowned monograph *Postwar*. In regard to the war-related death toll, Yugoslavia infamously came in second in Europe, directly after Poland, and thus suffered a striking shortage of men. The material consequences were appalling as well. The economical infrastructure was severely damaged, including one third of its pre-war industrial capacities (Judt, 2005, 17–18). Also, the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana, again lead from Belgrade after June 1945, entered the post-war period with numbers already in the red, damaged by bombings, the machinery outdated, work force reduced and without sufficient supplies of tobacco. An impression from the workers' booklets hints that the factory recovered quicker than following WWI. First, massive employment already occurred between 1946 and 1948, that is in the years when productive capabilities rose again and after the first five-year plan (*petletka*) was set in motion.

Immediate post-war economic modernization turned away from patterns of the European West. It also deviated from the directives outlined by communist political leaders during the war, namely from prototypical ideas of national self-determination and self-management of the working people as evident from the inner functioning of Slovene National Liberation Committee (Vodušek Starič, 1983, 11). Instead, it adapted the socialist Soviet model comprising nationalization of property, hyper-centralized economic planning, and fostered industrialization (Prinčič, 2005). Initiatives of working groups, appropriated from the Soviet concept of “*udarnik*,”¹⁹ also took place in the Tobacco factory Ljubljana. Workers' booklets clearly indicate that collective voluntary work, renovation work, the economization of labor and innovation

19 A campaign intended to increase worker productivity and to demonstrate the superiority of the socialist economic system, known also as *Stakhanovite movement*.

in productive processes was stimulated either by public praise or financial rewards. According to data in workers' booklets, financial stimulations were higher for men than for women.

In 1947, women represented about 65% of the entire work force, of which high-qualified workers comprised 1,89%, qualified 8,81%, semi-qualified 64,11%, and unqualified 23,18%.²⁰ The work force according to both genders was gradually getting more diverse in terms of positions within the factory, which demonstrates the growing complexity of work processes. Right in this period, the feminization of white-collar workers in the factory took place, as women gradually gained a considerable share among accountants, secretaries, recording clerks, and more gradually also as sectional leaders. In parallel, the previous working experiences of blue-collar workers changed as well, exhibiting a noticeably wider plethora of skills. Traditional occupations, typical for pre-war women in the area of Ljubljana and surroundings (domestic servants, seamstresses, textile workers, sellers and brick-makers), were upgraded with a noteworthy share of categories unusual for female assignments, such as bakelite worker, glass inspector, railway worker, and various types of artisans and industrial workers. Such a shift, as is evident from workers' booklets, is doubtlessly a sign of social modernization, but also a reflection of the economic hardship that accelerated during wartime, when women had to take on many "manly" duties (Verginella, 2006, 53).

The Informbiro period, starting in June 1948, also imposed an economic blockade upon Yugoslavia by the USSR and its adherent states. New terms in international relations stimulated Yugoslav redirection into self-management, a holistic socio-economical system conditioned not only by collectivized property, but also by collective decision-making and dividing profit between workers in market-targeting enterprises (Rusinow, 1977; Vodušek Starič, 1983; Samary, 2017). The Tobacco Factory Ljubljana officially launched self-managing orientation by introducing the first workers' council on 24 August 1950, following the example of many other Yugoslav enterprises.²¹ However, in contrast to other worker's councils of Slovene (or Yugoslav) industries, the tobacco factory included into its deciding body a markedly bigger share of women (Vodušek Starič, 1983, 94; Čepič, 2005, 963).²² Although no female director was ever in charge of the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana, there were women always present in both the workers' councils and management board of the factory during the time of the Socialist regime.²³

20 SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 13, The chronicle of the factory, manuscript by Viktor Ambrož, 1950.

21 SI ZAL, LJU 134, t. e. 34, a. e. 1, Delu čast in oblast! [Honour and authority to work!], A Ivanka Babnik's speech on the introduction of self-management in the factory, 1950.

22 The first worker's council was comprised of 8 women out of 24 of council members, presenting one third (33%) of the council: Vida Pezdir, Slava Dolinšek, Angela Šušteršič, Ela Žulj, Minka Kos, Marija Tancar, Slava Japelj, and Pavla Knez. The Slovene average of women in workers' councils was only 8%.

23 SI ZAL, LJU 134/3, t. e. 86, a. e. 1004, Chronicle of the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana with commentaries, a collective assignment of the historical circle of the Marjan Novak Jovo Primary School, Ljubljana Vič, 1986.

Despite a considerable shift in official propaganda, many economic historians defend the opinion that Yugoslav economy in many aspects continued with Soviet principles (Prinčič, 2005; Simić, 2018). *Ljudska pravica*, a newsletter of Communist party Slovenia, presents operative units of the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana in its recognizable propagandistic manner, praising the good work ethic of the so-called *udarnik*. The fact that operative units, informally titled with the military term “assault brigades”, were named after the leading woman in the working group,²⁴ hints at the nature of the attitude shift not only toward the working class, but also to women workers – thereby indicating a Soviet influence. However, such empowerment in Slovenia was not only taken from the Marxist ideology and Soviet patterns, but was also based on the massive engagement of women in the national liberation movement during WWII.

Workers’ registers after WWII reveal the common practice of women increasing their employability options with additional courses in accounting, bookkeeping, stenography, marketing, statistics, etc. They also show that white-collar workers gained work experience before entering the tobacco factory. For women from the blue-collar sector, the education level was still low, many had not even finished elementary school. The production workers’ workplace seems to have been evaluated according to their task abilities and estimations of their superiors. Promotion and transitions between production and administration were possible, but do not appear to have been as frequent. Women were not present among mobile professions such as commercial traveler, yet the number of production foremen among women rose. There are indications supported by memories and chronicles but not by serial sources that women took on the tasks of foremen during both world wars. In 1956, the factory announced a course for qualified workers with a final exam. Only 11 out of 30 workers passed the exam, 9 of whom were women (Horvat, 1960, 21). The Tobacco Factory Ljubljana had by far the highest rate of forewomen (with more than 42% of women leading production lines) compared to other Yugoslavian tobacco factories in 1959.

Minutes, reports, enclosed items of various kinds and other documentation available among the files of the factory’s management board provide an idea of how socialist ideology was enforced in the tobacco factory. Apart from productive directives and organization of work processes, they mediated values, which were, when taking into account the preceding periods, definitely worker-friendly. The factory’s welfare options from the turn of the century (cantina, medical facilities, library, kindergarten) were significantly improved with rewards for efficient productivity, introducing a division of profit, educational possibilities, housing options, reduction of working hours, extended year leave, leisure activities, possibilities to take advantage of the union’s vacation home (in Selce, Kvarner from 1957 on) etc. Requests to shorten work hours due to schooling, sickness, breastfeeding or childcare were usually granted if they were based on an expert’s positive opinion. The socially secure position of the working woman seems to have been one of the fundamental issues of the socialist project (Bonfiglioli, 2019).

24 *Ljudska pravica*, 27. 2. 1950: Tobačna tovarna v Ljubljana med najboljšimi svoje stroke v državi [The tobacco factory in Ljubljana is among the best in its field in the country], 1. Working brigades were named after the leaders of production lines, workers Vera Molek, Vera Tavčar, Slavka Bižon in Slava Dolinšek.



Fig. 2: Women's Day celebration, 8. 3. 1963, author: Marjan Ciglič (Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije / Museum of Contemporary History of Slovenia – MNZS, št. / No. MC630308_13).

However, documentation elucidating on heterogeneity and social dynamics inside the factory also demonstrates certain contradictions regarding the propagated labor politics and declarations of social equality. Worker inequalities based on skill, education, age, gender, even place of origin/residence, as suggested by Archer and Musić, influenced not only the decision-making and social mobility within the factory, but also the distribution of housing and other restricted benefits (Archer & Musić, 2017). The high share of fluctuation of workers, mostly younger ones, was recognized as a sign of dissatisfaction and seen as a problem by the management board. If we take into account gender specifics in the observed period, we also find that despite their numerical predominance in the factory, women never achieved more than 45% of membership on the management board and only about a third in average.²⁵ The poor share of women in the decision-making bodies of the factory could be ascribed to a certain amount of disillusionment/distrust in relation to the self-management experiment, which could be sensed through occasional

25 Minutes of the management board between 1960–1962 reveal that the average women's share in the management board was quite dynamic and it actually dropped in the short sequence taken into account: 36,36% in 1960, 29, 62% in 1961 and 27,57% in 1962. This downfall curve does not define the trend throughout the existence of self-management, which testifies to the slow growth of the women's share.

complaints of its leaders in the minutes, yet one cannot circumvent the influence of the tenacious tradition of patriarchy. The words of Malči Makarovič, who spoke publicly on Women's Day in March 1961, speak for themselves:

It is by no means enough that we have achieved that such a high percent of women was elected to our workers' council and that we are proud to have a woman president due to general slogans and the sincere wish of every one of us. We have not done everything to educate our women systematically into real company managers. Our women will resolve their problems if they will participate as actively as possible in the governing bodies, where their specific problems would also be solved through economic and general social problems. [...]. The woman must be freed from exclusively domestic work and actively involved in all economic and social activities, as this is the only way to tear her out of the framework of the patriarchy.²⁶

The ardent speaker, who worked as operational planner in the tobacco factory, was among a handful of women whose position eventually turned into a springboard for other public functions.²⁷ The minutes reveal that their privileged position was conditioned also by less measurable aspects than education, age or skill, namely by personal engagement and aspirations, social reputation and support from their social network.²⁸ Their organizational activation in the factory often seemed to pave their way to candidacy for various commissions, management boards, and workers' councils as the archival documents clearly show that they took on additional tasks, including voluntary work and appeared as lucid discussants in meeting debates.

Besides, documents also reveal some practices used by the ordinary workers to empower their positions. They indicate how work-related information vividly circulated between the workers, encouraging them to stand for themselves.²⁹ These practices especially involve submissions for granting (a loan for) housing, rights for additional leave, requests for adjustment of working hours, and pleas for financial supplements.

26 Harman, *glasilo Tobačne Ljubljana*, Marec 1961: Malči Makarovič, Uvodni govor [Introductory speech], 3–4.

27 The most influential among them, Zora Šoba, was the head of the factory's Department of Organization and Analysis, also elected to the republic assembly for economic affairs in 1963. Ela Vranjek, engineer of geodesy, appeared in the newspaper as an outstanding member of working brigades in 1953. She was employed in 1960 as an agronomist for cultivation of tobacco, was appointed to a leading position in worker's council, and was elected to a national assembly for economy in the late 1970s. Mira Jurečič, head of management board in 1959, was elected to the municipal assembly for economy in 1963, Metka Mesec finished her degree at the Faculty of Law in 1959 and was the main legal officer in the factory thereafter. Slava Avbelj was a member of the commission of the assembly of producers of the district people's committee Ljubljana-Vič in 1960. Malči Makarovič was awarded a special prize for contribution to the development of the local community in Vič in 1986.

28 SI ZAL, LJU 134/2, t. e. 1, a. e. 1–4, Various minutes of the ordinary sessions of the Management board.

29 SI ZAL, LJU 134/2, t. e. 1, a. e. 3, Minutes of the ordinary sessions of the Management board from 4. 11. 1961, 24. 11. 1961, and 8. 6. 1962.

The women's share in written submissions corresponds with the share of women in the factory, yet the pleas related to childcare were written exclusively by women. They confirm the words of Malči Makarovič quoted above regarding women and their "exclusive" involvement in "domestic work".

The beginning of the 1960s outlines the starting point of a new era for the tobacco workers in Ljubljana, bringing about substantial investment into the modernization of working processes, particularly the mechanization of production. Another aspect addresses the extended mobility of the workers. A noticeable influx of tobacco workers not only from more distant places of Slovenia, but also from other parts of Yugoslavia, namely from Croatia, Serbia and BiH, as is apparent from the workers' registers.³⁰ At the same time, Yugoslavia started to open up its international borders, thus enabling conditions for negotiations regarding bilateral working contracts with Austria (1966) and Germany (1969). These features bring about a number of new perspectives for the research of tobacco workers. Hence I decided to end the scope of this very paper in 1962, which besides tendencies towards more federalized political organization of the state (Repe, 1990) also predicts a new socio-economic development.

CONCLUSION

Observation of a fifty-year period of labor relations in the Tobacco factory Ljubljana brings us to the conclusion that many changes relevant for tobacco workers did not follow the shift in political regimes, but were more gradual and moderate. Also, altering social roles and norms as well as other intriguing elements at the intersection of mentality and everyday life were neither linear nor uniform, yet they demonstrated fairly different rhythms than developments in the field of political history, even though the latter – at least in fragments – left its imprints on social life. Stemming from the observed archival sources, the "enduring force of mental structures" (Vovelle, 2004, 19) in the fields of marital practices, educational standards, and division of labor among the workers took place along the gender line, despite the rhetoric of proclaiming gender equality.

Endurance relates to many factors and their complex and dynamic interrelations, where places of origin, familial foundations, life-time experiences, a sense of belonging to groups, generations, and other frameworks add up in a (always at least slightly unique) social and cultural horizon of a particular individual (Assmann, 2001, 34–45). As mental formation of an individual is a constant process conditioned by influencing collectives in touch (and at times also by desired collectives in absence), there is a sense of exploring workers in collective terms, naturally by anticipating not only the universal, but also the variety of individual standpoints.

When observing the organization of work in factories with hundreds of workers, it becomes clear that it must have generated intense interpersonal transactions, which according to Charles Tilly, "compound into identities, create and transform social boundaries, and accumulate into durable ties" (Tilly, 2005, 12). This does not only address strikes and

30 SI ZAL, LJU 134/1, t. e. 33, Worker's registers, books 66, 67, 68 (1959–1966).

protests for better work conditions or illegal activities for the good of the liberation movement during the war. The collective where women prevailed and even shared a common appellation – “cigararce” or “fabričanke” – and working processes where women worked next to one another and also associated in the spare time, doubtlessly also made space for debates over various issues such as life, death, marriage, work, and family. They must have also touched upon various taboos regarding pregnancy, motherhood, sexual matters, relations to men, etc., presenting a variety of contrasting opinions over various issues. If interpersonal contacts are one of the most effective channels influencing individual or collective disposition, the Tobacco Factory Ljubljana is indeed an interesting observation space for social changes formed from below.

One of the categories apparent in the available workers’ registers was the category of marital status. The share of married women among workers was rather high throughout the observed period and did not change considerably, reaching around a half of all female workers. Many of once single workers remained in the factory after marriage. The factory held the traditional reputation of a “family factory” (Čepič, 1991, 11). In order to follow changes in mentality, I was also interested in observing the trends of marital divorce, which was – based on the prevalent Catholic principle of inseparability of sacramental marriage – for centuries considered unimaginable or almost unfeasible (Cvirn, 2005). The rate of divorce was growing from the 1920s onward, but it seems to have been largely triggered by the acute social crises following both world wars (Celello, 2009; Hvalec, 2015). Although the propaganda for building a secular society was strong, the number of divorced workers of both sexes was not exhibiting an increasing trend in the first post-war years.

However, there was an interesting development line in terms of education and division of labor, in particular among white-collar workers. Whereas women did not work in this sector before 1913 and were very modestly represented in the interwar time, the years after 1945 witnessed a considerable rise of women among white-collar workers. Their education level rose as well, also exhibiting several high-qualified workers with university diplomas by the beginning of the 1960s. Although blue-collar workers were still poorly educated at large, some of them managed to achieve the position of foreman at individual production units in the late 1950s. The management and control over production was still majorly led by a handful of men whose social reputation appears very high from the meeting minutes, but the trend set its course towards gender-equality.

The observation of tobacco workers mirrors aspects of the gradual emancipation of women in Slovene society, which was achieved *de iure*, while *de facto* it still contained many challenges for the future generations. This was clear even in 1980, when notable Slovene politician Vida Tomšič held a long speech in the factory on Women’s Day on the 8th of March, which was adopted as a fully paid day-off by the factory’s workers’ council in 1965.³¹ In the speech, she outlined the historical development of the worker’s position, including its role in self-management, and all the advancements that could not be overseen. However, she also revealed the holiday’s conservative content, which “*seeks*

31 SI ZAL, LJU/134, t. e. 12, a. e. 22, Worker’s council minutes, 4. 3. 1965.

to preserve the old, subordinate role of women, the old division of roles between the sexes". She emphasized the socialist meaning of Women's Day, where the expression of gratitude to women and mothers was upgraded "*with the idea that workers, women workers and girls, together with exploited workers, demand their equality in work in an organized manner and fight for a socialist social organization in which work at home and in society belongs equally to men and women when they both decide on labor, social and family matters.*" Her core finding of the current women-worker's position, was somewhat critical and bitterly displeased:

*With all the possibilities in the political system of socialist self-government, we have not, in fact, made significant shifts in the position of women at work. Most women are still employed in less skilled jobs, perform strenuous, usually monotonous work at high intensity and are employed in the classic industrial so-called women's branches. [...] In addition to the poorer qualification structure of employed women, the traditional burden of women outside the work environment remains a fundamental problem and an obstacle to the progress of women in society.*³²

The fact that the emphasis of Vida Tomšič's message did not differ much from the words of Malči Makarovič, who had held a speech two decades before, demonstrates a languid transformation of women's social roles. Although her words could not be objected from the bird's-eye view and in general, the situation from below insinuates a more complex situation, especially if large qualitative differences regarding social standing of the workers, their household organization and relations between spouses are taken into account.

32 SI ZAL, LJU/134, t. e. 86, a. e. 1002, The speech of Vida Tomšič, 8. 3. 1980.

TOBAČNI DELAVCI V LJUBLJANI (1912–1962): NEKAJ VPOGLEDOV V DRUŽBENE PREOBRAZBE GLEDE NA SPOL

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POVZETEK

Članek naslavlja družbene vidike tobačne zgodovine, katere empirični temelj so ob prevladujočem serialnem gradivu tudi drugi fragmentarni ostanki v arhivskem fondu Tobačne tovarne Ljubljana. Časovno članek pokriva poslednja leta Habsburške monarhije, dobo Kraljevine SHS (od 1929 znane kot Kraljevina Jugoslavija) in začetna leta Titove Jugoslavije, vključno s prelomi, ki sta jih zadali obe svetovni vojni. Takšen časovni okvir je bil izbran namerno, z namenom zaznati kontinuitete in prelome v družbenih transformacijah, ki so se dogodile v različnih političnih režimih, s poudarkom na tem, kako so se kazale v sferi dela ljubljanske tobačne industrije. Zaradi obvladljivega števila delavstva, ki se je v opazovanem času gibalo od 500 do 2500 ljudi in med katerimi so prevladovalle ženske, uporabljeni viri omogočajo tudi detajlno analizo vidikov spola skozi perspektivo interseksionalnosti. Zgodovina enega največjih industrijskih kompleksov v Ljubljani potrjuje močne socialne vplive tovarne na mesto s širšo okolico, obenem pa zrcali tudi strukturne spremembe, na katere so vplivali dinamičen ekonomski razvoj in korenite politične spremembe v regiji. Skozi vire se izrisuje tudi spremenljivost kulturne zaznamovanosti in družbene pogojenosti vrednotenja tobačnega delavstva. Prispevek očrta ne le spremenljive položaje delavstva v času, ampak tudi dinamiko znotraj posameznih političnih okvirov. V avstrijskem okviru je bilo doseženih precej delavskih pravic s področja socialnega varstva, ob tem da so tobačne tovarne v okviru dunajskega monopola imele neuraden status socialnih podjetij. Tobačna tovarna je na prehodu stoletja omogočala razmeroma stalno zaposlitev, varstvo za otroke, nadomestilo za bolovanje in z dopolnjenim 35 leti delovne dobe tudi polno pokojnino. Po vstopu v novo državo, ki so jo močno določale politične in socialne krize, usklajevanja pravnih predpisov in težavna gospodarska stabilizacija, ki se razvila v katastrofalno gospodarsko krizo, so bili sindikati po učinku manj uspešni, država pa je bila delavstvu manj naklonjena. Veliko je bilo stihijskega zaposlovanja, delež stalnih zaposlitev se je precej znižal, pokojnine so bile nizke, delovne inšpekcije pa so delovale predvsem na formalni ravni. Status delavstva se je precej izboljševal po drugi vojni, ko se je ob večanju socialne varnosti delavcem po letu 1950 omogočilo tudi sodelovanje pri upravljanju in delitvi dobička. Ob zelo raznovrstni poklicni sestavi zaposlenih v tovarni je glavna pozornost posvečena proizvodnemu delavstvu, kjer so vseskozi bile ženske v veliki večini. Za delavke je bilo v primerjavi z delavci značilno prejemanje nižjih dohodkov, pri čemer se zdi glavni razlog za razlike v plačah delitev dela po spolu, ki je za ženske

pomenila delo na slabše plačanih položajih. Razlika v plačah po spolu je sicer stalnica, značilna za vsa obdobja delovanja tovarne. Nizke plače pa so delavke spodbujale tudi k iskanju dodatnih virov zaslužka. Izrazite spremembe so se zgodile na ravni izobrazbene strukture zaposlenih, pri čemer je višja strokovna izobrazba načeloma pomenila možnost višjih dohodkov. Izobrazbena stopnja zaposlenih žensk se je zlagoma višala šele od druge polovice 20. stoletja dalje in v izjemnih primerih dosegla tudi univerzitetno stopnjo.

Ključne besede: tobačno delavstvo, družbeno-politične preobrazbe, spol, delovna razmerja, socialna zgodovina

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