Review article

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Nursing in territory of Slovakia - institutional changes

ABSTRACT

History of nursing in Slovakia is an issue lying at the edge of an interest in Slovak historiography. My contribution is devoted to the transformation of nursing and the development of the language of medicine in Slovakia from the early 20th century. Nursing was subjected to an interesting development in the 20th century and the changes of the language of medicine were connected with it. The first professional nurses were members of the Slovak women's associations; one of the most famous members was Janka Hrebendova, the first organizer of caring for the wounded on the battlefield and Elena M. Soltesova, the league organizer. In 1919 she founded the Czechoslovak State University, in which the nursing lectures were given at the Medical Faculty. In 1929 the first nursing school in Slovakia was founded. Nursing education expanded considerably after World War II. The legislative framework was developed and a number of secondary medical schools were founded. Nowadays in Slovakia there are several secondary schools and universities that offer nursing curriculum at all levels of study. This paper highlights the interconnectedness of religious nursing environment with the nursing female emancipation movement in Slovakia in the first half of the 20th century although Slovakia was relatively conservative and Catholic country.

Key words: Nursing history. Slovakia. Nursing Education. Professionalization of Nursing.

Slovakia is a relatively young country, its modern history has been written since 1993, though the country is very rich in history and research on the history of Slovakia is absolutely interesting. The territory of Slovakia was divided within five state units in the 20th century. It began as a part of Austria - Hungary monarchy at the

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beginning of the century; from 1918 to 1938 it was a part of the first Czechoslovak Republic; in 1939 to 1945 it became a part of the fascist Slovak Republic. After World War II was the part of a communist Czechoslovakia; it has become an independent country in 1993 until now. Research of any of the selected aspect of the history of Slovakia is also due to the historical fragmentation extremely difficult but very interesting.

Slovak history in spite of this handicap is full of interesting personalities and historical parallels. Slovak health care and nursing were influenced by the events that went along with the Slovak nation from the earliest period. It is interesting that in an area of different languages it was necessary to speak the language of each minority, which was characteristic for the healers from the Middle Ages. A prototype of a healer in Slovakia in the 16th - 17 century – he or she spoke German, Hungarian, Slovak, Latin and Ruthenian.¹

Nursing or health care started on the basis of folk medicine as elsewhere in the world. We can mention Celts where natural healing was mixed with a cult, as it is seen in Slovak site Havránok, Liptov. Some new methods of healing were brought to the territory of Slovakia by the Romans, who focused mainly on military healing. It is presented not only by findings of various types of healing items, but also in a literature, which the world-famous is a debate of a philosopher on the throne, the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius, who wrote his famous Meditations next to the River Hron in the second century.

A new healing impulse from a Slavic environment came after an interruption of an ancient line. The Slavs came into our country from the fifth century. We get to know about the supernatural forces that control the health and human diseases in the Slavic mythology in Slovakia. Healers were mostly women. We can say that health care was not a professional activity up to the tenth century. Professional health care started after the arrival of Christianity in our area in 863. The shelters for the sick originated, the monastic healing developed. Benedictines, who founded the monasteries in Nitra and Hronský Beňadik, came into the Slovak territory in 1000. The main activity of the monks was a care of patients. From 11th – 12th century monasteries originated in the territory of Slovakia, which in addition to charitable activities paid attention to healing of sick people. The first hospitals and shelters were opened besides them. The urban hospitals were opened from the 14th century, 1340 in Trencin, 1362 in Trnava, etc. Hospitalized patients were treated primarily by members of religious orders. They were treated in the urban hospitals by civilian caregivers, too. It must be said that comparing the ancient, medieval pe-

¹ Farkašová Dana: História ošetrovateľstva. Bratislava 2010, p,12.

riod was really a dark period of nursing. Nursing methods were quite primitive, folk medicine continued its predominance and the language of medicine was mostly primitive, folk.

The first monastery in Slovakia was probably founded about 1000 AD by Benedictines besides the monastery of St. Hippolytus on the hill Zobor in Nitra. About 1075AD 16 Benedictine monks established their most important seat in Hronsky. Sv. Beňadik; it is assumed that they set up also a shelter. In 1180 Dominicans established a hospital in Banská Štiavnica. In 1283 Antonites administrated Holy Spirit Hospital in Košice, moreover in 1346 Carthusians founded a hospital in Spišská Nová Ves. The first monastery hospital in Bratislava was founded in 1095 byAntonites, who were summoned by King Ladislav (1040-1095). A complex of monastery, church and hospital after repeated invasions of Tatars, Turks, the Hussite army and Tököly's rebels in 1683 was perished. In 1830 a church of St. Ladislav and later a hospital were built on its place and last until now. Urban hospitals in Slovakia were managed by a city council, the local priest and representative of the Order, whose members were in charge of treating the sick. They usually accepted up to 10 patients because hospitalization charged the city treasury. Hospitals in our cities originated from 14 century: in 1340 in Trenčin, 1362 in Trnava, 1380 in Banska Bystrica, 1382 in Kremnica, 1391 in Nová Baňa, in 1400 in Spišské Podhradie and in 1418 in Bardejov. Recapping the medieval period, we can sum up that the hospitals specialized firstly on accommodation and entertainment. They were founded mainly by monks in their convents, and later by cities and principalities. Later facilities were detached from them and provided medical and nursing care.²

Nursing activities had the considerable importance not only because they allowed treatment of the poor and abandoned, but also because they gathered experience of previous generations, enriching them and passed out of the monastic establishments in our territory. Charitable nursing was primarily focused on meeting the most basic needs of life, thus the shelter, providing food, hygiene, spiritual support, and later to the medical care. Charitable nursing affected other development of nursing and nursing education for several centuries and works on till now.³

Professional nursing developed together with the development of medicine, education in medicine and the establishment of hospitals. Although it was closely related to its founder Florence Nightingale, some professional training, which was required by hospitals and public health, already existed before. There were founded several

 $^{^2}$ Dobríková – Porubčanová: Nevyliečiteľne chorí v súčasnosti. Význam paliativnej starostlivosti. Trnava 2005, p. $30-31.\,$

³ Farkašová Dana: Ošetrovateľstvo – teória. Bratislava 2005, p. 23. See also Farkašová Dana: História ošetrovateľstva. Bratislava 2010

hospitals on the territory of Slovakia; in 1095 in Bratislava ,in 1340 in Trencin, in 1362 in Trnava in 1369, in Kosice in 1380, in Banska Bystrica and in 1382 in Kremnica. The trained nuns and civilian nurses treated the patients in hospitals. We can talk about the professional nursing from the beginning of a period of "nursing reformation', pioneered by Florence Nightingale.

The establishment of Faculty of Medicine (1770) at the Jesuit University of Trnava, already founded in 1635, had a practical and symbolic importance for Slovak nursing. Midwives were educated there, too. This fact positively affected midwives, also doctors, nurses and the public. For the first time in our history not only the doctors but also midwives had to have the institutionalized education. 121 midwives obtained diploma at University of Trnava from 1770 to 1777. The first textbook about midwifery, whose author was Professor Rafael Ján Cherney, was issued in 1778.⁴

Nursing education was carried out while working, the younger learnt from the older and more experienced. Health and public health issues were not consistently and deeply addressed by any state health care institutions in Slovakia and the Kingdom of Hungary until the early 18th century. The cities, among them Bratislava, provided the most intensive health care. The city began to employ the town doctor called "fyzikus" who provided the basic health care; handled the problems of public health and hygiene and issued appropriate directives; furthermore, supervised the health care facilities that existed in the city.⁵

Later, the municipality became interested in the cleanliness of public spaces and monitored food safety. It employed a street sweeper, then faced unpleasant habits throwing the trash on the streets and provided cleaning of the spaces not only during the markets. The medical care was still inadequate. The healers and folk healers who were handymen and mastered people helped population. They became from barbers or balneo therapists, who along to their profession treated fractures, ulcers, wounds, were devoted to hydrotherapy and medication preparation out of medicinal herbs. Their help was crucial in the treatment during epidemics and visiting the sick in hospital. A city surgeon was responsible for a dead body inspection. Surgery was in contrast to internal medicine based on the level of craft professions.⁶

The progress in health care started after a period of Enlightenment by reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph (1717-1780). In 1753 the position of urban fyzikus –

⁴ Farkašová, Dana: Ošetrovateľstvo – teória. Bratislava 2005, p. 24 – 25.

⁵ Falisová, Anna: Lekárske spolky a spoločnosti v Bratislave (1918-1945). In: Kapitoly z vedeckého života v Bratislave. Bratislava 1991, p. 626.

⁶ Duka – Zólyomi Norbert: Starostlivosť o zdravie v Bratislave v 18. storočí. In: Vlastivedný časopis 35, Nr. 2, 1986, p. 71 – 74.

physician was established. The municipality ensured health care, mainly hygiene based on the initiative of physicians. Medical personnel were subject to one person, the President of the Reich Committee. The rights and obligations of all healthcare professionals were regulated by standard from 1770. The foundation of the Brothers of Mercy hospital, which in the following period contributed significantly to the improvement of hospital facilities in Bratislava, played an important role within healthcare.

Professionalization of Slovak nursing was influenced by social, economic, social and cultural conditions, health status, democracy, humanism, the level of healthcare, but also the rights of people for education. In the late 19th century Slovakia survived a lack of social and national oppression. Like in other nations, we can find women who cared about the helpless, especially the sick and suffering. ⁷ Nursing was at that time focused on activities in hospitals and primary health care.

Nuns and civilian nurses, who were generally trained, treated patients in very adverse conditions in hospitals and worked as required. Institutional nursing was focused on meeting the needs of the sick, assistance for some medical operations and providing running of departments. The conditions especially for midwives were created within the primary health care. Professional nursing was only in its beginning, but a qualified nursing was needed not only in hospitals but also in a socially, culturally and health care underdeveloped rural areas of Slovakia.⁸

Janka Hrebendová was a pioneer of nursing in Slovakia. She gained the basic knowledge about healing from her husband – a doctor. In the mid-19th century she organized the courses of wounds 'treatment and bandaging for women in hamlets near Myjava She was also the first organizer of caring for the wounded on the battlefield to rescue the Slovak volunteers in 1848.9

A slight increase in nursing occurred during the major epidemics. In the 16th and 17 century the territory of Slovakia was very often attacked by epidemics of plague, smallpox, measles and scarlet fever. These epidemics often reduced the population of each area much as 70%. The earliest reports about public health care of the population were published by the rulers at the time of epidemics. A special commission, which had seized control of the epidemic measures and health situation in the country, was established besides Hungarian Governorate Council as late as in 1738.

⁷ Farkašová Dana: Ošetrovateľstvo – teória. Bratislava 2005, p. 25. See also Farkašová Dana: História ošetrovateľstva. Bratislava 2010

⁸ Farkašová Dana: Ošetrovateľstvo – teória. Bratislava 2005, p. 26. See also Farkašová Dana: História ošetrovateľstva. Bratislava 2010

⁹ Farkašová Dana: Ošetrovateľstvo – teória. Bratislava 2005, p. 25. See also Farkašová Dana: História ošetrovateľstva. Bratislava 2010

The state began to take care of health systematically only after the Age of Enlightenment. In 1738 the medical committee, regional and municipal doctors - physicians - fyzikus were established. In the 18th century the office of the county physician was introduced. The empress Maria Theresa issued the Royal Decree - Generale normativum sanites - the main rules of health care, which was the first medical legal norm in the country in 1770. The office of a county physician for each county was set in the norm. Other institutional changes appeared in the second half of the 19th century. In 1863 Hungarian Kingdom doctors association drafted the suggestions of improvements in health care. The proposal indicated the activities of midwives and nurses. In 1913, government regulation sought to create conditions for nurses served as volunteers in cooperation with the Red Cross. Doctors and hospitals were supposed to participate in preparing nurses. The first medical law, dated to 1876, altered the legal situation and relations in health care and adapted health care services to new requirements in towns and villages and played an important role in health care in the Kingdom of Hungary including the territory of Slovakia. In 1898, the issue of wages was handled; special attention was paid to midwives. The law determined that each municipality with a population of over 1,500 had to employ a midwife who provided free assistance and who was paid from the municipality. The wealthy women paid fees. Act from 1870 defined two types of midwives - diploma midwives, who underwent 5 - month course at midwifery school and midwives, so called "laber's midwives" who underwent a two-month course. In 1886 the Emperor Franz Joseph I. issued "čeľadnícky poriadok", an order which defined unlimited working time for nurses. The nurse was sanctioned in the case of negligence

The professionalization of nursing staff was related with population growth and the modernization of the society. The Regional Institute of Midwives was established in 1872. MD Ján Ambro, who was the author of Slovak textbook "The Book of obstetrics for midwives", became the head of the Institute. Training of nursing staff was not institutionalized at schools. Nurses, who worked in hospitals, prepared directly in their workplaces.

Interestingly, the institutionalization of nursing went hand in hand with the emancipation movement of Slovak women. The association of Slovak women Živena, which was founded in 1869, was very active. The association had in its program national awareness raising, but also improvement of the health of citizens. Establishment of the Slovak girls' school oriented on social and health care was proposed by General Meeting in 1896.

Before institutionalized education of nurses, they were trained in hospitals under the supervision of physicians and gained experience from their older colleagues. In the second half of the 19th century the Kingdom of Hungary belonged to the least developed countries of Europe, because in practice enlightened reforms were not conducted in the extent and as consistently as in Bohemia and Austria

The Regional Institute of Midwives, which focused not only on maternal care but as well as midwives education, was established in 1872 in Bratislava Institute began its work under the supervision of MD Ján Ambro, on 1st Jan 1873. Ambro is the author of the Slovak textbook "The Book of obstetrics for midwives" published in 1873 in Skalica..¹⁰ MD. Ambro is important not only among the pioneers of modern obstetrics, but also among the founders of the institutional training of midwives, which continued in the first Czechoslovak Republic after 1918.¹¹

The first nursing school in Austria – Hungary was founded in Prague in 1874. It lasted only until 1881. In 1914 the Austrian Ministry of Interior issued a regulation that nurses should be educated in a two-year nursing schools. The graduates finished with the title "diploma nurse." In 1916 a civilian nursing school, which greatly influenced nursing education and nursing practice in Slovakia, was established under this regulation in Prague. Another important person was Elena Maróthy - Šoltésová, a significant representative of the Association of Slovak women Živena, which was the cradle of Slovak women's vocational education. In 1896 General Meeting of Živena required to found Slovak girls' school. 12

In 1914 the health care department of Ministry issued a decree that defined a two-year study program preparing nurses focused on hospital care, preventive, social and health care especially for children and home visiting. The first Czechoslovak nursing school was a school in Prague, dated to 1916. The study was a two-year, completed by the final examination and graduation diploma. The school had a high quality, preparing nurses for not only the nursing practice but also for the future education of other nurses.

The establishment of Czechoslovakia in 1918 positively influenced the social and -health care. In accordance with Act 2/1918 Ministry of Health Care and Physical Education established an affiliation in Bratislava with competence for Slovakia. Throughout the area, a system of municipal and general doctors, who were funded

se the Works of Eva Morovics: Morovicsová, Eva: Prvé ošetrovateľské školy v Čechách a na Slovensku a ich podiel na profesionalizácii ošetrovateľstva. In: Prínos zdravotníckych pracovníkov v zdravotno-sociálnej oblasti (minulosť a súčasnosť). Bratislava 2004, p 51 – 57.; Morovicsová, Eva: Aktivity ČsČK zamerané na ošetrovateľstvo v prvej Československej republike. In: Červený kríž 2006, p 132 – 142.

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¹² Farkašová Dana: Ošetrovateľstvo – teória. Bratislava 2005, p. 25 - 26. See also Farkašová Dana: História ošetrovateľstva. Bratislava 2010

from state resources and the contribution of municipalities, was created. Physicians provided medical care, but also legal and social assistance. In addition to surgeries they carried out home visiting, preventive and epidemiological activities.

The broke-up of Austria - Hungary and the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic positively influenced Slovak nursing education, as well as improvement of the social and health care, especially in the areas of the Slovak countryside, which intensified the interest in nursing and the nursing profession. In 1919 there were founded the Czechoslovak State University, later Comenius University and Medical Faculty in Bratislava, which affected well the formation of nursing, especially nursing education. Nursing school in Slovakia, the first of its kind, was founded on 15th March 1929 in Bratislava by Sisters of Mercy of St. Cross. It firstly organized the nursing courses and in 1931 two- year nursing school of Congregation of the Sisters of Mercy of St. Cross was dedicated. A nun M. Fides Dermeková, graduated from nursing school in Prague, became a supervisor and assoc.prof., MD L. Valach was a director We can consider a nun M. Fides Dermeková as the founder of the Slovak nursing education. In 1932 the school of Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent was founded in Kosice.

The establishment of the first civilian nursing schools at the Institute M. R. Stefanik in Martin in 1933 had a historic significance for the Slovak nursing. The Nursing school was divided into two schools — The Provincial two-year social - health care school and the Provincial two-year nursing school as the first of its kind in Slovakia. Slovakia had in that period three nursing schools. A study in all schools was two-year, the female candidates aged 16 to 18, graduates of higher secondary, or a similar school were accepted. After a successful graduation a nurse got a diploma.

During the first Czechoslovak Republic nursing schools worked intensively to form nursing education, which influenced the changes in nursing practice. In 1946, Congress of Czechoslovak diploma nurses was held, which adopted a resolution aimed at nursing education, social conditions of nursing personnel and the organization of nursing.

The Higher nursing school preparing teachers of nursing, leaders and staff nurses was founded in Prague in 1946. There were co-founded other nursing schools —the State nursing school in Kosice, the School of Sisters Of Mercy of St. Vincent in Ni-

¹³ Farkašová Dana: Ošetrovateľstvo – teória. Bratislava 2005, p. 25 - 26. See also Farkašová Dana: História ošetrovateľstva. Bratislava 2010

¹⁴ Krištofová, Mária: Prvá ošetrovateľská škola na Slovensku. Nitra 2000, p 12.

¹⁵ Farkašová Dana: Ošetrovateľstvo – teória. Bratislava 2005, p. 26. See also Farkašová Dana: História ošetrovateľstva. Bratislava 2010

tra, the Nursing school of Czechoslovak Red Cross in Zvolen and Liptovsky Mikuláš, the Nursing school of Sisters of Mercy of St. Vincent in Trencin and the Nursing school of Daughters of St. Francis in Nové Zámky. There were already 9 nursing schools in Slovakia. Nursing at that time made considerable progress. In hospitals, although in a relatively unfavorable conditions, diploma nurses worked, too.

Hospital nursing care in addition to ensuring the basic needs of the sick increasingly focused on assistant duties. Progress in medicine, especially new diagnostic and therapeutic methods and their complexity required more staff as assistants to doctors. The nurses began to specialize in assisting in such operations as scrub nurses, work in laboratories, radiology, and diet therapy and so on. Nursing fulfilled an important role in primary health care. Nurses, graduates from the social - medical schools and later diploma nurses, worked independently. They focused on the most serious problems of Slovak towns and villages. They acted on population by associations such as Živena and the Red Cross, which also contributed to the establishment of the first civilian nursing schools in Martin. They organized for people, especially women various courses in childcare, diet and disease prevention, moreover, they were engaged in charitable activities, counseling for mothers and children, for older children, in the Masaryk League against Tuberculosis, performed nursing services in families, especially the poor ones. Some worked in the physician surgery providing medical, social and nursing services.

In 1927 the Regional Office in Bratislava was founded. Its advisory body became the Medical Board which carried out supervision of health care employees and public health care services. State activities focused on prevention of infectious diseases, especially vaccination. The fight against tuberculosis was led by the Masaryk League against Tuberculosis; child and mother care became more intensive. The foundations for health care education between citizens, both directly and through magazines and books were set during 1918 -1948. MD. Ivan Stodola founded a magazine *Fight for Health* in 1926.

The situation changed in the number of doctors after the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic. In 1918 there were 250 doctors, of which only 25 Slovaks. In 1937, the number of physicians rose to 1,954, the establishment of the Medical Faculty in Bratislava in 1919 contributed to that increase. The Czech doctors contributed largely for its foundation and successful activity. The Slovak medical journals started to be issued, for example in 1921 Bratislava's Medical books were founded. The work of nurses was regulated by government decree no. 22 from1927 about service and salaries of nursing staff. The group of nurses consisted of three categories: nuns, nurses without education and diploma nurses. The first nursing school in Slovakia was approved in March 1929 by the Minister of Public Health.

Only nursing courses were organized in the initial period. The Nursing School of Sisters of St. Cross was founded on the 2nd of November 1931. The second nursing school was established in 1932 in Kosice as Nursing School of Sisters of Mercy of St. Vincent. The establishment of the Institute of Milan Rastislav Štefánik in Martin, which was established on the initiative of Slovak women association Živena, played an important role within the Slovak nursing. The association initiated an establishment of a social care school and teaching institution for training of teachers for family education schools. The Slovak League in America and the Czechoslovak Red Cross financially and materially supported its establishment. The first two-year nursing school in Martin was founded within the institute in 1933.

Nursing and nursing education after World War II responded to the very difficult economic and social situation in the country. Health status and social conditions of majority of population were negatively impacted by war. Nursing was oriented primarily to help those affected by war, children without parents, socially deprived, lonely people and those who were returning from the battlefields and concentration camps. ¹⁶

After the World War II the health education was to strengthen. Higher School of Nursing, where Slovak nurses studied, was established in Prague in 1946. The school prepared leading and staff nurses and teachers for nursing. A total number of 31 nursing schools including 9 in Slovakia were in Czechoslovakia in 1947. According to government regulation from 1927 nursing schools were linked directly to the hospital, where students underwent nursing practice.

The conditions in the socio - political situation changed after 1948. Nursing got into a very difficult situation. Not only the formation of autonomous nursing as a profession was in danger, but the nurses found themselves in the international isolation because the International Council of Nurses (ICN) excluded graduate nurses from the association. At the same time it began to pursue tendencies against the religious nursing schools. Working in hospitals was very difficult due to lack of staff and became more arduous, poorly remunerated, with unlimited working hours and became less attractive for prospective girls. ¹⁷

After February 1948, the policy measures related to the dismissal of male and female orders were taken. The liquidation process in health care was due to a shortage of nurses slower. But already about 1954, there was a great shortage of adequately trained nurses. Because of ideological reasons, the liquidation process could not be

¹⁶ Farkašová Dana: Ošetrovateľstvo – teória. Bratislava 2005, p. 27. See also Farkašová Dana: História ošetrovateľstva. Bratislava 2010

¹⁷ Farkašová Dana: Ošetrovateľstvo – teória. Bratislava 2005, p. 29. See also Farkašová Dana: História ošetrovateľstva. Bratislava 2010

further extended and the religious orders, practicing nursing, were relegated. The term "nurse" has an origin in nursing. Instead of dismissed nuns, untrained civilian nurses trained in the "fast-courses" were hired. We can say that it was so called the second dark period of nursing in the countries which were under the political and economic influence of the Soviet Union. This intervention had long-term impact on the development of nursing as well as its positive image.¹⁸

The implementation of a system of general and vocational education was adopted due to Act No. 95/1948 Coll. There were established the higher socio - medical schools, the study lasted four years, ended with school leaving examination, the school had a two-year general education curriculum. In 1951 due to a shortage of nurses education was reduced to three years and specialized since the first grade but it did not yield the expected results.

From 1954 the medical schools were subject to the Ministry of Health which extended the study to four years. In 1955 advanced courses and later post-secondary education for graduates started. In 1980s there were 2,529 schools offering the higher nursing education in Slovakia. A major negative of nursing education was the fact that the immature youth was preparing for such a demanding profession.

In 1960 university education, especially for teachers of nursing, was opened at Charles University in Prague. The study specialized in two subject fields, nursing and psychology. In 1962, the same study was also founded at the Comenius University in Bratislava, the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Medicine, a specialization in psychology and nursing, then pedagogy and nursing. Institutionalized further education of nurses in Slovakia started in 1960 by foundation of the Institute for further education of health care workers in Bratislava. In 1972 professional association-SZP, which organized continuing non-institutionalized education, was founded by the Slovak Medical Association.¹⁹

In 1945 nursing was affected by the nationalization of health care, increasing number of institutional health care facilities, upload of nuns, and inadequate social and economic remuneration of nurses for their demanding work. Nurses worked according to governmental regulation "as needed" basis. The government had to deal very quickly with these changes. It was done by an increase of workload of nurses. Thus the nurse became "a girl for everything". This lasts de facto until now. The nurse in Slovakia is a person with the many duties in hospital but unfortunately the least paid.

¹⁸ Hanzlíková, Alžbeta: Komunitné ošetrovateľstvo. Bratislava 2004, p 28 – 29.

¹⁹ Farkašová Dana: Ošetrovateľstvo – teória. Bratislava 2001, p. 26. – 28. See also Farkašová Dana: História ošetrovateľstva. Bratislava 2010