

World War I and Women Workers in Zagreb – Media Analysis

In this paper I focus on the possible impact that the First World War had on working women of Zagreb. The paper is based on a rich variety of published and unpublished primary material. My analysis of these materials has found that women of Zagreb experienced changes in their working opportunities and possibilities by late 1915 and early 1916. In that period, the significant lack of male workforce allowed women to be employed in vocations that were previously intended explicitly for men. My reading of the scholarly literature on the history of women's work in other European countries during World War I, allows me to put my findings into a larger context.

The questions my paper is trying to answer are: who were the women that worked, what they did for a living, and what was their social status after the demobilization. The main question my thesis is addressing is did women workers of Zagreb experience changes in possibilities and opportunities related to their work during the war? Did the First World War enable women to step into the space of “men’s work”, if there was such a category? Likewise, if women did experience changes in their work conditions, were these changes as important for their participation in the labor sphere after the war?

To answer the questions above, I am focusing on the way that the Croatian press represented women workers in relation to known information about working women of Europe. By comparing work advertisements in newspapers from 1914 to 1918, I am establishing that there was a change in the jobs women were offered and the jobs they demanded. Due to the general mobilization in the war-time period women started to demand jobs that were previously held by the male workforce and had not been offered to them by the employers. The fact that employers lacked men workers, resulted in the change of jobs that were offered to women. From those findings I am able to shape support for my argument in which I claim that the war caused the change in women’s work possibilities and opportunities as well as it enabled them to enter a new sphere of work, previously known as “men’s work”.

In order to successfully develop and support my argument I used various primary sources for my analysis. The jobs advertisements used to verify the possible change in work offers and demands for women of Zagreb during the war were found in the four most popular daily

political newspapers of Zagreb¹ that were published in the war time. I also analyzed articles from newspapers that deal with the public image of Croatian women and their work during the war. At the beginning of the war a working woman was presented rather negatively in the Croatian press. From these articles I found that the change in women’s work was followed by a more positive view on women workers in the media.

My research about women workers in war Croatia includes a broader, European context. The primary sources used for this thesis were greatly influenced by contemporary perceptions of possibilities, opportunities and conditions of the women workers of Great Britain, France and Germany. The second chapter of the paper provides a comparison to general trends related to women work in those countries during the war to trends that developed in Croatian lands and Zagreb and that can be seen in the primary sources.

Women workers and World War I in Europe: comparative perspectives

Very often the First World War is considered a crucial point in the sphere of women’s work. Many scholars have claimed that the First World War enabled women to enter new working spaces that they could not reach before, especially ones related to the industrial branches. The main reason given was the shortage of male workforce that previously worked in the industry, and that was then, in most European countries, mobilized. However, not every country faced lack of male workers experienced the same changes in labor.

Great Britain

In Great Britain, before 1914, the pattern of employment for women was established during the second half of the nineteenth century. The most important trades for women were domestic services, tailoring, clothing, and textiles. The most lucrative trades, especially those in industry, were held by men as they intended to keep

1 The newspapers will be individually considered in chapter four.

them. Their excuses for it varied; women were incapable of skilled work, and they did not deserve to learn skilled work, as they would marry, and leave. Likewise, women were cheaper to employ because they were paid less than men and because it was assumed that they were living with husbands or fathers who were also working. Working men felt that women were taking jobs which should have gone to men, and they argued that as women were classed as dependents, men's employment should be given priority (Braybon, 1989: 16).

However, with the start of the First World War, by November 1914 Great Britain was faced with a labor shortage in some sections of industry. As the war progressed and engineering and chemical industries began to expand munitions production, it soon emerged that there was a shortage of skilled labor. The problem became increasingly evident in 1915 when women were extensively used in place of men as their "substitutions". As men enlisted, women were indeed employed as van drivers, window-cleaners, and shop assistants but they were often informally taking the place of husbands, fathers and brothers (Braybon, 1989: 45).

Between 1915 and 1917, approximately 1,300,000 British women were employed in classified industrial employment. One fourth of them had never been employed before the war for most of them were housewives and active mothers. They now worked in munitions plants where their male colleagues often mistreated them because they agreed to work for lower wages. Male employees often viewed the employment of women at lower wages as a threat to their jobs, opportunities, and security (Braybon, 1989: 46).

Besides doing urban work in factories, shops, and offices, British women also did rural work which was as essential as any other form of national support. Given the difficulty of importing foodstuffs during the war, the Women's Land Service Corps showed different posters like the one of a departing soldier holding out his hand to be grasped by a woman. Besides her stands a wheelbarrow and a small boy, with the message "I leave the land to YOU". Likewise, a robust woman patting a small calf stands in the foreground of another poster, while an equally cheerful woman in the background takes to the fields as viewers were told: "For food production, forage and timber the help of British women is urgent and indispensable" (Grayzel, 2002: 13).

France

For France, statistical information about women workers can be found from fifteen surveys conducted by Work Inspectors in war plants in 1914. However, some

important branches of economy are not covered, such as railways or state-owned firms. Therefore, data is restricted to the following trades: food, chemicals, book production, textiles, clothing, earthen production, leather, wood, building, metalwork, transport, and commerce. These surveys cover a large number of workshops and factories, between 40,000 and 50,000 establishments, which were employing around 1.5 million women workers (Robert, 1988: 251).

Nevertheless, in the French case, the wartime increase in female labor was not as explosive as in Great Britain. The continuity in numbers during the war period is due to women already working in great numbers before the war and that the French economy was characterized by a relatively high level of women in the paid workforce. The female participation rate in prewar France was around 35 to 40 percent, which was one of the highest rates in the world (Robert, 1988: 253).

Although the recruitment of women into new war industries in France began in 1915, by late 1917 the number of women working in commerce and industry was only 20 percent higher than before the war. By 1918, only 25 percent of the munitions factories' workforce was female and by the end of the war, the small increase in the numbers of French working women during the war was further decreased by the process of demobilization (Grayzel, 2002: 29).

Germany

In Germany, women's labour force participation rose annually from 1889 to 1913. During the war years of 1914 to 1918, the upward trend continued but was not accelerated; the increase in female employment was relatively small - around 17 percent. One major reason for that was that most of the women, who had never gone out to work before the war, were not employed during the war. Although they were not employed, they did work, and continued to work, in the family. Secondly, where there was an accelerated increase in the proportion of women in employment, it took place not in the factories of the war industry, but within the confines of home and family. The majority of those women who, during the war took up employment for the first time, preferred housework to factory work. This way, they were able to combine domestic tasks with wage labor (Daniel, 1988: 267).

A relatively small number of women took advantage of war industry's offer of a job. Most of them were married and had family and household work to do. During the war, the household economy, which had previously consumed many market-produced goods, decreased and many households went over to producing their own food instead



Žene kao listonoše.

Kondukterice na tramvaju.

HRVATSKA ŽENA U RATNO DOBA

I hrvatsku ženu, poput ostalih po svijetu, zapala je za trajanja ovog svjetskoga rata druga, nova, a i teža za-

publika, a i same kondukterice tako uživile u tu novotariju, da nam se danas to čini nešto sasvim obično i kao

Ilustrovani list

of buying it. Likewise, family ties stand out as the factor which prevented more women from going out to work in war industry. It proved impossible to cope with looking after children and dependents and a “second job” (Daniel, 1997: 278).

However, groups of women did enter the workforce directly as “replacements” for absent husbands or dead ones. After the census of the Transport Workers’ Association (*Transportarbeiterverband*) was enacted, nearly 14,000 women were employed as streetcar workers in Germany in late 1915. 20 percent of them, 2,800 women, were married to workers in that occupation who had been mobilized into the army (Daniel, 1997: 278).

The war enabled women to explore new possibilities and opportunities related to work, but the demobilization caused women to lose these jobs in many European countries. They were limited to job offers related to the household in which they had difficulties to settle for domestic’s wages. In spite of the fact that their work had given great support to the war effort, after it, a woman came to be seen as the “parasite” that refused to give up her job to the returning soldier. Although the exact number of European women who worked in the munitions industry during the war is unknown, it provided employment for more working-class women than other types of work (Grayzel, 2002: 29).

Keeping in mind this review of women’s work in the First World War in Europe, in the next chapter I will consider similar questions in relation to Zagreb and the Croatian lands: who were the women that worked, what did they do and what was their status after the war? Did the First World War enable women to step into previously unknown sectors of work, into “men’s work”?

Women’s work in Zagreb on the eve of the First World War

The history of workers’ movement in Croatia can be traced from its beginnings in 1867 when the first general workers’ society was founded in Osijek (Oštrić, 1973: 99) until the fall of Austro-Hungary in 1918 when the movement was already organized by main concepts of social democracy. The representatives of these ideas were smaller groups of workers who acted accordingly to the specific occasions in Croatia. Usually, their primary goal was the insurance of workers in case of a disease or an accident. Likewise, women workers were a part of this general working movement in Croatia and Zagreb, although they did not have a separate women workers organization (Gross, 1955: 1).

The first factory in Zagreb where women were the majority of the employed workforce was the state’s

Tobacco Factory of Zagreb, founded in 1865. In 1875 in the mentioned tobacco factory there were 30 male workers, 257 female workers and 228 children, mostly girls under the age of 14. The reason for such high number of women (and children) workers was the fact that women (and children) were paid less than men for their work, as they were not considered as capable in the craft (Cazi, 1957: 192).

The trend of cheaper work of women, similar to the one in Great Britain, continued in the period before the First World War. Report from *Zemaljska blagajna za osiguranje radnika*² (The State's Treasury Office for the Insurance of Workers) from 1910 (Šoljan, 1967: 34) shows that in Croatia and Slavonia there were 7,147 or 11,40% of insured women workers in case of a disease. In 1911 the number of insured women was higher, 7,933 or 11,54%. This data reveals that there was a slight increase of women workers employed in industry and that the number kept slowly growing. However, the reason for it was that women worked for less money which is why the number of new female employees rose from 1910 to 1911 for 11% unlike the number of new male employees which rose for 9,3%.

Likewise, the report from the State's Treasury Office for the Insurance of Workers for 1910 (Šoljan, 1967:34) shows how much insured men and women earned on a daily basis for the mentioned year by categorizing them into classes which represent a certain amount of salary. The first wage class represents daily earnings of 1 *Krone*³, the second wage class represents daily earnings of 2 *Krones*, the third class of 3 *Krones* etc.

Table 1. The percentage of working male and female members of the State's Treasury Office for the Insurance of Workers divided into classes which marked the amount of their daily earnings in 1910.

Class	Men	Women
I	23.61	19.98
II	20.27	51.07
III	33.14	21.83
IV	12.64	5.08
V	5.85	1.08
VI	2.42	0.53
VII	1.04	0.18
VIII	1.03	0.25

(Šoljan, 1967: 34)

From the data shown above, there were 77.02% of men in the first three wage classes and 92.88% of women which proves that the trend of smaller wages for women was also present in Croatia. This meant that out of 7,147 women workers insured in cases of a disease, 6,638 of them were living with a daily salary under 3 *Krones*.

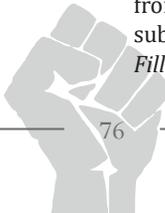
Although women did not found their own workers' organization on the eve of the First World War, they were a part of the First Society of Workers in Zagreb which was founded in 1873. Through this organization, women could form temporary associations in order to "spread the word" about their jobs and work. For example, women working as maids and servants in Zagreb formed a small group which wrote to *Slobodna riječ* asking to publish their article regarding their working conditions and responsibilities in order to organize the regulation of their service. "Servants and maids are being exploited and harassed by the employees in the worst possible way", they wrote stating that they work overtime, they do not have any free time for vacation and education. "The worst thing is that we are paid depending on the will of our employer, not by law and justice", they complained demanding that the service must be regulated; the number of working hours must be restricted, and more justly wages must be given (*Slobodna riječ*, No. 14, 1914: 22).

However, with the beginning of the First World War, it was forbidden to organize new societies. In Ban's⁴ order from 1914 all organizations, including those with rules that have been approved by the Croatian provincial

2 Mandatory insurance of workers in case of a disease was legally regulated for the first time in 1891 through a legal article XIV: „About supporting craft and factory workers in case of a disease” after which *Zemaljska blagajna za osiguranje radnika* in Zagreb was established. The last year before the war that the data for insured workers are available is 1912 when 18 495 workers were members of the Treasury. The Treasury continued its work in the new state, Kingdom of Serbs, Slovenes and Croats where the organizations of insured workers were still active. State Archive in Zagreb: *Okružni ured za osiguranje radnika*: HD-DAZG-243

3 The *Krone* was an official currency of Austro-Hungarian Empire from 1892 until the dissolution of the Empire in 1918. The subunit was one hundredth of the main unit, and it was called *Filler*.

4 Ban was an imperial governor; chief government official in Croatia. He was the head of Ban's Government, effectively the first prime minister of Croatia.



government, had to suspend their work until further notice. It was forbidden to call, hold and participate in any kind of social assemblies. Law enforcement authorities had been authorized to enter social rooms and centers for the purpose of supervision. Anyone who would disobey this order could be punished by two months incarceration or by a fine of six hundred *Krones*.⁵

Due to the fact that the workers were not able to form their organizations, the Croatian press continued to write against such prohibitions, especially when it came to the affiliations of women workers. An unknown author wrote about the important role of a woman who works for money, brings up children and carries the weight of worrying for the household. Whether a woman worked in a factory or as a servant, the reporter stated that if she works for a private employer, she needs to be protected under a worker's organization. As he or she wrote, Zagreb is full of women working in factories, stores, offices, and households. The reporter concluded the article reminding women to save their working strength and women's dignity as members of an organization of workers (*Slobodna riječ*, No. 165, 1914: 3).

Media representations of Zagreb's women at work

Despite the considerable amount of researched data about women's work in the First World War, little is known about the working women of Croatia and its capital Zagreb. While there has been research about women organized in social welfare during the war, mostly conducted by Violeta Herman Kaurić⁶, the women workers have been long neglected in Croatian historiography.

For the purpose of researching women workers of Zagreb during World War I, I analyzed the four most popular daily political newspapers that were published during the period. By comparing work advertisements in these papers from 1914 to 1918, I am establishing that there was a change in the jobs women were offered and also in the jobs they demanded. Work advertisements for jobs offers and demands were analyzed from *Male novine* (The Little Newspapers), *Novosti* (The News),

Hrvatski pokret (The Croatian Movement) and *Obzor* (The Overview).

An analysis of these papers reveals that Croatian women did feel the economic burden of "The Great War". They were active in various forms of work. While the women of the upper classes were mostly involved in individual civil societies or humanitarian actions, women of the lower classes of Zagreb and its surroundings would often contribute to rural and farm work since most of the mobilized soldiers were farmers. Considering that Croatian lands were agriculturally oriented during the First World War, rural work was one of the main forms of women's work as well, even in the capital of Zagreb (Herman Kaurić, 2014: 14). Similar to the trend of British women who supported their country by doing rural work and taking on "men's" agricultural work, Croatian women would often be underpaid or not paid at all. However, they were essential for the maintenance of the state's rural economy.

After the general mobilization in 1914, women were offered various jobs in rural work in Zagreb. Some of them being: "Looking for a woman for my property. She will minister the cows for what she will get an apartment, wood for heating and a paycheck. Ask the concierge in Bošković Street, number 21" (*Novosti*, No. 79, 1915: 7) and "Looking for an independent peasant woman that knows how to treat cows. Permanent housing is included. Ask about the job at Ksaverska Road 23" (*Novosti*, No. 214, 1917: 6). The address listed in the first advertisement is located on the periphery of "old" Zagreb which proves that women did do rural work even in the capital. Likewise, the second mentioned location was considered as a periphery of the capital then, but today Ksaverska Road is a part of Zagreb's city centre.

From the selected primary sources I also analyzed what form of work was most common among women in Zagreb between 1914 and 1918 by focusing on both agricultural and urban types of work. After analyzing the data related to the urban work women did, I noticed that the offer and demand for those works changed drastically during the war-time period. For example, from 1914 to 1916 in various work advertisements from the four stated newspapers of Zagreb, women were usually offered domestic types of work, working as cooks, seamstresses, servants and house ladies. However, as seen in the sections of job advertisements of the mentioned newspapers, they demanded "more serious" works as cashiers, saleswomen and stenographers.

During this period, the usual job offers for women were similar to this one:

"A house lady is wanted by a merchant family with two children. She should be married or widowed, in her

5 Croatian State Archive: HR-HDA-79: July 27th, 1914, No. 4232, XI. Ban's Command - restriction of establishment and operation of societies and organizations during the war.

6 Prof. Violeta Herman Kaurić, PhD is currently employed at the Croatian Institute for History in Zagreb. Her field of research is focused on social history of the First World War in Croatia and Slavonia with emphasis on history of health, prominent medical professionals and the activities of charity societies. She has written 26 scientific papers which were published in Croatian scientific magazines and publications.



thirties, vice-free life and from an honest family. Her purpose would be to run the household and supervise the children. She would have a complete care and an apartment with the same family, and the rest of conditions would be settled under agreement" (Hrvatski pokret, No. 193, 1914: 12).

However, several job demands published in the same year show that women were interested in job opportunities which would provide them with more financial and management responsibilities. Some examples are: "Young lady, beginner looks for a place as a saleswoman in an ice-cream shop, bakery or selling booth" and "A woman looks for a place in the store as a saleswoman or a cashier" (Novosti, No. 231, 1914: 6).

Women did not just search for work that ensured them with more financial and management responsibilities, they were also looking for work possibilities that would provide them with more free time and more privacy, which they could not expect working as a domestic servant. As it is seen in the above advertisements, employers were looking for a married or a widowed woman with a "clean" past which, for the employee meant revealing her private life as a condition of the employment.

Likewise, in the British case, factory girls would express their distaste for the long hours, lack of privacy and lack of freedom which servants had to endure, and many women who went into war work during 1914 and 1918 came from service and were glad to leave it behind. By both masters and mistresses it was taken for granted that their servants were always on call, had no regular free time, had to live with their employees accepting whatever standard of food and lodging was offered, and were to have no male "followers". All this was in total contrast to the lives of the factory girls, which involved hard work for a limited number of hours, followed by freedom to do what one chose in the evenings (Braybon, 1989: 26).

Yet, it was not until late 1915 and early 1916 that women gained the jobs they demanded. As more men were sent to the war fronts, women represented a main working force in Zagreb's stores and factories. In late 1915 a job advertisement was published :

"300 girls are wanted in S. Berger's laundry factory located in Zagreb in the main square, Jelačić Square, number 2". The advertisement continues with a clear message for all women: "Every woman that can, should apply now if she did not do so before. Every woman should learn one profession for it will be greatly needed when the normal times return" (Novosti, No. 38, 1915: 5).

Likewise, in mid 1917 the following advertisements were published: "Imperial and Royal Atelier Mosinger looks for a female photographic assistant in Ilica Street, number 8" (Novosti, No. 241, 1917: 6) and "Looking for

a female pharmacist with several years of experience for work in the pharmacy. Ask at Opatovina Street, number 27, in the courtyard" (Novosti, No. 241, 1917: 6). From such evidence, one can conclude that during late 1915 and early 1916 women's working options and possibilities changed in the most obvious way.

From 1917 various schools and courses for women who are looking for work were opened throughout Zagreb. Women were learning to work as stenographers, typographers and typewriting operators. For example, in that same year, the Croatian provincial government financed the establishment of *Ženska poslovna škola* (Women's Business School) located in the Franz Joseph Square No. 5 in which women could be educated during five months long course. Women were trained in the practical and theoretical knowledge of bookkeeping, Croatian and German stenography and typewriting and trade accounting (Obzor, No. 1, 1917: 4).

Soon, similar job advertisements appeared in newspapers:

"Looking for a woman equipped to operate on a typewriter machine Remington and who would work in a public office in Zagreb. Persons who have worked in an office before and speak the German language are in advantage. We are hiring only diligent and reliable people. Your documents and typewriting certificate send to the listed address" (Novosti, No. 198, 1917: 6). These ads prove that there was an increase in women working in public offices during 1917 which cannot be found in earlier war years. Likewise, the possibility of education and training for women in this type of work is also a novelty, not mentioned in the material before the year 1917.

Also, through my work, I am investigating if the working conditions for women in Zagreb can be compared to the situations in other countries and their capitals. For instance, it was common in several European countries for women to replace their husbands in their professional occupations after they had been drafted into the army, or worse, wounded or killed in action. Similar to the German trend of women "replacements", in July 1914 Paula Landsky was the first woman conductor of Zagreb's Electric Tramway. She replaced her husband at this position who was drafted shortly after the war started (Feldman, 2004: 89). Very soon, in September of 1914, Katica Pošla also replaced her husband as a temporary conductor supervisor of the same company. Likewise, her husband was mobilized in September 1914 and Katica, who previously worked as a conductor, became the new manager of 90 conductors of whom already 65 were female (Male Novine, No.2, 1916: pg. 2).

However, there is no data and statistics which can provide information about the number of women

working in Zagreb during the World War I. Likewise, there is no information about how much these working women earned. For this information there are fragments and occasional mentions in Zagreb's newspapers and magazines of the time. I believe the lack of this sort of data is caused by the distress during wartime which prohibited the state's offices to function properly.

Nevertheless, Croatian press of the time followed European trends and reported through the war years how much women earned in other countries such as Germany and Great Britain. Being the periphery of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, I believe Croatian public and media were more interested in the social and economic situations of the Western countries, especially when it came to the idea of the "women's movement". Considering all of the above, instead of statistics dealing with the Croatian working women, published article of the time focused on the working conditions of German and British women.

In "How much do women earn" the unknown author wrote about the problem of women's low wages, who were paid less than men while doing the same type of work. The reporter explained this issue by claiming that women were paid less because they used to do all kinds of work and were not specialized in a specific area. Because they did various work, they could not be professionals in a certain type of work. As the reporter claimed, women had smaller wages for it was considered that their earnings should be less, so that their husbands make the "real money" (*Ilustrovani list*, No. 40, 1914: 931).

For example, the reporter stated that in the English textile industry women make from 12 to 20 *Krones*, monthly in average 16 *Krones*. However, men made from 23 to 30 *Krones*, monthly in average 25 *Krones*. Likewise, in Germany, women and men working as professional weavers earned different amounts of money. While men made 1 *Krone* and 20 *Fillérs* per hour, women earned just 70 *Fillérs* (*Ilustrovani list*, No. 40, 1914: 931). The unknown author wrote his impression: the weaker the strength, the smaller the wage which can indicate the awareness of the same problem of unequal payment for women and men workers in the Croatian lands and Zagreb.

War time women's works and the changing public image of Croatian women

The change in opportunities and possibilities for women's work in late 1915 and early 1916 occurred parallel to the changing image of the working Croatian women in the media. After analyzing articles, features, and reports about women and women's work in the primary

sources⁷ I noticed that the demand for more women workers in 1916 was followed by a more positive media image of women who did work, which was not the case in the first two years of war.

For example, while following European trends reports would often refer to the situation in Great Britain where women fought for their suffragette. In 1914, most reporters and authors of news in the analyzed material looked down upon those women often making sarcastic comments about their activities such as "one English newspaper tried to count how much damage have the suffragettes done last year. By their statistics, the damage comes up to 12 million *Krones*" (*Novosti*, No. 3, 1914: 2).

However, after 1916 in the analyzed material one could find that the authors of news and stories would support women political and civil rights, after they have seen how much women contributed to the war, especially through their work in the war industry. One journalist wrote from Rotterdam in January 1918:

"It is known that the English women have their voluntary regiments in which they work in warehouses, pharmacies, telephone and telegraph service as well as they drive the supplies all the way to the line of fire. According to the data from different English newspapers, those women regiments are consisted of 4 battalions and each battalion of 8 companies. They are commended by a woman colonel, the sister of English First Lord of Admiralty, Ser Godders" (*Male novine*, No. 12, 1918: 3).

Although Croatian women did not experience a strong women's movement as those in Britain, the press would inform the public of "those women who were corrupted by the women's movement" (*Male novine*, No. 162, 1914: 3) in 1914 and of "those women who should fight for their rights for they did so much for the Croatian nation in the war" (*Male novine*, No. 84, 1916: 2) in 1916.

In early war years the Croatian media would offer women readers topics against "the modern woman" and related to housekeeping; how and what to cook, which cleaning products to choose, how to dress by the latest fashion and how to be a good wife. "Modern women think that when they are married their social duties towards their husbands stop. Today is a common thing that the wife, as soon as her husband leaves for work, leaves the house to take walks with her girlfriends and to shop for unnecessary things just to please her curiosity" one unknown reporter wrote. He continued to focus on how much time a woman should spend with her husband: "Every woman should out of the 12 daily hours, devote at least 7 hours to her husband. In that time she should always be in a place where her husband can find her, especially during

7 Here I analyzed *Male novine*, *Novosti* and *Ilustrovani list*.



lunch and dinner when she must be at home. However, a husband is required out of his 6 daily hours, because he spends the other 6 at work, to devote 3 hours to his wife. In case that a woman also works, she is required to devote to her husband, and family, at least 5 hours. If any woman would do otherwise, then her husband is free to leave her, without the fear that the court will make him support her" (Male novine, No. 151, 1914: 4).

Although this author does mention a working woman, from the material one can see that her work has a negative connotation to it. Regardless the fact that the working woman also provides for her family, she needs to be at least 5 hours available for her husband and children, unlike an unemployed woman that is required to be available for 2 hours more. The article, indirectly, puts a negative stigma on a woman that works, as on her husband who cannot provide for his family by himself.

In the later years of war, the press still focused on the similar topics and themes directed to women. Fashions, cosmetics, products related to the household were still being advertised to women in most of the media. However, because of the lack of the male work power, women workers came to be seen as a primary workforce and the press started to encourage their activities through different news.

In 1916 an unknown author wrote:

"And now we see women working where there was previously needed just the "strong" hand of a man. In Zagreb, we can now see women tramway conductors and newspapers dispatchers who are amazingly capable and successful. A similar image can be seen in bigger capitals. In Vienna, women are wearing uniforms with a short blouse and wide pants, as well as hats with names of the companies they work for. These women deliver bread and milk throughout the town" (Ilustrovani list, No. 17, 1916: 400).

Stories about women who were replacing their husbands in their workplaces, reports about women working in factories and public offices and news about women drivers and conductors became main headlines of Zagreb's newspapers and remained popular topics until the end of the First World War.

The aftermath of the war

On October 29th, 1918 Croatian lands separated from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The Croatian parliament declared a formation of a new country which represented the unity of all South Slavs who lived in Austro-Hungary. The making of the *Država Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba* (State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs) was very welcomed by the citizens of Zagreb which was now the capital of the State.

Rounded on the stated date on the Square of Saint Marko in Zagreb, people cheered and celebrated the unity of a new country (Matijević, 2008: 52).

Among the celebrating crowd, there were many workers, female and male alike. With the end of the war the Social-Democratic Party of Croatia and Slavonia was able to operate and many workers of Zagreb joined the Party as well as various organizations of workers. In this time of military and political breakdown of the Austro-Hungary, the working masses of Zagreb and Croatia were under the influence of the October Revolution. The revolutionary mood of the workers could be seen on the October 29th when they stopped their work for a day and supported the forming of a new state under republic arrangement by waving red banners in front of the Croatian Parliament residence.⁸

After the war workers of Zagreb and Croatia were allowed to work under collective contracts which was a policy of the *Kraljevstvo Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* (Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes). The new state was formed after the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs and was united with the Kingdom of Serbia in December 1918. In the new state women workers could protest small wages and bad working conditions, as they were able to demonstrate when their collective workers' rights were not being respected. In July 1919 seamstresses of the Linen Factory of Zagreb went on strike for eight days, demanding that three dismissed workers be employed again. Although it is not known why the women were fired, their colleagues united against such illegal acts of the factory's administration and managed to give them their jobs back. Likewise, in August of 1919, women workers were striking in a candy factory "Union" of Zagreb where they collectively demanded a salary increase of 30 percent. After a nine days strike, their demands were met (Šoljan, 1967: 65).

However, workers' demands were not always fulfilled. For example, public bank clerks of the city of Zagreb organized a strike in September 1919 in order to ask for better conditions of their collective contracts. Women participated in the strike due to the fact that their collective contract offered equality for both male and female employees in their rights and obligations. The strike which lasted for fifty-one days was not a success. After it was over, the banks of Zagreb fired 107 male employees, 88 female employees and 58 janitors. 253 employees out of 802 were dismissed from service because they were striking (Šoljan, 1967: 67).

As in most European countries after the war, the

8 Croatian State Archive: HR-HDA-79: The call of the executive board of the Social-Democratic Party and workers' organizations for a procession on 29th of October, 1918: Group V-18: Box 4212.

workers movement was restored under the influence of socio-democratic concepts. It was similar in the newly formed Kingdom; the Social-Democratic Party of Croatia and Slavonia was united with other socialist organizations that founded the Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia which was formed in the capital Belgrade in April 1919. In 1920 the Party changed its name to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. However, after the Party had won numerous municipal elections in 1920, the authorities of the state prohibited the activity of the Party due to its radical political views. With the royal decree of *Obznana* (The Notification) the Party was banned on December 30th, 1920 and its remaining members, including women, continued to operate illegally (1).

Although Croatian women workers were protected under the socio-democratic and later under the communist concepts, when the Communist Party was prohibited women were faced with troubles of those women workers in Great Britain and France. Regardless of the political orientation of Croatian women workers, by the end of the war they were considered by the state as parasites that refused to leave the workplaces for the returning soldiers. After the war the Croatian women held a subordinate position compared with men in the economic life of the state. Women once again belonged to their households and their children (Šoljan, 1967: 69).

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated that the First World War gave Croatian women the opportunity to step into a whole new sphere of "men's work" that they had previously no access to. After the mobilization, women did both rural and urban work that was previously intended for or limited to men.

When compared to the war situation in other European countries, I believe that women's work in Croatia shared a number of trends with those in Great Britain, or at least the Croatian press of the time tried to portray it as such. Zagreb's newspapers wrote about many trends related to women's work in "The Great War", perhaps due to the fact that British women also experienced different changes in their work possibilities. From the stated data from the second chapter, similar to the Croatian case, from 1915 to 1917 a great number of British women entered what was previously known as "men's work" in factories and offices.

There are also similarities between the work of Zagreb and that of women in Germany. Most German women did not work in the war industry, but instead provided for their households by doing agricultural work. Similarly, many Croatian women worked on farms

and lands for there was no war industry in Croatian lands. However, the pattern of women doing the rural works existed. I did not find any similarities between the Croatian situation and the French trends regarding women's work during the war; in France the percentage of women workers did not especially increase, except for the war industry, which Croatia lacked.

Unlike the European trends which are based on available numbers and statistics, there is no exact information about the number of women working in Zagreb and Croatia during the World War I. I believe the lack of this sort of data is caused by the distress during wartime which prohibited the state's offices to function properly. Nevertheless, the Croatian press of the time followed European trends and reported through the war years how much European women earned and what were the working conditions of German and British women.

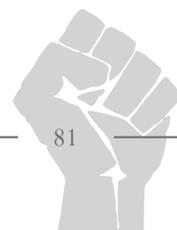
In this paper I have established that women workers of Zagreb experienced significant changes in their work possibilities during World War I. After 1916 women became the main working force of Zagreb in different areas of work; from factories to public offices. Likewise, after the war and the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes women remained active in workers' organizations and societies. However, to clearly follow whether and how these trends regarding work continued and further developed, or altered and reversed in the inter-war period, additional research is needed.

Sažetak

Antonija Tomičić:

Prvi svjetski rat i žensko radništvo u Zagrebu – analiza medija

U ovom ću se znanstvenom radu fokusirati na moguće utjecaje Prvog svjetskog rata na žensko radništvo u Zagrebu. Izvori ovog znanstvenog rada su bogati i raznoliki, objavljeni i neobjavljeni primarni materijali. Analizom ovih materijala otkriveno je da je žensko radništvo Zagreba doživjelo promjene poslovnih prilika i mogućnosti od kasne 1915. do rane 1916. godine. U tom periodu je značajan manjak muškog radništva dozvolio ženama da budu zaposlene na mjestima na kojima su do tada bili zaposleni isključivo muškarci. Istraživanje ostale znanstvene literature o ženskom radu u drugim europskim zemljama za vrijeme Prvog svjetskog rata mi dozvoljava da svoja otkrića prikazem u širem kontekstu.



Bibliography

I. Primary material

Archives

1. Croatian State Archive: HR-HDA-79: The call of the executive board of the Social-Democratic Party and workers' organizations for a procession on 29th of October, 1918: Group V-18: Box 4212
2. Croatian State Archive: HR-HDA-79: July 27th, 1914, No. 4232, XI. Ban's Command - restriction of establishment and operation of societies and organizations during the war
3. State Archive in Zagreb: Okružni ured za osiguranje radnika: HD-DAZG-243

Printed sources

1. Hrvatski pokret, June 11th, 1914, No. 193, Year 10.
2. Ilustrovani list, October 3rd, 1914, No. 40, Year I.
3. Ilustrovani list, April 22nd, 1916, No. 17, Year III.
4. Novosti, January 3rd, 1914, No. 3, Year VIII.
5. Novosti, October 1st, 1914, No. 231, Year VIII.
6. Novosti, March 20th, 1915, No. 79, Year IX.
7. Novosti, November 7th, 1915, No. 38, Year IX.
8. Novosti, July 18th, 1917, No. 198, Year XI.
9. Novosti, August 3rd, 1917, No. 214, XI.
10. Novosti, August 30th, 1917, No. 241, Year XI.
11. Male novine, June 5th, 1914, Year V, No. 151, Year V.
12. Male novine, June 16th, 1914, No. 162, Year V.
13. Male novine, January 1st, 1916, No. 2, Year VIII.
14. Male novine, March 25th, 1916, No. 84, Year VII.
15. Male novine, January 15th, 1918, No. 12, Year IX.
16. Obzor, January 1st, 1917, No. 1, Year LVII.
17. Slobodna riječ, May 30th, 1914, No. 14, Year XIII.
18. Slobodna riječ, July 23rd, 1914, No. 165, Year XIII.

II. Secondary literature

1. Braybon, Gail, 1989. *Women Workers in the First World War*, Routledge, London and New York.
2. Cazi, Josip, 1957. *Prva radnička društva u Hrvatskoj: samostalni ekonomski i politički istupi (1860-1880)*, Savez sindikata Jugoslavije, Republičko vijeće za Hrvatsku, Zagreb.
3. Daniel, Ute, 1988. *Women's Work in Industry and family: Germany, 1914-18*, in: *The Upheaval of War – Family, Work and Welfare in Europe, 1914-1918*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pg. 267.
4. Daniel, Ute, 1997. *The War From Within – German Working-Class Women in the First World War*, Oxford, New York.
5. Feldman, Andrea, 2004. *Žene u Hrvatskoj: ženska i kulturna povijest*, Institut Vlado Gotovac, Zagreb.
6. Grayzel, Susan R., 2002. *Women and the First World War*, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, London and New York.
7. Gross, Mirjana, 1955. *Počeci radničkog pokreta u Zagrebu*, Historijski zbornik, Year VIII, No. 1-4, Zagreb, pg. 1.
8. Herman Kaurić, Vijoleta, 2014. *The First World War in Croatia – More or Less Known Facts*, Review of Croatian History, Vol. X, No.1, Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb, pg. 14.
9. Matijević, Zlatko, 2008. *Narodno vijeće Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba u Zagrebu: osnutak, djelovanje i nestanak 1918/1919*, Fontes: izvori za hrvatsku povijest, No. 14, Zagreb, pg. 52.
10. Oštrić, Vlado, 1973. *Radnički pokret u Hrvatskoj od početaka do godine 1914. u našoj povijesnoj književnosti*, Časopis za suvremenu povijest, br. 1, Institut za historiju radničkog pokreta Hrvatske, Zagreb, pg. 99.
11. Robert, Jean-Louis, 1988. *Women and Work in France during the First World War*, in: *The Upheaval of War – Family, Work and Welfare in Europe, 1914-1918*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pg. 251.
12. Šoljan, Marija, 1967. *Žene Hrvatske u radničkom pokretu do hiljadu devetsto četrdeset prve*, Konferencija za društvenu aktivnost žena Hrvatske, Zagreb.

III. Electronic sources

1. The formation of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, Croatian encyclopedia - Lexicographic Institute of Miroslav Krleža
<http://enciklopedija.lzmk.hr/clanak> (2.6.2016)

