

Working at the Margins in Interwar Yugoslavia

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It is often maintained that research is solitary work. It may well be in some respects, but in my case it is evidently teamwork, which is carried out together with all the members of my family. My wife knows extremely well what I am talking about. Thank you, Neval.

INTRODUCTION

NOT MARGINAL AT ALL

“Strange jobs” is the intriguing title of a dossier that came into my hands while at the Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade.¹ This and many other dossiers in the same archival collections of the Ministry of Trade and Industry represent long and fascinating catalogs of old and new professions that bureaucrats classified as odd and problematic. What made a job “strange” in the eyes of the ministry staff? Was this opinion shared by other members of Yugoslav society? What were the cultural, economic, and legal premises of this point of view, and what were its social repercussions?

This study decided to take seriously those dossiers and to deal exactly with jobs that were considered somehow weird. More precisely, the book examines people who lived on the fringes of society and how their work shaped their relations with the state and the rest of the world in which they lived. Most of the protagonists of this history engaged in activities that were only partially recognized, from a legal and social point of view, as proper jobs. These socially marginal people and marginalized workers had to defend the precarious social, economic, and legal status of their income-oriented activities against new and renewed attempts by official authorities and private middle-class actors who aimed to normalize and discipline the world of work and the entire social fabric. The book also considers forms of assistance to as well as stigmatization and repression of those who did not work at all or earned too little to support themselves and thus needed help. In discussing this variegated world of socially marginal people at the fringes of the realm of work, this study employs the notion of *nonwork*.

The book examines a selection of socioprofessional case studies: prostitutes, midwives and folk healers, itinerant workers, beggars, and jobless people. I have chosen these case studies because they allow the analysis to consider the variegated spatiality of social marginality, examining examples of a public but illegitimate closed space (the brothel), a private closed space (the home, where women traditionally gave birth and where ill people were cured in the rural context), and the open space of the street (wandering artists, peddlers, and beggars) as well as legitimate public closed spaces

(soup kitchens and the hostels for jobless people). In these distinct spatial contexts specific legal, economic, and cultural dynamics took place, which introduce us to various forms of social marginality and the different experiences of the people involved. Whereas brothels, for instance, were abolished and the prostitutes criminalized, peddlers' associations obtained official acknowledgment, some poor people were arrested, and some unemployed people were aided. Furthermore, thanks to this selection of case studies, the book deals both with the urban and rural environments. In the first case, social marginalization came to the fore as a very widespread if not mass phenomenon in the interwar years; in the second case, social marginality is linked to more traditional practices that nonetheless underwent significant changes in the period under scrutiny. The reader thus has the possibility of observing Yugoslav "nonwork" from different points of view, that is, regarding very different spaces and cultural, social, and legal environments.

The selected case studies provide the possibility to have insight into the variegated world of social marginals and their jobs, when they had one, and also into the different actions the state undertook concerning them and the different reactions to them. In this regard, the narrative begins with cases of clear state repression and criminalization (of prostitution, popular midwifery, and folk healing), moving on to examples of more ambiguous official approaches (peddlers are the best example of this) and ending with paradigmatic cases of official support (hostels for unemployed people). The study attempts to reconstruct the varied spectrum of public action, considering both repression and the emerging welfare state, criminalization and public aid, semimarginalization and tolerance, and even legitimization.

The case studies also offer the opportunity to observe "from below" how different forms of collective agency were put into practice. While the chapter about beggars and poor people examines the agency of the middle class, showing how private initiatives were closely intertwined with public measures, the pages about the peddlers illustrate forms of organized action realized by the Yugoslav itinerant sellers themselves, who were able to not only protest but also exercise a successful lobbying of the ruling class.

The main aim of the book is to assess Yugoslavia's troubled social disciplining and engineering projects, exploring them through the prism of the world of socially marginal workers. The main hypothesis of the book is that the South Slavic regions entered a new and more radical stage in terms of social disciplining and engineering. The jobs that this study deals with are a good point of view for looking at this historical process because they were activities that raised social, political, and economic questions that in many ways troubled the Yugoslav middle and upper classes.

The normalization of the fringes of society and of work became very relevant from a political and social perspective in the context of interwar Yugoslavia. Especially for a newly born country, it was considered crucial to have good, loyal, working citizens. By

reconstructing the imagined margins of working society, it is possible to better understand the expectations of the ruling classes regarding the entire social fabric in terms of both labor activities and social behavior in general. By disciplining the borders of work, Yugoslavia's middle and political classes aimed at shaping a new society.

I argue that these social issues, which the historical research about the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes/Yugoslavia has heretofore been largely neglected, played a major role in the history of this country during the 1920s and 1930s. In other words, it has not been adequately stressed that in the eyes of many politicians, physicians, feminists, social reformers, and committed members of the civil society the so-called marginals were not marginal at all but instead triggered many academic debates, parliamentary discussions, ministerial work, municipal and local strategies, and public and private initiatives. In the framework of this sociopolitical ferment, the book shows how the "borders of work" were defined and thematized in the legal field, which political cultures determined the social representation of work and its hierarchies, and which discourses, institutions, assistance, and repressive practices were developed to help monitor or even punish those who found themselves at the borders of recognized work. These research issues pose a serious challenge to our knowledge of this country's interwar history.

This study examines the concrete effects of the discourses, laws, and policies conceived and employed in Yugoslavia. Combining perspectives "from above" and "from below," it is possible to observe the (re)actions of the marginalized themselves, their *agency* and forms of adaptation, and their self-perception. How did the new measures concretely affect the everyday lives of socially marginalized people, especially in terms of new social hierarchies? How did the "marginalized workers" react? As I show, they developed forms of negotiation and in some cases opposed the new measures. What can be anticipated here is that this study is not simply a history of social marginalization, repression, and passive social victims. This book also tells a story of active protests, unexpected compromises, and resistance.

The six chapters of this study explore paradigmatic cases of the social conflict that arose around nonwork in Yugoslavia between the world wars. The common goal of the chapters is to analyze, in new terms, the ambivalent modernizing efforts and biopolitical projects, the relationships between state and society, and normative discourses and practices in interwar Yugoslavia. By way of these socioprofessional case studies, this investigation aims at providing an overview of the processes of social inclusion and exclusion, gender discrimination, and social disciplining and popular resistance and how these processes were originally formulated, implemented, opposed, and sometimes revised in Yugoslavia between the two world wars.

Furthermore, the different socioprofessional case studies allow for the coverage of what I consider to be the main issues involved in the state-society-marginals

relationship under examination. The first main issue is the (production and protection of) collective health. The body is of clear centrality: be it through the risk of venereal diseases, an infection during birth, or lice carried to the city shelters by poor and unemployed people, what was always at stake was public hygiene. Middle and ruling classes, together with the “specialists” of the fight against the illnesses (i.e., modern physicians), were increasingly worried about older and modern menaces to the health of the collective body of society. The study provides some examples of how such anxieties could crystallize around specific issues and which answers were provided for solving the perceived problems.

The second main issue has to do with morality: the society envisaged by the interwar (Yugoslav) elite should not only be healthy but also morally upright. When societies discuss issues such as sexuality and the duty to work, they certainly consider medical and economic arguments but are also always producing moral discourses. The following pages will detect the specific features of interwar Yugoslav discourses where nonwork was concerned, and the chosen socioprofessional case studies will be well suited to that purpose.

The third main issue involves the investigated marginal jobs that provide excellent material for reflecting on the issue of modernity and the manifold ways it was interpreted. This was evident when medical questions were discussed: in that case, the goal to “modernize” society was evidently crucial in orienting official policies. But the issue of modernity was also central in more surprising contexts, as when peddlers defended the legitimacy of their profession. Therefore, the six chapters will show how such reflections were delineated differently depending on the specific case, at the same time also exposing some common traits.

With a focus on the post–World War I postimperial developments, the crisis of liberalism in interwar Europe, and the dimension of “nonwork,” this study hopes to offer an innovative contribution to the cultural and social history of Yugoslavia. The existing scholarship on interwar Yugoslavia has extensively dealt with nation-building projects, yielding excellent results in that research field, but has devoted little attention to social inequalities, social marginalities, and social engineering projects. In other words, most historical works on interwar Yugoslavia focus on the political contest between centralists and anticeutralists, economic frictions, and the attempts to find compromises between the various national groups.² As a result, existing scholarship on interwar Yugoslavia, written during the socialist and postsocialist period and both inside and outside the Yugoslav space, has skillfully investigated the intellectual and political history of these years but without consistently taking into consideration labor history, the social marginals, and the social conflict broadly speaking.³ Scholarly attention has also been attracted by the educational issues and cultural politics of this period, topics that are again often linked to nation-building issues.⁴

This study takes a new approach to Yugoslav interwar history by devoting much attention to social inequalities and modern forms of social control, linking political and intellectual history with social, labor, gender, and cultural history. The analysis investigates both discourses and practices and the upper educated classes as well as the popular classes, linking the official dimension of the public authorities with the activism of civil society and the activities of socially marginalized people. This will allow the opening of new insights into the relationship between state and society and the Yugoslav practices of democracy in the framework of the European interwar crisis of liberalism, observed from the margins of society. The theoretical and methodological approach, together with the research issue itself, represents an innovative contribution to the historical research about the first Yugoslavia.

A gender-sensitive examination of nonwork and social marginality is an integral part of my main research approach and is applied throughout the entire book. Many of the protagonists of this book are women. More than that, some of the analyzed jobs were typically female (the popular midwifery, for instance, as well as the regulated prostitution). On the contrary, bear leaders were only men, as were peddlers generally. Finally, some other occupations were shared by both sexes, such as begging, and both men and women could be unemployed. Furthermore, not only was nonwork itself markedly gendered, but so too were the public-private actions regarding it, as was the case, for instance, of welfare schemes designed only for men. The book thus constantly refers to the gender dimension of Yugoslav nonwork.

Interwar Yugoslav history and its developments in terms of social disciplining, welfare schemes, and many public and private discourses and initiatives cannot be properly understood without taking the work/nonwork relation into serious consideration. This allows for a better understanding of the everyday lives of a huge number of (common) people, considering both the many nonworkers and all those citizens and institutions that interacted with them. What emerges is a fascinating world, a space of values, emotions, ideas, and practices that played an important role in shaping interwar Yugoslav history.

THE MODERN DUTY TO WORK

In recent decades labor history has been profoundly revised. This field traditionally covered by the history of the workers' movement has expanded to include gender, cultural, transnational, and global perspectives.⁵ Furthermore, this revision underlined the historical relevance of a wide range of occupations that heretofore had not been fully explored. Indeed, one may read that the "classical," that is, the industrial proletariat, was always "surrounded by, and intermingled with, a variegated 'semi-proletariat' of

peddlers, sharecroppers, domestic workers, prostitutes, self-employed workers, beggars and scavengers.”⁶ It is quite a heterogeneous amalgam of professions and social protagonists that has therefore come to be known as a “multiversum” of work and of workers.⁷

In the framework of the process of rethinking labor history, historians have widely criticized and revised the alleged “normality” of certain contractual forms and typologies of labor relationships.⁸ This is one of the long-term products of the criticism raised since the 1970s about the notion of “working class” and had wide-ranging repercussions for historiography.⁹ It is not by accident that those occupations included in the semantic field of nonwork to a large extent form the *Lumpenproletariat* to whom Marx and Engels refused to give the status of “class.”¹⁰ Neither “proletarians” nor “workers” in the strictest sense, these people were seen as historical actors on the margins of not only the world of labor but also society in general and even of historical progress. Inherently contrarevolutionary, they represented not potential allies of the socialist and proletarian revolution but instead enemies to be fought. It is unsurprising that Marxist-inspired labor historiography has traditionally expressed little interest in those social actors, instead focusing on what was considered the bulk of the working class: the industrial workers and trade unions. Even though this began to change in the 1970s, it has become a central research subject for the new labor history only in the last two decades. This study aims to contribute to this academic debate, focusing on the intersection between work and social marginality.

Given the premises of this study, it seems opportune to ask how one terms what is considered on the margins of the field of “proper work.” Is there a notion that could summarize the fringes of the socially, legally, administratively, and economically recognized work? To denominate means to define, and this is already an integral part of the analysis. The question therefore becomes how to study the boundaries of work.

As the reader already knows, this book makes use of the notion of nonwork. But in order to understand what is considered nonwork in a given period in any given place or social context, one needs to know what, under those same circumstances, is considered work. And the meaning socially, culturally, and legislatively ascribed to work depends on—and greatly varies within—historical periods and their respectively varying social and geographical contexts. While there do exist many remarkable general historical overviews of the topic of work,¹¹ very few comparable overviews have been written regarding its margins.¹²

Limiting the reflection to the modern age (the nineteenth and twentieth centuries), it was in this period that a modern formalization of work took place in Europe, linked with the growth of nineteenth-century industrial capitalism. During these political-economic developments, Western European countries elaborated what was perceived as a norm in the labor field, whose ideal type was industrial waged work, and stood for the embodiment of labor relations that have become “normal.” It was ideally characterized

by clearly defined working places and hours, based on a salary, and therefore by a kind of formalization and regularity. What was happening throughout the long nineteenth century was thus a codification of work that attempted to determine the boundaries of the latter.¹³

The definition of formalized work—and its consequent distinction from all the “rest”—was linked to the birth of the modern welfare state, signifying among other things the introduction of social insurance, health insurance, pension schemes, (later) maternity leave, and so on.¹⁴ At the same time, modern labor law and the modern workers’ representative system, such as the trade unions, came into being.¹⁵ All these developments were closely connected to only certain forms of work, above all industrial work.

Something also changed in the modern era regarding the ethics of and the duty to work. There have always been since antiquity moral values attached to labor, and working has always been a duty and a need for the main part of the population, being imposed by social conditions and necessary for making a living. Yet what happened during the nineteenth century—and in some countries such as Yugoslavia, as we will see, during the early twentieth century—was something new, because work was rooted in a series of unprecedented rights and duties. Different political cultures—liberal, socialist, and later Catholic social teaching—interpreted work, beyond all their divergences, as the tool for the emancipation and fulfillment of individuals, allegedly allowing them to surpass the condition of socioeconomic subalternity and dependence as serfs.¹⁶

For many European liberals of the nineteenth century such as John Stuart Mill, work must be conceived as the tool for being liberated from material needs as well as despotism. In order to avoid new forms of waged serfdom, the state was supposed to normalize, monitor, and manage the *right to work*. Proceeding from very different ideological premises, the European socialist tradition came to analogous conclusions: the main political aim should be to ensure adequate labor conditions in order to eliminate modern forms of workers’ exploitation but also for allowing human subjects to properly realize their lives. Furthermore, and again from a very different point of view, also in Christian cultures work not only played a traditionally relevant and positive role (following the *ora et labora* principle) but also at the end of the nineteenth century acquired new values: work must be reevaluated and considered crucial for defending the dignity of the individual, given the individualist modern society on the one hand and the class-based socialist models on the other.¹⁷

What must be emphasized here is that increasingly during the second half of the nineteenth century, different political cultures converged around the crucial role of labor for shaping modern society. Work was not a personal issue; it was instead the foundation of any modern political model. Beyond all the ideological differences, the higher/lower degree of political participation by citizens in those envisaged societies was always based

on work, and many nineteenth-century intellectuals shared the idea that in one way or another future states would have to guarantee that everyone would work.

Work thus progressively acquired the status of a tool for reaching not only individual but also collective, social, and even national goals: one had to work not just for the master or for one's own family, as had been the case in the past. Now workers increasingly had to also work for the community, the country, and the nation. This study will try to better qualify these general assumptions, applying them to a concrete historical case: interwar Yugoslavia. But it is important to be aware of this general European background, where the *duty to work* was reconsidered by many historical actors who began to closely link labor with democracy, freedom, revolution, human emancipation, social and political rights, citizenship, and nation- and state-building projects. Labor acquired a new centrality in cultural, legal, and political ways. Everybody was asked to make their contribution, in terms of work, for the collective good. A new duty was born: the (modern) duty to have a (normal) job.

But what about those who were not recognized workers? If labor was increasingly attached to social and political rights and to modern citizenship, to decide who was “in” and who was “out” the sphere of recognized work became an urgent and politically relevant issue. To define the borders of the working community meant to shape the society of the future. Examining such social engineering projects thus represents an excellent way of investigating the formation processes of a modern state and society in the case study under examination, Yugoslavia.

CIRCUMSCRIBING A NOTION: NONWORK

It has certainly become clear so far that this study does not deal with (in)activities that could intuitively and legitimately be described as “nonwork,” such as leisure, time off, and voluntary work. In modern times, all of these too underwent a further process of formalization, with “time off” defined as a field clearly distinct from that of working.¹⁸ Moreover, related notions such as idleness have changed and evolved over the past two centuries,¹⁹ and modern voluntary work has also developed, as in the field of social aid.²⁰ One further extreme form of anomalous work is forced labor, which has increasingly attracted the attention of scholars.²¹

Focusing on activities meant to provide income and intersecting social marginality, this study will not deal with many potential nonworking activities, which are beyond the scope of this book. The following pages do not deal with the nonwork of the rich, who live on private income, or with the structural irregularity of the businesses of freelance professionals. This is the reason why “precarity” and the “informal sector” are not

adequate categories for describing the “underworld” analyzed in this book: neither of the two necessarily conveys a condition of social marginalization. Furthermore, they are more suitable for analyses, which have slightly different research aims than this study. In the case of precarity, excellent recent works explain the potential of this category for not only sociological and economic studies but also historical investigations.²² There are evident theoretical, methodological, and sometimes empirical intersections with the notion of nonwork, which resulted first of all in the deconstruction of the idea of “standard employment relationships.” Nonetheless, use of the term “precarity,” generally paired with the term “flexibility,” tends to stress aspects that are not at the core of this study, such as the temporal noncontinuity of work and the increased dependence of workers on employers and policymakers.

Regarding the “informal sector,” what is generally understood with the use of this category are activities that take place outside socially hegemonic and formalized rules, closely linked with working conditions, social protection, and rules of competition.²³ The range of included activities is therefore quite wide, from the ordinary, including everyday activity of the poor (in order to “make ends meet”), controversial and even semilegal activities (such as expense-account padding and “creative bookkeeping” of large firms), and the opposite extreme: the generation of billions by international crime networks.²⁴ The category of informal sector, marked from the beginning by a notable semantic elasticity, was later further broadened, leading to an “expanded definition” with the result that “the informal economy is not a set of survival activities performed by destitute people.”²⁵

On the contrary, this study focuses on those occupations socially and legally not regarded as respectable, intertwined with a form of economic and social destitution. They laid at the margins of normal work but without completely surpassing the border that distinguishes the field of work from the domain of evident and hard criminal activities. It is exactly these “strange jobs” and the labor inactivity that this study deals with, that is, with the fringes of normal and normative work.

This is the reason why peasants are not considered *per se*. Even though they clearly did not have contracted jobs and although they necessarily worked according to natural and not regular schedules, they are not considered marginals from a social point of view. Agricultural work may be hard, and it certainly was in interwar Yugoslavia, but it was not considered a miserable, dishonorable, or suspicious job, according to common opinion and that of state authorities. Similarly, common notions used in historical research such as “outcasts” and “castaways” did not define with precision the research topic of this study, which is not about social marginality *per se* but instead is about its entwining with labor. This is why I will recur to the notion of nonwork. The illustration in Figure I.1 helps clarify this point.

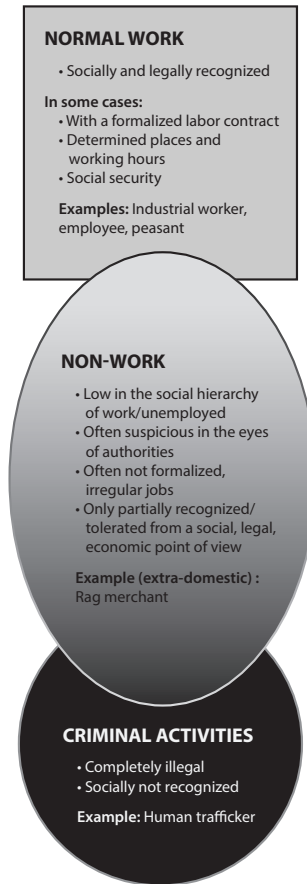


Figure I.1. Nonwork as an analytical tool. Source: Elaborated by the author.

The nonwork in this study is thus neither leisure nor free time, nor does it belong to the private sphere as opposed to the professional sphere. On the contrary, the nonwork investigated by this study belongs exactly to the domain of *work broadly speaking* except that it is located at its very margins (see Figure I.1). A certain intrinsic vagueness that characterizes the notion of nonwork will prove particularly stimulating for the investigation of social phenomena that are ambiguous in many respects. In other words, in the “non–self-evidence” of nonwork one can see its strength, as “it raises a doubt with relation to that social fact which seems evident,” that is “work,” enabling and encouraging us to consider it critically.²⁶ The methodological purpose of this theoretical choice is not to ghettoize some activities, distancing them from more typical jobs, but instead to precisely focus on the issue of their legal and social marginalization.

Among the first critics of the rigid dichotomies between work and its Other were the spokespersons of the feminist movement.²⁷ It is in this context and certainly not by chance that even in academic literature the use of the very notion of nonwork became no longer episodic but instead became frequent and reasoned.²⁸ These intellectuals gave form to a criticism toward the ideology of the “male breadwinner” and the lack of social-legal-economic “acknowledgment” of domestic labor as an integral and crucial element of the family and the social economy. In order to express the combination of generative, (re)productive, and domestic “tasks,” the tendency was nonetheless to use expressions such as “housework” and “subsistence work.”²⁹

During the second half of the twentieth century and stemming particularly from the economic crisis of the 1970s, this awareness has heightened, in both the humanities and the social sciences, regarding an expansion of the semantic field of work. Attention has shifted progressively from the factory toward society and from wage work toward the dense interaction of numerous typologies of economic activities, official and unofficial, formal and informal. There are a significant number of factors that have determined all along the functioning of a family economy, which has led to speaking of “makeshift economies,” that is, patchworks of quite different incomes.³⁰

Political philosophy—one needs only to consider the operaist and postoperaist branch—has also focused intensively on the fragmentation and reformulation of work in recent decades and in particular on contemporary precarious occupational forms in relation to which the very notion of nonwork is frequently used.³¹ A different—and for the purposes of this study misleading—approach is often adopted in psychological studies, whose debate has been marked by uncertainties regarding how to clearly distinguish the field of work from that of nonwork. But in this case, as in many other research branches, the tendency was and is to couple nonwork with private life or with unemployment, in theoretical opposition to (a narrow understanding of) work.³²

Finally, the approach recently adopted by many interdisciplinary works and particularly in the field of the sociology of labor is more useful for the argumentation I am developing. In addition to the classical notion of precarious labor relations, labor sociologists make reference to nonwork in order to refer precisely to those countless forms of “atypical” work that characterize the post-Fordist age: project-related contracts, temporary jobs, and minijobs. They encompass the possibility of a contract, but they also embody forms of labor relationships that elude labor law and that deprive the “pseudoworkers” of organizational systems, mechanisms of representation, and social protection.³³

This whole interdisciplinary approach, which is in line with the already mentioned recent theoretical developments in the field of labor history, has deeply inspired this study. The use that is made of this category by the existing interdisciplinary research is therefore of both a provocative and an analytical nature and aims at deconstructing

the normative aspects of some interpretations of work. The goal is to extend the field of work in order to include several forms of occupations and activities, above all non-formalized and somehow irregular jobs, and to pay great attention to forms of social discrimination attached to them.

SOCIAL ENGINEERING AND LABOR HISTORY

This study is evidently deeply indebted to the scholarship inspired by Michel Foucault about modern disciplining techniques, biopolitics, and governmentality.³⁴ In order to apply that rich scholarship to the historical context of interwar Europe, it is useful to speak of social engineering, thus stressing the technical dimension of many social and political theories that strongly promoted state interventionism in the social field with the aim of rescuing an alleged natural social order.³⁵ These kinds of social theories were the answer to the perceived negative effects of the modern “society” (*Gesellschaft*), and they aimed at reestablishing a genuine “community” (*Gemeinschaft*). It was a way to (re) instate a social order through modern means, with the aim of improving the existing societies. The general framework of such theories is the “ambivalent modernity” that Zygmunt Bauman has masterfully explored. The “gardening state,” using his famous metaphor, was gradually charged with the mission of distinguishing the citizens in terms of “good plants” and “useless weeds.”³⁶

What is particularly relevant for this study is to consider social engineering projects not only through their most dramatic versions but also as more nuanced historical experiences. Social engineering must not necessarily lead to a radicalized form of biopolitics in the context of extreme dictatorial or totalitarian regimes. It is important, as this study tries to do, to investigate how in the historical experiences of interwar Europe social planning projects of this kind were differently conceived and implemented and how the governing classes tried to rule the lives of the people without also killing or violently repressing them and their habits.

The measures taken by the Yugoslav political class and by the members of its middle class reveal that Yugoslavia was well in line with the ongoing European developments in terms of social disciplining and engineering. Contrary to a widespread narrative that portrays the Balkan countries as irremediably backward in many socioeconomic fields, I hope that this study will show that Yugoslavia was actually modern when it came to the disciplining of social marginals and the efforts of shaping a society made of good working citizens.

This study will try not to focus solely on the administrative and institutional level with a top-down approach but instead will adopt an actor-centered perspective, which

considers the agency of the several actors involved. One of the aims is to highlight relevant forms of popular resistance, not necessarily in terms of ideologized and institutionalized mass protests but rather as both formal and informal popular responses, as forms of adaptation and accommodation to the newly introduced official measures and policies, looking for what James C. Scott called “pauper agency.”³⁷ This perspective will help in having some insights into the popular values attached to the jobs of marginal people and their collective actions, in line with what Edward P. Thompson termed the “moral economy” of popular protest.³⁸

Not only did the marginal workers react, but, as we will see, so too did other private citizens, such as by writing petitions in support of some marginalized workers. Finally, members of the elite, leading personalities of philanthropic associations, social reformists, and members of the medical profession and of feminist organizations also commented and actively intervened in the social and political life of the country. The interactions between the representatives of different social groups, economic interests, and political cultures and worldviews produced a dense network of alliances and frictions.

I will sometimes refer to such interactions using the notion of social conflict but considering it, again, as not reduced to the classical negotiations between representatives of the industrial workers movement and those of the entrepreneurial and governing classes. In line with the broadening of the research spectrum of labor history, not focused only on the industrial working class, the social sciences have deeply widened the research field of social conflict in order to include a great variety of social frictions.³⁹ Thus, in this study I will frame as social conflict the broad sphere of conflictual relations and social tensions brought to the fore by (non)work.

Are the actors investigated in this book members of a social class? After decades of scholarly debate about how to define class, this book will make use of an operational definition of class and work. Instead of theoretically determining clear, fixed borders of these notions, I prefer to concretely observe the dynamic social contrasts, which this investigation will document. It will be the single cases of social conflict that will delineate the collective actors and their cultural, social, and political positioning as well as their social action.⁴⁰ The investigation will thus enlighten the spaces of confrontation, practices of differentiation, and the old, new, and renewed social hierarchies produced by nonwork in interwar Yugoslavia.

For an investigation of the social conflict and the boundaries of work, the rich tradition of social history and history “from below” is of great importance, as is the international historical scholarship that has dealt with pauperism, deviance, and the mechanism of social control.⁴¹ Social marginality is not unchangeable and predetermined: it changes under the influence of great breaks in the sociocultural and economic relationships. Regarding the Yugoslav space, as we will see, it was only in the first half of the twentieth century that it experienced what the cities of Western Europe had

experienced already during the nineteenth century as a consequence of the process of industrialization: a new divide was traced between the “working” and the “dangerous” classes.⁴² And it was precisely the work or, better said, some forms of formalized and recognized work that shaped the modern border between respectable workers and the socially marginalized actors. When we speak about interwar Yugoslavia, this border still needs to be made “visible.”

One of the reasons for this historiographical void is that labor history about South-eastern Europe seems to have been quite an underresearched field,⁴³ an issue that clearly went “out of fashion” by 1989.⁴⁴ Previously in the 1970s and 1980s, there had been a considerable interest in the classical topics of labor history, examining the labor movements and left-wing political parties, an approach that has been applied, to a lesser extent also to the late Ottoman Empire.⁴⁵

More methodologically updated topics and approaches to labor history can be found not so much in the studies about interwar Southeastern Europe but instead regarding the next periods.⁴⁶ Forced labor, for example, has emerged as a fruitful research field related to eastern and southeastern Europe, mainly with a focus on World War II.⁴⁷ Issues linked with unemployment, everyday life, informality, the women’s question, and domestic labor emerge in the works about the socialist regimes established in many Southeast European countries after World War II. This research has recently produced a relevant scholarship on labor in socialist and postsocialist countries.⁴⁸ One of the possible developments of the research on labor in Southeastern Europe is to better link the post-1945 period with the interwar years, anchoring the investigation in an expanded notion of work and, as proposed by this study, intertwined with social marginality.

Finally, one can note that international labor history, despite its effort to think “globally,” covers the Southeastern European region with difficulty and that “southeast (and east European) types of labor ought to become a much more substantial part” of the broad concept of “work” used by global labor history.⁴⁹ The inclusion of these regional experiences would allow us to have at our disposal relevant elements for a comparative, transnational, and entangled history of work and of the various social groups of workers. The labor history of the entire twentieth-century Southeastern Europe could thus offer useful material for a properly global labor history.

(LIMITED) HISTORICAL LEGACIES

Interwar Yugoslavia is an excellent case study for such a historical investigation, first of all because this newly established state brought together territories with quite different historical legacies, which provides the possibility for internal comparisons to observe continuities and changes as well as understand how these historical legacies have

been elaborated in the first twenty years after the end of World War I. To be more precise, the first Yugoslav state brought together two postimperial spaces—Habsburg and Ottoman—alongside two relatively young nation-states that had also previously belonged to or been linked with the Ottoman Empire: the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Montenegro.

This postimperial background raises relevant research questions regarding the relationship between continuities and changes. In the past, it was mainly investigated by focusing on the so-called economic backwardness of this region, which provided a Southeast European version of the debate about the historical roots of economic backwardness.⁵⁰ In more recent times the question of historical legacies has been approached in an innovative and nuanced way, covering the economic field as well as the cultural and social fields and focusing on the post-Ottoman and post-Habsburg transition. As has brilliantly been shown in recent scholarship, the disappearance of a common state framework caused both ruptures and continuities. The disintegration of a multinational common economic and cultural space did not mean the simple vanishing of infrastructures, legal traditions, economic systems, and cultural attitudes. As convincingly illustrated through many case studies, the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire partly survived their deaths, and deep traces of this can still be noticed in the post-World War I nation-states.⁵¹

The question of the postimperial legacies applies to the entire region of east central and Southeast Europe, and the investigation of historical cleavages induced by long-term administrative and state borders has shown their strong persistence even after they were formally abolished.⁵² This scholarship opened new perspectives on the interwar period that allowed for the rediscovery of multidimensional postimperial traces in the newly established successor states as well as how these imperial legacies even inspired some new institutions of supranational governance, the League of Nations above all.⁵³

These approaches have begun to be applied to the interwar Yugoslav case too.⁵⁴ What has emerged is that interwar Yugoslavia collected cultural, administrative, legal, and economic legacies, which clearly influenced at least the first years of its existence, linked to both the Habsburg and the Ottoman experiences. The interwar years seem to have been a prolific laboratory where those legacies were adjusted and adapted to the new historical circumstances, with outcomes that vary depending on the question examined.

This study confirms the relevance of the historical and specifically postimperial legacies, which were palpable especially in the first decade of the investigated period, first of all in institutional and legal terms (see, for instance, the inherited brothels and the licensed prostitution system in Chapter 2, the humanitarian private associations and the first municipal welfare institutions in Chapters 5 and 6, and the legal norms and

practices regarding the peddlers in Chapter 3), not to mention many sociodemographic and cultural elements that shaped interwar Yugoslav society.

Yet from such considerations derives a relevant caveat, because these legacies must not be overestimated, especially considering the 1930s when they could evolve, be reshaped, and consistently weaken. The issue of imperial legacies thus merits being further investigated and qualified. Since it is obvious that there were many and variegated conditions inherited from imperial experiences, the question I would like to raise is to what extent imperial legacies can explain Yugoslav interwar history of social marginalization and control. And more precisely, is it possible to determine how long they lasted?

The hypothesis of this study is that the influences of historical legacies must not be generalized and overemphasized because they had essential as well as temporal limits. As I hope to demonstrate in the following pages, the years between the two world wars were a time of genuine transition in many respects. The pre-Yugoslav history obviously played a central role in the years between the two world wars, but it is necessary to deeply investigate this period in order to better understand the precise combination of continuities and novelties. As a result, the interwar time will acquire a less static image, and we will move away from how it is often described with a more dynamic evolution and relevant anticipations of what will happen during World War II or even later, at least where marginal workers and socially marginal people are concerned.

The Yugoslavia that emerges from this study shows its own form of (Balkan) modernity. Even though it lagged behind some Western European countries in terms of industrialization processes, South Slav society seems to be fully integrated into those inter- and transnational processes that developed social norms and practices regarding work/nonwork and social marginality. Even in the absence of a strong working class and of the socioeconomic conditions of an industrialized country, interwar Yugoslavia deployed modern forms of social tensions and modern social interactions for managing them in terms of both social engineering and collaboration between state and civil society, as will be better described in Chapter 1.

The analysis relies on examples derived from micro case studies, mainly from Zagreb, Belgrade, and Sarajevo but sometimes including smaller towns, such as Mostar, and villages. The three main historical legacies, post-Habsburg, post-Ottoman, and the Serbian state independence, that marked the interwar Yugoslav experience are embodied in the three chosen cities that provide excellent case studies for intra-Yugoslav comparison. Zagreb, Belgrade, and Sarajevo, geographically located at the northwest, northeast, and central south of the country and the regions where they are situated that are today's Serbia, Bosnia, and Croatia have been selected in order to consider the cultural, social, and economic cleavages that characterized the Yugoslav interwar state and society (more in Chapter 1 about this). Furthermore, all the micro- and mesoconsiderations are combined with the integrative analysis of the existing academic literature



Figure 1.2. The Banovine in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 1929.

about other Yugoslav regions, thus sketching internal Yugoslav comparisons and intertwining the local level with the national one.

The investigation does not focus solely on one religious or ethnic group or on only one of the Yugoslav subregions. This approach allows me to observe how the examined marginal workers of different provinces and the respective middle classes dealt with the interwar challenges concerning nonwork. The cross-regional, cross-ethnic, and cross-confessional comparison provides intriguing results, showing consistent analogies and commonalities. This study presents several examples of discourses, anxieties, and reactions that have proved to be markedly transnational in Yugoslav terms that intersect with all the biggest Yugoslav ethnic groups. In other words, the topics investigated and the historical actors involved show a relatively high degree of what has been aptly termed “national indifference”: an attitude that emerges when the national issue was/is not among the cultural and political priorities of individuals and social groups who show a more ambiguous and pragmatic relationship with national identities. Therefore, the national dimension cannot necessarily be assumed as the main explanatory factor in historical research, but it should be deconstructed and combined with other social and cultural processes.⁵⁵

Even though national frictions as well as the various nation-building projects of the 1930s, such as the introduction of a royal dictatorship in 1929, certainly played a role in the story told in this book, the national issue seems not be able to adequately explain the Yugoslav history of social engineering concerning (non)work. On the contrary, it is instead a high number of (other) domestic and international factors that coalesced in every action undertaken regarding a specific “strange job.” What actually proves to be extremely interesting is the *convergence* of different Yugoslav elites and local experience around ideas and practices that were evidently held in common. The countrywide developments of the 1930s cannot be explained solely as the effect of authoritarian rule, as an imposition from above: they merged with local experiments and fruitfully interacted with expectations coming from below, from many members of local state institutions such as health authorities, local municipalities, police representatives, and sometimes even the marginals themselves. Interwar Yugoslav members of the middle and popular classes shared many views and attitudes where some kinds of nonwork were concerned.

It is therefore possible to discern a Yugoslav history of nonwork. Beyond the endless local and ethnoconfessional peculiarities, which could and should be further investigated, a main cross-regional story seems to emerge. The Yugoslav framework of the narrative is thus established by the existence of a common state but is also derived from the investigated phenomena. Not only for the socially marginal people were the ethnonational distinctions not the priority in their everyday lives, but it seems that even the members of the middle and upper classes—otherwise involved in many ethnically driven conflicts—were prone to be aligned when it was about social engineering. It was

not necessary to explicitly theorize a supranational alliance or to formally institutionalize the collaboration: it was more a shared space of culture, representations, and expectations firmly rooted in the macroregional as well as in the cultural, social, economic, and even political European context, as will be explained in Chapter 1.

The numerous Yugoslav men and women involved in the interwar history of non-work and whose stories are narrated in this book contributed together, even if from very different socioeconomic positions, to give a new shape to Yugoslav society between the two world wars and to define its place in interwar Europe.

I

THE CHALLENGES OF THE FIRST YUGOSLAVIA

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CLEAVAGES

The political map of Europe after 1918 registered several new states in Central and Southeastern Europe. Among them was the Yugoslav state, whose postimperial character was reflected in a deep heterogeneity in terms of monetary, taxation, infrastructural, and legal systems, inherited from the seven historic entities that had come together: the former Habsburg regions such as the Vojvodina, Slovenian, and Croatian provinces; the former Ottoman regions such as Macedonia (incorporated by Serbia only in 1912) and Bosnia-Herzegovina (which had also been a *de facto* since 1878 and since 1908 a formal Habsburg province); and the two kingdoms of Montenegro and Serbia. The consequence was that the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (of Yugoslavia since 1929) brought together territories with very different institutional, economic, and cultural traditions.

The establishment of this new South Slav state in 1919 challenged the administrative and political fragmentation inherited from the previous era. Among the most relevant features the new country had to face was a variegated and disconnected economic landscape. The northern regions, which are the Slovenian, Croatian, and northern Serbian (Vojvodina) ones, could rely on a fertile agriculture and a prewar industrialization in its early stages. World War I and its aftermath had damaged the largely agricultural economies throughout the entire territory of the new kingdom, and the same can be said for the infrastructures and the broken railway connections, especially in Serbia.¹ Notwithstanding the agriculture and land reform introduced in 1919–1921, a strong regional disparity between the grain surplus areas in the north and the grain deficit areas to the south persisted throughout the entire interwar period.²

Some urban centers, Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade above all, experienced an industrial growth in the interwar years. Despite all the difficulties, between 1919 and 1938 more than two thousand factories were built, mainly in Slovenia (47%), Croatia and Slavonia (37%), Serbia (24%), and, to a lesser extent, Macedonia and Kosovo (14%).³

One effect of these industrial developments in the northern urban environments was an increased trend in domestic migration from the countryside: men and women left their villages and moved to the cities with the hope of finding a job and better living conditions.

Post–World War I economic developments therefore induced a high internal mobility, which partly shaped the living and working conditions of the people examined in this study. Whether it be the young girl who recently moved to the city without means and began to sell sex, the man who knocked on the door of a hostel for unemployed people, or the itinerant magician who moved across the countryside and the suburbs, it is important to consider their extremely fragile socioeconomic status and the difficulties they had in navigating the troubled waters of the interwar years.

Yugoslavia firmly remained throughout the interwar period a mainly agricultural country, as shown by the data on the occupational structure in 1921 and 1931. While at the beginning of the 1920s 81.1 percent of the population were peasants, and only 8.5 percent were employed in industry and crafts, this situation had changed ten years later but not significantly (respectively, 76.6% and 10.7%).⁴ The scarcity of arable land was a major issue for all the Balkan countries, but Yugoslavia seemed to be in one of the most critical situations among them.⁵ Considering that two-thirds of the peasants worked on very small landholdings of less than five hectares (12.5 acres), this means that a big share of the total population was living in very poor conditions.⁶ The descriptions of everyday life in the countryside in those years depict an existence made of drastic malnutrition, unhygienic living conditions, and curable diseases that caused death.⁷

After a short boom of the Yugoslav economy in the first half of the 1920s, the first signs of economic stagnation and of the worldwide agrarian crisis became evident. The prices for agricultural produce began to fall in 1925 because of this crisis, and many peasant families found themselves in debt. The population growth experienced in those first postwar years was not accompanied by an adequate economic growth, a trend that lasted throughout the entire interwar period. Between the end of World War I and the beginning of World War II, the population grew from 12 million to 15.6 million, with a growth rate much higher than, for instance, in Italy and more than twice than in Germany.⁸ At the same time, the domestic Yugoslav economic growth was very low (about 2% per year), producing a chronic discrepancy between working-able people and job offers on the labor market in both the urban and rural contexts.⁹

Not only did the majority of Yugoslav peasants, as mentioned above, own small-sized lands, but they also lacked knowledge, technology, and the cultural attitudes in order to properly profit from the human resources at their disposal, with the effect of generating the so-called rural underemployment, at that time defined as “overpopulation”: too many people inhabited the rural areas, and apparently there was not enough work for all of them.¹⁰ While many of them had tried from the end of the nineteenth century to

find a solution to poverty by emigrating abroad, after the strict US immigration restrictions in the early 1920s this was no longer a possibility.¹¹ A growing number of peasants looked for how to integrate their income with activities in the nonagricultural sector, giving birth to a new social group: the worker peasant who owned land but nonetheless was compelled to also work in a mine or a factory.¹²

Following the great stock market crash that occurred in October 1929 in New York, the Great Depression reached Yugoslavia around the mid-1930s and thoroughly developed in the following years, meaning that it arrived later than in the Western European countries but lasted longer. Only in 1935 did the index of the wholesale trade prices again show a positive trend, even though at the end of the 1930s it had not yet recovered from the crisis and was still below the level of 1929.¹³ The Yugoslav governments of the first half of the 1930s tried to react to the burden placed by the Great Depression on the domestic economy by introducing some financial novelties inspired by liberal economic principles, such as promoting the transition to the gold standard and attracting some major foreign loans in 1931. Yet this was the year of the worst financial crisis in Central European history, ignited by the bankruptcy of the largest single lender to Southeastern Europe, namely the Creditanstalt of Vienna. Direct and indirect effects of these facts were the increasing indebtedness of the Yugoslav state and huge losses by numerous Yugoslav banks, especially some Slovenian and Croat banks.¹⁴ The Depression made investments unprofitable and reduced the export trade, while the industrialization plans were revised or even stopped. The sudden drop in agricultural product prices provoked a strong income reduction for several economic groups of the population.

The convergent effects of the structural as well as conjuncture-related factors produced “an economic and social catastrophe,”¹⁵ clearly signaled by a dramatic increase in poverty and unemployment. The sources do not allow for a precise quantitative reconstruction of the figures of those who were in need because they were without a job or because what they had was not enough. First of all, official statistics report only registered unemployment, which represented merely the tip of the iceberg. Furthermore, seasonal jobs and second jobs were difficult to monitor as were the mixed peasant-industrial occupations, to mention only the first weaknesses of official figures. Nonetheless, they are enough to depict an overall picture, which acquired dramatic tones during the 1930s (Chart 1).

Under- and unemployment were intertwined with miserable living conditions. According to an inquiry promoted in 1934 by the Workers’ Chamber and the Public Employment Office in Sarajevo, 89 percent of those interviewed declared that they had to live with their entire family in one single room and that they not only had irregular nutrition, but that was also scarce and of very low quality. Furthermore, the respondents, who came from the suburbs and the surrounding areas of the city, were poorly

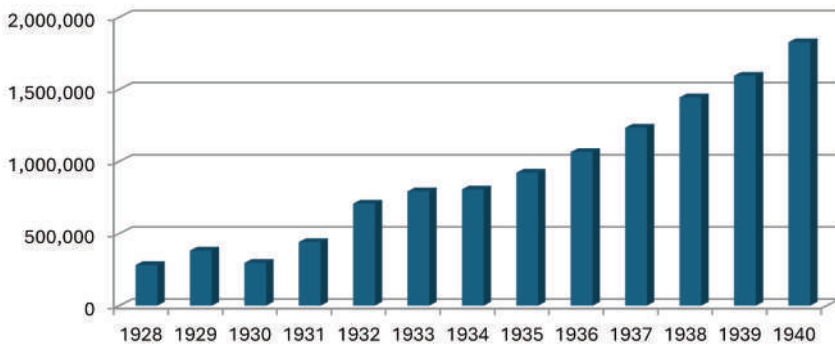


Figure 1.1. Unemployment in Yugoslavia, 1929–1940. Source: Petrović, *Nezaposlenost i staranje o nezaposlenima u Jugoslaviji do 1941 godine*, 103.

dressed and with no proper shoes. Poor people began to be increasingly indebted, and even if they worked, the failing incomes did not allow for finding an exit from this existential darkness.¹⁶

A description of Yugoslav pauperism should clearly be much more detailed, but already what has been illustrated so far conveys a general picture of widespread destitution, especially in the south of the country and in the countryside, which worsened during the period under examination.¹⁷ Many of the actors investigated in this study often belonged to these poor stratas of society. The needs to find out how to make ends meet pushed many men and women to pursue those “strange jobs” this book investigates. In many cases, these people left their homes and walked to the next city or even farther, joining the interwar masses of recently urbanized and generally poor citizens.

This overall picture also makes clear that the ideal-typical “normal” work was a marginal phenomenon in interwar Yugoslavia, especially if we intend it as a contracted, regular job. This strengthens the approach adopted in this book, which focuses on the margins of the domain of work, even of nonwork, further intertwining them with social marginality. As we have seen from the above-quoted data, Yugoslav society was densely populated by impoverished peasants, day laborers, and other precarious workers, but only for some of them was their profession inopportune in the eyes of police and municipal authorities as well as according to common opinion. The economic and social structure of Yugoslavia thus induces us to reduce the scale of analysis to those whose activities were socially, legally and sometimes culturally contested, as we will see, and to the reactions they provided. A poor precarious worker was not automatically considered hostile in the minds of central and local authorities, not to mention popular perceptions. Rather, the actors involved in the processes examined in the next chapters, members of both the middle and the popular classes, produced their own categorizations inside

each marginal social field, inside each strange job, and inside the world of the unemployed, each time trying to retrace and refine the uncertain divide between the normal accepted behavior and profession and the deviant ones.

Poverty does not coincide with social marginality. As carefully argued by the sociological and anthropological research on that issue, social marginality has more to do with the different degrees of social integration.¹⁸ When we investigate historical forms of marginalization, the aim is to exactly observe the processes that produced forms of inclusion and exclusion from society not only from its economic resources but also from the hegemonic political, cultural, and moral framework. In order to do so, one has to consider both the structural objective factors and the psychological and cultural subjective factors, which always shape representations and perceptions of social marginality. In other words, even though economic and social circumstances provide relevant background information for framing the activities practiced by those people, the cultural and moral dimensions must also be stressed because they also played a crucial role.¹⁹ Not only did the need push peddlers and folk healers, for instance, to offer their services, but so did the belief in the services' social usefulness. In the eyes of the practitioners of these strange jobs as well as in the eyes of some of their observers, a proud cultural attitude could shape individual and collective behavior.

This is why social marginality must not be assumed as self-evident, being instead a social and cultural construct and a matter of points of view. The perception of what social marginality is changes through time and can differ depending on education, economic and social status, and moral principles. In every case of nonwork, legitimizing/delegitimizing discourses were at stake, questioning the morality of all those working activities. For each case there were supporters and opponents, with argumentations imbued with a variety of cultural, moral, and modernist elements. We will meet fierce condemnations of prostitution as well as sympathetic views, radical opponents of itinerant trade as well as high appreciation, and deep indignation toward beggary as well as compassionate approaches, to give only a few examples. The general Yugoslav context of economic difficulties summarized here increased the need of defining legitimate poverty, precarity, and (in)activity, distinguishing them from their illegitimate versions. What we need to better understand are the precise historical processes that gave shape to single forms of social marginality because of work-related reasons.

Women represented a disadvantaged category of the working force. Together with children and youths, female workers were less qualified and less paid than men. This alone produced a gender gap that could not but affect the forms of social marginality. In terms of female employment, Yugoslavia did not share the pattern observed in the same years in some Western European countries such as Great Britain and France, where World War I first brought mass female employment and later mass dismissals but also the right to vote for women. Looking at local case studies such as Zagreb, a

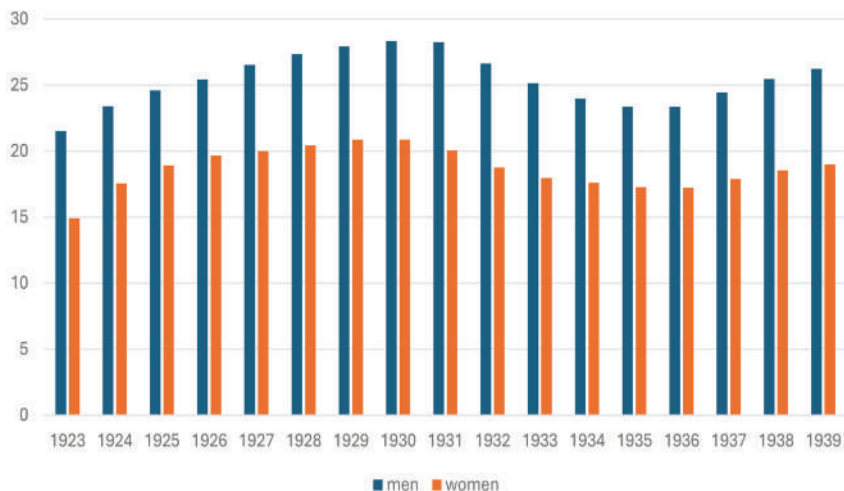


Figure 1.2. Yugoslav gender pay gap. Average income of the registered workers according to official statistics. Source: Kecman, *Žene Jugoslavije*, 42.

relatively industrialized city, and in general Yugoslav terms, female employment (by which is meant an extradomestic paid job, officially registered) took shape already before World War I, experienced a stagnation during the war and began again to increase between 1918 and 1923, especially in the typically female industrial branches such as the textile, leather, food, chemical, and metal industries.²⁰

The world economic crisis impacted the various industry sectors differently so that although the absolute number of female industry workers decreased in 1932, the worst year for Yugoslav economy, its share in the overall figure of workers remained high and even increased (23% in 1929, 26% in 1932), finally registering a decrease in the second half of the 1930s.²¹ Even though the picture could sensibly differ at the regional level, it can be maintained that Yugoslav women entered the world of paid labor at the beginning of the twentieth century much more than in the past. Nonetheless, female workers were paid on average 30 percent less than male workers because they were typically employed in weakly remunerated positions, had a lower education in comparison with their male counterparts, and due to the usual gender pay gap (Chart 2).²²

The recent female employment, especially when women occupied positions previously reserved for men, provoked not irrelevant legal, social, and psychological reactions. It not only induced the political class to deal with several issues linked to working women, such as integrating and developing the labor legislation and considering issues such as the right to maternity leave or night shifts, but it also sparked vivid debates linked to female emancipation. The landscape of female and feminist organizations in

interwar Yugoslavia was variegated and dynamic, increasingly connected with other European sister societies and with international women's organizations.²³ A wide range of women's associations were established or renewed, and thanks to their publications, public events, and political initiatives, they provided to be an important contribution to the public debates about the role of women in the new Yugoslav societies.²⁴

Judging by some of the frustrating results of the intense feminist campaign of those years, such as women's right to vote not being acknowledged in the Constitution of 1921, one could reach the simplistic conclusion that female emancipation did not make significant concrete progress in those years due to the traditionalist resistance of Yugoslav society. However, recent research has shown with a more nuanced approach the less expected and visible ways that female emancipation could materialize.²⁵ Yugoslavia actually took part in those interwar European trends that dealt with a redefinition of masculinity and femininity, gendered social roles, and morality between traditionalist and modernist approaches. The following chapters will bring to light some effects of these general developments with regard to (male and female) social marginals and their jobs.

THE BEGINNING OF SOCIAL MEDICINE AND SOCIAL POLICY

One of the big social challenges that the new Yugoslav state was confronted with were the bad health conditions of a big part of the population, especially in the countryside. In addition to what has been already mentioned in the previous section, poor nutrition and housing, the backwardness of agricultural techniques, and the economic effects of World War I, the everyday life of the majority of the population was characterized by epidemics of contagious diseases, lack of knowledge about basic health issues, and weak health infrastructures.²⁶ Whereas some regions of the kingdom, especially in the north and northwest, could rely on preexisting laws and institutions in this regard, other areas were scarcely equipped. One of the first goals in the field of collective health was therefore to develop a new updated approach to social medicine and build a network of efficient and coordinated health institutions and services throughout the entire country.

The relevance acquired by collective health issues in Yugoslav interwar society is reflected by the rise of social medicine and of eugenic thought.²⁷ The rise of eugenicist views in Yugoslavia has recently begun to be explored, providing inspiring accounts about Yugoslavia in the interwar period and during World War II.²⁸ What emerged from these studies is how the Yugoslav middle and upper classes and especially those involved in the formulation of a new Yugoslav health policy were well informed about and an active part of the inter- and transnational community of scholars and social scientists developing eugenic theories in interwar Europe, which firmly included Eastern

and Southeastern Europe.²⁹ The new social role of medicine and the physician in Yugoslav society was theorized and articulated in many writings and by various authors.³⁰ The most prominent figures in this field were Milan Jovanović Batut in Serbia, Uroš Krulj originally from Bosnia, and the Croat Andrija Štampar, who all made major contributions toward institutionalizing the new social medicine, which they understood as a medical approach focused on the environmental factors of diseases, with a particular emphasis on eugenics and the need for popular health education.³¹

Under the initial leadership of Batut, Krulj and Štampar, a public health infrastructure was built in the kingdom, beginning soon after World War I. The Ministry of National Health (*Ministarstvo narodnog zdravlja*) was established in 1918 within the Department of Racial, Public and Social Hygiene (*Odeljenje za rasnu, javnu i socijalnu higijenu*) and was strongly influenced by eugenic theories. A high number of social-medical institutions were built throughout the entire territory of the kingdom, the most important being the School of Public Health in Zagreb, the Central Hygiene Institute in Belgrade and the Institute for Tropical Diseases in Skopje. Between 1920 and 1925, around 250 social health institutions were established throughout the country, including hygienic and epidemiological institutes; bacteriological laboratories; centers against tropical diseases, malaria, and tuberculosis; and institutions for newborn and young children. A large number of health institutions were destined for patients affected by skin and venereal diseases, including some dispensaries that essentially offered assistance for free.³²

Alongside an improvement in educational institutions for physicians, nurses, and midwives, considerable efforts were put into popular health education. Booklets, readers, posters, exhibitions, and movies were produced specifically in order to be distributed and shown in public spaces and during promotional campaigns. Notwithstanding the scientific, political, and national frictions between the main medical actors, these years marked a notable improvement in public health infrastructure in the Yugoslav lands as well as an affirmation of the ideology of statist medicine, which foresaw a decisive state intervention in personal and collective health issues.³³ Looking from the perspective of health policy, it is possible to observe a decisive intensification of ongoing processes in the interwar years, which produced new knowledge, practices, and institutions for medically shaping Yugoslav society. The state acquired new instruments for intervening in individual and collective life where health issues were concerned. Socially and politically relevant tasks were ascribed to physicians and health institutions that provided the emerging social engineering projects with new theories, legal devices, and a concrete space of actions.

Closely linked to the field of collective health and social medicine there were public and private aid to the people in need and social policy in general. In interwar Yugoslavia, the emerging state and municipal social policies were very limited in coverage,

especially where the poor were concerned. Here, as in the rest of Europe, the first social policies were conceived primarily for the working people and actually only for some categories of them. The first forms of compulsory insurance, which will be detailed below, excluded several professional groups, such as plowmen, artisans, and servants.³⁴

What happened with the nonworking people and the socially marginalized workers? As I hope to demonstrate in the next chapters, an interaction between local public authorities and private actors took place, renewing old and establishing new public assistance as well as private philanthropic institutions.

My thesis is that this public-private collaboration in the field of assistance and control of the marginals became stronger in the interwar years. The services provided and the principles adopted by public and private actors in the domain of assistance to needy people became increasingly intertwined and sometimes overlapping. This is closely related to what has been termed the “mixed economy of welfare,” considering the strong private-public interrelations in the field of social welfare. Instead of assuming a strict division of labor between public and private action, this approach stresses that a “mixed” system of provisions and activities emerged in Europe, particularly in the interwar period: the state, local authorities, and a constellation of voluntary and informal actors were involved in shaping interwar forms of social assistance.³⁵ It is an issue that has been sensibly underresearched by previous research, which was more sensible in regard to the genesis and development of the public welfare state.³⁶

As has been shown by recent comparative studies, an approach that stresses the “mixed economy” of welfare can be extremely productive when applied to socially marginal people of interwar Europe.³⁷ A comparative view on the mixed economy of welfare and the social marginals in interwar Europe revealed that the post-1918 developments reshaped *long durée* views and practices. In other terms, the existing research on the one hand confirms that continuities in the administrative practices and moral stigmas were very widespread, showing how relevant the legacy of the nineteenth century was for the period between the two world wars. Yet on the other hand, the notions, practices, and policies regarding social marginals in interwar Europe also underwent some relevant changes and innovations, and the shifting approaches regarding the social marginals sometimes became the battleground for conflicting ideas about how to conceive social marginality and social policy and how to reshape and innovate them. It is one of the next chapters’ tasks to inquire to what extent these conclusions can be applied to the Yugoslav case and to check the validity of the “mixed economy of welfare” research paradigm, where the interwar Yugoslav context is considered.

In many cases throughout interwar Europe, the interaction between private organizations and public actors produced a convergence beyond the immediate aims of social assistance to the poor. In putting forward their own programs, voluntary associations had to relate in regard to governmental agendas.³⁸ The result could include frictions

between voluntary associations and public authorities and involve state control or supervision of some voluntary associations, but often it was the voluntary associations that searched for an official patronage in order to strengthen and make more efficient their actions, especially when moral values and political aims were shared by the political class and the volunteers.

This became very clear in the field of social disciplining of the marginals, because voluntary associations acted as agents of both solidarity and social control. Far from being a peculiarity of the modern age, it can be questioned whether this aspect acquired more significance in the period investigated by this volume. The aim should thus be to observe how public authorities together with philanthropists have not only provided help to the needy but also significantly contributed to conceptualizing modes of individual behavior and therefore to shaping normative social models and finally to actively promoting those values in society through charity and social policies. The following chapters qualify such research questions by examining the interwar Yugoslav case in this regard.

What can be said so far is that until World War I, assistance to the poor in the regions that later constituted the first Yugoslav state was essentially committed to private actors and to the municipalities, not to the state. There were a long series of initiatives taken for aiding people in need, but they took place before a “modern” public poverty and social policy was shaped.³⁹ The former Habsburg regions (the Slovenian and Croatian regions, the Vojvodina, and finally Bosnia-Herzegovina) knew some forms of workers’ protection, namely laws on insurance for casualty and illness, introduced between 1887 and 1910, as did the Kingdom of Serbia, which took the first steps in this direction in 1910. On the contrary, those regions that remained under Ottoman rule until the Balkan Wars, mainly Macedonia, did not have experience in terms of laic social insurance.⁴⁰ There have been old forms of mutual aid in the framework of miners’ guilds everywhere and occasionally of other guilds. Religious-inspired institutions and practices of private charity were, of course, widespread.⁴¹

The new South Slav state entered a new stage regarding state-led social policy. The same day when the first Yugoslav government was appointed, the first Ministry for Social Policy (*Ministarstvo socijalne politike*) was established (December 7, 1918). The first state constitution, released on June 28, 1921, included in its third section a list of goals to be reached in the social and economic field (§§ 22–44), thus proclaiming a state duty to take care of the welfare of the workers as well as all citizens and especially those in a weak social or economic position.⁴² At that time, as it has already been mentioned, there also existed a separate Ministry for National Health until the two merged into the Ministry for Social Policy and National Health (April 19, 1929).

Between 1921 and 1922, the first laws of a new Yugoslav labor legislation were released. After the Constitution of 1921 created the legal framework—for the first time in these regions—for some “social rights,” being therefore considered the birth act of the idea

of a modern welfare state for this country,⁴³ a “law on compulsory workers’ insurance” was proclaimed in May 1922 and then a “law on workers’ protection” in June of the same year. Both of them were developed under the strong influence of the peace treaty of Versailles, which imposed on the involved countries the implementation of some sociopolitical principles, such as the introduction of the eight-hour workday, union freedom, and the prohibition of child labor. The subscribers were also obliged to become members of the International Labour Organisation, an institution of the League of the Nations.⁴⁴

There is a broad consensus among scholars that social insurance and labor legislation in Yugoslavia were not the result of industrialization, or the parliamentary action of bourgeois parties, or extraparlimentary pressure of the workers’ movement but instead above all were the effect of international agreements.⁴⁵

Furthermore, the reasons for the relatively late and limited development of a welfare state in the first Yugoslavia are generally traced to two main factors: the economic structure of the industry, dominated by small and medium-sized enterprises, therefore without concentrations of big workers’ masses comparable to those of Western European industrial cities; and the peculiarities of the Yugoslav working classes, not only small from a quantitative point of view but also extremely heterogeneous and still firmly linked with farming activities.⁴⁶ Workers’ movements were thus, especially in the 1920s, very fragmented, quite limited in quantitative terms, and not very effective in their organizational capacity. This situation changed somewhat in the mid-1930s when a big wave of strikes, raising mainly wage-related issues, took place in many Yugoslav cities.⁴⁷

Nevertheless and despite the vast detailed but sometimes “ideologized” literature of the socialist era concerning trade union movements and workers’ strikes, the question of the making of working classes and especially the history of social conflicts in this period still awaits adequate treatment.⁴⁸ Although one can read that relevant laws, such as those mentioned above, were approved almost without a parliamentary debate⁴⁹ and that also academic discussions regarding them were absent,⁵⁰ the new sociopolitical measures also encountered resistance from many sides.⁵¹ This book, particularly Chapter 6, will try to provide a contribution in this regard, referring for instance to some of the political contestations related to the initiatives for the jobless. Yet the main issue of political and social conflict regarding social policy in these years certainly deserves to be further investigated.

Besides the International Labour Organisation, there were two other main factors that influenced the formation of new Yugoslav social policies. On the one side, the country struggled with economic difficulties and the drastic rise in unemployment, which we have already mentioned. On the other side, the authoritarian-style and centralistic reforms carried out at the national level during the 1930s, which were characterized by stronger state intervention in the economic and social fields, also imprinted

the new social policies. But the proper interpretation of these last aspects requires separate scrutiny, as is done in the next section.

STATE-BUILDING AND CORPORATIST PROCESSES

As a newly established state characterized by a variegated ethnic, linguistic, and confessional landscape as well as by different institutional, economic, and cultural traditions, the history of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia is accompanied by state-building efforts, which also implied several Yugoslav nation-building processes.⁵² One of the arguments utilized to unify all the South Slavs was the so-called Yugoslav idea, which was shared only by a part of the political class and was interpreted in many different ways among South Slav intellectuals and politicians.⁵³ The king and his allies tried to tame the internal rivalries, imagining a Yugoslav state and country.⁵⁴

One relevant turning point to be considered in this state- and increasingly nation-building process is clearly the introduction of the royal dictatorship in 1929. The country, originally established as a parliamentary monarchy, was actually a fragile construction, and ethnopolitical tensions merged with social and economic cleavages, mining the state's stability. As an effort to hold Yugoslavia together, on January 6, 1929, King Aleksandar abolished the 1921 constitution, dismissed the elected parliament, and banned all ethnically based political parties, establishing a "royal dictatorship," promoting several centralizing reforms, and repressing all forms of dissent. Although the press censorship and other political restrictions were relaxed after the octroyed Constitution of 1931, this did not mean a return to proper democracy and an independent parliament.⁵⁵

Yet it was not only the royal dictatorship that promoted several centralizing and interventionist reforms: this happened also and even more in the next legislative period. After the assassination of King Aleksandar during his visit to Marseilles on October 9, 1934, the ascent of the distinguished economist and former minister of Finance Milan Stojadinović began, who was nominated prime minister in June 1935, staying in office without interruption until February 1939, longer than any other interwar prime minister. He influenced interwar Yugoslav economic policy more than any other politician.

By the mid-1930s there was a slow economic upturn in the country, in keeping with the new economic and social policy of Stojadinović. Following developments taking place in the United States and in several European states,⁵⁶ the prime minister was resolute in insisting that the national economy be oriented, sustained, and defined by the state. As a result, tax concessions were introduced for industrial enterprises, a number of peasant debts were canceled, there was state investment in industry and military

production, state-companies and monopolies were established, and a long series of “public works” was promoted. The latter, financed through internal and foreign loans, was one of the state efforts undertaken to keep unemployment levels down, alongside the new law promulgated in 1938 that increased the period during which one could be on welfare from six weeks at most per year to twenty-six weeks.⁵⁷

In summary, the authoritarian-style and centralistic reforms carried out at the national level during the 1930s (during both the royal dictatorship and the Stojadinović regime) were characterized by stronger state intervention in the economic and social fields. They increasingly theorized the duty of the state to radically intervene in the lives of its citizens, in their business and in their private lives, to keep them in line with the priorities of the nation and the state. The reforms also imprinted social policies and the official attitudes toward social marginals.

Therefore, the royal dictatorship (1929–1934) cannot alone explain the entire history of interwar Yugoslav marginal people. On the one hand, the year 1929 certainly represents an important break in many regards, and it is not by chance that some legal novelties we will encounter in this book took place in that year or in the years immediately following: they were clearly promoted by the new political, national, and social project embraced by the king. On the other hand, the destinies of those living and working at the margins of Yugoslav society were not simply determined by the authoritarian inclination of the king. First of all, as I will demonstrate in this study, the culture and mechanisms of new forms of social control were manifold and went well beyond the royal dictatorship. Many of the processes that coalesced at the beginning of the 1930s had begun *earlier*, during the 1920s, and were led by a wide range of social reformers, physicians, and legal experts. Furthermore, *after* the royal dictatorship formally ended, other semidemocratic governments followed, characterizing the years of the royal dictatorship not as a parenthesis in the Yugoslav interwar history but instead as an episode of the more general and Pan-European crisis of democracy and liberalism.⁵⁸ The royal dictatorship certainly played a role in the story told in this book, but it interacted with several other sociocultural developments, beginning with the European authoritarian atmosphere of those years that impacted the Yugoslav 1930s too.

In the framework of these impressive sociopolitical developments, which deeply affected the history of social marginals, nonwork, and social control, the issue of corporatism occupies a peculiar place. This constitutes a further research topic that has heretofore been understudied with regard to Yugoslavia and could shed some new light on the evolution of the relationship between state and civil society in interwar Yugoslavia.⁵⁹ It is generally accepted that corporatist ideals were part of the political theories of some far right nationalist and fascist groups present in the Yugoslav context such as the Organization of Yugoslav Nationalists (Organizacija Jugoslavenkih Nacionalista), a political organization that existed from 1921 to 1929, and the Yugoslav National Movement,

a party established in 1935 by Dimitrije Ljotić, who had also been appointed minister of justice by King Alexander in 1931.⁶⁰

Similarly, it is possible to identify in scholarly reference works corporatist elements in the local Catholic social teaching traditions throughout Slovenia and Croatia, for instance, if we consider works by Ivan Ahčin, Jože Jeraj, Jakob Aleksič, and Ciril Žebot in Slovenia and by Juraj Ščetinec and Milivoj Magdić in Croatia. Furthermore, corporatist theories can be traced in the ideological framework of several other political parties throughout the entire country during the interwar period.⁶¹ Linking these generally isolated studies and looking at all of these corporative-inspired social and political actors, what emerges is a variegated cross-confessional and cross-national spectrum of interwar corporatist ideas that pervaded the domestic socioeconomic context, clearly anchored in the inter- and transnational debates of interwar Europe.

Second, it has gone largely unnoticed until now that elements of corporatist thought were present in some theoretical reflections on the new economic and social policy to be adopted by the Yugoslav monarchist governments during the 1930s. Also in Yugoslavia, as in almost all other European interwar countries, political theoreticians tried to identify forms of political representation alternative to both the individualistic liberal democracy and the collectivist communism. Slobodan Ž. Vidaković, for instance, an influential sociologist and social reformer, not only made regular use of corporatist terminology, such as “social estates” (*društveni redovi*) and “corporations” (*korporacije*), but he also envisioned a system of collective representation that should go beyond the trade union system and beyond a political pluralism.⁶²

Even more explicit was the internationally renowned economist Ljubomir Kosier, who was also director of the Croatian General Credit Bank (Hrvatska sveopća kreditna banka) and of the Central Bank in Zagreb. Kosier deeply investigated the topic and published sophisticated works in several languages, including *State and Economics: The Question of the Corporatist Representation*.⁶³ This book, a detailed investigation of how the socioeconomic groups were politically represented at the state level in the European countries of his time, demonstrates the author’s grasp of ongoing international juridical and institutional developments and of the international academic literature on this topic. At the end of the book the author summarizes his arguments, clearly rejecting the idea of simply transferring the Italian fascist model to other countries and stating that “a reform of parliamentarism needs to be realized at least in those states where the existing system is not satisfactory; furthermore, one of the two legislative chambers must be constituted on a professional and corporatist basis.”⁶⁴

Following classic corporatist approaches, the author clarifies that the state should have an economic council to advise the government and the parliament. The Yugoslav state actually already had such a consultative body, foreseen by both the first state constitution (1921) and the second one (1931). The Economic Council was made up

of sixty members, proposed by the ministers and appointed by the king, and selected from among professional organizations that had no rights to (s)elect them. The selection procedure and the membership structure, which gave a dominant role to the entrepreneurial groups, left Kosier unsatisfied, leading him to propose the creation of an upper house of the parliament formed along corporatist lines.⁶⁵

Yugoslav corporatism was thus not only the subject of theoretical debates, because limited experiments by corporatist-style party and state organizations were also put into practice. In addition to the Economic Council and other public institutions formed along corporatist lines, one could mention the Workers' Chambers, which were not—unlike other institutions with the same name in other European countries—an expression of the trade union movement. Rather, they represented a branch of the Ministry of Social Policy and Public Health, and one of its legal advisers was the already mentioned Juraj Šćetinec, a fervent supporter of Christian social corporatism. The so-called Headquarters of the Industrial Corporations of the Yugoslav Kingdom (*Centrala industrijskih korporacija Kraljevine Jugoslavije*), with its seat in Belgrade, is of great interest and eloquent even in its denomination. Established by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, this corporatist “headquarters” gathered representatives of important local professional organizations, mainly entrepreneurs and chambers/associations of artisans, with the purpose of creating an arena where mediation between its members and central state authorities could take place. The secretary of this institution was Pero Blašković, who was also a member of the Central Agency for Labour Intermediation, another state institution conceived for bypassing the trade unions and for organizing a state-managed mediation of conflicts and competing interests between the various professional groups, here mainly employers and workers.⁶⁶

All of this does not mean that the authoritarian Yugoslav regimes of the 1930s implemented a cohesive system of political representation or governance based on an integral and coherent organic-statist view of society. In other words, Yugoslavia cannot be neatly characterized as a corporatist state during the period under examination. However, if some developments of state policies, especially in the economic and social fields, are linked with the debates that were taking place in several political circles at the same time, the result is that corporatist ideals seem to have played a more important role in the history of the country than attributed to them up to now: they were celebrated by fascist and far-right movements; adopted and adapted by adherents of Slovenian, Croatian, and Serbian nationalism as well as by Yugoslav nationalists; promoted by Catholic thinkers and militants; and invoked by lay thinkers and some theoreticians of official economic and social policy. If we juxtapose the various tiles of this mosaic, the result is a variegated “corporatist background” that accompanied and influenced Yugoslav history at that time.

A large number of studies that deal with Yugoslav and other Southeast European political regimes of the 1930s scrutinized those regimes by employing categories such as “dictatorial,” “authoritarian,” “bourgeois,” “conservative,” “fascist” or “fascist-like,” “totalitarian,” and “modernizing.”⁶⁷ The scholarly debate has explored and discussed to what extent these labels are appropriate for the political regimes being studied. In very brief terms, while “fascist” and “totalitarian” are generally refused, conservative and modernizing traits are consensually ascribed to Southeast European interwar monarchist-dictatorial involutions, the primary goals of which were the state and national unification, defense from the territorial ambitions of foreign countries, and economic recovery.⁶⁸

To the results of these studies, it is useful to add that the antidemocratic reactions to the international and domestic economic and political crisis also contained a component that can be recognized as corporatist. The political projects of the Yugoslav elites were not only formulated according to a vague antiliberal and dictatorial trend, because in some cases they were conceived along lines that were more precisely corporatist. In the economic field as well as the social field, apart from a commonly acknowledged increasing inclination toward stronger state intervention, it is worth noting that this political orientation was partly developed under the influence of the ongoing European corporatist experiments. Having that clearly in mind, it will be possible to identify more precisely the ideological background of some episodes in the political and economic history of this country.

Applied to the focus of this study, which is the interwar history of social marginality and social engineering, I believe that it is possible to begin with an innovative analytical approach—at least as far as Yugoslavia is concerned—related to the negotiation and mutations of state “boundaries.”⁶⁹ State intervention entered Yugoslav history in the interwar years in quite new forms, expanding the domains affected by state decisions and including new forms of cooperation with the emerging Yugoslav civil society. The already mentioned mixed economy of welfare as well as the corporatist-inspired theories and practices here summarized invite us to transcend a rigid state-civil society dichotomy, investigating more deeply the expanding gray zone of close interactions, if not overlapping, between state institutions, private citizens, and their socioprofessional representatives.

This is a dense research topic that clearly needs to be scrutinized more in depth in future studies about interwar Yugoslavia. The next chapters of this study provide a contribution in this direction, examining some episodes in the social history of this country and questioning whether they announce a new stage in its history of social marginality and social engineering. Thanks to the focus on nonwork, the next pages will try to provide useful elements for showing the Yugoslav interwar reformulation that the interaction between state, civil society, and social marginals underwent.

CRIMINALIZING PROSTITUTION

IRRELEVANT NUANCES?

Štefanija and Agneza, respectively from Czechoslovakia and Italy, were identified in 1924 by Croatian police explicitly as prostitutes and sentenced to be expelled from the Yugoslav state, as you can see in Figure 2.1. Yet the reason was not simply because they were (allegedly) prostitutes. They were charged with other criminal offenses, such as theft or beggary. The legal explanation of this is that female prostitution in most of Yugoslavia in the 1920s was not a crime. Commercial sex was tolerated, which means that from the legal and social point of view it was partly accepted. It was not considered a respectable job, but it was not completely excluded from the realm of work either. Therefore, it represents a good example of nonwork, an occupation located at the very margins of “proper work.” Furthermore, in the 1930s female prostitution was prohibited. The story seems to be unequivocal and easily told. First, female prostitutes were allowed to work under the condition of being under the strong control of police and medical authorities; later, precisely after 1929–1934, every legal form of this job was removed, and prostitutes were *all* criminalized and prosecuted.¹

The main question that this chapter would like to raise is who was considered a prostitute. In the period when prostitution was tolerated and therefore partly allowed, who was really to be put under medical/police control? And after the abolitionist turn, who had to be prosecuted because they made their living selling sex? This chapter will show both the theoretical answers given by Yugoslav actors and the concrete consequences in the police and administrative practices. I will illustrate their evolution in the interwar period and raise some general historiographical questions about the boundaries of (sex) work and nonwork.

In order to be able to explain these Yugoslav historical experiences, we have to deal with the development of domestic prostitution policies and in general with the issue of prostitution in interwar Yugoslav history, showing how these issues are closely linked to the state- and nation-building projects carried out in the Yugoslav state. Even

11549.

картонски регистар.

J

██████████ Štefanija, kći pok. Ivana i Ane, rođjene
 god. 25 ██████████, rođje-
 — — — na 14-12-1899
 — — — u Chotovice,
 općine ist,
 kotar Litomišl u Čehoslo-
 vačkoj, onamo i nadležna,
 evangel. vjere, neudata, pro-
 stitutka, sudjena je presu-
 dom kr. redarstvenog rav-
 nateljstva u Zagrebu od
 28-10-24 broj 93546, radi
 vodjenja nemoralnog života
 i kao osoba po tuđe vla-
 sništvo pogibeljna, na izgon
 iz kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, u trajanju od
 5 godina. Njezina fotografija prilaže se.
 Kr. redar. ravnateljstvo u Zagrebu, 93546, 4-11-24.



11122.

kartonski registar

J

██████████ Agneza, kći Matije i Uršule, rođjena
 god. 36 ██████████, rođjena
 — — — 15-3-1888 u Tarvi-
 — — — sio u Italiji, onamo
 — — — i nadležna, rkt., ne-
 udata, prostitutka, sudjena je pre-
 sudom kr. redarstvenog ravnatelj-
 stva u Zagrebu od 10 septembra
 1924, br. 79.181 radi skitanja i
 pomanjkanja putnice na zatvor
 od 14 dana i na izgon iz kralje-
 vine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca u
 trajanju od 5 godina. Njezina fo-
 tografija prilaže se.

Kr. red. povjer. u Zagrebu, 79.181/24, 26-9-24.



Figure 2.1. Banned foreign (alleged) prostitutes. Surnames have been anonymized for privacy reasons. Source: *Policijski glasnik*, no. 287 (November 24, 1924): 1267 (top); and *Policijski glasnik*, no. 280 (October 17, 1924): 1223 (bottom).

though many aspects of the fascinating history of this state- and nation-building project have been investigated, very little attention has been devoted to the issue of prostitution. The only two existing historical overviews, which focus on the late socialist years, are written by nonhistorians, who mainly dealt with sociological and legal issues.² There are a few recent works that partially cover the interwar period, providing useful descriptions mainly of the legal framework, some public debates, and the police practices at the local level.³ What still remains to be done is to provide a larger and comparative Yugoslav picture and to engage in the main research issues of the social history of medicine and social disciplining.

In the following discussion, I hope to partly fill this void by situating the prostitution policies of the interwar years within a broader context of state interventionism and programs of social engineering. I will try to do so by relying on the physicians' debates about prostitution and venereal diseases, exploring how they approached these issues, which arguments they used, and how the debate developed. Current international scholarship in the field will serve as a reference point for situating my case study within a comparative perspective.⁴

As we saw in Chapter 1, the interwar years were the period when social medicine developed in Yugoslavia, altering the relationships between doctors and patients, physicians and state authorities, and the state and society.⁵ International and domestic feminist activism contributed to the development of new stances toward women's social rights and gender social equality, while old gender prejudices continued to shape the debate. Finally, it must be noted that medical confrontations did not result in one unified discourse but instead formed several competing discourses that were also linked to internal national tensions and rivalries.

One of the first questions to debate in this regard after the establishment of the new Yugoslav state was the state policy toward prostitution. The old system, which oversaw several forms of regulated prostitution, came under attack during the 1920s. New paradigms of public health emerged, which led—as briefly noted—to the introduction of a new radical abolitionist system between 1929 and 1934: brothels and other forms of licensed prostitution were forbidden, and prostitution itself became a crime. These developments occurred at a time when the Yugoslav state- and nation-building project was entering a different phase and the political and institutional establishment evolved into an authoritarian form. As illustrated in the Chapter 1, on January 6, 1929, a royal dictatorship was introduced. One aim of this chapter is to show how social hygiene and the fight against venereal diseases and especially against prostitution acquired in this political framework a new meaning in terms of forging a strong, healthy, modern, and competitive nation.

One further goal of this chapter is to reconstruct the active role played by physicians in the policymaking process. I will show how the medical debate directly impacted the

legislative process. Doctors provided the political class with new means to reshape Yugoslav society and to develop not only the prostitution policy but also new social engineering and nation-building projects.

The role of medical professionals is of particular interest when considering a Southeast European country, as scholars have only belatedly begun to examine the role of medical elites in modernizing societies in this region.⁶ In general terms, while scholars have considered in some detail the role played by intellectuals, political leaders, and members of other professions (e.g., lawyers and journalists) in the Southeast European state- and nation-building processes, the interactions between hygienists and epidemiologists on the one side and state authorities on the other has long remained underresearched.⁷

According to health authorities, venereal diseases posed a threat to the foundations of the Yugoslav project and weakened the future of Yugoslav society, which was increasingly conceived in terms of race and eugenics. In the framework of the excellent studies on the rise of eugenicist views in Yugoslavia in the interwar period and during World War II, little reference has been made to the question of the fight against venereal diseases and prostitution. This chapter allows us insight into how such issues were considered relevant to the implementation of any eugenic program. What has been written about the famous British Contagious Diseases Acts could also be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Yugoslav antivenereal and antiprostitution laws of 1929–1934: “the acts were part of a grand plan, the first stage in the creation of a moral and sanitary utopia,” wrote Judith Walkowitz.⁸ We could add that especially in the case of Yugoslavia, it was also a marked national utopia with eugenic traits.

The fight against venereal diseases and prostitution provides a good example of the efforts undertaken to build a nation and a disciplined society through sociomedical programs addressed to potentially “deviant” and dysgenic citizens and their interaction with such social phenomena, with the effect of “complicat[ing] and enrich[ing]” the history of modernization and nationalism in this region.⁹

In the second part of the chapter I will focus more closely on the relation between prostitution and the notion of nonwork from a theoretical perspective and the point of view of its concrete application, relying on a micro case study, the analysis of a police action taken in Mostar, a Bosnian town. This will show all the difficulties faced by public authorities when they had to apply the legal guidelines on the ground. This micro case study will also provide some insights into the multilayered and heterogeneous world of prostitution in a small provincial community.

Nobody in the first Yugoslavia denied that there was a marked stratification and internal hierarchy among prostitutes. Bogoljub Konstantinović, for example, a leading figure among the physicians who were engaged with this issue, noted that there were “more explicit” forms of prostitution, while other ones were not so evident.

There were “enormous nuances” and “different levels of deviance.”¹⁰ However, he added, such distinctions were useful only for analytical purposes. Otherwise they were of little if any relevance because, following this author, both the *concept* of prostitution and the *fight* against it included without a doubt *all these forms* and their intermediate stages.¹¹

My argument is that this was not so obvious and that it is contradicted by the empirical evidence provided by the analysis of police and administrative practice. When they had to examine concrete situations, policemen, physicians, and public authorities were faced exactly with the question of *liminal cases*. Who should they arrest and/or force to be visited, only “the most explicit” prostitutes, using Konsantinović’s expression, or the less evident ones too? And who should be included among the latter?

I am of the opinion that focusing exactly on the borderline cases allows us to shed light on the female everyday life of the lower and middle classes, highlighting social dynamics that shaped forms of economic sustenance. In other terms, it allows to make visible forms of legally and sometimes also socially nonrecognized work, questioning the boundaries of work and especially of nonwork.

Therefore, prostitution in Yugoslavia is a suitable case study: sex work, even the official version as for example that in the brothels, was at least in the 1920s a form of “nonwork,” a job that was “tolerated”: not properly criminalized but neither entirely recognized from the legal and social point of view as “proper work.” It was a form of marginalized work, a nonrespectable job. This kind of categorization and hierarchization are never univocal and static: I will show in this chapter, relying on my case study, the dynamic nature of nonwork.

But also, *inside* the field of nonwork and inside each marginalized job, in this case prostitution, one must make some further distinctions: there were different forms of sex work that gave shape to a multilayered field. Nonwork is not only the negation of normative work, and the investigations of the normalization processes of “work” need to be placed side by side and integrated with investigations of the normalization processes that affected “nonwork” too. Nonwork has its own density or depth, which requires it to be accurately reconstructed and historically examined.

The gradual distance of different forms of nonwork from the normative “center” creates a peculiar space of gradual deviance, characterized by its own actors, places, words and discourses, and social norms and power relations. The relationship between normative work and its gradual negation needed to be conceived and expressed through rules, and these needed to be put into practice. The investigation of the processes that shaped (sex) nonwork offers new theoretical and empirical elements for reflecting about the “other side” of the same process, the definition of the normative work, a process that was at its early stage in Yugoslavia at that time. I will try with this chapter to provide insight into this main issue based on the chosen case study.

FROM A DIFFERENTIATED TO A UNIFIED LEGAL FRAMEWORK

From a legal point of view, the legislation about prostitution in the first decade of the Yugoslav state was deeply linked with and to some extent directly inherited from the several pre-Yugoslav legal frameworks. In general terms, the regions that would form the largest part of the territory of the future Yugoslav Kingdom gradually moved toward forms of tolerated prostitution at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. In Serbia by 1871 a first decree with a regulatory character was released, and ten years later a full regulatory system of licensed prostitution was introduced, leading to quite typical forms of surveillance of prostitutes through mandatory medical checks, limited working spaces, dress codes, etc.¹²

A similar approach was also used in the Habsburg South Slavic provinces.¹³ In these provinces there were forms of regulated prostitution, mainly delegated to municipal authorities, that could therefore differ from one municipality to another. In general terms, prostitution and brothels in Bosnia-Herzegovina were regulated for the first time in 1885, while in Habsburg Vojvodina and Dalmatia the first instance of regulation of prostitution was introduced in 1876.¹⁴ Prostitution was regulated in Croatia-Slavonia through the Austrian Penal Code of 1852. The code delegated the task to the municipalities, which, at least in the cases of bigger towns, officially tolerated brothels.¹⁵ Similar developments can be traced in the Habsburg Slovenian provinces, where a form of pseudoregulation existed. Some towns, especially the bigger ones, allowed brothel prostitution in restricted areas. This saw officially sanctioned brothels opened in Ljubljana in the 1890s, and later prostitution in private rooms was even allowed.¹⁶ Some brothels were also allowed in the northern part of the Sandžak of Novi Pazar when it came under Habsburg administration in 1879.¹⁷

There were only two exceptions to this general regulationist trend. The first was the province of Macedonia, which up until 1913 belonged to the Ottoman Empire, where forms of officially licensed prostitution were limited at the very beginning of the twentieth century, as far as it is known, to some main cities of the empire, namely Istanbul and Ankara.¹⁸ The second exception seems to be the Kingdom of Montenegro, where prostitution was formally prohibited by the Penal Code of 1906.¹⁹

After World War I there was no immediate unification of this differentiated legal landscape in the newly established Yugoslav state. There were a number of local variations of regulationist approaches in the largest part of the Yugoslav territory, namely in the Croatian, Serbian, and Bosnian provinces, as well as legal measures that abolished licensed prostitution, as in the Slovenian province, where these were put in place in March 1919. Although there were some short-term exceptions, such as the brothel in Maribor, which was reopened by the local authorities on September 4, 1919, and quickly

reclosed by the central authorities in Ljubljana on September 25 of the same year, the trend remained untouched in the Slovenian provinces.²⁰ As such, it anticipates the developments that this chapter will examine in depth.

The public authorities in Belgrade—the capital city of the former Kingdom of Serbia and now of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes—tried to move toward the abolition of brothel systems by releasing some provisory decrees in January 1919.²¹ Nonetheless, brothels were still allowed in Zemun, a suburb of Belgrade, making the legal measures quite ineffective and inducing the city authorities to a regulationist about-face; in the same year, the brothels in Belgrade reopened.²²

At the same time, in Zagreb—the capital city of the Croatian county, later province²³—the city authorities shaped very precise and articulated decrees that abolished brothels between 1920 and 1922 but still allowed prostitution in private rooms and in ad hoc designated common buildings. The new measures were intended as an answer to rising public criticism that denounced the poor hygienic conditions in the brothels and the exploitation of the women working in them. Several physicians were already playing a relevant role in the preparation of these local legal measures.²⁴

Similarly, the detailed surveillance system inherited from the Habsburg period in Bosnia-Herzegovina was initially preserved and further developed. It allowed not only prostitution in private rooms, as in Croatia, but also carried on the legacy of tolerating public brothels.²⁵

In summary, during the 1920s the regulationist legacy prevailed in the main part of the newly formed Yugoslav state, with only the Slovenian regions being exceptions. When considering prostitution during the first decade of the new Yugoslav state, a remarkable continuity can be noticed, well summarized by Figure 2.2.²⁶

What is of interest here is the change that occurred in 1929. A new Penal Code was introduced in the entire kingdom.²⁷ This replaced the previous regional and local legislation on brothels and prostitution: not only were brothels or other forms of regulated prostitution no longer allowed throughout the entire territory of the kingdom, but prostitution itself also became a crime.²⁸ Whereas prostitution was earlier a tolerated profession, now it was condemned as an expression of “revulsion toward work (*odvratnost prema poslu*).”²⁹

This legislation had much to do with a general nationalist and authoritarian development in Yugoslav politics in the 1930s, marked by the introduction of the royal dictatorship in 1929. Constitutional and structural changes to the state apparatus were conceived, first of all, to reinforce the state- and nation-building process. As anticipated in Chapter 1, the king and his followers decided to react in this way to the internal national conflicts and the economic rivalries, opting for a nationalist program in Yugoslav terms. The aim of the royal dictatorship was to overcome the existing and conflicting nationalist identities in order to unify the Yugoslav people and the state under a common

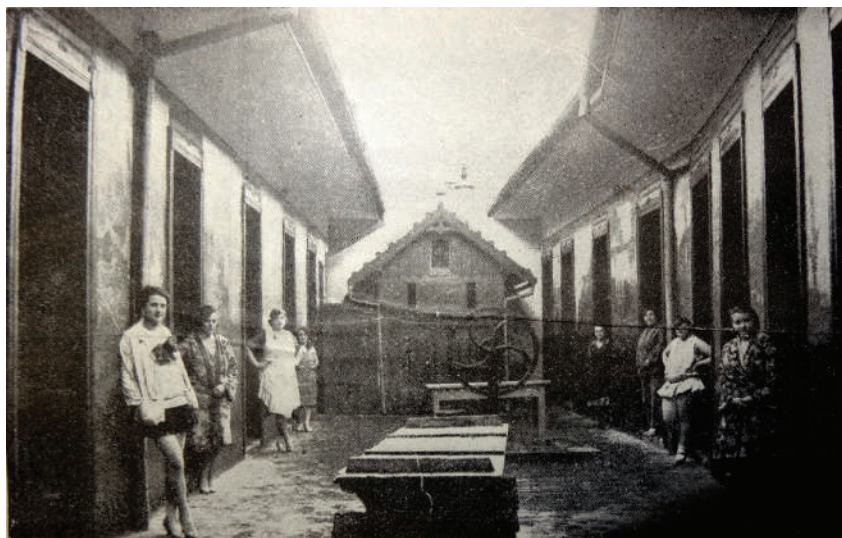


Figure 2.2. Waiting for a client in a brothel. Source: Bogoljub Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo* (Beograd: Knjižarnica Franje Baha, 1930), 55.

Yugoslav identity. This Yugoslav-nationalist and antiliberal program led to the repression of all opposition forces and the promotion of some traditional and patriarchal values, and it was only partly revised in 1931, with a limited reintroduction of parliamentarism. As a result, the political projects and practices of the Yugoslav ruling class in the 1930s showed an increasing inclination toward a centralized and more homogenized state as well as a stronger state intervention in both the economic and social field.³⁰

These developments provide the political background for the changes to venereal diseases and prostitution policy under examination here. The political trends inaugurated by the dictatorship of 1929 strained to build a unified nation and a centralized state. New conditions were created for conceiving the state as a strong actor, going beyond the fragmented existing legal landscape and moving toward national legislation. What emerged was a new uniform and therefore properly “Yugoslav” legal framework. After the new Penal Code, the Law for the Fight against Venereal Diseases and Prostitution (LFVDP) was also approved by parliament in March 1934.³¹

This new law introduced universal and free but compulsory treatment (§2) as well as the mandatory duty of physicians to anonymously notify in cases of venereal disease (§3). In the case of recalcitrant patients, the anonymity foreseen by §3 could be ignored and police assistance could be called upon (§6). Although the law was written in some parts in gender-neutral terms, there were also gendered aspects: premarital medical tests were introduced but only for men (§9), and some paragraphs dealt specifically

with female prostitution (§§8, 12, 18). The transmission of venereal diseases was punishable, and particular attention was devoted to women (§§9, 11, 14).

It seems to be no coincidence that these measures were quite close to the venereal diseases' legislation adopted in the Scandinavian countries and Germany.³² These countries were explicitly mentioned in the parliament as examples to follow. References were made to the bylaws introduced in Oslo in 1888, the Danish law of 1906, the German law of 1927, and more generally the recent developments in Sweden.³³ Unlike the liberal approach adopted by British legislation, "sanitary statism," that is, strong interference by the state in the private lives of the population when collective health was concerned, was a relevant characteristic of the policies in the abovementioned countries and was highly appreciated and considered to be—as it was said—"copied."³⁴

The first goal to be achieved, as had been anticipated by the Penal Code, was to abolish any form of regulated prostitution. In this respect, the legislation of other European and extra-European countries was also considered, ranging from the British experience to the more recent legislative measures taken in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, and the United States.³⁵

After the introduction of the new Yugoslav Penal Code, the LFVDP, and a small number of other integrative laws, the process that led to a full prohibitionist system in Yugoslavia was completed: the brothel system had been abolished, and prostitution had been criminalized.³⁶ How can we explain this radical "abolitionist shift"? Which debates prepared and accompanied it? What precisely were the declared goals and the implications of the new LFVDP? And what role did Yugoslav physicians play in all these developments?

"THE SYPHILIS OF THE INNOCENTS"

In the interwar period in Yugoslavia, a pervasive alarm emerged among physicians regarding the spread of venereal diseases, syphilis in particular. There was a general consensus about the radical increase of venereal diseases after World War I that was explained by linking it to the war and the infections spread by both foreign occupying troops and men of South Slav origin who contracted disease at the front and then returned home, infecting their spouses. A second reason for this increase was identified in the higher levels of sexual promiscuity and the increase of female prostitution. The latter was seen to be due to the difficult socioeconomic postwar circumstances and the declining moral standards.³⁷

These views must be read in the context of European medical discourses that circulated about syphilis from the end of the nineteenth century and especially in the first decade of the twentieth century, or "the golden age of the venereal peril."³⁸ At the time,

international conferences and academic publications about syphilis multiplied and spread “the idea of a terrifying danger” among public opinion. The notion of “hereditary syphilis,” that is, inherited by the children from their parents, and “syphilis of the innocents” became increasingly prominent concepts among medical professionals. Diseases and malformations could be attributed to a sort of “syphilitic degeneration,” created by men who contracted the disease as young clients of prostitutes and then passed it on to their wives and children.³⁹

The expression of “syphilis of the innocents,” which had already become common in the European debate at the turn of the century, entered the Yugoslav medical debate after World War I with considerable impact.⁴⁰ Yet here it acquired a multilayered meaning: the internationally known possibility of transmitting syphilis through non-sexual relations was linked with an old epidemic problem in at least one of the Yugoslav regions, namely the widespread epidemic of syphilis that was rooted in Bosnia and “has been known to be endemic in the region for many centuries.”⁴¹ It was understood as the legacy of foreign rule, precisely a disease “of Turkish origins” imported 250 years earlier by Ottoman troops.⁴² Leopold Glück—an internationally renowned venereologist of the late nineteenth century who in 1893 was appointed as head of the Dermato-Venereological Department of the Regional Hospital in Sarajevo and was considered to be the highest authority on the history and origin of this disease—had partly criticized the chronology of this widespread thesis. He demonstrated that the disease’s appearance in Bosnia was much more recent but also confirmed that it had come from “Turkey” and through the Ottoman-Turkish army.⁴³ Although it was also recorded in some eastern Serbian provinces, generally in the debate it was simply referred to as the “Bosnian” syphilis.⁴⁴ This could easily have to do with a form of “medical Orientalism,” first elaborated by Austro-Hungarian health officers, who intimately associated this disease with the cultural and hygienic “backwardness” inherited from the Ottoman Turks.⁴⁵ In addition, the other more “European” form of syphilis recorded on Yugoslav territory was frequently explained as the effect of occupation by outsiders, namely Napoleonic troops and the rule of the Habsburgs.⁴⁶ The fight against syphilis thus acquired in Yugoslavia and especially in Bosnia a peculiar nuance of resistance against vices and pathologies generated by forms of semicolonialism coming from the West as well as from the East.⁴⁷ This circumstance represented an additional argument in the new medical discourse about venereal diseases and syphilis that emerged during the interwar period and entailed some peculiar national emancipatory reverberations.

Therefore, the interwar Yugoslav debate about syphilis had to deal with two very widespread forms of contagion that lay at the root of sexually transmitted as well as non-venereal transmitted syphilis. Although in the political debate the two could be confused by nonexperts, physicians tended to distinguish them not only from a clinical point of view but also by differentiating other aspects related to them.⁴⁸ For example,

the “endemic” type of syphilis was said to be mainly widespread in the countryside, in contrast to the “sporadic” type that was linked more with the urban context.⁴⁹ Additionally, while urban syphilis was connected with sex and with all of the moral issues that surrounded prostitution, the Bosnian endemic syphilis was considered an “innocent” disease, which patients—that is, children and women but in this case even their fathers—could be affected by without any “guilt.”⁵⁰ It is useful to note the central role the peasantry played in several ideological South Slav traditions that saw a highly idealized peasantry as the pure embodiment of the soul of the nation(s).⁵¹ The health, or sickness, of the peasantry was therefore a matter of great concern, both politically and symbolically.

When considering the relationship between syphilis and the countryside, one can note some discrepancies in the positions taken by physicians from different Yugoslav regions. Writing from a Slovenian or a northern Croatian perspective, some authors tended to idealize the pre-World War I countryside, describing it as immune to venereal diseases and explaining that even in the interwar period syphilis was often still considered a “gentlemen’s disease,” that is, an urban phenomenon. This was a perspective that diverged from one more closely anchored to the historical and actual experience of Bosnian society.⁵²

Nonetheless, the general discussion about the fight against venereal diseases tended to focus on the sexually transmitted forms. The incidence of Bosnian syphilis, a regional case, served mainly as an argument to reinforce the main thesis and promote the need to raise the health standards of the entire Yugoslav population, which was threatened by not only a regional variant of this disease but also venereal diseases in general. Although there was a well-grounded view that reliable data were not available and that the figures related to the two forms of syphilis were only sometimes distinguished, the main aim was to raise a general alarm about a dramatic disease not just in regional Bosnian but also in national terms.⁵³ Similarly, the critics who were moved by the failed initiatives to fight syphilis in Bosnia, such as the “endemic action” in 1927, did not simply articulate or advocate specific measures for improving Bosnian hygienic conditions. Rather, they framed their critiques around the need to organize an effective, well-equipped, and technically up-to-date health program against venereal diseases in general at the state level.⁵⁴

Furthermore, the partly differing stances of the Yugoslav doctors converged around an increased consciousness of the deep social implications of venereal diseases. As many of the participants in the debate explain, the individual consequences of such diseases were already well known. However, the same could not be said of the effects of venereal diseases on the entire social body at the present time as well as into the future. Venereal diseases could “weaken the labor-force and thus reduce the national patrimony,” negatively influence the “marital fertility,” and cause stillborn births or the births of people

unfit to work: “therefore, if we want to promote the increase of the population and to further reduce the loss of human lives, it is our duty to avoid venereal diseases with all our forces.”⁵⁵ The argument was closed with an attempt to quantify in monetary terms the general impact of venereal diseases on the national economy, considering the number of lost lives, the caregiving costs, and the working days lost, first because of caregiving and later due to recovery. The conclusion was that venereal diseases had an enormously negative impact on the Yugoslav state from an economic point of view.⁵⁶

More generally, the fight against venereal diseases and prostitution, which were closely associated, was “a matter of social justice and of general interest,”⁵⁷ because venereal diseases—as it was stressed by the minister for health—were a set of diseases that “left deep traces in the health of the future generations.”⁵⁸ Such concerns were vigorously corroborated by the physicians who advised the minister. In the parliamentary debate about the LFVDP, those physicians and members of the parliament declared that “venereal diseases became a social and national evil as big as tuberculosis and cancer.”⁵⁹ A colleague amplified this statement, increasing the seriousness of venereal diseases on the hierarchy of socially dangerous diseases by pointing out that tuberculosis and cancer were exclusively physical illnesses, while venereal diseases, particularly syphilis, were diseases that also affected public morality.⁶⁰

The concern about physical degeneracy was always linked to the moral decadency that allegedly threatened Yugoslav society, especially in the cities. It was a recurrent topic: the political class as well as the medical profession were preoccupied with the moral conduct of Yugoslav citizens especially the lower strata of society, whose morality “had fallen.”⁶¹ It was the duty of politicians and physicians to work together in order to take care of both the body of the Yugoslav people and their morality “in order to preserve our countryside at the same pure level as it is nowadays.”⁶² The urgency and the vital health, social, and moral implications of the fight against prostitution and venereal diseases conferred militant religious tones, as when a “Crusade” was invoked against syphilis in Bosnia.⁶³

The intense physicians’ activism led some of them to collect statistical data. Even though they referred only to the interviewed women and although one must be cautious in using this kind of source, the results of such interviews can highlight some further dimensions of the phenomenon under examination. In one case, 373 women registered as prostitutes were asked by health officers to provide some information about their biography (Table 2.1).⁶⁴ The majority of them were daughters of artisans (121), peasants (72), and workers (68), although there were also girls whose fathers were merchants (20) and officers and clerks (*oficiri, činovnici*) (28). A large part of these registered and urban prostitutes entered this activity when they were between sixteen and nineteen years old, and only around 20% of them were foreigners (10% Magyars, 7.5% “Germans”). Regarding their previous (or further) profession, most of them were domestic

servants (*služavke*) and cooks, but there were also many seamstresses, waitresses, and cashiers (*kasirice*). The emerging collective picture was not to be linked solely with poverty and ignorance: 154 of the interviewed had attended school for up to four years, and 55 completed a four-year-long high school.

Table 2.1. Occupation and motivations: One survey (1929).

MOTIVATION	OCCUPATION PRIOR TO PROSTITUTION												
	AT HOME	PUPIL (UČENICA)	CLERK, SECRETARY	SEAMSTRESS	DOMESTIC SERVANT	WAITRESS	SALESPERSON	WAITRESS, CASHIER	WORKER	UNEMPLOYED AND NOT KNOWN	PEASANT	VARIOUS	TOTAL
Material reasons	41	7	6	19	59	15	6	30	5	5	—	4	197
Unhappy love	8	1	—	2	13	1	—	2	1	—	—	—	28
Argument, contrast with parents	14	1	2	8	6	1	—	5	2	—	2	2	45
Deception, sex trafficking, rape	16	2	4	2	10	1	1	6	3	—	—	2	45
Frivolity, naivety, dissoluteness, shame, fear	22	2	1	3	13	6	1	5	2	—	—	1	56
To feed the children					2								2
	101	13	13	34	103	24	8	48	13	5	2	9	373

Source: Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 36.

The alarming conclusion made by Konstantinović was that economic reasons and sex trafficking were only a part of the explanation for prostitution, while cultural and psychological attitudes seemed in many cases to have played a crucial role. Following the traditionalist and normative views of this author, the Yugoslav girls were exposed in the urban context to superficial, consumerist, corruptive, and deviant messages that attracted some young women who aspired to a gay and luxurious life.

Again, as in the text of the new Penal Code, one can thus recognize in these assumptions the thesis of the “revulsion toward work.” And since this kind of social and sexual behavior also had health consequences, it furnished the health officers with the ideal occasion to vigorously intervene in the public debate.

All of these aspects strengthened the perception of the physicians' "mission" of saving Yugoslav society and its future from imminent extinction caused by the venereal danger. Among the main features of the new interwar medical discourse on prostitution and venereal diseases, we can see that particular attention was paid to the economic and moral consequences of venereal diseases, and these were extended to not only a small circle of people who engaged in reprehensible sexual relations but also the entire society. Stressing the social and national implication of the illness, the social and political role of the physician was underlined. Physicians were charged with the responsibility of urgently furnishing directions for fighting against this terrible social ill.

INTERNAL TENSIONS AND INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES

As indicated by the name of the Law for the Fight against Venereal Diseases and Prostitution, the debate related to this law focused on two issues, one of which was prostitution. Therefore, physicians also needed to take a stand on the best prostitution policy to be adopted by the new state. Before flowing into the abolitionist LFVDP released in 1934, the debate among the medical profession was quite lively, revealing several different points of view.

At a conference on the fight against venereal diseases held in Zagreb in 1920 and attended by medical specialists from all of Yugoslavia, one could still hear clear stances in favor of a regulatory system. The legalization of prostitution in general as well as of brothels and prostitution in private rooms could be positively considered. The physical concentration of prostitutes in given places would above all facilitate medical-social control over them (Figure 2.3). Similar opinions were mainly held by doctors who came from regions where such systems were adopted. "As we do it in Zagreb" was, for example, the introductory formula used by Dr. Thierry, who unwaveringly stood up for the Croatian approach to the issue.⁶⁵ Similarly, Dr. Glück from Sarajevo tried to explain the merits of the Bosnian system to his colleagues. There, among other innovations, specific norms were introduced to avoid the mistreatment and financial exploitation of prostitutes by brothel owners.

However, their arguments do not seem to have been convincing for the rest of the assembly, in particular not for their colleagues coming from other regions. Dr. Gjorgjević, from Belgrade, declared himself clearly against the brothel system, although he conceded that prostitutes should be put under rigorous control.⁶⁶ The crucial point was that control should be exercised not by police authorities but instead by health authorities—a system, Dr. Gjorgjević added, that had already been tested in Belgrade in 1919.



Figure 2.3. Medical check of prostitutes. Source: Bogoljub Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo* (Beograd: Knjižarnica Franje Baha, 1930), 70.

Dr. Thaller, a Slovene physician, saw the main problem as being how to protect the human rights of the women involved. According to him, they were constantly offended by regulatory systems that were “a scandal of first class,” which simply led to forms of proper “enslavement.”⁶⁷

It could seem that every physician participating in this conference was simply trying to defend his own model, that is, the prostitution policy adopted in his region, but it would be simplistic to associate medical belief with national identity. For example, by 1920 there were physicians working in Croatia who considered the brothel to be a shameful and anachronistic institution.⁶⁸ And at least one Slovenian doctor among those who participated in the conference took a nuanced stance, suggesting a temporary form of regulation. According to him, the available equipment, the specific education of current personnel, and the existing financial means meant that the country was not yet ready for abolitionism and that an exceptional and transitional period with provincial brothel systems would be preferable.⁶⁹

This variegated landscape of opinions can also be detected in the following years. The medical practitioners “considered themselves as the most competent actors to give a qualified opinion on the subject,”⁷⁰ and they mobilized to provide a consultation to the political class. With the approaching reform of the state legislation about venereal diseases and prostitution, the first conference was held in Belgrade at the end of 1927. This was organized by the Dermo-Venereal Section of the Serbian Medical Society and

reached conclusions that suggested that serious control be exercised not by the police but instead by health authorities. Neither brothels nor selected areas or buildings were considered as options. The focus of the final resolution of this assembly was on the social role of “work,” with the goal of “rescuing” the “fallen” women by consulting them and then financially helping them through specific programs and institutions.⁷¹

In subsequent physicians’ conferences on this matter, in particular the meeting of the Yugoslav venereologists held in Zagreb in January 1928, some friction could still be felt between the Belgrade medics and those from Zagreb who “again chiefly supported the system, which was introduced in Zagreb.”⁷² On this occasion, voices supporting the brothel system could still be heard, but they were labeled by the majority of the assembly as “a negligible minority of colleagues from some provincial towns.”⁷³

Notwithstanding these divergent views, some steps toward a common position were taken, and in the final resolution one can read that brothels had to be abolished “without doubts and hesitations” (§1) and that a provisory form of neoregulationism had to be introduced (§2), that is, a form of health and social control of prostitutes that was fully in the hands of the health authorities. The physicians went so far as to compile a draft of the articles related to that matter for the new Penal Code and for the new LFVDP.⁷⁴

The international context played an important role in setting the reference framework for this gradual change, which was increasingly becoming orientated toward the abolition of licensed prostitution. Yugoslav physicians were well informed about the developments in prostitution policies abroad and constantly referred to foreign authors and academic studies when developing their arguments.⁷⁵ The main arguments made by critics of regulationist approaches, which were widespread in the United States and Europe, can be found in the Yugoslav debate. According to these points of view, the regulation of prostitution had completely failed in reaching its goals mainly because the majority of prostitutes escaped control, police authorities enjoyed an excessive and arbitrary authority, the medical check was deficient, and the system applied only to women and not to men.⁷⁶ The regulatory system was now considered a relic of the past, an “unsustainable” idea, that was therefore progressively being abandoned by a great number of Western and Central European countries as well as by the recently established Soviet Union.⁷⁷ This was considered to be definitely required by “the modern era.”⁷⁸

A crucial role was played by the moral implications; as explicitly stated, one of the main arguments in favor of the suppression of licensed prostitution was of a moral nature. It aimed to fight the humiliation of women and the double moral standard vis-à-vis men and women. The internationally renowned fighter against women’s sexual exploitation, Josephine Butler, was a constant intellectual reference.⁷⁹ During the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, it had become a topos of the Yugoslav discourse about prostitution to stress the need to “give the woman back her dignity,” to denounce the “female slavery” that took place in the brothels.⁸⁰ This was linked with

the question of the "white slave trade," which had also begun to represent an international public concern.⁸¹

This sensibility toward prostitution and the violation of women's rights represents a novelty for the Yugoslav context. Up to the beginning of the twentieth century there was no strong feminist movement in these regions that would be able to organize abolitionist campaigns such as those led by Josephine Butler in the United Kingdom. However, in the interwar period feminist associations and presses developed consistently, and an increasing number of feminist articles were devoted to the fight against licensed prostitution and the misogynistic moral issues around it.⁸² These texts stressed the social factors that generated prostitution, that is, a social order that gave relevant social and economic privileges to men. The legislation on prostitution reflected the gendered asymmetric power relations existing in society, allowing a free extramarital sexual life to men and imposing rigid moral values on women. The effects of the policies adopted to fight venereal diseases in Yugoslavia in the 1920s were described as a further case of discrimination against women, especially those who occupied socially weak positions.⁸³ Furthermore, considering in particular the question of venereal diseases, the logical incoherence of a system that put only the prostitutes under medical control but not their male clients was illustrated. The entire system was fundamentally inefficient and open to polemic between members of the feminist organizations and some members of the medical profession.⁸⁴ It was also underlined that the abolition of the brothel system and of every form of licensed prostitution was not enough: the "new abolitionism" aimed at fighting prostitution in its entirety.⁸⁵

It is probably also as a result of this international and domestic abolitionist and feminist activism that new sensibilities entered the Yugoslav medical debate, although still mainly articulated by men.⁸⁶ While in the pre-Yugoslav period the preoccupation with the living and working conditions of prostitutes was, with only rare exceptions, mainly absent, during the interwar years it became an integral part of the physicians' analysis of the phenomenon.⁸⁷ Furthermore, the question of forced prostitution and domestic as well as international trafficking of women assumed great visibility in the public debate, as it was addressed in academic texts; public lectures, some of which appeared later in print; parliamentary speeches; and books written by nonphysicians devoted to this topic.⁸⁸

A further new element of the interwar period was the consciousness that not only repressive but also educational and preventative measures were necessary if the phenomena under examination was to be dealt with seriously. An efficient fight against prostitution could be realized only through a series of social reforms, simultaneously improving and defending traditional institutions such as marriage and the family.⁸⁹

Among the preventative measures, significant relevance was given to the education of both adults and young people.⁹⁰ The lectures envisioned by the reformists were

to inform about venereal diseases and the ways one could get infected. They included strong moralist issues aiming to impose normative sexual relationships that excluded paid sex as well as pre- and extramarital sex, forging a precise model of the monogamist, heterosexual, and patriarchal family. Such sensitive issues should be treated “in an opportune way,” and for girls, women doctors were considered more appropriate.⁹¹ However, this could not be guaranteed given that their number was not great enough.⁹² Special institutions for rescuing young girls at risk were seen as “a real blessing”: it was believed that, as had been shown by experiences abroad, such establishments could do miracles.⁹³ They were to work in concert with other state interventions aimed at safeguarding the moral and physical health of young people: measures for fighting alcoholism, for example, and the newly approved law concerning physical education.⁹⁴ All of these initiatives also aimed to contrast what was considered one serious obstacle for the effectiveness of anti-venereal disease campaigns: the reluctance of infected people, especially in the countryside, to turn to health institutions. Traditional attitudes toward sex, the body, healing, and shame were rooted in the popular mentality and to some extent limited the public’s response to the new official measures throughout the interwar period (more about this in Chapter 4), although increasing figures about assisted and cured people can be found.⁹⁵

The experiences from abroad were taken as a positive lead legitimizing the argument with regard to other preventative measures, such as the premarital tests. They were regarded as a not unusual practice and were presented instead as habitual in some societies, as in the Scandinavian countries.⁹⁶ There was wide consensus about the need to introduce such tests, and there were many suggestions that women should also be examined, moving beyond old questions of modesty and shame. But one exception soon became apparent, that of Muslim women, because in this case the question would become “extremely intricate.”⁹⁷ In the end, when premarital examinations were introduced, the minister commented that they “unfortunately” could not be extended to all women “because of our conditions and traditions.”⁹⁸

Notwithstanding the prevailing trend at the beginning of the 1930s, the suppression of regulated prostitution was not destined to easily win its struggle against opponents in Yugoslavia. Among the eight physicians interviewed by the newspaper *Pravda* between 1931 and 1932, three of them expressed proproregulationist opinions, at least for a transitional regime.⁹⁹ Even in the final parliamentary debate on the new law, many critical remarks could still be heard about the abolitionist approach, with the classic proregulation argument that if licensed prostitution were abolished, this would simply become hidden prostitution, completely out of control and therefore much more dangerous.¹⁰⁰ Nonetheless, various proabolitionist arguments discussed in this chapter seem to have become much stronger by the end of the 1920s, and the law was passed unanimously in both houses of the parliament.¹⁰¹ Critics of the new law were anticipated

by the ironic considerations of the proabolitionists, who noted that some men of letters “and even some physicians” couldn’t understand the relevance and the goodness of this law.¹⁰² While these intellectuals were not mentioned by name, their works were quoted as misleading and detrimental: “*Polno pitanje* [The Sexual Question] (by one of our university professors)” and “*Blago cara Radovana* [The Treasure of Tsar Radovan] (by one of our academy members).”¹⁰³ The university professor in question was Aleksandar Kostić, among the founders and later dean of the Faculty of Medicine in Belgrade as well as founder of the Institute of Histology and Embryology. The author of a long series of academic medical studies and handbooks, he also published several works written for a wider audience about sexual hygiene, sexual life, and the understanding of sex within traditional culture.¹⁰⁴ His efforts to develop a modern sexology in Serbia and Yugoslavia were often not welcomed by the Serbian medical community, which labeled his writings as “pornographic.”¹⁰⁵

Similar moral anxieties reinforced the antiregulationist beliefs of a number of Yugoslav physicians, among whom one influential personality was Milan Kićevac. He was the closest associate of Đorđe Đorđević, the first director of the Clinic for Skin and Venereal Diseases in Belgrade (1922–1935), and took the position of director after Đorđević from 1935 to 1940. Together they were the pillars of the Association of Dermatovenereologists of Yugoslavia, organizing three national congresses in 1927, 1928, and 1929.¹⁰⁶ When Kićevac was asked about his opinion on prostitution politics, he articulated a clear stance: the regulatory system was a “barbarian relic of the past,” and the main reasons adduced were that it offended individual freedom and did not work.¹⁰⁷ The logical conclusion, according to him, was that a rigid abolitionist regime should be established in the country, a question about which—Kićevac was serenely convinced—“the opinion is unanimous in all the country.”¹⁰⁸

As this section has shown, this was not exactly the case. However, Kićevac was right in believing that the trend against licensed prostitution and for the criminalization of prostitution was gaining ground. Despite the existence of internal critics and the rich debate about these issues, in the end a quite radical abolitionist thought prevailed. It was a development that saw prostitution not solely in terms of the fight against venereal diseases but also in terms of the new social medicine and its role in building Yugoslav society, as we will see in the next section.

STATE, SOCIAL MEDICINE, AND EUGENICS

The direct influence of the medical profession on the process of political decision-making about venereal diseases and prostitution was neatly summarized by the minister of health and social policy who, when opening the parliamentary debate about the new

law, proudly observed that the legislative preparatory work had been conducted “according to accepted and proven scientific methods” and that “we worked hard in order to make the most of other people’s experiences, and to make the law based on the most modern principles of medical science.”¹⁰⁹ Scientific knowledge and scientific authority proved to be the basis for the new political measures. Furthermore, physicians were directly involved in the preparation, writing, and public discussion of the new prostitution and venereal diseases legislation. Not only, as we have seen, did they very precisely propose the content of the law at their academic meetings, but some of the leading personalities among them were also members of the parliament. For example, the spokesperson of the Law’s Examining Committee, Dr. Đuro Ostojić, was a physician. Additionally, among the first interventions in the lower chamber of the parliament was that of Dr. Nikola Kešeljević, labeled “our venereologist.”¹¹⁰ In the senate house, the debate was dominated by physicians, namely Dr. Petar Zec, director of the hospital in Gospić; Dr. Momčilo Ivković, president of the Yugoslav Medical Association and member of the senate’s Law Examining Committee; and Dr. Uroš Krulj, one of the most prominent Bosnian politicians after World War I, former minister of public health (1919–1921 and shortly again in 1929), chair of the Health Department in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1919–1929), later governor of the Zetska banovina (1931–1932, approximately the current Montenegro), and the author of relevant publications on hygiene and eugenics.¹¹¹

As we saw in Chapter 1, these were the years when social medicine arose in Yugoslavia, led by personalities such as Milan Jovanović Batut, Uroš Krulj, and Andrija Štampar. In accordance with widespread organicist views of society, Štampar and his Yugoslav colleagues considered society as an organism; they approached every social phenomenon considered as a threat to public health as a social disease and elaborated forms of social therapy.¹¹² The state and the new public health infrastructure in the Yugoslav lands were considered in charge of implementing this method, in line with a decisive state intervention in personal and collective health issues.

When this approach was applied to the case of venereal diseases and prostitution, one result was the firm belief that the state had a duty to prevent the spread of venereal diseases by any means in order to remove all threats to collective health. Common interests were to be defended without hesitation even at the expense of individual rights. “It is absurd,” maintained one of the interpreters of this sociomedical thought, “to believe that nobody has the right to forbid the woman to freely decide over her own body.”¹¹³ There was widespread agreement about the necessity of introducing compulsory forms of public health control, bearing in mind that forced segregation was already adopted in cases of epidemics.¹¹⁴

Individual rights were thus subjected to collective rights, which were increasingly understood along corporatist, racial, and eugenic principles. Therefore, prostitution was also increasingly approached in eugenic terms.¹¹⁵ For example, in the 1930s Božo

Škerlj, head of the Sanitary Institute at the Department of Anthropology in Ljubljana and editor of the periodical *Eugenika*, published between 1935 and 1938 as a supplement of *Zdravniški vestnik* (Medical Bulletin), conducted eugenic examinations of prostitutes in the 1930s, publishing several texts on this issue.¹¹⁶

Eugenic issues also emerged repeatedly in the debate about prostitution policy. Beginning with the premise that “sexual purity is the first condition for proper morality,” the reforms under examination were presented as “required by social morality and the hygiene of our race.”¹¹⁷ To the new laws was explicitly ascribed “a marked hygienic-racial meaning.”¹¹⁸ The Yugoslav physicians and politicians also looked at the experiences of countries abroad, concluding that “if countries which are numerically much stronger than us, great and civilized nations, adopt even more drastic measures for preserving the purity of their race, then we can also do it, for saving it from decadence in a biological sense.”¹¹⁹

The implications of the new legal-medical measures for social discipline were outlined by Ostojić when he said that “the most serious problem is not the fight against syphilis, but against syphilitic people.”¹²⁰ More legal tools were invoked in order to be able to force people to be visited and, if necessary, isolated and cured. In general terms, this was done to force the population to adopt the envisioned moral standards, gender norms, and sexual conduct.¹²¹ What was particularly stressed was the need to have police assistance for coercive interventions.¹²² This notwithstanding, the minister of health regarded as one of the “strong points” of the law the paragraph that “abolished all the police administrative measures used up to now for monitoring the prostitutes, handing the entire work to the health authorities.”¹²³

Such structural changes were also the fruit of the ongoing process of state- and nation-building in Yugoslavia. The eugenic principles that guided Yugoslav physicians easily met the goals of the reformers seated in Belgrade. Physicians offered an etiology, a pathology, and a therapy for social phenomena considered of crucial relevance for the future Yugoslav nation, and politicians gladly accepted their suggestions. An effective collaboration had been established in the name of the health and future of the country.

The mutual collaboration had not only internal goals but also implications for the relations of the country with other nations, including its neighboring states and the entire world. It was believed that the newly debated law should “show the cultural consciousness of our state,” including Yugoslavia in the list of “modern states” and proving that it also belonged to “Europe.”¹²⁴ Adopting a new prostitution and venereal diseases policy, the minister of health sought to demonstrate “that we, as a *young* and strong member of the world community, have the firm intention to safeguard and protect our greatest good: popular health.”¹²⁵

This peculiarity of the Yugoslav state, that is, the fact that it had only recently been established, was linked to an additional feature, namely the fact of being situated in

the Balkans, a region traditionally associated in Western societies with economic, political, and cultural backwardness.¹²⁶ The medical-political efforts to fight venereal diseases and prostitution therefore acquired a further political meaning: to distance the Yugoslav present time from the Ottoman past, from the Asian Orient, and from the other Balkan countries.¹²⁷

The new law was considered important “for the international respectability” of the Yugoslav state because, it was said, the League of the Nations was interested in seeing “what will happen in the South” and, more precisely, in the “Balkans.”¹²⁸ In the majority of Southeast European countries, in fact, forms of regulationist systems were still in force, as in Romania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey.¹²⁹ According to the Yugoslav minister of health, by giving a positive reaction to the plea of the League of Nations, which asked member countries to abolish brothels and regulationist laws, Yugoslavia had not only “shown [itself] to be a worthy member of the human community,” but more specifically “a pioneer in one part of South-East Europe. There are no doubts that this accomplishment will serve as [a] model for the other Balkan people.”¹³⁰

Such statements show how the law and the entire sociomedical approach that supported it were also invested with political and cultural symbolic meanings. These meanings were utilized to gain a better position for the country in the hierarchy of the modern civilized states as well as for distinguishing it from the other Southeast European countries. Yugoslavia wanted to be “the first in the Balkans” and to move ahead “on the healthy and good path towards progress.”¹³¹

PROSTITUTIONS AS (NON)WORK: ATTEMPTS OF DEFINITIONS

Reading the medical interventions in these debates, one can easily note that everybody tried to give a clear definition of the phenomenon, although a closer look reveals that contradictions and ambiguities always arose. It was a usual consideration, for example, that there were a lot of temporary forms of prostitution, of so-called nonprofessional prostitution.¹³² This was also called “semiprostitution,” whose increasing diffusion especially among the middle classes was interpreted as a postwar novelty,¹³³ similar to the spread of prostitution in general.¹³⁴

Among forms of semiprostitution, some observers identified a specific new type, along characteristics typical of elite prostitution: elegant dinners, in this case organized by female procurers, in nice apartments that the men could enter only if invited. What was perceived as relatively new was that the relationships between girls and clients assumed traits, according to the sources, of almost “normal” sexual and emotive relationships, “almost engagements” as they are called. It was prostitution, yes, but “dressed in

the clothes of modern social life.”¹³⁵ These engagements included sexual intercourse but also entertainment and occasions for socialization. In the eyes of some commentators, these relationships did not represent proper prostitution anymore. They were not considered as such, also because—it was maintained—they were the “product of a conscious decision,” and therefore they had to do consistently with the main issue of “free love.”¹³⁶ This had to do with the shifts in sexual practices, especially among young people of premarital age, that occurred across the entire European continent, beginning already before World War I but intensifying during the war years and the postwar period.¹³⁷

There was definitely no consensus about how to call this or interpret it. For example, Konstantinović, a physician who was actively engaged in the movement for implementing programs of social hygiene in the country, regarded the state of free love in a peremptory way, believing that “after the third intercourse, it is almost certainly prostitution.”¹³⁸ This is a good example of how notions such as a “high level of promiscuity,” another typical expression from that time, is a very relative historical notion. Konstantinović, after having introduced the definitions of prostitution provided by the most influential international authors of that time, provides his own: a prostitute, according to him, is every woman (male prostitution is not considered) who engages “with continuity or occasionally” in “more or less licentious (*razuzdane*) and weak (*slabe*) sexual relationships for money or something equivalent, with an undetermined (*neomeđeni*) group of men.”¹³⁹ This is a definition with a quite broad semantic field that includes a wide range of sexual behaviors.

The aim of such “inclusive” definitions was clear. For Konstantinović and his colleague physicians, *every* behavior that was “dangerous” for the collective health needed to be condemned and suppressed. The moralist, chauvinist, and eugenic fundaments of such ways of thinking, which I have dealt with in the previous sections, thus had important consequences in terms of gendered social disciplining. All female conducts considered deviant or potentially deviant with respect to the female “norm”—the housewife who mainly had to stay at home, give birth to, and then raise the children, that is, the new generation of the nation—were considered together and assimilated. Konstantinović speaks of a social “class by itself” (*klasa za se*) constituted by the prostitutes,¹⁴⁰ and he considers as elective members of that class not only the registered prostitutes in the brothels but also waitresses, female peddlers, and especially artists. All of these jobs, when women were exercising them, should have been simply “prohibited.”¹⁴¹ As we know from the previous sections, this stance was widely shared by medical practitioners, and it was—at least regarding prostitution—finally successful in shaping the national legislation.

At the same time, police authorities were also struggling with definitions and explanations of prostitution. The discourse developed among police practitioners reveals many similarities with that of physicians. When it came to explaining prostitution, for

instance, authors published in the most relevant Yugoslav police's periodical, *Policija*, mentioned first of all the mental and physiological motivations for prostitution, following a classical Lombrosian approach, that is, the criminal anthropology developed at the turn of the century.¹⁴² However, this far from concluded the discussion, because another factor that systematically featured in explanations was the alleged prostitutes' "work shyness," that is, their unwillingness to (properly) work. Instead of performing their presumed (female) "natural" and social role (to give birth to children, raise them, and take care of their husbands and families via domestic work), prostitutes were accused of choosing an "easier," more comfortable and "luxurious" life.¹⁴³

The perceived stigmatized laziness was explicitly mentioned in the new penal code of 1929 and was called "revulsion toward work (*odvratnost prema poslu*)."¹⁴⁴ Therefore, prostitution was not only a moral and medical issue but also a problem in terms of the new "ethics of work," which began to take shape in Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century, as we saw in the Introduction. The "work-shy" woman became a significant element of the police and physician narratives about prostitution in interwar Yugoslavia. Following arguments similar—as we will see in Chapter 3—to those developed for other "social deviants," prostitutes were regarded as economically and socially disruptive because they were not seen as contributing with a "proper" job to the building of the new healthy, powerful, and demographically and economically strong society.

Even though the police discourse had a strong Lombrosian and biological imprinting, considering the prostitute a genetically degenerated person, this discourse was not monolithic. Along with dysgenic factors and laziness, poverty was also included in the explanations for prostitution, and the widespread extreme poverty that followed World War I and later the interwar economic crises was recognized as one reason for why many young and older women were compelled to sell sex.¹⁴⁵ As a consequence of this multilayered interpretative approach, a handful of authors claimed that some women appeared to engage in prostitution because they were perverse, while other women seemed to have chosen to do it and a third group had been forced. The resulting picture is thus much more nuanced than it might seem at the beginning of most of the articles published in *Policija* about prostitution.¹⁴⁶ The prostitute was depicted as "a predator-parasite" who "steals and ruins" her clients but at the same time as "a victim."¹⁴⁷

Furthermore, typologies elaborated by theoreticians seemed not to be sophisticated enough to offer solutions that could be applicable within modern society. Nikolaj Vasiljevič Krainski, for instance, a psychiatrist working at the Criminological Institute in Belgrade, in a long contribution published in *Policija* wrote about "new women," often artists, perhaps with a "normal" occupation, who engaged in prostitution only temporarily to supplement their low income and planned to leave prostitution, get married, and have children in the future. He linked this "type" with the known phenomenon of "casual prostitution," performed by women "who had their own life."

Beyond prostitution that occurred in low-class and high-class brothels, Krainski identified other forms of “borderline” prostitution, such as the “cocotte” who engaged in occasional elite prostitution and “individual” (self-organized, autonomous) prostitution, oftentimes when a woman worked with the support of her fiancé.¹⁴⁸ Authors such as Krainski struggled to define prostitution. They tried to further use Lombrosian notions of inherent deviance, but they finally also considered a variety of different personal, social, and economic motivations for engaging in commercial sex whose boundaries were essentially extended.

The confusion of Krainski’s many definitions of what constituted prostitution was not made clearer by Yugoslav law. The penal articles concerning prostitution that were introduced in 1929 did not help policemen identify clear definitions of what was to be considered commercial sex. Dragoslav M. Lazić, who occupied a leading position (*načelnik*) at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, was later (March 1, 1939–April 1, 1940) mayor of Belgrade and was also the author of a commented edition of the Penal Code, published in the pages of *Policija*, as a commentary on the Penal Code’s articles about the offenses “against public peace and order,” where he defined prostitutes as those who “indulged in an immoral life with an indefinite number of people.”¹⁴⁹ Lazić also added that this activity needed to be performed with continuity or for “a long period of time,” the latter of which was to be more precisely decided by a court on a case-by-case basis. For a woman to be prosecuted, prostitution had to be a relevant source of income because the main cause of the crime was defined as the “revulsion toward work,” as explained earlier. The commentator explained that the logical consequence of this focus on income would mean that a woman whose engagement in prostitution was caused by her “licentiousness, or illness” could not be prosecuted. Yet as was the case for vagrants, beggars, and “professional gamblers,” prostitutes were also considered as not having a “regular job” and thus posed a threat to “public order.”¹⁵⁰

If these were the discourses at the national level, it is useful to have a look at the local level to see how the borders of this job were conceived and how definitions were shaped with the local concrete circumstances in mind. The Croatian Health Department, for instance, wrote in 1921 to its Bosnian colleagues for information about the procedures for prostitutes’ medical control used in Bosnia. Among the answers, the Bosnian health officer explained for whom the medical visit was compulsory: all the public prostitutes, which means the registered ones, as well the private ones, “known as such.”¹⁵¹ “To be known as” is evidently an elastic concept, which opens the space for widely arbitrary decisions.

The Bosnian Health Department, with its seat in Sarajevo, provides us with a confirmation of the elasticity of the definitions when answering a letter from the mayor of Belgrade. Among many considerations about the prostitution policy in the city, the Bosnian Health Department wrote that “it is obvious, that the control of hidden

prostitutes is necessary as much as that of the public ones, because the main evil comes from them. And among the hidden prostitutes one must count not only . . . the artists, but without a doubt also the waitresses, chambermaids, cashiers, of whom if not 100%, 89–90% are hidden prostitutes.”¹⁵²

As one can see from these correspondences, the local public authorities of the main Yugoslav cities tried to be in contact to share knowledge and exchange experiences. So the Ministry of Public Health forwarded to the Sarajevo authorities the report of a medical officer in Belgrade who explained that a meeting was organized with several municipal and police representatives in order to consider how to proceed toward the women working in some entertainment and night clubs, “Variete, Orfeum and similar locales.” The result was that the Belgrade municipality ordered that all the women employed in these locales be put under compulsory medical control.¹⁵³

What emerges from this evidence is that the local administrative and medical authorities theoretically shared the opinion of Konstantinović. If there were some uncertainties regarding the boundaries of sex work, they should quickly be put out of question: women artists and waitresses were almost certainly prostitutes and needed to be put under medical control.

If these were the stances of physicians and local administrators, it is useful to compare them with the considerations developed in this regard by local police authorities. The mail correspondence between the public authorities in Mostar, a middle-sized Bosnian town, and local police officers can offer some valuable insights.

In July 1920, the head of the province wrote to the city and district office in Mostar ordering that a ground action be carried out in that town so as to identify all the women who were participating in “hidden prostitution” (*tajna prostitucija*).¹⁵⁴ Such an action was explicitly considered to be “self-evidently” a police matter whose aim was to observe all the “suspect elements” and collect evidence that those women were hidden prostitutes.

The head of the province considered the task extremely difficult and recommended that the investigations should be “agile, exact, conscious, *but discrete*.”¹⁵⁵ He was also added that “it is very difficult to hit the mark,” and that was why it was necessary to act “carefully and tactically, in order to avoid, as much as it is possible, erroneously suspecting and humiliating actually innocent ones.” Further stressing the delicacy of the task, the ordinance suggested accurately selecting the agents by choosing the best ones, those “who distinguish themselves for an instinctive intelligence and a conscious reliable conduct during work, and who are in general known for their chaste and strong character.”

What we can derive from these quotes is that public administrative authorities at the provincial level were very aware of and worried about the collective stigmatization that was applied to those women who were accused of being prostitutes. The control over them, which began with police investigations, should be carried out along principles

of correctness and caution that are required in the work of police agents. The annotations regarding the required policemen's characters can also tell us something about police abuse toward prostitutes and "deviant" women. The agents' conduct needed to be crystalline and farsighted, and they needed to be able to see behind the facade of alleged jobs, which in the case of hidden prostitution were used, as it is said, "only as a mask."

Who were these masked sex workers? The answer provided by the same head of the province was the following. "One has to keep an eye especially on those women who are generally low paid in their jobs as waitresses, hotel chambermaids, cashiers, members of itinerant music ensembles and similar professions, that is to say that these jobs act mainly *only as a mask*, under which they do their real profession undisturbed: prostitution."¹⁵⁶

For clear guidelines for such an investigative action, a clear definition of prostitution was also required, and this is what was provided by the provincial authorities: "As a prostitute one has to consider every woman, who gives herself to everyone without choice in exchange of money or for other material advantage."¹⁵⁷ It was an apparently crystalline definition, which should have theoretically made it easy to perform the task. But the next events would contain some surprises.

NUANCES MATTER: MOSTAR, 1920–1921

How were alleged prostitutes concretely identified by police authorities and which approach did they use? While intellectuals, politicians and physicians were debating about the boundaries of prostitution, what happened "on the ground"? How were such cultural norms and legal measures put into practice? The following micro-level analysis of the practices of police and local public authorities will provide some empirical evidence.

More than one year after the abovementioned orders had come from above and after a reminder from the head of Mostar's district to the police captain in Mostar,¹⁵⁸ the latter wrote back to the former transmitting the results of the investigations in a letter that included the information in Table 2.2.¹⁵⁹ Twenty-seven women were identified as hidden prostitutes.

In this letter, it was summarized that the main part of the enlisted women worked as waitresses or musicians in local pubs and hotels, while a few of them, the only ones born in Mostar, were allegedly working "privately" in the streets and at their own places. The police captain first reached the neat conclusion that all of these women (i.e., prostitutes) should be put under medical control.¹⁶⁰

But only some lines after this aforementioned conclusion, the police captain detected one first exception (Ana Č.) without furnishing further motivations. She was the

Table 2.2. Report about “hidden prostitution” in Mostar, 1921.

NR.	NAME AND SURNAME*	PROFESSION	PLACE OF BIRTH	AGE	PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT
1	Olga Ž.	waitress	Zagreb	22	kafe Hercegovina
2	Hilda K.	cashier	Celjo Sl	19	kafe Hercegovina
3	Jelka D.	cook	Okončani Požega	28	Hotel Orijent
4	Marta M.	waitress	Gjakovo	22	Hotel Orijent
5	Anika M.	musician	Kročevo	23	23.9.1921 hospitalized
6	Greta M.	waitress	Velika nedelja	25	Hotel Bristol
7	Ljubica B.	waitress	Fojnica	28	kafe Dariz
8	Ina F.	musician	Dubrovnik	17	kafe Lira
9	Miči S.	waitress	Ciho-Slovačka	24	Hotel Bristol
10	Ana Č.	housewife	Maribor	24	Hotel Bristol
11	Mariška Č.	cashier	Dečuh—Madj.	26	Hotel Bristol
12	Marica M.	waitress	Nova Gradiška	25	works since years
13	Julka R.	waitress	Sarajevo	27	kafe Evropa
14	Anka Č.	musician	Spljet	22	kafe Carigrad
15	Milica J.	maidservant	D. Grad.—C. Gora	20	Pero Dopović
16	Ružica K.	waitress	Pečuh	35	kafe Slavija
17	Ljubica S.	privat	Mostar	22	Bjelušina street
18	Bosiljka Š.	privat	Mostar	24	Tolica Luka— Bjelušina street
19	Zovka D.	privat	Mostar	26	Ševina street
20	Olga Z.	waitress	Sarajevo		Risto Kostić
21	Andje G.	privat	Mostar	20	Rezikalova street, 6
22	Eleonora Z.	musician	Vienna	19	kafe Hercegovina
23	Olga V.	musician	Vienna	21	kafe Hercegovina
24	Ludmila K.	musician	Vienna	36	kafe Hercegovina
25	Ludmila H.	musician	Vienna	21	kafe Hercegovina
26	Margareta H.	musician	Vienna	18	kafe Hercegovina
27	Ana E.	singer with tamburica	Bos. Brod	21	kafe Carigrad

* Surnames have been shortened for privacy reasons.

Source: ABiH, ZOMNZ, Box 32, The Police Captain in Mostar to the
Head of the Mostar District, September 27, 1921, Annex 2.

only one reported as a “housewife” (see Table 2.2). This begs the following questions: Can a housewife be a prostitute? Does she need to be monitored by public authorities, or is her husband a sufficient authority of control? We can only speculate about the reasons of this first immediate exception, although her connotation as a housewife must have played a role.

Also further in the report, the self-confidence of the captain is shaken regarding the cases of the female musicians working in the café Hercegovina, and that is why he preferred to refer the decision about them to the city’s and district’s offices. But in the event that they would not be put under control, the captain was of the opinion that it should be forbidden for them “to sit in the café together with the clients, to drink and have fun with them, as they do every night.”¹⁶¹ It seems that sitting with clients was already considered dangerous in moral and epidemiological terms, and that is why the proposal was extended “also to all the musicians, waitresses and cashiers who are not listed in the attached report.” Therefore, in the eyes of the local police captain this was to be only the first step for exercising proper control over all the suspicious women working in the town.

The task of identifying hidden prostitutes in Mostar was still not fulfilled. The head of the county, when he had ordered to do these investigations, had explicitly foreseen that the results of the police inquiry should be sent to the district’s and the city’s heads, “among whose duties there is also the examination of the data regarding their credibility (*verodostojnost*), and to consider, evaluate, and consequently order.” But in the following letter of the district’s head, the doubts first expressed by the police captain are radicalized. In that document it is written that “*almost not one* of the women listed in the report is such a woman, who professionally rents out her body to everybody for some money or other material advantage, to everybody without choice.”¹⁶² The author clearly makes use of the definition provided by the highest regional authority in the first document of this correspondence, where the crucial criterion is evidently the question of “choice.” There is a fundamental difference, according to the head of municipal administration, if you have remunerated sexual intercourse “with everybody” or only with selected men. According to this interpretation, prostitution *ad personam* is not prostitution.

This becomes clearer in the continuation of the argumentation. While the overall tone at the beginning of the document tended to deny that there were any prostitutes at all in the town, further on some distinctions are introduced, clarifying that “most of them [the listed women] sometimes live with one man, and if they maybe do prostitution, they do it with individual men, not with all.”¹⁶³ In other words, occasional prostitution should be distinguished by frequent/regular prostitution, which contradicted all the mainstream legal definitions and especially the concerns put to the forefront in physicians’ debates and are at the origins of the control measures disposed by the head of Mostar’s province.

As the head of the district explains further in the same letter, one has to consider in Mostar as proper prostitutes only “all the chambermaids in hotels as well as some waitresses and musicians” in case it is proven that they are “inclined to hidden prostitution, hustling themselves if not exactly to everybody without choice, then at least more often and to more men [than the abovementioned women of Mostar].”¹⁶⁴ The latter ones, as it is later explained, “our domestic women, although one cannot say that all of them are honest, nonetheless do this profession—to the extent they do it—very carefully and in a hidden way, both because of the fear of police, and of the shame towards their acquaintances and family members.”

Therefore, a line is drawn between domestic and foreign women, and the notion of prostitution is conceived in gradual terms, beginning with the “ideal-typical” cases of professional prostitutes, who work regularly and without selecting their clients; through forms of a more or less frequent prostitution, consequently with a reduced number of clients, practiced in public locales; and ending with forms of quite occasional prostitution, oriented to a small and select circle of men and exercised in private places, hidden from indiscrete gazes.

For a section devoted to the practical implementation of health and police measures, it is of great relevance to consider what were the final results of this police action and the theoretical considerations of local actors. The final conclusion reached by the head of the district was that “the latter ones [the occasional, domestic prostitutes] cannot be considered hidden prostitutes” and, implicitly, should not be put under compulsory medical control. It was more or less the opposite of the expected result and contrary to all the guidelines coming “from above” and elaborated by the central health, public, and police authorities.

NORMALIZATION OF WORK, GENDER ROLES, AND SEXUAL BEHAVIORS

This chapter has shown how the prostitution policy in Yugoslavia evolved during the interwar period, moving from a mainly regulationist tendency toward radical abolitionist legislation, and how this process was deeply inspired and partly managed by the medical profession. In many ways, this development had to face the historical legacies of the constitutive regions of this newly established state. Varying legal frameworks with different approaches to the phenomenon of venereal diseases and prostitution led to various experiences and opinions among the physicians who debated the issue. During the 1920s academic meetings and publications devoted to this topic increased, demonstrating a variety of opinions. Nonetheless, a critical approach toward regulated

prostitution gradually prevailed and led to new legislative measures for fighting venereal diseases and prostitution introduced between 1929 and 1934.

Through an analysis of the medical debate, this chapter has demonstrated the reasons for and the arguments deployed in regard to this development, illustrating international as well as domestic factors. Prominent among these factors was the relevant role played by the international abolitionist and feminist campaigns as well as the rise of social medicine and eugenic ideas; their main arguments were imported and adapted to the Yugoslav case. An international inspiration for the new venereal diseases policy and the fight against prostitution, which showed marked similarities with the German approach of the late 1920s, is thus undeniable. However, one of the conclusions of this chapter is that it would be impossible to understand the facts under examination without linking them to the domestic context. For example, the European-wide anxieties regarding the threat to society represented by syphilis were worsened in Yugoslavia by an endemic form of this disease, deeply rooted in one region, namely Bosnia. This endemic case was associated with a historic and symbolic Ottoman-Balkan legacy from which the new country wanted to break free. Similarly, the debate about the regulatory system versus abolitionism as well as eugenic concerns were all under the strong influence of the Yugoslav state- and nation-building processes that were elaborated in those years. Because Yugoslavia was a newly established country, these processes acquired a distinguished place at the top of the list of the ruling class's political priorities.

The nationalist and authoritarian development at the state political level represents a clear expression of such political concerns and may help explain why the prostitution policy changed and why it did so at that time. It seems to be no coincidence that the approach toward prostitution was reformed at a time of important political change. The developments after 1929 furnished some conditions for deploying a new Yugoslav unitary and repressive approach with a strong state and decisive state intervention in social and health issues. The constitutional and administrative reforms of the state provided physicians with the legal and institutional tools for enacting sociomedical beliefs. On the other hand, the role played by the royal dictatorship must not be overestimated: part of the processes, although accelerated and intensified in the 1930s, were already ongoing by the 1920s. As shown in this chapter, physicians had already intensively discussed and developed their ideas well prior to the dictatorship.

In fact, physicians did not passively wait for the decision of the political class and constantly tried to influence the process of decision-making. As I hope to have shown in this chapter, they succeeded in this aim. Yugoslav physicians made a major contribution to conceiving, debating, and finally formulating prostitution policy and laws. They did so indirectly, through their academic meetings and publications and directly as members of both houses of parliament.

The language of the medical debate refers to the “modernization” of society, the threat of “degeneration” of the Yugoslav “race,” and the need to defend the “body” and the “morality” of society, thus recalling typical notions of modernization ideologies and eugenic theories. Sexist and conservative points of view were widespread, and aside from theoretical pleas for gender equality, the debate was primarily focused on how to determine and control female social and sexual conduct rather than that of men. However, the first concerns regarding the specific gendered aspects of the discrimination of prostitutes also appeared.

Yugoslav physicians shaped the issue of venereal diseases and prostitution as a medical and social problem, demanding more power to manage it. The first main conclusion of this chapter is that growing medical opposition to the existence of a form of tolerated work such as prostitution as well as the opposition to a regulatory system administered by the police was successful, affirming the professional authority of medical expertise in this field. A combination of nation-building, state centralization and state intervention in the social field, and the rise of social medicine and eugenics took place in Yugoslavia in the interwar period,¹⁶⁵ and this also affected some social marginal jobs, as shown by the case of prostitution.

The implications in terms of social engineering were explicitly illustrated by all participants of the debate and the resulting decision-making process. The goal was to build a new healthy, strong Yugoslav society. This goal was shared by both the political class and the medical profession, particularly after 1929. The medicalization of society took decisive steps during those interwar years, stressing state responsibility for collective health and the crucial role that physicians had to play in ensuring it.

A second conclusion of this chapter is that prostitution in interwar Yugoslavia was at the center of intense public debates, which also focused on its peripheral and precarious status as “work.” It was not only a matter of legality/illegality but also raised hygienic and moral issues. There were not only voices supporting the legalization of prostitution because of pragmatic reasons, that is, considering it as a “necessary evil” and therefore invoking at least a rigid state control over it. There were also voices—the same that appealed for a modern understanding of “free love”—that denote vague attempts at destigmatizing it. Prostitutes were depicted as women who criticized the idea of prostitution as a “dirty” job and even claimed their “right to work.”¹⁶⁶ Following these commentators, prostitution was considered a social “need,” alongside bars and restaurants,¹⁶⁷ and borderline sexual behaviors were recognized as an integral part of traditional social life at least for some social actors, such as widowed orthodox priests, who lived *more uxorio* with their maidservants, not to mention the artists, who could allegedly really enjoy “the beauty of life”; also military officers and female teachers, for different reasons, were considered.¹⁶⁸

Yet the same author could provide contradictory arguments, declaring that it was that girl who “does not appreciate work” and was attracted by a passion for the appearance who very soon became a prostitute.¹⁶⁹ This observation is linked with the typical arguments that were intended to oppose female emancipation. It seems that the increasing repressive measures against prostitution introduced in the 1930s were also a reaction to these sociocultural developments. Especially women in the urban context and belonging to the middle classes were accused of being exaggeratedly attracted by luxury and were therefore induced to escape from their maternal and domestic duties. It was not by chance, it was argued, that a body of poetic works was published in those years celebrating “the free lives of women” and addressing sexual and erotic issues.¹⁷⁰

These arguments similarly applied to prostitutes. One can read that they were trying to “emancipate” themselves from their marital duties and from social and personal duties of any kind, with the arguments reducing their concerns to pure commercial and physical relationships.¹⁷¹ Prostitutes were therefore “antisocial” not only because of medical reasons, that is the spreading of venereal diseases, but also from a perspective that focuses on the realm of work: prostitutes were accused “of not participating in the general work,”¹⁷² where “work” here refers mainly to the procreative duties of the woman in a traditional society. The accusation was reinforced by the observation that they did it exactly in the period of their maximal fertility, thus causing serious “damage” to their society.

What I hope has emerged from this chapter is that several social actors tried in the examined period to define more clearly the border between work and nonwork when prostitution (sex work) was conceived. In this regard, there are two main results. First, the chapter showed that after a first stage, when a legal notion of partly recognized prostitution was established, a second stage followed, when commercial sex was entirely and definitely placed among the worst forms of activities that were nonrecognized as work, that is, illegal activities. This alone is of great interest for the historical investigation of the normalization processes of “work,” showing how the field of (in this case female) work and its boundaries are socially constructed, and how sociopolitical and institutional changes influence that historical process. The precariousness of some “professions,” prostitution among others, is exemplified by their trajectories, which sometimes began with a job and ended with a crime. It is a trajectory that took place *inside* the framework of “nonwork”: a job, which was marginalized from the beginning, became a completely criminalized and stigmatized activity. It moved downward in the hierarchy of “nonwork” to the extent that it completely lost the status of work and even of nonwork.

Second, the chapter offered some insights into the internal hierarchies of this unstable nonwork, with particular attention to *its own boundaries*. What emerged is that

there was a broad range of sexual and social behaviors that were sometimes considered as partly belonging to the realm of prostitution. Every sexual behavior that moved away from the normative one was increasingly stigmatized. This led to a normalization of every deviant relationship, labeled as “prostitution.” It is a process that imposed a new model of society and sex relations. The so-called rational relationships, that is without a “romantic” character, were now more in danger of being prosecuted. Therefore, the criminalization of prostitution (1929–1934) suppressed not only professional prostitution but also a series of social behaviors that were now not accepted anymore. For a woman, it was enough to have an extramarital relationship or not to have a permanent address or a regular income to be suspected. Borderline deviant female behaviors could be more easily assimilated with sex work: a convergence of new legal measures, traditional cultures, and new scientific paradigms induced a normalization of gender roles and female sexual behaviors.

At the same time, doubts were raised by public authorities themselves, particularly when they needed to put the rules into practice, regarding the women to be considered as nonprofessional prostitutes. From the illustrated microhistorical case study clearly emerged discrepancies and tensions between theory/practice, center/periphery, police/public authorities, and locals/outside. Other case studies confirm that continuities can be traced even after the abolition of regulation, during the 1930s.¹⁷³ The clearness of some theoretical formulations was in the practices complicated by contradictions and doubts, raised by women who deviated from the model of both the “normal” Yugoslav woman and of the typical public prostitute. The abovementioned process of normalization was thus obstructed by the ambiguity of some social conducts that resisted being easily categorized in terms of (sex) work.

All of this suggests that in the historiographical discussion about work/nonwork it is opportune not to speak in rigid dichotomous terms, opposing the first element to the other as if there were simply a line dividing them. This seems to confirm the validity of the interpretative model of nonwork proposed in the Introduction. Similarly as in “border studies,” where the border is now conceived not as a “line” dividing the regions but as a “border region,” marked by hybrid dynamics and processes of “bordering,”¹⁷⁴ in the analysis of the relationship between work and nonwork it is useful to adopt an enlarged concept of work, which also includes all the marginalized forms of work marked by a progressively decreasing degree of social and/or legal recognition. Some jobs—and prostitution is a good example—can have an extremely unstable, precarious status inside the field of work, rarely being considered as proper work and mainly considered as a tolerated work (i.e., a nonwork), finally slipping out of the field of work and becoming simply a criminal activity.

The history of Yugoslav prostitution in the interwar period has offered a good chance for investigating the changing boundaries of socially and legally recognized

work and to discuss and refine the usefulness of categories such as work/nonwork for historical research. Furthermore, this chapter confirmed how the examination of the history of marginal groups' jobs can shed new light on Yugoslav interwar history, showing how some sociopolitical developments intertwined around nonwork issues. In the case study under examination, the changed perception of this "job" was linked with the changed perceptions of the role of woman in society as well as to processes of state- and nation-building, including new public health concerns. The effect was the inauguration of a new stage in the history of Yugoslav social engineering.

TAMING ITINERANT WORKERS

Peddlers and Wandering Artists

INTRODUCTION

Jelko Jabotinovič's plan was to sell *burek* on the streets of Ljubljana.¹ He held a regular permission for working as a baker,² and in February 1931 he applied for a further authorization for peddling. Yet he had to face a disappointment: city authorities denied him the license. He stubbornly wrote first to the Ministry of Trade and Industry (MTI),³ and then he appealed to the regional authorities (*Banska uprava*) against the city authorities' decision but in vain. The regional administration rejected the appeal,⁴ clarifying that the reasons were mainly of a hygienic nature: the idea of publicly offering "fat products," exposed to the "always dusty air" of the street, and to be "manipulated" by "dirty hands" was definitely against the opinion of the city physician and of the local and regional authorities. It was also added that selling food on the street was dangerous for the traffic and bad from an "aesthetic" point of view.

What does this story tell us? Was it the expression of a particular Slovene strictness, as in the case of prostitution, or does the anecdote have a broader Yugoslav significance? Did it play a role that Jelko was of Serbian origin—he signed his name in Cyrillic—and that he wanted to sell a product or foster a commercial habit, which could be linked with backward semi-Oriental and "Balkan" cultures? Which was the legal framework for these kinds of working activities, and how did it change during the interwar years?

This chapter will provide some answers to these questions, contextualizing them in the debates that arose in Yugoslavia around the "itinerant workers," those working on the street.⁵ The street is in fact the space that frames this chapter. It is about workers who are somehow "nomadic" but not in seasonal terms, such as the notorious Southeast European case of the *pečalbari*.⁶ The latter ones moved, generally from the land to the city, in order to perform "sedentary" jobs for a limited period, mainly in the construction

industry. In this chapter I focus instead on people who *worked moving around*. They did not simply take a trip or repeatedly move in order to work, their work being essentially rather mobile.

Modern states developed beginning with the sixteenth century, and especially during the nineteenth century a growing aversion toward “wandering” people of every kind: the modern governance preferred sedentary citizens who could much more easily be registered, taxed, and monitored as well as educated and nursed.⁷ Concerning more precisely peddling and street artists after World War I, European state authorities first of all believed they were confronted with issues of security and order, suspecting these persons of being spies of the neighboring countries. Later, public authorities developed an increasing attention toward fiscal issues, social hygiene, and economic policy regarding those social and economic actors.⁸ Recent migration studies highlighted the relevance of focusing on itinerancy as a way for innovating the research about mobility beyond traditional labor migration patterns, focused on “definitive” labor migration or on seasonal labor mobility, particularly in the case of rural studies, on day laborers, but neglecting itinerant workers.⁹ Although internal migration in Europe was the rule in preindustrial times and even increased from the end of the eighteenth century, “a sedentary state remained the norm,”¹⁰ and migrating workers and especially the mobile poor were a source of fear and great concern among the ruling classes.

The main aim of this chapter is to investigate how these types of workers were inscribed in Yugoslav society, where the border was drawn between the appropriate/inappropriate forms of itinerant work, and how traditional and new social actors in this field negotiated these borders. The chapter is divided into two parts, the first about peddlers and the second about itinerant artists, including street musicians, itinerant cinemas, and Roma bear leaders. These two different groups of itinerant workers are useful elements for reconstructing the history of itinerant work in interwar Yugoslavia.

Some of the historiographical and theoretical-methodological premises illustrated in the Introduction of this book are to be recalled and further developed here. The history of itinerant workers is a perfect example of a historical issue that has long been considered by historical research as a “nonissue,” that is, not interesting because almost self-evident. Following a widespread “criminological” approach, the research has often focused on the repressive measures against actors simply considered as a criminal group and clear social outcasts. The result was the (hi)story of a progressive, linear, and clear process of stigmatization, criminalization, and repression. Based on the assumption of the fundamental incompatibility between industrialization and ambulant professions as well as between nomadic and sedentary lifestyles, itinerant workers and nomadic social groups were depicted mainly as culprits and victims.¹¹

On the contrary, an alternative approach and a more nuanced analysis is necessary in order to properly understand the social history of itinerant groups.¹² First of all, their

economic function has to be taken seriously. This chapter will show that both peddlers and itinerant artists cannot be regarded—as was usual in the interwar Yugoslav and European society—as representatives of useless and antieconomic professions, characterized by a “parasitic” socioeconomic attitude and therefore to be considered as forms of “begging in disguise.” The investigation of the perspective of the itinerant workers and also of the public authorities themselves will reveal that different opinions were also widespread, acknowledging the positive role of these working activities. If this assumption is true, we are not just simply dealing with a story of stigmatization and repression but instead are dealing with a more complicated and, from a historical point of view, much more interesting sociocultural question.

Second, the alleged primitiveness—that is, pre- and antimodern character of these jobs—must be approached very carefully. As was convincingly argued regarding other (Western) European regions, itinerant groups showed between the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century a high degree of economic flexibility, being able to adapt to major economic changes.¹³ The Industrial Revolution did not simply make obsolete all itinerant professions; on the contrary, some of them were prompted by industrialization. Paper production, dependent on the rag-and-bone business, and the market of jute carpets manufactured in the German province of Silesia, entirely relying on distribution by peddlers, are only two examples of that.¹⁴ Even the by-effects of industrialization played an important role in sustaining peddling, as this chapter will also show: the demand for cheap items such as brooms, fancy goods, and earthenware increased enormously during the nineteenth century, first in the cities and then in the countryside as well.

It is certainly true that some of these jobs, such as those street musicians and performers and partly coppersmiths and tinsmiths specialized in the mending of kettles, have premodern origins. The demand for such services was too low in a single city or village, and a small class emerged of people specialized in itinerant occupations, “thus complementing the functions of their sedentary colleagues.”¹⁵ It is also true that many of these itinerant professions were linked with some modern objects, even industrial products: people, especially in a urban/semiurban context and if they were wage workers, had no time or ability to manufacture or repair these objects. The mending of umbrellas is a perfect example but also knife grinders, chair bottomers, and sellers of self-made products such as baskets, sieves, and brooms are to be linked and explained as not recurring to the stubborn and hopeless resistance of traditional and surpassed jobs but instead to European and global industrialization processes, the increase in population and spending power, and the new demand for mending and renewing commodities. Furthermore, all of this must be put in the framework of the shift to an industrial society, a shift that was only *gradual*—a consideration that fits particularly well with the case of interwar Yugoslavia.¹⁶

When speaking about itinerant people and professions, particular attention must be paid to Roma communities. In many scholarly works one can read about specific “Gypsy occupations,” among them exactly those that this chapter deals with.¹⁷ Yet recent comparative studies about these issues have shown how it can be misleading to adopt “Gypsy” as a mere ethnic category, especially when applied to itinerant professions. In Germany, for instance, peddling was gradually identified with “Gypsiness,” understood not in ethnic terms but exactly as a way of life, generally recognized through the exercise of an itinerant work.¹⁸ Not only at the level of the legal, political, and academic discourses and in the press but also in the police and administrative practices at the local level were peddlers in Germany called “Gypsies.” This resulted in an increasingly systematic social exclusion of peddlers/Gypsies, who underwent processes of radical stigmatization, expulsion, control, and registering. Similar developments also took place in the same years in the Netherlands and in Belgium.¹⁹

Studies with these approaches have rarely been done regarding the Yugoslav case.²⁰ This chapter will provide some insights that suggest that the Yugoslav interwar experience was quite different if compared with the abovementioned European countries. The discourse and practice about peddling, for example, remained distinct from that about the Gypsies. Peddling in Yugoslav lands was a quite rooted commercial habit, exercised mostly by people who were Yugoslav citizens and not only belonging to a cultural-ethnic group identifiable and identified as “Gypsies.”²¹ Furthermore, most of the alleged specific Gypsy occupations were also practiced by non-Gypsies, with some few exceptions such as bear leading. More generally, itinerant work cannot be considered, especially for the Yugoslav case, as peculiar to members of Gypsy communities. For these reasons, in this study there is not a specific chapter or section devoted to Yugoslav Gypsies per se, and they are instead included in the main analysis of itinerant work and of nonwork in general.

FIRST PART: PEDDLERS

The Rule(s) and the Exception(s)

It is impossible to give an overview of the historical development of the legal framework concerning peddling (*torbarenje* or *kućarenje*) in interwar Yugoslavia without providing a very long list of laws, local regulations, updated and modified versions, alongside many diverting, peculiar regional, local, and individual cases. This is probably the first and main characteristic of the legal context under examination: its unstable and jeopardized nature was the expression of the big energies invested by the ruling elite in order to manage this social and economic phenomenon. At the same time, this situation

was also the manifestation of the difficulties they faced, being confronted with historical legacies, contrasting economic projects, and resistance from many sides. The history of the legal measures introduced to tame peddling in interwar Yugoslavia is a story of rules and particularly of exceptions. Instead of providing a detailed reconstruction of it, I choose some paradigmatic cases, focusing on the arguments that were developed in support of or in opposition to peddling.

The first legal measure after World War I taken in this field by a national body was the prohibition issued by the MTI in April 1921, to be applied to the region of Banat, Bačka, and Baranja, that is, Vojvodina.²² The minister had previously consulted a high number of territorial and local authorities, including mayors of the main cities in the region, heads of districts, and the chambers of trades and crafts. They were all unanimously against the existing law of September 4, 1852, which allowed peddling, and were in favor of the complete prohibition of this commercial activity. The reasons adduced summarized many arguments that would remain relevant across the entire interwar period: (a) peddling was the best way for spreading around, and without limit, false, often unsettling news, with the effect of further angering the lowest strata of society, already quite discontent; (b) peddling was performed mainly by non-Serbian and before all by nonloyal citizens, that is, Jews, Germans, and Hungarians, who were de facto spying; (c) peddling had become superfluous, because thanks to the new transport infrastructures and the good locally articulated market system, there was no need for peddlers anymore; (d) peddling often consisted essentially of swindling the clients; and (e) the existing law was clearly outdated.²³

After such a strong statement made by all the involved authorities, it is not surprising that the minister of trade and industry, in agreement with that of Internal Affairs, decided to forbid peddling in that region. One could also think that with this act a page was turned on this issue. But it is better not to jump to rushed conclusions because after only one year, the minister of internal affairs had already written to the MTI, suggesting a reconsideration of that general ban,²⁴ and in May 1922 the exception to the rule had been formalized.²⁵ It was explained that the rule, when it had been conceived, was right, that its beneficial effects were evident and the goals were achieved; at the same time, it entailed “a weak side” because it went against the interests of the “home industry” (*kućevna industrija*; i.e., home based mainly manufacturing business), which on the contrary was supported by the state in all the other Yugoslav regions and represented a flourishing economic branch in Vojvodina. The result was a first restriction of the prohibition, not to be applied to home industry’s products.

This oscillation between aspirations of political and commercial elites and local socioeconomic circumstances, between proposed legal changes and historical practices, and between rule and exception is the distinguishing feature of the struggles around peddling in interwar Yugoslavia. The MTI tried to clarify its position in a later

document of 1924: the practices that existed prior to the unification had to be maintained, and the prohibition was only of a local nature, with strong political motivations, and contemplating many exceptions. Yet this approach could not be easily applied to all the territories, where the Habsburg law of 1852 was still in force, that is, in the Slovenian, Croato-Slavonian, Dalmatian, and Bosnian Herzegovinian provinces. The MTI itself claimed to be aware of the fact, for example, that in the Slovenian provinces there was a different tradition toward peddling, which was more rigid and severe, and it was exactly the MTI's intention to "soften" these practices.²⁶

These kinds of interventions, the minister went on, should not be misunderstood. It was considered in the interest of all not to properly support this craft; on the contrary, it should be progressively eliminated: "It is old and anti-modern . . . in the present developed economy." Considering the economic circumstances of the country, it should be allowed only in those regions, where it represented the only source of subsistence or where it was an old common practice.

Following a contorted and contradictory path, it could happen that one decision was taken in July 1925, only to be declared null the next month.²⁷ And when an exception was declared in principle, this then needed to be concretely applied to each singular case. Let us consider the example of a "negative" exception, such as the issue of the border districts (*pogranični srezovi*) where peddling had to be forbidden, although in their respective province it was permitted in general terms. This measure clearly raised the question of defining what were to be considered border districts throughout the Yugoslav territory. All the regional governors (*veliki župani*) were therefore asked to provide a list of such districts, which was done during 1926.²⁸ Yet there was no good communication between the governorates, and they were not exhaustively informed about where in their country it was allowed to exercise peddling or not. Still in 1927, the Chamber of Trades and Crafts in Zagreb invoked as an urgent matter a full list of the districts off limits for the peddlers.²⁹ It must also be considered that even in the districts where peddling was prohibited, it was permitted for some local inhabitants if they sold home products (§11 of the new law, 07.11.1925) and that there were some privileges (*povlastice*) (§17) foreseen, for instance, for extremely poor local communities. It was exactly recurring to this paragraph of the new law that the governor of the Travnik province (*Veliki Župan Travničke oblasti*) proposed the modification of a law about peddling from 1880, still in force in that area, asking for the inclusion of two new districts in the list of the particularly poor places that could enjoy the benefits of the §17.³⁰

This fragmented legal landscape provoked much discontent by territorial and local authorities, which invoked a national and clear common law. The MTI then began to work on unified rules on peddling (*pravilnik o torbarenju*), sending drafts to all the chambers of trades and crafts as well as to the governorates and collecting their

opinions. Among them, the governorate in Skopje is of particular interest because it explained that peddling was highly developed there up to 1912 but was performed not by the poorest of the local society but instead by Jews and “Cincars” (Aromanians) without the financial capital needed for opening a shop.³¹ According to the governor, after World War I this commercial activity had declined, still existing and relying on home products such as “Nürnberg’s ware” (*nirnerska roba*, cheap small items and knick-knacks),³² and objects derived from imported cellulose and glass, used by the peasants as poor fashion jewelry. Thus, the first conclusion that can be drawn from this report is that Yugoslav peddling entailed many local variants, which could sensibly differ one from the other and should therefore be treated differently. In some regions peddling was deeply rooted in the socioeconomic microsystem, could have some ethnocultural connotations, was still operating in the framework of its own commercial niche, and was not to be associated with poverty.

On the other hand, the Macedonian governor added two considerations that show how some concerns had an overall Yugoslav significance: he stated that the selling of imported products and especially the “Nürnberg’s ware” had to be strictly prohibited because the habit was to exchange it for agricultural products. The peasant, said the governor, did not appreciate what he had at home, the fruits of his work on the land, and the result was that he “paid” bauble with a disproportionate amount of agricultural products. It was not rare that he was ready to exchange some kilos of corn for “the most common bangle of cellulose, a compact mirror or a ring.” In short: peasants were swindled. Peasants were naive, and peddlers were professional charlatans, an argument that we have already encountered in the analysis of this debate and contributed to the stigmatization of this profession.

Furthermore, two more typical issues were also raised from this “southern”—in Yugoslav terms—observatory. The first was the risk of spying activities, of particular relevance in that internationally contested territory, although the argument was addressed also by other governors, such as in Zagreb.³³ The second issue was the question of the unfair competition with shopkeepers, who had to pay high local, regional, and state taxes, while the peddlers only had to pay for their license, thus being able to sell the same products for a lower price. This last argument was of crucial relevance from a fiscal-economic perspective and was constantly stressed by all the institutional representatives of the shopkeepers and the local authorities throughout the entire territory of the country and the entire examined period. From the point of view of the institutional actors considered here, peddling was simply exercised, as the governor in Zagreb put it, by “primitive” people.³⁴ This has deeply to do with the supposed anti-modern character of this business activity, considered outdated and impossible to be harmonized with a modern state.

Supporting the Peddlers

What has been exposed by now should not leave the impression that institutional actors were all simply against peddling. The Chamber of Trades, Industry and Crafts in Novi Sad, for example, in December 1935 was in favor of the applications submitted by the inhabitants of two towns on the Dalmatian coast who asked for the permission to sell their products derived from corals and sponges. Of the same opinion were the chambers in Dubrovnik and in Banja Luka, while from Skopje and Ljubljana came opposing statements.³⁵ The consulted archive fonds are full of similar interpellations submitted by local and regional state authorities as well as by chambers of trades and crafts in favor of a certain place or business branch.

An illuminating example comes again from Novi Sad: the local Chamber of Trades, Industry and Crafts, which was in general quite against peddling, nonetheless took a clear position in favor of a specific business: “those skillfully manufactured weavers and equipment (*Ausstattung*) for newlyweds,” that is, trousseaus. This branch of production was considered “extremely relevant” in that region, and it was expanding more and more. Comparisons were made with Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania, where this craft business also seemed to be very developed, providing subsistence to a high number (“thousands”) of peasants. In order to have such results, these people should be allowed to do what was prohibited by the actual regulations: to travel, showing samples, collecting orders, and bringing the final goods.³⁶

In other cases, fine distinctions among the various forms of peddling were made. The Chamber of Trades and Crafts in Dubrovnik, for example, explained that it had nothing against the inhabitants of the bordering Herzegovina, who came to sell their *čilimi*,³⁷ an activity that was not exercised by people residing in the area with the same competence. Furthermore, the south-Dalmatian chamber was in general firmly against peddling in the main towns (Dubrovnik, Kotor, Herceg Novi, and Korčula) but not anywhere else. It was explained that in the bigger places the inhabitants could buy in shops the same articles offered by the peddlers; on the contrary, in smaller places peddling could be very useful because peasants could avoid going to the city for shopping and so could save time.³⁸ Thus, in the debate under examination there was also space for a kind of “social usefulness” ascribed to peddling, valid for not only peddlers and their families but also broader communities if not also the national economy.

In any case, the main arguments that were used by peddlers and their supporters aiming to legitimize this job addressed the poor economic circumstances that characterized some towns and cantons. Peddling was thus understood and presented as the only way to survive for the people living in those places. And if it was a matter of surviving, one should be ready to fight for it. These local communities could in fact be very active in the defense of their historical rights and in pursuing their goals. Entire towns acted collectively, enjoying the support of local and sometimes even higher public authorities.

A good example of that is the case of Đurmanec, a village in the northwest of present-day Croatia. On May 2, 1932, forty-five local peddlers showed up in the offices of the mayor and voiced their objections to the new legal measures, which restricted the possibility to perform this job such as prohibiting the use of a cart. They explained that theirs was an old job, always done with the aid of a cart. The items they sold could not be transported by carrying them on the shoulder. They had a traditional logistic organization that foresaw many peddlers working in a team, thus moving together and carrying their wares with a small convoy. When they reached the first destination, each peddler went farther on foot, going back to the convoy before moving together to the next village.³⁹

What is of interest are the following repeated engagements by different authorities on this matter. The peddlers were not alone. The municipality of Đurmanec forwarded the petition to the district authority (*sresko načelstvo*) in Krapina, highlighting that the peddlers' arguments were right, and the district authority was of the same opinion when it wrote to the regional governor.⁴⁰ Even the governor, forwarding the acts to the MTI, supported the cause.⁴¹ A similar correspondence between public authorities of different levels also took place five years later.

What is of relevance here is the efficacy of the peddlers' initiatives: they asked for and obtained nothing less than a hearing with the minister of the MTI. This means that they delivered their petition literally into the hands of the minister, having the possibility to explain their reasons. This action did not remain without effects, because later the minister wrote to the governorate in Zagreb in support of the peddlers' cause.⁴² In this case too the peddlers enjoyed the support of the municipality. It is also worth noticing that the petition was signed by 300 peddlers at a time when the total population of the village amounted to 583 inhabitants.⁴³ It was not a unique case: the petition of the peddlers in three small southern Slovenian villages was accompanied by eight pages of signatures.⁴⁴

This is the right place to raise the question of the figures: How many peddlers were there in Yugoslavia? Very probably a lot. Considering exclusively the licensed peddlers, we have merely some fragmented data that nonetheless gives us precious indications. In 1924 in the county (*županija*) of Ogulin, there were 297 registered peddlers. In 1929 in the small Slovenian governorate (*Drava banovina*) there were 206, in the Bosnian governorate there were 460, and in a southern Serbian province (*raška oblast*) there were 510.⁴⁵ However, this represents only a minor part of the entire phenomenon if we consider the abovementioned case of Đurmanec where the peddler-petitioners were, in a single village, already 300. Furthermore, one can get some insights about the fact that the real number of Yugoslav peddlers was much higher than that officially recorded, considering the numerous complaints by many local authorities who in those years continuously lamented that their towns and cities were "invaded" by regular and irregular

peddlers.⁴⁶ The conclusion regarding this aspect is that notwithstanding all the institutional efforts devoted to the limitation of this socioprofessional phenomenon, still in the late 1930s peddling was very present in the Yugoslav territory. It was therefore not a marginal issue at all in political or quantitative terms.

Furthermore, apart from the proper peddlers, there were myriad traditionally itinerant professions that should be preserved, at least following the opinion of several chambers such as that of Split: cutlers and sharpeners, tinmen (*kalajdžije*), and parasol and umbrella repairers.⁴⁷

There were many other itinerant jobs whose regulation was discussed and were generally accepted, such as people who were involved in agricultural work crushing grapes by foot, cleaning and shelling corn, threshing the fields with a machine, distilling brandy, drying food, etc. but only if they did not have an official office for their business and were literally wandering in search of an engagement.⁴⁸ Other professions not linked with agriculture were also present, such as the tinker (*drotar*, or *kotlar*), an itinerant tinsmith who mended household utensils, tanks, and basins and drinking troughs for the cattle. And then there were the itinerant coopers, butchers, photographers, ice cream makers, etc. In all of these cases, the condition for being considered itinerant was that the work needed to be performed “on the spot,” that is, without a fixed workshop and not at home, otherwise acquiring “a craft character” and then being subject to completely different legal regulations.⁴⁹

These last professional figures belonged to the family of the itinerant artisans, not sellers, and that is why they represented a peculiar subgroup in the framework of the wandering workers. The institutions developed careful distinctions in these years, considering itinerant artisans differently than itinerant sellers, that is, the proper peddlers. Public authorities were not the only ones trying to trace clear distinctions and representations of the various itinerant jobs. The peddlers themselves put much effort into defining the borders of their activity, respectability, and rights.

Peddlers United: Institutional Agency

What was the opinion of the peddlers themselves about these issues? The first consideration to be made is that they let their voice be heard. Although we are dealing with socially (at least partly) marginalized subaltern actors, we can understand something of what they thought. The reason is that they engaged in a lot of legal negotiations and battles with the authorities at every level, leaving behind them precious written sources.

The main arguments they used for defending their right to work were the extreme poverty of their region, the nonexistence of economic alternatives, and the historical rights they had to perform an activity, which had nothing wrong with it. Their written protests and applications for the permission to work are thus always a mixture of

poor petition and the proud and legitimate claim of their social and labor rights.⁵⁰ A kind of “moral economy” emerged from these documents, shared by many social actors who—as we have already seen—supported them. The marginalization of some peddlers in Yugoslavia thus reveals to have been a highly contested process. If someone considered this job a relic of the past, to be removed as soon as possible, someone else was of a very different opinion.

Two hundred peddlers from the Slovene village of Ribnica, for example, gathered on March 2, 1922, to organize their action, which was led by member of parliament Karol Škulj. They asked to abolish the peddlers’ ban in Vojvodina, remembering that they enjoyed for a long time special rights for selling in other (former Habsburg) regions their “sweet products” and “southern fruit.”⁵¹ Proud and quite livid were also the peddlers from Sošice, a small village on the northwest of actual Croatia.⁵² They explained that peddling was a traditional economic institution in that place and that around 200 men had the license, although only about 110 made use of it, mainly during the winter. What they complained about was having been discriminated against or even expelled by Slovenian local authorities, which seems to have been a recurrent circumstance. In the quoted document several cases are reported when peddlers from Sošice were not allowed—although they had the licenses and had paid the required taxes—to exercise their job in the Slovenian territory.

This institutional behavior was considered by the peddlers as immoral, politically inopportune, and against the law. So, they addressed the minister in person, requiring a strong intervention in their defense in order to punish the guilty people and to put an end to this unacceptable “peddlers’ vexing and persecution” (*šikaniranje i proganjanje kućaraca*). As it emerges from the previous lines, they did not use here the tone and the arguments typical of poor petitions, which ask for mercy.⁵³ It was instead the manifestation of a consciousness of their own rights. There were many other such cases one can read about. Yugoslav peddlers seem not to have been submissive social actors, passive victims of an inexorable modernization that had destined them to disappear quite quickly. Partly driven by the economic need but partly because of a profound sense of dignity and professional legitimation, they were ready to fight for their job. And if this required forms of collective organization, they did not retreat from it.

The best expression of this is the Peddlers’ League. Apart from the many “peddlers’ societies” (*udruženja kućaraca*) of local character, there were also initiatives at the national level that aimed at institutionalizing a legal and political representation of Yugoslav peddlers. The first was the League of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian Peddlers with a seat in Zagreb (Savez Kućaraca Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca u Zagrebu). In December 1924 they received a first relevant acknowledgment because the Ministry of Internal Affairs approved their “rules” (*pravila*). They foresaw the obligation for each peddler to have identification cards (*legitimacije*) issued by the league, to be later proofed

by local police in the places where the peddler arrived, but these identification cards should have guaranteed the right to freely move through the entire Yugoslav territory.⁵⁴

Encouraged by this first relevant political success, the Peddlers' League invited the MTI to update their own decisions and to inform its territorial and local institutions, particularly the Chambers of Trades and Crafts, about these legal novelties. The members of the Peddlers' League should not be "bothered" (*uznemiravani*) in the future anymore.⁵⁵ The minister answered full of understanding: he had already given the order to apply the new regulations and to immediately remove all the "troubles and inconveniences" (*sve smetnje i šikane*), which the peddlers were until then subjected to.⁵⁶

The process of legal acknowledgment of the representative status of the Peddlers' League went so far that in April 1925 the MTI released a resolution clarifying that (1) every applicant for a permission to peddle must be member of the Peddlers' League, (2) all the local authorities who intend to release a permission for peddling should previously ask for the opinion of the Peddlers' League (which should give an answer within fifteen days), and (3) the local authorities anyway preserved their autonomy in taking their final decisions.⁵⁷

Notwithstanding some limitations to the Peddler's League's power, it was a clear achievement for the institutionalization of the peddlers' movement. They had gained a representative body that was involved in the sensitive process of releasing the licenses. It is not by chance that this resolution raised the skepticism of some Chambers of Trades and Crafts, which expressed their "strong aversion" for a decision that favored a league, actually a "private association," assigning to it a share of institutional and administrative power.⁵⁸ The members of these chambers were right: the decision taken with regard to the Peddlers' League seemed to be inspired by corporatist ideas. A new institutional body had been established with the aim of representing a specific socio-professional group and its interests, mediating between society and the state and being deeply involved in the processes of governance related to that socioprofessional group.⁵⁹

Therefore, one of the main hypotheses of this book is getting historical substance. The examined marginalized actors did not simply establish private associations; they even managed to become an institutionalized actor in the political system and to be part of the decision-making process. On the other side, the state delegated to this association a share of its power in order to regulate and monitor a socioeconomic issue. Beyond the classical mechanisms of democratic and electoral politics, a form of *partnership* between collectively organized socioprofessional actors and public authorities took form.⁶⁰

This was far from being a linear development and was not without obstacles. A struggle between the representatives of different economic interests in the countries developed during the second half of the 1920s. In short, artisans and shopkeepers, represented by their chambers, constituted one side against the peddlers and their league

on the other side. In the middle there was the king. The Peddlers' League, which expressed "indignation" with regard to some statements of their opponents, repeatedly wrote directly to the king appealing for the complete implementation of the already approved regulations.⁶¹ The league lamented a Yugoslav anomaly if the legal treatment of peddlers' in the country is compared with other European states (Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and also the "Americas" are mentioned); differently than in other countries, in Yugoslavia "our worthy peddlers are treated as castaways" (*naši vredni torbari se tretiraju kao propalice*).

The public image of the peddler proposed by the Peddlers' League was the opposite. As clearly illustrated in *Kučarac: Marchand Ambulant*, the periodical of the league (Figure 3.1), Yugoslav peddlers had a noble history. They honorably traveled through the entire world, and their behavior was widely recognized as deeply linked with professionalism, morality, and dynastic loyalty.⁶² Following the views presented in this bulletin, state authorities could only profit from the work and the expertise of the league, *shaping together* this professional and economic field. In general terms, on the pages of *Kučarac* this job was not treated as a premodern, marginal economic or even an antieconomic branch at all. On the contrary, many articles published in the peddlers' periodical put the emphasis on the positive role of peddling for the national economy.⁶³

Regarding the envisioned semipublic institutional role of the Peddlers' League, it was considered as a positive premise that "in all the civilized countries all over the world there was an unlimited right of free peddling, the so-called itinerant trade."⁶⁴ In all those countries, it was added, there were peddlers' organizations that positively collaborated with public authorities. Yugoslav peddlers were allowed to work in most of the European and American countries but paradoxically not in their own. Ironically enough, despite all the prohibitions, Belgrade was invaded by "masses" of poor street sellers who sold "incredible articles" and who looked "well below any criticism in terms of cleanness and appearance."



Figure 3.1. The nameplate of the periodical of the Peddlers' League. Source: AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1925.

This was a major point in the cultural and political worldview pursued by the Peddlers' League: an inflexible selection should be performed among the peddlers. Severe standards of professional ethics were determined by the organization, which presented itself as the guaranteeing authority. The members of the organization were described as extremely poor but with dignity, professionalism, and high moral values. The dirty and suspicious street sellers mentioned above should not be confused with the league's members. Those street sellers were actually the counterpart to the proper peddler, the proximate Other to be stigmatized and condemned.

The battle fought by the organization was then twofold: it was first for the social and legal acceptance of the regular peddlers and second for a more effective repression of irregular peddling. The Peddlers' League thus denounced a high number of cases of corruption and of working permissions obtained illegally. The organization clearly distanced itself from such "smuggled peddlers" who did not fulfil any requirements of the Peddlers' League, as "they had neither fulfilled the military service, nor have they in many cases the necessary moral qualification, because they are known by the league as famous falsifiers and swindlers."⁶⁵

This was the point: the Peddlers' League knew the illegitimate peddlers well, better than the police. The latter were considered not able to check the regularity of the documents submitted by such people, not to mention prove their political inclinations, that is, if they were loyal to the dynasty or not, or their morality, whether they were honest or wanted to speculate to the neighbor's disadvantage. It was exactly for these reasons that the role of the Peddlers' League could become crucial: the organization and its members knew the local circumstances and their colleagues and could provide an essential service of assistance to the police. That is why the Peddlers' League pretended that by the releasing of working permissions its opinion should be binding for public and police authorities.

This seems not to have happened. In the late 1920s the peddlers invoked the reenforcement of the abovementioned resolution of 1925, which means that it had been retired or at least not really been implemented.⁶⁶ In order to make this lobbying activity more efficacious, a new Peddlers' League was established in Belgrade during the Peddlers' Congress on November 10–12, 1929, under the official name "League of the Peddlers and Retail Traders of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Savez Kućaraca i Maloprodavača Kraljevine Jugoslavije, LPRT)." Again, it got the support of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which approved the statute of the association on January 20, 1930.⁶⁷ Furthermore, after some representatives had personally met the minister of the MTI in February 1931, a delegation of eighteen representatives was chosen in order to meet the prime minister to expose to him their arguments and to deliver their written complaint.⁶⁸

What they stressed was the "anomaly, incompatible with a modern state," derived by the laws of the old Kingdom of Serbia (precisely the Law about Shops

[*Zakon o radnjama*], 1910) and still in force in the Serbian territories. As we have seen, the regulations in Vojvodina—and the other Serbian administrative units can be added—foresaw, although with several exceptions, a general prohibition of peddling. The Yugoslav peddlers considered that this law might have been suitable for the old Serbia, but it was surpassed now. Something needed to be done; it was urgent and it was possible, beyond all the technical difficulties; it was “a categorical imperative” for the state.⁶⁹ The modernizing argument is used here for promoting this profession: if Yugoslavia really wanted to be a modern state, it should allow and integrate peddling.

The lobbying activism was fruitful. In the new law on shops (*Zakon o radnjama*) of November 11, 1931, the right to peddling was acknowledged (§§ 176, 180, 354, 355).⁷⁰ The LPRT and its role was recognized again, and the peddlers expressed their gratitude for the attention devoted to the political representation of “the little man” (*mali čovek*).⁷¹ The LPRT tried to get even more authority, with the ambition of becoming the “central organ” for registering the peddlers of the entire kingdom, “centralizing” the functions of the league, which should further work “in collaboration with state authorities.” A long list of advantages was illustrated: first of all of an economic nature (regularly collecting the taxes from the registered peddlers) but also of a social and patriotic character, spreading loyalty to the Yugoslav dynasty.⁷²

The Peddlers’ League was quite satisfied. The almost one thousand delegates who took part in the peddlers’ congress in Belgrade on April 16, 1932, still stressed the social relevance of the issue of the Yugoslav “little man,” recognizing that the new legal measures went in the right direction, that is, toward the implementation in the country of more “social justice.”⁷³

With the introduction of the new law on shops in 1931, the issue of peddling was far from being closed and regulated. During 1932, the idea of a *pravilnik* (rules) that should clarify many concrete issues related to the law began to be discussed, and between 1933 and 1935 some drafts were commented on, polished, and integrated by all the involved territorial public institutions. A predefinitive version of the *pravilnik* was printed in 1938, again to be discussed with all the chambers and the regional administrations of the country.⁷⁴

Two considerations clearly emerge from the confrontations that followed. First, peddling in the late 1930s was still a highly debated political issue. Second, far from having disappeared, it was a socioeconomic phenomenon firmly present in Yugoslavia. The governorate in Skopje provided some statistical data about the region under its competence: in 1938 almost nine thousand permissions for peddling had been issued.⁷⁵ They were increasingly hated by artisans, shopkeepers, and some politicians. Nonetheless, masses of peddlers, with their carpets, their baskets, and all their home products loaded on their shoulders, were still there (Figure 3.2).



Figure 3.2. Resting peddlers. Source: Danubius Forum. <https://danubius.forumsr.com/t4937p50-zaboravljeni-stari-zanati>, accessed February 20, 2025.

PEDDLING IN YUGOSLAVIA: A MATTER OF NEGOTIATION

The history of peddling in interwar Yugoslavia is thus not simply a story of repression and marginalization. The international comparison is illuminating in this respect. Already before 1933 and the rise of Nazism in Germany, that is, already in the Republic of Weimar, a resolved process of criminalization took place. As anticipated in the introduction to this chapter, in Germany peddling was gradually identified with “Gypsiness,” understood not in ethnic terms but as a way of life and generally identified through the exercise of itinerant work. Such discourses were widespread in the press and modified the legal framework and police practices, leading in many European countries, such as the Netherlands, Belgium, France, England, Switzerland, and Sweden, to a radical stigmatization, social exclusion, and control of the peddlers/“Gypsies.”⁷⁶

As shown in the previous pages, the Yugoslav case seems to have been quite different. Peddlers were not equated with Gypsies, and peddling was in Yugoslav lands, especially in some regions and regarding some typologies of products, a rooted commercial habit, socially more accepted than in the rest of Europe. Furthermore, the previous pages have shown the persistence of this job at least in one Southeast European country well into the late 1930s. In accordance with some recent research about neighboring countries such as interwar Austria and Italy⁷⁷ as well as in other Northern European countries,⁷⁸ this study challenges some common assumptions that peddling declined in the late nineteenth century and disappeared with World War I.⁷⁹ On the contrary, in

some areas it remained a consistent element of family and local economies and proved to be able to not only survive but also adapt to new circumstances.

The Yugoslav case proves to be interesting also because it cannot be framed simply in terms of (more or less successful) processes of stigmatization and repression. Differently, for instance, from the case examined in Chapter 2 about prostitution, here the measures conceived and introduced by the political and professional elites did not lead to a mere criminalization of this job. As we have seen, many social and institutional actors have engaged in supporting this form of trade. Although it is undeniable that the Yugoslav state and some local authorities launched a process that was intended to restrict this profession and was certainly accompanied by contemptuous and stigmatizing arguments, this was far from having become hegemonic in Yugoslav society. Proper processes of negotiation between political, institutional, and professional actors were started; the new measures were contested; and the entire issue was constantly discussed and negotiated.

A clear trace of the social conflict that arose around this nonwork is the history of the Peddlers' League. This represents only the institutional side of the contestations from below, that is, from the peddlers themselves. The Yugoslav history of the interwar years is dotted with local initiatives of collective corporative actions, and this chapter has discussed some of them.⁸⁰ Besides these initiatives there were also national and well-structured initiatives, such as the examined Peddlers' Leagues. All of these actions provide evidence of the peddlers' *agency*, their creativity and partial efficacy. Far from being passive actors in the illustrated phenomena, the peddlers organized themselves and tried, sometimes with some success, to influence the process of political decision-making.

SECOND PART: STREET ENTERTAINMENT

Cultural Hierarchies: Circuses and the Others

Wandering musicians, animal performers, acrobats and the like are a constant phenomenon in European history, and Yugoslav regions are not an exception. In the framework of the interwar newly (re)established East and Southeast European nation-states, the attitudes deployed by cultural elites and the state agencies toward entertainment must be put in connection with their efforts to define a clear cultural hierarchy and to conceive and promote what was understood as national culture.⁸¹ The latter was generally embodied by the "arts," that is, institutionalized theaters and ballets, applied arts, and high literature. To these cultural practices was assigned an elevated formative and moral value for the development of a national consciousness. On the opposite end of

this hierarchy was located popular entertainment, such as cinemas, circuses, horse racing, and panoramas, regarded with a certain contempt, considered without educative value, and as “shallow, suspicious, and often absolutely useless,” in the words of the representative of the Association of Yugoslav Musicians.⁸²

Historiography about Southeastern Europe has very often reproduced such hierarchy, equating culture with arts, devoting its attention to the study of what was considered “proper” culture, and neglecting the history of popular entertainment. However, a focus on the latter contributes to our understanding of the social history of interwar Yugoslav society, not only of the upper class but also the middle and popular classes and everyday life on the streets. This focus also contributes to better understanding what the concrete official practices regarding itinerant artists were and what spatial and social hierarchies these practices produced. Finally, the focus on popular entertainment helps us observe from a new point of view the struggles that took place around work/nonwork in interwar Yugoslavia.

Not all was new. At the high point of the cultural hierarchy, certainly below the arts but still in a high position, there were the great circuses. This has to do with a fascination that emerged already by the mid-nineteenth century toward a phenomenon widely considered sensational. In a few decades circuses became “the preferred amusement” of many inhabitants of, for example, Belgrade.⁸³ The local intellectual elite and the conservative press criticized this new cultural habit, accusing it of being antipatriotic (because of its foreign, that is, nonnational cultural content) as well as socially inopportune, promoting a spatial mix of very different sociocultural classes. Although a boycott was invoked and the authorities intervened to defend the established culture and to limit the work of the circuses, at the turn of the century they became very popular and gained a foothold in the urban cultural life.⁸⁴

In the interwar period, new local regulations were introduced and specific commissions were established in order to monitor the safety measures of the circuses and to be sure that they paid the foreseen taxes.⁸⁵ Nonetheless, circuses enjoyed a relatively nice life in interwar Yugoslavia: if they fulfilled the requirements, they could safely work, and in Belgrade as well as in the other main Yugoslav cities they were pretty welcomed.⁸⁶ Similarly, there were many established itinerant theaters that moved across Yugoslav regions and displayed a high degree of self-confidence, social recognition, and the tenacious willingness to be considered as belonging to the “educated” artists.⁸⁷

Without such cultural ambitions, but again not experiencing a hostile relationship with authorities, were smaller groups of itinerant artists who provided amusement attractions, generally to be offered during local fairs. Often owned by women, these amusement attractions could be composed of a carousel (*ringšpil* or *vrtuljak*), a shooting gallery (*zračno streljanje*), sometimes a modest seesaw (*ljuljačka*), or a much more sophisticated equipment for tintype (*schnellphotographie*—*brzo slikanje*). When they

asked the authorities for permission to work, it seems that they got it without great difficulties. This is true in the immediate postwar years for Katarina Winkler and Marija Grtisch in Sarajevo and throughout Bosnia,⁸⁸ for Jovan Mirković in the Croatian Sava banovina in the early 1930s,⁸⁹ and Marija Budije in Belgrade at the end of the 1930s.⁹⁰ And many others could be added.⁹¹

The general impression is thus that such “established” itinerant artists found their place in the Yugoslav society and economy without great resistances by the authorities, although these were not absent. In the view of a Chamber of Trades and Crafts, for example, such public entertainment was “really like an eyesore” (or “a thorn in the flesh,” *pravi trn u oku*).⁹² Furthermore, on the pages of a police periodical one could read that circuses, together with “sport, cinemas, football games, etc.,” were antipedagogic, inspiring among the youngest “repulsion toward work” (*odvratnost prema radu*).⁹³ There were also cases when the police forbade a game that was considered dishonest.⁹⁴ Nonetheless, the general impression is that these kinds of itinerant artists did not find great obstacles in practicing their work, as expressed by the local police agent (*karaul*) in Sarajevo, always asked to release the permissions to work in the city, whose typical answer was that there was “nothing against” it (*nema zapreke*).⁹⁵

In order to encounter different living and work conditions and representatives of more “marginal workers” in this artistic field, we have to move a bit downward in the cultural hierarchy and pass to the next section.

Old and New: Magicians, Clowns, Street Musicians, and Itinerant Cinemas

Every street artist needed to ask for a double work permit: first to move across a region. From this point of view, the movements of itinerant artists were subjected to territorial restrictions that reminded those of the peddlers. For itinerant showmen and musicians it was clearly stated on the first page of their work permit where they were allowed to move, that is, in which counties/provinces and generally with the exception of bigger cities and towns. This section and the social actors it deals with let us leave the urban space of the circuses and enter the countryside, smaller towns, and villages.

Once the itinerant artists managed to get this “territorial” work permit, every time they reached a place they had to promptly get in contact with local public authorities—the police station or the municipality—to obtain a specific local permission. This kind of compulsory work permit for public musical performance—both live music and through a gramophone—was not an interwar novelty.⁹⁶ The local authorities left a signed stamp in the work permit specifying how long an artist was allowed to stay in the place in question. In the interwar years, police authorities believed that one of the most important tasks of the police was exactly to monitor the movements of “traveling



Figure 3.3. A clown show. Source: Tošo Dabac, *Cirkus II* (1934), in *Tošo Dabac: Zagreb tridesetih godina* (Zagreb: ATD—Arhiv Tošo Dabac, 1994), 56.

people (*putujuća lica*),”⁹⁷ not only abroad and not only the foreigners⁹⁸ but also those of Yugoslav citizens traveling within Yugoslavia, particularly in those years. The adduced reason was that there was a wide range of criminals, from “politically suspicious people, who act against the state,” to “gamblers and people inclined to criminality,” who “are generally on the road, changing places, in order to commit an offense, or to hide themselves in bigger cities.”⁹⁹ To be on the road, then, meant automatically being suspected and required a special and articulated supervision. The first step, not taken for granted, for an itinerant artist was to get a work permit.

A comparison between the applications for the work permits submitted by members of circuses on the one hand and by itinerant artists on the other hand clearly revealed that they made use of different arguments and different rhetoric. When the circuses’ owners wrote, they not only referred to previous licenses, to a kind of legitimizing pre-history of the application, but their texts also lacked any allusion to poverty or a situation of need.¹⁰⁰ The same can be noticed in the applications of other itinerant artists such as the comic actor Dušan Ilkić-Čića, who defined himself “since many years, a famous Serbian National specialized actor” and announced the intention to combine national and humanitarian engagement “for the interest of the Serbian poor people” in Bosnia.¹⁰¹ Similarly, a neat administrative and even refined tone is used in the applications of a group of two actor couples, former members of the Croatian National Theatre in Osijek,¹⁰² as well as by a long-standing ensemble of *tamburaši*.¹⁰³

Quite different was the language and content of the application by the street musician Ramo Čakić: “I am poor and I have nothing else” than his miser job.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, the itinerant magician Josip Lukić addressed as crucial issues his physical injuries, which he describes in detail, clarifying not only that he was in need but also that this was *the only way* for him to make ends meet.¹⁰⁵ Even the most standardized parts of the application (“I don’t own any movable or immovable asset”) recall not the peddlers’ or the established artists’ applications but instead were typical of the poor people’s petition for public aid.¹⁰⁶ Even though we have to consider the appropriation of official language in order to achieve their specific aims, what is striking is that such texts make no reference to the social or economic usefulness of their job and instead emphasized the applicants’ needs. They were almost asking for an act of mercy.

Not all itinerant musicians performed on the road. Some of them also played in low-class inns and taverns. Although they did not enjoy as bad a reputation as street musicians, tavern performers also had their troubles in being recognized as legitimate artists and workers. Symptomatic in this sense is one sharp analysis of the Croatian musical scene, which takes into consideration composers, performers, and teachers, as well as the music critics.¹⁰⁷ The paragraph in Grgošević’s article about the performers does not include musicians who played in the streets or in taverns, although the latter ones (*svirci po lokalima*) are treated, but separately, at the end of the article. The author deals with them without the polemic contempt assigned to the other categories because in this case compassion is the overwhelming attitude. Although some musicians who performed in taverns were said to earn decently, many of them seemed to have been paid “miserably” and are defined as “the ‘lowest’ category.”¹⁰⁸

Furthermore, we must consider the gender aspect. Following what was already commented on in Chapter 2—that female women employed in bars, nightclubs, and hotels were generally associated with prostitution—this can only be reinforced here considering the specific case of female artists. As clearly evidenced by a communication written for internal use by the physician who ran the dispensary for venereal diseases in Belgrade, the term “female artist” (*artistkinja*) was used at the time as synonymous for “prostitute.”¹⁰⁹ Following the late nineteenth-century efforts for controlling the elusive world of the tavern,¹¹⁰ interwar local authorities refined the existing norms and introduced new ones, such as the seven-point municipal code adopted in Belgrade in 1923 and specifically conceived for female employees in bars, clubs, so-called *variétés* (night cafés), and cabarets.¹¹¹ With some similarities to the approach toward prostitutes, all female employees had to be reported on lists to be submitted to the police and medical authorities, and all female personnel were subject to screenings for skin and venereal diseases. Entertainers had to stop working by midnight, and servers had to stop working by 2:00 a.m. Women could not be lodged at the same address where they were employed, billed shows needed to be approved by the city authorities, and employees and

workers were not to sit together with guests. The codes were rarely applied to downtown clubs, whose patrons were the members of the middle class, while the police raids targeted working-class venues especially if located in the city center.¹¹² These codes as well as other ones introduced in 1929 and their differentiated application well represented the official attitude saturated with suspect and hostility because of hygienic, safety, and first of all cultural and moral issues toward popular entertainment and female artists in night locales in particular.¹¹³

Leaving the space of the tavern and of the night café and going back to that of the street, we finally meet street musicians (Figure 3.4). In the hierarchy of itinerant musicians, maybe even of all the itinerant artists, they occupied the worst place, worse than the music performers in low-class inns and taverns. To the abovementioned hierarchical categorization, which placed the tavern performers at the lowest level, we have to add that *outside* the tavern there was a further even lower category, that of the street musician.

Typically for all European countries at that time, the job of street musicians was often understood as a disguised form of begging.¹¹⁴ This is particularly true for the case of the barrel organ player (*orguljaš*): the legitimizing circumstance for playing this instrument on the street and therefore to get a license for doing it was to have a physical injury. It is thus not a coincidence that all the barrel organ players whose documents are preserved in the consulted archival files were affected by a form of physical disability, generally related to one arm or one leg. This was clearly stated in their work permissions, whose precise formulation often was “to collect alms playing the barrel organ” (*sabirati milodare svirajući na orguljicama*).¹¹⁵ More than a proper job, it was seen as an exceptionally acceptable form of begging. It was located at the very margins of the sphere of legal activities, being still within these margins.

The relations with local authorities were not over after getting the license. As previously anticipated, itinerant artists had to obtain local permission in every place they wanted to perform. The analysis of some licenses will reveal how the system worked in practice. What has been called here “work permit” was more precisely a “work booklet,” with a high number of empty pages destined to host the local permits (Figure 3.5). If we examine such collections of stamps, tax stamps and local permits, which reported the place, the date, and how long the artist was allowed to stay in a place, it is possible to reconstruct in detail the route covered by the traveling artist.

In the case of Viktor Grüne, for example, he was first allowed “to perform magic shows” in the province of Zagreb but with the exception of the city of Zagreb.¹¹⁶ Judging on the basis of the recorded stays, in the periods between March and May 1927, December 1927 and January 1928, and August 1928 and February 1929, he constantly traveled through this province with which he was certainly very familiar, being from Zlatar, a village of this province. In March 1931 he managed to expand



Figure 3.4. Street musician. Source: Tošo Dabac, "Prosjačka muzika" (1938), in *Tošo Dabac: Zagreb tridesetih godina* (Zagreb: Arhiv Tošo Dabac, 1994), 51.

the territory where he was allowed to perform (now installing a small carousel too) through the entire Sava banovina. Consequently, for November 1931–March 1932 it is recorded that he reached the northern Adriatic seaside, exploring new places and audiences. After a relatively long absence from his village, he went back to Zagreb and its surroundings.

Considering also other work booklets of itinerant artists of this kind, that is, individual street performers such as barrel organ players and showmen, the conclusions regarding their mobility are the same. These itinerant artists seem to be repeatedly and for longer periods on the road covering a rather limited territory, with its center in the place where they came from but also including the possibility to travel farther away.

Table 3.1. Average duration of the work permits for a street artist, Dragutin Šnidarić.

PLACE	DATE	DURATION (IN DAYS)
Zagreb (at the periphery of the city)	July 25, 1930	Until August 2, 1930 (about 7 days)
[Do?]nja Bistrica	August 3, 1930	3
Oroslavje	September 20, 1930	2
Donja Stubica	September 22, 1930	1(?)
Ivanić grad	September 24, 1930	24 hours
Križ (district of Čazma)	September 25, 1930	24 hours
Kutina	September 27, 1930	3
Lipik (district of Pakrac)	October 1?, 1930	1
Pakrac	October 03, 1930	2
Daruvar	October 04, 1930	2
Valpovo	October 20, 1930	3
Retfala	October 25, 1930	24 hours
Đakovo	November 04, 1930	2
Novska	November 26, 1930	2
Dugo Selo	July 01, 1931	2
Zagreb ("at the periphery")	July 03, 1931	Until July 10 (7 days)
Krapinske Toplice	August 22, 1931	1
Koprivnica	August 08, 1931	2
Đurđevac	October 12, 1931	2
Podravska Slatina	October 20, 1931	2
Donji Miholjac	October 27, 1931	Only for October 27 (1 day)
Valpovo	October 29, 1931	2
Osijek ("at the periphery of the city")	November 2, 1931	1
Novska	November 21, 1931	2
Pakrac ("allowed to stay and to collect alms in the district")	November 23, 1931	2
Lipik	November 25, 1931	1
Daruvar	November 27, 1931	2
Novi Marof	December 10, 1931	2
Varaždinske Toplice	December 11, 1931	1
Varaždin	December 14, 1931	2
Krapina	December 23, 1931	1
Pregrada	December 29, 1931	1
Dugoselo	January 12, 1932	2
Koprivnica	February 3, 1932	2
Virovitica	February 10, 1932	2
Grubišno Polje	February 22, 1932	2
Garešnica	February 25, 1932	2
Daruvar	March 2, 1932	2
Pakrac	March 5, 1932	2
Lipik	March 7, 1932	3
Kutina	March 14, 1932	3
Total average		2.1 days (including the 7-day permits for the periphery of Zagreb; otherwise it would be 1.9 days)

Source: HDA, 1545 fond iskaznica, Box 3: Dragutin Šnidarić.

What is more interesting concerns the duration of their stays. For example, an analysis of the booklet released to the barrel organ player Dragutin Šnidarić revealed that he received permits on average for two days (Table 3.1).¹¹⁷ A comparative analysis of the booklets of some of his colleagues provided very similar results.¹¹⁸ Although it was not impossible to get permissions for longer stays, as evidenced by the case of Viktor Grüne, whose average was 5.8 days,¹¹⁹ it was very common, almost the rule, to release permissions for only a few days, and it was not uncommon for only twenty-four hours. This was clearly a much shorter time than the permissions released to not only the circuses but also small amusement attractions.

The conclusion is then of high interest: the monitoring system fostered labor mobility. A system conceived for controlling some categories of people because of their “travels” had as a main result to promote their quick moves. These traveling people were suspicious to the authorities because they did not “stay” somewhere, but the system conceived for managing the problem somehow seems to have worsened this because it pushed those people farther out geographically so that they had to quickly move from one place to the other.

To get under control the mobility of these nomadic actors, it was necessary to bridle their movements, organize and manage them, and insert them in the framework of an itinerary with approved stops, which were at least partially foreseen and partially controlled. The accumulation of stamps, which invade the booklets, has two sides to it. On the one hand, the stamps allow the itinerant artists to stay. Even if only for a few days, the stamps are the confirmation of a right to stay. Yet at the same time, they compel the artist to go, to leave and go away and quite quickly.

The analysis of the concrete practice of local authorities confirms thus that such nomadic workers were substantially undesired people. The legal framework did not go as far as prohibiting their profession, and the local authorities respected the law. At the margins of the artistic field and of Yugoslav society, what emerges, at least from the booklet's pages, is a disciplined microworld full of detailed permissions, stamps, and paid taxes. Yet this order did not reach the sought after effects: with some similarities with the policies toward poverty and beggary that we will see in Chapter 5, this undesired “social problem” too was not really controlled and was not even “solved”; it was instead discharged and handed over to the next village.

The destiny of some barrel organ players should not leave the impression that the marginalization of these nomadic artists was exclusively anchored to an old-fashioned world, with old-time practices and technical equipment. While street musicians and performers did not represent a novelty of the interwar period, there was a category of itinerant entertainment that was linked with modern technology and was for many people amazingly new: the traveling cinemas. The phenomenon was not completely new for the Yugoslav areas, certainly not for the inhabitants of the bigger cities, such

as Belgrade, where the first cinema shows in the Balkans took place in 1896, only six months after that of the Lumière brothers in Paris,¹²⁰ and where the first traveling cinemas arrived already in 1898 and 1899. Especially after 1908 there were some European traveling cinemas that reached Belgrade, but the goal was to stay in the same place for as long as feasible, possibly transforming into almost stable if not fully stable entertainment institutions. That is why the contracts lasted for many months and even years.¹²¹

The itinerant cinemas under examination here represent a different case. The first and most important distinction is that the small nomadic cinemas did not affect only the biggest cities, as was the case for those with a fixed location. The itinerant cinemas of the interwar period traveled through the countryside, stopping in many smaller towns and villages. One implication is that the considerations that are generally devoted to the bigger urban cinemas acquire here a different meaning, gaining a mass dimension. Already at the turn of the century cinemas and the movies that were shown can be interpreted as agents of a new cultural globalization, promoting many forms of artistic transfers and a hybridization of international cultures. Furthermore, the fixed cinemas, thanks to the cheap tickets, launched processes of relative democratization, putting together people of very different social origins.¹²²

Thanks to all the itinerant cinemas that moved across the entire territory of the country, some of these processes were now reverberated and amplified. Unfortunately, the existing scholarly research does not allow us to know what has been shown and what were the reactions of the audience to that. What can be clearly noticed is that some of the institutional troubles and initiatives that arose from this new phenomenon intersected with those illustrated in this chapter.

The application for a license submitted at the beginning of 1933 and the responses to it transmitted some relevant elements of these debates. After a woman living in Novi Sad asked the regional authorities of the Drava Governorate (Dravska Banovina) in Ljubljana for permission to work in some districts in that region, the regional authorities wrote to the Ministry for Trade and Industry in order to get some clarifications.¹²³ The problem was caused by the recent Law on Shops (Zakon o radnjama, 1931), which considered ambulant cinemas as a form of peddling (§186). The logical consequence is that in those districts where peddling was not allowed, the owners of itinerant cinemas needed to get a license. Yet the regional authorities showed some perplexity: Should they really conform to this law? Was such an activity to be assimilated with peddling?

One further crucial element was the possible rivalry with fixed cinemas. As explained again by the Slovenian regional authorities two years later, the permits were released only for those municipalities where there were no fixed cinemas there or in the adjacent districts. The movies could be screened only in approved halls, publicly and with specific approval by the local municipal authorities. The result was that in the mid-1930s in that region there were only three licensed itinerant cinemas.¹²⁴

The impression is that also in this case, as was the case with peddling, the regional and national authorities interacted during the interwar years trying to develop a new regulatory framework. But differently from peddling and other itinerant artistic attractions, this was a *new* “strange job,” not easily categorized along the classical parameters of the traditional acknowledged jobs. The regional authorities first reacted by elaborating their own rules,¹²⁵ which they officially published and adopted.¹²⁶ The ministry prepared and sent to the regional authorities some instructions and recommendations,¹²⁷ including the plea to inform the ministry before autonomously publishing regional rules.¹²⁸ One not surprising effect of these diverse normalizing efforts was that it was not easy to get a license, and refusals were not uncommon.¹²⁹

This is all evidence that there was some legal ferment around the issue of the itinerant cinemas in interwar Yugoslavia. It was another nomadic activity that needed to be put under control, first of all, as it was explained in the rules, because of public safety reasons (the equipment as well as the proficiency of the projectionist must be carefully checked) but also—again—because of tax issues: the fiscal regime applied to itinerant jobs was different from that imposed on sedentary businesses, in this case the fixed cinemas. Once more, we are faced with a social and professional contrast that recalls similar contrapositions already encountered in this chapter. This time, however, the dispute was placed in a relatively new domain, where recent businesses—the fixed cinemas—found themselves theoretically aligned with older shops and where the practitioners of a distinctive modern service—the itinerant cinemas—were assimilated to colleagues who embodied older and even traditional professions such as that of peddlers.

The same questions thus crossed the field of itinerant jobs, reproducing patterns of discourses and legal measures that were developed in these years and applied to not only allegedly old and antimodern jobs but also new and innovative professions. The divide between acknowledged/marginalized jobs was not the opposition old/new, because the main issue was instead how to integrate such economic activities in the local, regional, and national context from the cultural, social, and economic point of view. One last good example of the tensions that gathered around some forms of itinerant shows is the following one, which adds some new facets regarding official and popular perceptions of some forms of wandering popular entertainment.

Gypsy Bear Leaders

We have already clarified that many of the alleged specific “Gypsy occupations” were actually also practiced by non-Gypsy Yugoslavs: peddling, itinerant repair work, itinerant popular entertainment, and—as we will see in Chapter 5—begging. But there is one interesting exception, an occupation performed almost exclusively by ethnic Roma: bear leading (Figure 3.6).



Figure 3.6. Serbian bear leaders. Source: On the top: author Vladimir R. Đorđević (Beograd, around 1930), *Mečkar i mečka*, National Library of Serbia (Narodna Biblioteka Srbije), fond: Visual material (Slikovna građa), LjDF367. On the bottom: [neither Author nor year known], *Stari mečkar sa mečičima*, Narodna Biblioteka Srbije, fond: Slikovna građa, F300.

Mečkarenje—from *mečka*, the bear—consisted of training a generally brown bear in order to make it dance and do other performances.¹³⁰ The Balkan peninsula—particularly east Serbia and to a lesser extent Romania, Bosnia, and northern Bulgaria—has always been the privileged territory of the Roma bear leaders, but this is not to say that we are considering an exclusive Balkan peculiarity, since this profession is also known elsewhere, as in Italy.¹³¹ Furthermore, the Balkan bear leaders traveled during the second

half of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century throughout all of Europe, being very present in the Netherlands, reaching Russia, the United Kingdom, and northern America.¹³² In early modern times snakes were also trained,¹³³ and later monkeys, goats and horses were trained, although the bear, a traditionally totemic animal in Roma culture, remained at the core of folklore and magical beliefs and the animal to be mainly trained for such performances.

Given their Roma background, the activity of interwar Yugoslav bear leaders must be framed in the legal approaches to and social representations of Roma in those years.¹³⁴ Although new forms of discrimination and legal efforts of inducing the sedentarization of nomadic Roma communities could be registered already at the end of the nineteenth century, such official initiatives increased during the interwar years.¹³⁵ The legal notion of Tsigan (*ciganin*), as Roma were referred, generally had ethnic connotations, although it was ascribed to communities with very different linguistic, religious, and cultural features, not to mention the variegated landscape with regard to their jobs.¹³⁶

There was neither one specific law nor a unified Yugoslav legal regulation; instead, there were several ad hoc legislative acts that aggravated the everyday lives of Yugoslav Roma. Only some of these, generally local/regional rules, were specifically conceived for the Roma,¹³⁷ while other national legal measures referred to wider issues (begging, vagabondage, etc.) but were applied more severely where Roma were concerned.

Coherently with such legal developments, the perception by police authorities was all the time more negative, including negative prejudices especially toward the nomadic Roma, and the police practices revealed increased abuse of power and use of violence.¹³⁸ Ethnologists and police officers put much effort in these years in order to build Tsiganologic typologies and to make some distinctions among the members of the vague sociocultural group referred to with the ethnonym of *cigani*.¹³⁹ In the eyes of the police, it was obviously a matter of order and crime, so the Roma communities were divided during the 1930s into subgroups mainly according to their jobs and the linked level of social dangerousness: the sedentary blacksmiths, together with the *koritari* (artisans who make wooden troughs), were considered not treacherous, and regarding the latter, the possibility to allow them to move in order to reach the places where their services were required should have even been kept. On the contrary, the members of the third big subgroup made up of “horsemen, nomads, vagabonds [and] . . . very mobile horse traders” (*konjanici, čergari, skitači* [and] . . . *lako pokretni džambaši*) were considered “inclined to all criminal acts.”¹⁴⁰ Even more than this, they were depicted recurring to an anti-Roma racist discourse full of heavy negative prejudices regarding morality, health, innate dishonesty, and, of course, laziness and unwillingness to properly work.

Although the notion of *cigani* was used mainly as an ethnic denomination, with the abovementioned relevant internal distinctions,¹⁴¹ later in an article dealing with the establishment of the Vienna-based International Centre for the Fight Against the Gypsy

Menace (Internationale Zentralstelle zur Bekämpfung des Zigeunerunwesens, 1936), it was possible to find the same category used with a more elastic and administrative meaning, which at least theoretically included the possibility to be applied to nonethnically Gypsy people who lived “in the Gypsy, that is, nomadic way.”¹⁴² Such developments, which would require being better qualified, were under the influence of international developments and the emergence of the “Gypsy issue” as an urgent racial issue, which preluded the dramatic events of World War II.¹⁴³

The Roma were generally depicted by the Yugoslav interwar press as social parasites. Many elements of the common perception of Yugoslav Roma were definitely negative, with the “fear of the Roma” as a common component of informal education in the rural context, where cases of lynching of Roma were reported.¹⁴⁴ In the urban environment, where there were less overt conflicts, the common perception was slightly different, although Roma communities were nonetheless stigmatized and spatially segregated.¹⁴⁵

The reactions to this increasing discrimination, especially during the 1930s, were different, ranging from the attempted assimilation to the self-isolation (mainly in Croatia) but also including, especially in the Serbian case, forms of modern associationism.¹⁴⁶ In this context, for example, the first Roma journal in the Balkans, *Romano Lil*, was published in Belgrade in 1933.¹⁴⁷ The main aim of such initiatives animated by some educated Roma was to promote an alternative positive image of domestic Romani culture. The Roma intelligentsia had the double goal of ennobling the Romani traditions and showing how some Roma were able to get completely integrated into the dominant society; on the other hand, it aimed at distancing itself from the deviant, undesired members of the Roma communities. The bear leaders were generally not the issue dealt with by the articles published in this journal, nor were they the target of the efforts made by the emerging Romani intelligentsia in order to pursue the legitimization of Romani traditions.

The phenomenon of bear leading enjoyed an ambiguous but not exclusively negative popular perception. Even though many proverbial sayings proved how the bear could be a metaphor of misfortune and domination,¹⁴⁸ the ethnologic research conducted between the 1930s and 1950s provided a great amount of evidence of positive beliefs deeply rooted in several Balkan, including some east and south Yugoslav, traditional cultures, where bear leaders are concerned. Not only hostility but also “warm sympathy” could be noticed in relation to Gypsies. More specifically about the bear leader’s “craft,” it was highly appreciated between the two world wars also because of the “arduous and incessant labor” required by those performances.¹⁴⁹

In general terms, the bear was conceived as a powerful animal that was sometimes able to remove and take away pain, misfortune, and illnesses. “Therefore”—as it is reported by the Serbian ethnologist Vukanović—“Gypsy Bear-leaders are welcomed both by peasants and old townsfolk, and it very rarely happens that anyone forbids a

bear to dance in front of his house.”¹⁵⁰ Among the provided therapies, the bear could tread upon both sick and healthy people, with the aim of curing or preventing diseases. In addition, bear’s hair could be burned, “incensing” the patients, for treating malaria and fever. Similar beliefs in the magical totemistic power of the bear were widespread and still current in the second half of the twentieth century, without a doubt up until World War II in eastern Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia. Bear leaders were paid in cash and “paid well, ‘so that the cure may be efficacious.’”¹⁵¹

Regional differences can be observed. Whereas in Slovenian and some Croatian provinces the bear leaders were officially not welcomed, to the extent that in 1931 the regional authorities of the Sava banovina forbade bear leaders coming from other banovinas to enter the region,¹⁵² in other Yugoslav regions bear leading was still a common phenomenon that enjoyed, as we have seen, at least a partial benevolent perception by the rural population. This was not confined only to Serbia, Bosnia, or Macedonia. Also in Dalmatia, for example, people, notwithstanding some suspicion, were used to celebrating the arrival in the village/town of a nomadic group of Roma with their bear, because they were considered a sign of “luck” and “joy.”¹⁵³ We are far from having at our disposal reliable figures about the numerical distribution of these actors in the period under examination. At the turn of the nineteenth century the number of officially recorded *meškari* in Serbia increased from sixteen in 1890 to twenty-two in 1900,¹⁵⁴ but as was usually the case, the numbers of nonregistered practitioners should be higher and remains unknown.

The above-presented observations lead us to interesting conclusions about the case study of bear leading. On the one side, although bear leading in the interwar years was not a Yugoslav peculiarity (thanks to both the Roma international mobility and other non-Roma European bear leaders), the Yugoslav interwar history of bear leading is partly different from what happened in the rest of Europe. In Yugoslavia, official efforts can be registered for regulating and repressing some Roma traditional habits, including bear leading. They certainly have some similarities with the legal interventions that took place in some Western European countries, but they cannot be simply assimilated. Yugoslav national authorities never introduced racist laws and policies as in Germany or Czechoslovakia in the 1930s. In Yugoslavia, the Roma were comparatively more tolerated. Applied to the issue of bear leading, this contributed to a different situation than in other Western European countries, where this profession disappeared during the 1930s.¹⁵⁵ This did not take place in Yugoslavia: bear leaders did not disappear during the investigated time or later, being a common feature in some Yugoslav regions well into the socialist period.¹⁵⁶ This is also linked with the further evolution of the profession and the performances: the bicycle for the bear, for example, is a post-World War II novelty.¹⁵⁷

A distinctive Yugoslav characteristic is the popular benevolence toward bear leaders. Although fear and suspicion were to some extent noticeable, traditional positive attitudes toward the magic and therapeutic power of the bear were very widespread, especially in the countryside, together with a kind of respect for the bear leader and their activity. The tradition of this job was in some Yugoslav areas much more culturally, socially, and economically rooted than in other European regions, and this explains why its interwar history is different and why it survived longer than elsewhere.

These are conclusions that cannot be *ipso facto* extended to all the Roma and their jobs. As we will see in Chapter 5 in regard to poverty and beggars, Roma who begged enjoyed very little sympathy. This is a confirmation of the opportunity not to treat the labor history of Roma separately but instead to include every job in its respective labor context, eventually emphasizing, as it was done in this section, the specific implications of an activity when it was performed mainly or exclusively by Roma.

A Matter of Distinctions

This chapter has illustrated many different forms of efforts “from above” aimed at disciplining itinerant work as well as many different reactions “from below.” This variegated landscape of actions and reactions sensibly enriches our typology of relations between labor, the state, civil society, and nonwork that took shape in interwar Yugoslavia. The complex interactions between the institutional and noninstitutional actors involved in the process produced a wide range of dynamic effects. In some cases marginalized workers (such as peddlers) established corporatist societies and practiced lobbying on the public authorities; in other cases (such as itinerant barrel organ players), they could enjoy the tolerance of the authorities, which allowed them to work, considering it an exceptionally acceptable form of begging. There were cases (such as itinerant artists in general) when the system of monitoring fostered the mobility of disciplined artists who traveled with stamps and paid marks on their booklets, a system that mainly aimed at fighting their public “visibility.” There were new itinerant jobs (such as street cinemas) where workers tried to find their way in the labor market, clashing with sedentary colleagues particularly because of fiscal issues. And there were other more traditional jobs (such as bear leading), where workers simply tried to go on as they were used to without many official petitions and work permits.

A social hierarchy among the itinerant workers thus clearly emerged. The peddlers showed higher skills, both formal and informal, for interacting with the state. Some artists were better organized than others; the peddlers had the cultural and social capital for defining and defending their labor rights, much more than the isolated and lower-rank street artists. This chapter has shown a hiatus that emerged in the interwar

years between segments of the high culture—some members of the upper classes who would have liked to eliminate certain itinerant professions—and the popular culture, which on the contrary was not simply hostile to them. One of the main results of this chapter has to do with the new discussions and negotiations that took place in Yugoslav society around some forms of nonwork and produced new discourses and concrete practices.

What is important is to stress that such hierarchies were not only imposed from “outside” but were also constructed from “within.” As it emerged from the analysis, some itinerant workers who represented the “aristocracy” of the wandering people were active social actors who gave their own contribution in determining the official border between work and nonwork. Far from being solely passive recipients of policies coming from above, many subgroups of the itinerant world—such as the peddlers and the circuses—managed to enjoy if not always a relatively high esteem at least some sort of acknowledgment from society and even the authorities. Not only legitimated in their own labor activities, they also emphasized their “distinction” (in Bourdieusian terms) from other itinerant workers, further (re)producing internal hierarchies and forms of social distance.¹⁵⁸

This chapter has shown how the history of the itinerant work in interwar Yugoslavia is not merely a story of repression and persecution. There were many cases when local, regional, and even national authorities stood in defense of some workers on the road. The relationships could be changeable and ambiguous, but it certainly was much more complex than a mere struggle against those nomadic workers. The analysis has provided a much more heterogeneous picture than a frontal opposition between modernity and itinerant work, between the ruling class and nomadic workers, and between the latter and the rest of society. As clearly shown by the case of the peddlers, the relationship could also take the form of a partnership in modern corporatist terms, establishing representative bodies that were not only acknowledged by the state but were also actively involved in the governance of the Yugoslav social fabric.

From this perspective, this chapter illustrated a more variegated landscape of relationships and attitudes than Chapter 2 on prostitution, Chapter 4 on deviant midwives, and Chapter 5 on beggars. The cases examined in the present chapter allowed us to observe from a new point of view the struggles that took place around work/nonwork in interwar Yugoslavia. These cases have shown how concrete official practices regarding itinerant artists worked and which spatial and social hierarchies these practices produced, providing us with some new insights about the social history of the popular classes in interwar Yugoslav society and their public everyday life on the street.

Long-lasting historical legacies were evident: economic circumstances, labor practices, cultural patterns, and legal norms. The interwar years clearly derived many features of the Yugoslav itinerant workers’ world from the previous periods. Nonetheless,

this chapter showed several important development in this field too: the state revised its policies multiple times, the itinerant workers renewed their practices and forms of organization, and even the itinerant jobs themselves changed during those years. In this chapter too, historical legacies seem to deeply intertwine with Yugoslav forms of modernity.

Looking at these developments from the point of view of the itinerant workers, one main and complementary conclusion is that the history of their reactions is not simply a story of stigmatization and passive victimhood. The first part of the chapter stressed the case of the peddlers, who gave shape to an amazing form of collaboration between itinerant workers and public authorities. Yet this is not the only possible response, because the chapter has shown different forms of resistance to some modernizing efforts coming from "above." In the case of bear leading, for instance, we are faced not with a modern and well-organized reaction but instead with a more informal form of resilience.

In general terms, one can maintain that the people who worked on the road in interwar Yugoslavia provided many variegated reactions to the official and unofficial attitudes toward them and that these reactions were definitely not the sign of a mere and anachronistic "survival." Yugoslav itinerant workers partly succeeded in finding or reshaping their place in the domestic economy. Peddling and popular street entertainment were clearly not considered by nomadic workers themselves and sometimes by members of the political class as primitive relicts of the past whose destiny was to be quickly dismissed. Placing the stories narrated in this chapter in their historical context, that is, in the framework of the relatively underdeveloped urbanized and industrialized interwar Yugoslavia, it sounds reasonable to look at peddling as a socially useful activity, and this is probably one of the elements of the peddlers' success in convincing the ruling class about their legitimacy. The itinerant specialized workers had a complementing function with respect to their sedentary colleagues, bringing to the countryside cheap items that were now, in a post-Industrial Revolution era, increasingly demanded. This is a confirmation that modern peddling was a product of industrialization, capitalism, and the free market.¹⁵⁹

Contrary to the widespread idea that itinerant work is essentially in contrast to modernization, the case of the street cinemas shows how the development of arts, technology, and culture furnished new tools and materials for nomadic work. In general, itinerant work in modern Europe highly benefited from the improvement of the road and transport system, enabling a higher mobility.¹⁶⁰ If this is certainly true for the main Yugoslav cities, it must be partly revised in the Yugoslav rural context, where the infrastructure improved only to a small extent. Nonetheless, some itinerant jobs could benefit from that too, bringing movies, magic shows, brooms, fancy goods, and earthenware also to remote villages in the countryside, thus fulfilling an economically and culturally useful function.

Even bear leaders, who had weaker economic arguments and did not have the social capital necessary for fiercely defending their job, went on practicing. They were not, as in other European countries, the target of a pitiless political campaign against them. Neither can they be described solely as “victims” of the interwar policies and sociocultural developments. This conclusion is in line with recent approaches to the history of nomadic people and the Roma in general, which aim at refusing to adopt the traditional criminological approach that studies them mainly as a criminalized group, focusing on the repressive and stigmatizing practices of the dominant societies. The results of such research necessarily depicted the Gypsies and the other wandering people only as culprits and victims.¹⁶¹ On the contrary, this chapter has shown that it would be reductive to consider Yugoslav Roma and itinerant workers in general solely as social outcasts. Although it is undeniable that from some segments of Yugoslav society there were efforts at marginalizing these professions, this study shows that itinerant workers were still part of the Yugoslav social fabric. They were maybe placed on its margins, but they were still within it.

FIGHTING AGAINST DEVIANT MIDWIVES AND FOLK HEALERS

POPULAR MEDICINE AND THE MODERNIZATION OF PUBLIC HEALTH

Since antiquity, the midwife has been surrounded by an aura of mystery and magic: she was the repository of knowledge about the human and particularly the female body and about herbal remedies, including words, rituals, and objects linked with religions, forms of superstition, and popular beliefs.

The close association of midwives and witches, which was previously a widespread historiographical topos, has been fiercely criticized in recent times. It was demonstrated that midwives were not persecuted as witches in the European Middle Ages and early modern history and that there is no evidence that midwives were more likely to be accused of witchcraft.¹

Nonetheless, it is undeniable that in modern times, with the rise of Western modern medicine, the traditional midwife found herself at the fringes of—and progressively expelled from—modern medicine. Beginning in the sixteenth century, European states began to deal with the regulation and education of midwives. In contrast to the traditional self-educated midwife, there progressively emerged in Europe the modern midwife, with a formal professional education gained at a certified school. The process of professionalization of midwifery intensified in the second half of the nineteenth century with an effort to sharply distinguish the legally certified midwives from their illicit and socially dangerous colleagues.²

This is not to say that the traditional midwife was simply a social outcast. She was instead perceived with a mixture of both respect, especially by the local communities—and increasing contempt, especially by the official authorities. Traditional midwives, who merged medical and traditional knowledge, were linked with forms of disregarded

folk healing, popular magical thinking, and pseudowitchcraft, always under the suspicion that they might engage in abortion and infanticide.³

The main question that can be raised is thus how this process took place in the Yugoslav context and what effects it had in terms of social conflict. To better look for the answers, I will outline the legal and cultural changes occurred during the examined years. Nonetheless, this chapter will not be a short history of the professionalization process of midwifery in Yugoslavia. Rather, I am interested in the concrete impacts that the regulation of this profession provoked in terms of social engineering. More than the modern midwives, the main actors of this chapter are those who continued to follow traditional and popular principles; more than on the institutionally established midwives, the analysis aims to focus on those who occupied a lower place in the newly established professional hierarchy. The chapter reconstructs the main traits of the legal framework and the official policies, examining in detail how the midwives and the local communities, where the first ones were serving, reacted to some interventions by the health authorities and the novelties of the interwar health regime. Following this analytical path, the chapter extends to include other forms of habits and professions that collided with the official rules in the field of collective health. Folk healing and quackery will thus be included in the analysis.

A relevant premise of this chapter is the increasing importance ascribed to midwives in modern times due to the fact that this socioprofessional group had to do with the sensitive field of birth, demographic concerns, and population policies, a field that became, precisely in the examined period, of great relevance for the European nation-states.⁴ Social medicine, social hygiene, and eugenics decisively developed in the interwar years—and this applies, as we saw in Chapter 1, also to Eastern, Central Eastern and Southeastern Europe.⁵ A healthy, strong, and large population was of particular relevance for the Southeastern European newly established countries, and that is why their governments placed much attention on health issues.⁶

Together with other medical professionals, the midwife too was at the center of a strong modernization process between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century in the region under examination. In the late Ottoman space and much more in the late Habsburg provinces and in the Kingdom of Serbia, new rules were introduced in order to regulate this profession, moving it closer to the modern scientific-medical standards. Theoretically, since 1838 in the Kingdom of Serbia every municipality had to employ a midwife, and since 1888 in the Ottoman Empire a midwife without a recognized diploma was not allowed to work, although many such legislative measures were quite ineffective and remained largely disregarded.⁷ In the Habsburg regions, following the regulation issued in the mid-eighteenth century, certified midwives had to get a license after having attended one of the certified schools of the monarchy.⁸ Aspirant midwives then used to go to Vienna, Pest, Graz, or Trieste (in

the last two, lectures were held also in Slovenian), while such schools were established on the South Slav territory too: 1753 in Ljubljana and Celje,⁹ 1786 in Rijeka (closed in 1799),¹⁰ 1820 in Zadar (closed in 1918),¹¹ 1877 in Zagreb,¹² and 1896 in Belgrade.¹³ A symbol of this professionalization process was the huge and heavy midwife's bag, full of instruments derived from the most up-to-date medical knowledge and allowed the midwife to reach the new main goal: a clean and before all aseptic birth.¹⁴

Apart from this goal, the midwife, together with her bag, should concretely reach the home of the pregnant woman. Obstetric wards were already established in the main Yugoslav cities in interwar years, but still in 1938 only about 3.3 percent of all the births took place in a hospital or a health institution.¹⁵ In the Slovenian provinces, one of the most progressive regions concerning the institutionalization of modern midwifery, it was only in the second half of the 1950s that the passage to hospitalized birth took place.¹⁶ In short, in the interwar period most Yugoslav women still gave birth at home. The question of who assisted them during the birth is then part of the history of the vast majority of Yugoslav society of that time, and given the cultural and political centrality of health and population concerns, the same question is relevant for improving our knowledge of the social history of Yugoslavia.

Midwives who did not follow the new modern rules were often accused of quackery. Some of the stories this chapter deals with have to do with the broader topic of popular medicine. To consider this wider context of anti- and premodern ways of approaching the human body and healing it, the analysis also examines some other potentially ambiguous working activities such as barbers who performed circumcisions as well as folk healers.

Focusing on the case study of the midwives and by having an insight into the world of folk healing, we will be able to observe modern tensions between high and popular culture, between old and new medical practices, between different understandings of individual and collective hygiene, and between diverging notions of licit and illicit in the context of interwar Yugoslavia. As I hope to show with this chapter, modernization processes also induced forms of social exclusion and social conflict in this field. They revolved around traditional jobs, which now had to be partly regulated and partly repressed.

ENVISIONING A YUGOSLAV MIDWIFERY

In 1921 shortly after the establishment of the Yugoslav state, a law was introduced in order to provide a unified legal frame for practicing midwifery.¹⁷ The law was later followed by a more detailed text of legislative character, the "rules for midwives" (1924, revised and enlarged in 1927), which carefully explained who had the right to exercise

the profession and how.¹⁸ The rules dealt with hygienic issues (§5–7),¹⁹ the duties of the midwife toward the expectant mother before during and after the birth (§8–12), and the limits of her activity, that is, when she must call a doctor (§13). This was intended for avoiding any illegal medical activity (§21). The midwife, who should be characterized by moral integrity (§3), must be under the control of the local health authorities (§2). Only certified midwives were allowed to assist women during the birth (§1), and they had to regularly attend “continuing educational courses” (§22).

By doing this, state authorities relied on some preexisting laws and rules,²⁰ but they were now defined more precisely and extended to the entire country. The goal was to put Yugoslavia in line with the hygienic and medical requirements of what was considered a modern nation. In order to reach that goal, the “cultural, hygienic and national relevance of the midwife” must be recognized, as it was put by Srećko Zanela, deputy director of the School for Midwives in Zagreb.²¹ Writing at the end of the 1930s, he traced a sort of report about the Yugoslav accomplishments in this field. He repeatedly stressed the sociomedical importance of the midwife, who should be considered equal to a nurse, although this did not happen from the scientific or from the legislative point of view or with regard to salaries—even though, he added, “civilized people” did recognize her importance. For contrasting the so much lamented “white plague” (i.e., very low rates of natality mainly due to the high child and maternal mortality),²² there was only one way, which, according to Zanela and many influent Yugoslav colleagues of his, was to have well-trained midwives. But still in 1939 there were only three schools for midwives in the entire country, the same ones that existed in the pre-Yugoslav period, in Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Belgrade.²³ The result was that the number of certified midwives was still much lower than what was considered needed by the country (Table 4.1).

In the opinion of Zanela, around 2,000 more midwives were needed, while the existing schools could only train 75 midwives in total per year. Even worse was considered the fact that the working midwives were very badly distributed across the country: most (2,354) resided in the three northern *banovinas*, that is, those with the lowest natality rate. Thus, the distribution was the opposite of what was needed.

Zanela also sketched out a useful categorization of the different social actors involved in Yugoslav midwifery at that time. Following a hierarchy that is not made explicit but with very clear results, in the first place were the mentioned nurses, who could obtain a diploma as midwife through an integrative course of six months. Nonetheless, their function, it was explained, was not to play the role of “midwife of higher category”²⁴ but instead to become directors of the schools for midwives, strengthening the latter’s sense of belonging to social medicine.

After the city midwives, the midwives in the countryside were mentioned. Unable to economically survive, they tended to leave the countryside, especially in the poorest

Table 4.1. Midwife figures in Yugoslavia (1933, 1938).

BANOVINA	POPULATION (1935)	MIDWIVES		MIDWIVES FOR EACH 10.000 INHABITANTS
		1933	1938	
Belgrade	355,219	108	104	2.93
Dravska	1,179,725	584	511	4.33
Drinska	1,694,317	95	85	0.50
Dunavska	2,477,857	670	810	3.27
Moravska	1,546,880	88	93	0.60
Primorska	945,538	139	147	1.55
Savska	2,829,930	850	929	3.28
Vardarska	1,692,420	86	92	0.54
Vrbaska	1,126,823	43	31	0.28
Yugoslavia	14,840,290	2,731	2,859	1.93
Zetska	991,581	68	57	0.57

Source: Zanela, "Problem babica kod nas," 249.

Table 4.2. Official figures of "public" and "private" midwives, 1936.

BANOVINA	MIDWIVES	
	EMPLOYED IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS	SELF-EMPLOYED
Belgrade	34	75
Dravska	409	138
Drinska	49	58
Dunavska	419	309
Moravska	58	37
Primorska	75	71
Savska	632	289
Vardarska	43	52
Vrbaska	26	7
Yugoslavia	1,790	1,057
Zetska	45	21

Source: *Statistički godišnjak Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1936*, Vol. 7 (Belgrade, 1937), 420.

provinces, and move to the cities. Furthermore, a special mention should be made regarding the so-called private midwives, those not employed at hospitals or as municipal midwives (also called public midwives) and were self-employed. They represented a big part of the total number of midwives in the country, around 37 percent in 1936 (Table 4.2).

Zanela lamented that there were still so-called trusted women (*pozjerenice*), who after a quick course of four weeks became peasant midwives (*seoske babice*), as had recently happened in the Dunavska banovina. Zanela strongly condemned what he considered a tremendous regression to past and erroneous experiments done in Slovenia and Croatia. Doctors in the countryside should not “license fraudulent midwives” (*patentirati nadribabice*).²⁵ The issue of the “quack midwives” (*nadprimalje, nadribabice*) was a sensible one: they were presented as a proper “cancer for our people” (*tu rak-ranu našega naroda*). They were not only in (unfair) competition with the certified midwives but also provoked real “horrors” (*strabote*). This was the reason why authorities had to harshly fight against this phenomenon with severe measures.

These bitter considerations from the end of the 1930s raise a question: Beyond the legislative level and the plans and programs of health authorities, what concretely happened “on the field” in the interwar years? To answer this question a microapproach can be useful, and the story of Antonija is very instructive.

THE REBELLIOUS ANTONIJA, HER OPPONENTS, AND HER SUPPORTERS

In a cold January 1921, Dr. Maoro Lefković, district physician in the Bosnian town of Prnjavor, could not stand the situation anymore and wrote to the health department of the regional government in Sarajevo in order to denounce the midwife Antonija Savić.²⁶ In this letter one can read that she was sixty years old, had been working in Prnjavor for four years, and had been denounced already many times for “quackery” but also that she had always been “pardoned”. The last time after a young woman had given birth, Antonija allegedly took out the placenta by “introducing the entire arm.” In this letter one could read that she was well known because of her “insolence,” particularly toward Dr. Lefković. In this regard, the doctor reported that she was used to saying to her patients “either him or me.” According to the doctor, she “treat[ed] women at her place,” “for high reward,” and she maintained that she was de facto a physician because she “only [had] one exam left.” He did not exclude that she also performed abortions. Two witnesses’ statements were attached.²⁷ Some days after the doctor inspected Antonija’s bag—one of the physician’s duties was to monitor the midwives in this regard²⁸—and detected many defects, including that “the container for Lysol [the most important disinfectant at that time] was empty and dry.”²⁹

These documents provide us with elements that hint at a quite typical conflict between a traditional midwife and a representative of modern medicine. What clearly emerges is that Antonija was not young, because she had her first training several decades earlier, and that she did not strictly follow scientific principles and official rules. A kind of competition between her and the local physician is explicitly stated. Very probably, the woman did not act solely as a midwife but also acted as a folk healer, making use of a traditional approach to curing. Finally, she had been connected with abortions.

The reaction from the health authorities reveals some novelties in comparison with the past. The head of the district in Banja Luka quickly put forth, only some days after the denunciation, that he was of the opinion that the midwife's license should be immediately withdrawn and that in the case that she would persist to act as healer, she should be banished from the country.³⁰ Such a reaction offers some indication that Antonija's behavior could not be tolerated anymore and that the space for compromises was narrowing.

In the document it is stressed that Antonija earned her diploma in 1882, "that means 46 years ago, and if she does not get the new developments in this field and does not use the disinfectants, then she is . . . outdated and she is only harmful for the community, where she lives." The accusation that she was a social danger could not be clearer. After central authorities in Sarajevo ordered provisionally suspending Antonija, the head of the county promptly applied that directive, further ordering that "the bag must be consigned at this office."³¹ We know that this condemned her to the impossibility of working as a midwife.

These documents offer us the perspective of and the decision taken by the local, county, and regional health and administrative authorities. But what were the opinions of the other actors involved? It might be helpful to have a look at the initiatives taken by Ljubica Janjić, the midwife employed by the municipality of Prnjavor. She sent a long letter to the Bosnian Regional Government,³² furnishing new interesting information that can be briefly summarized as follows:

Antonija's daughter had "three outlawed children." She was "jobless and she works for her [Antonija] as a kind of spy," looking for young pregnant women in the village.

"Both of them [Antonija and her daughter] [were used to going] from town to town"; Antonija waited for her "clients" "on the street in front of her place".

Antonija is repeatedly addressed as a witch: "this so to say old witch [*stara vračara*] . . . unfortunately a midwife"; she is "like a witch" [*k'o bajaga*].

Antonija allegedly treated ill women at her place; the recovery lasted eight days, Antonija "injects water in the uterus with some boiled herbs"; she received "more than 1000 kronas for 8 days"; and she also prepared the food.

Antonija was also accused of spreading a rumor, which reveals that she did not refuse to build her reputation on the authority derived from the official authorities

and modern medicine. Allegedly she told the peasants that she had been sent by the Bosnian government, that she was a doctor, and that her father was a doctor.

Notwithstanding all the warnings and the prohibitions, she went on with her practices.

Antonija enjoyed popular trust, more than the representatives of official medicine: “by doing this she gained such trust from the population, which villagers do not have neither towards me or the doctors; the villagers do not believe us; they instead follow her as if they were blind, and if somebody is ill, they call Savička [i.e., Antonija] first.”

Antonija was unashamed, doing her business “in public [she does not hide],” with heavy concrete consequences for the municipal midwife’s working life, “and apart from that she took all my clients.”

The voice of the municipal midwife is completely in tune with that of the doctor. Apart from elements already known from the previous documents, what is of particular relevance here are two aspects: (1) the partial overlapping between the representation of the prostitute and that of the deviant midwife, who is often on the road and lures the clients in on the streets, and (2) the strong support of Antonija by the local population, which prefers the traditional midwife to the health personnel prescribed from above and from outside. Was it really so? Does the reconstruction by the municipal midwife have a realistic character? To test her assumptions, we need to listen to the popular voice.

A petition written by the women of Prnjavor can be extremely useful in this regard.³³ Their stances become clear from the very beginning: “We plead the city and district administration to communicate to the Mr. Dr. that he should leave the local midwife, Mrs. Savička, in peace.” The reasons are clearly illustrated: “because she is very good for us women, citizens of this place, she is worthy and fully skilled in her job, she treats us every time to our greatest satisfaction, if we call her . . . being paid or not.” This benevolent relationship between the midwife and the local women already had a history, because it is added that she did this “also during the war.” On the contrary, “Mrs. Šušković [maiden name of the municipal midwife]³⁴ wandered around for smuggling.” The conclusion is a firm statement: “we won’t allow it at all . . . ! . . . [W]e are ready to complain to the high Regional Government, in order to have Mrs. Savička confirmed as our midwife forever, because she has never done anything bad to us!”

The signs (Figure 4.1) reveal an interconfessional support by both Bosnian-Serbian and Bosnian-Croatian women. Not only is the petition closed by a very long list of names written in the Cyrillic and Latin alphabet, but another sheet of paper is also added, where the “Herzegovinian” women, as they designate themselves, declared to agree and expressed the wish to join the initiative.³⁵

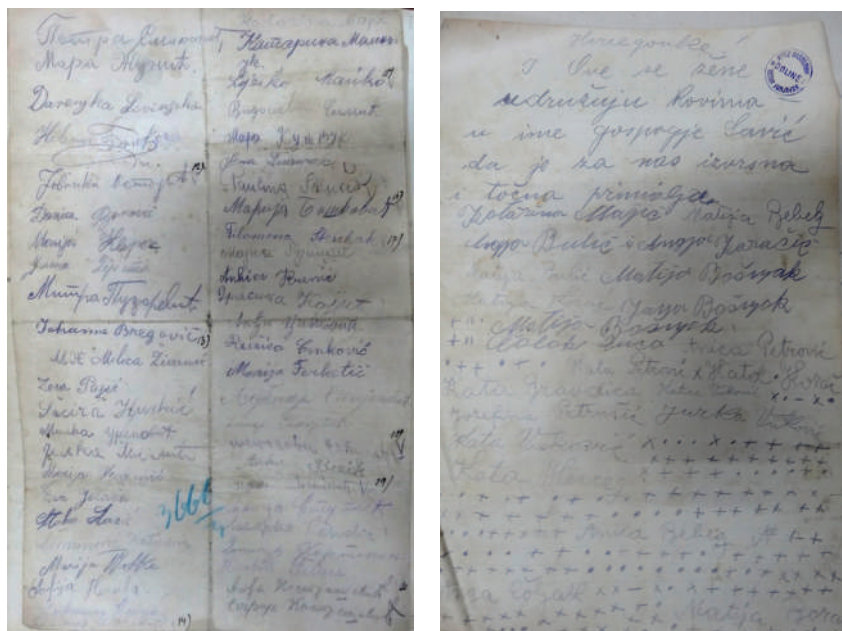


Figure 4.1. Signing the popular, female, and interconfessional support. Source: ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1923, Box 89, doc. 18279, the women of Prnjavor to the Municipality, Prnjavor, February 7, 1921.

This precious document allows us to have a trace of the opinion of members of the lowest, not rarely illiterate strata of society. The text, the signatures, and all these small crosses and points show the perspective of the women of that village, which leaves quite a clear impression: there was a barricade. On the one side were the doctor, the municipal midwife, and the public authorities; on the other side were the women of Prnjavor, together with Antonija. It is time now to directly address Antonija and listen to her point of view.

From the first actions Antonija undertook, one gets the impression that at the beginning she was not particularly scared of the situation. She had already faced similar problems in her long career, and she was probably used to fiercely defending herself. She wrote directly to the central authority in Sarajevo in order to get her license back and—nothing less than—to denounce Dr. Lefković. She not only defended herself, but her self-confidence also led her to conduct a counterattack.³⁶ She explained that the doctor had “defamed” her, and she clearly denied that she had ever done anything improperly or entered the field of medical activity. Actually, after only a couple of lines, she made a partial admission: “if I maybe made a small violation in the medical field, that doesn’t give anybody the right to revoke my license as a midwife, because nobody in the world can demonstrate that I am not skilled and experienced in doing my job, since I have

been doing it already for 39 years without any complaints.” The entire text is a transparent declaration of pride. It is a self-portrait built on self-confidence, declared professionalism, and a solid support by the local population.

These letters and popular petitions enable us to reconstruct the *agency* of both a traditional midwife and the local population and to integrate it with the agency of the institutional actors. The interaction between the two fronts in this case was not confined to one single occasion: as they had threatened, the women of Prnjavor actually wrote a second petition to the Bosnian government,³⁷ and Antonija sent several letters to the regional government and other territorial institutions.³⁸

The lesson one can derive from this story is that the process of normalization of this profession took place not without resistance “from below.” The professional regulation of this job and the social disciplining linked to it provoked many contrasts: the marginalized workers reacted, and so did the local population. From the perspective of the examined case study, one cannot simply speak of an easy “repression” of the marginal social groups and marginal workers. As was the case of the wandering artists and the peddlers (Chapter 3), the modernization of society also produced resilience and, at least on a first level, compromises.

It is precisely regarding the last point that Antonija’s story is very instructive. Still, during the war and in the first postwar years, Antonija’s behavior was tolerated. On the contrary, later this was not the case anymore. A first phase of pronounced tolerance toward traditional midwives is confirmed by the studies about the late Habsburg period: at that time the chances for accommodation were more feasible, and the gap between the letter of the law and the reality of the practice could be quite wide. Antonija’s story instead seems to show us that this gap became narrower in the Yugoslav years, and in some cases it was closed.

Following this story until its end, after a long trial Antonija was definitely suspended in the autumn of 1921.³⁹ For an indirect confirmation of this, one can notice that two years passed, and Antonija tried again: she asked, with a remarkably different tone in comparison with her previous writings, to have her bag and her instruments back.⁴⁰ Thanks also to the fact that the municipal midwife had fallen seriously ill, some days later Antonija Savić got her bag back.⁴¹ This could be interpreted as a belated victory by the peasant women’s resistance, and probably it partly was, but at the same time the entire experience of suffering lived by that midwife shows that the time of tolerance toward deviant and undisciplined midwives was over. Health authorities rehabilitated an antimodernist midwife only because it seems that they really did not have any other choice in that precise local context at that time. Otherwise the main trend was clear, and it was oriented toward a normalization of habits and conducts of workers in the health sector and with attempts to expel and repress those traditional actors who did not fit into the plan.

ABORTION, POLLUTION, DISCIPLINE

The story of Antonija provides elements that are not unique to her case. We find other cases where the villagers stood in defense of their midwife. In Fojnica, for instance, the villagers organized a collective protest against the reduction of the municipal budget, which had caused the firing of the local midwife, Lucija Dropuljić.⁴² Differently than in the before-treated case, here folk healing methods were not the reason behind the dismissal but instead were financial reasons. Nonetheless, what is of interest here is, again, the citizens' agency, that is, the alacrity of the villagers, who were ready to embrace administrative means in order to interact with the authorities and to support their midwife. In this case too, when it was about assistance to births, popular opinion could easily bring together members of different confessions (in this case including people with Muslim names) and of both sexes.

Furthermore, the association of the midwife, especially if she was old, with induced pregnancy interruption was quite widespread. Abortion was forbidden in interwar Yugoslavia by the Penal Code (Appendix, §§172, 173), and every form of pregnancy interruption was to be strictly put under the control of health authorities, as also foreseen by specific rules.⁴³ When women decided to have an abortion, they needed to do it illegally, and they often sought the help of midwives.

It is probably not by chance that in the gallery of madams that Psihanović depicted in his text about prostitution in Belgrade, he also deals with a "special" case, that of Baba Ruža.⁴⁴ Baba Ruža did not exactly manage a brothel. She instead "established liaisons," and what allowed her to do this was precisely her professional background derived from her past as a midwife, which led her to be put into contact "with the secrets of the female world in Belgrade." According to the author, she was then able to furnish detailed information about the "willingness" of a high number of women, especially married. The way in which she initially met those women can be deduced from a hint, when the author writes that those women had to abort "at every cost." The hidden abortion here is linked with midwifery, generating an unusual figure of procuress: Baba Ruža is the only one among the portrayed madams who did not aspire to a personal profit, mediating without predetermined fees and sharing her earnings with the beggars. What is of interest here is not the historical existence of Baba Ruža and the historical accuracy of Psihanović's writing; what is worthy of recognition is that in an essay about prostitution that somehow reproduces opinions circulating in wider society, a midwife earns her own and particular place, being put in connection with practices of hidden abortion.

This was a phenomenon that was often underlined with heavy critical tones in Yugoslav interwar debates. In the framework of the criticism toward new processes of urbanization, Bogoljub Konstantinović, a well-known social reformer, lamented the growth

of voluntary abortions and at the same time invoked a more rigid and severe control on the midwives.⁴⁵ Charges in this sense against “old women and a kind of midwives” could be heard in the parliament,⁴⁶ and the issue was discussed with great concern in the periodical of the police.⁴⁷

Health authorities investigated every suspicious circumstance. When the hospital in Sarajevo was notified of such a case in April 1921, an investigation was immediately started against the midwife Karolina Hrabar.⁴⁸ While in this case the charge was not proven, in other cases the notification led to an arrest. So, the midwife Baruh was put in prison because she was accused of having performed an illegal abortion for the reward of five hundred crones.⁴⁹ The case is interesting also because judging from the names of the women involved, a midwife probably of Jewish origin was engaged by women probably of Serbian Orthodox origin, certainly not of Jewish faith: the trace of an interconfessional interaction.

Sometimes the authorities did not need to look after possible cases of abortion because loyal citizens did their bit, monitoring the environment around them and denouncing such criminal and highly immoral activity. The illegality of the pregnancy interruption thus brought with its cases of private denunciation. The case of a man who sent a letter to the municipal authorities in Belgrade is illuminating: he not only maintained that a woman was carrying out abortions in her home for wealthy women but also added morbid details (that she threw the children’s bodies in the toilet), that she had false working papers, and that she actually worked as an unlicensed midwife and as a prostitute.⁵⁰ In another case it was not the alleged executor of the abortion that is denounced but rather the pregnant woman: a man, having known that she’d had the intention to abort, decided to inform the local authorities about it.⁵¹

Midwives and their (potential) clients were under strict control, especially by public authorities, with regard to not only potential abortions but also every form of folk medicine and quackery. “The midwives do abuse of their position” is the conclusion reached by a zealous local administrator and a worried local doctor working in Bijelina, a Bosnian village.⁵² It seems that the approach of the authorities quickly changed during the period under examination with a reduction in the level of tolerance toward nonorthodox medical practices. The dynamics already observed with regard to the midwife Antonija Savić can also be traced elsewhere. In Bijelina, the doctor shared that when he arrived in the village he immediately noticed three midwives who were acting as folk healers. He first tried with soft manners to convince them to desist, promising them that the municipality would employ them or reprimanding them on the occasions of the bag checks. Nonetheless, one of them, Tomanija Ostojić, persisted, curing *de facto* all kinds of diseases, including tumors and sterility. For the sum of twenty-five dinars daily, a sick woman could stay at her place, being cured and nurtured by the midwife. After a denunciation, a search of the midwife’s home confirmed the charge: the

midwife's bag was immediately confiscated, and the midwife was suspended and denounced for quackery.

These behaviors of some traditional midwives led in some cases to a real hunt for undisciplined midwives. In the same last-mentioned document one can read that "recently I found, after a long time of searching, one of them at the borders of this district (*srez*), Slava Rača, who was engaged in criminal abortions," allegedly also provoking the death of a woman. The midwife was later taken to trial.⁵³

The worried physician in Bijelina went on: "If we don't bridle the midwives, they easily slip out of their field of activity and can do much harm." This referred to not only abortion but also infection. In the same case of Slava Rača, one can read that it was reported how this midwife had "without doubts" passed over a form of syphilis from one woman to another. Therefore, not unlike prostitutes, midwives could be a serious source of transmission of venereal diseases.⁵⁴

To what extent did the system of control work? As shown in the previous lines, there is contradictory evidence. On the one hand, the state required new standards and tried, more than in the past, to impose a new health regime. On the other hand, there were many cases of undisciplined midwives. In the background of this general tendency of the very first postwar years, it seems that the lives of traditional midwives and of traditional folk healers became more difficult during the 1920s.

Let us take, for example, the case of the old midwife Tonica Šečerović from Skopje, who tried in the mid-1920s to pass the state exam in order to be confirmed as a certified midwife. She failed twice in succession, and her license was withdrawn.⁵⁵ Health authorities were rigid also with those who refused to attend the compulsory continuing educational courses: the effect could be in this case too the withdrawal of the license.⁵⁶ On the other hand, if a midwife who had lost her license attended the obligatory courses, she could have her license back.⁵⁷ Therefore, it seems that the system sometimes worked relatively well, although it is easy to imagine that the efficiency was higher in the city than in the countryside, with regional differences and many different individual cases.

Not only in Bosnia but also elsewhere in Yugoslavia, the repressive policy against uncertified midwives had limited effects. In the Slovenian rural context, for instance, traditional methods of birth were often preferred to the modern midwife because of geographic, economic, and cultural reasons. If one lived in a remote village, in poor conditions, and with a rooted mistrust toward modern medicine, it was not unusual that instead of calling the certified midwife, the expectant mother was helped by her own mother and by the women of the neighborhood.⁵⁸ In Croatia-Slavonia too, the unwritten rule in the countryside was still to call the traditional midwives, recurring to the certified ones and especially to the doctor and the hospital only in the case of problematic births.⁵⁹

FOLK MEDICINE AND MAGIC

The official measures against quack midwifery, which became more intensive in the period under examination, must be put in the framework of a wider fight against medical quackery and folk medicine in general. There were specific traditions on the Yugoslav territories, such as the *travari*, herbs experts, and the *vidovnjaci*, the fortune tellers (and their famous female counterpart, the *vidovite žene*), as well as healers such as the *hećimi*, or the *berberi* (barbers), who often served as surgeons and dentists and in Muslim societies were also designated to perform circumcision. The campaign and the official measures against these social figures had already begun in pre-Yugoslav times but with quite limited results.⁶⁰

Especially barbers were often mentioned together with traditional midwives as well as with witches (*vračare*) to defame them and to spread a negative image of them. Nonetheless, their influence and good reputation among the popular classes—and with sympathizers even among medical practitioners—were not easy to contradict. Thus, the late nineteenth-century state interventions sometimes needed to settle for making big compromises, such as trying to regulate the profession of barbers but allowing them, after a state exam, to legally extract teeth.⁶¹

In this regard, the new Yugoslav legislation wanted to get things clear. In the Rules for Barbers introduced already in 1919, the performance of any bloodletting and teeth extraction (§17) is clearly forbidden.⁶² Every kind of homemade medications were banned, and pharmacies, which still sold them, were severely condemned.⁶³ Notwithstanding these official efforts, still a decade later one could read in the periodical of the Serbian Medical Society complaints about an “open wound on national health” that took hold in the postwar years because of the economic crisis. According to the author, the discussed proposals of a legalization of such professions would be deleterious because “the poor or proletarian woman would neither go to the doctor nor to the hospital, but she would turn to a quack doctor, because he is closer to her in terms of mentality and social status, so that she believes him more, and maybe she also hopes that it will turn out to be cheaper.”⁶⁴ Not only economic reasons, then, but also cultural ones moved segments of the population to folk healers. Among the latter, barbers and midwives—abortion was mentioned as one of their main activities—turned out to be well represented.

We must not be surprised, then, when we encounter a case such as that of Smiljana Puzić, an established folk healer, who because of this ended up in jail repeatedly. Already in 1923 in the opinion of the local public authorities,⁶⁵ she needed be put “under constant control by the gendarmerie” because after long investigations, it had been verified that she was a “professional quack doctor,” constantly moving from town to town, even beyond the district’s borders, in order to collect herbs, cure ill people, and sell her

medicines.⁶⁶ It was also underlined that such healers enjoyed the full trust and great support of the peasants, which is confirmed by a letter of support in favor of Smiljana.⁶⁷ A further disturbing aspect for the local authorities was that Smiljana knew “the number of the secretary of His Majesty the King” and that she had deposited a petition there. There was definitely some truth to this, because when Smiljana wanted to interact with the authorities, she addressed her writings directly to the highest authority in the state.⁶⁸ She declared that she could be proud of a fifteen-year-long successful career, having “saved more than 2,000 souls,” adding that “the doctor has never come during these 15 years to my native village Velika Jasenica, because there was no need.”

On the contrary, the health and public authorities were of a quite different opinion: “it would be a fatal error . . . to tolerate such quack doctors.”⁶⁹ The local doctor sued her many times, and every time she was sentenced to pay some fees as well as be imprisoned for short periods. It happened in 1924 and then again in 1925, but she was depicted still in 1926 as an “incorrigible” quack doctor, and more severe measures against her were announced.⁷⁰ Public authorities were thus inclined to persist in their severe policy of repression, being ready to imprison her for longer periods.

No more tolerance was declared and increasingly applied to fraudulent doctors. Omer Berberović was a certified barber, allowed to perform circumcision. Despite these licenses, when he arrived in Banja Luka, Bosnia, in 1920, he presented himself and worked as a doctor. After investigations on the field carried out by the medical personnel of the district’s hospital, he was sued,⁷¹ and public authorities decided to take him to trial.⁷² His reaction was to flee and disappear.⁷³

Quackery was deeply intertwined with folk medicine, and the latter was intertwined with magic. Furthermore, the professional specialization in healing with popular and magical resources was often acknowledged as a job peculiar to some Roma women.⁷⁴ Throughout the entire Balkans, having access to traditional and esoteric knowledge about herbs, which could be used for therapeutic as well as black magic purposes, was typically ascribed to Roma women.⁷⁵ Considering again the figure of the bear leader analyzed in Chapter 3, it is interesting here to add that it was his wife who was charged with the duty and the honor of carrying out the magic rites that included the use of the bear’s hair.⁷⁶

A familiarity with the esoteric world often led the same women to also perform the activity of fortune teller.⁷⁷ In the press too the two jobs were often linked, referring to the figure of the “magician & healer,” as in the case of the Roma woman Barbara Horn in Zagreb in 1937. She was arrested, having been generously paid for some herbal medications against digestive disorders. The author of the article comments that many women in Zagreb believed that “such women,” rather than doctors, could help them get better. Even though Barbara, after the denunciation, gave all the money back to her patient, who withdrew the charge, the folk healer was sentenced to ten days of imprisonment.⁷⁸

As this case testifies, such popular beliefs were not confined to the rural environment, being still present in the larger Yugoslav cities during the 1930s.

The sentence was much more severe in the case of Kata Maurović, a Roma woman who in 1929 provided a woman living in Zagreb with an herbal love potion. Charged with fraud, she was sentenced to two years of hard prison.⁷⁹ It seems that bewitchments of any kind, although popular, were not tolerated by state authorities. In the Bosnian region too in the same years, women could be arrested because of their foretelling, as in the case of Fata Hajdarović.⁸⁰ It was not only women who resorted to female folk healers. Vaso Vasić, from a village nearby Sarajevo, illustrated in detail how he was convinced to allow an old Roma woman to come to his home during the night and perform a healing ritual, which aimed at curing his ill wife. After realizing that he had been swindled, he denounced her to the police authorities in Sarajevo.⁸¹

The measures taken regarding the midwives are then part of a wider state interventionism in the field of collective health and specifically against folk medicine. Notwithstanding the high number of difficulties in enacting the legal regulations, state and local public and health authorities tried to suppress any form of irregular medical activity. It increasingly became quite dangerous for a midwife who was asked, for example, to present some documents and to collaborate with the authorities to react like Živka Bošković who, still in the 1920s, provocatively addressed the officers by saying “Go ahead and fire me!”⁸² This kind of self-confidence could be seriously put to the test.

HIERARCHIES AND INSTITUTIONAL AGENCY OF THE MIDWIVES

We have seen how some undisciplined and traditional midwives reacted to the Yugoslav legal, professional, and cultural novelties introduced in their professional field. However, it is important to note that certified and modern midwives also put into practice forms of agency vis-à-vis the new socioeconomic and institutional context. It is interesting to see how they did it and what the general implications of these developments were for our analysis.

If we take into consideration the letters and applications that many midwives sent to local public authorities generally to be employed, we can notice many similarities with those letters submitted by poor people. When Hiba Celic wrote to the Sarajevo administration, for example, she explained that her husband was elderly and ill and could not provide for the needs of the family, who thus found themselves in deep distress. For these reasons, she asked for financial aid.⁸³ Having this kind of applications in mind,⁸⁴ one can note that when the midwife Anka Devičić, for instance, asked for a job, she used a rhetoric similar to that of needy people begging for public assistance.

There is no great space for professional self-confidence and pride about her social status; on the contrary, the argument deployed for legitimizing her plea is that she is “poor . . . without means of living . . . [and was] completely without money.”⁸⁵ A look at the application of a nurse quickly reveals the differences: although the nurse too declares that she lives in conditions of indigence, her tone is much less obsequious, and she makes clear references to legal articles, that is, to formalized rights, that should require better treatment in terms of salary.⁸⁶ The language of the nurse is like that of members of the established medical personnel who negotiate their rights, duties, and wages in the framework of formalized and institutionalized professions. In contrast, judging by their official letters, midwives seem to not fully belong to this socioprofessional group. They repeatedly lamented the failing acknowledgment of (the relevance of) their profession, and many of them declared that they lived in very poor conditions. Some of them, begging the authorities for a job, clarified that they were even ready to do a different job.⁸⁷

The indigence of many midwives was a widespread phenomenon throughout the entire Yugoslavian territory. This is well demonstrated by the results of an inquiry about the status of midwives published by the *Bulletin of the Slovenian Midwives* in 1939.⁸⁸ The wage paid by the municipalities could vary, but it was generally very low, and especially in the years following the economic crisis of 1929 it happened not rarely that the payments were delayed or simply suspended. For every intervention, the families needed to theoretically pay a sum, but instead of money the midwives were often paid in kind, and even more often they were not paid at all.

As explained by the midwife Jozefina Briški, who relied on the authority of “the greatest author of the school for midwives in Europe[,] Dr. Prof. L. Piskaček,”⁸⁹ “the most important people in a state are the midwives, who sustain the constant advancement towards the next generation, but for their job and responsibility they are nonetheless definitely underpaid.”⁹⁰ The underappreciation went hand in hand with the underremuneration. This weak acknowledgment of their social and professional role affected to different degrees the various categories of midwives existing in Yugoslavia at that time.

A big distinction must be made between the midwives employed by public structures, such as hospitals or municipalities, and those who worked freelance. While the former received a regular monthly salary, the latter were paid per treatment. In order to defend their interests, the freelance midwives, also called “private midwives,” established three associations according to Zanela: the association of Slovenian midwives established in Ljubljana (1919), that of Croatian midwives in Zagreb (1925), and that of Yugoslav midwives in Belgrade (1938),⁹¹ although he overlooks the one founded in Sarajevo. In one document of the Bosnian midwives’ association Primaljsko Udruženje za Bosnu i Hercegovinu (PUBiH), one can read that being “employees neither of the state nor of the municipalities” and working “like the other freelance professionals,”

they “are not obliged to go anywhere, where they [the clients] do not want to pay us.”⁹² The reference here is to the §5 of the Rules for the Midwives, which foresees the duty to intervene in any case where a midwife is required. In this regard one can read in the grievances submitted by Jozefina Briški, and supported by the PUBiH, of an alleged widespread habit of not paying the private midwives according to the official fees and sometimes not even paying them at all. The refusal to intervene could provoke harsh reactions from the clients, who in the reported cases addressed midwives with heavy menaces, and from the police authorities, who could take a midwife from her place and bring her by force to a woman in labor.

The issue of the official tariffs was a sensible topic for the private midwives, who criticized them through their associations. In one case, the criticism toward the tariff of 350 dinars foreseen for wealthy families and considered too low was accompanied by harsh criticism regarding the luxury in general that reigned in such milieus, describing the expectant women as surrounded by jewelry and dresses given as presents and the high number of champagne bottle corks that hit the ceiling when the baby was born. Yet the same families were not akin to appropriately paying the midwife for her long and risky assistance. The conclusion of the grievance was that the 105 midwives in Bosnia were determined to change this situation, defending the rights of their “poor estate” (*bjedni stalež*), whose members were still fighting for survival.⁹³

The midwives were not alone in considering the foreseen rewards as too low. The Municipality of Sarajevo too wrote to the inspector of the Ministry of National Health (IMNZ) reporting the opinion of the chief city physician (*gradski fizikat*), who considered that the minimum tariffs were too low because generally they became fixed and were de facto the maximum fees.⁹⁴

Nonetheless, the IMNZ was suspicious and feared a conflict between the city’s midwives and the “provincial” ones, who had previously complained that the tariffs were too high and that this was the reason why they had been reduced. The IMNZ also suspected that the PUBiH did not really have a representative authority for the members of this craft and represented only a small group of the city’s midwives who were trying to impose their wills on all the Bosnian midwives.⁹⁵ The IMNZ then asked the police to get more information about this association, and the latter answered furnishing a document with some data and interesting further comments. The PUBiH declared that the association had thirty-six members, twenty-one of whom lived and worked in Sarajevo, while the other fifteen lived and worked in the province. The monthly fee for membership was two dinars. The authors of the report, the chairwoman and the secretary of the association, explained that if the provincial midwives complained about the previous (allegedly too high) tariffs, it was because they were employed. They already got a salary and could then ask for lower tariffs, which was impossible for those who did not have a permanent position. Furthermore, if the tariffs were considered too

high, the provincial colleagues could freely reduce them, while, it was written, the city's midwives could not conform to the standards of the province because living in Sarajevo was much more expensive. The old tariffs, which foresaw higher prices for wealthier families, were considered much more opportune, and the PUBiH wrote that it was lobbying for the reintroduction of those former tariffs.⁹⁶ Their substitution with the new ones was condemned as "a great and heavy injustice done to our estate."⁹⁷

The "estate" that took shape through these documents and events is a subgroup inside the main group of the midwives. Some of them turned out to be professionally precarious and socially and economically fragile. They reacted by establishing forms of professional associationism that aimed at representing their corporatist interests and at dialoguing and lobbying with public authorities. Like in the cases scrutinized in the previous chapters, we can observe here too a specific version of social conflict linked with the identification of a precise job and the marginalized versions of it. In other words, what can be detected in the Yugoslav interwar years is the progressive emergence of a case of nonwork in the field of midwifery and the health services.

SOCIAL CONFLICTS AND COLLECTIVE HEALTH

In summary, what resulted from the last analyzed documents is a conflict between midwives with permanent positions and the freelance ones. This conflict overlaps with that between the city and the countryside. Those midwives who were employed by a municipality could afford lower tariffs, with these being only an addition to their regular salary, and this was even more feasible in the provinces, where the cost of living was lower.

Apart from pure economic issues, a "moral economy" also appeared and led the protest. The new measures taken by state authorities were considered unjust, and it was also this deep sense of iniquity that moved the midwives to complain. Through their clear statements, the midwives illustrated what they considered a serious and unfair discrepancy between the social relevance of their profession and the legal and sometimes even social scarce acknowledgment. One can also notice expressions of almost "class consciousness," or at least the perception of belonging to a distinct professional group and being bearers of specific cultural and social values, that emerged in corporative terms and shaped the collective action.

This applies only to some midwives. The Bosnian association, whose grievances were illustrated, counted only less than forty members in the mid-1920s, around one-third of the total number given by the PUBiH itself. This means that it was a minority, only one subgroup of the main socioprofessional group of midwives in the region. This has to do with one of the main conclusions of this chapter. The process of modernization

and professionalization of midwifery in Yugoslavia led to a new internal stratification, generating a new hierarchy of midwives that recalls what was outlined by Zanela and reported at the beginning of this chapter. At the top of the hierarchy, a step away from the nurses, there were certainly the city's midwives employed at hospitals. After them, in terms of retribution, institutional appreciation, and social security, there were the midwives employed by the municipalities in the countryside. Only then did the private midwives rank, and they had to struggle with official and sometimes social acknowledgment and often with financial difficulties too.

Outside of the official hierarchy and in the lowest position regarding morality, there were the traditional, increasingly deviant midwives. The modernization of midwifery, which had begun in pre-Yugoslav times, had as an effect the progressive marginalization of traditional midwives. This not only meant the prohibition to work as a midwife without a formal education but also had to do with the repression of folk healing. It is not by accident that the fight against quackery often regarded midwives. Furthermore, they were under suspicion of engaging in abortion, one of the main reasons why they were under strict control by health and police authorities. The developments examined here produced new social distinctions, with a marked gender component. The traditional midwife emerged sometimes, mainly in the eyes of authorities, as a figure at the fringes of society, as an always potential deviant social actor who could easily be involved in illegal or immoral activity, including prostitution. Finally, health concerns regarding pollution and contagion could also be considered when it was about the transmission of venereal diseases. This chapter has shown how the social engineering efforts of the Yugoslavs targeted traditional midwives and folk healers as well, considering them extremely dangerous for the health and the morals of the newly envisioned Yugoslav society.

On the other hand, this chapter has shown that the process of modernization and disciplining of this profession did not take place without resilience on the part of both the midwives and those they assisted. The several protests that left traces in the archival documents pertain to forms of agency embodied by villagers and by the midwives themselves. The new social distinctions generated by the process of modernization induced different forms of action: the stances of the traditional midwife were vehiculated through personal grievances and villagers' petitions, whereas modern midwives gave birth to institutionalized representative bodies, such as professional associations, that addressed formal claims to central authorities. The social and cultural distinctions among midwives are thus mirrored in the different forms of social conflict that this chapter dealt with.

This kind of social conflict was partly, sometimes fully, new in the Yugoslav context. The processes of professionalization of midwifery, which were already ongoing in some late nineteenth-century regions of the future Yugoslav state, were now linked together

by state authorities, who introduced a national legislation and tried to deal with the disciplining of the midwives more intensively and severely than before. Once again, we see continuities, postimperial legacies, and interwar innovative developments intertwined. In a European and global perspective, Yugoslavia seems to have followed the typical pattern of industrialized societies, further shaping midwifery in accordance with the most up-to-date medical standards. At the same time, the social conflicts presented in this chapter illustrate how the Yugoslav experience cannot be understood without its specific historical legacies.

From the perspective of midwifery too, as was the case with prostitution (Chapter 2) and the wandering artists and the peddlers (Chapter 3), post-Habsburg and post-Ottoman legacies played a relevant role. The regulation and education of midwives was more advanced in some northern regions, and notwithstanding some progressive developments, the general framework was not substantially changed at the end of the examined period. This must have played a role in the specific ways that the forging of modern midwifery and the fight against deviant midwives took place in the several Yugoslav regions. More detailed comparative local studies must certainly be done, but based on the evidence discussed in this chapter, it seems that an initial compliant behavior on the part of authorities, still open to arranging compromises, was more present in a region such as former Ottoman (until 1878–1908) Bosnia, for example, than in the post-Habsburg Slovenian province.

Furthermore, there were specific legacies of folk healing that the health authorities had to deal with, some of them directly linked with the history of medicine of these postimperial territories. This could have easily influenced the degree of resilience and the actions of protest performed by the prosecuted people and by the rural communities that defended them. The traditions of folk healing still strong in some regions, the popular birth cultures, the legitimacy enjoyed by traditional midwives and folk healers, and the moral economy that surrounded them all shaped the social conflict around modern and popular medicine in interwar Yugoslavia.

The second main conclusion, then, is that the social conflict around midwifery and folk healing characterized the interwar years in Yugoslavia more than in other Western European countries, where the disciplining of the profession and the fight against such popular customs had intensively begun earlier. In many Yugoslav provinces a popular, traditionalist approach toward health and birth issues still prevailed, and the efforts of imposing a more modern health regime produced quite lively reactions from the persons affected. They ranged from less conflictual actions such as hidden practices and small deviations from the rules to open and proud contraposition with authorities and their law.

Irregular behaviors by midwives and folk healers can be interpreted as “weapons of the weak,”⁹⁸ as forms of confrontation in a context of unbalanced power relations.

This kind of conflict becomes less intense if we climb up in the midwives' hierarchy: the forms of protest change, and the interactions between modern midwives and the health authorities follow patterns very similar to those of Western European countries in the same period, that is, through institutionalized representative bodies. Yet in Yugoslavia, at the semiperiphery of Europe, different forms of social conflicts are to be simultaneously registered still between the two world wars, when the social engineering plans by the state authorities had to face a mainly traditional environment inhabited by people not ready to leave their voices simply unheard.

In summary, a general consideration that can be derived from the previous pages is that this chapter too showed how state- and nation-building in Yugoslavia included specific social engineering efforts regarding health issues and population policy, here applied to midwifery and folk healing. This state- and nation-building process tried to overcome regional differences, unifying the inherited legislations and practices throughout the country, in order to reach its goals in disciplining the behaviors of its citizens concerning illnesses and especially the birth of children. Social control was also exercised in regard to modern medicine and modern midwifery.

Through legislative measures, medical practices, and police actions, the Yugoslav state determined which midwives could fit into its social engineering projects and which could not. The Yugoslav state needed a healthy nation, and the midwives should be there to ensure its reproduction. Some midwives were recalcitrant to conform to the new rules. Some others, on the contrary, not only accepted them but also wanted to improve and convert them into more concrete measures, to socially, institutionally, and economically ensure to acknowledge and enforce their respectable work. The body of the nation could and should be treated appropriately—from the very first moments of its life.

DISCIPLINING BEGGARS AND OTHER POOR PEOPLE

PHILANTHROPY AND THE MIXED ECONOMY OF WELFARE

When it is about nonwork, the figures of the beggar and the poor in general are of crucial importance because they shape the extreme border of nonwork. Is begging a form of work? Can poverty and the nonwork often associated with it be legitimate? How do we deal with people who are in need and therefore ask for help?

This chapter deals with exactly such questions that shed light on the world of philanthropy. While the previous chapters examined the interaction between marginalized actors (sometimes with supporters from the local population) and state representatives, to deal with begging and poverty, the fight against them, and the support to the affected people means to face the so-called civil society.

As anticipated in the Introduction, historical studies about Southeastern Europe are traditionally very much focused on the emergence of the nation-state. The most relevant actors of the established historiographies were predictably members of the political elite, parties and governmental bodies.¹ Such an approach does not leave much room for agents that were not part of the state, that is actors of so-called civil society such as voluntary associations.² Furthermore, voluntary associations are conventionally understood as institutionalized groups neatly distinguished from both the political and economic points of view from governmental agencies. Yet recent studies have questioned this kind of rigid typology, better considering the multilayered interaction between state/nonstate and public/private actors.

In line with these approaches, the theoretical premise of this chapter is that in order to add further nuances to the relationships between state and social marginals and to the study of interwar social policies in Yugoslavia, it is important to include in the analysis voluntary associations. In other words, for understanding the history of social assistance toward the poor and especially the beggars, it is crucial to consider not only

public agencies but also private ones. This research issue has become more sophisticated and stimulating in recent studies, which plead for a more nuanced attention on the interactions between private and state actors—the so-called mixed economy of social welfare, as was illustrated in Chapter 1.

Moving along this heuristic path will also help in balancing early studies in the history of welfare policies, mainly focused on Western European societies and the Atlantic world.³ More recently, a need has been expressed to explore the development of associative networks beyond that space, focusing on Central Eastern and Eastern Europe, considering, for example, the Habsburg Empire,⁴ the late Tsarist Empire,⁵ and the East-West divide.⁶ This seems to be even more relevant where the beginning of social work is concerned, since it has been shown that in Central Eastern and Southeastern Europe, it was indeed private actors and so-called civil society that shaped to a great extent, even more than in Western Europe, social work in its early years.⁷ For the scope of this chapter it thus seems useful to follow this renewed analytical paradigm, investigating how modern social policies developed in less industrialized and nonindustrialized societies and to devote great attention to the local level and to private initiatives when beggary and poor aid are concerned.⁸

The chapter first shows that the role of Yugoslav voluntary associations in this field was very important and how state and voluntary agencies worked together and in a complementary way. Furthermore, the chapter shows that these organizations played an important sociopolitical role even in the field of *social control* because they made a significant contribution by not only providing hot meals or some clothes for the winter but also theoretically and concretely shaping poverty, *disciplining* society, and even *policing* beggars and poor people.

What has to be stressed here is thus to carefully consider the impacts of social work and poor assistance in terms of social control.⁹ It is a merit especially of some recent historical studies to have emphasized that it is important to consider forms of social control exercised by state institutions but also all kinds of nongovernmental structures.¹⁰ Especially when it is about the Yugoslav case, the interrelation between agendas and practices of state and nonstate agencies in terms of social control has not been explicitly thematized. I hope to give a contribution in this direction and to show how the private poor assistance institutions were directly involved in repressing beggary. The examination of archival documents testifies about institutionalized procedures, which caused the humanitarian activists to work side by side with the police, and even the members and the employed personnel of the societies themselves were in charge of stopping suspicious people on the streets, bringing them to the societies' offices, questioning them, and often delivering them to the police. Therefore, philanthropist activists acted almost as police agents, revealing how the border between philanthropy and the police became quite blurred.

The case studies analyzed in this chapter provide evidence for enlightening a further dimension of the Yugoslav nonwork. At the core of the analysis there is the development of both discourses and concrete practices by public and private actors dealing with beggars and poor people. Those theories and practices changed in interwar Yugoslavia, redrawing the divide between guilty and innocent poverty, between the right of the nonworkers to be assisted and the duty to repress them.

OLD/NEW LAWS AND INSTITUTIONS FOR THE BEGGARS IN INTERWAR YUGOSLAVIA

Even though this phenomenon had already begun in the pre-Yugoslav period, it was in interwar Yugoslavia that secular philanthropy played a relevant role in the assistance for beggars. This is the reason why I chose the three voluntary societies, which this chapter investigates in depth, namely the two so-called societies for helping the poor and the fight against beggary (established in Belgrade in 1929 and in Zagreb in 1934) and Preh-rana (Zagreb, 1914). These societies were not old, traditional charities of religious inspiration but instead were part of a relatively recent phenomenon: secular, voluntary humanitarian societies that worked very closely with public authorities. Together, they gave shape to the emerging system of welfare policies in Yugoslavia. While the genesis of the Yugoslav welfare state has been investigated,¹¹ as has the history of many religious charity institutions,¹² much less has been written on the secular philanthropic societies, which gained importance in the interwar period and can illustrate very well the new approaches conceived and applied for managing beggary in Yugoslav society.

Yugoslav private, voluntary associations were involved in shaping a modern discourse and public representations of beggars, refining the early modern differentiation between “deserving” and “undeserving” poor.¹³ The old distinctions, which accompanied for centuries the development of traditional poor relief, entered a new stage at the turn of the century in the South Slav regions as well as throughout all of Europe and became more decisive exactly as a consequence of the emerging welfare policies.¹⁴ Not only state agencies but also private actors needed to identify who was entitled to be a recipient of the aid, thus shaping new modern notions of good-legitimate/bad-deviant poverty and beggary. Therefore, the analysis begins by briefly showing how in late nineteenth-century Southeastern Europe—mainly with references to the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire—both social imaginaries and the official policies toward the beggars began to change. Traditional forms of almsgiving as well as some traditional positive images of the poor began to be contested. These changes proved to be partly similar to general European developments in this field but partly also characterized by cultural, confessional, and legal peculiarities.

The analysis relies on examples derived from three micro case studies, namely Zagreb, Belgrade, and to a lesser extent Sarajevo.¹⁵ The three urban contexts have been selected in order to consider the cultural, social, and economic cleavages that characterized the Yugoslav interwar state and society. The different historical legacies (see the Introduction and Chapter 1) that marked the interwar Yugoslav experience are well embodied by these three cities, which represent excellent case studies for a diachronic and an intra-Yugoslav comparison.

The general picture of philanthropism in Yugoslavia that will emerge in the next pages is marked both by (some) continuity and (some more) innovation. The social policies regarding the poor and especially the beggars in interwar Yugoslavia partly inherited theories, practices, and infrastructures derived from the pre-Yugoslav period. On the other hand, during the interwar period some changes also took place: new legal devices, notions, and institutions regarding beggary were introduced, and the improvement of the poor assistance implied a higher degree of repression.

The fight against beggary was clearly not a novelty of the interwar period. Throughout the entire nineteenth century, European legislation regarding beggary became more severe than in the previous century. This was accompanied by new general attitudes toward begging, meaning that both social imaginaries and social practices toward the beggars began to change. Traditional forms of almsgiving as well as some traditional positive images of the poor began to be contested. Beyond the evident differences between the Ottoman, Habsburg, and Russian Empires, similar developments in all of these contexts took place, which directly or indirectly affected the cultural attitudes of South Slav societies.

The modernizing elite in the late Ottoman Empire, for example, had to fight against popular mentality and religious beliefs, which were linked with traditional notions of piety in Islamic societies and the perception of the “true” poor person as a noble, ascetic, and almost holy figure. But beginning with the late eighteenth century and even more so around the end of the nineteenth century, work gained a new cultural and political centrality, and “to work”—that is, to perform one socially recognized paid activity—became a social and moral duty for every citizen.¹⁶ Everyone had to work for the health and wealth of the community, later of the Turkish nation. In this context, the beggar became the quintessence of the deviant behavior, and at the beginning of the twentieth century, for the first time in Ottoman history, beggary was also formally linked with “potential criminality,” a notion directly derived from the French legal culture and adapted to the Ottoman circumstances.¹⁷ This represented a radical break in Ottoman culture and society: every form of beggary was now considered illegitimate because it was linked with vagabondage and laziness and regarded as a source of potential criminality. This new cultural and legal approach considered the social question and beggary in particular as an immoral, antisocial, and police issue.

Considering the Orthodox cultural imprinting in several Yugoslav provinces, it is instructive to note that something similar to what has been described above took place also in countries inhabited by Orthodox Christians, such as tsarist Russia.¹⁸ The traditional Christian Orthodox attitude toward poverty and the beggar there experienced an analogous radical change. The beggar—whose denomination was *ubogii*, putting him in close relation with *Bog* (God)—was no longer a saint, or a noble example of asceticism, of a spartan way of life; he was instead now considered a social problem to be solved. Under the influence of Western ideas, the new normative discourse on poverty and beggary also implied a new common and civil responsibility to face it.

In the Habsburg context too, although beggary was already forbidden since 1803, it was during the nineteenth century that legislation became more severe. Beggary became an offense against public morality and formally categorized as criminal.¹⁹ In the framework of this modern fight against beggary, new social policies also emerged in order to assist those considered “really poor,” not because of their moral or character traits but because they were unfit to work due to illness, injury, age, infirmity, or socioeconomic conditions, such as physically injured people, widows, and war veterans, or—this was the novelty—because they sincerely tried to find a job without success.²⁰ This means that together with a strong stigmatization of those people who refused to work, there emerged a new notion of legitimate poverty in the Habsburg context of these years, considering some cases of poverty not a moral guilt of the individual but rather the structural result of social and economic developments. Social reformers shaped a lively transnational debate in this regard, which influenced new measures taken for helping at least some poor people.

This was the crucial point: the very old distinction between deserving and undeserving poor should now be refined. It was of the highest relevance to distinguish on the one hand the “real” poor, who is a victim, who is not guilty, and who has the right to be helped (and the state has the new increasingly responsibility to help him) and, on the other hand, the “bad” poor, who is poor because they do not want to work because they are lazy, a parasite of society, a moral and economic obstacle for the right, modern development of the entire society.

Notwithstanding all the peculiarities of the specific regional developments, what emerges from the previous lines is that some similar general trends in the domains of the cultural and political attitudes toward poverty and particularly beggary began to take shape in the late nineteenth century in all the South Slav regions that later formed the first Yugoslavia. These changes in official policies and mentality represent the historical premises and the immediate background of the later Yugoslav experience. Traces of these above-sketched late-nineteenth century trends can be recognized in new forms during the first Yugoslav years. It is thus of great interest to now observe more closely the precise forms taken by discourses and practices toward beggary in the new Yugoslav context.

The contrast between the two forms of poverty, for example, the real/legitimate and the bad/dishonest poverty, is well visualized by the following two pictures taken from a Croatian newspaper of the interwar period. The title of the image in Figure 5.1 is “An Indian beggar who doesn’t beg for himself.” The picture shows that there was still a place in the public imagery for legitimate forms of begging, which were considered a kind of fundraising action for altruistic purposes. At the same time, the extreme exoticization of this case of beggary presents it as a distant exception to the norm, clearly illustrated in Figure 5.2. In a vignette titled “The jobless,” the middle-class man says “I see that you have a bad time! Come with me, so can I find some work for you.” But the beggar answers, “Thank you, but I have enough work to do. I am the president of the association of jobless people!” This cartoon represents a good and ironic example of the dominant public discourse, which condemned beggary by reducing it to the unwillingness to work.²¹

The legal context of interwar Yugoslavia shows in some cases clear continuities with the pre-Yugoslav time: in the interwar Slovene and Croatian provinces, for example, beggary still was, as it was in Habsburg times, forbidden (at least in theory, although it represented a constant feature of urban everyday life).²² Differently, in the Serbian Penal Law of 1860, beggary was not a criminal offense *per se* but was criminal only if performed without a permit issued by public authorities.²³ This relatively tolerant approach was to be changed after World War I toward a full legal stigmatization and repression of beggary, which was shared by several local ordinances throughout the entire Yugoslavia and codified in several national laws.²⁴

The changed attitudes and policies toward beggary introduced in the previous lines had clear consequences in the everyday lives of interwar Yugoslav beggars. Press articles about the increasing repressive measures and the arrests of beggars abounded. Already in May 1919 in Sarajevo, for example, one could read that “thanks to the intervention of Merhamet” (the main Muslim humanitarian association in the city) “the police have forbidden begging in the whole city.” This observation announced an ideal and concrete alliance between private philanthropic associations and police authorities, with the aim of suppressing beggary—a topic that will be further explored in the next pages. Furthermore, the article is full of optimism, because it not only refers to the theoretical forbidding of beggary but also says that the number of beggars seemed to have declined radically, and although some individuals could still be noticed, “the main aim has been achieved: the streets of Sarajevo are cleaned up of the masses of beggars.”²⁵

This kind of optimism must have been deeply challenged in the next years, particularly during the economic depression of the 1930s. Therefore, around a decade after the abovementioned article, the local press in Sarajevo reported about constant raids by the police against the beggars, furthermore commenting that “it is interesting that, notwithstanding all the efforts by the Serbian Orthodox community, the municipality,



Figure 5.1. The Altruistic beggar from India. Source: "Indijski prosjak, koji ne prosi za sebe," *Večer* (Zagreb), July 11, 1929



Figure 5.2. Irony about beggary. Source: "Besposlica," *Večer* (Zagreb), July 11, 1934.

... and others, the number of beggars in our city is growing day by day.”²⁶ Actually, the beggars were still described as “masses” who moved day and night through the city.²⁷

It goes without saying that Roma were often associated with beggary, which added a further negative trait to their public image including in the South Slav lands.²⁸ The growing stigmatization and criminalization of activities such as begging increased and crystallized their social marginalization. Roma who begged were increasingly criticized in these years by not only the police²⁹ but also the Roma intelligentsia, which reproduced its internal distinction between the worthy and unworthy poor.³⁰ On the other side, it must also be noticed that beggary was not an activity performed exclusively by Roma and that it was all the beggars who became a main social and political issue in Yugoslavia during the interwar years.

If the arrests of beggars were the normality in Bosnian Sarajevo, through all the 1920s and the 1930s,³¹ the same can be maintained for the Croatian main cities such as Zagreb,³² for the Slovene main cities such as Ljubljana,³³ and for the Serbian and now Yugoslav main city, Belgrade. Following also in this case pre-Yugoslav local measures,³⁴ closely after the establishment of the new state, the police department of the municipality in Belgrade decided to perform organized raids through the entire city in order to approach the problem “in the most determined way (*najenergičnije*), cleaning up the capital city from idlers and troublemakers.”³⁵ Notwithstanding the efforts, similar orders were destined to be issued many times in the following years, perhaps suggesting the failures of such programs or, at the least, the urgent need of prolonging them.³⁶ The approach remained the same in the following years and also remained pretty ineffective. Even so, in the second half of the 1930s the condemnations because of beggary (generally a few days of detention) were very common.³⁷

In order to reorganize the entire field of disciplining poverty and beggary, both public and private measures were introduced. These kinds of initiatives placed themselves in the traditional charity performed by the local religious institutions. Let us take, as only one example, the case of Zagreb in Croatia. From the Middle Ages onward, the Catholic Church had at its disposal relevant economic resources that allowed it to support several cultural, humanitarian, and social initiatives. Closely linked with the traditional social engagement of the Catholic Church are the activities of institutions such as the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul (founded in Zagreb in 1858) and the six Catholic religious orders present in interwar Zagreb.³⁸ Apart from the Catholic institutions, there were also humanitarian agencies such as the Red Cross as well as charities related to the other biggest religious communities of Zagreb, such as the Jewish one.³⁹

Already in the late nineteenth century, municipal institutions were also introduced in this field. In the case of Zagreb, from the 1870s the municipality was charged with the responsibility of providing public assistance to the local poor.⁴⁰ As a result, many institutions, although with limited capacities, were established: homes for orphans and

elderly people as well as constrained forms of poor assistance in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁴¹

At the same time, voluntary and secular philanthropic associations were also established. One example, of particular interest for this chapter, is the society against beggary (*Društvo proti prosjačenju*, 1898), with a small annual financial contribution by the municipality. This association worked along typical lines derived from the Elberfeld system of humanitarian activism, which means with a voluntary and paternalist engagement of the middle class.⁴² The association was later renamed and reshaped, establishing a poorhouse (*Uboški dom*, 1903) and continuing its work in the post-World War I period. In 1929 the society managed to get a new big building, acquiring the new name of Charity Home (*Dom milosrđa*). It included a poor kitchen and a home for elderly people. The financing of the association could rely on some public support but was mainly based on the members' fees, donations, and income derived from public entertainment events.⁴³ The leading personality of the association was at that time Aleksandar Frelić, called "the king of the poor," one of the many kings of the poor in Europe at the turn of the century.

One first consideration of this section has thus to do with *continuity*. Many interwar humanitarian activities in Croatia have their premises in the late imperial time. This is clearly true for those associations that originally had and sometimes maintained a religious inspiration⁴⁴ as well as for those that were new but were derived from that milieu, such as the Caritas established in Zagreb in 1933.⁴⁵ Even more interesting for this chapter is that a kind of postimperial continuity can also be traced with regard to secular philanthropy, which became stronger and sensibly developed in the interwar years. The mentioned society against beggary is one good example, and several others could be added, such as the two societies analyzed in the next lines, that will allow a closer look at that issue.

Something very similar to what has been sketched out about Zagreb could be said with regard to other Yugoslav main cities like Ljubljana⁴⁶ or Sarajevo. In this last case, to the humanitarian associations with Catholic, Orthodox, and Jewish inspirations⁴⁷ traditional Muslim institutions could be added. The *vakuf* system was still operating, a form of public-private charitable endowment, and was directly inherited from the Ottoman past.⁴⁸ This legacy was palpable in Bosnia in the interwar years, considering for instance the *vakuf* home for poor children in Sarajevo, which included an orphanage and a dormitory for fifty-five apprentices.⁴⁹ In smaller Bosnian cities such as Banja Luka, analogous initiatives were undertaken by the local Muslim middle class with the explicit aim of "fighting beggary."⁵⁰

In general terms considering the whole Yugoslavia, the private initiative still played a relevant role in the interwar period where poor assistance is concerned and a high number of humanitarian associations were active.⁵¹ What emerged from the previous

lines and is interesting to highlight here is that many of these philanthropic associations partly represent the continuation of precedent experiences, having their ideological and institutional roots in late imperial, pre-Yugoslav contexts. What is still to be analyzed is how they concretely worked in the new Yugoslav and interwar context.

POLICING THE BEGGARS

The emerging state and municipal social policies were very limited in coverage, especially where the poor were concerned. As usual, also in Yugoslavia the first social policies were conceived primarily for the working people and only for some categories of them.⁵² But what happened with the nonworking people? As briefly illustrated in the previous lines, an interaction between local public authorities and private actors took place, renewing old new public as well as private philanthropic institutions and establishing others. My thesis is that this public-private collaboration became stronger in the interwar years.

It was partly a kind of “division of labor” but sometimes with marked overlapping. This can be observed not only in the field of *assistance* but also focusing on a less researched aspect: the contribution that philanthropic associations gave to the *disciplining* of beggary and the *policing* of the beggars.

There was widespread Yugoslav (and transnational) agreement among social reformers, the political class, and the middle-class philanthropists about the following: almsgiving was not the right way to solve the problem.⁵³ Yugoslav philanthropists and social reformers were of the same opinion as their colleagues abroad: instead of giving money to the beggars on the street, modern poor assistance should provide a well-organized support to the needy people.⁵⁴ Poor assistance needed to be centralized at the local level, and the several private associations as well as the public ones should be coordinated among themselves.

Both in Zagreb and Belgrade one can observe the same developments in this regard: the municipalities carried out, for example, projects for establishing registers of all the needy people, and the aid needed to be distributed, at least theoretically, following clear criteria and with transparent modalities. The aid, rarely in money and more often in kind, should not be given directly by the donators to the beggars. Donations should instead be assigned to the associations, and these should oversee the distribution of aid.⁵⁵

This plea could be declined differently, depending on the specific local historical context. In Sarajevo, for example, one can read an article about the widespread beggary among Muslim women and how to contrast this shameful phenomenon, by renouncing giving the *sadaka* (the traditional voluntary charity in Muslim tradition). It



Figure 5.3. Cleaning the streets of the main cities. Source: "Čišćenje Zagreba od klateži i skitnica," *Večer*, July 5, 1934

was suggested to instead give a donation to the Muslim philanthropic association Merhamet.⁵⁶ In Belgrade and in Zagreb the languages used were different, without references to the Muslim tradition, but the discourse was the same.

At this stage, private associations invoked the assistance of public authorities and especially the police. In Sarajevo, Zagreb, and Belgrade,⁵⁷ it seems that there was agreement about this point: the philanthropists should raise their voices advocating a more efficient fight against false poverty, work shyness, and beggary in general. The dream of many members of the middle class can be summarized by Figure 5.3.

The image was part of a newspaper article whose title was "The cleaning of Zagreb from vagrants and vagabonds." What we can see in the picture is a group of men, lined up two by two, escorted by policemen. The article comments with satisfaction that recent raids by the police were fruitful and that many beggars and vagrants were arrested and banished from the city, which is ironically called "to go to summer holiday." Summarizing the content of the picture, we have policemen who bring poor people to the train station to expel them. This is how some members of the middle class conceived of solving the social question: reducing it to a police issue and therefore assigning a crucial role to the police.

While the invoked and real repressive intervention of the police is out of the question, it is opportune at this point to recall and develop what has been announced as one of the main hypotheses of this chapter: that not only the police but also public and private poor assistance institutions were directly involved in repressing beggary. One example will regard public assistance institutions and their role in policing the beggars.

First, it is opportune to know that in 1932 the Department for Social Affairs of the municipality in Zagreb tried a new experimental way for managing poor assistance. Instead of giving alms, citizens and private associations could buy some *coupons* and then give them to the poor. Poor people should then go to the offices of the municipality to convert them into cash or in other kinds of aid.⁵⁸

There were some contraindications and suspicious implications if one observes the new procedure with the eyes of the needy people. First, those people who went to the municipal offices were somehow “registered”; second, they should undergo an interview with a representative of the public authorities; third, they did not get the equivalent of the coupons collected because the entity of the aid actually depended on the results of the interview; and fourth, the most interested implication, if the interview went wrong, that is, if the public employees decided that the applicant was not an honest poor but instead was a so-called professional beggar, the applicant was directly delivered to the police. We have no precise information about the criteria used to distinguish “real” from “false” poor, but it seems that a high amount of decisional power and arbitrariness was assigned to the municipal officer. In the first two months of the experiment, forty-one people were arrested thanks to this “assistance” system.⁵⁹ Without surprise, the system did not work very well in the following years: poor people were recalcitrant to turn to this kind of “aid,” and in the end the service was closed down.

In other cases, private humanitarian associations also took an active and direct part in the repression of beggary. Between the late 1920s and the mid-1930s in both Zagreb and Belgrade, two new “societies for helping the poor and the fight against beggary” were founded.⁶⁰ In the double denomination of these organizations, which also address the assistance and not just the repression issue, it is evident that the conceptual development inherited from the older societies was simply “against beggary.”⁶¹ They were, again, organized along the principles of the Elberfeld system, which basically meant, as we have seen, the volunteering of members of the middle class and the collection of funds and donations, generally with limited public subventions although this can change from case to case.

As shown by the case of the Serbian Society (Table 5.1), the main sources of income were the members’ fees and the offers collected through “cash boxes (*kasice*),” which were located in the same places where beggars used to be and sometimes even employing the same assisted beggars, who became de facto “licensed” beggars.⁶² The subventions by public institutions (mainly the municipality in the first year and the Ministry for Social Policy and National Health in the third year) played a not irrelevant role, together with the donations by two most generous donors: the king and the Red Cross.⁶³ The budget of the Zagreb Society was different in terms of figures but not so different in terms of structure.⁶⁴

Table 5.1. Incomes of the Society in Belgrade, 1931–1933 (in dinars).

INCOMES	1931	1932	1933 (FIRST HALF OF THE YEAR)
Members' fees	64,630.00	177,630.00	104,927.00
Cash boxes	83,246.25	271,603.50	106,163.25
Donations	43,178.50	108,234.75	45,851.20
Subventions	71,000.00	16,100	59,900.00
Donations in nature		31,267.20	8,976.20
Other incomes	30,000	8,178	72,815.75
Total	292,054.76	613,013.45	458,133.40

Source: D. J. Stojanović, "Rad Društva za zaštitu i suzbijanje prosjačenja u Beogradu," *Beogradske opštinske novine* 12 (1933): 728.

The societies provided to needy people several services, such as monetary help distinguished in different forms, that is, regular, occasional, and for travel expenses; asylums; medical assistance and social services (job mediation); soup kitchens; distribution of food and clothes; and well as special winter aids. During 1932 the Belgrade Society distributed for free more than 54,100 hot meals and around 140 forms of regular help (between 30 and 150 dinars weekly), and furthermore almost 10,500 people could sleep in the society's asylum, and 277 of them received some clothes (Figure 5.4).⁶⁵

Yet assistance was not the only and to some extent not the main goal of the Belgrade Society. In a self-portrait of the association, we can read that "the first activity of the Society was to clean up Belgrade from the beggars,"⁶⁶ and if one of the tools presented for achieving this aim was the assistance/prevention, the other one was the physical "removal (*uklanjanje*)" of the beggars from the streets. The second article of the society's rules clearly maintains that the first of its two main aims was "to protect its members from the beggars,"⁶⁷ with a marked securitarian rather than philanthropic tone.

As a result, among their many duties the members and the employed personnel of the societies were in charge of directly going to the streets in order to look for the beggars and speak with them. After this preliminary meeting, beggars were brought to the offices of the society for, again, an interview, which was symptomatically called, recurring to a police jargon, an "interrogatory (*preslušanje*)."⁶⁸ Again, as in the case of the interviews done by municipal employees, the interview could in some cases end up with the delivery of a beggar to the police. In other words, philanthropists acted as adjunct police officers. In order to "protect" the respectable local society, the middle class mobilized through voluntary actions, assisting and somehow replicating the services provided by the public if not by the police authorities.

After three years of activity, the Belgrade Society radiant and proudly maintained that in Belgrade foreigners "could not see beggars anymore" because it had become



Figure 5.4. The assisted in front of the offices. Sources: "Među prosjacima i skitnicama u Boškovićevoj ulici," *Večer*, September 20, 1934 (Zagreb), on the top, and Vidaković, *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć u Beogradu*, 378 (Belgrade), on the bottom.

in 1933 “one of the rare cities and European capital cities, where there does not exist street beggary.”⁶⁹ This represented a great “success” for a city that was previously described as invaded by masses of beggars at every crowded and relevant place, such as churches, cemeteries and markets. It was a “social disease” that affected not only deserving poor but also an enormous number of social “parasites,” which sullied the “honors” of Belgrade and cheated and misled the generosity of its inhabitants. In 1933 it was believed that this was an experience consigned to the past and that from that moment onward the society could focus on the help of the poor more than on their repression. This was a worn prediction, contradicted by the developments in the next years. The fight against beggary was at the beginning and remained later an essential trait of these kinds of societies. It is therefore useful to have a look at the level of the practice to better understand how this fight was concretely implemented. In this regard, the city archive of Belgrade is full of interesting documents such as the one in Figure 5.5.

This is one report of the Belgrade Society when it delivered a beggar to the police. As one can see, it is a partly preprinted form that was filled out in its blank parts. This document testifies about an institutionalized procedure that brought the humanitarian activists to work side by side with the police. Even more than this, the border between philanthropy and police was quite blurred.

What is also eloquent is what is added by the handwriting at the end of the form. The Belgrade Society’s officer explains that: “the abovementioned pretended to be without one arm, but the arm has been wrapped under the coat, and then he begged (*Imenovani se napravio da je bez ruke, ruku zavio pod kaput i tako je prosio*).” This annotation is not only the legitimization of the procedure, explaining why this man was classified as not being worthy of aid, but is also a clear indication of the investigative aspects that were attached to the assistance activity. Philanthropy activism implies the investigation of the alleged poverty, requiring a direct culturally definitory action as well as a final physical intervention. The ready part of the form actually says that the man “has been arrested (*uhvaćen*) today by our officers in the act of begging in the street.” The adoption of police terminology is highly symptomatic of the new (police-like) practices that became an integral part of poor assistance by humanitarian associations in interwar Yugoslavia.⁷⁰

As described by the Belgrade Society’s members, this could lead to a proper clash on the street, a “great, and often desperate fight (*je bilo velike, a često očajane borbe*).”⁷¹ On one side of the barricade there were some “persistent professional beggars,” and on the other side there were “the Society’s officers, assisted by the gendarmes.” It was a fight not only in theoretical and metaphorical terms. What was reported is that it often happened that the society’s officers returned to the society’s offices with serious injuries on their heads, scratches on their faces, and “bloody hands (*krvavih ruku*).” In the society’s

ДРУШТВО ЗА ПОМАГАЊЕ СИРОТИЊЕ
И СУЗБИЈАЊЕ ПРОСЈАЧЕЊА У БЕОГРАДУ

Број службено

Београд

1936 г.

РЕФЕРАТ

КВАРТУ УПРАВЕ ГРАДА БЕОГРАДА

Београд

ИДБ

Предајемо Кварту Рис. Андрија Власевић 45 год
родом из Билевољки Др. Гиндево Бан. Гиндево
који је данас од наших органа ухваћен на делу просјачења у улици
Генерала Др. Гиндево. Др. Гиндево је од Др. Гиндево
Како је просјачење у Београду полицијом забрањено, то моли-
мо Кварт да са истим поступи по надлежности и по надријаној казни спре-
веде га Беговој општини, јер од стране овог Друштва предузимане мере
на Беговој поправци нису успеле.

Испитовани се подјавио
да је свз јуке јуку зовио по
кошут и ситио је др. Гиндево —

За Управу Друштва

Административни секретар

Д. Ч. Велит



Figure 5.5. The report. Source: City archive of Belgrade (Istorijski Arhiv Beograda, IAB), Municipality of the City of Belgrade (Uprava Grada Beograda, UGB), 1936, box 2779, 24-204: the "Society for helping the poor and the fight against beggary," to the 2nd District of the UGB, Belgrade, September 17, 1936.

headquarters were amassed the seized walking sticks and crutches, used as weapons, on the occasion of scuffles that included punches and slaps.

Sometimes the humanitarian activists complained that the captured beggars resisted and did not want to follow them. Also very interesting is that it is reported how bystanders sometimes protested: this is the sign that popular opinion was not completely convinced by the new methods of solving the problem of beggary. The Belgrade Society's managers were confident that it was only a matter of time and that the local middle class would soon understand that the society's approach was the right one.⁷² Some developments in this regard were optimistically noticed, allegedly with growing support by the bystanders during the first three years of activity of the society, but some later remarks in the same text suggest that the problem actually persisted.⁷³

In any case, the system somehow worked. Using only the state of the art, it is impossible to systematically quantify the detentions and later the sentences assisted by humanitarian associations during the entire interwar period. Nonetheless, only some fragmentary information can provide some useful insights, such as knowing that in the first month of activity the Zagreb Society delivered 57 among a total of 252 interviewed people (about the 23%) to the police,⁷⁴ and in the first four months of 1934, of the 800 people interviewed, around 24 percent were arrested.⁷⁵ The sister society in Belgrade could be proud of having significantly improved its performance in this regard: while in 1932 and in 1933 only 770 and 831 people, respectively, were consigned to the police,⁷⁶ this number grew in 1935 to 938 and in 1936 to 1,987.⁷⁷

From the very beginning these societies were pleased to show "to what extent the Society has given work to the police," being "of great help" for the latter, also because the societies' officers captured even "dangerous criminals" whom the police were looking for.⁷⁸ It is an evident affinity and a close partnership that developed between police authorities and those societies. A new system for the assistance of and fight against beggars was conceived, introduced, and concretely used, showing that the new public policies as well as private practices toward beggary implicated, alongside assistance, a strong repressive side. They were exactly the two sides of the same coin.

THE PUBLIC SERVICES OF A PRIVATE ASSOCIATION

In a commemorative publication that sums up the association's activities in its first twenty-five years of existence (1914–1939), one can read that Prehrana (Nourishment) had served more than fifteen million hot meals.⁷⁹ This impressive figure suggests the important social role played at the local level by this voluntary association based in Zagreb, one of the most prominent charity organizations in the city and in Croatia between the

two world wars. Prehrana's main activity was providing hot meals for the needy in urban areas. Given the main aims of this chapter, it is opportune to examine the organizational structure of the association: Which social groups did it target? Along which moral, cultural, and political principles were its activities organized?

Located in a former Habsburg region and partly relying on the institutional structure of some late Habsburg private humanitarian initiatives, Prehrana represents a useful observation of the continuities and changes in the transition from the Habsburg to the new Yugoslav context where public/private aid for the poor is concerned. Following the argumentative line of the previous pages specifically devoted to beggary, the first concern here is to identify the role played by voluntary associations in the poor relief system developed in this area in the examined period with a focus on the provision of food.

Second, the chosen case study allows us to examine how gender norms shaped the structure and activities of these associations, considering both their middle-class members and the people assisted by them. Approaching the study of poor relief from this angle adds new layers to a subject that for a long time has neglected important gender dimensions.⁸⁰

The third issue addressed here examines more in depth a key research question of this chapter, namely the impacts of social work and assistance to the poor in terms of social control. Keeping in mind that poor relief agencies have traditionally been seen by historians "as a fertile ground for social control,"⁸¹ the next pages will scrutinize the implications of social disciplining in Prehrana's activities.

Using an actor-centered approach allows us to conduct a microanalysis of the mechanisms of inclusion/exclusion theorized and put into practice by Prehrana. This perspective will offer a nuanced picture of private charities in interwar Yugoslavia, providing insight into activities that lay at the border of state interventionism and evolved into new forms of social engineering shaped through new categories and legal devices and into the new social and gender hierarchies that were produced.

Finally, this microhistory of a voluntary association considers how the recipients perceived and reacted to these developments.⁸² Shifting from a top-down to a bottom-up approach, I consider the *agency* of these social actors and provide some insight into the perspectives and experiences of the poor themselves, which in the cases of those who were relatively less in need oscillated between reluctance and shame to be helped and efforts to proudly defend their own position in the hierarchy of the poor. Prehrana supported these attitudes too and adapted its services in order to face such anxieties and social requirements.

A good start with our inquiry is to turn our attention to a picture that nicely illustrates Prehrana's structural-organizational features. In Figure 5.6 we can see a soup kitchen managed by the association; a group of men, and only a few women eat under



Figure 5.6. Prehrana's canteen. Source: DAZ, 1029 Dobrotvorno društvo "Prehrana," Box 7.

the vigilant gaze of some men in ties or bow ties to the left as well as one woman, near the back wall, dressed with a fur pelt (she could be the Queen Marija who visited Prehrana's main dining room in 1931).⁸³ A nun, in the middle, is serving. We are faced here with an intriguing interweaving of gazes finally directed upon those who are looking at their plates. It is interesting here, however, to begin this analysis by considering where these observers came from. Some of them came from relatively far away, from Belgrade, the state capital city. Others were domestic observers; among the latter, part of them represented the public monitoring of the assistance to the poor, while the others expressed the historical and contemporary middle-class inclination to "look after" the poor.

The picture in Figure 5.6 aptly summarizes the structural features of poor relief in interwar Croatia. With only weak support from the state, theoretically poor relief still was, as in the late-Habsburg period, a municipal responsibility, although city councils delegated a large part of this duty to private and religious associations, as we already know. Therefore, even though some of the people who we see standing in the picture—mainly men and all of them members of the city's middle class—could potentially be representatives of local public institutions, the majority of them are actually wealthy philanthropists flanked by the representative of a religious institution. Who exactly were these people? In other words, how did they establish, manage, and support Prehrana?

The association was clearly a creature of Šandor A. Alexander, wealthy industrialist and member of the influential Jewish Alexander family.⁸⁴ This initiative fell in line with the tradition of philanthropism that was gaining new momentum among Zagreb's aristocratic and middle classes,⁸⁵ which counted among their most active members several distinguished Jewish families.⁸⁶ The origins of Prehrana are in any case closely tied to World War I. In its early days in July 1914, it appeared clear to Šandor Alexander that the municipality "was not able" to address the dramatically increasing numbers of poor people in the city and that "private initiative" (*privatna inicijativa*) was "necessary."⁸⁷ Alexander revived an already-existing association, temporarily on standby, devoted to delivering food to schoolchildren, and launched a new one with the goal of "establishing a soup kitchen, where it will be possible to give every day, to everyone who is in need of it, a hot meal and some bread for free."

On September 7, 1914, the new soup kitchen opened its doors. On May 15, 1915, another secular philanthropic association, with quite similar statutory goals, was fused together with Prehrana,⁸⁸ which later (July 1, 1919) absorbed the soup kitchen of the oldest Jewish voluntary association in the city, Društvo čovječnosti (Humanity Society).⁸⁹ Born as a direct outcome of the war crisis, Prehrana could reduce its activities in the postwar years but did not cease outright. While the meals distributed in wartime increased daily from around 4,200 in 1915 to around 6,000 in 1918, the figures radically diminished after 1919, in 1921–1924 falling between 400 and 600 meals a day.⁹⁰

After the emergency years of the war, the association was progressively faced with a new social and economic crisis: the effects of the world economic crisis of the late 1920s and the widespread poverty and mass unemployment of the interwar years. After the war, however, the Zagreb municipal authorities were no longer inclined to financially support this aid. While during the war the city council and the regional governor (*ban*) provided regular subsidies, these were suspended shortly after the end of the conflict.⁹¹ The association thus relied mainly on the support of the Šandor A. Alexander Foundation, established on March 12, 1918, thanks to the donations of its founder, who bought and renewed several large buildings in different parts of the city that Prehrana could use for free.

During its two decades of activity and differently from the financial support, the public expression of appreciation of Prehrana's social commitment provided by public authorities, at both the local and national levels, increased sensibly. If we compare, for example, the celebration of the first ten years of the association, in 1924, with that of its first fifteen years, the differences in terms of the presence of representatives of state authorities is striking. In 1924 although the king and queen had become Prehrana's patrons, nobody from Belgrade was present at the gala dinner, which was almost exclusively attended by delegates of the local authorities. In contrast, five years later delegates of the king, the Ministry of Social Policy and National Health, the Ministry of

Education (other ministers sent telegrams), the regional governor, and many others attended the solemn celebration.⁹² This was probably the result of the state attempts and the many efforts of the royal family to increasingly show their—at least ideal—involvement in the assistance to the poor, which became more evident after the introduction of the king's dictatorship.⁹³

However, the support of these high-ranking officials was in this case mainly symbolic. Prehrana did not own real estate revenue, and its unique significant source of income was provided by its membership fees. The association relied on regular funding from the Šandor A. Alexander Foundation, and occasionally charity balls and fund-raising dinners were also organized, but financial support from public authorities was minimal and remained so for the entire examined period.⁹⁴ Actually, there were occasional donations from the public authorities. In 1936, for example, the Ministry for Education donated three thousand dinars, and the same sum was given by the regional administration.⁹⁵ However, a closer analysis of the yearly budget can help us understand their significance in terms of the total budget of the association. In the same year, 1936, for example, when the total income was almost 497,000 dinars, contributions from the charity's members—of which there were more than 3,200 that year⁹⁶—amounted to 386,500 dinars, while the two state contributions represented 1.2 percent of the total income.⁹⁷ Very similar proportions can also be noted with regard to the next year.⁹⁸ Thus, we can safely say that Prehrana was definitely a privately funded association, not supported financially by either state or local public authorities.

This financial situation was not without its critics. On the occasion of the annual general meeting of the association, in describing the work of Prehrana its leaders termed it as a "charitable," "humanitarian" society that did "public work" (*javni rad*).⁹⁹ With a notably critical tone they commented that such associations were necessary because the state had significantly shirked its responsibilities in terms of social assistance and that the situation would not change until new social legislation was laid out. Voluntary associations, it was maintained, took the place of the state and completed a "mission" that should be the responsibility of public authorities.¹⁰⁰

This kind of argument represents a clear shift in the traditional understanding of private charity and its relation to the state, in comparison with previous times. While in the nineteenth century the European middle class that engaged in charity was "still confident in its ability to cope with the social question" and felt that the state was not to be trusted, at the turn of the century the middle class "turned to the state" to solve what had become a dramatically growing urban social question.¹⁰¹ From this point on charity organizations and their middle-class members began to gradually call for, like Prehrana's leaders, a more interventionist welfare state.

The issues of debate voiced by Prehrana's management hinted at a new conception of the state as well as of individual social rights. It now was considered to be a

state *duty* to care for the poor and, if this was not possible, at least to lend strong support to those who were doing this work in its place.¹⁰² This was why Prehrana's secretary strongly called for such associations and foundations to be exempt from paying certain taxes and management fees, because they "substitute the state in the tasks it should be performing."¹⁰³

At the local level of poor relief in Zagreb, and if we focus particularly on soup kitchens, it is not true that the public authorities were completely absent, although their engagement was quite limited. While during the 1920s the municipality relied on the soup kitchens managed by the Catholic Church and other humanitarian associations, during the 1930s there were several attempts at establishing soup kitchens directly financed and managed by the municipal authorities.¹⁰⁴ These initiatives were part of the new social policies of the local municipality, which included the renewing of older institutions that we have encountered in the previous pages, such as the Gradska ubožnica (City Poorhouse, founded in 1854), managed by a Catholic female order but financed by the municipality, and the (re)structuring of the city's Social Committee (Socijalni odbor Gradskog zastupstva, 1920) and the municipal Social Department (Gradski Socijalni odsjek, 1918), which provided different forms of aid for those unable to work and even facilities specifically for unemployed people.¹⁰⁵ Notwithstanding such improvements, the general impression of the scholars who deeply analyzed them is that social assistance in this period "was in great part depending on the activities of humanitarian societies and the charitable work of the Catholic church."¹⁰⁶

Specifically in regard to soup kitchens, apart from Prehrana, which was specialized in that field, other voluntary associations established their own poor kitchens, such as the already mentioned Dom Milosrdja (Charity Home), an institution mainly devoted to the elderly, that opened its soup kitchen in 1929.¹⁰⁷ The Catholic Church was very active, supporting several soup kitchens in the city financed and managed by many Catholic organizations.¹⁰⁸ Considering that these soup kitchens were part of a broader landscape of humanitarian institutions, which provided variegated forms of relief for needy people in Zagreb,¹⁰⁹ we can conclude that private associations in fact represented the bulk of local assistance to the poor, which is confirmed from the perspective of the provision of food.

The soup kitchens of Prehrana and other associations in Zagreb were not an isolated phenomenon in the Croatian and Yugoslav context. Especially after the economic crisis of 1929, in every major Croatian city there was at least one soup kitchen if not several. Apart from the hostels for unemployed workers that often included a soup kitchen,¹¹⁰ in most cases in a single place food was served for several categories of users who were admitted in different ways: paying a reduced price for the meal; getting it in exchange for a coupon issued by the Labor Office, a trade union, or a humanitarian organization' or being served for free. The organizational structure and funding resources of these

soup kitchens could vary greatly, although in general terms it can be maintained that from the mid-1930s municipal authorities and voluntary associations collaborated intensively more than in the past.

In Osijek, for instance, the Red Cross, with a municipal subsidy, managed a soup kitchen for old people, but in 1936 the municipal authorities, with a small subsidy from the regional government and the introduction of a special local tax, also opened their own soup kitchen for the poor.¹¹¹ Similarly, in 1931 a soup kitchen was established in Vinkovci, working for some months during the winter, and though it was first funded by voluntary donations and a significant contribution from the Red Cross, in 1936 the municipal authorities began providing the funding.¹¹² According to the organ of the Ministry for Social Policy and National Health, the soup kitchen in Ljubljana was “without a doubt the best in the entire kingdom.”¹¹³ In Subotica there were two soup kitchens: one funded and managed by the municipal authorities and the other managed by the humanitarian society *Dobro delo*.¹¹⁴ The situation was similar in Bitolj/Bitola, Niš, and Skoplje/Skopje, while in bigger cities such as Sarajevo and Belgrade, alongside new public structures established by local authorities, the “private initiative” and voluntary associations played, again, a relevant role, initiating many humanitarian actions.¹¹⁵

A FAMILY BUSINESS

It is important to note that *Prehrana* was a secular organization, led by the members of assimilationist Jewish families.¹¹⁶ The association's mission was not to aid only the association's members or the members of a specific confessional community, but also theoretically anyone who was in need. The private character of the association could have played a role in preserving a paternalist ideology and the traditional family structure of the management bodies.

The managing board was male-dominated, although the broader association's executive committee was structured from the beginning on quite equal gender terms.¹¹⁷ Women were considered necessary for tasks traditionally assigned to women: the management of the kitchen, exclusively in female hands, as well as the organization of fund-raising parties. When Šandor Alexander passed away in 1929, the statutes foresaw that he should be succeeded by his daughter Zora and her husband, Artur Marić, and it was anyway considered “most natural” that Artur should be the association's president, unanimously elected by the assembly.¹¹⁸

The potential for emancipation in the engagement of middle-class women in associational activism and in the first forms of social work should not, however, be underestimated.¹¹⁹ Although *Prehrana* did not publish a periodical and did not organize public platforms where its female members could publicly discuss social issues linked to

poverty, their engagement in the association's activities, in organizing gala dinners and other fundraising actions, represented a means to escape from a narrow private sphere. Prehrana, with its fairly paternalist and patriarchal imprinting, did not represent a radical break with past practices; nonetheless, it offered middle-class women the opportunity to elaborate their own social and gender identity through the experience of associational life and social engagement. Traditional family patterns were reproduced and at the same time slightly reconsidered.¹²⁰

Apart from the gender implications of the association's management, what emerges is also that Prehrana was clearly a family business, initiated and continued by one family, that was furthermore able to mobilize specific family and social networks. In the case of this association, local wealthy families, linked partly by similar cultural (i.e., assimilationist) approaches to their Jewish origins and partly by broader moral, political, and philanthropic orientations, guaranteed a high number of hot meals daily.

The provision of food was not only organized and supervised by women but also was prepared by a few female workers. During the war years, some teachers were assigned by the regional government to Prehrana to carry out this task.¹²¹ Later after the war, these women were substituted by Catholic, namely Dominican, nuns.¹²² Not only at the managerial level of the association but also in every activity, there was a clear division of labor along traditional gender lines.

After the food had been prepared, the question was who precisely was entitled to take it from the hands of the female cooks. In this case too, the gender issue, along with the social one, played a significant role. If one considers the target groups of the associations with regard to the wartime and first postwar years of activity, one can easily note that "families of mobilized soldiers" and "war widows and orphans" were at the top of the list; beneath them came "poor school pupils and students" alongside "unemployed workers," "refugees from Istria and Rijeka," and "Russian immigrants" and "finally many poor and beggars."¹²³ The list offers a clear hierarchy of priority: at this stage the war experience provided the blueprint for entitlement, and the first social groups recommended for sympathetic support were the relatives of those who were fighting or had fought for their country.¹²⁴ Together with other war- and revolution-affected categories, schoolchildren, students, and jobless people occupied the middle level of entitlement.

In a later list of the association's recipients, which refers to 1936, war-related victims are no longer present, and several categories of poor and jobless people are mentioned instead.¹²⁵ It seems that by that time, in the mid-1930s, those affected by the war had been surpassed by the urgency and the dramatic dimension of the interwar social question.

Considering these lists from a gender point of view, it emerges that through Prehrana's entire period of activity, women were rarely directly entitled to aid unless access to the association's support was provided by a/their man. It is easy to recognize here the effects of a widespread male breadwinner mentality, which assigned to the man the

responsibility of having a paid working activity outside the home, generally considered to be the family economy's main source of revenue.¹²⁶ When a married woman lived alone, especially if it was because she had been widowed because of the war, or if her husband was a war invalid and therefore incapable of finding decent work, she or her family could get a meal at Prehrana's kitchen. Gradually, however, the reason for men being incapable to support their family changed; it was no longer the war but mass unemployment. In any case, in practice Prehrana's activities did not fundamentally change: men, it was said, could use pots to bring the food "home to their own families."¹²⁷ The entire scheme was designed along classical patriarchal lines, which required men to work and women to do housework and family care. If the male pillar in the family economy wavered, family members of both sexes could apply for soup for free. It was thus guaranteed that the men would somehow be able to feed their families.

SHAPING POVERTY AND ITS INTERNAL DISTINCTIONS

The question of who was entitled to be helped is important and ought to be looked at in greater depth. The motto often repeated by Prehrana's managers, that recipients were "all those in need," was contradicted by discourses formulated by these very same people about prioritizing among different categories of needy people. Not only, as has already been shown, could such priority lists change over time, adapting to different social circumstances and including gender constraints, but the exclusion/inclusion criteria adopted by Prehrana were also based on moral values, which aimed to distinguish between the deserving and the undeserving poor. From this point of view, some interesting new developments took place in the years under investigation.

Significant terminological distinctions were introduced in order to give a collective denomination to two quite different groups of poor people. In the list of the targeted groups in 1936, for example, at the top of it are mentioned "the poor" (*siromasi*), while at the bottom one finds a synonymous term, "paupers" (*ubogari*). Who precisely were these latter, and how did they differ from the *siromasi*?

It might be helpful to turn to the words of Prehrana's president on the subject. On the occasion of a public speech in the late 1930s, he made it clear that "although among them [the beggars] there is only an insignificant number of truly poor people, more than 90% are professional beggars, who thanks to this [activity] conduct a good life, and who do not even think of going to work and earning something."¹²⁸ As we have seen in this chapter, all representatives of philanthropic associations in the city (and in the country) were extremely concerned with the phenomenon of these wretched beggars and swindlers, which should be carefully distinguished from the

genuine and faultless poor: while the latter should be aided, the former were mainly a matter for the police.

Regarding this issue, Prehrana's representatives wanted to appear very generous and properly philanthropic, stating, for example, that "not one pauper or beggar who has knocked on Prehrana's door, has been rejected."¹²⁹ From the above-reported quotes, however, it seems clear that beggars did not quite enjoy Prehrana's benevolence, as it was also confirmed by other statements that occasionally emerged in public speeches given by Prehrana's leaders. Its secretary, Mayer, for example, controversially criticized "the generous hearts of Zagreb's men and particularly women," who kept on giving alms money to the beggars.¹³⁰ This is linked with the mentioned debate, which hinted at the necessity of organizing efficient poor relief in order to fight against and eliminate beggary and to better distinguish between "deserving" and "underserving" poor. Also in the space of a modern soup kitchen, that distinction should be revised and sharpened. The aspect that is particularly interesting here is that a social hierarchy of poverty was being progressively shaped, together with a graded scale of entitlement to public and private aid.

If this was the discourse, what was the practice? A look at the statistics might provide us with some insight. If we consider the data on those assisted in 1938, for example (Table 5.2),¹³¹ it emerges that around 2,200 so-called "very poor and beggars" were quantitatively considered to be the penultimate social group, after a high number (about 38,300 people in total) of unemployed workers who had access to Prehrana's services thanks to coupons distributed by trade unions and professional and other humanitarian organizations. The most-represented group was the so-called city's poor and invalids, a category that referred primarily to those who had legal residence in the city (the so-called pertinency),¹³² and to the needy social groups already mentioned earlier. They represented Prehrana's traditionally assisted groups, along with schoolchildren and students.¹³³

Table 5.2. Prehrana's recipients in 1938.

City's poor and invalids	118,147
High school pupils	32,556
Impoverished intellectuals	11,935
Unemployed workers with coupons issued by Prehrana	10,753
Unemployed workers with coupons issued by the Croatian Peasant Party	9,849
With coupons issued by the Association of Blood Donors	3,069
With coupons issued by the Society for Protecting the Poor	2,268
Very poor and beggars	2,266
With coupons issued by the League of Printmakers	441

Source: Mayer, *Dobrotvorno društvo Prehrana*, 39–40.

Particularly intriguing here is a category that we have not yet examined and that turned out to be well-represented (quantitatively the third group among the assisted): the *akademičari*. Although *akademičari* could literally mean both “high school pupils” and “educated people,” the former were distinctly counted and had their own category. The term “academicians,” in this case, referred exclusively to impoverished and mainly jobless intellectuals.

This had to do with interwar intellectual unemployment, a new phenomenon in Yugoslav history, with a rising number of highly educated people who could not find an occupation in their field.¹³⁴ In addition to this, an increasing number of highly educated people in employment could not live from the income of their profession.¹³⁵ As a result, by the autumn of 1919 about three hundred so-called academicians were already making use of Prehrana’s kitchens. To be precise, they began to get a hot meal for free but not at the already-existing soup kitchen conceived for the common poor, because it was immediately decided to introduce different spaces for the different groups. For the intellectuals another dining room was prepared, distinguished from that of the paupers. The two spaces also had different names: the “canteen” (*menza*) for the intellectuals and the “soup kitchen” (*pučka kuhinja*) for the very poor (Figure 5.7).¹³⁶

Going back to Figure 5.6, the diners in the photograph appear to be attempting to hide their faces, and one wonders if they were perhaps ashamed to be in the photograph.



Figure 5.7. Prehrana’s soup kitchen. Source: *Snješka Knežević and Laslo Aleksander, Židovski Zagreb* (Zagreb: AGM and Židovska općina Zagreb, 2011), 22.



Figure 5.8. Paupers. Sources: "O podne u 'Uboškom domu,'" *Večer*, July 12, 1929.

Judging by their clothes, it is possible to suppose that these men and women were some of these intellectuals. A comparison with a picture of paupers and beggars is eloquent. They were generally visually represented in quite a different way, emphasizing their otherness with respect to bourgeois respectability, as can be seen in Figure 5.8.¹³⁷

The management actually considered it inappropriate that only due to common hunger, members of such different social groups should sit together. When Prehrana decided in the autumn of 1919 to set up the two separate spaces, the first located in a building called Tuškanac, the other on Petrinjska Street,¹³⁸ the decision was explained with the circumstance that a space in the Tuškanac building was rented to a theater, and "it is not opportune, that the nourishment of the poorest people take place there."¹³⁹ In other words, great social inequalities had better not meet in the same place. The result was that the poor intellectuals could eat in proximity of the wealthy, while food for the "paupers" was prepared in Tuškanac, later brought by car to Petrinjska Street, and finally served to the second- and third-class recipients.

The social hierarchy thus also produced spatial distinctions. A voluntary association such as Prehrana was prone to reproduce social cleavages, refining them through its terminology and its infrastructures. Prehrana's mission was to distribute food among the needy, but this did not mean that distribution should take place on the same terms and in the same places for all the different social groups being assisted.

For the intellectuals, however, this was not enough. Some of them were in the habit of also going to another canteen, "far away from all the educational institutions," which led them to protest and to organize a lobbying action. Around the end of 1919 they presented a petition to the city council aimed at imposing the requisition of all Prehrana's spaces in Tuškanac in order to enlarge their canteen. Prehrana's founder, the influential Šandor Alexander, had to negotiate a solution with the regional governor himself, Tomislav Tomljenović. They found a compromise: Alexander could keep Tuškanac but had to promise that he would open, at his own expense, a large canteen for academicians in another place, a promise he kept in April 1920.¹⁴⁰ It seems that this was not a decision taken under pressure, as in Prehrana's documents the new canteen is presented as the genuine dream of Šandor Alexander: establishing an adequate and centralized canteen for academicians, an accomplishment that Prehrana's representatives would later stress and be particularly proud of.¹⁴¹

The events described above reveal two main aspects that should be highlighted. The first aspect was the existence of a sort of solidarity with the "aristocracy of the poor," that is, between unemployed intellectuals and Prehrana's middle-class activists. They shared some cultural and moral values, and this led them to believe that social distinctions and hierarchy were appropriate. The concerns, pleas, and hopes of these two groups created a virtuous circle, which resulted in the spatial reconfiguration of Prehrana's poor relief according to social status.

The second aspect was that the initiative taken by the intellectuals reveals something about the *agency* of these actors. Not surprisingly, the most educated poor seem to have had more negotiating power. Prehrana's intellectuals wrote petitions and managed to get the highest local authorities involved in their cause. These politicians called for a decent meal for the intellectuals in a decent canteen, and the intellectuals obtained them. The latter wanted to preserve their honor and the respectability of their families and not be mixed with the lowest strata of society.

Investigating Prehrana's activities thus gives us insight into the perceptions and reactions of the assisted toward poor relief in those years. The intellectuals were probably not the only ones who did not want to be equated with beggars, and it is likely that none of the assisted wanted to be confused with them. According to Prehrana's secretary, for example, already during the war years many citizens of Zagreb did not want to "humble themselves" by consuming a meal free of charge as though they were beggars because "their pride did not allow them to."¹⁴² This was the main reason why these

“respectable poor” were appointed a specific soup kitchen where the meals were not distributed for free but instead were sold at very low prices.¹⁴³

Furthermore, from the sources it seems that everyone who had the possibility to do so did not consume their meals in the soup kitchen of the association, instead bringing their own dishes and pots and carrying the food home “to their own families.”¹⁴⁴ I have already underlined this point to stress that the entire scheme was constructed along patriarchal lines and the idea of the main breadwinner. What I would like to note here is that an association such as Prehrana contributed to the social construction, together with gender hierarchies, of class hierarchies; only the very poor—paupers—ate the food directly there.

Finally, there was another canteen reserved for a specific group of users, the so-called Jewish-Muslim canteen, that prepared the food following kosher rules and was conceived exclusively for school pupils and university students of Jewish and Muslim faith. Although it provided meals for a relatively high number of people, around 250 boys daily in 1932¹⁴⁵ and between 500 and 600 in 1934,¹⁴⁶ the existence of this service was generally given little attention in the association’s reports. This could be connected with the presumable decline of its interreligious character after a Muslim student canteen was established in Zagreb, in February 1936, by a Muslim voluntary association.¹⁴⁷ This could explain why after a short mention in one of Prehrana’s reports in 1937,¹⁴⁸ little more attention was later devoted to Prehrana’s “kosher canteen” in the association’s documents. One might also conjecture that a service with a stronger confessional character did not fit well with the assimilationist inclinations of the association, which had no interest in stressing its capacity to assist members of minority religious groups.¹⁴⁹

In any case, this last canteen provides us with another example of the spatial configuration of Prehrana’s services. Alongside obvious logistic reasons, which complicated the concentration of large masses of users in the same place, what emerges from this analysis is that a *system* of both canteens and soup kitchens took form during the interwar years as part of Prehrana’s activities. The precise configuration of these canteens/soup kitchens is revealing of not only the social cleavages that it reflected but also the fact that it further elaborated and (re)produced gender, to a lesser extent religious, and above all class divisions. Meeting the expectations of at least some of its users, who had clear demands regarding such distinctions, Prehrana contributed to shaping poverty in Zagreb, providing its own categorizations of the needy, ascribing to them different social statuses and rights, and spatially differentiating assistance to the poor along social hierarchical lines.

As the microanalysis of one of these voluntary societies has shown, notwithstanding the increasing efforts of the state and above all local public authorities to aid at least some categories of needy people, voluntary societies played a major role in providing assistance to the poor. Prehrana represents a good example of a financially self-sufficient organization that provided a public service, with deep social repercussions. This

relationship between private and public institutions remained relatively unchanged, at least where Prehrana is considered, throughout the entire interwar period.¹⁵⁰

THE MIDDLE CLASS, THE STATE, AND THE POOR

Developing the main thesis illustrated at the beginning of this chapter, the analysis has shown how social institutions devoted to the poor and the beggars in interwar Yugoslavia partly inherited theories, practices, and infrastructures derived from the pre-Yugoslav period. Yet whereas this first conclusion has to do with continuity, the second one tells us more about innovation. In fact, during the interwar period some changes also took place. New legal devices, notions, and institutions regarding beggary and poverty were introduced, and the improvement of the poor assistance implied a higher degree of repression.

One first consideration is therefore that the examined phenomena certainly began in the late nineteenth century, but they clearly intensified and accelerated in the interwar years. The years between the two world wars reveal to be a time of intense experimentation in this field: the collaboration between private actors and public authorities was further formalized, and their social disciplining goals were refined, better articulated, and better implemented.

What is of interest for this chapter is that the entire system was managed by not only public institutions but also philanthropic associations. Philanthropy profoundly changed in the period under examination. Traditional charities certainly continued to play an important social role, but in the eyes of the social reformers, religious and paternalist poor assistance should now be combined with secular and state social care, and traditional forms of assistance, such as almsgiving, should now be absorbed by well-organized social policies. The changes outlined in this chapter thus affected not only the lives of the poor, but also the worldviews and the practices of the donors.

Private poor relief emerges as an articulated response of the middle classes to the anxieties of modern times. Charity certainly served as a way to build a fairly traditional middle-class identity, at the same time contributing to shaping the entire contemporary Yugoslav society mainly along social, economic, and moral middle-class values. Before the socialist state took over the responsibility of caring for the poor, voluntary associations provided an important contribution in not only providing hot meals but also theoretically and concretely shaping poverty and disciplining society.

It was clearly not only a matter of discourse. This chapter has also devoted much attention to the practices performed by philanthropic associations. What has emerged is that an increasing degree of social assistance also meant an increasing degree of

repression—and philanthropic associations were involved in *both* fields. If it is generally accepted that there is an intrinsic interrelationship between “social security” and “social discipline,” it is opportune to stress the role that Yugoslav philanthropic societies played in both regards. The demarcation lines between socially accepted and deviant behavior were redefined and followed with more attention than in the past. The explanations for a “social evil” such as beggary were innovated, as with the conception of forms of poverty without guilt. But at the same time, it is exactly these innovations that initiated processes of increased repression toward the forms of what was considered illegitimate poverty and beggary.

The case study of Prehrana has proved to be enlightening. Prehrana and private poor relief in interwar Yugoslavia were certainly marked by both traditional and innovative aspects in several regards. From an organizational point of view, Prehrana was still a traditional charitable association: privately funded, run by middle-class volunteer members, and with some help coming from other private societies and only to a very limited extent from the public authorities. Its activities were also shaped by a traditional family structure, with a patriarchal division of labor and gendered entitlement to Prehrana’s services. Furthermore, a somewhat traditionalist discourse about poverty and especially beggars was formulated, which still associated poverty with individual fault and deviance.

At the same time, new forms of poverty were acknowledged, distinguishing them from classical pauperism and linking them to the effects of the war and the interwar economic crisis. The inquiry into Prehrana’s practices has revealed that this voluntary society established new social hierarchies, which were reflected through terminological and spatial distinctions. For those who were considered victims of social circumstances, poor relief was viewed as a social right, which the state should provide for. Beyond the case study of Prehrana, the chapter has provided much evidence that this was a development affecting the whole Yugoslav society of that time.

The chapter has also shown the centrality firmly acquired by some social issues, such as poverty, and forms of nonwork, such as beggary, in the eyes of the upper strata of society, that can usefully integrate and partly counterbalance our knowledge about interwar Yugoslav society, often read through a regional-national and ethnoreligious lens. Although the private assistance frequently had a local character and could have some religious and ethnic connotations, many other humanitarian initiatives were devoted simply to the needy people without ethnic discriminations, and the same applies to the public agencies.

Even more important were the discourses, anxieties, and reactions related to poverty and beggary that have proved to be markedly transnational, crossing all the biggest Yugoslav ethnic groups. The question of poverty seems not to have had a strong ethnic connotation in the public debates. Apart from an inclination to consider the phenomenon

particularly scandalous when it appeared among the members of their own ethnoreligious community, when private actors discussed the issue, their socioeconomic analysis was supranational or, one could say, “nationally indifferent.”

Together with a common culture and attitude toward poverty shared by the Yugoslav elites, there are also evident and deep similarities between the local experiences in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo. The private and public institutions and the local representatives of the middle class spoke the same language and put into practice the same actions. Beyond obvious local peculiarities, some general Yugoslav trends can be traced, and the “national question” in Yugoslavia seems not to provide many elements for framing and explaining this issue. The explanations should instead be found in the social engineering culture of the Yugoslav ruling class and the middle class, in the specific historical context of interwar Yugoslavia, and in its international framework. The Yugoslav case emerges as a historical experience that has much in common with main European developments, at least from the perspective of the social anxieties toward poverty and beggary and some public and private reactions to them. The latter reveal the sharing of many traits that characterized European poor policies at the beginning of the twentieth century.

This aspect has much in common with the conclusion of Chapter 6: notwithstanding the absence of processes of industrialization comparable to those that were taking place in Western Europe, the Yugoslav state and the Yugoslav philanthropic associations began to establish forms of social assistance as well as social disciplining, which had a modern character. A still mainly agrarian country, Yugoslavia was in economic terms not at the forefront of European development. Nonetheless, it reveals to be a pretty modern and developed country if observed considering the leading principles and the practical tendencies of social assistance and social disciplining widespread in Europe at that time.

Together with commonalities with other European countries, Yugoslavia also had historical legacies and peculiarities that played a role and can explain the phenomena under examination. First, Yugoslav social welfare was not completely a novelty of the new (multi)nation-state, but it also inherited and renewed some pre-Yugoslav and sometimes postimperial legacies, which partly affected the forms of poor assistance in the interwar years. Second, the context of a recently established state provided a new framework for developing similar concerns and practices throughout the entire Yugoslavia. Putting this chapter in dialogue with the other ones in this study, it also becomes clearer that the ideas and measures regarding poverty and beggary must be read against the backdrop of the social engineering projects that were circulating in Yugoslav society in those years. As it is emerging from these pages, such socio- and biopolitical concerns were deeply affecting the public and private attitudes toward the social marginal actors—including beggars and poor people.

For implementing such projects and in order to deal purposely with the widespread phenomenon of urban beggary, this chapter has shown that although traditional

religious assistance institutions persisted, new secular institutions were also established in the main cities. Bigger Yugoslav cities appear to have been laboratories for developing new social policies, and local charity associations were included as main actors in these new processes. State and private philanthropy developed a close collaboration, sharing theoretical principles and social goals and giving a relevant contribution to the projects of shaping a new Yugoslav society.

Finally, the chapter has provided useful evidence for better understanding the agency of the Yugoslav poor too. The main conclusion is that the assisted were not simply passive recipients of poor relief. Those who through their status and connections were able to sufficiently influence the authorities tried to have a voice in the conception and management of these services. The goal was to mark internal social distinctions. The assisted, then, used but also reacted to and adapted the poor relief that was provided.

The developments traced in this chapter offer many elements for reconstructing the borders of the Yugoslav nonwork and the social history of some socially marginal actors. What definitely happened in these years in Yugoslavia was a shift in the perception of some activities such as begging, which were now moved with decision from the realm of partly legitimate activities to the domain of unacceptable nonwork. Gray zones were still alive, such as the case of former beggars now equipped with a license, provided by humanitarian societies in order to collect donations on the street. There were also many other ambiguities that shaped this volatile border: some poor people, such as the poor/impooverished *akademičari*, did not want to be fully marginalized and were opposed to decisions regarded as unacceptable. They stretched and reshaped the border between noble/infamous poverty, between a condition of respectable need and that of a more classical, stigmatized poverty. The representatives of the latter seem to have accepted and adapted to the system without resistance, solely with the hope of not being accused of being crooked, in that case thus crossing the line of the socially marginalized but still recognized need and entering fraudulent, criminal destitution.

What emerges with clarity are the great tensions existing in Yugoslav society around some marginal actors and the social issues they embodied. The middle and upper classes in Yugoslavia decided to face the raising poverty and the difficulties suffered by many fellow citizens, certainly inspired by philanthropic purposes but also conveying and further shaping entire social engineering projects. In regard to classifications, lists, methods, aims, and distinctions, the entire background of theories and practices of dealing with poor people, especially those without a “proper” job, must be accurately reconsidered. As results, both the assistance and the stigmatization/repression were highly improved. Being a beggar in interwar Yugoslavia was not the same as being one in Ottoman or later Habsburg Sarajevo or in pre-Yugoslav Serbia and Croatia. For a minority of “socially recognized” poor people, the assistance was improved and more efficient, but for all the others, it had become much more difficult to survive.

6

MANAGING JOBLESS PEOPLE

TRAVELING IN SEARCH OF A JOB

Those arriving in Belgrade by train in search of employment at the beginning of the 1930s would have been greeted by large posters in the railway station advertising an intriguing initiative: hostels for jobless workers in the capital city.¹ There had been two in the city since February 1930, one for male and one for female workers (Figure 6.1), created to offer economic and temporary relief for those who were not from Belgrade and had arrived there attracted by the possibility of finding an occupation.²

These individuals represent a further case of poor people who were at the margins of society because of work-related reasons or, better said, because of their literally non-work. They were “not-working people” of a different kind from the others examined in the previous chapters: they were in their precarious and marginalized situation not because they practiced a miserable or not socially/legally recognized job but because they were temporarily without and in search of a job. As I hope to show in the next lines, they were actually considered “workers” although jobless. This should represent a neat distinction from the other examined case studies, and it produced public discourses and interventions of a different nature from those examined in the previous chapters.

After having examined in Chapter 5 private initiatives in the field of social assistance, it is useful to now look at state intervention. There is a precise reason why at the core of this chapter lies the analysis of the establishment of several hostels for unemployed workers in Yugoslavia between the two world wars: by examining the development of public social policy through the viewpoint of the jobless, it is possible to have good insight into the boundaries of the modern Yugoslav workers’ provision, which means its strategies and practices of social inclusion and exclusion. In order to explore the nature, goals, and limits of the emerging public engagement regarding the unemployed, one has to examine which were the targeted social groups of this initiative, both theoretically and in practice.

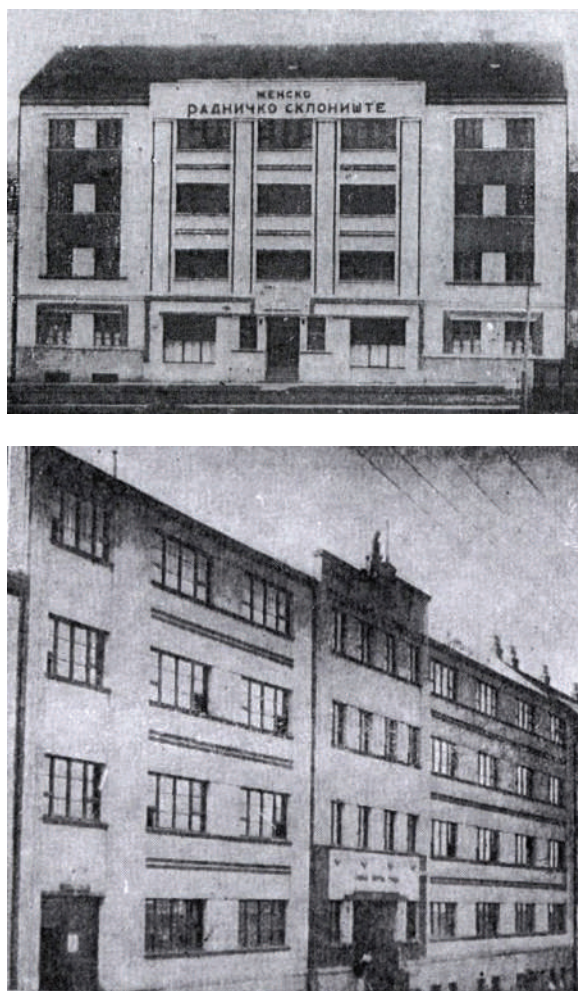


Figure 6.1. Female and male workers' hostels in Belgrade. Source: "Naše građevine," *Socijalni arhiv*, 1, nos. 3–4 (1935): 41–42.

One of the aims of this approach is to investigate whether establishing hostels for the unemployed in interwar Yugoslavia is another form of poverty policy, such as those illustrated in Chapter 5, or whether—as I hope to demonstrate—it was the expression of a new and more modern form of social policy. The analysis therefore investigates the legal, political, and institutional background of these hostels and how they were conceived and financed. The chapter shows that new discourses on the unemployed slowly developed in Yugoslavia in these years, that a modern idea of

unemployment gradually emerged, and that new hierarchies between “nonworking” people were established.³

The chapter investigates three main issues regarding the workers’ hostels: the concrete local forms of enforcement of national legal measures, a new form of interaction between municipal and state authorities, and the concrete implementation of social policies regarding unemployed people. The analysis of the specific regulations of the hostels and their application will precisely show how new social differences and distances were created and what concrete impact they had on the functioning of these institutions.

The abundantly investigated political history of the country influenced the legislative process also in the less researched social field. In the background of the existing big economic inequalities between the regions forming the newly established state, the crucial debate among Yugoslav politicians about state organization (centralism vs. federalism) was also linked with redistribution and fiscal policy issues. Building on these already investigated dimensions, the following considerations regarding certain social and labor issues, with particular attention to the new facilities for unemployed people, aim to contribute toward a deeper understanding of the ongoing state-building process. The analysis of the public initiatives undertaken will allow us to reconstruct some aspects of the political culture of that time regarding unemployment aid, linking it with the development of new social policies, and the progressive affirmation of the ideology of state intervention in the economic and social field.

We have available relevant studies undertaken on economic history and the welfare policies in interwar Yugoslavia.⁴ To investigate the topic of this chapter, it is necessary to integrate the approach used thus far in studies dealing with the history of work and social policy in interwar Yugoslavia. To this end and in accordance with the general approach used in this research, I will further investigate the local level, the microdimension, and its interaction with the state level. Furthermore, the new unemployment facilities are an underresearched topic. While the general framework of the development of the social policies in Yugoslavia may already be well known, we still need to understand more precisely what was and was not done toward those who were looking for a job. The state level must then be integrated with the municipal level, the legislative dimension with the practice on the ground. Only by doing so will it be possible to interpret those developments and their relevance for an updated history of labor and of social policies in these regions.

Finally, the chapter offers a new perspective on the social tensions that arose in interwar Yugoslavia around the margins of labor. This chapter provides further and different evidence of the Yugoslav state interventions on the margins of the working society. The workers’ hostels were the concretization of new ideas of assistance, but they were also a tool for disciplining the population and shaping the entire realm of “work,”

even including its (temporary) absence. This could happen only under precise conditions, which should be carefully qualified, thus shaping the extreme frontier of legitimate nonwork.

A NEW IDEA OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Since February 1930, people who were traveling in search of a job and landed in the capital city of the state, in Belgrade, could try to get admitted to the workers' hostels mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. After having been subjected to a short medical examination, the guests had to take a shower before they could enter the dormitory. The next morning the guests had to get up, wash, and dress in the dressing rooms before leaving the building. This is one of a number of initiatives undertaken at that time throughout Europe for tackling vagrancy and, in our particular case, for "supporting" public labor intermediation.⁵

Within a few years the institutions had clearly obtained a foothold, and the hostels became very popular. One can deduce this not only from the statistics of the overnight stays in these institutions but also from the activities of those spiteful persons awaiting and approaching the newcomers at the rail station, leading them away under the pretense of guiding them to the hostels. It is not hard to imagine the outcome of such encounters and the reports made to the police by those unfortunate enough to have been robbed.⁶ The posters advertising the hostels were exhibited thereafter not only in the train stations but also in all ports and arrival points of the city, that is, in the river harbors of Belgrade and of its suburbs Pančevo and Zemun,⁷ on board the main watercraft that docked in those harbors and at several other city institutions that the unemployed workers had to access.⁸

The hostels were an initiative of great importance for those who were traveling in search of a job and without the means of obtaining private accommodations. There were many of them in those years, with their number increasing constantly throughout the interwar period of the 1920s and especially the 1930s, a time of great movements of people within the Yugoslav state due to the lack of work. Large numbers of jobless workers migrated from the countryside to the city as well as from one Yugoslav region to another. Nevertheless, an overall evaluation of the phenomenon is not possible on the basis of existing research.⁹

Until World War I, public unemployment assistance in the South Slav regions was, where it existed, essentially committed to the municipalities.¹⁰ There are isolated cases of precedents of such hostels for the unemployed, such as that of Zagreb, operative from 1907 to 1922, with twenty-five beds for men and thirty-five for women. The institution worked within the framework of a local employment bureau, was financed

by the municipality, and both the employers and the workers were paid a fee for every intermediation.¹¹

Such initiatives took place before a modern public social policy was shaped, which would consider assistance for unemployed people as distinguished from assistance to the poor and would not be occasional but instead would be grounded in an officially acknowledged right of jobless people to be helped by the state.¹² The intermediation between labour supply and demand, for instance, before the World War I and also in the first postwar period was still a primarily municipal and later partly provincial duty. It lacked state legislation and coordination, and aid for the jobless still contained theoretical and practical features of the older local poor assistance.¹³

Yet interwar Yugoslavia was increasingly faced with the issue of mass under- and unemployment, as illustrated in Chapter 1. The major cities of the country were invaded already in the late 1920s by flows of men and women in search of a job. People not finding a job crowded the streets, making the question of mass unemployment extremely visible, especially in the urban contexts, and an issue of public concern.¹⁴ As a reaction to these socioeconomic circumstances, Prime Minister Milan Stojadinović inaugurated a new economic and social policy by the mid-1930s as a tool for a more determined state interventionism in the economy. The government introduced some fiscal and economic concessions for industrial enterprises and peasants as well, and the state launched several programs of public works intended to contrast the widespread unemployment. Moreover, the maximum duration of the unemployment aid was extended.¹⁵

These were weak and insufficient measures for coping with the unemployment spreading across the country. Nevertheless, they were the expression of a mutation that was occurring in political culture and social policy, which had begun in the late 1920s. Besides the first steps for enforcing a new labor legislation, mentioned in Chapter 1, the leading politicians became progressively aware of the importance of developing and implementing a modern social policy. This social policy was summarized in the introduction of the first issue of the monthly periodical *Social Archives* by Drago Marušić, minister for social policy and public health, declaring that “building a social policy” ought to be the first task of a modern state.¹⁶ The shift from past practices were clearly explained by Slobodan Vidaković, an influential sociologist and social worker who stressed the urgency of adopting a strong state interventionism in the social field and specified that “social politics is not a philanthropic activity of some generous men or municipalities” but instead must be a duty of public (state, regional, and municipal) authorities.¹⁷ One could also read that “social policy cannot remain a concern of humanitarian work and of individual generosity. . . . The state is faced with a series of problems that it has to solve with planned efforts and great impetus, because only such a systematic and large-scale action can guarantee technical and financial success.”¹⁸

Between 1922 and 1927 before the world economic crisis, Yugoslav governments did not show great attention to the issue that most interests this chapter, unemployment and facilities for unemployed people, focusing instead, as we saw in Chapter 1, on the first state aid measures for the “workers.” Yet later new approaches to the question slowly took shape.

From the legislative point of view, the turning point is the year 1935, when the legal grounds for unemployment insurance were provided, but even earlier some significant measures were taken in order to support jobless people. The most important one was the institutionalization (1921–1922) of the *state* Labor Offices, which had replaced the previous municipal, provincial, and private structures. This began to change with the establishment of the state-led Labor Offices. At the same time a “central agency for labor intermediation” was established in Belgrade for coordinating the activities of the local Labor Offices. A tax for the latter was also introduced in 1922 in order to constitute a specific fund for the unemployed. The service was financed almost entirely by employers and insured workers.¹⁹

The whole system did not begin to work regularly until the end of the 1920s, but the tax was collected from the beginning, so that by 1928 approximately five million dinars had already been paid into the aforementioned fund.²⁰ In 1928 the Central Agency obtained a high degree of autonomy, allowing it to manage the collected funds with more efficiency. They were destined first and foremost to the municipalities in the form of zero or very low-interest loans and with the explicit aim of providing the necessary structures for labor intermediation and for what was to become, from the mid-1930s onward, the main commitment of the Central Agency and of its institutions: unemployment benefit. Furthermore, several forms of financial aid were foreseen especially for unemployed people, as was a system of benefits for train and ship tickets²¹ and programs of “public works” and “social housing,” foreseeing the construction of several types of worker residential buildings.²² This shows that the hostels this chapter deals with were part of a broader set of social policies evolving, including labor protection, social security, and, to a lesser extent (as discussed in Chapter 5) poverty policies. In the framework of these public interventions, specific laws were gradually designed for the unemployed and enforced through concrete initiatives.

These measures represent a move from the idea of occasional assistance to the poor toward the structural assistance of “modern” unemployed people, meaning those who were increasingly considered victims of the modern economic and industrial system. A change in the public perception of unemployment was occurring around the turn of the twentieth century in Yugoslavia and in Europe as a whole: the notion of unemployment as “structural,” the result of the modern industrial economy, was progressively added to the preexisting concept of nonworker as a result of personal and temperamental reasons (above all “laziness”).²³

The common opinion was sometimes hostile to jobless people: "You can often hear that, if they had the wish to work, they would have found a job."²⁴ But a new understanding of the condition of people without an occupation was emerging, and unemployment began to be defined as "of social, not personal nature."²⁵ One could read that "actual unemployment is not seasonal unemployment, which is short-term and does not afflict all kinds of work, but is a consequence of the world economic crisis and therefore it lasts longer and afflicts all kinds of work."²⁶

Throughout the various texts related to this topic we frequently find references to "no-fault" unemployed persons, those who remained without a job because of the system and because of the economic crisis. A good illustration of that is the analysis provided in the "handbook for social work" aimed at explaining the new "Yugoslav social legislation": "under the concept of 'unemployment' we understand that condition of non-work, in which the worker has consciously fallen because of justifiable reasons or against his will. . . . Therefore we are not interested in that unemployment which was born voluntarily out of unjustifiable reasons."²⁷ Even clearer was the distinction regarding the causes of unemployment, which are divided into two subgroups: (1) "subjective," if the worker is not able to work or "doesn't like to work because of laziness," and (2) "objective," when the worker cannot find a job because there is no job offer. After having sketched the world history of unemployment, the conclusion is a limpid one: "Therefore, and with regard to its long-lasting character, unemployment has today become a phenomenon which imposes itself with an uncontrolled force on the entire world as a serious socio-political problem, and on whose resolutions will depend social structures of the future."²⁸

The shift in the perception of this social phenomenon is well represented by the changed approach of Stjepan Srkulj. When he began his second mandate (1928–1932) as mayor of Zagreb, he was still a representative of the "old school," convinced that the unemployed do not like to work, treating unemployment as a poverty-related issue and maintaining that social care for jobless people should not come under municipal jurisdiction. But in the course of the following years, he changed his views: "The city municipality . . . neither can nor should simply cross over this relevant question of mitigating social misery." And especially regarding institutions destined to unemployed people, he began to support them.²⁹

Srkulj's opinion was not isolated. Similarly, his successor, Ivo Krbek, defined unemployment as "one of the greatest social adversities of the present time,"³⁰ not an individual issue. It is therefore not by chance that the municipality of Zagreb rejected in 1923 a first proposal for the opening of a workers' hostel, when unemployed assistance was still equated with poor relief and delegated to a private humanitarian association, which the reader of this book knows well: *Prehrana*.³¹ Nevertheless, in the first half of the 1930s the political orientation of the municipality changed, and the decision to

construct—with public money—several buildings for unemployed people, including a workers' hostel, was approved.

Such developments were not univocal, linear, and uncontested. Krbek's successor, Rudolf Erber, who served as Zagreb's mayor between 1934 and 1936, was a distinct opponent of these social initiatives. During his mandate he gave shape to a marked "anti-social and anti-worker policy," preferring to promote repressive measures rather than social aid and merging unemployment provision with poor relief.³²

Therefore, one must not take for granted that the municipalities would promptly accept government financial aid and the responsibility to build workers' facilities, and similar developments as the ones in Zagreb can also be found elsewhere, as in Belgrade: "Social consciousness of our municipalities was at that time less than today, and we owe it only to the vice-president of the Belgrade municipality of that time, the meritorious social worker Dr. Kosta Jovanović, if the municipality decided to accept this present, which it had refused some years before."³³

Despite criticism and resistance, the progressive emergence of a peculiar social profile of the "unemployed" can be recorded, and the establishment of aid facilities specific for the unemployed made them distinct from classical forms of poverty relief measures. As saw in Chapter 5, the latter was traditionally managed by private associations, in collaboration with—especially beginning in the 1930s—the municipalities and was articulated through several local initiatives and institutions. The aid was rarely monetary; there were instead organized food supplies, particularly during the wintertime, as well as clothing and wood distributions.

Facilities for unemployed people and especially the workers' hostels had to be clearly distinguished from all these services: "First of all workers need to know that the Male Workers' Hostel is not a refuge for poor people. It is not a product of charity. An unemployed worker doesn't go there for begging. There is nothing to be ashamed of when he crosses its doorstep. He must go in with his head up."³⁴ Workers' dignity is linked with the nonhumanitarian character of the institution: "The Workers' Hostel is a social institution, built with public money. The aim is not to keep poor people in their poverty, but to help unemployed workers find a job. . . . By building the Workers' Hostel, the state (because in fact the state erected it, although it is called "municipal") didn't take on the role of the rich man who deals with charitable works in order to please God."

Hostels for unemployed people were something new,³⁵ and their function therefore required explanation. Occasionally the press published strong criticisms, accusing the Central Agency of squandering public money by erecting buildings instead of helping needy people. However, the answer by the Central Agency was that as much as refuges, sanatoriums, and hospitals are of crucial importance for tuberculosis patients, the same applies to the hostels and other facilities destined for unemployed people.³⁶

The aid provided by the hostels, despite the inevitable practical compromises, was in general considered a “real blessing” for the workers.³⁷ Moreover, the press at first vigorously promoted the establishment of the hostels under examination³⁸ and then, notwithstanding some criticism regarding some minor aspects, celebrated their opening.³⁹

Such institutions were also a representation of society and its relation to “work,” of normative social models and respective deviations. “Nature—explains a colonel of the gendarmerie writing in a police periodical—drives the man to work.”⁴⁰ Not working would therefore be “unnatural” and dangerous for mental health, “as demonstrated by the psychiatrists.” One needs “to carefully distinguish between those unemployed persons, who remain without a job because of the impossibility to find it—from the professional unemployed persons.”⁴¹

The comparative elements of this discourse are begging and vagrancy, which were a crime punished with both detention and forced labor,⁴² although in practice vagrants were often banned from the city or, if they were foreigners, from the state, especially in cases of recidivism.⁴³ If beggars and vagrants were simply to be repressed or removed, for at least some of the unemployed people, the more advantaged ones, it was possible to do something in order to “rescue” them, reintegrating them into the labor market and thereby into the “natural,” “normal” society.

The unemployed occupied a disadvantaged place in that social order, even more so if they were also homeless or if they temporarily did not have a place to sleep indoors. The police were often sent, as can be read in the press of that time, to arrest those who were sleeping in the town parks, but “it is not opportune,” commented a journalist, “to devolve upon the police the task of solving the social question of unemployment.”⁴⁴ Many in Yugoslavia in the 1920s and ever more in the 1930s shared the journalist’s opinion.

The workers’ hostels examined in this chapter are an expression of this shift in the political culture in interwar Yugoslavia. Their initial construction took place in precisely the most difficult years economically, showing the importance they acquired in the eyes of the political class. The cultural and social significance of workers’ hostels, despite their actual and limited impact as a means for fighting unemployment in the country, can only be understood if these institutions are embedded in their historical context: they can then be interpreted as a sign of an ongoing cultural and structural transformation, that is, the gradual and progressive development of a modern social policy in those regions.

Public authorities’ concern regarding the issue of “hygiene” also played an important role in prompting and shaping these state and municipal interventions. The masses of workers who came from all over Yugoslavia were seen as potential carriers of viruses and epidemic diseases. Therefore, these institutions also acquired a preventive function regarding public health, taking care of the health of potential workers as well as protecting the whole society from the spread of infective diseases.

Finally, it was also a symbolic issue, a matter of “pride” for the municipality and the town community, due to the fact that social institutions began to represent “the pride of a community and the repercussion of its cultural level.”⁴⁵ In the case of Belgrade, we are dealing with a city that was also the capital of a state and had the peculiar “honor” of representing the entire country. In the mid-1930s there was a great preoccupation with the “enormous masses [that] moved from the hinterland to Belgrade and always have a fully unsafe existence,” so that “Belgrade, once the city with the strongest economic business, is acquiring the aspect of a city of social misery.”⁴⁶ The wish therefore was for Belgrade’s relief facilities to become, through such initiatives “the most attractive place on the list of the Yugoslav institutions of this kind.”⁴⁷ By doing so, “the municipality of Belgrade will raise the flag of social policy above all others in the country and in the Balkans, just like Prague which has recently raised it above all Central Europe. Belgrade must do it. This corresponds both to its historical development, and to the spirit of its citizens.”⁴⁸

Belgrade and Yugoslavia were therefore “lighthouses” of the Balkans, even in the social field. The building of hostels for unemployed workers acquired more overtly political values here because “they will perform a humanitarian and social, as well as economic and *national* task. Because to preserve the health of the young labor force . . . means to preserve reserve labor force for the needs of our economy.”⁴⁹ “Health,” “labor,” “economy,” and “nation”: every initiative in this field was considered “really a patriotic and state-building one.”⁵⁰

BUILDING THE HOSTELS FOR JOBLESS WORKERS

Some preexisting buildings were restructured, but more often new buildings were erected for housing the Labor Offices, male and female workers’ hostels, soup kitchens, and public baths. The precise dynamics of funding differed from case to case, but in general the municipalities, aside from making the building areas available for free and investing amounts derived from their own budgets, often received loans from the Central Agency, obtaining additional subventions from the local Workers’ Chambers⁵¹ and the Labor Offices.

When Pero Blašković, member of the presidency of the Central Agency, addressed the participants in the inauguration of the new public Labor Office in Split, which included a workers’ hostel, on May 19, 1935, he said, “You don’t owe gratitude to anybody, because it arose from workers’ sweat and corn, and from employers’ devotion.”⁵² The money was in fact collected in the province of Split and, after having been kept in

Belgrade by the Central Agency for several years, was finally returned to fund the building of the Split Labor Office and the new workers' hostel.

Similarly for the women workers' hostel in Ljubljana (opened on August 30, 1937), a no-interest loan (1.7 million dinars) was lent by the local Labor Office.⁵³ In Novi Sad the loan was granted by the Central Agency,⁵⁴ and again with the money of the Labor Offices a considerable loan (ten million dinars) was extended in 1929 to the municipality of Belgrade, charged with the project of constructing several buildings and institutions in the capital for the aid of jobless workers as well as breastfeeding working mothers and children of the unemployed.⁵⁵ In 1932 the municipality of Zagreb obtained subventions instead of loans and not directly from the Central Agency but from local institutions linked to it and to the Ministry of Social Policy and Public Health, such as the local Workers' Chamber⁵⁶ and the Labor Office.⁵⁷

By 1935 the Central Agency had already distributed around twenty-three million dinars through loans for the construction of "workers' buildings" (Labor Offices, hostels, soup kitchens, and public baths) throughout the country.⁵⁸ Alongside this economic support, we must add the occasional subventions by various agencies: the Central Agency itself, the king, the Ministry of Social Policy and Public Health, provinces, Workers' Chambers, and the municipalities themselves.⁵⁹ This means that in times of profound economic crisis, the municipalities and many other public institutions directed a share of their budgets toward these structures and their maintenance.⁶⁰

It is therefore important to recognize a synergy between the "center" and the "local" authorities, between the state and the municipalities, with money coming primarily out of workers' and employers' pockets and marginally from other forms of public—state and municipal—taxation. It was not an exclusively municipal dynamic, neither of charitable nor of private character. What occurred in the context of certain structural reforms of Yugoslav social policy was instead a "convergence of interests" between municipal and state authorities with the aim of putting measures into practice to combat pressing mass unemployment in those years.

The international context played a role not only in the development of a new public social policy in general terms but also concerning more specifically the projects of the hostels. Analogous initiatives in some Central European cities were examined and compared. For the elaboration of the Belgrade project, for example, two people, a man and a woman, were sent to Pest, Prague, Dresden, and Vienna in order to collect information regarding the local aid facilities and their functioning.⁶¹

The result of the interaction of such international, national and local dynamics was the creation of jobless workers' hostels all over Yugoslavia. On the eve of World War II there were twenty-five of them in total, distributed throughout the entire territory of the country (Figures 6.2 and 6.3).⁶²



Figure 6.2. Hostels for jobless workers in Yugoslavia at the end of the 1930s. Source:

The Information is from Petrović, *Nezaposlenost i staranje*, 96–97. The revised background of the map is taken from Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias*, xxiii.

THE RIGHT TO SLEEP

Most of these hostels were built and fitted with all the necessary equipment between 1932 and 1936. Capacity could vary considerably. The overnight stay had to be paid in most circumstances, mostly four dinars per night except for five dinars required in Ljubljana, and free hospitality was offered in four hostels. In the smaller hostels especially, hospitality had a time limit of between three and five nights; in some bigger hostels there was no formal limit to the duration of the stay (Table 6.1).

But who had the right to sleep in these hostels? Considering that oftentimes one needed to pay, it was those who had at least some cash in hand. Poverty therefore was not a valid reason for admission. After all, even the names of these institutions clarified that they were not designed for “poor” people and “vagrants,” for whom there existed, as we have seen, specific institutions. In the case investigated we come across “asylums”—as they were sometimes called—for workers “momentarily” without a job.

This emerges even more clearly from the requirement stipulating, at least theoretically in some hostels and certainly for those in the bigger cities, that workers be



Ljubljana



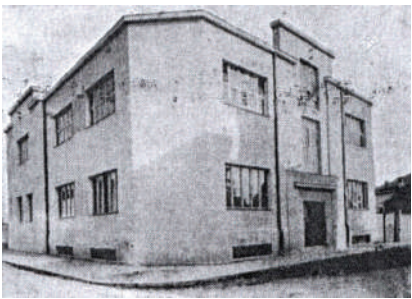
Maribor



Novi Sad



Osijek



Banja Luka



Split

Figure 6.3. Facades of some Yugoslav hostels for jobless workers. Source:

“Naše građevine,” *Socijalni arhiv* 1, nos. 3–4 (1935): 44–47.

registered for social insurance.⁶³ It was therefore not enough to simply be vaguely “unemployed” either. One had to belong to one of the professional categories considered by the workers’ insurance law and to have paid insurance contributions. And this had to be proven, documents in hand. Whoever knocked on the doors of these institutions needed to be in possession of at least some money and a valid insurance card.

It goes without saying that such limitations excluded masses of “aspiring workers” who arrived in the big cities. These institutions were therefore thought of only for

Table 6.1. Prices and maximum duration (if known) of overnight stays, 1936.

TOWN OR CITY	PRICE PER NIGHT, IN DINARS	MAXIMUM DURATION
Banja Luka	3	3 nights (longer if free beds available)
Belgrade	4	7 nights (longer if free beds available)*
Dubrovnik	2	—
Kotor	free	5 nights
Ljubljana	5	unlimited
Mostar	3	3 nights (longer if free beds available)
Niš	free	5 nights
Novi Sad	First three nights free, then 4 dinars	unlimited
Osijek	4	3 nights
Sarajevo	3	3 nights (longer if free beds available)
Sl. Brod	4.50	1 night (exceptionally 2)
Sombor	4	3 nights
Split	4	minimum 3 nights
Subotica	free	3 nights
Sušak	4	—
Zagreb	4	unlimited

* Actual average number of nights. In 1932–1933, men fewer than 10 days, women fewer than 15 days (IAB, *Fourth Final Report 1933*, 14). In 1937–1938, men 10 days, women 19 days (IAB, *Ninth Final Report 1938*, 7). Source: Krmpotić, “Spisak radničkih skloništa”; and *Poslovnik*, art. 3.

certain people, for the “first class” of unemployed people, not for the others. The former were all in all “well off” compared to “the large majority of miserable workers and farmers [who] continue to remain without a roof.”⁶⁴ The intention was to “conceive of” unemployment through such rules, to define it, to limit it, to establish a hierarchy within it.⁶⁵ By doing so, a minielite of unemployed people was created who managed, in spite of everything, to obtain a cot and a shower at least for a few days.

The formalization and internal hierarchy of unemployed people can also be traced in other analogous assistance initiatives. For example, the rules for train and ship tickets for the unemployed are very precise and consider a time limit since the last occupation, the duration of the last occupation, the probability of finding a job in the place of destination, and many other aspects.⁶⁶ Similarly, the right to benefit from the soup kitchens for the unemployed was also dependent on one’s working status, family situation, etc.⁶⁷ It is even possible to observe how such rules were refined over time, becoming more restrictive, as in the case of the unemployment aid in Slovenia between 1918 and 1919⁶⁸ and the rules of the Labor Office in Belgrade of November 29, 1922.⁶⁹

Internal distinctions and discriminating strategies also had a gender dimension. Although there were two hostels only for women (in Belgrade and Ljubljana),⁷⁰ many of the other hostels were destined exclusively for men, and in the cases where both sexes were admitted, there were always much fewer places for women than for men (Table 6.2). Certainly there were some supportive facilities provided especially for female workers, including breastfeeding working mothers, but the entire scheme, in general terms, was evidently designed primarily for men. Furthermore, gender discrimination was at the source of the system: the hostels were conceived, first of all, for insured workers, and there was a higher percentage of insured male than female workers.⁷¹ This necessarily resulted in women having a more limited access to these institutions—not to mention their difficulties in paying the tickets in cash.

Table 6.2. Hostel capacity at the beginning of 1936.

TOWN OR CITY	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN
Banja Luka	30	25	5
Belgrade	408*	327	81
Dubrovnik	150 ("boards," not "beds")	men only	—
Kotor	10	men only	—
Ljubljana	163	125	38
Mostar	12	10	2
Niš	15	men only	—
Novi Sad	73	63	10
Osijek	25	20	5
Sarajevo	70	60	10
Sl. Brod	14	12	2
Sombor	30	23	7
Split	130**	69	24
Subotica	13	10	3
Sušak	150	men only	—
Zagreb	120	men only	—

* The number of beds increased to 427 in 1937 and to 438 in March 1938. Vidaković, *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć*, 373; and IAB, *Ninth Final Report 1938*, p. 4.

** The hostel in Split included twenty-eight beds for apprentices and a few more for other professional categories.

Sources: Krmpotić, "Spisak radničkih skloništa"; and Ilija P. Perić, "Otvorenje Radničkog skloništa u Splitu," *SA*, nos. 11–12 (1935): 202–3.

Even those four dinars were too much for most unemployed people to pay. In the mid-1930s, they represented roughly a fifth of the average male daily wage.⁷² In Zagreb

the complaints attracted the attention of the press, which explained why many workers preferred, at half of that price, to opt for a bed in one of the crowded private dormitories on the outskirts, where there was the further possibility of sharing the bed and the cost.⁷³ The hostel's managing board did consider the workers' request to reduce the price to three dinars but in the end decided against it.⁷⁴ In Belgrade too, where initially one had to pay five dinars,⁷⁵ later (in 1935) reduced to four,⁷⁶ the issue was continuously discussed. It was noted that many home builders ended up sleeping at the construction site. Nonetheless, the principle that "everyone pays" (with the exception of children) was firmly maintained and that anything less than four dinars was unthinkable.⁷⁷

It was not always the workers who directly paid. From the beginning, the system was conceived in such way that it foresaw "coupons" purchased and distributed by local Labor Offices, Workers' Chambers, and other worker and humanitarian organizations. In the case of Belgrade this corresponded to a low percentage of overnight stays, some of them offered by the Labor Office (ever fewer during the 1930s to eventually none at all by the end of the decade), and others paid through aid or charitable associations (increasingly so during the decade). In fact, in 1932–1933, 90 percent of the hostels' users paid out of pocket, and between 1935 and 1938 the figure was between 84 percent and 88 percent.⁷⁸ The situation was different in Zagreb, where at the beginning (1934–1935) the Labor Office paid 35 percent of the overnight stays and the following year even 53 percent. Although this assistance was later to diminish, in 1936–1937 almost half of the overnight stays were still covered by the Labor Office and the Workers' Chamber.⁷⁹

Furthermore, for every rule there is an exception—several in our cases. In the men's hostel in Belgrade, for instance, one could be hosted for free. This could only occur, however, in exceptional circumstances: for those who had just arrived in the city and could not yet go to the institutions that dispensed the "coupons." By providing regular workers' documents, recording personal data and previous employment, they could be admitted, provided there were free beds, for at most one night.⁸⁰ This represented an extremely low rate of the total number of overnight stays, around 4 percent at the beginning of the 1930s and 5 percent at the end of the decade.⁸¹

This was not the only exception that was made with regard to admission. Even if the hostel in Zagreb was destined "above all for traveling unemployed persons,"⁸² if some beds were left they could also be occupied by "local" workers in that there was no time limit to their stay, while reports also mentioned "permanent guests."⁸³ And although the hostel was supposed to give refuge to "in theory, unemployed people," if some beds remained unoccupied, they could also be assigned to "workers with a job," and this is why they paid a few dinars more.⁸⁴ After all, the one goal that these facilities could not lose sight of was to have as many beds as possible occupied; whether overnight stays were paid through the "coupons," directly by jobless workers or by workers with a job, was of secondary importance.

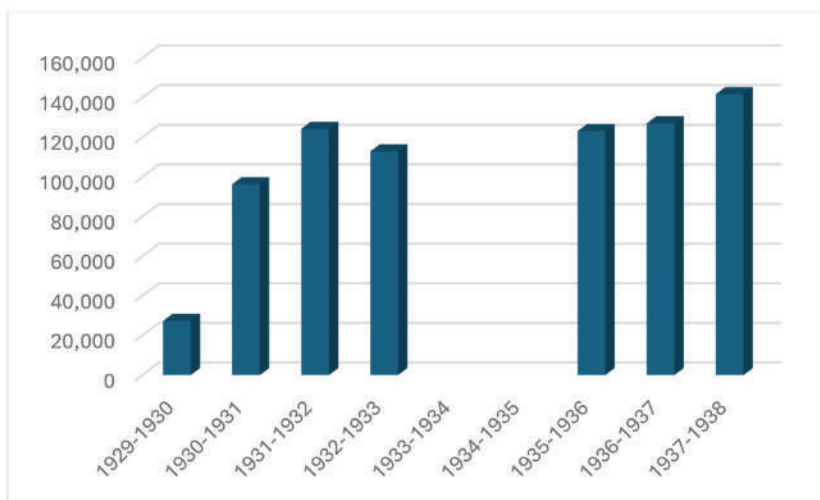


Figure 6.4. Overall numbers of overnight stays in Belgrade's (male/female) worker hostels. Source: IAB, FOND, Box 59, *Prvi godišnji izveštaj*, 16; IAB, FOND, Box 62, *Fourth Final Report 1933*, 9; IAB, FOND, Box 59, *Ninth Final Report 1938*, 4–5; and Vidaković, *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć*, 371. The data for the budget year 1929–1930 refer only to two months, as the hostels did not open until the beginning of February 1930; from the next line on, the data refer to the entire budget year (from April to March of the next year). The available sources do not allow disentangling the figure regarding the two budget years 1933–1934 and 1934–1935. The total figure was 226,835 overnight stays.

Summing up all the results of these initiatives, one can say that in spite of the tickets to be purchased and thanks to the aid (“coupons”) provided, workers made wide use of these hostels. Even if the overall data for all hostels is unavailable, what we know is sufficient to gain an understanding of how these structures functioned. In the Belgrade hostels, for instance, in 1937–1938 almost 116,000 overnight stays were recorded in the male hostel and more than 25,700 in the female hostel,⁸⁵ with an overall number during eight years of activity (1930–1938) of 979,229 overnight stays (Chart 6.1).⁸⁶

The figures relating to the other hostels are quite different due to the smaller sizes and differing socioeconomic contexts. Nonetheless, even in the small hostel in Zagreb, 92,932 overnight stays were recorded in the first four years (1933–1937) of activity (Chart 6.2).⁸⁷

The other hostels of the country must also have worked at full capacity, considering that Split foresaw in the budget plan for 1939 an income of 97,000 dinars through paying guests (against the 45,500 dinars of Belgrade), and the same can be said regarding other hostels.⁸⁸ The general impression is that the system worked quite well and that a considerable number of jobless workers in Yugoslavia were able to take advantage of it.

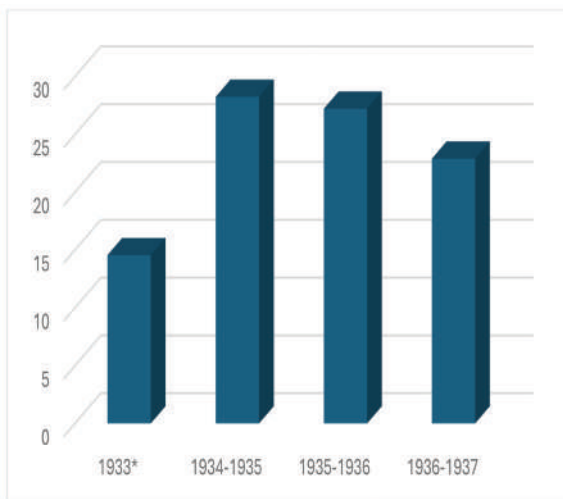


Figure 6.5. Overall number of overnight stays in Zagreb's (male) worker hostel.

* The data for the first three months of 1934 are unavailable. Source: "14.554 radnika"; DAZ, SO, Box 2, *Iskaz o broju prenoćenja*; and DAZ, SO, Box 2, *Izveštaj o radu i poslovanju u Gradskom radničkom prenoćištu u Zagrebu, Heinzelova ulica 78 u budžetskoj godini 1935/36*, 2; and DAZ, SO, Box 2, *Final Report 1937*, 4.

INSIDE TOTAL INSTITUTIONS

What actually occurred once you set foot in one of these hostels? A "small procedure," as it was defined in one press article, took place.⁸⁹ The hostel's guest first of all had to be recorded, and that is why the guest had to exhibit a valid identity card, adding to it of course one ticket or alternatively one "coupon." The guest received a "number" that was associated with a locker to hold all their goods. Guests were subjected to a medical examination in order to verify whether they were carrying any infectious disease (Figure 6.4). A hostel employee decided whether guests' clothes had to go through a disinfection treatment. If so, guests received clean nightclothes. In every case, they had to undress before receiving a towel and a pair of wooden clogs; after that, they had to take a shower. In some cases, the guests also underwent a disinfestation treatment. Thereafter, they could enter the dormitory and lie down on a bed, being quiet and orderly (Figure 6.5). The next morning guests had to get up, wash, dress in the dressing rooms, and return the towel and clogs and eventually the nightclothes before leaving the building.⁹⁰

The terminology used for all these activities indicates great concern about hygiene: one encounters words such as "disinfections," "disinfestations," "epidemics," "contagion," and "decontamination" of the "infected" guest. What is always stressed is the



Figure 6.6. Medical checks, disinfection, hygiene. Note: Left, medical check at the hostel in Belgrade. Below, showers in the hostel of Sarajevo. Source: "Naše gradevine," *Socijalni arhiv* 1, nos. 3-4 (1935): 42-43.

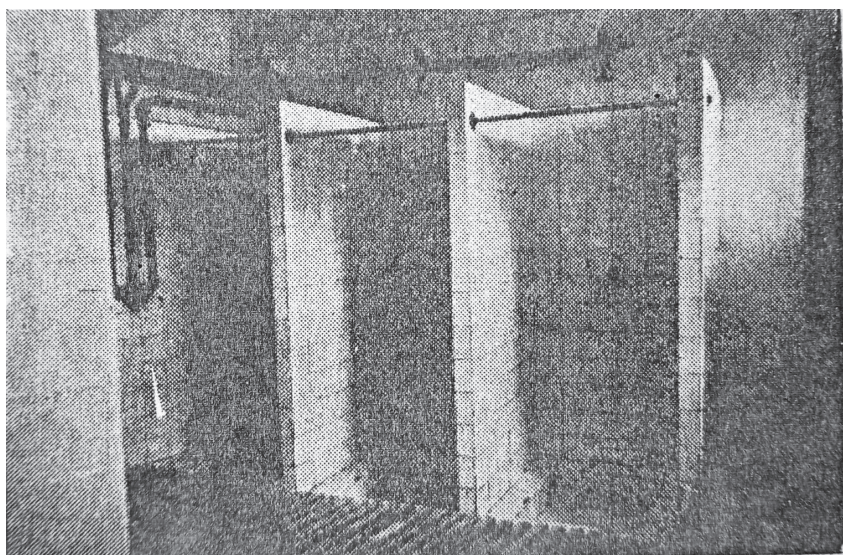


Figure 6.7. Sleeping room in the male workers' hostel in Belgrade. Source: "Naše gradevine," *Socijalni arhiv* 1, nos. 3-4 (1935): 42.

“preventive” role of these institutions from a hygienic point of view. That also meant stressing the danger these newcomers represented who could spread epidemic diseases through the entire city.⁹¹ There are two aspects to the medical examination procedure that emerge in its description. On one hand, it is presented as a measure in favor of the workers because it concerns their personal health. On the other hand, it stresses a “defensive” role with regard to the rest of the population. Even if the unemployed concerned here were not the rejects of society, they were marginal, dangerous, and under suspicion in relation to the collective health of the city and its inhabitants. For this reason, the hostels are defined, “from the point of view of social hygiene,” as “a kind of quarantine.”⁹² It was claimed with pride that therein “reign perfect order and cleanliness” for this very purpose.

It is widely accepted that when one talks of “clean” and “dirty” in such contexts, it is never merely a hygiene issue but also involves entire collective cultures and in particular their understanding of the *social order*.⁹³ We must therefore always deal with a complete *Weltanschauung*, with all its moral values in relation to “good” and “bad.” We must take into consideration the intricate relations maintained by social care in general with the social sciences of that time and especially with the notion of “social hygiene,” which we have already encountered in this study and especially in Chapters 2 and 3: the duty by public authorities to care for the health of the entire body of society.⁹⁴ We will investigate this aspect in due course, but first let us examine whether the hostels really were so orderly and clean.

From the internal reports of the hostel in Zagreb, for instance, one learns about huge problems to be found there in terms of fleas, lice, and rats. Hygienic deficiencies were so serious from the outset that the city health department suggested closing the hostel temporarily only one year after its opening.⁹⁵ This did not happen, so after only a few months an urgent operation of pest control against rats was carried out,⁹⁶ while general issues regarding the insufficient hygiene level of the structure remained.⁹⁷ The problem of fleas seems to have been a very widespread and constant one. The managers claimed that the workers had lice in their hair,⁹⁸ a long-standing problem that led to the decision to set up one small room for the immediate cutting of hair whenever the need arose, as it frequently did.⁹⁹

It was a constant battle to maintain hygiene, and the managers were acutely aware of this. With regard to the hostels in Belgrade, one can read that “often the rooms are infected by various diseases.”¹⁰⁰ With respect to the masses of workers who came from all over Yugoslavia, one notes that “they are not fed enough, they are tired, consumed by their lives, spending their existence in really difficult economic and hygienic conditions,” so they are “very often carriers of dangerous and serious epidemic diseases.”¹⁰¹ They were so miserable and destitute that a suggestion was made to build individual rather than collective dressing rooms, “because the feeling of shame is quite deep—and

not so much because of nudity, but [because of the shame] in showing the underwear dirty and tattered, as well as the filth.”¹⁰² It was therefore clarified that “it is never stressed enough . . . the very important preventive function regarding social hygiene” performed by these hostels, because, it was reiterated, “if there wasn’t, at the admission, such a meticulous approach, these miserable jobless workers would very often carry and sow numerous infective diseases among the Belgrade population.”¹⁰³ These structures had to represent “the altar of the workers’ health,” and therefore a “regime of absolute cleanliness” had to be enforced within them.¹⁰⁴ For this reason, the guest was bound to “wash himself very accurately under the control of the personnel,” in order to become “completely clean.”¹⁰⁵

It was therefore necessary to carefully check that the procedures were being respected and that hygiene standards were kept high. On closer inspection, it seems that it was necessary to monitor in more than one sense: going back to the issue of order in general terms, we note that watchmen regularly worked in the hostels. There were also a number of policemen who were always present in the larger hostels to supervise the admission operations. In some cases, policemen were also required to be present during the night.¹⁰⁶ To this one could add, as in the case of Zagreb, the proposal to install window bars.¹⁰⁷ In the jobless women’s hostel in Belgrade, this was actually followed through with;¹⁰⁸ the reason cited was the theft of linens.¹⁰⁹ As a result, people who had not even committed any offense ended up sleeping behind bars.

If one pauses to consider these details, the “small procedure” and certain internal dynamics, the nature of the hostels becomes more ambiguous, as they come to resemble the so-called total institutions of modern “disciplinary societies.”¹¹⁰ Seen from this viewpoint, the denomination “asylums” officially used for these hostels becomes particularly significant. As masterfully demonstrated by Ervin Goffman, the institutionalization of the “asylum” (in the form of prisons but also hospitals, psychiatric hospitals, boarding schools, and convents) is always extremely ambiguous, and even those institutions established not for punishment, for those from whom society must be defended, but instead for “helping” them, entail deep repressive implications.¹¹¹

Perhaps it is not by chance that the architectural project that resulted from a competition to design the “ideal” workers’ hostel made use of a structure that substantially reproduces a panopticon. This circular space not only allowed, as envisaged by Jeremy Bentham at the end of the eighteenth century, for easy control of the guests/inmates but would also, as theorized by Foucault and others, lead to the internalizing of power relationships.¹¹² As evidenced by several available images and descriptions, it seems that projects of this kind were also partly realized, as in Sarajevo and Novi Sad.¹¹³

“Order,” closely bound with “cleanliness,” was the cornerstone of the organization of these structures. Everything needed to be regulated in order to manage these hostels but also to instill in their guests the right “spirit” for “fully reintegrating” them into

society. "Asylums" of this kind served various purposes: the aim of providing a refuge from the cold always overlapped with moral and sociopolitical intent. Guests had to be helped in finding a job but also with "putting into order" their lives, adopting an appropriate attitude based on prearranged rhythms of work and rest as well as hygienic practices, respect for authority and the law, and accepting the hierarchy. Anyone who broke the rules "will be dismissed from the refuge, immediately and irrespective of the hour in the night"¹¹⁴. One had to follow the rules if one wanted to get help. "And aside from that, in our structures the worker is directed toward order, cleanliness and hygiene."¹¹⁵

To reach such sociopedagogical goals it was deemed necessary for hierarchy and discipline to be applied from the outset in the hostels, which led quite often to explicit abuses toward the guests. In the sources we find several instances confirming mistreatment. There are minor cases of corruption, such as the case of the watchman Permoser in Zagreb, repeatedly accused of having required additional money for admission.¹¹⁶ There is then the case of Pavle Urošević, on duty in Belgrade's male hostel, who, "not always sober," was on the first occasion punished with a fine "because of gruff behavior toward the users" until eventually he was fired because "drunken, he cursed, spat, physically attacked and tried with a knife to assault" a guest.¹¹⁷

One comes across even worse stories, as in the case of Andrijana Lazarević, who on January 20, 1931, was violently expelled from the female hostel in Belgrade and most probably assaulted before being finally abandoned in a faint on the street. Some guests of the hostel reported this incident to the Ministry for Social Policy and Public Health, leading to internal investigations.¹¹⁸ Further interesting elements come to light from the reports. The woman acting as the hostel manager makes use of psychiatric categories and interpretations to explain the situation. Andrijana was "mentally abnormal," and this is presented as the main cause of her unemployment. She is described as "rude and unruly," the explanation given as to why she allegedly "provoked disorders, with the crudity of her character, which is a mark of all ill persons like her." Her behavior supposedly culminated in "a kind of hysterical attack." Andrijana was considered a "problematic" guest, while the women who dared to report the incident were moreover labeled as "communists," depicted as "always prone to incite workers to revolt." The precise details are unknown, but what seems clear is that the concern for "order" was structured through moral, medical, and political values. There was explicit reference made to the "maintenance of a mutual moral decorous behavior and of the hostel's reputation."

Furthermore, according to the statements of the women who reported the incident, the employee Ruža mishandled all the guests and addressed them with expressions such as "livestock" and "trash." The hostel's manager Pelagija seems to have said of herself on one occasion that she did not "want any bothers and if it is not right for one, then she could go on the street." She was wont to say that she was like "a goddess, and if she doesn't like somebody, [that person] must leave." We therefore have some evidence that

leads us to suspect that power was exercised with an authoritarian style in such institutions. Pelagija was certainly no “goddess,” but she was undoubtedly the embodiment in situ of power and the law.

Those who entered these asylums for workers were welcomed with not only warm water but also scissors, sometimes bars, certainly negative stereotypes toward the unemployed and by cultures and practices that articulated a precise social hierarchy and its reflection within the hostel.

INCLUSION/EXCLUSION

In the inauguration address of a new building that included a workers’ hostel, a member of the Central Agency explained that “in this useful and nice edifice was invested money which derived exclusively from employers’ and workers’ contributions, and it is therefore *a workers’ house*.”¹⁹ As we have seen, the financing issue is a first aspect that distinguishes the new Yugoslav social policy from the previous poor and workers’ aid: what was dealt with in this chapter was not private charity and a solely municipal initiative but rather an interaction between local and state public organs in the framework of an emerging welfare system. This case study has scrutinized the forms of finance of the workers’ hostels, showing that they were built and maintained exclusively with public money.

In dialogue with the research about the emerging Yugoslav welfare policy and the first forms of protection and social assistance given to the workers, this chapter dealt with an underresearched aspect of this issue: social policies toward jobless workers. The analysis showed that changes occurred in the state and municipal social policy as well as in the political culture, and the microanalysis allowed for shedding light on how and when these developments took place. External factors, such as international obligations and the influence of the International Labour Organisation, together with internal developments, such as the political and economic reforms, the affirmation of state interventionism, the local effects of the world economic crisis, and, last but not least, the drastic growth of unemployment, promoted new approaches toward social care and unemployment in particular. It is therefore possible to maintain that despite all the hesitation and difficulties that characterized the development of Yugoslav social policy of this period, especially regarding the unemployed, expensive structures were nonetheless established in order to offer, at least for some, a provisory refuge.

The history of the workers’ hostels gives the opportunity to have insight into the new conception of unemployment and of the nature of facilities for the unemployed and their distinction from traditional philanthropic poverty relief. New distinctions were elaborated. The rules that regulated the access to these hostels gave normative forms

to various subtypes of unemployed people: from the first class, the relatively well-off workers able to purchase the coupons, through to the second class, jobless workers who got the coupons for free, because they satisfied all the formal requirements, down to the third class, the excluded ones, because they were not registered for social insurance and were too poor to purchase the coupons.

Beyond all the limitations of the system, from a theoretical as well as cultural and legal point of view, a relevant novelty was introduced: the unemployed acquired a proper juridical as well as social profile, and for some of them this was linked with new privileges. A right was taking form, which some unemployed could now claim. Far from being charity, this kind of aid was a welcome novelty for some Yugoslav (jobless) workers. The workers' hostels analyzed in this chapter are a piece of this new scenario. And the warm shower that the admitted workers could take was not only a regenerating moment for them but also a small sign of a historical change in Yugoslav society.

At the same time, the exclusion mechanisms gained in clarity. Those who did not belong to these socioprofessional categories had to knock not on these doors but instead on the doors shelters for homeless and poor people or other institutions. The analysis of the general legal framework and especially the specific rules of the hostels has shown that they further emphasized the distance between insured and uninsured workers and the distance between men and women. Being at the crossroads of poor relief and workers' provisions, these hostels allowed precise observation of the border between these two fields. What has emerged is that these institutions were not simply for jobless people. According to their name, these hostels were designated for "jobless workers." This chapter investigated the proper meaning of this expression and its legal and social background and showed the new social distinctions these institutions enforced, further articulated and concretely practiced.

From an international comparative point of view, the examined case study suggests reconsidering classical explanations provided for the beginning of social welfare. Focused mostly on Western Europe and economically advanced countries, the reference studies in the field closely linked such developments with high degrees of industrialization and urbanization, the formation of strong movements of social reformers, and a modern working-class. This does not apply to Yugoslavia, where the process of industrialization and the social conflict, derived from a massive and organized working class, was clearly not comparable to what was taking place in Western Europe. Nonetheless, the Yugoslav state began to establish modern forms of social assistance and social disciplining. The conclusion, as I hope to have shown with this chapter, is that analogous historical developments took place in highly industrialized and in still mainly agrarian countries, and the explanations must be searched in the domains of state-building and social engineering projects, combining inter- and transnational processes with domestic ones and economic arguments with political, cultural, and social ones.

Finally, the chapter has shown that the “social conflict” in Yugoslavia did not revolve only around the “active” workers. While the industrial workers were beginning their struggles with strikes on the streets, the jobless workers began to tackle leaving the streets and entering the hostels. Together with other political and social questions well known by the scholarship, this specific issue too was the object of deep political concern and was linked with widespread social anxieties and cultural, political, social, and even institutional tensions.

The reformulation “from above” of the world of nonwork produced in some cases the emergence of new spaces such as those examined here. While the same process could sometimes lead to the disappearance of spaces bound to disgraced nonworks (e.g., the brothels of Chapter 2), in other cases old spaces were readjusted and new ones were imagined and built, be they soup kitchens, canteens (Chapter 5), or hostels. Nonwork thus acquired concrete features, embodied in even physical spaces and buildings. Although they could have been thought up and realized for helping the targeted social groups, violence, both symbolic and sometimes even physical, was not excluded.

Together with the modern “duty to work” for every citizen, a modern duty for the state to assist the legitimate jobless also emerged. Together with the refined public engagement for some “nonworking” people, refined mechanisms of stigmatization and condemnation for other sorts of “nonworking” people emerged. Similar to what happened to the other categories of marginal workers analyzed in this study, the involved authorities put all their efforts into drawing the line between “good” and “bad” unemployed men and women, between those who could cross the hostel’s door and those who could not. That thin and precarious line, if deciphered and contextualized as I hope to have done in this chapter, had huge implications in terms of social disciplining and social engineering.

CONCLUSION

THE CENTRALITY OF THE MARGINAL

One of the main results of this study is to show the centrality acquired by nonwork in interwar Yugoslavia. Social phenomena such as beggary, prostitution, poverty, and the forms of nonwork connected to them assumed a new urgency and biopolitical relevance in the eyes of the middle and upper classes. An entire repertoire of new practices, institutions, discourses, and sometimes even words emerged, qualifying the crucial position of some sociopolitical issues: collective health (with the individual and collective body being crucial), a modern morality (about nonwork and the duty to work as well as about sexuality and gender roles), the necessity to implement modernizing policies (in the Balkans too), the appearance of some new duties of the state (to take care of the deserving poor or to protect society from certain social evils), and some new social rights detained by the socially legitimate marginals.

All of this confirms the main hypothesis of this research, which is that Yugoslavia entered a new stage in terms of social engineering. The theoretical landscape of this new scenario was composed of a concentration of health questions and labor and economic issues against the background of modernization ideologies that were not alien to eugenic theories. Consequently, the political class, supported by members of the civil society, intensively dealt with issues aimed at shaping the new Yugoslav society. This consideration is far from being banal. Even though state intervention in the social field was certainly not a novelty for the region under examination, the characteristics it acquired and that this study illustrated show that a new historical chapter was inaugurated regarding state-civil society interactions, social disciplining, and social engineering. The abovementioned social issues were now regarded as being too relevant and urgent to be neglected. And it was now a widespread opinion that the best way to implement plans of social engineering and social disciplining was to put the boundaries of “work” under control.

New distinctions and hierarchies among the “nonworking” people were thus conceptualized and put into practice. All the involved “specialists” took the floor: jurists, police officers, physicians, politicians, social reformists, philanthropists, and social

activists. Everybody provided their definitions, lists, and refined and argued specifications in order to recognize and make palpable that boundary between legitimate work and those activities regarded as deplorable if not criminal. For those who were declared as belonging to the former field, official recognition and support were foreseen, and not seldom were they provided effectively. Modern midwives and patented peddlers could proudly confirm this assumption. Even the liminal case of legitimized nonworking people, such as the deserving poor and those who were unemployed not because of their own fault, could highly benefit from the new atmosphere and institutionalized support.

At the same time, the exclusion mechanisms gained in clarity. This is what social engineering ultimately means: to take care of the flowers by pulling out the weeds. This study has shown many examples of this second field of activities too. If we look at the cases of beggars, traditional healers, and prostitutes, particularly after the abolition of the brothel system, socially marginalized people and their jobs were now carefully scrutinized, subdivided into categories, and hierarchized in order to somehow remove those who occupied the lowest rung of the social ladder.

Such events seem to represent an important chapter in Yugoslav history. They can usefully integrate and partly counterbalance our knowledge of interwar Yugoslav society, whose main features are often derived from the national question(s). National frictions have clearly left their imprints on many aspects of Yugoslav interwar history, but they are definitely not enough for adequately explaining and understanding those decades. This study has presented several examples of discourses, anxieties, and reactions that have proved to be markedly transnational in Yugoslav terms, crossing all the biggest Yugoslav ethnic groups. The local debates on prostitution, abortion, poverty, and unemployment, and the local practices regarding them could all be connoted by some ethnoreligious and/or local features, but the country-wide public debates on the state level generally were not. In other words, it was not the national conflict inside the country that shaped the historical issues that this study has been dealing with. The main “national” content that eventually, after 1929, emerged was the Yugoslav one, with the goal of building a healthy, strong, moralized, and disciplined “Yugoslav nation.”

Yet the Yugoslavist nation-building project(s) of the 1930s are not the key factor, providing only one among the many explanations for the developments analyzed in the previous pages. Even Yugoslavism, this new type of nation-building project, if taken as a main interpretative lens, does not explain very much of the history of social engineering concerning (non)work. On the contrary, it is a high number of (other) domestic and international factors that coalesced in every action undertaken regarding each specific “strange job.” What proved to be extremely interesting is actually the *convergence*

of different Yugoslav elites and local experience (Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo have been investigated more deeply, but many other cities of the country were taken into account, including some case studies on the countryside) around ideas and practices, which were evidently held in common. Many Yugoslav middle-class men and women seem to have shared important anxieties, cultural frameworks, and moral values. It is not by accident and not only due to the dictatorial regime of the 1930s that new national laws were passed and governmental institutions were established. These country-wide developments cannot be explained solely as the effect of authoritarian rule, as an imposition from above: they merged with local experiments and fruitfully interacted with expectations coming from below, from many members of local state institutions such as health authorities, local municipalities, and police representatives. Similarly, some local nongovernmental experiences also showed evident and deep similarities across the Yugoslav territory, such as the initiatives of the soup kitchens and those regarding the support of and the fight against beggars. There were also unsurprising divergences, sometimes encompassing national-patriotic (here Serbian, Croatian, etc.) tones, well exemplified by the medical debate on prostitution. Nonetheless, in general terms, it seems that the interwar Yugoslav elites *shared* many views and attitudes where some kinds of nonwork were concerned.

Bringing class (particularly the lower classes) and work (particularly nonwork) back into Yugoslav history is a fruitful way of looking at the interwar years. This heuristic lens allowed for identifying a specific sociopolitical ferment that characterized the cultural and social history of that period. In close dialogue and interaction with the European context, Yugoslav society provided its own version of the modern duty to work, linking it with social and political rights, nation- and state-building projects, and above all projects of social engineering conceived for this new state. The previous pages have provided multiple insights into the process of the formation of a modern state and society in Yugoslavia, showing the many attempts, both “from above” and “from below,” to shape the borders of the proper working community, of the normal, good, and legitimate society, therefore deciding about what and who was to be removed from it.

These developments affected, directly or indirectly, the lives of all the members of Yugoslav society. Nonwork and its reverse, work, need to be taken into serious consideration to properly understand many normative regulations, welfare schemes, legal measures, public institutions, private initiatives, and public discourses during those years. This book has focused on the margins. But what emerged are social issues that also impacted the center. We are then faced with an intriguing twist in ideas and practices and values and emotions that shaped Yugoslav society between the two world wars.

POSTWAR LEGACIES AND THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

It has also been proven to be a highly fruitful approach to put these issues in their international context. Each chapter has tried to do so with regard to its respective subtopic. The general conclusions that can be traced here are of two different mutually integrating kinds. On the one hand, it can be maintained that Yugoslavia clearly followed Western European and global patterns when it came to socially marginalized people and their jobs. The examined normalization processes have much in common with analogous biopolitical developments that were taking place at the same time in the rest of Europe and beyond. Eugenics theories, the medicalization of society, the fight against “asocial” elements of society, the beginning of public welfare and its intertwining with modern secular philanthropism, and the corporatist inclinations were all genuine inter- and transnational phenomena of interwar Europe.

The consequence of this assumption is that widespread interpretations of Yugoslav history, built around the idea of an alleged social, economic, and cultural “backwardness” of this country, should be partly revised. The Yugoslav elites proved to be fully integrated in the European academic debates, social reformist reflections, and political discussions. The social anxieties experienced by the Yugoslav higher and middle classes emerged as having definitely been in line with those of their counterparts in the rest of the old continent and beyond. The “Europeanness” of interwar Yugoslavia emerged not only on the level of imaginaries, discourses, and representations, because the legal measures, institutions, and practices revealed relevant points of contact with public and private interventions in the same fields elsewhere in Europe. The story told on the previous pages is thus partly a genuine European story.

On the other hand, it was not simply a replication of what (had) happened elsewhere in Europe. The fact that the Yugoslav socioeconomic context was different if compared with that of some abundantly studied western European countries sometimes compels a partial revision of widespread interpretations of known historical phenomena, as already discussed in the conclusions of some chapters. The case studies on philanthropism and the facilities for unemployed people were good examples to show how Yugoslavia developed strategies that were comparable to others realized in Western Europe, though requiring a different explanation. The genesis of the European welfare state, as explained in Chapter 1, is generally attributed to the formation of a modern working class and strong movements of social reformers in a context of developed industrialization and urbanization. The Yugoslav case has shown that on the contrary, such sociopolitical developments took place also in a prevalently agrarian country with only a few urban centers and without a combative workers’ movement. Even without a massive “dangerous” class, Yugoslav middle classes invested a huge amount of time and

energy into conceiving and implementing their projects of social discipline, focused on work and its boundaries. The relevant analytical implication in comparative terms is that the mosaic of interwar social European history can be enriched not simply with a further tile but by different perspectives that allow for reconsidering some common historical phenomena and their established interpretations.

The inquiry into the world of Yugoslav nonwork brought to light phenomena that were not exclusively Yugoslav. Not only the attitudes of the state and the middle class but also the “strange jobs” themselves were sometimes typically European and even global occurrences. Prostitution, poverty, beggary, folk medicine, and unemployment are not a Yugoslav peculiarity. And part of the (self-)perceptions, the stereotypes regarding them, and the discourses produced by the marginalized people and their survival strategies shared many traits with those of their fellows in the rest of Europe and the world.

At the same time, inscribing Yugoslavia into the European and global map does not mean neglecting local historical peculiarities. This study has also shown that the historical experience of some “strange jobs” was different in this region if compared with the rest of Europe. Bear leading is a good example: the legal interventions cannot be simply assimilated to those of Czechoslovakia and Germany, and the profession itself, which enjoyed a comparatively high popular benevolence, did not disappear during the 1930s. Other traveling jobs also proved to be comparatively more accepted than in the rest of Europe, and the same applies to folk medicine. The chapters made short comparisons with regard to other Balkan countries and specific issues, but a proper general assessment still needs to be done.

This clearly has to do with historical legacies, which in the Yugoslav case are partly postimperial, that is, post-Habsburg and post-Ottoman legacies. This study has presented several examples of the influence those legacies had particularly in the first decade of the Yugoslav state. Legal frameworks, institutional traditions, and cultural patterns were inherited by the newly born state that spent many years trying to harmonize them. The first Yugoslav years were characterized, in the field of nonwork as in many other ones, by this often problematic coexistence of variegated historical legacies. This conclusion is in line with recent studies on the persistence of imperial borders even after their formal abolition and the material and immaterial legacies of imperial experiences.

At the same time, the historical legacies must not be overestimated. Interwar Yugoslavia was not simply a hostage to the past, waiting for proper historical novelties deriving from World War II and the second half of the twentieth century. This research suggests a nuanced understanding of the social and political postimperial transition. This book has shown that some elements of the Habsburg and Ottoman imperial legacy were inherited and relaborated but also that many of them were replaced, especially during the 1930s. Therefore, another relevant conclusion of this study is that the

interwar years are confirmed to have been a time of intense experimentation. State and private social assistance changed, as did the social control and repressions of the marginalized, which experienced sensible innovations. With new forms of categorizing nonwork and social deviancy, new laws, new ways of dealing with social marginals officially and privately, and new cultural horizons, the first Yugoslavia proved to have progressed in the twentieth century even in terms of social control.

Furthermore, the relations between state and civil society entered a new stage, testing new ways of interaction between state/nonstate and public/private actors. The hypothesis proposed in Chapter 1 regarding the widespread corporatist inclinations in this country, together with an increasing mixed (public-private) economy of welfare/social control, seems to have found an interesting confirmation. Interwar Yugoslavia, similarly to the other European countries, tried to revise the democratic system based on liberal principles, testing new forms of mediation between state and society, along with corporatist-like organizations. Even though this issue certainly requires more research, the example of the peddlers is illuminating in this regard, and similarly the collaboration between police and philanthropic associations is highly eloquent. Therefore, postwar violence in Central Eastern and Southeastern Europe as well as violent phenomena throughout interwar Yugoslavia are certainly undeniable, but the history of those years cannot be solely described as the progressive implosion of state and society, eroded by its internal conflicts. As this study has shown, there were also forms of new collaborations among state, municipal, and private actors that made Yugoslavia an interesting laboratory in the search for alternatives to the declining European liberal order.

New kinds of nonwork also emerged, while the already existing ones underwent radical reinterpretations and classifications. The world of nonwork was enriched by new protagonists, such as the officially recognized unemployed people, and new internal hierarchies took shape, such as those among the midwives and the prostitutes in the 1920s. Some strange jobs did not change that much, but they had to face new values and policies targeting them, and they had to put into play new forms of action and reaction.

During all these processes it happened that relevant parts of the inherited legacies were revised, and the year 1929, when the royal dictatorship was introduced, could appear as a watershed. Yet not all began with 1929. While it is true, as recalled, that the 1930s more decidedly departed from the imperial past, these changes cannot be reduced to a consequence of dictatorial attitudes by the king. Rather, every one of the processes investigated here has a longer and more complex history that took shape progressively during the previous years and the entire 1920s. Therefore, the interwar years, rather than mere postimperial, postwar, or dictatorial years, are a time of original historical changes and developments.

While it is extremely challenging to discuss the roots of and the novelties regarding the pre-Yugoslav time, it will be interesting now to also reconsider the post-1941 and

post-1945 Yugoslav history, having in mind what has emerged from this study. When it comes to the self-management system established in socialist Yugoslavia, for example, many historical reflections could benefit from a broader picture that would consider more interwar corporatist theories and experiments as well as state-society relations and the political and collective representations of some social and professional groups. Furthermore, a twentieth-century history of the fight against “asocials,” which so far has included solely the Ustasha and the socialist experiences, should now add a consistent interwar chapter that significantly anticipates at least something of what will happen later.

SOCIAL CONFLICT, GENDER, AGENCY

Another main conclusion of this book is that the two decades investigated were characterized by relevant forms of social tensions linked with the boundaries of work and the margins of society. There is a cluster of social tensions that can be described as a form of social conflict. The necessary theoretical premise, illustrated in the Introduction, is to understand the idea of social conflict in broader terms, not limiting it to the organized working class. After having gone through all the case studies examined in depth on the previous pages, it seems reasonable to maintain that interwar Yugoslavia was affected by conflictual relations between several social groups. On the one hand, socially marginalized people tried to defend or find their place in the new sociopolitical context. On the other hand, middle and upper classes launched—or relaunched more decisively—their battles against nonaccepted jobs and forms of “work inactivity,” provoking fierce reactions; parallelly, a wide range of other actors were also involved.

More precisely, there was not a single social conflict; there were many conflicts and very different forms of them. The previous pages have provided evidence for a great variety of conflictual interactions that mirrored social and cultural distinctions. One good example is that of the official midwives, who had an institutionalized representative body, while on the other side of the virtual barricade, traditional midwives and the villagers protested through personal grievances and isolated petitions. In other words, different forms of social conflict were induced by different working conditions and produced different effects: some marginalized workers (e.g., peddlers) established corporatist societies and were successful in practicing lobbying on the public authorities. In other cases (e.g., itinerant barrel organ players) could enjoy the toleration of the authorities, which allowed them to work, causing their activity to be considered an exceptionally acceptable form of begging. In some cases the official fight against the “visibility” of some nonwork fostered the mobility of the addressed people (e.g., itinerant artists), while in some other cases it produced a spatial relocation of nonwork (e.g., semilegal brothels replaced by clandestine ones, often in urban peripheral areas).

The world of nonwork proved to be extremely variegated, and its boundaries, notwithstanding all the efforts by experts and public authorities to clearly define them, remained porous and volatile. Some dirty but needed jobs—prostitution is an excellent example—oscillated between the status of a socially useful activity and antisocial crime. The question of how to classify “strange jobs” was thus always difficult to answer. The proper liminality of nonwork brought to the fore the normalization exercise of educated people trying to identify the boundary of legitimate work, which often seems apparently easy to see. But every time we had a closer look, doubts arose, and uncertainty gained more space, leading not seldom to changes in the legal/social status of precarious nonwork. All of this led us to a conclusion of theoretical character, suggesting that in the historiographical debate on work/nonwork it is opportune not to speak in rigid and static dichotomous terms and instead insist, as has already been done by some recent interdisciplinary works, on adopting an enlarged and highly dynamic concept of “work” that also includes all marginalized kinds of work, marked by a progressively decreasing degree of social and/or legal recognition.

The instability of some forms of nonwork proved to be very useful for detecting shifts in social ideas and the collective perceptions of some activities such as begging, which has now definitely been removed from the realm of the partly legitimate activities and has been relegated to the domain of unacceptable nonwork. There were also itineraries in the opposite direction. Interwar Yugoslavia witnessed, for instance, the progressive emergence of a peculiar social profile of the “unemployed,” linked to a new set of aid facilities. All of this tells us how the boundaries of work are always particularly wobbly not only from the juridical point of view but also in popular discourses and social representations.

Furthermore, gray zones could be traced *inside* every field of nonwork: the licensed beggar, for example, exceptionally authorized to beg, as well as the poor/impoverished *akademičar* who refused to be publicly marginalized, thus stretching and reshaping the boundary between noble/infamous poverty. This leads us to a further relevant consideration that enriches and complicates the classical research of social control: social hierarchies were not only imposed from the “outside” but were also constructed from the “inside.” We have seen such processes with every kind of examined nonwork: among the itinerant workers, for instance, the organized peddlers fought for both official recognition and a clear distinction from the so-called “wild” peddlers; similarly, some itinerant artists did not want to be confused with tavern musicians. Some midwives proudly took a distance from some of their colleagues, and the insured unemployed did not want to be considered simply poor people. So, for every nonwork a minielite gained shape, an “aristocracy of nonwork” who made its own contribution to determining not only the boundary between work and nonwork but also the internal layers. They were not solely objects but also subjects of social classifications.

Nonwork was also highly gendered. Not only were some professions peculiar to one sex (the popular midwife, the bear leader), but the popular perceptions, the legal framework, and all the policies regarding marginal workers deeply depended on rooted gender stereotypes. This was evident with the debates about jobs such as prostitution and midwifery, which were linked to the changed perceptions of the role of women in society. The female role as the "mother of the nation" affected the definitions of deviant sexual behavior and the stigmatization of every social behavior that moved away from the normative one. The "double moral standard" implied that the developments examined here affected the lives of men and women in different ways.

This is not to say that the social disciplining of nonwork did not target men too. Male marginalized citizens also faced the decisive question of whether they could contribute in a proper male way to the building of the social fabric. Male folk healers, for instance, were also undermining collective health, and supposedly male breadwinners were asked to quickly fulfill their social role.

The world of nonwork was gendered also in the sense that it further elaborated and (re)produced gender roles and divisions. The entire new public and private assistance to the poor as well as the institutions for the unemployed made use of new categorizations of the needy, different social statuses and rights ascribed to them, and spatially differentiated assistance, which were all differentiated for men and women and conveyed sexist and conservative points of view. Female gender discrimination was at the source of such assistance systems, which were conceived first of all for male marginalized people.

Agency was clearly gendered too. Not only were the policies distinguished between female and male targets, but the people themselves, from both the upper and lower strata of society, also acted along gender lines. The role of women in the voluntary associations was different from that of their male fellows, and the signatures under the peddlers' petitions were all by men. This should not lead to the wrong conclusion that women of the popular classes did not deploy their own agency. As superbly demonstrated by those women who mobilized for their midwives and by the stubbornness of some female personalities encountered in this study, Yugoslav nonwork also included female agency, alongside the collective actions of their male counterparts.

Civil society emerged as a relevant research subject for the history of nonwork. The forms of assistance as well as of repression were the results not simply of decisions made by public authorities. The previous pages have shown that many members of the middle and upper strata of society, and not only the politicians, conditioned the decision-making process. This is an interesting result, because it suggests encompassing a higher number of social actors when considering similar developments. Confirming and deepening the results of the most recent studies on civil society in the first Yugoslavia, this study has shown that together with the agency of governmental actors, the agency of civil society too turned out to have been an important player in terms of social engineering.

How did the socially marginalized actors react? One of the main hypotheses that inspired this research seems to be confirmed: they were not solely passive victims of the new social context but actively influenced it. What is striking are the many forms of agency that characterized Yugoslav interwar history. As we have seen, they took quite different forms, ranging from the institutional battles led by professional organizations to informal resistance. Beyond their differences, they provide evidence for the active engagement of “common people” and the marginalized in order to negotiate the directions and measures coming from “from above.” Entire village communities organized informal and even formal protests in support of individuals or groups. And the local and national political class decided to take them into consideration, sometimes even amending laws and decisions previously taken. Lobbying and protest were sometimes successful.

This study thus has provided useful evidence for better understanding the agency of not only the middle and upper classes but also Yugoslav poor people. The latter expressed their sometimes silent, sometimes louder opposition. Neither simply passive recipients of aid nor solely targets of repression, at least some of them took part in the debates, refined internal social distinctions, and reacted to and adapted the practices launched for them. The in-depth analysis of some of the ego sources produced by the examined social actors, together with their actions, allowed for some useful insights into their worldviews, values, and moral economies and the weapons of the (Yugoslav) weak, that is, the manifold strategies they put into practice. The story told by this study was therefore not one of a mere and anachronistic “survival” and of “repression.” It also told us of many episodes of resistance and always of multilayered interactions.

Class and work thus functioned as crucial analytical perspective for interpreting interwar Yugoslavia. This study has confirmed the need to combine discourse analysis with social history as well as to interrogate both middle-class imaginaries and practices and the everyday lives of common people. The picture that results clarifies the centrality acquired by work globally in the twentieth century and in the first Yugoslavia and all the duties and social expectations around it. Yugoslav men and women of all social strata had to (re)locate themselves within this evolving social framework. Yugoslavia proves to have been a dynamic country where proper processes of negotiation between political, institutional, nongovernmental, and marginalized social actors took place. It is a vivid historical picture that sheds an intriguing light on the history of this country.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Archives of Yugoslavia (Arhiv Jugoslavije, AJ), Ministry of Trade and Industry (Ministarstvo Trgovine i Industrije), 65-148-487. More precisely, the title referred to strange “activities” (*čudne delatnosti*), immediately questioning their nature as proper “jobs” (*poslovi*).
2. Among the most illustrious examples are Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia*; Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*; Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias*; Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Jugoslawiens*; Pirjevec, *Il giorno di San Vito*; Djokić, *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea*; Djokić, *Elusive Compromise: A History of Interwar Yugoslavia*; Nielsen, *Making Yugoslavs*; and Newman, *Yugoslavia in the Shadow of War*.
3. For some exceptions, see Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens* (see also Ead., *A History of Yugoslavia*); Vuksanović-Macura, *Život na ivici*; Grošelj, *Na dnu*; and Zorko, *Socijalni problemi*.
4. Mayer, *Elementarbildung in Jugoslawien*; Dimić, *Kulturna politika u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji*; Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation*; Petrungaro, *Pisati povijest iznova*; and Troch, *Nationalism and Yugoslavia*.
5. Berlanstein, *Rethinking Labor History*; van Voss and van der Linden, *Class and Other Identities*; Allen, Campbell, and McIlroy, *Histories of Labour*; and van der Linden, Himmelstoss, *Grenzenüberschreitende Arbeitergeschichte*.
6. van der Linden, “Globalizing Labour Historiography: The Amsterdam Approach,” 159.
7. See Roth and van der Linden, “Ergebnisse und Perspektive”; and Wadauer, *Der Arbeit nachgehen?*
8. van der Linden, “How Normal Is the ‘Normal’ Employment Relationship?”; Conrad, Macamo, and Zimmermann, “Die Kodifizierung der Arbeit: Individuum, Gesellschaft, Nation”; and Gutschner, “Von der Norm zur Normalität? Begriff und Bedeutung von Arbeit im Diskurs der Neuzeit.”
9. Berlanstein, *Rethinking Labor History*; Joyce, *The Oxford Reader on Class*; Eley, Nield, *The Future of Class in History*; and van der Linden and Roth, *Über Marx hinaus*.

10. See the considerable list of the members of the *Lumpenproletariat* in Marx, *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte*, 160–61; cf. Solla, *Memoria dei senzanome*, esp. 26–48; and Henninger, “Armut, Arbeit, Entwicklung: Zur Kritik der Marx’schen Begriffbestimmungen.”
11. For example, Conze, “Arbeit”; Godelier, “Lavoro”; Joyce, *The Historical Meanings of Work*; Jochum, “Zur historischen Entwicklung des Verständnisses von Arbeit”; and Bierwisch, *Die Rolle der Arbeit in verschiedenen Epochen und Kulturen*.
12. I know of no historical surveys regarding the concept of “nonwork”; studies with a *longue durée* perspective are instead devoted to “unemployment” understood in a broader sense, such as Garraty, *Unemployment in History*; and Zoberman, *Une histoire du chômage*.
13. Conrad, Macamo, and Zimmermann, “Die Kodifizierung der Arbeit”; Castel, *From Manual Workers to Wage Laborers*; and Gutschner, “Von der Norm zur Normalität? Begriff und Bedeutung von Arbeit im Diskurs der Neuzeit.”
14. For the general development of the welfare state in Europe and the United States, see Flora and Heidenheimer, *The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America*; Alber, *Vom Armenhaus zum Wohlfahrtsstaat*; Ritter, *Der Sozialstaat*; and, in general, *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*.
15. Eley, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe*.
16. Urbinati, *Costituzione italiana: articolo 1*, 47–63, 79–87; Jochum, “Zur historischen Entwicklung des Verständnisses von Arbeit,” 106–11; and Hughes, “Work and Labour.”
17. For useful overviews, see Conze, “Arbeit”; Godelier, “Lavoro”; Joyce, *The Historical Meanings of Work*; Jochum, “Zur historischen Entwicklung des Verständnisses von Arbeit”; and Bierwisch, *Die Rolle der Arbeit*.
18. The historical investigation of “free time,” moving from pioneering works such as those by Burke, “The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe,” and Corbin, *L’avènement des loisirs (1850–1960)*, gave voice to a wide historiographical and interdisciplinary research field. See Rojek, Shaw, and Veal, *A Handbook of Leisure Studies*.
19. For a useful introduction, see Schneider, *Die Enzyklopädie der Faulheit*; and Giovanni Mari et al., *Idee di lavoro e di ozio per la nostra civiltà*.
20. Zimmer and Nährlich, *Engagierte Bürgerschaft*; and Hering and Waaldijk, *Guardians of the Poor—Custodians of the Public*.
21. Seidel and Tenfelde, *Zwangsarbeit im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts*; De Vito, Lichtenstein, *Global Convict Labour*; and van der Linden and Rodríguez García, *On Coerced Labor*.
22. Castel and Dörre, *Prekarität, Abstieg, Ausgrenzung*; van der Linden, “San Precario: A New Inspiration for Labor Historians”; De Vito, “Labour Flexibility and Labour Precariousness as Conceptual Tools for the Historical Study of the Interactions between Labour Relations”; and Betti, “Historicizing Precarious Work: Forty Years of Research

- in the Social Sciences and Humanities.”
23. Komlosy, Parnreiter, Stacher, and Zimmermann, *Ungeregelt und unterbezahlt. Der informelle Sektor in der Weltwirtschaft*; and Bhattacharya and Lucassen, *Workers in the Informal Sector. Studies in Labour History, 1800–2000*.
 24. Smith, “Informal Economy”; and Castells, Portes, and Benton, *The Informal Economy. Studies in Advanced and Less Developed Countries*.
 25. Alter Chen, “Rethinking the Informal Economy: Linkages with the Formal Economy and the Formal Regulatory Environment,” 12.
 26. Boget et al., *Penser le (non)travail*.
 27. Yeo, “Gender in Labour and Working-Class History”; and Nierling, “Die Anerkennung von ‘Arbeit’ in der Erwerbsarbeit und der Nicht-Erwerbsarbeit.”
 28. English-language examples, in which this category is used in the title, include Papanek, “Family Status Production: The ‘Work’ and ‘Non-Work’ of Women”; and Fuchs Epstein, “On the Non-Work Aspects of Work.” The category is much more frequently used within the texts. For two examples from the Germanophone area, see Grebing, “Hat die Arbeit eine Zukunft oder gibt es eine Zukunft ohne Arbeit?,” 30; and Mies, “Hausfrauisierung, Globalisierung, Subsistenzperspektive,” 267.
 29. Mies, “Hausfrauisierung, Globalisierung, Subsistenzperspektive.” More recently, see Sarti, Bellavitis, and Martini, *What Is Work? Gender at the Crossroads of Home, Family, and Business*; and Çağatay et al., *Through the Prism of Gender and Work*.
 30. Hufton, *The Poor of Eighteenth-Century France*; King and Tomkins, *The Poor in England, 1700–1850*; and Fontaine and Schlumbohm, *Household Strategies for Survival, 1600–2000*.
 31. For a good overview, see Eiden-Offe, “Der Verlust der Verweigerung: Von der Arbeiterklasse als Agentin der Nicht-Arbeit zur Selbstverwertung der Multitude. Abriss des (Post-)Operaismus.” To the post/operaist considerations one must add that branch of political philosophy (beginning with Hannah Arendt through George Bataille, Roland Barthes, and Jean-Luc Nancy up to Giorgio Agamben) that reflected on the relationship between activity/inactivity (the so-called *désouevrement*) and democracy. For an introduction, see the excellent collection of essays in Dilmaghani and Sahraoui, *Kleine Philosophie der Faulheit*.
 32. Geurts and Demerouti, “Work/Non-Work Interface: A Review of Theories and Findings”; Kabanoff, “Work and Non Work: A Review of Models, Methods and Findings”; and Schieman, Milkie, and Glavin, “When Work Interferes with Life: Work-Nonwork Interference and the Influence of Work-Related Demands and Resources.”
 33. The literature on the “end of work” is incredibly extensive. Quoting only some works that explicitly thematized the category of nonwork from the perspective mentioned above are Herlyn, Müske, Schönberger, and Sutter, *Arbeit und Nicht-Arbeit*; Accornero, *Lavoro e non lavoro*; Castel, “Du travail social à la gestion sociale du non-travail”; and

- Erzold and Schäfer, *Nicht-Arbeit: Penser le (non-)travail*.
34. Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended*; and Lemke, *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction*.
 35. Etzemüller, *Die Ordnung der Moderne: Social Engineering im 20. Jahrhundert*; Lucassen, "A Brave New World: The Left, Social Engineering, and Eugenics in Twentieth-Century Europe"; Brückweh, Schumann, Wetzell, and Ziemann, *Engineering Society*; and Franzinetti, "Sociopolitical Engineering."
 36. Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence*.
 37. See, for example, Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*.
 38. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century."
 39. Wieviorka, "Social Conflict."
 40. Wadauer, *Der Arbeit nachgehen?*, 32–33.
 41. Schmitt, *L'histoire des marginaux*. More recently, see Smith, "Marginal People"; and Emsley, Johnson, and Spierenburg, *Social Control in Europe*.
 42. Chevalier, *Classes laborieuses et classes dangereuses*.
 43. Rutar, "Towards a Southeast European History of Labour: Examples from Yugoslavia"; and Heumos, "Workers under Communist Rule: Research in the Former Socialist Countries of Eastern-Central and South-Eastern Europe and in the Federal Republic of Germany."
 44. Adanır, "Introduction," 9.
 45. Quataert, "Labor History and the Ottoman Empire, c. 1700–1922"; and Atabaki and Brockett, "Ottoman and Turkish Labour History."
 46. For an excellent recent exception, see Verginella and Strle, *Women and Work*.
 47. Rutar, "Arbeit und Überleben in Serbien: Das Kupfererzbergwerk Bor im Zweiten Weltkrieg"; Janjetović, "*U skladi sa nastalom potrebom . . .*"; and Hodžić, Scholzel, *Zwangsarbeit und der Unabhängige Staat Kroatien, 1941–1945*. For interwar Yugoslavia with a focus on the Slovenian regions, see Grošelj, *Na dnu*, 58–70.
 48. There is a wide and growing literature. To mention only a few, see Woodward, *Socialist unemployment*; Hübner, Klessmann, and Tenfelde, *Arbeiter im Staatssozialismus*; Roth, *Arbeitswelt-Lebenswelt*; Brunnbauer, *Die sozialistische Lebensweise*; Pittaway, *The Workers' State*; Archer, Duda, and Stubbs, *Social Inequalities and Discontent in Yugoslav Socialism*; Schult, *Zwischen Stechuhr und Selbstverwaltung*; Bonfiglioli, *Women and Industry in the Balkans*; Siefert, *Labor in State Socialist Europe*; and Musić, *Making and Breaking the Yugoslav Working Class*.
 49. Rutar, "Towards a Southeast European History of Labour," 326.
 50. Sundhaussen, "Die verpaßte Agrarrevolution: Aspekte der Entwicklungsblockaden in den Balkanländern vor 1945"; and Chiriot, *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe*. In general about the economic history of the region, see Lampe and Jackson, *Balkan Economic History*; Palairat, *The Balkan Economies*; Wandruszka and Urbanitsch, *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, Vol. 1.; *Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung*; and, more

- in general, Berend and Ránki, *The European Periphery and Industrialization 1780–1914*.
51. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: A New History*, epilogue; Miller and Morelon, *Embers of Empire: Continuity and Rupture in the Habsburg Successor States*; Reill, *The Fiume Crisis*; Egry et al., *Momentous Times and Ordinary People*; Reill, Jeličić, and Rolandi, “Redefining Citizenship after Empire”; Bresciani, “Fascist Ideas, Practices and Networks of ‘Empire’”; and Šmidrkál and Stergar, “Food Shortages during the Post-Habsburg Transition in the Bohemian Lands and Slovenia.” On Ottoman legacy, see Todorova, “The Ottoman Legacy in the Balkans”; Clayer, Grandits, and Pichler, *Conflicting Loyalties*; Bucur, “Introduction: Constructing the Modern State in the Balkans”; Davidova, “The Nineteenth-Century Balkan Bourgeoisie”; and Davidova, *Wealth in the Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Balkans*.
 52. Particularly inspiring in this regard, is von Hirschhausen, Grandits, Kraft, Müller, and Serrier, “Phantom Borders in Eastern Europe: A New Concept for Regional Research.”
 53. Becker and Wheatley, *Remaking Central Europe*.
 54. For some excellent examples, see Giomi, *Making Muslim Women European*; Greble, *Muslims and the Making of Modern Europe*; Reill, Jeličić, and Rolandi, “Redefining Citizenship after Empire”; and Stergar, “Yugoslavia Is Worthless.”
 55. For a nuanced discussion of the category, see Zahra, “Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis”; and Ginderachter and Fox, *National Indifference and the History of Nationalism*.

CHAPTER 1

1. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 117.
2. Lampe, 186.
3. Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia*, 93.
4. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 149. Figures can vary but not in a way that changes the overall picture of an essentially agricultural country. Nikolić, “Radnici u građanskom društvu Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije”, 68; and Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*, 422.
5. Brunnbauer, “Challenges of Change: Economic and Population Growth, Social and Cultural Transformations up to World War II,” 293–94.
6. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 185–87.
7. Bićanić, *Kako živi narod*.
8. Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia*, 86.
9. Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*, 370.
10. Tomasevich, *Peasants, Politics, and Economic Change in Yugoslavia*, 426; and Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia*, 90–91.
11. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing South-Eastern Europe*, 124–35.

12. Calic, *A History of Yugoslavia*, 92; Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*, 246–58; and Simić, *Peasant Urbanites*.
13. Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Jugoslawiens*, 84.
14. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 168–69.
15. Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Jugoslawiens*, 84.
16. Bilbija and Tadić, *Nezaposlenost*, 9, 25–33, 50–51, 62–69.
17. Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*, 368–87.
18. Geremek, “Marginalità”; Ranci, “Marginalità sociale”; Smith, “Marginal People”; Dennis, *Marginality, Power, and Social Structure*; and Forgacs, *Italy’s Margins*, 5–9.
19. Always inspiring is Thompson, “The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century.”
20. Kecman, *Žene Jugoslavije u radničkom pokretu i ženskim organizacijama*, 26–28; and Ograjšek Gorenjak, *Opasne iluzije. Rodni stereotipi u međuratnoj Jugoslaviji*, 74–85.
21. Kecman, *Žene Jugoslavije*, 26.
22. Kecman, 42–43.
23. Bucur, Dalakoura, Daskalova, and Dudeková Kováčová, *The Little Entente of Women*; Grubački, “The Emergence of the Yugoslav Interwar Liberal Feminist Movement”; and Giomi and Zerman, *Le genre dans l’espace (post-)ottoman*. For the pre-Yugoslav years, see Verginella, *Women, Nationalism, and Social Networks in the Habsburg Monarchy*.
24. Giomi, *Making Muslim Women European*; Barać, *Feministička kontrajavnost*; Kolaric, *Rod, modernost i emancipacija*; Vujnović, *Forging the Bubikopf Nation*; Crnković, “Gender construction in literature”; Ograjšek Gorenjak, *Opasne iluzije*; Emmert, “Ženski pokret: The Feminist Movement in Serbia in the 20s”; Jalušić, “Women Interwar in Slovenia”; *Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima 19. i 20. Veka*; and Verginella and Strle, *Women and Work*.
25. Giomi, *Making Muslim Women European*; and Grubački, “The Emergence of the Yugoslav Interwar Liberal Feminist Movement.”
26. Dugac, *Kako biti čist i zdrav*, 19.
27. Dugac, “‘Like Yeast in Fermentation’: Public Health in Interwar Yugoslavia”; Dugac, *Kako biti čist i zdrav*; and Karge, Kind-Kovács, and Bernasconi, *From the Midwife’s Bag to the Patient’s File*. About mental health in interwar Yugoslavia, see Karge, *Der Charme der Schizophrenie*; and Seferović, “Voluntary Aid to People with Mental Disorders in Croatia in the 1930s.”
28. Yeomans, “Of ‘Yugoslav Barbarians’ and Croatian Gentlemen Scholars”; Yeomans, “Fighting the White Plague: Demography and Abortion in the Independent State of Croatia”; Petrović, “Od borbe protiv bolesti do borbe za očuvanje rase”; and Kuhar, “From an Impure Source, All Is Impure.”
29. See the contributions by Ana Cergol Paradiž, Vjera Duić, Vladimir Petrović, and Filip Krcmar, in Turda, *The History of East-Central European Eugenics*. About Southeastern

- Europe in general, see Promitzer, "Vermessene Körper: 'Rassenkundliche' Grenzziehungen im südöstlichen Europa."
30. See, for example, Konstantinović, *Razmatranja o socijalnoj higijeni: Kratki pregled socijalno-higijenskih problema i nastojanja oko podizanja narodnog zdravlja*, which has been reprinted several times), and the numerous contributions in Section 5 (National Health) and Section 6 (Social Hygiene) in the Yugoslav Social Yearbook for the 1930: *Socijalni Almanah Kraljevine Jugoslavije* (Belgrade, 1930), 86–119.
 31. Dugac, "Like Yeast in Fermentation," 194–197; Dugac, "Care for Health Cannot Be Limited on One Country or One Town Only, It Must Extend to Entire World: Role of Andrija Štampar in Building the World Health Organization"; and Zylberman, "Fewer Parallels Than Antitheses: René Sand and Andrija Štampar on Social Medicine, 1919–1955."
 32. *Socijalno-medicinski pregled*, nos. 3–4 (1930): 106–11. About Belgrade, see Vidaković, *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć u Beogradu*, 262–70.
 33. Dugac, "Like Yeast in Fermentation"; and Dugac, *Kako biti čist i zdrav*, 18–35.
 34. Perić, *Jugoslavensko socijalno zakonodavstvo*, 157–60.
 35. Katz and Sachße, *The Mixed Economy of Social Welfare*; Harris and Pau Bridgen, *Charity and Mutual Aid in Europe and North America since 1800*; Giomi and Petrungaro, *Voluntary Associations in Yugoslavia (1918–1941)*; Labbé, "De la philanthropie à la protection sociale"; and Giomi, Keren, and Labbé, *Public and Private Welfare in Modern Europe*.
 36. Some classic comparative works in the field are Flora and Heidenheimer, *The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America*; and *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*. About Eastern Europe, see Tomasz, *Welfare States in East Central Europe*; and Tomka, *Welfare in East and West*.
 37. Mioni and Petrungaro, *Caring for the Socially Marginalised in Interwar Europe*; and Avdela, Earner-Byrne, and Lampropoulou, *Gendering the Mixed Economies of Welfare*.
 38. Mioni and Petrungaro, "Assistance and Vulnerability in Interwar Europe: An Overview." For interwar Yugoslavia, see Giomi and Petrungaro, *Voluntary Associations in Yugoslavia*.
 39. For a comparative view, see Alber, *Vom Armenhaus zum Wohlfahrtstaat*; Melinz and Zimmermann, *Über die Grenzen der Armenhilfe*; and Zimmermann, *Divide, Provide, and Rule*.
 40. Lakićević, *Misao i praksa socijalne politike Jugoslavije između dva svetska rata*, 65–70; and Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*, 230.
 41. See for instance: Parnica, "Filantropija u Hrvatskoj u drugoj polovini XIX. i početkom XX. stoljeća"; Goldstein, "Dobrotvorno i socijalno djelovanje Židovske zajednice u Zagrebu u 19. i 20. stoljeću"; Popovic, "Le *wagf* dans les pays du Sud-Est européen à l'époque post-ottomane"; and Vidaković, *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć u Beogradu*.

42. Perić, *Jugoslavensko socijalno zakonodavstvo*, 96.
43. Luković, "Der ferne," 217–18.
44. Kott and Droux, *Globalizing Social Rights. The International Labour Organization*; and Van Daele et al., *ILO Histories: Essays on the International Labour Organization*.
45. Perić, *Jugoslavensko socijalno zakonodavstvo*, 78–94; Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*, 229; Luković, "Der ferne Staat," 222–23; and Milenković, "Radničko zakonodavstvo i radničke socijalne institucije."
46. Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*, 234–35.
47. Nikolić, "Radnici u građanskom društvu Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije"; and Kolar-Dimitrijević, "Socijalno-ekonomska politika gradske općine Zagreba," 216–22.
48. Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*, 254–57.
49. Perić, *Nezaposlenost*, 72.
50. Luković, "Der ferne Staat," 222.
51. See some references in Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*, 413–14, 430–31; Kolar-Dimitrijević, "Socijalno-ekonomska politika"; and Nikolić, "Radnici u građanskom društvu Kraljevine."
52. To mention only two reference works (see the Introduction on more about this): Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia*; and Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation*.
53. Djokić, *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea*; Ivetić, *Jugoslavia sognata: Lo jugoslavismo delle origini*.
54. For recent excellent studies about the interplay between state- and nation-building projects, see Nielsen, *Making Yugoslavs: Identity in King Aleksandar's Yugoslavia*; Troch, *Nationalism and Yugoslavia*; and Newman, *Yugoslavia in the Shadow of War*.
55. For a focus on the repressive side of the royal dictatorship, see Dobrovojević, *Državna represija u doba diktature kralja Aleksandra*; and Petrović, *Jugoslovensko međuratno društvo u mreži vlasti*.
56. Flora and Heidenheimer, *The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America*; *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*; and Tomka, *Welfare in East and West*.
57. Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*, 404–16, 427–32; Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 177–81; and Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Jugoslawiens*, 84–98.
58. Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century*.
59. I developed this thesis in Petrungaro, "Inter-war Yugoslavia Seen through Corporatist Glasses." For the European context, see, among others, Berger, *Organizing Interests in Western Europe: Pluralism, Corporatism and the Transformation of Politics*; Mazzacane, Somma, and Stolleis, *Korporativismus in den südeuropäischen Diktaturen*; Pasetti, *Progetti corporativi tra le due guerre mondiali*; and Costa Pinto, *Corporatism and Fascism*.
60. Đurašković, "Ideologija Organizacije jugoslovenskih nacionalista (Orjuna)"; and Fa-lina, "Between 'Clerical Fascism' and Political Orthodoxy: Orthodox Christianity and

Nationalism in Interwar Serbia.”

61. For example, Zver, “Korporativizam v slovenski politični misli v 20. in 30. letih”; Čipek, “Liberalizam—korporativizam: dva lica ideologije hrvatskih političkih elita”; Kisić Kolanović, “Komunizam u percepciji hrvatske nacionalističke inteligencije”; and Bi-ondich, “Radical Catholicism and Fascism in Croatia, 1918–1945.”
62. Vidaković, *Naši socijalni problemi*, 266–71.
63. Kosier, *Staat und Wirtschaft*.
64. Kosier, 239.
65. Kosier, 107; Petrungaro, “Inter-war Yugoslavia Seen through Corporatist Glasses,” 245–47.
66. Perić, *Jugoslavensko socijalno zakonodavstvo*, 146–48; and Petrungaro, “Inter-war Yugoslavia Seen through Corporatist Glasses,” 246–49.
67. For a general assessment of interwar Southeast European dictatorships, see Sundhausen, “Die Königsdiktaturen in Südosteuropa: Umrisse einer Synthese.” More specifically about the Yugoslav experiences, see in the same volume Sekelj, “Diktatur und die jugoslawische politische Gemeinschaft: Von König Alexander bis Tito”; Čipek, “Die kroatischen Eliten und die Königsdiktatur in Jugoslawien 1929–1934”; and Marković, “Die ‘Legitimierung’ der Königsdiktatur in Jugoslawien und die öffentliche Meinung 1929–1939.” Cf. Nielsen, *Making Yugoslavs*. In general, see Basciani, *L’illusione della modernità*; and Müller, “Statehood in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe: The Interwar Period.”
68. Sundhausen, “Die Königsdiktaturen in Südosteuropa,” 340.
69. Maier, *Changing Boundaries of the Political*.

CHAPTER 2

1. Kazneni zakon [Penal Code], *Narodne novine*, January 27, 1929, §§ 52, 158 (against *bludničenje*, that is, “fornication,” without any definition), 272, 274, 281, 283, and 287 (against sexual abuse, the exploitation of prostitution and sex trafficking); and Zakon o suzbijanju spolnih bolesti [Law for the Fight against Venereal Diseases], *Narodne novine*, June 9, 1934, §§ 8, 18. Punishment was imprisonment for between one week up to one year.
2. Radulović, *Prostitucija u Jugoslaviji*; and Marković, “Prostitucija. Skripta iz socijalne patologije.” Regarding the pre-Yugoslav period, see Kasumović, “Prilog povijesti marginalnih skupina u Bosni i Hercegovini u doba austro-ugarske uprave: prostitutke”; Duraković, *Serbien und das Modernisierungsproblem*, 223–72; and Cvelfar, “No, zdaj pa če imaš denar, daj ga sem, potem se pa hitro z menoj spolsko združi.”
3. About Ljubljana, see Grošelj, “Prostitucija v Ljubljani v prvih treh desetletjih 20.

- stoletja." About Zagreb, see Zorko, "Ženska prostitucija u Zagrebu između 1899. i 1934. godine."
4. For some classical studies about the social and cultural history of prostitution, see Corbin, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France*; Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*; and Bernstein, *Sonia's Daughters: Prostitutes and Their Regulation in Imperial Russia*. For a useful historiographical review of this research field, see Gilfoyle, "Prostitutes in History: From Parables of Pornography to Metaphors of Modernity." More recently, see Stauter-Halsted, *The Devil's Chain: Prostitution and Social Control in Partitioned Poland*; Wingfield, *The World of Prostitution in Late Imperial Austria*; and Rodríguez García, Van Voss, and Van Nederveen Meerkerk, *Selling Sex in the City: A Global History of Prostitution*. For the social history of medicine and venereal diseases, see Baldwin, *Contagion and the State in Europe*, 355–563; and Davidson and Hall, *Sex, Sin and Suffering. Venereal Disease and European Society*.
 5. Dugac, "Like Yeast in Fermentation"; Dugac, *Kako biti čist i zdrav*; and Karge, Kind-Kovács, and Bernasconi, *From the Midwife's Bag to the Patient's File*.
 6. Bucur, *Eugenics and Modernization in Interwar Romania*; Turda and Weindling, *Blood and Homeland: Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe*; Promitzer, Trubeta, and Turda, *Health, Hygiene and Eugenics in Southeastern Europe*; and Turda, *The History of East-Central European Eugenics*. For an international and global comparison, see Weindling, *Health, Race and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism*; Weindling, *Epidemics and Genocide in Eastern Europe*; Bashford and Levine, *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*; and Turda, *Modernism and Eugenics*.
 7. Bucur, "Remapping the Historiography of Modernization and State-Building in South-eastern Europe through Health, Hygiene and Eugenics."
 8. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, 70.
 9. Bucur, "Remapping the Historiography," 433.
 10. Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 4.
 11. Konstantinović, 6.
 12. Duraković, *Serbien und das Modernisierungsproblem*, 268–70.
 13. For an overview about prostitution policy in the Habsburg monarchy, see Wingfield, "Habsburg Monarchy." And more widely, see Wingfield, *The World of Prostitution in Late Imperial Austria*.
 14. On Bosnia-Herzegovina, see Kasumović, "Prilog povijesti marginalnih skupina," 163. Forced medical inspections of all prostitutes had been introduced in 1879 soon after the Habsburg occupation. See Fuchs, "Orientalizing Disease: Austro-Hungarian Policies of 'Race,' Gender, and Hygiene in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1874–1914," 69. On Habsburg Vojvodina and Dalmatia, see Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 77; Radulović, *Prostitucija u Jugoslaviji*, 175; and Duraković, *Serbien und das Modernisierungsproblem*, 260.

15. Zorko, "Ženska prostitucija u Zagrebu," 225–28.
16. Grošelj, "Prostitucija v Ljubljani," 452–55.
17. Scheer, "*Minimale Kosten, absolut kein Blut*," 117–18, 123–24, 227–231.
18. Evered and Evered, "'Protecting the National Body': Regulating the Practice and the Place of Prostitution in Early Republican Turkey"; and Wyers, "*Wicked*" *Istanbul: The Regulation of Prostitution in the Early Turkish Republic*, 60–67.
19. I am not aware of any specific study about these two provinces, Macedonia and Montenegro. The information about Montenegro is derived from Radulović, *Prostitucija u Jugoslaviji*, 174.
20. Grošelj, "Prostitucija v Ljubljani," 453. For the episode of the brothel in Maribor, see Matko, "Ureditev prostitucije v Sloveniji," 678.
21. Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 77–78.
22. Radulović, *Prostitucija u Jugoslaviji*, 176.
23. In the period between 1918 and 1922 the Yugoslav state was divided into *pokrajine* (provinces) and subdivided into *županije/okruzi* (counties) and *kotari/srezovi* (districts). The administrative units were later reorganized into *oblasti* (provinces) between 1922 and 1929 and *banovine* (governorates) between 1929 and 1941, two of which, the Sava and Littoral banovinas, were merged into the Croatian banovina in 1939–1941.
24. Zorko, "Ženska prostitucija u Zagrebu," 231–32.
25. State Archives of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine [ABiH]), Fund: Health Department of the Ministry for Public Health, Box 63 (1923), Decree for the regulation of prostitution in the city of Sarajevo, no date (but 1922).
26. The same can be stated with regard to other post-Habsburg spaces. See, e.g., the post-World War I Vienna in Wingfield, "'The Sad Secrets of the Big City.'"
27. Krivični zakonik za Kraljevinu Jugoslaviju, *Narodne novine*, January 27, 1929.
28. See especially §§ 158, 280, 281 and 282 of the new Penal Code.
29. Kazneni zakon [Penal Code], § 158.
30. Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*, 404–16; Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 177–81; and Sundhaussen, *Geschichte Jugoslawiens*, 84–98.
31. Zakon o suzbijanju spolnih bolesti i prostitucije, *Narodne novine*, June 09, 1934. The LFVDP came into force on August 1, 1934.
32. Bloom, *Medicine, Morality, and Political Culture*; and Sauerteig, "'The Fatherland Is in Danger, Save the Fatherland!': Venereal Disease, Sexuality and Gender in Imperial and Weimar Germany."
33. See, e.g., Minister of Health Ivan Pucelj, *Stenografske beleške Narodne Skupštine Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, Vol. 1, 1933, (Parliamentary Papers (hereafter PP), 112–13, session November 23, 1933. The session will be reported only in the first quotation of a parliamentary speech.
34. Dragutin Kostić, PP, 159, session February 5, 1934.

35. Dragutin Kostić, PP, 159; and Pucelj, PP, 113. For the case of Britain and the British Empire, see Hall, "Venereal Diseases in Britain from the Contagious Diseases Acts to the National Health Service"; Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire*; and Legg, *Prostitution and the Ends of Empire*. More recently about the early Soviet Union, see Hearne, "Liberation and Authoritarianism in the Early Soviet Campaign to 'Struggle with Prostitution.'" There are strong similarities between the Yugoslav abolitionist law and the Czechoslovak one: Law No. 241, O potírání pohlavních nemocí (Combating Sexually Transmitted Diseases), on July 11, 1922. I thank Nancy M. Wingfield for this suggestion.
36. The additional laws included Uputstva za rad po zakonu, November 6, 1934; Naredba o taksama po zakonu, November 6, 1934; and Pravilnik o izvršenju zakona, June 15, 1934.
37. For these widespread arguments, see for instance Spitzer, "Spolne bolesti u narodnogospodarstvenom pogledu," 680; Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 16–17; and Vidaković, *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć u Beogradu*, 262.
38. Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 262–63.
39. Davidson and Hall, "Introduction," in *Sex, Sin and Suffering*, Roger Davidson and Lesley A. Hall, 1–14, 5–6; and Sponberg, *Feminizing Venereal Disease*, 143–65.
40. The Serbian medical debate of the pre-Yugoslav period was unaware of it. See Duraković, *Serbien und das Modernisierungsproblem*, 255.
41. Grin, "Endemic Syphilis in Bosnia: Clinical and Epidemiological Observations on a Successful Mass-Treatment Campaign." See also, *Endemijski sifilis u Bosni: Anketa škole narodnog zdravlja u Zagrebu*. Grin had worked since 1934 at the Institute of Hygiene in Sarajevo. He was the main organizer of the fight against endemic syphilis in Bosnia after World War II.
42. E.g., Đuro Ostojić, PP, 109, session November 23, 1933.
43. Fleger, "Leopold Glück."
44. On the diffusion of syphilis in the eastern Serbian provinces, see Duraković, *Serbien und das Modernisierungsproblem*, 247, 253–55.
45. Fuchs, "Orientalizing Disease," 69–83.
46. E.g., Fleger, "Leopold Glück," 424.
47. On the status of the "Balkans" as a "semicolonial" region, see Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 20.
48. E.g., Juraj Cenkić, PP, 145, session November 24, 1933.
49. Petar Zec, *Stenografske beleške Senata Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, Vol. 1 1934, (Senate Proceedings, hereafter SP), 120, session February 13, 1934; Glück, "Kliničke osebine endemičnog sifilisa u Bosni." A. Glück (sometimes written Glueck or Glik), son of Leopold Glück, was also head of the Department for Dermato-Venerology of the regional hospital in Sarajevo and had published relevant academic works on the Bosnian syphilis and syphilis in general. See Glik, "Sa dermatovenerološkog odeljenja državne bolnice

- u Sarajevu O abortivnom lečenju sifilisa"; Fleger, "Opći razlozi kliničkih osobina endemičnog sifilisa u Bosni i Hercegovini"; and Glück, *Sifilis*.
50. Cenkić, PP, 145; and Mihanović, "O zarazi sifilisom vanpolnim putem u našem narodu." Similar country/city dichotomies can also be found elsewhere at that time, as in Soviet Russia, although without the Orientalist tones typical of the Yugoslav discourse about Bosnia. See Bernstein, "Visions of Sexual Health and Illness in Revolutionary Russia," 98, 112–13.
 51. Tomasevich, *Peasants, Politics, and Economic Change in Yugoslavia*, esp. 247–260; Biondić, *Stjepan Radić, the Croat Peasant Party, and the Politics of Mass Mobilization*; Milošević, "Identitetski vrednosni konsenzus: Kraljevina SHS kao 'seljačka država'."
 52. Matko, "Ureditev prostitucije v Sloveniji"; and Spitzer, "Spolne bolesti," 680–681. For similar representations of peasantry in the Polish case, see Stauter-Halsted, "The Physician and the Fallen Woman: Medicalizing Prostitution in the Polish Lands." More ambiguous are the medical stances in the Romanian case. See Bucur, "Fallen Women and Necessary Evils: Eugenic Representation of Prostitution in Interwar Romania."
 53. At the beginning of the 1930s it was believed that around 20,000 persons were recently infected via sexual relations, 118,000 suffered of congenital syphilis, and an unknown number of persons hid the illness or treated it privately, thus not being considered in official statistics. Zec, SP, 120.
 54. Ostojić, PP, 110.
 55. Spitzer, "Spolne bolesti u narodno-gospodarstvenom pogledu," 680. Unless indicated otherwise, all the quotations are by physicians.
 56. Spitzer, 682.
 57. Vitomir Vidaković, PP, 112, session November 23, 1933. Vidaković was not a medical practitioner.
 58. Ivan Pucelj, PP, 113.
 59. Ostojić, PP, 111.
 60. Uroš Krulj (he too was a physician as well as member of the parliament), SP, 122, session February 13, 1934.
 61. Vidaković, PP, 111.
 62. Pucelj, PP, 113.
 63. Nikola Kešeljević, PP, 140, session November 24, 1933.
 64. Some of the results of this survey were published and commented on by Konstantinović in *Prostitucija i društvo*, 21–36.
 65. "Anketa," *Liječnički vijesnik*, nos. 6–7 (1920): 324–30.
 66. Although I maintained the version of the name reported in the source, we are certainly still dealing with Dr. Đorđe Đorđević. See further in the text about him.
 67. "Anketa," *Liječnički vijesnik*, nos. 6–7 (1920): 327.
 68. Namely Dr. Novković and Dr. Šarčević, in "Anketa," *Liječnički vijesnik*, nos. 6–7 (1920):

- 328–29.
69. Matko, “Ureditev prostitucije v Sloveniji,” 678.
 70. Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 79.
 71. Conference concluding remarks reported in Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 79–80. See also the balanced introductory lecture held by Dr. Ivo Popović, “Reglementacija ili abolicijska.”
 72. Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 80.
 73. Conference final resolution reported in Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 81.
 74. Reported in Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 82–89.
 75. Among the most quoted foreign authors were Abraham Flexner, Alfred Blaschko, and Auguste Forel.
 76. Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 52–53.
 77. For the view that regulation was “unsustainable,” see Ostojić, PP, 111. For the approaches of countries outside Yugoslavia, see Šilović, *Trgovina bijelim robljem*, 62–64, 103; and Semaško, “Zaštita zdravlja u sovjetskoj Rusiji.”
 78. Krulj, SP, 124.
 79. For example, Krulj, SP, 124; and Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 60–61.
 80. The first quote is from the Minister of Health, SP, 199. The second quote is from Kešeljević, PP, 139, session November 24, 1933. See also Krulj, SP, 124.
 81. Devereux, “White Slavery.”
 82. About gender discourses and images in interwar Yugoslavia, see Vujnović, *Forging the Bubikopf Nation*; and Crnković, “Gender Construction in Literature.” About the feminist movements, see Emmert, “Ženski pokret: The Feminist Movement in Serbia in the 20s”; Jalušić, “Women Interwar in Slovenia”; Ograjšek Gorenjak, *Opasne Iluzije. Rodni stereotipi u međuratnoj Jugoslaviji*; Giomi and Zerman, *Le genre dans l'espace (post-)ottoman*; and *Srbija u modernizacijskim procesima 19. i 20. veka*. About issues related to sexual norms debated in the feminist press, see Stefanović, “‘Ženski pokret’ o problemu braka, slobodne ljubavi, seksualnog vaspitanja, prostitucije i kontrole rađanja.” For an overview, see Dobrivojević Tomić, *Između nebrige i neznanja: žene, seksualnost i planiranje porodice u Jugoslaviji*.
 83. Štebi, “O problemu prostitucije,” *Ženski pokret*; Bunuševac, “Suzbijanje prostitucije i suzbijanje veneričnih bolesti”; Živanović, “Prostitucija, reglementacija, abolicijska”; and Kićevac, “Pitanje prostitucije i njegovog rešenje.”
 84. Knežević, “Naša javnost i mere protiv prostitucije,” *Ženski pokret*, nos. 5–6 (1922): 169–73.
 85. Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 61–62.
 86. No women doctors were among the main contributors to the debate. For two quite diverging female voices, see Šilović, *Trgovina bijelim robljem*, 94–99.
 87. See, for instance, the pioneering works by Fran Gundrum such as *Zdravstvo spolnog*

- života*; and Gundrum, "Statistika javnih bludnica u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji," *Liječnički vijesnik*. See also Kuhar, "Eros or Ethnos: Pioneering Statistical Survey on Prostitution at the Beginning of the 20th century." For the changing view during the interwar period, see, for example, Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 45.
88. For an academic text, see Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 28–29. For printed texts of public lectures, see Bogdanović, *O trgovini djevojkama i o zaštiti njihovoj*; and Šilović, *Trgovina bijelim robljem*. For one example of a parliamentary speech, see Krulj, SP, 124. A notable work by a nonphysician is Belović-Bernadzikowska, *Bijelo roblje*.
89. Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 62–70; Pucelj, SP, 119, session February 9, 1934; and Krulj, SP, 124, session February 13, 1934.
90. Spitzer, "Spolne bolesti u narodno-gospodarstvenom pogledu," 683; Meixner, "Nešto o suzbijanju spolnih bolesti," 320; and Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 71–72.
91. The quote in this sentence is from Pucelj, PP, 113.
92. Kostić, PP, 159.
93. Kostić, PP, 160.
94. Cenkić, PP, 144.
95. See, e.g., the statistics of the years 1927–1929 in *Socijalno-medicinski pregled*, nos. 3–4 (1930): 106–11, but also the considerations still at the end of the 1930s in *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć*, 262–265.
96. Pucelj, SP, 160.
97. Kešeljević, PP, 140.
98. Pucelj, SP, 119.
99. Reported in Šilović, *Trgovina bijelim robljem*, 93–104.
100. There must have been some reasons, it was maintained, for why "half of Europe" was still adopting some system of licensed prostitution. The cases mentioned were France, Italy and Belgium. See Kostić, PP, 160. About these cases, see the recent König, *Der Staat als Zuhälter*.
101. With only one opposing vote in the Senate: Dr. Momčilo Ivković, SP, 128.
102. Kešeljević, PP, 139.
103. Tadić, PP, 143–44. He refers to the following works: Forel, *Polno pitanje*; and Dučić, *Blago cara Radovana: Knjiga o sudbini*. Both books became quite popular and were reprinted several times during the interwar period.
104. Kostić, *Iz seksualnog pitanja: Članci i studije*; Kostić, *Polni život čoveka*; and Kostić, *Seksualno u srpskoj narodnoj poeziji*.
105. See the lecture by Laza Nenadović, "Moralni zakon polnog života čoveka," given at the Serbian Medical Association on February 24, 1934, published in *Srpski arhiv*, no. 3 (1934): 162–84, and especially the discussion that followed, "Diskusija po predavanju prof. Nenadovića," published in *Srpski arhiv*, no. 3 (1934): 185–200. The debate was also reported by the press: "Lekari tvrde da je knjiga profesora dr. Kostića o polnom pitanju

- nepoučna, nemoralna i pornografska," *Vreme*, March 05, 1934; and "Srpsko lekarsko društvo obrazovalo je anketni odbor koji će formulisati gledište lekara o polnom vaspitanju omladine," *Vreme*, March 12, 1934. Open accusations of Kostić being the author of pornographic works were launched also in the parliament: Kešeljević, PP, 140–41; and Cenkić, PP, 147.
106. Lalević-Vasić and Jovanović, "Dermatovenereology in Serbia from 1919–1945."
107. Reported in Šilović, *Trgovina bijelim robljem*, 105–6. Kićevac illustrated his arguments in detail in Kićevac, "Borba protiv veneričnih bolesti."
108. Šilović, *Trgovina bijelim robljem*, 107.
109. Pucelj, respectively: PP, 113; and SP, 118.
110. Cenkić, PP, 144.
111. "Ivković K. Momčilo," in Milanović, *Biografski leksikon: Poznati srpski lekari*; Krulj, *Važnost higijene za državu i naciju* (1920); Krulj, *Politika i rasa: Rasni nacionalizam* (1925); and Turda, *The History of East-Central European Eugenics*, 490–91.
112. Fatović-Ferenčić, "'Society as an Organism': Metaphor as Departure Point of Andrija Štampar's Health Ideology."
113. Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 13–14.
114. Srđa-Ilić, PP, 161.
115. This was not an entirely novel approach. See, for example, Kuhar and Fatović-Ferenčić, "Prostitutes and Criminals: Beginnings of Eugenics in Croatia."
116. Cergol, "Evgenika na Slovenskem v perspektivi spola"; and Cergol, *Evgenika na Slovenskem*.
117. Vidaković, PP, 111.
118. Pucelj, PP, 113.
119. Srđa-Ilić, PP, 161.
120. Ostojić, PP, 111.
121. Kešeljević, PP, 141.
122. Kostić, PP, 159; Kešeljević, PP, 139; and Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 54–56.
123. Pucelj, SP, 119.
124. The first quote is from Mita Dimitrijević, PP, 160. Dimitrijević was not a medical practitioner. The second quote is from Cenkić, PP, 144, and the third quote is from Vidaković, PP, 111.
125. Pucelj, SP, 119 (my emphasis).
126. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*.
127. Dragoljub Jevremović, PP, 142.
128. Mita Dimitrijević, PP, 160–61.
129. In Romania in 1930, a new public health law abolished the brothels and all forms of licensed prostitution but did not forbid prostitution per se. Bucur, "Fallen Women and Necessary Evils," 342–43. In Bulgaria, a new abolitionist law was introduced in

1929. Keremidarska and Tonev, "Däržavno regulirane na publičnite domove," 98. Interwar Greece had an ambiguous prostitution policy. Dordanas, "'Common Women' or 'Women of Free Morals,'" 214. Turkey firmly remained during the interwar period a country with a regulationist system. Evered and Evered, *Protecting the National Body*; and Wyers, "*Wicked*" *Istanbul*.
130. Pucelj, SP, 119.
131. Krulj, SP, 125.
132. For example, in Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 56. About the ambiguous boundaries of sex work in a comparative view, see also Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 128–29, 173–78; White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*; Hershat, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai*, 34–65; and Smith, *Berlin Coquette: Prostitution and the New German Woman, 1890–1933*, esp. 153–84. For an interesting discussion about the boundaries of sex work and the limited usefulness of the notion of prostitution itself, which in some cases could be well replaced by or used along with more nuanced ones, such as "sexual barter," see, Hájková, "Sexual Barter in Times of Genocide: Negotiating the Sexual Economy of the Theresienstadt Ghetto."
133. P. Psihanović (pseudonym for Dušan Slavić), *Prodavačice svoga tela i tajna prostitucija u Beogradu*, 9–10.
134. For example, Matko, "Ureditev prostitucije v Sloveniji"; and Spitzer, "Spolne bolesi u narodno-gospodarstvenom pogledu," *Liječnički glasnik*, no. 12 (1919): 680–83.
135. Psihanović, *Prodavačice svoga tela*, 16.
136. Psihanović, 10, 72–77.
137. For example, on post–World War I Vienna, see Wingfield, "'The Sad Secret of the Big City': Prostitution and Other Moral Panics in Early Post-Imperial Vienna," 102–3.
138. Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 5.
139. Konstantinović, 2–3.
140. Konstantinović, 57.
141. Konstantinović, 73.
142. E.g., Miličević, "Doktrina škole kriminalne antropologije"; Miličević, "Zločinac: Razvoj kriminologije"; and Lebić, "Lombrozov tip zločinac."
143. E.g., Dobar Matković (member of the municipality of Belgrade), "O prostituciji," *Policija* 21–22 (1920): 926–32.
144. Kazneni zakon [Penal Code], § 158.
145. E.g., Mališa V. Urošević, "Suzbijanje prostitucije u vezi zak: o suzbijanju polnih bolesi," *Policija*, nos 17–18 (1935): 886–91.
146. For an example of a long and variegated list of causes for prostitution, see Matković, "O prostituciji," although in this case the accusation of looking for an "easy" way of living finally prevails: Dobar Matković, "O prostituciji," *Policija*, nos. 23–24 (1920): 1024.

147. Prof. Dr. N.[ikolaj] Krainski, "Posrnuli ljudi," *Policija*, nos. 13–14 (1933): 625–34; nos. 15–16 (1933): 721–27; nos. 17–18 (1933): 817–24; and nos. 19–20 (1933): 922–30. The quotation is from nos. 19–20 (1933): 819.
148. Krainski, "Posrnuli ljudi," 821–22.
149. Dragoslav M. Lazić, "Krivična dela protiv javnog mira i poretka," *Policija*, nos. 17–18 (1933): 933. Cf. Lazić, *Krivični Zakonik: Od 27 januara 1929 god sa izmenama i dopunama od 9 oktobra 1931. god*, Vol 1, 2nd ed. (Beograd: Štamparija Vladete S. Janičićevića, 1935).
150. Lazić, "Krivična dela protiv javnog mira i poretka," 933.
151. Archives of Bosnia-Herzegovina (ABiH), Regional Department of the Ministry of Public Health (Zdravstveni Odsjek Ministarstva Narodnog Zdravlja—ZOMNZ), Box 14, 6864 Izvještaj o zdravstvenom pregledu prostitutki u BiH (Report about the health control of prostitutes in Bosnia-Herzegovina), April 18, 1921.
152. ABiH, ZOMNZ, Box 22, 10698, Raspis MNZ Beograd u vezi sa ponašanjem prostitutki (Writ of the Ministry for Public Health in Belgrade about prostitutes' behavior), without date (but probably 1921).
153. ABiH, ZOMNZ, Box 22, 10698, Izvještaj o ljekarskim pregledima artistkinja (Report about the medical controls of female artists), Beograd, January 1, 1921.
154. ABiH, ZOMNZ, Box 32, The Head of the County (*okružni načelnik*) to the City and District Office (*gradsko kotarski ured*) in Mostar, July 09, 1920.
155. ABiH, ZOMNZ, Box 32, The Head of the County (*okružni načelnik*) to the City and District Office (*gradsko kotarski ured*) in Mostar, July 09, 1920.
156. ABiH, ZOMNZ, Box 32, The Head of the County (*okružni načelnik*) to the City and District Office (*gradsko kotarski ured*) in Mostar, July 09, 1920.
157. ABiH, ZOMNZ, Box 32, The Head of the County (*okružni načelnik*) to the City and District Office (*gradsko kotarski ured*) in Mostar, July 09, 1920.
158. ABiH, ZOMNZ, Box 32, the head of Mostar district (*gradsko kotarski ured u Mostaru*) to the police captain in Mostar (*Odjelno zapovjedništvo straže sigurnosti—komandant*), August 27, 1921.
159. ABiH, ZOMNZ, Box 32, the police captain in Mostar to the head of the Mostar district, September 27, 1921.
160. ABiH, ZOMNZ, Box 32, the police captain in Mostar to the head of the Mostar district, September 27, 1921.
161. ABiH, ZOMNZ, Box 32, the police captain in Mostar to the head of the Mostar district, September 27, 1921.
162. ABiH, ZOMNZ, Box 32, the head of the District in Mostar to the head of the County (*okružna oblast*) of Mostar, September 28, 1921 (emphasis added).
163. ABiH, ZOMNZ, Box 32, the head of the District in Mostar to the head of the County (*okružna oblast*) of Mostar, September 28, 1921.

164. ABiH, ZOMNZ, Box 32, the head of the District in Mostar to the head of the County (*okružna oblast*) of Mostar, September 28, 1921.
165. This example is closely affiliated with many other Central Eastern and Southeastern European cases. See the introductory remarks by Turda and Weindling, *Blood and Homeland*, 1–20.
166. Psihanović, *Prodavačice svoga tela*, 56.
167. Psihanović, 9.
168. Psihanović, 76.
169. Psihanović, 8.
170. Ivo Balentović, “Bijela kuga u Slavoniji,” *Hrvatska smotra*, nos. 3–4 (1935): 217–23, quoted in Yeomans, “Fighting the White Plague,” 401.
171. Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 3.
172. Konstantinović, 38.
173. Petrungraro, “Police and Prostitution in Yugoslavia: A Nuanced Relationship.”
174. Newman, “Borders and Bordering: Towards an Interdisciplinary Dialogue.”

CHAPTER 3

1. *Burek* is a baked filled pastry made of a thin flaky dough known as *yufka* and can be filled with meat, cheese, spinach, and potatoes. Probably of Anatolian origins, it was a popular element of Ottoman cuisine and is also to be found in the gastronomic traditions of the Balkans, North Africa, and the Eastern Mediterranean area.
2. Archives of Yugoslavia (Arhiv Jugoslavije, hereafter AJ), Ministry of Trade and Industry (Ministarstvo Trgovine i Industrije, hereafter MTI), 75-80-311, folder 1931, Obrtni list, Ljubljana, March 3, 1931.
3. AJ, MTI, Jelko Jabotinović to MTI, Ljubljana, August 1931.
4. AJ, MTI, the Banska uprava to Jelko Jabotinović, June 18, 1931; and AJ, MTI, the Banska uprava to MTI, December 18, 1931. This is maybe the reason why we find Jelko Jabotinović a few years later in another city, Maribor, with a new license as baker. “Obrtno gibanje v maju,” *Mariborski večernik*, June 12, 1934, 2.
5. Among the first authors to have raised these questions with regard to the Serbian and Yugoslav context was Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*, 393–97.
6. Petrović, *Pečalbari: Naročito iz okoline Pirota*; and Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*, 180–88.
7. Ocobock, “Introduction: Vagrancy and Homelessness in Global and Historical Perspective”; Woolf, *The Poor in Western Europe in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*; and Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*.
8. For a comparative perspective about the modern history of peddling, see Fontaine, *History of Peddlars in Europe*; Reininghaus, *Wanderhandel in Europa*; Wadauer, *Der Arbeit*

- nachgehen?*; Wadauer, *Die Erzeugung von Arbeit: Variationen, Unterschiede und Hierarchien von Erwerb und Unterhalt*; Tatarinov, *Kriminalisierung des ambulanten Gewerbes*; Ahlbeck, Östman, and Stark, *Encounters and Practices of Petty Trade in Northern Europe*; and McKee and Leboissetier, *Itinerant Traders in Northern and Western Europe*.
9. Lucassen, "Eternal Vagrants? State Formation, Migration, and Travelling Groups in Western Europe, 1350–1914"; Tilly, "Migration in Modern European History"; and Wadauer, *Der Arbeit nachgehen?*, 27–28.
 10. Lucassen, "Eternal Vagrants?," 240.
 11. The considerations about these issues by Leo Lucassen are very inspiring. See, for example, Lucassen, "A Blind Spot: Migratory and Travelling Groups in Western European Historiography." See also Lucassen, Willems, and Cottaar, "Introduction."
 12. Lucassen, "A Blind Spot," 143–52; Wadauer, *Der Arbeit nachgehen?*; and McKee and Leboissetier "Itinerant Traders: Elusive Subjects Moving at the Intersection of Historical Fields."
 13. Lucassen, "The Clink of the Hammer Was Heard from Daybreak till Dawn: Gypsy Occupations in Western Europe (Nineteenth-Twentieth Centuries)"; and Ahlbeck, Östman, and Stark, "Introduction: Encounters and Trading Practices," 4–12. More in general, see Cross, "Street Vendors, Modernity and Postmodernity: Conflict and Compromise in the Global Economy."
 14. Lucassen, "The Clink of the Hammer," 158.
 15. Lucassen, 153.
 16. Lucassen, 161–64. See also Chapter 1 in this volume.
 17. For examples from the Yugoslav region, see Vojak, *U predvečerje rata: Romu Hrvatskoj 1918–1941*, 128–33; Acković, *Romi u Beogradu*, 183–191; and Grošelj, *Na Dnu*, 161–62.
 18. Lucassen, *Zigeuner: Die Geschichte eines polizeilichen Ordnungsbegriffes*; and Tatarinov, *Kriminalisierung des ambulanten Gewerbes*. For a comparative perspective, see Uerlings and Patrut, *'Zigeuner' und Nation: Repräsentation—Inklusion—Exklusion*; and Tervonen, *'Gypsies,' 'Travellers' and Peasants*.
 19. Cottaar, "Dutch Travellers: Dwellings, Origins and Occupations"; and Tatarinov, *Kriminalisierung des ambulanten Gewerbes*, 260–62, for references to France, England, Switzerland, and Sweden.
 20. A partial exception is Zalar, "(Dis)Continuities." The existing literature nonetheless provides extremely useful information about the legal and practical forms of the repression of Gypsies. See, e.g., Vojak, "Zakonsko reguliranje položaja romskog stanovništva na području banske Hrvatske 1873–1918"; Vojak, *Predvečerje rata*; and Grošelj, *Na dnu*, 156–60, 165–69.
 21. The Yugoslav Gypsies were associated by police and administrative authorities with economic mobility—see Zalar, "(Dis)Continuities"—but not the other way around.

Not all the itinerant workers were identified as “Gypsies.”

22. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1921, MTI's Resolution (*rešenje*), April 11, 1921.
23. See all the official statements sent by local and regional authorities, in AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1921, MTI's Resolution (*rešenje*), April 11, 1921.
24. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1922, the Minister of Internal Affairs to the MTI, April 10, 1922.
25. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, MTI's Resolution, May 2, 1922.
26. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1924, MTI's Note, December 16, 1924.
27. Cf. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1925, MTI and Ministry of Forestry and Mines' (Ministarstvo Šuma i Rudnika) Common Resolution, June 25, 1925; and AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, MTI's Resolution, July 13, 1925. It was not a unique case. See AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, MTI's Resolution, November 07, 1925, which declared null the resolution by the same MTI of April 28, 1925.
28. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1926.
29. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1927, Chamber of Trade and Crafts in Zagreb, to the MTI, May 14, 1927.
30. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, Governor of the Travnik Province (Vel. župan travničke oblasti), to the MTI, March 12, 1927.
31. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1932, the governor of the Vardar governorate, to the MTI, July 25, 1932.
32. The term “Nürnberg's ware” can refer to dolls and toys for children, but in this context it is to be understood more as small items such as needles, pots, cups, brushes, and buttons. Furthermore, the term could acquire a pejorative meaning referring to useless items and knickknacks. See Weinrich, “Nürnberger Tand.” I am grateful to Dejan Vorgić for suggesting me this text. See also Rod, *Der Handel im Königreich Bayern um 1810*, 77–80.
33. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1936, the governor of the Sava governorate, to the MTI, March 23, 1936.
34. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1936, the governor of the Sava governorate, to the MTI, March 20, 1936.
35. All in AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1935.
36. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1932, Chamber of Trades, Industry and Crafts in Novi Sad, to MTI, May 20, 1932.
37. *Ćilimi* are flat tapestry-woven carpets produced in an area that extends from the central-southern Balkans to Pakistan.
38. AJ, 65-79-310, folder 1932, Chamber of Trades and Crafts in Dubrovnik, to MTI, May 10, 1932.
39. AJ, 65-79-310, Municipal record, Gjurmanec (now: Đurmanec), May 2, 1932.
40. AJ, 65-79-310, Municipality in Gjurmanec to the Head of the District in Krapina, May

- 3, 1932; and the Head of the District in Krapina to the Governorate in Zagreb, May 3, 1932.
41. AJ, 65-79-310, Governorate in Zagreb, to MTI, May 15, 1932.
 42. AJ, 65-79-310, folder 1937, The peddlers of Gjurmanec, to the MTI, March 30, 1937 and April 7, 1937; and the MTI to the Governorate in Zagreb, April 15, 1937.
 43. AJ, 65-79-310, Stjepan Belošević to the MTI, April 28, 1937, peddlers' petition as attachment. For data about the population in Republika Hrvatska—Državni zavod za statistiku, see "Naselja i stanovništvo Republike Hrvatske 1857–2001," <https://web.dzs.hr/Hrv/DBHomepages/Naselja%20i%20stanovnistvo%20Republike%20Hrvatske/Naselja%20i%20stanovnistvo%20Republike%20Hrvatske.htm> (last accessed October 27, 2023). These data refer only to the village, not to the municipality of Đurmanec, which counted in 1931 several thousand people (8,221 inhabitants) according to *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31. marta 1931. godine*, Vol. 2 (Beograd: Državna Štamparija, 1938), 88, and 5,474 according to "Naselja i stanovništvo Republike Hrvatske 1857–2001."
 44. AJ, 65-79-310, folder 1920, Petition of the peddlers in Banjaloka, Fara, and Oslinica, to the Government of the Serbs, Slovenes, and Croats, December 26, 1929.
 45. All data derived from the reports of the respective territorial authorities are in AJ, 65-79-310, folders 1924 and 1929. This is a confirmation that statistical data collected at the state level are completely unreliable. In the census of 1931, 1,170 as the total number of peddlers in the whole country is reported. *Definitivni rezultati popisa stanovništva od 31. marta 1931. godine*, Vol. 4 (Sarajevo: Državna Štamparija, 1940), 18–19.
 46. As an example, see AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1939, Chamber of Trades, Industry and Crafts in Novi Sad, to MTI, February 11, 1939.
 47. AJ, MTI, 65-131-429, Chamber of Trade and Crafts in Split to MTI, February 08, 1932, which contains similar opinions of many other Yugoslav Chambers of Trades and Crafts.
 48. The examples are taken from AJ, MTI, 65-148-486, Chamber of Trades, Industry and Crafts in Novi Sad, to Chamber of Crafts in Belgrade, November 15, 1934.
 49. E.g., in AJ, MTI, 65-131-429, Chamber of Crafts in Belgrade to MTI, November 25, 1930.
 50. About work permits for itinerant workers in neighboring Austria, see Wadauer, "Asking for the Privilege to Work: Applications for a Peddling License (Austria in the 1920s and 1930s)"; and Wadauer, "Einen Erwerb ergreifen. Auseinandersetzungen über die Möglichkeiten und Bedingungen eines selbstständigen Lebensunterhaltes."
 51. E.g., in AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1922, MTI oddelek v Ljubljani to MTI oddelek III v Beogradu, Ljubljana, March 11, 1922; and folder 1929, Društvo košnjarjev za Kočevski okraj, to the minister of MTI, Fara pri Kostelu, February 25, 1929, Spomenica.
 52. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1924, All the Peddlers from Sošice, to MTI, without date

(but 1924).

53. See, e.g., City Archives of Sarajevo (Historijski Arhiv Sarajevo), Gradsko poglavarstvo, 1921, nr. 4432; 1928, nr. 6810; 1928, nr. 6844; and 1928, nr. 6848.
54. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1924, the governor of the province of Split (Vel. Župan Splitske oblasti), to MTI, Split, December 10, 1924.
55. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, the Peddlers' League to MTI, Zagreb, December 8, 1924.
56. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, the Minister of MTI to the Peddlers' League, without date.
57. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1925, MTI, Resolution (*rješenje*), April 23, 1925.
58. AJ, MTI, 65-131-430, the Chamber of Trades and Crafts in Zagreb to the Regional Governor (Veliki Župan), July 22, 1925.
59. See the considerations about corporatism in Chapter 1.
60. For parallel developments regarding other private associations, see Giomi and Petrun-garo, *Voluntary Associations in Yugoslavia, 1918–1941*.
61. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1926, the Peddlers' League to the King, Belgrade, May 12, 1926.
62. See the articles in *Kućarac*. *Glavno glasilo "Saveza kućaraca Kraljevine SHS,"* which later changed its subtitle to *Marchand Ambulant* and whose first issue was published on October 11, 1924.
63. "Gospodarska, kulturna i nacionalna važnost kućarenja."
64. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1926, the Peddlers' League to the King, Belgrade, May 12, 1926.
65. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1929, the Peddlers' League to the MTI, Zagreb, May 20, 1929.
66. E.g., AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, Complaint of the Peddlers' League to the King, August 30, 1929.
67. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1931, *Statute of the League of the Peddlers and Retail Traders of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Belgrade* (Belgrade, 1930).
68. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, LPRT to the Prime Minister, Belgrade, February 05, 1931.
69. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, LPRT to MTI, August 31, 1931.
70. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1932, LPRT to MTI, December 18, 1931.
71. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1932, LPRT to MTI, March 16, 1932.
72. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1932, LPRT to MTI, March 16, 1932 (this is a different document from that cited in the previous note but sent on the same date).
73. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1932, LPRT to MTI, April 23, 1932.
74. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1938, *Pravilnik o trgovini robom bez stalnog poslovnog mesta*. Cf. all the detailed institutional reactions in AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, folder 1939.
75. AJ, MTI, 65-79-310, Banska uprava Skoplje, to MTI, May 26, 1939.
76. Lucassen, *Zigeuner*; Tatarinov, *Kriminalisierung des ambulanten Gewerbes*; and Cortaar, "Dutch Travellers."

77. Wadauer, *Der Arbeit nachgehen?*; and Dadà, *Le "Barsane." Venditrici ambulanti dalla Toscana.*
78. Ahlbeck, Östman, and Stark, *Encounters and Practices of Petty Trade in Northern Europe*; and McKee and Leboissetier, *Itinerant Traders in Northern and Western Europe.*
79. E.g., Fontaine, *History of Peddlars in Europe*, 3. For a critical discussion of this historiographical topos, see Wadauer, *Der Arbeit nachgehen?*, 25–26; and McKee and Leboissetier "Itinerant Traders: Elusive Subjects," 204–5.
80. The peddlers' agency is also stressed by Wadauer, "Asking for the Privilege to Work"; and Tatarinov, *Kriminalisierung des ambulanten Gewerbes*, 220–54.
81. Babović, *Metropolitan Belgrade*, 14–16.
82. Quoted in Babović, 32. For hierarchies and contrast inside among the musicians in interwar Austria, see Schinko, "Der Raum des Musizierens (Österreich 1918–1938)."
83. Stojanović, *Kaldryma i asphalt: Urbanizacija i evropeizacija Beograda, 1890–1914*, 304.
84. Stojanović, 307–11.
85. See the documents regarding the careful inspection of the circus owned by Karlo Kludski, arrived in Belgrade in 1925, published in *Živeti u Beogradu*, Vol. 6, 524–26. and about the circus Rebering, in 1936, in *Živeti u Beogradu*, Vol. 6, 526–28.
86. Vek., "U Zagreb je stigao cirkus..."; and "Noćno šarenilo kod Šubićeve ulice. For some resisting criticism by traditionalists members of the middle class, see Babović, *Metropolitan Belgrade*, 25–27.
87. It is enough to have a look at the articles that deal with this issue and appeared in *Glumačka reč*, the bulletin of the Association of Yugoslav Actors. For example, Jovanović, "Rad naših putničkih pozorišta"; and Cvektović, "Sa turneje po Vrbaskoj bano-vini."
88. Archives of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine—ABiH), fond: Regional Government for Bosnia-Herzegovina (1919–1921), (Zemaljska vlada za BiH—ZVS), 1919, Box 12, catalog number of the petition respectively 21/22/2 (dated January 14, 1919) and 21/22/4 (dated February 10, 1919).
89. Croatian State Archives (Hrvatski Državni Arhiv—HDA), 1545 fond identification cards (iskaznica), Box 3, license by Jovan Mirković, issued April 25, 1930.
90. City Archives of Belgrade (Istorijski Arhiv Beograda—IAB), Municipality of Belgrade (Upravna Grada Beograda—UGB), Box 1936, doc. 2779-24-294.
91. See, e.g., the applications by Antonija Valter in Sarajevo (ABiH, ZVS, 1921, Box 218, 21/27/5), by Josip Weitz in the province of Zagreb (HDA, 1545, Box 2, permit issued January 15, 1927) and by Dragutin Blažević and other colleagues for a fair to be held in Zemun on September 25–26, 1936 (IAB-UGB-1936-2779-24-291).
92. AJ, 65-148-486, Chamber of Trades and Crafts in Osijek, to MIT, July 13, 1922.
93. Pavlović, "Deca ulice," 529.
94. ABiH, ZVS 1921, Box 218, 21/36/3, Raspis ZVS o zabrani "igre na kuglice"

- (Announcement of the ZVS about the prohibition of the “marbles game”).
95. ABiH, ZVS, 1919, Box 12.
 96. For the rigorous control in the Habsburg province of Bosnia-Herzegovina, for instance, see Pekka Pennane, “Immortalised on Wax: Professional Folk Musicians and Their Gramophone Recordings.”
 97. Milićević, “Putne isprave i kontrola putujućih lica u unutrašnjem saobraćaju.”
 98. About measures regarding foreign artists, see Petrović, “Između scenskog glamura i javnog nadzora: Strani artisti u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji, 1920–1941”; and Babović, *Metropolitan Belgrade*, 84–87.
 99. Milićević, “Putne isprave i kontrola putujućih lica,” 382.
 100. See, e.g., the already mentioned applications by Katarina Winkler and Marija Grtisch in ABiH, ZVS, 1919, Box 12, catalog number of the petition respectively 21/22/2 and 21/22/4.
 101. ABiH, ZVS, 1919, Box 12, 21/20/4.
 102. ABiH, ZVS, 1919, Box 12, 21/20/7.
 103. Players of *tamburica*, a string instrument, like a long-necked lute. ABiH, ZVS, 1919, Box 12, 21/21/13.
 104. ABiH, ZVS, 1919, Box 12, 21/22/3.
 105. ABiH, ZVS, 1919, Box 12, 21/20/05.
 106. There could always be exceptions related to the professional career of the applicant such as the magician Sreten Obradović, who called himself a “universal artist” and displayed a particular self-confidence. See ABiH, ZVS, 1919, Box 12, 21/20/2; and Babović, *Metropolitan Belgrade*, 101–3.
 107. Grgošević, “O našim muzičarima.”
 108. Grgošević, 90.
 109. ABiH, ZOMZN, 1921, Box 22, Dr. Dj. Djordjević to the Health Department of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Belgrade, June 1, 1921.
 110. Jovanović, “Taming the Tavern: Social Space and Government Regulation in 19th Century Belgrade.”
 111. “Beogradskih varijetea kraj”; and Miletić, “Insights into Urban Life, Cultural Change, and Modernization in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, 1918–1928,” 205–6.
 112. Babović, *Metropolitan Belgrade*, 96–97.
 113. Babović, 97–99. About the long-lasting negative social consideration of female singers in the Yugoslav society, see Hofman, “*Kafana* Singers: Popular Music, Gender and Subjectivity in the Cultural Space of Socialist Yugoslavia.” About the traditional social and scholarly tabooization of female players, see Ceribašić, “Između etnomuzikoloških i društvenih kanona: Povijesni izvori o sviračicama narodnih glazbala u Hrvatskoj.”
 114. Zorko, *Socijalni problemi u Zagrebu između dvaju svjetskih ratova*, 177, 187–88; and Grošelj, *Na dnu*, 116–18. For some comparative insights regarding the

- “Bettelnmusizieren” (begging by playing music) in interwar Austria, see Wadauer, “Betteln-Arbeit-Arbeitsscheu (Wien 1918–1938),” 287. About beggary, see Chapter 5 in this volume.
115. HDA, 1545 fond iskaznica, Box 3, Juraj Dragičević (license issued May 30, 1928). Cf. in HDA, 1545 fond iskaznica, Box 3, Joso Dundović (April 7, 1928); Nikola Mršić (April 7, 1928); Dragutin Šnidarić (license issued July 25, 1930); Ivan Šegota (June 24, 1931); and Mile Modrić (December 6, 1932).
 116. HDA, 1545 fond iskaznica, Box 3, Viktor Grüne (license issues first time December 13, 1926).
 117. More precisely 2.09 days but only including two exceptional 7-day-permits for the periphery of Zagreb; otherwise the average would be 1.85 days. HDA, 1545 fond iskaznica, Box 3, Dragutin Šnidarić (license issued July 25, 1930). See Table 3.1 in this chapter.
 118. See, for example, the booklet by Janko Kovjanić, owner of a small entertainment stand, in HDA, 1545 fond iskaznica, Box 3, license issued March 31, 1930.
 119. Excluding the one-month permissions related to entire districts. See HDA, 1545 fond iskaznica, Box 3, license issued March 31, 1930.
 120. Stojanović, *Kaldrma i asfalt*, 297. More broadly about this issue, see Kaser, *Hollywood auf dem Balkan*, 118–233.
 121. Stojanović, *Kaldrma i asfalt*, 301–2.
 122. Stojanović, 303.
 123. AJ, MTI, 65-131-429, Bankska uprava in Ljubljana to MTI, February 21, 1933.
 124. AJ, MTI, 65-131-429, Bankska uprava in Ljubljana, to MTI, July 20, 1935.
 125. See, e.g., AJ, MTI, 65-131-429, Bankska uprava Dunavske Banovine in Novi Sad to MTI, August 21, 1935; Bankska uprava Moravske Banovine in Niš to MTI, October 08, 1935; and Bankska Uprava Zetske Banovine in Cetinje to MTI, November 22, 1935.
 126. “Pravilnik o obavljanju ambulantnog rada putujućih kinematografa.”
 127. AJ, MTI, 65-131-429, MTI, Uputstvo, without date.
 128. AJ, MTI, 65-131-429, MTI [to all the regional authorities], November 13, 1937.
 129. Several examples are in AJ, 65-131-430 (end of the 1930s).
 130. Acković, *Tradicionalna kultura*, 139–44.
 131. See, e.g., the website of the Museum of the Bear-Leaders (called in Italian *orsanti*, from *orso*, the bear), <http://www.museogliorsanti.it/> (last accessed July 18, 2024). The museum is located in the northwest region of Italy, close to the cities of Parma and Piacenza, where most of the Italian *orsanti* came from.
 132. For the case of the bear leaders coming to Amsterdam from Bosnian Banja Luka, see Lucassen, “The Clink of the Hammer,” 165. In general, see Lucassen and Willems, “Wanderers or Migrants? The Movements of Gypsies from Eastern to Western Europe (1860–1940).”
 133. Acković, *Tradicionalna kultura*, 144; and Tünaydin, “Pawing Through the History of

- Bear Dancing in Europe.”
134. For a Balkan framework of the “Gypsy question,” see Reemtsma and Varsa, “Roma”; and Himstedt-Vaid, “Das Bild des ‘Zigeuners’ im südslawischen Volkslied.”
 135. See, for instance, the case of late Habsburg Croatia-Slavonia and Slovene provinces, respectively: Vojak, “Inicijativa Hrvatsko-slavonskog gospodarskog društva za reguliranjem ‘ciganskog pitanja’”; and Grošelj, *Na dnu*, 156–61. For a post-Cisleithanian comparative overview, see Zlatar, “(Dis)Continuities.”
 136. Vojak, *U predvečerje rata*, 89–92. In this study I take as a point of departure the definitions used by authorities and the sources, thus considering Gypsies to be those who were stigmatized. As anticipated and as it should become clearer in the next lines, in the Yugoslav context of the interwar years the notion had mainly ethnic connotations, although it was also linked with a nomadic way of life, some cultural traditions, some crimes, and some professions—but not the opposite. For the administrative and legal treatment of nonethnically Roma vagabonds, criminals, and peddlers, other notions were developed and used and were not replaced by or simply used as a synonym for “Gypsy.”
 137. E.g., the 1922 “Instructions for Preventing ‘Hucksterism’ by Nomadic Roma Tribes in the Country” (Upute za sprečavanje ‘sitničarenja’ romskih nomadskih plemena u državi), or the decision taken by the municipality in Zagreb in 1930 of prohibiting all the Roma to enter the city. See Vojak, *U predvečerje rata*, 95–100. About Ljubljana, see Zlatar, “(Dis)Continuities,” 255–57.
 138. Vojak, *U predvečerje rata*, 159–63.
 139. See, e.g., the renown Serbian ethnologist Đorđević, “Ko su to cigani?”; and Đorđević, “Vrste Cigana u Srbiji” (1909–1911), Đorđević, *Naš narodni život*, Vol. 2, 293–318.
 140. Jakovljević, “Naši Cigani.”
 141. For another example, see Petrović and Simić, “Krađa kod Cigana.”
 142. P., “Međunarodni biro za borbu sa ciganskim kriminalitetom i naši cigani.”
 143. About the genocidal massacres of the later Ustasha state, which were based on analogous distinctions among the members of the Roma communities, see Vojak, Papo, and Tahiri, *Stradanje Roma u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*; Dulić, *Utopias of Nation*, 89–93; Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs*, 79–82, 142–45, 408–13; and Greble, *Sarajevo, 1941–1945*, 92–93. For a comparative point of view, see Trubeta, “‘Gypsiness,’ Racial Discourse and Persecution: Balkan Roma during the Second World War.” Among the deported Roma there were also bear leaders, who were forced to move to the concentration camp with their own carts, bringing with them also the bears and the monkeys. Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs*, 410.
 144. For the Croatian context, see Vojak, *U predvečerje rata*, 187–95. For the Serbian context, see Acković, *Tradicionalna kultura*, 15–24. For the Slovene context, see Grošelj, *Na dnu*, 170–77.

145. For the Croatian context, see Vojak, *U predvečerje rata*, 197–98. For Serbia, see Đorđević, “Ko su to cigani?”; and Đorđević, “Vrste Cigana u Srbiji.”
146. Acković, *Romi u Beogradu*, 197–222. Also, in the Croatian context there were collective organized actions promoted by some Roma leaders, who collected petitions and presented them to the regional governor. Vojak, *U predvečerje rata*, 150–52.
147. “O prosjačenju.”
148. Vukanović, “Gypsy Bear-Leaders in the Balkan Peninsula,” 110. Specifically about the bear leaders, see Tihomir Đorđević, “Ko su to cigani?,” 304.
149. Vukanović, “Gypsy Bear-Leaders in the Balkan Peninsula,” 124.
150. Vukanović, 120.
151. Vukanović, 122.
152. Vojak, *U predvečerje rata*, 131.
153. Vojak, 199–200.
154. Vukanović, “Gypsy Bear-Leaders in the Balkan Peninsula,” 107–8.
155. Apart for evident cases such as Nazi Germany, where bear leading was prohibited in 1933, the reasons for this European-wide process should be further investigated according to Lucassen, “The Clink of the Hammer,” 166.
156. The profession has not completely disappeared neither nowadays, although it takes place in a completely different sociocultural and legal environment. Jovanović, “Bitka za Mariju.”
157. Vukanović, “Gypsy Bear-Leaders in the Balkan Peninsula,” 117.
158. See Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*.
159. Lucassen, “The Clink of the Hammer,” 153–56; McKee and Leboissetier, “Itinerant Traders: Elusive Subjects,” 204–5; and Cross, “Street Vendors, Modernity and Post-modernity.”
160. Lucassen, “The Clink of the Hammer,” 157.
161. Lucassen, Willems, and Cottaar, “Introduction,” 3–4; and Ahlbeck, Östman, and Stark, “Introduction: Encounters and Trading Practices,” 10–12.

CHAPTER 4

1. Harley, “Historians as Demonologists: The Myth of the Midwife-Witch.” For the opposite thesis, see Forbes, *The Midwife and the Witch*.
2. Marland, *The Art of Midwifery: Early Modern Midwives in Europe*; McIntosh, *A Social History of Maternity and Childbirth*; Tuchman, “‘The True Assistant to the Obstetrician’: State Regulation and the Legal Protection of Midwives in Nineteenth-Century Prussia”; Van Teijlingen, Lowis, McCaffery, and Porter, *Midwifery and the Medicalization of Childbirth*; Scherzer, *Hebammen. Weise Frauen oder Technikerinnen?*; and Gissi,

- "Between Tradition and Profession. Italian Midwives during the Fascist Period."
3. For the popular birth culture and its magic elements on the Slovenian territory, see Rožman, *Peč se je podrla! Kultura rojsva na slovenskem podeželju v 20. stoletju*, 25–41.
 4. Brashford, "Nation, Empire, Globe: The Spaces of Population Debate in the Interwar Years"; Hoffmann, "Mothers in the Motherland: Stalinist Pronatalism"; and Quine, *Population Politics in Twentieth-Century Europe*.
 5. Turda and Weindling, *Blood and Homeland*; Promitzer, Trubeta, and Turda, *Health, Hygiene and Eugenics in Southeastern Europe*.
 6. Karge, Kind-Kovács, and Bernasconi, *From the Midwife's Bag to the Patient's File*.
 7. Duraković, *Serbien und das Modernisierungsproblem*, 59–60; and Shehory-Rubin, "Jewish Midwives in Eretz Israel," 301. In general, see Moulin and Ulman, *Perilous Modernity: History of Medicine in the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East*.
 8. About late Habsburg Bosnia, see Bernasconi, "The Material Side of Modernity: The Midwife's Bag in Bosnia and Herzegovina c. 1900"; and Bernasconi, "Des médiatrices fragiles: Trajectoires des sages-femmes dans la Bosnie habsbourgeoise."
 9. Kralj, "Ob 250-letnici babiške šole v Ljubljani—zgodovinski oris"; and Rožman, "Zgodovinski oris babištva na Slovenskem in porodna pomoč v fari Velike Brusnice na Dolenjskem 1840–1945," 247.
 10. Uremović, Mirošević, and Vukelić, "Razvoj primaljskog školstva u Rijeci."
 11. Jamnicki Dojmi, "Zadarska primaljska škola od njezina osnutka 1820. do zatvaranja 1918. godine."
 12. Budak, *120 godina Škole za primalje u Zagrebu*.
 13. Duraković, *Serbien und das Modernisierungsproblem*, 334.
 14. Bernasconi, "The Material Side of Modernity."
 15. Zanela, "Gdje je najbolje da žena rađa," 428. The number of obstetric wards in all Yugoslavia at the end of the interwar period was forty-one, most of them located in the northern banovinas. The banovinas of Montenegro and Macedonia had one obstetrics ward each, while in western Bosnia there was none (Zanela, 239).
 16. Rožman, "Zgodovinski oris babištva," 248; and Rožman, *Peč se je podrla!*, 118–19.
 17. "Zakon o pravu za izvršenje babičke prakse," November 25, 1921, *Službene Novine*, December 20, 1921, reprinted in Konstantinović, *Zbornik sanitetskog zakonodavstva*, 185–86.
 18. *Uputstva za babice*; and "Uputstva za babice u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji," May 27, 1927, *Službene Novine*, June 29, 1927, reprinted in Konstantinović, *Zbornik sanitetskog zakonodavstva*, 186–201.
 19. I will refer to the text of 1927.
 20. In Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovina, for example, similar rules had been introduced in 1898. See Bernasconi, "The Material Side of Modernity," 5. For other Habsburg regions even earlier, such as in the Slovenian provinces in 1786, see Rožman, "Zgodovinski oris

- babišťva," 247. For the Kingdom of Serbia in 1881, see Duraković, *Serbien und das Modernisierungsproblem*, 334.
21. Srećko Zanela, "Problem babica kod nas," 248.
 22. Benko, "Bijela kuga"; and Yeomans, "Fighting the White Plague."
 23. One could add Skopje, where an educational institution had been established in 1931 but was not equated with a school. Cf. Zanela, "Problem babica kod nas," 250 and 261. The first steps for building a school in Sarajevo were taken in the late 1920s but without success. See ABiH, IMNZ, 1926, Box 70, docc. 1811, 1865; ABiH, IMNZ, 1926, Box 81, doc. 8821; and ABiH, IMNZ, 1927, Box 102, doc. 5562, 5550.
 24. Zanela, "Problem babica kod nas," 251.
 25. Zanela, 250.
 26. ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1923, Box 89, doc. 18279, Dr. Lefković to the Health Department in Sarajevo, January 2, 1921. The case of Antonija Savić has been brilliantly examined by Bernasconi, "The Prnjavor Women Fight for Their Midwife: Professional, Social, and Cultural Continuities from Habsburg Bosnia to Yugoslavia," 19–23, where information about Antonija's life before 1921 is provided.
 27. ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1923, Box 89, doc. 18279, Vaskrsija Veselinović, Prnjavor, December 25, 1920, and Franjo Czerkowski, Prnjavor, December 29, 1920.
 28. Widely on this, see Bernasconi, "The Material Side of Modernity."
 29. ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1923, Box 89, doc. 18279, Report of the head of the district administration (*sreski načelnik*) to the county (*okružno načelstvo*) in Banja Luka, January 15, 1921.
 30. ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1923, Box 89, doc. 18279, the head of the county (*okružni načelnik*) to the Health Department in Sarajevo, January 22, 1921.
 31. ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1923, Box 89, doc. 18279, the head of the county to Antonija Savić, February 3, 1921.
 32. ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1923, Box 89, doc. 18279, Ljubica Janjić to the Bosnian Regional Government, Prnjavor, without date.
 33. ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1923, Box 89, doc. 18279, the women of Prnjavor to the Municipality, Prnjavor, February 1921.
 34. Cf. ABiH, IMNZ, 1925, Box 55, doc. 12388, report about the midwives working in the area (*srez*) of Prnjavor in the year 1924, compiled by Dr. Stjepanović, Prnjavor, June 6, 1925. The full reported name is "Katarina Šuškoć married Janjić." While the midwife signed her letter as "Ljubica Janjić," she appears to be the same person.
 35. As proposed by Sara Bernasconi, it is even possible to suppose that the straight, standing crosses stood for the members of the Catholic Church, the "X" cross for the Orthodox believers and the "point" for the adherents to the Islamic faith. Bernasconi, "The Prnjavor Women," 33.
 36. ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1923, Box 89, doc. 18279, Antonija Savić to the Health Department

in Sarajevo, February 26, 1921.

37. ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1923, Box 89, doc. 18279, the women of Prnjavor to the Health Department in Sarajevo, February 26, 1921.
38. ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1923, Box 89, doc. 18279, Antonija Savić to the Health Department in Sarajevo, July 08, 1921, and Antonija to the Provincial administration (Pokrajinska uprava) in Sarajevo, October 25, 1923. In the same box, there are many other documents related to this case.
39. See all the documents about her replacement in ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1923, Box 89, doc. 18279.
40. ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1923, Box 89, doc. 18279, Antonija Savić to the Provincial administration (Pokrajinska uprava), October 25, 1923.
41. Bernasconi, "The Prnjavor Women," 33–34.
42. ABiH, IMNZ, 1926, Box 78, 5785, the citizens of Fojnica to the Inspector of the Ministry of National Health in Sarajevo, Fojnica, April 10, 1926.
43. Rules for Midwives, §17. Pravilnik o prijaljivanju dovršenja započetog pobačaja, April 16, 1930, *Službene Novine*, May 10, 1930, reprinted in Konstantinović, *Zbornik sanitetskog zakonodavstva*, 570–71. Also in this field, there was a pre-Yugoslav legal tradition. See Duraković, *Serbien und das Modernisierungsproblem*, 289–93.
44. Psihanović, *Prodavačice svoga tela i tajna prostitucija*, 45.
45. Konstantinović, *Prostitucija i društvo*, 37.
46. Juraj Cenkić, *Stenografske beleške Narodne Skupštine Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, Vol. 1, 1933, (Parliamentary Papers), 147, session November 24, 1933.
47. Arkadijević, "Zločin pobačaj (aborata)." There were also voices in favour of forms of legalization of abortion, mainly as a eugenic measure. See Stokić, "Za legalnu formu pobačaja!"; and "Legalizacija pobačaja."
48. ABiH, ZOMZN, 1921, Box 12, dossier 4836.
49. ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1921, Box 20, 9495, 14.03.1921.
50. IAB, UGB, 1936, Box 2779, 24–118, Belgrade, January 01, 1936. The investigation was quite slow, and only after nine months was an agent sent to the mentioned address. The charged woman did not live there anymore. Nonetheless, the agent reached the conclusion that she had not conducted abortions but that she worked as an uncertified midwife. IAB, UGB, 1936, Box 2779, 24–118, Belgrade, September 9, 1936.
51. IAB, UGB, 1936, Box 2779, 24–288, Belgrade, July 25, 1936.
52. ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1921, Box 33, 21438, Bijelina, November 20, 1921.
53. ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1921, Box 33, 21438, Bijelina, November 20, 1921.
54. Similar accusations of unskilled treatment, which were the origins of an infection, were directed toward Katarina Hribar. ABiH, ZOMZN, 1921, Box 12, dossier 4836.
55. ABiH, IMNZ, 1925, Box 55, 13183, the Ministry of National Health to the IMNZ, Belgrade July 24, 1925.

56. ABiH, IMNZ, 1925, Box 59, 16470, the Ministry of National Health to the IMNZ, Belgrade, September 15, 1925.
57. ABiH, IMNZ, 1926, Box 75, 4454, Dr. Ivanović to the Governor (Veliki Župan) of Sarajevo, Sarajevo, April 06, 1926.
58. Rožman, "Zgodovinski oris babištva," 255–57, 261–62.
59. Habek, "Povijesni razvoj primaljstva, porodništva i ginekologije Bijelovarskog kraja."
60. Duraković, *Serbien und das Modernisierungsproblem*, 368–77.
61. Duraković, 238–41, 374–75.
62. "Pravilnik o berbernicama."
63. E.g., Meixner, "Bilješke iz prakse: Nešto o suzbijanju spolnih bolesti."
64. Jovanović, "Nadrilekarstvo i borba protiv njega," 460–61.
65. She lived and worked in Jasenica, a district of Bosanska Krupa, Bosnia.
66. ABiH, IMNZ, 1926, Box 82, 9467, the head of the district (*srez*) to the Health Department of Bosnia-Herzegovina, May 22, 1923.
67. ABiH, IMNZ, 1926, Box 82, 9467, signed by Dušan Medaković, "village elder" (*selski starešina*), Javaranj Donji, March 26, 1926.
68. ABiH, IMNZ, 1926, Box 82, 9467, Smilja Puzić to His High Majesty the King of Serbs, Slovenes and Croats, Belgrade, August 21, 1925; Smiljana Puzić to His High Majesty the King of Serbs, Slovenes and Croats, Belgrade, December 30, 1925; and Smiljana Puzić to His High Majesty the King Aleksandar I, Beograd, May 30, 1926. In the dossier there is also a telegram without date (but from the beginning of 1923).
69. ABiH, IMNZ, 1926, Box 82, 9467, the Head of the District (*srez*) to the Health Department of Bosnia-Herzegovina, May 22, 1923.
70. ABiH, IMNZ, 1926, Box 82, 9467, the Head of the District (*srez*) to the INMZ, April 10, 1926.
71. ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1921, Box 8, 1969, the Deputy District's Doctor to the District Office (*sresko poglavarstvo*), Gacko, July 9, 1920.
72. ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1921, Box 8, 1969, the Head of the District (*kotarski predstojnik*) to Regional Government (Zemaljska vlada), Gacko, July 17, 1920.
73. ABiH, ZOMNZ, 1921, Box 8, 1969, the Head of the District (*sreski načelnik*) to the Regional Government, Gacko, January 10, 1921.
74. Vojak, *Upredvečerje rata*, 189; and Acković, *Romi u Beogradu*, 184–88.
75. Himstedt-Vaid, "Das Bild des 'Zigeuners' im südslawischen Volkslied," 173–75.
76. Vukanović, "Gypsy Bear-Leaders in the Balkan Peninsula."
77. Himstedt-Vaid, "Das Bild des 'Zigeuners,'" 175–76.
78. "Ciganka Barbara Horn kao vračara i—liječnica."
79. "Coprije dovele ciganku na savsku cestu."
80. "Proriče budućnost."

81. "Prevare lukave vračarice (Ciganka seoski ljekar)."
82. Quoted in ABiH, IMNZ, 1926, Box 79, 6461, the Head of the district (*poglavar sreza*) to the IMNZ in Sarajevo, Ljubinje, January 22, 1926.
83. HAS, Gradsko poglavarstvo, 1928, nr. 6810.
84. There are many other examples in ABiH, Ministarstvo socijalne politike—povjereništvo za BiH (1919–1921), Box 1922; HAS, Gradsko poglavarstvo, 1921, nr. 1928, nr. 6913; 1928, nr. 7015; and 1928, nr. 7104.
85. ABiH, IMNZ, 1926, Box 77, 5222, Anka Devčić to the Head of the district (*načelnik sreza*), Bosanska Gradiška, February 02, 1926.
86. ABiH, IMNZ, 1926, Box 77, 5210, Marica Brešanović to the IMNZ, Stolac, March 17, 1926.
87. For an example, see ABiH, IMNZ, 1926, Box 81, 8590, Staka Ispirić (?) to the IMNZ, Kotor Varoš, May 12, 1926.
88. Rožman, "Zgodovinski oris babištva," 254–55.
89. Ludwig Piskaček (1854–1932), eminent Austrian gynecologist and obstetrician, influential personality in the field of midwives' education, and author of a famous handbook for midwives, widely used in the Habsburg Monarchy and translated into Russian, Spanish and Portuguese. See Jantsch, "Piskaček Ludwig."
90. ABiH, IMNZ, 1926, Box 77, 5116, Appendix 1, Jozefina Briški to the Association of Midwives in Bosnia-Herzegovina, without date.
91. Zanela, "Problem babica kod nas," 249. Zanela reports 1921 as year of the establishment of the Slovenian Midwives' Association, but I follow the indication in Rožman, "Zgodovinski oris babištva," 255.
92. ABiH, IMNZ, 1926, Box 77, 5116, Appendix 2, the Association of Midwives in Bosnia-Herzegovina to the Police Direction in Sarajevo, Sarajevo, February 2, 1926.
93. ABiH, IMNZ, 1924, Box 8, 6588, Statement of the AMBiH, signed by Aleksandra Jovanović, Chairwoman of the AMBiH, Sarajevo, April 4, 1924.
94. ABiH, IMNZ, 1924, Box 8, 6588, the City Municipality to the IMNZ, Sarajevo, March 10, 1924.
95. ABiH, IMNZ, 1924, Box 8, 6588, the IMNZ to the Police Direction, Sarajevo, March 18, 1924.
96. Probably not as a direct and late repercussion of this action, in 1937 a new price list was published in the bulletin for midwives, distinguishing seven social classes and foreseeing sensibly higher tariffs, which should be evaluated in accordance with the inflation rate of those years. Rožman, "Zgodovinski oris babištva," 255n8.
97. ABiH, IMNZ, 1924, Box 8, 6588, the AMBiH to the IMNZ, Sarajevo, April 3, 1924.
98. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*.

CHAPTER 5

1. On the pervasiveness of nation-state centrism in historical scholarship on Southeastern Europe, see Brunnbauer, *(Re)Writing History*; and Todorova, *Balkan Identities*.
2. For an articulated illustration of this point, see Giomi and Petrungaro, "Introduction."
3. Baldwin, "The Welfare State for Historians: A Review Article," discusses classic authors such as François Ewald, Francis G. Castles, Abram de Swaan, Gerhard A. Ritter, and Gøsta Esping-Andersen. See also Conrad, "Wohlfahrtsstaaten im Vergleich: Historische und sozialwissenschaftliche Ansätze"; and Zimmermann, Jäger, and Melinz, "Sozialpolitik in der Peripherie: Zugänge und Entwicklungen in globaler Sicht," 9–13.
4. See in particular Nemes, "Associations and Civil Society in Reform-Era Hungary"; Rumpler and Urbanitsch, *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, Vol. 8; Cohen, "Nationalist Politics and the Dynamics of State and Civil Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1867–1914"; Heppner, "Die Habsburgermonarchie und die Idee der Zivilgesellschaft"; Zimmermann, *Divide, Provide and Rule*; and Luft, "Zivilgesellschaft im cisleithanischen Teil der Habsburgermonarchie."
5. See in particular Lindenmeyr, *Poverty Is Not a Vice: Charity, Society and the State in Imperial Russia*; and Bradley, *Voluntary Associations in Tsarist Russia*.
6. Hildermeier, Kocka, and Conrad, *Europäische Zivilgesellschaft in Ost und West*.
7. Hering and Waaldijk, *Guardians of the Poor—Custodians of the Public*; Schilde and Schulte, *Need and Care*; Labbé, "De la philanthropie à la protection sociale"; and Giomi, Keren, and Labbé, *Public and Private Welfare in Modern Europe*. On the welfare state in twentieth-century Central Eastern Europe, see Inglot, *Welfare States in East Central Europe*; and Tomka, *Welfare in East and West*.
8. Althammer, "Introduction," 10; and Brandes and Marx-Jaskulski, *Poor Relief and Charity. Rural Societies in Europe*.
9. Sachße and Tennstedt, *Soziale Sicherheit und soziale Disziplinierung*. More recently, see Althammer, *The Welfare State and the 'Deviant Poor'*; and Emsley, Johnson, and Spierenburg, *Social Control in Europe, 1800–2000*.
10. Spierenburg, "Social Control and History: An Introduction," 6–7.
11. E.g., Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*.
12. As will clearly emerge from the bibliography of this chapter, there are many useful local studies, and others, which are not quoted here, could be added. Nonetheless, since research has focused on some cities and some religious groups more than on other ones, it is difficult to have a complete and balanced view of religious philanthropy in the entire Yugoslav area.
13. Geremek, *Truands et misérables dans L'Europe moderne*; and Woolf, *The Poor in Western Europe*.
14. Althammer, "Introduction," 2; and Gestrich and Lutz, *Inklusion/Exklusion. Studien*

zu *Fremdheit und Armut von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*.

15. The focus on these urban centres implied neglecting the rural context. Nonetheless, it must be said that it was in the cities that beggary became a mass phenomenon, thus acquiring peculiar traits and inducing the public measures and the social dynamics that this chapter deals with.
16. Özbek, "‘Beggars’ and ‘Vagrants’ in Ottoman State Policy and Public Discourse, 1876–1914"; Ergut, "Policing the Poor in the Late Ottoman Empire"; Kanner, "From ‘the Sick,’ ‘the Blind,’ and ‘the Crippled’ to the Nation of ‘Toiling People’: Vision of the Poor in the Late Ottoman Empire and the Early Turkish Republic."
17. Özbek, "‘Beggars’ and ‘Vagrants,’” 791–95.
18. Jahn, *Armes Russland. Bettler und Notleidende in der russischen Geschichte*; and Lindenmeyr, *Poverty is Not a Vice*. For a comparison with an Orthodox society in the Balkans, namely Bulgaria, see Aretov, "Ricchi e Poveri: Images of Wealth and Poverty in Nineteenth-Century Bulgarian Literature."
19. Wadauer, "The Usual Suspects," 127.
20. Melinz and Zimmermann, *Über die Grenzen der Armenhilfe*; and Zimmermann, *Divide, Provide and Rule*. About legitimate unemployment, see Chapter 6 in this volume.
21. About negative popular opinion regarding beggary from the Slovene perspective, see Grošelj, *Na dnu*, 99–105, 202–5.
22. Cf. the Austrian Penal Code of 1852, part 2, § 517–21, in force in the Slovenian and Croatian provinces until 1929; and the Yugoslav Penal Law of 1929, §§ 52 and 158. On the Austrian interwar policy on beggary, see Wadauer, "The Usual Suspects." On the Slovenian province, see Grošelj, *Na dnu*, 28–33. On the case of Zagreb in general, see Zorko, *Socijalni problemi u Zagrebu*, 180–84.
23. Pavlović, "O skitničanju (vagabondaži) i prosjačenju s obzirom na moderno zakonodavstvo," 669.
24. See the already mentioned Yugoslav Penal Code of 1929, §§ 52, 518. Including vagrancy, see also the Yugoslav Law for the Protection of Public Security and Order in the State of 1921, art. 6.
25. "Za pomoć sirotinji."
26. "Racija na prosjake."
27. "Prosjačenje po kućama i radnjama."
28. Himstedt-Vaid, "Das Bild des ‘Zigeuners’ im südslawischen Volkslied," 171–73; Vojak, *U predvečerje rata: Romi Hrvatskoj 1918–1941*; and Acković, *Romi u Beogradu*. See also Chapter 2 in this volume.
29. Jakovljević, "Naši Cigani."
30. "O prosjačenju," 3.
31. For some examples, see "Konačište u parku"; "Racija na klatež"; "Prosjače po gradu"; and "Radi prosjačenja."

32. For a few examples among many, see "Prosjачko pitanje postalo je vrlo akutno"; "Na tržnici uhapšeno 27 osoba"; and "Racija na noćne skitnice."
33. Grošelj, *Na dnu*, 90–97.
34. "Potera na skitnice i besposličare" u prestolnici, Belgrade, June 11, 1901, in City Archives of Belgrade (IAB), Municipality of Belgrade (UGB), 1901, Box 2137, 229 (published in *Živeti u Beogradu* 6: 566–67).
35. *Naredba o poteri za skitnicama i sumnjivim licima u Beogradu, aprila 1920. godine*, Belgrade, April 25, 1920, in IAB, UGB, 1920, Box 3122, 154 (published in: *Živeti u Beogradu* vol. 6: 567–68.)
36. For example, *Naredba Odeljenja javne bezbednosti o organizovanju policijskih patrola za privođenje prosjaka*, Belgrade, January 3, 1923, in IAB, UGB, 1923, Box 3150, 14 (published in *Živeti u Beogradu* 6: 475.
37. E.g., IAB, UGB, Box 2779, document nos. 24-69, 24-81, 24-71, 24-54, 24-55, 24-56, 24-62, and 24-39 (and many others). All of these arrests took place in 1936 explicitly because of beggary.
38. Parnica, "Filantropija u Hrvatskoj"; and Zorko, *Socijalni problemi*, 365–79.
39. Kolar-Dimitrijević, "Prvo zagrebačko dobrotvorno društvo 'Društvo čovječnosti' 1846–1946"; Goldstein, "Dobrotvorno i socijalno djelovanje Židovske zajednice u Zagrebu u 19. i 20. stoljeću"; and Kraus, *Dva stoljeća povijesti i kulture Židova u Zagrebu i Hrvatskoj*. There is almost no research about the humanitarian activity of the Serbian Orthodox and Protestant communities. see Zorko, *Socijalni problemi*, 381–82.
40. Zorko, *Socijalni problemi*, 181.
41. Zorko, 247–51.
42. The Elberfeld system, inaugurated in the city of Elberfeld in 1853, was a decentralized system for aiding the poor that relied on unsalaried almoners, whose duty was to investigate each applicant for aid and make regular visits as long as aid was given. A crucial feature of the system was that the almoners, including women and mostly members of the middle class, served voluntarily. The Elberfeld system influenced the reorganization of relief systems in most of the German cities and even beyond Germany before there was, in the larger cities particularly, a return to greater centralization and professionalization of poor relief. May, "Poverty in Transnational Discourses."
43. Zorko, *Socijalni problemi*, 195–200.
44. Ajduković and Branica, "Počeci socijalnog rada u hrvatskoj između dva svjetska rata"; Kolar-Dimitrijević, *Prvo zagrebačko dobrotvorno društvo "Društvo čovječnosti"*; and Goldstein, "Dobrotvorno i socijalno djelovanje Židovske zajednice."
45. Baloban, "Karitativni rad Katoličke Crkve kao ishodište socijalnog rada u Hrvatskoj."
46. Grošelj, *Na dnu*, 210–22.
47. For example, Pavlović, *Sephardi Pride: Jewish Associational Networks and Ethnic Modernity in Interwar Sarajevo*.

48. For an overview, see Popovic, "Le *waqf* dans les pays du Sud-Est européen à l'époque post-ottomane." Cf. Singer, "Charity's Legacies: Reconsideration of Ottoman Imperial Endowment-Making."
49. Jahnić, *Islamska zajednica u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 271–72, 470–71, 595–96. See also Bavčić, *Merhamet (1913–2003)*.
50. B.J., "Borba protiv prosjačenja."
51. About the Slovene provinces, see, for example, Leskošek, "The Role of the Slovenian Women's Movement in the Development of Social Work." About Belgrade, see Vidaković, *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć u Beogradu*, 299–369.
52. For detailed treatment of this topic, see Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*; and Chapter 6 in this volume.
53. About the development of the intellectual approach toward beggary in a European comparative way, see Althammer, *Bettler in der europäischen Stadt der Moderne*; Althammer, Gestrich, and Gründler, *The Welfare State and the 'Deviant Poor' in Europe*; and Griffante, "Lazy or Diseased? Changing Conceptions of Beggars and Vagrants in the Lithuanian Discourse."
54. For the opinions of the "Societies for helping the poor and the fight against beggary" in Zagreb and Belgrade, see, respectively, State Archives in Zagreb (hereafter DAZ), 1029 Dobrotvorno društvo "Prehrana," Box 5, *Izveštaj društva za pomaganje sirotinje i suzbijanje prosjačenja u Zagrebu za godinu 1935*, 4; and Vidaković, *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć u Beogradu*, 302, 376–77. For a review of the unanimous opinions of the representatives of several voluntary associations in Zagreb, see Zorko, *Socijalni problemi*, 178–80. For an example of a public condemnation of beggary, associated with theft, in an official document of the municipality in Zagreb, see Izveštaji Gradskog poglavarstva o sveopćoj upravi slobodnog i kraljevskog glavnog grada Zagreba za godinu 1919–1925, 135.
55. See, e.g., the statements by Viktor Mayer, secretary of Prehrana, a prominent charity organisation in Zagreb (see further in the chapter), DAZ, 1029 Dobrotvorno društvo "Prehrana," Box 4, 20. *Glavna godišnja skupština (20th Annual Meeting)*, 1935, p. 9. Very analogous centralized measures of registration of the needy people were introduced in Belgrade. See Vidaković, *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć u Beogradu*, 11, 275–77, 291–92 (furthermore, every social department had their own newly established registers).
56. "Jedna pohvalna akcija našeg 'Merhameta.'"
57. As examples, see, respectively, "Prosjačenje po kućama i radnjama"; "Ukloniti treba prosjake sa zagrebačkih ulica"; and "Rad društva za zaštitu sirotinje," 133–34.
58. Zorko, *Socijalni problemi*, 190–91. The same system was also introduced in smaller cities such as Vinkovac and Samobor. See Vojak, *U predvečerje rata*, 133. For other Yugoslav regions, such as Ljubljana, see Grošelj, *Na dnu*, 92–93.
59. Zorko, *Socijalni problemi*, 192–93.
60. In Belgrade it was founded in 1929. Vidaković, *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć u Beogradu*,

376. In Zagreb it was founded in 1934. Zorko, *Socijalni problemi*, 201.
61. To be precise, in Belgrade it was founded with the traditional name, which was soon modified in 1930. Vidaković, *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć u Beogradu*, 377.
62. The same phenomenon can be found elsewhere, such as in Zagreb. *Izveštaj Društva za pomaganje*, § 4.
63. See, for example, the detailed reports about the society's activity in Belgrade in 1933. "Rad Društva za pomaganje sirotinje"; and Stojanović, "Rad Društva za zaštitu i suzbijanje prosjačenja u Beogradu."
64. *Izveštaj Društva za pomaganje*, §1.
65. Stojanović, "Rad Društva za zaštitu i suzbijanje prosjačenja u Beogradu," 726.
66. "Rad Društva za pomaganje sirotinje," 133.
67. Quoted in Stojanović, "Rad Društva za zaštitu i suzbijanje prosjačenja u Beogradu," 724.
68. "Ukloniti treba prosjake sa zagrebačkih ulica."
69. Stojanović, "Rad Društva," 723.
70. For other similar cases, see IAB-UGB-1936, Box 2779, document no. 24-73, the Society to the 2nd District of the UGB, Belgrade, February 10, 1936; IAB-UGB-1936, Box 2779, document no. 24-38, the Society to the 2nd District of the UGB, Belgrade, September 7, 1936; IAB-UGB-1936, Box 2779, document no. 24-244, the Society to the 2nd District of the UGB, Belgrade, September 12, 1936; IAB-UGB-1936, Box 2779, document no. 24-263, the Society to the 2nd District of the UGB, Belgrade, September 12, 1936.
71. Stojanović, "Rad Društva za zaštitu i suzbijanje prosjačenja u Beogradu," 724.
72. Stojanović, 724.
73. Vidaković, *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć u Beogradu*, 379.
74. "Ukloniti treba prosjake sa zagrebačkih ulica."
75. "Među prosjacima i skitnicama u Boškovićevoj ulici."
76. Stojanović, "Rad Društva za zaštitu i suzbijanje prosjačenja u Beogradu," 729.
77. Vidaković, *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć u Beogradu*, 380.
78. Stojanović, "Rad Društva za zaštitu i suzbijanje prosjačenja u Beogradu," 729.
79. Mayer, *Dobrotvorno društvo Prehrana. Zagreb 1914-1939*, 38, 40-41. Mayer was secretary of the association throughout its entire existence.
80. Zimmermann, "'Making a Living from Disgrace': The Politics of Prostitution, Female Poverty and Urban Gender Codes in Budapest and Vienna, 1860-1920"; Gordon, "The New Feminist Scholarship on the Welfare State"; and Bock and Thane, *Maternity and Gender Policies*.
81. O'Day, "Caring or Controlling? The East End of London in the 1880s and 1890s," 150. For a general overview of paternalism and voluntary poor relief, see Morris, "Voluntary Societies," 106-16.

82. For useful methodological inputs, see Gestrich, King, and Raphael, *Being Poor in Modern Europe*. In general, see Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*.
83. For more about Southeastern European queens and their social engagement as nurses and benefactors, see Davidova, "Monarchism with a Human Face: Balkan Queens and the Social Politics of Nursing in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries."
84. Milnik, "Obitelj Alexander ili kratka kronika izbrisano vremena." In general on the Jews in interwar Zagreb, see Goldstein, *Židovi u Zagrebu 1918–1941*.
85. Parnica, "Filantropija u Hrvatskoj"; and Baloban, "Karitativni rad Katoličke Crkve."
86. Kolar-Dimitrijević, *Prvo zagrebačko dobrotvorno društvo "Društvo čovječnosti"*; Goldstein, "Dobrotvorno i socijalno djelovanje Židovske zajednice"; and Švob, "Razvoj ženskih općih i židovskih dobrotvornih organizacija."
87. Mayer, *Dobrotvorno društvo Prehrana*, 5.
88. The "League for the protection of the families of mobilized soldiers." Mayer, *Dobrotvorno društvo Prehrana*, 11.
89. Mayer, 22.
90. Mayer, 4–5, 24.
91. Cf. Mayer, 7, 21.
92. Cf. Mayer, 24–26, 28–29; and "15-godišnjica 'Prehrane.'" This trend continued until the late 1930s. DAZ, 1029 Dobrotvorno društvo "Prehrana," Box 4, *Annual meeting*, 1939, 1.
93. See, for example, "Pomoć Njegovog Veličanstva Kralja sirotinji za božićne praznike"; and "Za zimsku pomoć (Posveta Nj. Kr. Vis. Kneginje Olge)." For the main framework of the relationships between dynasty, state, and voluntary associations, see Giomi and Petrunaro, "Introduction."
94. As clearly stated in the mid-1930s, "the association does not receive any subsidies, neither from the government, nor the regional administration, nor the municipality, and only has the support of its members and the donations of rare benefactors to thank for." DAZ, 1029 Dobrotvorno društvo "Prehrana," Box 4, 20. *Annual meeting*, 1935, 7.
95. DAZ, 1029 Dobrotvorno društvo "Prehrana," Box 4, 22. *Annual meeting*, 1937, 7.
96. DAZ, 1029 Dobrotvorno društvo "Prehrana," Box 4, 22. *Annual meeting*, 1937, 6.
97. DAZ, 1029 Dobrotvorno društvo "Prehrana," Box 4, 22. *Annual meeting*, 1937, 10.
98. DAZ, 1029 Dobrotvorno društvo "Prehrana," Box 4, 24. *Annual meeting*, 1939, 8.
99. DAZ, 1029 Dobrotvorno društvo "Prehrana," Box 4, 22. *Annual meeting*, 1937, 1–2.
100. DAZ, 1029 Dobrotvorno društvo "Prehrana," Box 4, 22. *Annual meeting*, 1937, 3.
101. Smith, "Charity and Poor Relief: The Modern Period," 458; and Morris, "Voluntary Societies," 96.
102. Alber, *Vom Armenhaus zum Wohlfahrtsstaat*, 24–29.
103. Mayer, *Dobrotvorno društvo Prehrana*, 41–42.

104. Three were inaugurated in 1931, although two were closed after only two years; additional ones were occasionally opened in the following years, but they did not operate year-round. Zorko, *Socijalni problemi*, 296–97. On the engagement of the municipality in poor relief in general in the first half of the 1920s, see *Izveštaji Gradskog poglavarstva*, 92–97, 113–31.
105. For an overview of the social policies of the municipality of Zagreb in the interwar years, see Zorko, *Socijalni problemi*, 246–304.
106. Zorko, *Socijalni problemi*, 251.
107. Zorko, 198–99.
108. Baloban, “Karitativni rad,” 279–80.
109. *Izveštaji Gradskog poglavarstva*; Ajduković and Branica, “Počeci socijalnog rada”; Zorko, *Socijalni problemi*, 305–82; and Baloban, “Karitativni rad.”
110. See Chapter 6 in this volume.
111. “Organizacija zimske pomoći u Osijeku.”
112. “Delatnost ‘Pučke kuhinje’ u Vinkovcima.”
113. “Naše građevine,” 45. For an overview, see Zaviršek and Leskošek, *The History of Social Work in Slovenia*. See also Grošelj, *Na dnu*, 221–22, 242–49.
114. “Rad ‘Gradske kuhinje’ i javni radovi u Subotici.”
115. “Zimska pomoć siromašnom i nezaposlenom građanstvu grada Bitolja”; and Krm-potić, “Spisak radničkih skloništa i kuhinja pri pojedinim ustanovama javne službe posredovanja rada,” 41. For some insight into poor assistance in Belgrade in the 1930s, see Vidaković, *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć*, 285–88, 374–76, and, particularly about soup kitchens, 135–36. A soup kitchen managed by a female humanitarian association (*Za-druga Jugoslavenki*) in Sarajevo is mentioned in State Archive of Bosnia and Hercegovina (ABiH), Regional Government in Sarajevo (ZVS), 1920, Box 204, the Police to the ZVS, April 14, 1929. There are no overviews of poor assistance in interwar Sarajevo. For some case studies, see Bavčić, *Merhamet (1913–2003)*; and Pavlović Ćirić, “Sephardi Pride: Jewish Associational Networks and Ethnic Modernity in Interwar Sarajevo.”
116. On Jewish assimilationist groups in interwar Zagreb, see Goldstein, *Židovi u Zagrebu*, 172–78.
117. For the structure of the first boards established in 1914 and renewed in 1917, see Mayer, *Dobrotvorno društvo Prebrana*, 10, 16.
118. Mayer, 32.
119. Waaldijk, “Power and Politics in Social Work: Politics, Gender and Education, of Social Workers in Eastern Europe 1900–1960,” 69–76; and Leskošek, “The Role of the Slovenian Women’s Movement in the Development of Social Work.”
120. On gender discourse and images in interwar Yugoslavia, see Giomi, *Making Muslim Women European*; Vujnović, *Forging the Bubikopf Nation*; and Ogriješek Gorenjak, *Opasne iluzije*. See also Chapter 1 in this volume.

121. Mayer, *Dobrotvorno društvo Prehrana*, 6.
122. Mayer, 36.
123. DAZ, 1029, Box 4, 20. *Annual meeting*, 1935, Secretary's Report, 3.
124. Extensively on war veterans, see Newman, *Yugoslavia in the Shadow of the War*.
125. DAZ, 1029, Box 4, 22. *Annual meeting*, 1937, 5.
126. Doolittle, "The Duty to Provide: Fathers, Families and the Workhouse in England, 1880–1914." For recent criticism from the point of view of labor history, see Yeo, "Gender in Labour and Working-Class History"; and Sarti, Bellavitis, and Martini, *What Is Work? Gender at the Crossroads of Home, Family, and Business*.
127. DAZ, 1029, Box 4, 20. *Annual meeting*, 1935, 5.
128. DAZ, 1029, Box 4, 20. *Annual meeting*, 1935, 9.
129. DAZ, 1029, Box 4, 20. *Annual meeting*, 1935, 8.
130. DAZ, 1029, Box 4, 20. *Annual meeting*, 1935, 9. For the same plea of the "Society for helping the poor and fighting against beggary in Zagreb," see DAZ, 1029, Box 5, *Izvještaj društva za pomaganje sirotinje i suzbijanje prosjačenja u Zagrebu za godinu 1935*, 4.
131. A comparison with the report for 1940 shows that the more detailed figures differed somewhat but not the overall relationships between the assisted groups. DAZ, 1029, Box 4, *Izvještaj o radu u godini 1940*.
132. About the fascinating issue of Habsburg pertinency and its post-Habsburg effects, see Kirchner Reill, Jeličić, and Rolandi, "Redefining Citizenship after Empire: The Rights to Welfare, to Work, and to Remain in a Post-Habsburg World."
133. DAZ, 1029, Box 4, 20. *Annual Meeting*, 1935, 8.
134. Calic, "Bildung als Entwicklungsproblem in Jugoslawien (1918–1941)."
135. "Lekar-svirač, lekar-frizer, lekar-guvernanta."
136. This was the soup kitchen previously managed by the Društvo čovječnosti.
137. On visual representations of poverty, see King, "The Clothing of the Poor: A Matter of Pride or of Shame?"; Gestrich, "Depicting the 'Moral Dregs of Our Great Population': An 1890 Illustrated Newspaper Series on 'The Homes of the Glasgow Poor'"; Reiss, "The Image of the Poor and the Unemployed: The Example of *Punch*, 1841–1939"; and Uerlings, Trauth, and Clemens, *Armut. Perspektiven in Kunst und Gesellschaft*.
138. Mayer, *Dobrotvorno društvo Prehrana*, 23.
139. DAZ, 1029, Box 4, 20. *Annual meeting*, 1935, 6.
140. Mayer, *Dobrotvorno društvo Prehrana*, 23–24.
141. For example, in Mayer, 38–39.
142. Mayer, 14.
143. The so-called war kitchen opened on February 11, 1917, and closed in April 1919 when Prehrana had to leave its wartime district. For further details about this initiative, see DAZ, 1029, Box 4, 20. *Annual meeting*, 1935, 5.
144. DAZ, 1029, Box 4, 20. *Annual meeting*, 1935, 5.

145. DAZ, 1029, Box 5, Prehrana to the Ministry of Education, February 06, 1932.
146. DAZ, 1029, Box 4, 20. *Annual meeting*, 1935, 7.
147. Hasanbegović, *Muslimani u Zagrebu 1878–1945*, 104–6. Founded by the local board of the Muslim Cultural Society Narodna uzdanica in Zagreb, this Muslim canteen initially went through some turbulent times, becoming the site of acute conflicts between left-oriented Muslim students and anticommunist and pro-Croatian nationalists of the local Muslim community. By the end of the year these tensions led to incidents, interventions by the police, the discharge of the canteen's managers, and the expulsion of some of the students (Hasanbegović, 112–14). The Muslim canteen reopened in April 1937 and continued—together with the boarding school that it was part of—to function for the remaining interwar years and after the establishment of the Ustasha State in 1941 (Hasanbegović, 116, 213–18). See also Kemura, *Značaj i uloga “Narodne uzdanice” u društvenom životu Bošnjaka*.
148. DAZ, 1029, Box 4, 20. *Annual meeting*, 1935, 7.
149. And even less in the years when anti-Semitism was growing in Yugoslavia, as it was everywhere else in Europe. Goldstein, *Židovi u Zagrebu*, 379–447.
150. Notwithstanding the anti-Semitic measures of the Ustasha state established in April 1941, which commissioned the Alexander foundation and confiscated all the foundation's real and personal property, Prehrana somehow managed to continue to work during the war and the first postwar years before being formally abolished, together with other similar private organizations in the field of social care, by the new socialist regime in 1947. DAZ, 1029, Box 4, Mayer, *Nastavak rada*, undated (but post-1947), 4–7; and DAZ, 1029, Box 4, Riješenje o zabrani djelovanja, Odjel unutrašnjih poslova pri gradskom izvršnom odboru Zagreb, November 12, 1947.

CHAPTER 6

1. On the first instructions for such posters, see City Archives of Belgrade (Istorijski Arhiv Beograda, hereafter IAB), 479—Fond za stvaranje i održavanje radničkih ustanova u Beogradu (hereafter FOND), Box 58, folder 1929, November 30, 1929, subfolder 1929–30. The FOND was a special institution in charge of managing the aid facilities for workers in Belgrade.
2. IAB, FOND, Box 58, *Poslovnik o upravljanju u radničkim skloništima* (hereafter *Rules*), May 20, 1929, art. 1.
3. For a comparative view, see Topalov, “The Invention of Unemployment: Language, Classification and Social Reform 1880–1910”; Zimmermann, *Arbeitslosigkeit in Deutschland. Zur Entstehung einer sozialen Kategorie*; and Wadauer, “Establishing Distinctions.” In general, see Castel, *From Manual Workers to Wage Laborers*.

4. Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*. See also Calic, *Geschichte Jugoslawiens*, 97–109, 119–22. On the general economic history of this time, see Dimitrijević, *Privredni razvitak Jugoslavije*; Polovina, *Privredni sistem i proizvodni odnosi u Jugoslaviji*; and Tomasevich, *Peasants, Politics, and Economic Change in Yugoslavia*. See also Chapter 1 in this volume.
5. Among the numerous and variegated institutions in this field, the most similar in comparison with the ones under examination seem to be the hostels established in Austria in the interwar period, and derived from the previous *Naturalverpflegsstationen* of the late nineteenth century established in Habsburg Cisleithania, in some regions of the German Reich, and in Switzerland and the Netherlands. Wadauer, “Establishing Distinctions,” 32–33, 43–51; Wadauer, *Der Arbeit nachgehen?*; and Wadauer, *Die Erzeugung von Arbeit*. For analogous institutions in Habsburg Hungary, see Zimmermann, *Divide, Provide, and Rule*, 61–62.
6. IAB, FOND, Box 62, folder 1933, the FOND to the Territorial Rail Direction, September 30, 1933.
7. IAB, FOND, Box 62, folder 1933, the FOND to the Direction of the River Traffic, October 31, 1933; and IAB, FOND, Box 62, folder 1934, the FOND to the Direction of the River Traffic, January 02, 1934.
8. IAB, FOND, Box 62, folder 1933, the FOND to numerous organizations, November 29, 1933.
9. The existing studies about internal Yugoslav labor mobility are generally devoted to the socialist and postsocialist time, such as Sikimić, Hristov, and Golubović, *Labour Migrations in the Balkans*.
10. This is valid for the former Habsburg regions, less so for the Kingdom of Serbia and not at all for the Kingdom of Montenegro and the territories that until the Balkan Wars belonged to the Ottoman Empire, which itself knew no form of public assistance specifically for the unemployed. In almost all the regions, however, there existed traditional forms of mutual aid in case of unemployment for certain professional categories, above all miners and printers. Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*, 230; Perić, *Jugoslavenstvo socijalno zakonodavstvo. Priručnik za socijalnu službu*, 230–31; and Petrović, *Nezaposlenost i staranje o nezaposlenima u Jugoslaviji*, 20–46. Cf. Chapter 1 in this volume.
11. Šešo, “Počeci djelovanja službe za zapošljavanje u Hrvatskoj.”
12. For a comparative view, see Alber, *Vom Armenhaus zum Wohlfahrtsstaat*, 166–94; Bieling and Deppe, *Arbeitslosigkeit und Wohlfahrtsstaat in Westeuropa*; Zimmermann, *Divide, Provide, and Rule*, 64–68; Topalov, “The Invention of Unemployment”; and Zimmermann, *Arbeitslosigkeit*.
13. For a particularly harsh but not unfounded, judgment, see Lakićević, *Misao i praksa socijalne politike Jugoslavije*, 98. For a good overview, see Petrović, *Nezaposlenost*, 20–46.
14. Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*, 380.
15. Calic, 404–16, 427–32; Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 177–81; and Sundhaussen,

- Geschichte Jugoslawiens*, 84–98.
16. Marušić, “Glavne smernice naše socijalne politike.”
 17. Vidaković, *Naši socijalni problemi*, 25.
 18. “Naše građevine,” 43.
 19. Perić, *Jugoslavensko socijalno zakonodavstvo*, 363–68. For a collection of legislative measures specifically regarding the unemployed, see Perić, *Zakonodavstvo o zbrinjavanju nezaposlenih u Jugoslaviji*.
 20. Perić, “Rezultati Javne službe posredovanja,” 50. The exchange rate of the dinar during the interwar period was between 1.70 (1925) and 2.31 (1938) dollars (quotations from the New York Stock Exchange). Svernilson, *Growth and Stagnation in the European Economy* (Geneva, 1954), 2, quoted in Nikolić, *Kurs dinara i devizna politika Kraljevine Jugoslavije*, 47.
 21. Perić, *Jugoslavensko socijalno zakonodavstvo*, 309–37.
 22. Perić, 355–63; and Petrović, *Nezaposlenost*, 109–26.
 23. Topalov, “The Invention of Unemployment”; Wadauer, “Establishing Distinctions”; and Zimmermann, *Arbeitslosigkeit*.
 24. Quoted in Kolar-Dimitrijević, “Socijalno-ekonomska politika,” 188.
 25. Vidaković, *Naši socijalni problemi*, 17.
 26. IAB, FOND, box 62, Četvrti godišnji izveštaj (Beograd, 1933) (hereafter IAB, Fourth final report 1933), 10–11.
 27. Perić, *Jugoslavensko socijalno zakonodavstvo*, 195. For the long traditions of such distinctions, see Geremek, *Truands et misérables dans L’Europe moderne*; and Woolf, *The Poor in Western Europe*. In general, see Raphael, *Inklusion/Exklusion*; and Gestrich, King, and Raphael, *Being Poor*.
 28. Perić, *Jugoslavensko socijalno zakonodavstvo*, 197.
 29. Quoted in Kolar-Dimitrijević, “Socijalno-ekonomska politika,” 181–82.
 30. Quoted in Kolar-Dimitrijević, 196.
 31. Šešo, “Počeci djelovanja,” 178.
 32. Kolar-Dimitrijević, “Socijalno-ekonomska politika,” 215.
 33. “Naše građevine,” 43.
 34. “Radničko sklonište od juče prima nezaposlene.”
 35. From the point of view of the social history of architecture, see Vuksanović-Macura, *Život na ivici: Stanovanje sirotinje u Beogradu 1919–1941*, 109.
 36. “Svečano otvorenje doma Javne berze rada u Splitu,” 86.
 37. “Naše građevine,” 44.
 38. Zagreb, for instance, was late in comparison with the other main Yugoslav cities. “Prenočište za siromašne radnike”; “Što je s radničkim konačistem i radničkom kuhinjom?”; “O nevoljama neuposlenih radnika”; and “Otvaranje radničkog prenočišta.”
 39. “Krevet za četiri dinara. Prenočište kraj novog sajmišta otvoreno ali slabo posjećeno”;

and “14.554 radnika.”

40. Stefanović (colonel of the gendarmerie, Sarajevo), “Nezaposlenost kao socijalno-ekonomski uzrok kriminaliteta,” 357.
41. Stefanović, 362–63.
42. See the “Law for the State Protection” (*Službene novine*, January 6, 1929), art. 6, or the Criminal Code of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (*Službene novine*, January 27, 1929), § 158. About beggars, see Chapter 5 in this volume. Regarding the wide and variegated world of the “vagrants,” see in relation to the Austrian case and with useful theoretical considerations Wadauer, “Establishing Distinctions,” 31–70. Regarding the Slovene context, see Grošelj, *Na dnu*, 120–38. In general, see Beier and Ocobock, *Cast Out*; and Beate Althammer, *Vagabunden*.
43. See the huge number of similar cases published in *Policijski glasnik*, the official police bulletin. This also has to do with the municipal responsibility to partly take care of/control the poor, who were therefore removed from the places where they were legally settled.
44. “Što je s radničkim konačistem i radničkom kuhinjom?”
45. “Što je s radničkim konačistem i radničkom kuhinjom?”
46. *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć*, 274.
47. *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć*, 374.
48. *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć*, 278.
49. AIB, FOND, Box 58, *Govor G. Luke Pavićevića* (my emphasis).
50. “Naše građevine,” 42. Social policy conceived as a matter of national prestige and as a tool for state-building was a characteristic trait of Eastern European interwar governments. Zimmermann, “Wohlfahrtspolitik,” 212–14; and Inglot, *Welfare States*, 54–59.
51. The Workers’ Chambers (Radničke komore) were public institutions (i.e., not trade union organizations) that represented workers’ interests; they received public funding and were linked with the Ministry of Social Policy. See Milenković, “Radničko zakonodavstvo,” 108–10.
52. “Svečano otvorenje.”
53. “Otvaranje prenočišta za radnice u Ljubljani,” 285. It is useful to know that the total expenditures in the budget of a city such as Zagreb in that year amounted to around 130 million dinars and that in 1933/1934 the Municipality of Belgrade devoted in total approximately 4,700 dinars to “social aid.” Kolar-Dimitrijević, “Socijalno-ekonomska politika,” 183; and *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć*, 14.
54. Arhiv Jugoslavije (Archives of Yugoslavia, AJ), Središnja uprava za posredovanje rada, Box 1, subfolder 3, final approval by the Minister, May 30, 1932.
55. For a framework for the Belgrade case, see *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć*, 370–74. Regarding the loan, one can read that it was considered “actually a present.” “Naše građevine,” 43.

56. Državni Arhiv Zagreb (State Archives of Zagreb, DAZ (like above)), 10–8, Gradsko poglavarstvo Zagreb, Socijalni odsjek 1919–1937 (hereafter SO), Box 2, the Workers' Chamber to the Municipality, October 06, 1932.
57. DAZ, SO, Box 2, the Central Agency to the Labour Office in Zagreb, July 27, 1932. The Municipality also contributed to the building costs. This is later confirmed. See DAZ, SO, Box 2, *Izveštaj o radu i poslovanju u Gradskom radničkom prenočištu u Zagrebu u budžetskoj godini 1936–1937* (hereafter DAZ, *Final report 1937*).
58. Perić, “Rezultati Javne službe posredovanja,” 52. For the detailed lists, see AJ, Središnja uprava za posredovanje rada, Box 1, subfolder 3.
59. Detailed examples for all aforementioned subventions can be found in IAB, FOND, subfolders 1935, 1938, 1939.
60. In 1938 in Belgrade, thirteen million dinars were collected and used for this purpose: IAB, FOND, Box 59, *Deveti godišnji izveštaj Fonda za stvaranje i održavanje radničkih ustanova u Beogradu o radu u 1937/38 budžetskoj godini* (hereafter IAB, *Ninth final report 1938*), 3.
61. The report can be read in IAB, FOND, Box 58, November 30, 1928.
62. Petrović, *Nezaposlenost*, 95.
63. In relation to Belgrade, see IAB, *Rules*, art. 2. In relation to Zagreb, see DAZ, SO, Box 2, *Kućni red radničkog prenočišta na Zavrtnici u Zagrebu*, s.d. (hereafter DAZ, *House rules*), art. 1.
64. Grgić, “Radnička grejališta,” 8–10.
65. Topalov, “The Invention of Unemployment”; Zimmermann, *Arbeitslosigkeit*; and Wadauer, “Establishing Distinctions.”
66. “Pravilnik o povlašćenoj vožnji nezaposlenih radnika na držav. železnicama i brod. i Uputstva za njegovo izvršenje,” 9–10; “Uputstva za izvršenje ‘Pravilnika o povlašćenoj vožnji nezaposlenih radnika,’” 10–11; and “Pravilnik o povlašćenoj vožnji nezaposlenih radnika na Jadranskom moru i Skadarskom Jezeru i Uputstva za njegovo izvršenje,” 11–12.
67. “Spisak radničkih skloništa i kuhinja pri pojedinim ustanovama javne službe posredovanja rada,” 41–44.
68. Petrović, *Nezaposlenost*, 58–59, 61.
69. Petrović, 75.
70. In those same cities there were also hostels only for men.
71. Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*, 258–62.
72. In 1930 the nominal daily male wage was on average 26.56 dinars. In 1935 it fell to 21.65 dinars. There were notable differences in any case depending on the sex, age, and regional cleavages between the poorer south and east and the north and west of the kingdom. Calic, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens*, 381–85.
73. “I četiri dinara je previše!”

74. DAZ, *Final report 1937*, 6.
75. IAB, FOND, *Prvi godišnji izveštaj* (Beograd, 1930), 16.
76. "Izveštaj Fonda za stvaranje i održavanje radničkih ustanova u Beogradu o radu u 1934/35 budž god," 138.
77. IAB, *Fourth final report 1933*, 10–11.
78. IAB, *Fourth final report 1933*, 12; and IAB, *Ninth final report 1938*, 6.
79. DAZ, SO, Box 2, *Iskaz o broju prenoćenja od 1 travnja 1934 do 31 ožujka 1935*, October 25, 1935; DAZ, SO, Box 2, *Izveštaj o poslovanju u Gradskom radničkom prenoćištu u Zagrebu u budžetskoj godini 1935/36*, s.p.; and DAZ, *Final report 1937*, 6.
80. IAB, *Rules*, art. 2.
81. IAB, *Fourth final report 1933*, 10, 12; and IAB, *Ninth final report 1938*, 6–7.
82. DAZ, *House rules*, art. 2. The male hostel in Ljubljana was similarly destined primarily for "unemployed persons in transit" as were all the minor hostels, such as those in Mostar and Tuzla. "Naše građevine," 204.
83. DAZ, *Final report 1937*, 2.
84. IAB, *Rules*, art. 2.
85. IAB, *Ninth final report 1938*, 5.
86. IAB, *Ninth final report 1938*, 8.
87. DAZ, *Final report 1937*, 4.
88. See the so-called budgets for the hostels in Sarajevo and Novi Sad, *Socijalna arhiv*, nos. 10–12 (1938): 322–26: "Budžet radničkih prenoćišta Javne berze rada u Beogradu za 1939 god" (322), "Budžet radničkih prenoćišta Javne berze rada u Zagrebu za 1939 god" (323), "Budžet radničkih prenoćišta Javne berze rada u Splitu za 1939 god" (324), "Budžet radničkih prenoćišta Javne berze rada u Sarajevu za 1939 god" (325), and "Budžet radničkih prenoćišta Javne berze rada u Novom Sadu za 1939 god" (326).
89. "Krevet za četiri dinara."
90. *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć*, 372. The same procedure was used in Zagreb. DAZ, *House rules*, art. 5–12.
91. *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć*, 372.
92. *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć*, 371–72, 373.
93. I refer to the studies inspired by Douglas, *Purity and Danger*.
94. Hering, *The Influence of Cultures, Denominations and Ideologies on Welfare History in Eastern Europe*, esp. 55–60.
95. DAZ, SO, Box 2, the city health inspector to the Municipality, Department of Social Services, February 9, 1934; and DAZ, SO, Box 2, the city health inspector to the Municipality, Department of Social Services, February 20, 1934.
96. DAZ, SO, Box 2, the Municipality to the city health inspector, September 14, 1934.
97. DAZ, SO, Box 2, the Department of Health Services to the Department of Social services, August 21, 1935; internal notice dated August 6, 1936; and the hostel's manager

- to the city health inspector, May 21, 1937.
98. DAZ, SO, Box 2, the head of the Labour Office to the Municipality, Department of Social Services, March 29, 1934; and DAZ, SO, Box 2, the head of the Labour Office to the Municipality, Department of Social Services, July 16, 1934. Confirmed in "14.554 radnika."
 99. DAZ, SO, Box 2, minutes of the management board meeting, October 12, 1937. The same in Belgrade: IAB, FOND, Box 58, *Radnička skloništa* (draft for a press release).
 100. AIB, FOND, Box 62, the FOND to the Municipality, Health Department, May 05, 1933.
 101. *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć*, 371–72.
 102. Petrik, "Dom za berzu rada sa konačistem," 65–66.
 103. *Zdravlje i socijalna pomoć*, 372.
 104. AIB, FOND, Box 58, *Govor G. Luke Pavičevića*.
 105. IAB, FOND, Box 58, *Radnička skloništa*.
 106. IAB, FOND, Box 59, the management board to the headquarters of the gendarmerie, February 28, 1930.
 107. DAZ, SO, Box 2, minutes of the management board meeting, October 12, 1937. The proposal was not realized because of technical reasons.
 108. IAB, FOND, Box 59, meeting minutes of the management board of the FOND, 21.03.1930; and IAB, *Fourth final report 1933*, 8.
 109. IAB, FOND, Box 59, minutes of meeting, March 21, 1930.
 110. I refer to the studies inspired by Foucault's and Goffman's works. Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*; and Wallace, *Total Institutions*.
 111. Goffman, *Asylums*; and Treviño, *Goffman's Legacy*.
 112. For the architectural model in question, see Petrik, "Dom za berzu rada sa konačistem." On the "panoptismus," see Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, chap. 3.
 113. "Naše građevine," 44.
 114. AIB, FOND, Box 58, *Radnička skloništa*.
 115. "Svečano otvorenje doma Javne berze rada u Splitu."
 116. If there is some doubt regarding the veracity of the case reported by Milivoj Miković (DAZ, SO, Box 2, report, November 23, 1937; inquiry requested by the Municipality to the Labour Office, November 30, 1937; answer, December 22, 1937), there is no such doubting with respect to the report presented by another guest some months later (DAZ, SO, Box 2, report, the head of the Labour Office to the Municipality, April 8, 1938).
 117. IAB, FOND, Box 62, the FOND to the Ministry of Social Policy, August 15, 1933.
 118. IAB, FOND, Box 60, the FOND to the Ministry of Social Policy, January 25, 1931,

and annexes, that is, the first report, January 21, 1931, and the inquiry's report by Milena Atanacković, head of the female workers' hostel, s.d.

119. "Svečano otvorenje" (my emphasis).

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