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# Political Socialization in Carniola: The Case of the Women's and Labour Movements and the Relationship between the Public and the Political

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## Keywords

social movements, women, labour movement, the 19th century, Carniola, Slovene history

## DOI

[10.31577/forhist.2024.18.2.3](https://doi.org/10.31577/forhist.2024.18.2.3)

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## Cite

SELIŠNIK, Irena. Political Socialization in Carniola: The Case of the Women's and Labour Movements and the Relationship between the Public and the Political. In *Forum Historiae*, 2024, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 28–44, doi: [10.31577/forhist.2024.18.2.3](https://doi.org/10.31577/forhist.2024.18.2.3)

## Abstract

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The present article details two public movements in Carniola, on behalf of women and for labour, as well as the course of the transformation of the public and political space at the turn the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The question of the key factors that contributed to the success of these movements is addressed, with answers sought in the context of the resource mobilization theory. The primary focus of interest is relevant successful organisational models and particularly, the mobilization and political socialization of the membership of these movements. Attention is directed towards individuals and their activities within the social networks, as one's willingness to operate in a social movement and collective action was, for the most part, influenced by the level of embedment in networks.

The labour movement and women's movement operated in a similar manner in many respects, namely via social networks that were usually based on existing acquaintances. Individuals were allowed to join in small groups that empowered their respective members and provided the necessary skills to make public appearances and voice the reasons behind their demands. External stimulus was important as well. In both cases this implies, first and foremost, the Austrian context. Connections between members of the movements were strengthened by joint free-time activities and organized social events. Certain differences did exist between these two organisations, in terms of the social class for example, but mostly in terms of the intensity of the labour movement's political socialization that became necessary, which resulted in significantly greater pressure exerted by the authorities bringing greater consequences for active individuals in the movement.

With growing democratization and politicization, the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw an increasing transformation of both the public and political space. As the political space widened, new players emerged like mass-membership parties and social movements, which adapted to local conditions successfully despite the restrictions that they were faced with, utilizing modular forms of collective action and general political mobilization. Such political players were not afraid to seize the public space, transforming the rhetoric and the inhabitants of respective lands as they were increasingly turned into legitimate political actors. Previously passive recipients of political messages became

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The present article was written within the scope of the research program P6-0235 Slovenian history, which is co-financed by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (Javna agencija za znanstvenoraziskovalno in inovacijsko dejavnost Republike Slovenije) from the state budget.

active political players not only in societies, but also within political parties. Women and workers were among the most prominent new political players of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Their entrance into the public arena was initially regarded with disfavour;<sup>1</sup> however, they brought about a change in public opinion, eventually venturing into politics despite legislature that was very restrictive as regards to the formation of political societies.<sup>2</sup>

The focus of this study is the women's and labour movement in Carniola, as well as on the manner of the transformation of the public and the political space, with a few other topics touched upon as well. Building upon the premise that both social movements were ignited by the emerging political opportunities and the idea that the movements themselves concurrently co-created new opportunities that brought about new waves of inspiration, shaping their unfolding,<sup>3</sup> the specific factors that impacted them will be explored. The women's movement and labour movement spread rapidly from urban centres to the periphery, strengthening their networks of supporters and allies. The present article aims to address the question of how to understand each movement's success and to seek the answers in the context of the resource mobilization theory. Successful organisational models from Carniola will be presented, as well as the mobilization and political socialization of the members of the movements. In the scope of the labour and women's movement, attention is paid to individuals and their operation within social networks, because the willingness to participate in a social movement and collective action was, for the most part, influenced by their inclusion in a variety of networks.<sup>4</sup>

Social movements are examined here on two levels; large-scale patterns of contention across nations and movements, and in terms of organisational politics and decision-making.<sup>5</sup> As previously mentioned, the resource mobilization theory is employed, which was developed in the seventies to link the success of a social movement to the quantity and type of resources available for mobilization. This theory puts the organization of a movement as the focus of attention, exploring how a movement's operation can draw upon existing groups and traditions, as well as how individuals within a movement maintain the strategic capacity and organizational skills to prompt the mobilization of members.<sup>6</sup> Mobilization is purportedly impacted by a number of factors, i.e. biographical

- 1 CVIRN, Janez. *Dunajski državni zbor in Slovenci (1848–1918)*. Ljubljana : Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, 2015, p. 246.
- 2 HIEBL, Ewald. The Instrumentalization of *Bürgerlichkeit*: Associations and the Middle Class in Hallein, Austria from the Nineteenth to the Beginning of Twentieth Century. In GRAEME Morton – de VRIES, Boudien – MORRIS, R.J. (eds.) *Civil Society, Associations and Urban Places. Class, Nation and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Hampshire : Ashgate, 2006, p. 62.
- 3 TARROW, Sidney. *Power in Movement. Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*. Cambridge : University Press, 1994, p. 7.
- 4 PASSY, Florence. Socialization, Recruitment, and the Structure/Agency Gap. A Specification of the Impact of Networks on Participation in Social Movements. 2000 Paper, <https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/document?repid=rep1&type=pdf&doi=b0a0a89b8033c94ad9095ee521e911f610a636ee> (last viewed on 27<sup>th</sup> of October 2024).
- 5 MEYER, David S. Opportunities and Identities: Bridge-Building in the Study of Social Movement. In Meyer, David S. – WHITTIER, Nancy – ROBBETT, Belinda (eds.) *Social Movements : Identity, Culture, and the State*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 4.
- 6 ALMEIDA, Paul. *Social Movements: The Structure of Collective Mobilization*. Oakland : University of California Press, 2019, p. 48.

availability, ideological or political beliefs, social networks, membership in organizations, collective identities, past participation experience and nowadays, social media. The focus here will reside mostly on social networks and individuals,<sup>7</sup> namely individuals, originally regarded as rational players that make rational decisions in their struggle against the elites, are at the forefront of this type of research.<sup>8</sup> Later, the concept of “conscience constituents” emerged within the resource mobilization theory, according to which individuals, in contrast with rational reasons, might support a movement’s goals even though they do not directly benefit from it. This type of research focuses on the micro-social context of individuals; friendships, jobs or neighbourly relations. An individual’s integration in the social networks of movements’ supporters are still one of the best predictors of that individual joining a social movement.<sup>9</sup>

### The political context of Carniola in the Austrian half

Before addressing the history of social movements in Carniola, let us outline the political situation which was determined by the legislative framework of the Austrian half of the monarchy. With the end of Neo-absolutism and the introduction of the constitution, the federalist October Diploma, the monarchy saw the emergence of democratization in the early 1860s. This brought about the introduction of elections for the Provincial Diet and indirect parliamentary elections, however, political associations were initially still not allowed.<sup>10</sup> This changed with an 1867 act that somewhat loosened the rules on forming associations and a new law that granted freedom of assembly was adopted that same year. The compendium of laws that is referred to as the December Constitution of 1867 included a fundamental law on the rights of nationals which were completely absent from the February Constitution. However, the new legislature still placed heavy restrictions on women’s rights and workers’ rights. Women were banned from being members of political associations and as far as workers were concerned, the absence of the definition of what is political posed a problem. Consequently, the authorities had their own interpretations of what is “political” and occasionally denied them the possibility of assembly and operation.<sup>11</sup>

Nevertheless, some women were enfranchised. In the Habsburg Empire, property qualifications and higher education formed the basis for a special electoral system of corporative representation, which was introduced in 1861. The voters for the Carniolian Diet, as well those for the Viennese Parliament, consisted of four curiae—corporate bodies representing the interests of special groups, i.e. great landowners, cities and towns, the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and rural communities. In 1897, a special “general curia” was added, which entitled all men over the age of 24 to vote. It was not until 1907

7 ALMEIDA 2019, p. 108.

8 ALMEIDA 2019, p. 47.

9 ALMEIDA 2019, p. 111.

10 The 1852 act did not allow the establishment of societies dealing with legislature or public administration.

11 SCHWEITZER, Viljem (ed.) *Naš društveni in shodni zakon*. Ljubljana : Slovenska krščanska-socialna zveza, 1902.

that universal and equal suffrage for men was introduced for the parliamentary elections. The right of women to vote in provincial elections was closely linked to their right to vote in municipal elections, which did not include any rules or qualifications regarding who was eligible. What counted was one's wealth, since in 1866, a special article stipulated that women taxpayers voted by male proxy. In 1850, women were excluded from municipal elections in the city of Ljubljana by law, with female taxpayers regaining the right to vote in 1887. From 1911 onwards, their right to vote was extended and personal suffrage was introduced for local elections in Ljubljana. The same provisions that prohibited women from voting for Parliament in 1873 were enacted for the Provincial Diet in Carniola and Carinthia in 1884, and in Styria in 1904. On the other hand, aristocratic women could continue to vote through a male proxy for the curia of great landowners, and independent businesswomen could vote through the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Carniola. Election rules for workers were heavily restricted by the census and a provision on their duration of residence in the municipality, which varied between three years and six months for different levels of elections. Prime Minister Eduard Taaffe considered literacy as one of the criteria for elections, which was eventually dismissed. A mere 15% of adult men were enfranchised in 1891.<sup>12</sup>

The 1890s saw the formation of Slovene political parties, e.g. the Catholic Slovenska ljudska stranka or the SLS (Slovene People's Party), the social democratic Jugoslovanska socialdemokratska stranka or the JSDS (Yugoslav Social Democratic Party) and the liberal Narodno napredna stranka or the NNS (National Progress Party), leading to the strong polarization or tri-partition of Slovenian politics and culture. Each of the three parties established its own pillar of infrastructure in the form of spaces, economic institutions and support associations, with women's and workers' organizations being no exception. All parties sought to utilize the women's movement, and the labour movement as well to some degree, as a means to mobilize potential supporters to achieve their own political goals. The SLS focused on peasants, i.e. the majority of the population, and became a populist party, with priests being important mobilizing actors. It is thus not surprising then that the party became the dominant force in Carniola, which also included a more radical social Christian movement that focused on workers. The NNS lost ground and only preserved strongholds in urban areas. It was an elitist party with wealthy supporters but also intellectuals, including teachers. The JSDS was only a marginal force in the Slovene political space and failed to produce any MPs or representatives in the Carniolan Diet. While the NNS was fairly conservative in organizational terms and followed archaic or elitist organizational principles, in contrast, the SLS and JSDS were mass political parties that tended toward centralization, professional party workers and systematic agitation. There was hardly any independent political movement in Carniola.

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12 BOYER, John W. *Austria 1867–1955*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2022, p. 280.

## The Case of the Women's Movement

Let us briefly emphasize the distinction between the women's movement and the feminist movement as both were present in nineteenth-century Carniola and in some associations, both concepts coexisted. Some experts define the women's movement as relying on appeals to women as constituencies, and therefore uses "women" as an organizational strategy, while the feminist movement aims to challenge and change the subordination of women to men.<sup>13</sup> The women's movement prevailed in Carniola, though a few associations included feminist demands as well. Women's associations like Katoliško društvo za delavke (the Catholic Association for Women Workers), or the KDD, came into being in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, though they began to flourish in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The new century saw the establishment of Slovensko splošno žensko društvo (the General Slovene Women's Association), or the SSŽD, which played a dominant role in the liberal camp. The Catholic camp included Krščansko žensko društvo (the Christian Women's Association), or the KŽD, and the women's division of Slovenska krščansko socialna zveza (Slovene Christian Social Union), or the ŽO SKSZ. In one way or another, these women's associations were included amongst the broader European women's movement, which was established towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a time regarded as the "belle époque" of feminism by some authors. This period saw the movement become an international one<sup>14</sup> and form strong links between women in many European countries and America as well. Consequently, similar social movement strategies were used throughout the world, e.g. petitions, public meetings, newspapers, excursions and, as argued by Leila Rupp, created the "social movement industry."<sup>15</sup> The International Council of Women (ICW), the oldest international women's organization, founded in 1888 and with which the Slovene association Slovensko splošno žensko društvo (the SSŽD) also had contact through German-Austrian women's organizations, also bears mentioning. This also applies to the Catholic women's organization, which had connections with Austrian women's organizations. Such circumstances prompted the emergence of a series of women's associations in Carniola.

### The Mobilization of Women

First, let us concentrate on the Slovenian Catholic women's associations, for which the sources are scarce, but can nevertheless complete the picture with the much better researched liberal SSŽD. The KŽD was established in 1901, with the operation and model of Christlicher Frauenbund from Vienna being an important impetus for its founding. The latter operated under the auspices of

13 MARX FERREE, Myra – MUELLER, Carol McClurg. Feminism and the women's movement: a global perspective. In SNOW, David A. – SOULE, Sarah A. – KRIESI, Hanspeter (eds.) *Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Malden; Mass : Blackwell, 2004, p. 577.

14 For the relationship and use of the international and transnational, see: OFFEN, Karen. Understanding International Feminisms as 'Transnational' – an Anachronism? May Wright Sewall and the Creation of the International Council of Women, 1889–1904. In JANZ, Oliver – SCHÖNPFUG, Daniel (eds.) *Gender History in a Transnational Perspective. Networks, Biographies, Gender Orders*. New York, Oxford : Berghahn, 2014, pp. 25–45.

15 RUPP, Leila J. Constructing Internationalism: The Case of Transnational Women's Organization, 1888–1945. In *The American Historical Review*, 1994, vol. 99, no. 5, p. 1573.



prominent Viennese mayor Karl Lueger, whose party benefited from its success.<sup>16</sup> The idea for the establishment of the KŽD stemmed from the infrastructure of Catholic associations that was part of the SLS, and that provided facilities like the Delavski Dom (Workers' Hall) and, in all likelihood, through a network of renowned Catholic leaders and politicians, who engaged their wives, sisters and daughters, e.g. Uršula Souvan, a member of one of the most important merchant families in Ljubljana.<sup>17</sup> Working women were an important segment of Catholic women's associations—particularly the ŽO SKSZ and the KDD—and were prominent in their respective leadership groups. For instance, Marija Manfredo (1857–1910), a seamstress whose husband, Josip Manfredo, was a humble worker from Ljubljana, was a long-term president of the association. At the same time, women working in the tobacco factory can be found among the leaders of the ŽO SKSZ, Strokovno društvo C. Kr. Tobačne tovarne, the Ljubljana branch of the Austrian Verband christlicher Tabakarbeiter und Tabakarbeiterinnen, as well as in the KDD leadership. Many women working in the tobacco company were part of the Christian-social labour movement that was led by prominent Slovenian politician Janez Evangelist Krek.<sup>18</sup> The Christian-social movement organized different activities for them outside their working hours. Terezija Bučar said that Krek, surrounded by workers, had organized Sunday outings to the mountains and that days spent in his company passed in no time.<sup>19</sup> A small room in Delavski Dom was constantly filled with female workers who organised plays and choir performances or fêtes.<sup>20</sup> Building upon the standpoint that women and men were equals in terms of political rights as well, the women's tobacco workers' union and the ŽO SKSZ advocated for a change in the Austrian associations-related legislature from 1906 onwards.<sup>21</sup> Banning women from political associations was regarded as key for the meagre expansion of the women's movement in Austria up to 1906, when the idea of universal male suffrage was adopted for men and the women's movement expedited the organization of campaigns for women's enfranchisement.<sup>22</sup> Janez Evangelist Krek, the ideational leader of the Christian workers' movement in Ljubljana, argued that female employees are fully entitled to demand political rights.<sup>23</sup> This viewpoint was somewhat radical in the period at hand and not universal. For instance, the KŽZ appealed to women to operate in the public sphere<sup>24</sup> and in the 1911 elections, to join the political sphere and vote for the SLS.<sup>25</sup>

16 Shod 'krščanske ženske zveze' v Ljubljani. In *Slovenec*, 13 June 1901, p. 1.

17 Shod 'krščanske ženske zveze' v Ljubljani. In *Slovenec*, 13 June 1901, p. 1.

18 Janez Evangelist Krek (1865–1917) was a Slovene Christian Socialist politician, priest, journalist and author. Krek organized peasant and worker's co-operatives, and transformed the Slovene Peoples Party from a conservative Catholic party into a mass political movement propagating social emancipation with the general and equal right to vote on the basis of Catholic political ideology.

19 BENEDIK, Metod. Janez Evangelist Krek v spisih sodobnikov. In *Acta ecclesiastica Sloveniae*, 2006, pp. 138–139.

20 *Spominska Knjižica Podpornega društva delavcev in delavk v ljubljanski tobačni tvornici* 1912. Ljubljana : Podporno društvo delavcev in delavk v ljubljanski tobačni tvornici, 1912, p. 11.

21 BENEDIK 2006, p. 39; *Spominska Knjižica Podpornega društva delavcev in delavk v ljubljanski tobačni tvornici*, p. 11.

22 BADER-ZAAR, Birgitta. Women in Austrian Politics, 1890–1934: Goals and Visions. In GOOD, David – GRANDNER, Margarete – MAYNES Mary Jo (eds.) *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Cross-disciplinary Perspectives*. New York : Berghahn Books 1996, p. 62.

23 KREK, Janez Evangelist. *Dostavki v socializmu. Krekova stenografrana predavanja med leti 1902 in 1906*. Ljubljana : Ljubljanski bogoslovci, p. 32.

24 Shod 'krščanske ženske zveze' v Ljubljani. In *Slovenec*, 13 June 1901, p. 1.

25 Krščanskim ženam. In *Slovenec*, 20 April 1911, p. 1.

Similarly, the leadership of the liberal SSŽD by and large included wives of prominent leaders of the NNS. However, the formation of the association was not prompted by them, it was the result of the effort of Josipina Vidmar, a tradesman's wife, who persuaded her best friend Minka Govekar. Govekar had been actively involved in the operation of women's associations before and was an avid writer.<sup>26</sup> At the same time, the first Slovene women's periodical, *Slovenka*, published in Trieste, repeatedly appealed to its readership to form a woman's association,<sup>27</sup> obtaining premises at Rimska cesta and renting offices where the association Gospodinjska šola (Home Economics School) operated as well.<sup>28</sup> It included a number of women, particularly teachers, who were later involved in the operation of the SSŽD. Upon the association's establishment, Elvira Dolinar, who was regarded as the first Slovene feminist at the time, wrote the association's rules.<sup>29</sup> Its programme expressed emancipatory tendencies, e.g. improvement of the position of women and the complete equality of all classes.<sup>30</sup> However, the association also structured to evoke liberal thinking, which was believed to reduce the number of "reactionary women" (supporters of SLS) and female Germanophiles in Ljubljana, which were considerable the Slovene capital.<sup>31</sup> Members of the association included women from both the middle and upper class,<sup>32</sup> wives of many magistrate officials who supported the liberal party, as well as teachers, the bulk of whom were liberal-minded. Much like elsewhere in the monarchy,<sup>33</sup> teachers represented a more radical segment of society. Many were members of Društvo slovenskih učiteljic (Slovene Women Teachers' Association) and advocated for women's suffrage, for lifting the ban on married women's employment and for equal pay for male and female teachers. As mentioned afore, the SSŽD included two groups of women, the progressive national ladies and feminists, mostly teachers. The national ladies had been organized in informal groups and represented the majority. Associations often included women from the same street or residential buildings; consequently, we can argue that women joined associations on the basis of recommendations from their respective neighbours or acquaintances.<sup>34</sup> The circle of members likely grew with the establishment of the first public libraries in Ljubljana, which were initially only available to members of the SSŽD and operated within the association. For instance, Pavla Hočevnar mentioned having borrowed books and eavesdropping on conversations in the association that she would later join.<sup>35</sup> The SSŽD supported women's

26 VIDMAR, Živa. Josipina Vidmar. Moja babica. In BUDNA KODRIČ, Nataša – SERŠE, Aleksandra (eds.) *Splošno žensko društvo 1901–1945*. Ljubljana : ARS, 2003, p. 137.

27 DOLINAR, Elvira. Prijateljska pisma uredništvu Slovenke. In *Slovenka*, 1899, vol. 3, no.18, p. 1; LJUBA. K poglavju: Organizacija ženstva. In *Slovenka*, 1900, vol. 4, no. 12, pp. 278–279.

28 Knjižnica splošnega slovenskega ženskega društva. In *Slovenski narod*, 23 July 1901, p. 2;

Društvo „Gospodinjska šola“ občni zbor. In *Slovenski narod*, 6 December 1902, p. 5.

29 CERGOLO PARADIŽ, Ana. Feministični nazori v Slovenki. In Verginella, Marta (ed.) *Slovenka. Prvi ženski časopis (1897–1902)*. Ljubljana : Založba Filozofske fakultete, 2017, p. 93.

30 Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana (ZAL), fond (f.) LJU 285, Splošno slovensko žensko društvo, folder 9, Rules.

31 GOVEKAR, Minka. Slovensko splošno žensko društvo. In *Slovenka*, 1901, vol. 5, no. 4, p. 91.

32 BUDNA KODRIČ, Nataša. Članice splošnega ženskega društva. In BUDNA KODRIČ, Nataša – SERŠE, Aleksandra (eds.) *Splošno žensko društvo 1901–1945*. Ljubljana : ARS, 2003, p. 102.

33 BADER–ZAAR 1996, p. 62.

34 BUDNA KODRIČ 2003, p. 104.

35 HOČEVAR, Pavla. *Pot se vije. Spomini*. Trst : Založništvo tržaškega tiska, 1969, p. 47.

suffrage and a change of the association's legislature that would allow women to be members of political parties. As early as in 1901 or 1902, the SSŽD joined the Austrian Frauenbund, which was part of the International Council of Women and paid an affiliation fee in the amount of 12 Kronen.<sup>36</sup>

It appears that at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the circumstances were very favourably disposed towards the establishment of women's associations. Despite the importance of the international perspective in 19<sup>th</sup> century social movements,<sup>37</sup> we can maintain that in Carniola, the state framework was much more important and associations were predominately modelled after those from Vienna. At the same time, we can argue that women's associations were joined by members with prior experience in different formal or informal groups.<sup>38</sup> Political parties also looked upon women's organizations favourably, seeing the democratization of masses as an opportunity to strengthen their own position and as such, provided premises and in the case of the Catholic association, leaders and spokespersons. Invitations and encouragement to join associations were distributed mostly in an informal manner, in the Ljubljana tobacco factory or in those of the First Girls' School for example, where women active in a few women's associations taught. Housewives were recommended to join women's associations by their neighbours or acquaintances, with such inclusion in friend networks enabling an easy transition into the associations' formal networks.

### Women's Political Integration

Naturally, associations engaged in political socialization. The SSŽD organized regular meetings fortnightly, as well as over a cup of tea on Sundays at 4 o'clock.<sup>39</sup> These gatherings were part of the bourgeois sociability as this was the usual time for tea parties or the *jour fix*. The association's premises were made to match the bourgeois standards of tastefully furnished rooms, with prime china donated by members and paintings depicting Slovene poets, novelists or playwrights. The indoor meetings were mostly closed to the public; they were intended for members discussing association-related matters and in wintertime, made warm by a maid.<sup>40</sup> Meetings and lectures closed to non-members—contrary to public lectures which were often held by men as well—had an entirely different purpose: empowering women to facilitate their entry into the public as lecturers. According to the association, they would:

Wish for other members to respond in this season and speak about their thoughts and viewpoint. For this is the purpose of a women's association, to set women free from mental subordination, from mental slavery. A woman should have the courage to speak her mind and express her viewpoint; this is the easiest way to clear one's mind and spark interest for different cultural and spiritual questions.<sup>41</sup>

36 Splošno slovensko žensko društvo. In *Slovenski narod*, 26 January 1903, p. 3.

37 BERGER, Stefan. The Internationalism of Social Movements—an Introduction. In *Moving the Social*, 2016, vol. 55, p. 8.

38 MARX FERREE – MCLURG MUELLER 2004, p. 582.

39 ZAL, LJU 285, folder 4, Report 1902

40 ZAL, LJU 285, folder 4, Report 1902 and folder 10, Meeting October 1920.

41 ZAL, LJU 285, folder 4, Report 1902



At the same time, by acting as a model, the association had a particularly strong impact on the young population. More widely attended lectures were paid and the mayor offered the large assembly room at Mestni Dom at the association's disposal. Zofka Kveder, a young Slovene writer famous for her emancipatory views, was one of the first women to give a lecture of this kind. Women who held lectures made a great impression especially on young girls, becoming role-models for the younger generation:

Did you see her? This is Zofka Kveder, a friend of our Mila, a learned woman! She held a lecture in Ljubljana yesterday: she spoke about women not being valued and how men tease them if they want to speak about their rights [...] I heard at the butcher's today how well she spoke but men did not like it one bit [...].<sup>42</sup>

Student Pavla Hočevar wrote about Zofka Kveder,

From now on, her writing will show me the way to the new page of my life; fiction, upbringing and feminist issues [...] Kveder was the first to tell me that the purpose of women's education could be so much more [...] The thought of her lifted me up, giving wings to my spirit.<sup>43</sup>

Associations in the Catholic camp organized regular meetings and encouraged women to give lectures as well. The KDD organized meetings every Sunday, promoted outings,<sup>44</sup> organized different courses, including sewing and cooking courses, and occasionally performances.<sup>45</sup> Associations also organized gymnastics for children<sup>46</sup> and particular attention was paid to the choir that would sing and perform at various Catholic events in Carniola.<sup>47</sup> Under the watchful eye of a priest, Catholic thought spread and strengthened among young people in their free-time activities through lectures given by the party's politicians<sup>48</sup> on political issues and decisions or resolutions.

A political awareness began to form in the associations' regular meetings. As maintained by F. Passy, political convictions are not merely a reflection of the social position, they are formed through social interaction, and free-time activities, parties, performances, fêtes, provided additional opportunities for shaping positions.<sup>49</sup> Shared engagement, the organization of events and meetings, performances, the exchange of books or lectures all integrated members of associations via learning and familiarization with the women's movement into the same milieu that shared a unified understanding of the narrative. Additionally, political socialization did not always occur in the movement's premises, but also in the familial or professional milieu. It is evident from the list of SSŽD members that mothers and daughters were frequently members of an associa-

42 HOČEVAR 1969, p. 27.

43 HOČEVAR 1969, p. 28.

44 BENEDIK 2006, p. 139.

45 BENEDIK 2006, p. 35.

46 Naše dolžnosti in naloge. In *Glasnik Avstrijske krščanske tobačne delavske zveze*, 7 March 1908, p. 2.

47 Kako se je razvila naša organizacija delavk v Ljubljani. In *Glasnik Avstrijske krščanske tobačne delavske zveze*, 9 May 1908, pp. 31–32.

48 Kako se je razvila naša organizacija delavk v Ljubljani. In *Glasnik Avstrijske krščanske tobačne delavske zveze*, 9 May 1908, pp. 31–32.

49 PASSY 2000, p. 14, see also: "That is why we used parties for propaganda for the workers' cause. Our quartet...we sang happily and gathered around us fun-loving and happy elements." TEKA-VEC, Karol. Iz mojih zapiskov. In *Pod Lipo*, 1926, vol. 3, p. 111.

tion, or co-workers from the same school. It should be added that socialization through the familial milieu was not particularly successful as daughters typically did not become very active members, unlike the case of co-workers. Political socialization in the workplace was more successful, where colleagues discussed evenings spent at Delavski Dom during breaks. Literature also became an important channel for promoting the ideas of the women's movement. The SSŽD had many books in its library, including those addressing the woman question. Minka Govekar, whose husband sent her feminist books from Vienna, wrote about the importance of literature:

I have read August Bebel's book *Der Sozialismus und die Frau*, Laura Marholm's writings, works by Egerton, Adleheid Popp, Lily Brown's *Die Frau und der Sozialismus*, *Arbeiter Zeitung*, etc., who dared to demand equal schools for all professions, equal qualifications, equal obligations but also equal rights and equal pay for the same work.<sup>50</sup>

It was more the reading of literature and the possibility to publish articles than the discussions within the association that drove Minka Govekar's involvement in the operation of the feminist movement. Small, informal groups which operated outside the official framework of the women's movement also played important roles in the spread of the feminist movement's ideas. Before World War I, secondary-school students in particular read and discussed feminist literature. For instance, Poldka Kos' soon-to-be teacher wrote the following, "Our circle held meetings at the comrade Roza Ribičič's, whose surname at the time was still Arigler and who was our president. We read different lectures about the national question, the woman question, etc."<sup>51</sup> Vera Albreht, student of a girls' high school, also reflected similar enthusiasm, "The nation's fate troubled young people and they began to gather in illegal circles because secondary school students were prohibited from any cultural-political organizations."<sup>52</sup> Young women thus organized themselves, and much like M. Govekar, they read Bebel's book *Woman and Socialism*, Ellen Key's *The Century of the Child* and other harbingers of the new thought.<sup>53</sup>

### **Women should switch from the public sphere to the political**

In the early new century, women were to become part of the public sphere and were encouraged in this pursuit by the emerging Carniolan women's societies. It was a consensus that had been developing from the 1870s, when Slovene politicians of the period still worked in unison for the benefit of the nation. They recommended it highly because they believed that this would strengthen the Slovene national movement whose leader, Janez Bleiweis,<sup>54</sup> argued that a "house is not built upon the earth, it is built on the work of a woman, which

50 Narodno univerzitetna knjižnica, Rokopisni oddelek (NUK), fond (f.) Ms 1432 Erna Muser, VIII. 1. 6. Minka Govekar, Pismo glavnemu odboru AFŽ Slovenije, 14 May 1949.

51 KOS, Poldka. Nekaj spominov iz mojega življenja. In *Idrijski razgledi*, 1968, vol. 13, no. 1, p. 13.

52 Knjižnica Mirana Jarca (KMJ), fond (f.) Ms 254 II Č Vera Albreht no. 5, Ob 50 letnici preporoda.

53 HOČEVAR 1969, p. 41.

54 Janez Bleiweis (1808–1881) was a Slovene politician, journalist, physician, veterinarian and public figure. He was the leader of the Slovenian political movement until his death and was referred to as "the father of the nation" during his life.

holds true for the nation as well.”<sup>55</sup> Much like the German national movement, its Slovene counterpart highlighted the role of the national mother and encouraged the inclusion of women from all social classes; however, in practice, a national mother was, first and foremost, bourgeois.<sup>56</sup> In the eighties, women's informal inclusion into the national movement became formal with the establishment of numerous national defence associations and with the operation of the women's branch of Društvo sv. Cirila in Metoda (Saints' Cyril and Methodius Society), or the CMD, in Trieste in 1887. Katja Mihurko argues that women's activities within the national movement were in fact a Trojan horse for feminism because the first aspirations towards emancipation emerged in the circles of women that were active in the national movement, and their demands expanded from nation-related activities to explicitly political ones.<sup>57</sup> In the 1890s, women attracted all three political parties in Carniola to its ranks because in the period of the most intensive political polarization, everyone was invited to join them.

The way in which the definition of the political changed and became more inclusive in the context of gender can be illustrated by the example of the SSŽD. In 1910, Ivan Tavčar,<sup>58</sup> one of the main protagonists of the liberal camp, sought to organize a lecture entitled *Women and Politics* in the association; however, it was banned by the authorities because, according to them, the SSŽD was not a political association and as such it cannot deal with political issues.<sup>59</sup> The lecture was only allowed under the title *Women and the Public*. Back in 1905, Marija Manfredo, president of the women's branch of the SKZS, made the following comment about women attending the assembly of the association of societies, “It may seem strange to see a small delegation of women among so many men” and then justified the women's presence with their interest in the social question.<sup>60</sup> However, in 1913, associating women with politics was no longer a strange occurrence and social democrat Alojzija Štebi organized a rally entitled *Women and Political Rights*, which the authorities did allow. What prompted such a quick change in the perception of women and their political engagement? The extension of the franchise to women taxpayers and teachers in Ljubljana in 1911 surely contributed; women voters could cast their votes at a special polling station only for women. However, the change of legislature on elections and the support of political parties were backed by women's societies as well, shaping public opinion through newspaper articles<sup>61</sup> that addressed

55 BEZENŠEK, Anton. *Svečanost o priliki sedemdesetletnice dr. Janeza Bleiweisa*. Zagreb, 1879, p. 54; GRDINA, Igor. *Vladarji, lakaji, bohemi*. Ljubljana : Studia humanitatis 2001, p. 139.

56 JUDSON, Pieter M. The Gendered Politics of German Nationalism in Austria 1880–1990. In GOOD, David F. – GRANDNER, Margarete – MAYNES, Mary J. (eds.) *Austrian Women in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Oxford : Berhahn Books, 1996, pp. 1–18.

57 MIHURKO PONIŽ, Katja. *Evine hčere. Konstruiranje ženskosti v slovenskem javnem diskurzu: 1848–1902*. Nova gorica : Univerza v Novi gorici, 2009, pp. 15, 35.

58 Ivan Tavčar (1851–1923) was a Slovenian writer, lawyer, and politician. He was one of the most important leaders of the Liberal Party until the end of the First World War. He is also one of the most renowned Slovenian writers.

59 SELIŠNIK, Irena. Zborovanja na Kranjskem v letih 1900–1913 in razmerja moči: “Ako hočemo biti zmagovavci moramo poučevati ljudstvo po shodih...” In *Zgodovinski časopis*, 2013, vol. 67, no. 1–2, p. 104.

60 Letno zborovanje “Slov. kršč. Soc. Zveze” v Mariboru. In *Slovenec*, 6 September 1905, p. 1.

61 Ženstvo in politika. In *Slovenski narod*, 19 and 20 June 1907, p. 1.

the woman question and that of political rights, as well as through lectures, women's attendance of political events organized by political parties, politicians' statements about their support of women's suffrage and through a broad network of women supporters and activists that spread the idea in their circles of friends and relatives.

### The case of the labour movement

The labour movement is usually understood as an atypical social movement considered to be more institutionalized<sup>62</sup> than, for instance, the woman's movement, which acted more like a "loose network of networks." In order to encompass the broad phenomenon of the movement in Carniola, a wide definition of the labour movement that includes cooperatives, political parties and labour unions will be employed here.<sup>63</sup> The labour movement was one of the strongest social movements of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Initially, it consisted mostly of tradesmen and qualified workers, which holds good for Europe and Carniola as well. Ideationally speaking, the movement was extremely versatile, as was the repertory of political actions that they called upon (self-help, cooperatives, strikes).<sup>64</sup> Naturally, the labour movement also operated in the international arena, with some authors referring to internationalism in the labour movement as even practice.<sup>65</sup>

Much like elsewhere in the monarchy, the labour movement emerged with the change of legislature in the sixties, in a period that saw the establishment of the first labour associations in Vienna and sporadic initiatives emerging in Ljubljana as well, e.g. *Izobraževalno društvo tiskarjev* (the Printers' Training Association) in 1869 and *Delavsko izobraževalno društvo* (the Workers' Training Association) in 1870.<sup>66</sup> Similarly to Austrian worker circles, there were a variety of different currents in Carniola as well (Lassallism, the Schulz Delitzsch circle). In the 1880s, Ljubljana saw vibrant activities among workers, who distributed flyers, gazettes and journals, and with them also anarchist and other political ideas. The workers' movement was even more radical elsewhere in the monarchy. Enthused about anarchist ideas, groups especially outside Carniola began resorting to terrorist violence. Carniolan authorities intensified pressure on the movement in Ljubljana and organized arrests and trials in a court of law. The Austrian government responded to the violence in more industrialized parts of the monarchy by adopting an Anti-Anarchist Act in 1886 out of fear of revolutionary turmoil and began to restrict the operation of trade unions in

62 FANTASIA, Rick – STEPHAN NORRIS, Judith. The Labor Movement in Motion In SNOW, David A. – SOULE, Sarah A. – KRIESI, Hanspeter (eds.) *Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*. Malden, MA : Blackwell Pub., 2004, p. 557; BERGER, Stefan. Labour Movements in Global Historical perspective: Conceptual Eurocentrism and Its Problems. In BERGER, Stefan (ed.) *The History of Social Movements in Global Perspective. A Survey*. London : Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, p. 386.

63 BERGER 2017, p. 386.

64 BERGER 2017, p. 388.

65 BERGER 2016, p. 9.

66 FISCHER, Jasna. *Čas vesolniga punta se bliža. Socialna in politična zgodovina delavskega gibanja v Ljubljani od začetkov leta 1889*. Ljubljana : Krt, 1984.

some places.<sup>67</sup> The improved economic situation, Eduard Taaffe's social reforms, the arrival of Viktor Adler, who united different currents within the workers' movement, and the establishment of the Austrian Social Democratic Party finally brought moderation.<sup>68</sup> Following the arrest of tailor Fran Železnikar, leader of the Ljubljana labour association, the workers' movement went somewhat dormant in Ljubljana and did not begin to organize again until the late eighties. The main impetus to the Carniolan workers' movement was provided by the Austrian Social Democratic Party, and previous to that by German workers' associations from Klagenfurt and Graz. Similarly to elsewhere in Europe, the movement was strongest in industrialized, urban areas.<sup>69</sup>

### The mobilization of workers

In the Austrian monarchy, it was customary for apprentices in skilled trades to set out for other areas of the monarchy to gain professional experience after passing their apprenticeship exams. In doing so, travelling journeymen picked up a range of political ideas. Journeyman years were regulated and encouraged by the monarchy, and in some places the state arranged free accommodation in group quarters for travelling apprentices. Consequently, German workers arrived in Ljubljana, bringing knowledge of new trade techniques and also revolutionary ideas as well, in some cases even fleeing to Carniola to avoid political prosecution.<sup>70</sup> One of them was 26-year-old Robert Wagner from Klagenfurt, who upon his arrival in Ljubljana quickly found people who shared his political leanings. Naturally, only those with a "well-formed political consciousness" joined the movement in this manner. Along with tailor Matija Kunc, Wagner led a more radical faction of *Delavsko izobraževalno društvo v Ljubljani* (the Ljubljana Workers' Training Association) upon the former's return to Carniola. Directed by the 19-year-old Kunc, the association became extraordinarily active and progressive. Wagner was fired and eventually forced to leave Ljubljana rather quickly because of pressure from authorities.

Just like in the case of women's movement, the mobilization of members in the labour movement frequently transpired via friends, acquaintances and co-workers. Melhijor Čobal, who later become one of the most prominent social democratic leaders, had a poor command of German when he set off to Leoben to work as a miner. He lived in a *Gesellenheim*, housing for unmarried miners, where he became the eighth dweller. He began to socialize with two fellow lodgers, Slovenes from Carinthia, who familiarized him with the labour movement and invited him to join.

We soon became good friends. I followed them everywhere, they were my guides in the new town, among foreign people. After 14 days they took me to an inn, taking every precaution ... At the inn, a meeting of the workers' reading association took place [...] My comrades actually took me to a lecture that the reading association had organized. A cobbler's assistant held a speech [...] He spoke about

67 KANN, Robert A. *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526–1918*. Berkeley; Los Angeles : University of California Press, 1974, pp. 348, 436.

68 BRUCKMÜLLER, Ernst. *Avstrijska zgodovina*. Ljubljana : Slovenska matica, 2017, p. 348.

69 BERGER 2017.

70 TUMA, Henrik. *Iz mojega življenja*. Ljubljana : Naša založba, 1937, p. 151; ŽORGA, Marcel. *Most*. Ljubljana : Slovenske železnice, 2015, p. 35.



the workers' movement, about wages, working hours [...] on our way home, my Carinthian comrades told me not to say anything about the meeting because it was dangerous and that such workers' meetings were prohibited and that our masters did not want the workers to meet and learn new things [...] 14 days later I attended a similar meeting. I listened to a speech about protecting young people, the speaker explained to us how young boys, children really, and girls were abused in factories and workshops. It made me feel sad because I felt the truth in me.<sup>71</sup>

Albin Prepeluh, a 16-year-old young man who would become the minister for social affairs in the Slovenian part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia after the war, was introduced to the workers' movement through his young friends, who noticed a flyer with an invitation to the "Pri Perlesu" beer hall while walking the empty streets of Ljubljana one night not wanting to return to the crowded home. There, he listened to political speeches despite not being 24 years of age and in doing so, he broke Austrian law.<sup>72</sup> Ivan Regent found his way into the JSDS in a somewhat different way. Having joined the Triestine Slovene theatre association, he felt out of place in Slovene bourgeois society. He became close with Karel Vrabec, who was at the time already active in the Triestine labour movement and who enrolled him in the party at his request.<sup>73</sup> Later, he would join the Communist party. It should be pointed out that the bulk of social democrat activists joined workers' political organizations at a very young age. The majority of research shows that young people were more inclined to join and be actively engaged in the movement, particularly those that had free time and flexible working hours.<sup>74</sup> Though, this is also indicative of the fact that political socialization within a family did not play a significant role and that its course was not linear.<sup>75</sup>

Mobilization into both the labour movement and the women's movement occurred on occasions that were often created by social networks, particularly if individuals were invited to join by people who were active members and were trusted, like friends or relatives. In this sense, social networks represented a bridge between the capacity of individuals (agency) and the structure or movement because social relations offered an opportunity to join on the basis of social interactions that are formed by networks.<sup>76</sup>

### Workers' political socialization

By joining the labour movement, activists set out on a path of hard work and learning, "I read and learnt as much as I could."<sup>77</sup> A watershed moment for total commitment to the movement was usually one's first successful speech at a rally,<sup>78</sup> and later on, the formation of a small group of like-minded people

71 ČOBAL, Melhijor. *Moji spomini*. In *Pod lipo*, 1924, vol. 1, p. 14.

72 PREPELUH, Albin. *Pripombe k naši prevratni dobi*. Ljubljana : Založba Univerzitetne tiskarne, 1938, p. 20.

73 REGENT, Ivan. *Spomini*. Ljubljana : Cankarjeva založba, 1967, p. 40.

74 ALMEIDA 2019, p. 108.

75 FILLIEULE, Olivier. Political socialization and social movements. In SNOW, David A. – DELLA PORTA, Donatella – KLANDERMANS, Bert – MCADAM, Doug (eds.) *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*. Hoboken, NJ : John Wiley & Sons, 2013, p. 3.

76 PASSY 2000, p. 21.

77 REGENT 1967, p. 44; PREPELUH 1938, p. 27.

78 GOLOUH, Rudolf. *Pol stoletja spominov. Panorama političnih bojov slovenskega naroda*. Ljubljana : Inštitut za zgodovino delavskega gibanja, 1966; PREPELUH 1938, p. 29.

which could include publishing a gazette.<sup>79</sup> Rapt in idealism, Rudolf Golouh had a somewhat anarchist disposition to begin with and after the Great War, he joined the Communist party. Along with some students, women and workers in Trieste, he dreamt about the utopian future in his gazette *Germinal*. He followed the phalansteries of Charles Fourier, Moore's *Utopia*, Cabet's *Travels in Icaria* and Owen's communes. Young people listened enthusiastically to lectures and some even considered moving to the USA to set up their own commune. He argued that they lived in a remote, ideal world and in a constant state of anticipating revolution,<sup>80</sup> "writing a great deal and having discussions until the small hours."<sup>81</sup> Or as another communist, Tone Habe, claimed in his memoirs, "there were books that had to be read, lectures that had to be attended and educated comrades from whom we learnt."<sup>82</sup>

Compared to the women's movement, the course of workers' political socialization was more disciplined and intensive, which triggered a stronger identification with the social movement.<sup>83</sup> Golouh thus argued that learning the doctrine felt like "entering a monastic school where priests teach novices certain passages from the Scripture over and over again and sing psalms, with each speech ending in almost identical words."<sup>84</sup> However, he quickly realized that it was necessary for workers to learn the basic concepts to prevent the movement from being broken into small pieces. Ideas and materials arrived from the Austrian headquarters in Vienna that directed and controlled the work of its branches throughout the monarchy.<sup>85</sup> One such periodical was *Volkswille* in the seventies. Six copies arrived in Ljubljana and were read by members of *Delavsko izobraževalno društvo*.<sup>86</sup> Habe thus described how immediately after World War I, he and a small number of like-minded peers led by a "tutor" discussed the basic theoretical concepts of Marxism. We can easily imagine similar discussions in small groups taking place even before the Great War and lecturers providing answers to numerous difficult questions. Even when a lecture was formally concluded, they continued the discussion and sometimes had disputes.<sup>87</sup> Young social democrats spent a great deal of time in their workplace; the party gave them new assignments and they became librarians or organizers.<sup>88</sup> By organizing plays, choir performances and parties that were interrupted by serious speeches, the party saw to its members' cultural life.<sup>89</sup>

The course of political socialization was not always smooth, "Our first fighters for the socialist idea were like prophets from a foreign land; they resembled a man that could transplant a palm tree in the Karst region without taking a look at the place and soil." The author of this memoir continues with substantiating

79 GOLOUH 1966, p. 15; PREPELUH 1938, p. 26.

80 GOLOUH 1966, p. 12.

81 GOLOUH 1966, p. 15.

82 HABE, Tone. *Pogled z malega sveta*. Ljubljana : DZS, 1959, p. 87.

83 PASSY 2000, p. 14.

84 GOLOUH 1966, p. 20.

85 GOLOUH 1966, p. 20.

86 KRISTAN, Anton. *O delavskem in socialističnem gibanju na Slovenskem do ustanovitve jugoslovanske socialno-demokratske stranke (1848–1896)*. Ljubljana : Zadržna založba, 1927, p. 93.

87 HABE 1959, p. 160.

88 URBAN, Cecilij. *Zgodba o Viku*. Koper : Založba Lipa, 1967, p. 137.

89 URBAN 1967, p. 139; GOLOUH 1966, p. 12; KRISTAN 1926, p. 93.

the reasons, “In their homeland, they promoted a professional, organizational and mental education that they had acquired abroad [...] they were Slovene by birth and, to a certain extent, by language but they were genuine Germans by their education and mentality.”<sup>90</sup> However, this cannot have been the only reason why they seemed strange, it was also likely because a whole structure of disciplined procedures was required to mobilize new members. Nevertheless, the case was similar with the women's movement; their meetings were aimed at empowering members to enter the public sphere, acquire skills for public speaking, political training and shaping political awareness. For example, metal worker Ignacij Mihevc joined the labour movement through his love for singing. He was a singer in the choir and he then learnt about the association's work. He took up literacy courses, participated in day-trips and outings under the red flag and after having attended a “public-speaking school” on Rožnik (a hill near Ljubljana), he became a political speaker himself.<sup>91</sup>

### **From the public to the political via the labour movement**

In the very beginning, the labour movement's activities were hindered by the authorities, who would not allow them to operate. In the early seventies, authorities banned the name of Slovenska Lipa (Slovene Lime Tree)<sup>92</sup> because of its strong national connotation. At the same time, despite being granted the permission to establish a political association, they were not allowed to engage in politics.<sup>93</sup> Workers' associations were subject to control by the authorities, banning many rallies and lectures, and overly active leaders were prosecuted. Fran Železnikar, an extremely active leader, was sentenced in court proceedings and Matija Kunc was conscripted. Intensive involvement in the labour movement thus brought about much suffering. Even in the nineties, the labour movement still faced difficulties in organizing rallies and establishing associations. Permits were rejected due to applicants' radical standpoints, and entire leaderships of workers' organizations were frequently arrested for reasons such as “organizers are foolish boys” or “penniless and unable to help people.”<sup>94</sup> Complaints addressed to the provincial governor from the local levels and filed by associations were often resolved; nevertheless, the district governor's office refused to grant permits for rallies. In 1892, the membership of the workers' political association totalled 46 people,<sup>95</sup> and activists were still subject to prosecution. Collecting membership fees resulted in jail time, and an activist was even imprisoned solely for receiving a postcard from Rijeka that mentioned a workers' organization. Arrests were even made immediately before the establishment of the JSDS.<sup>96</sup> However, by constantly disseminating translations of German brochures,<sup>97</sup> as well as organizing literacy or public-speaking courses,<sup>98</sup>

90 GOLOUH 1966, p. 62.

91 MIHEVC, Ignacij. Iz mojih mladih let. In *Pod lipo*, 1924, vol. 1, pp. 95–96, 111, 127–128.

92 KRISTAN 1927, p. 25.

93 KRISTAN 1927, p. 25.

94 KRISTAN 1926, p. 159.

95 KRISTAN 1926, p. 160.

96 KRISTAN 1926, p. 188.

97 TEKAVEC, Karol. Iz mojih zapiskov. In *Pod Lipo*, 1926, vol. 3, p. 64.

98 MIHEVC 1924, p. 95.

publishing Slovene periodicals, filing complaints to authorities and copying rules from German associations which guaranteed that the authorities would allow them, the JSDS shaped a sense of community and political awareness.<sup>99</sup> Upon the party's establishment, political rights became part of the JSDS programme, as did universal and equal suffrage. If in the past the worker was a "disfranchised creature" and social democracy "the bogeyman,"<sup>100</sup> the workers' associations did their job and left it to the party that merely intensified the political work.<sup>101</sup>

## Conclusion

Political socialization and mobilization were key both in the women's and in the labour movement because they strengthened social movements that served to transform the political discourse. In the course of a few years—unless the authorities actively interfered and restricted the operation of the movement—the political discourse became significantly more open and accepted, finally approving demands voiced by both groups that had been still rather marginal up to that point. The labour movement and women's movement operated in a similar manner in many respects, via social networks that were usually based on existing acquaintances and enabled individuals to join. Later, small groups were formed which empowered their members by giving them the necessary skills for public speaking and providing reasoning for their demands. External impulse was important as well, which implies in both cases, first and foremost, the Austrian context. Connections between the movements' members were strengthened by joint free-time activities and organized social events. There were also certain differences between these two movements, however, particularly as to the intensity of the labour movement's political socialization that was necessary because it triggered significantly greater pressure exerted by authorities and more severe consequences. At the same time, the labour movement paid great attention to the use of uniform concepts in the doctrine and objections to decisions made by the authorities that restricted them. Both movements adjusted to the different habitus of their social groups, e.g. in the search of premises that were rented by members of the SSŽD. Meanwhile in summertime, workers held public-speaking courses outdoors. Nevertheless, both movements' efforts were directed towards the same goal, namely their members' public-speaking and writing skills, which were honed by penning brochures and articles. In doing so, they transformed public discourse and made them more inclusive. In both cases, they were backed by a network of individuals who shared the same view of the world and sought to change it, which was regarded as the greatest importance.

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99 HISTORICUS. Pred tridesetimi leti. In *Pod lipo*, 1924, vol. 1, pp. 108–110, 121–124, 139–141.

100 TEKAVEC 1926, pp. 63, 64

101 TEKAVEC 1926, p. 112.