

# ZARAH

## *Third International Workshop*

10-12 October 2022, Central European University  
Quellenstraße 51, 1100 Vienna

### *Participants/ZARAH Team Members:*

Selin Çağatay  
Mátyás Erdélyi  
Alexandra Ghit  
Veronika Helfert  
Ivelina Masheva  
Lukas Neissl  
Zhanna Popova  
Jelena Tešija  
Eszter Varsa  
Susan Zimmermann  
József Gábor Bóné  
Olga Gnydiuk (on maternity leave)

### *International Experts:*

Mahua Sarkar (University of Toronto)  
Sylvia Hahn (Paris Lodron University of Salzburg)

### *Experts in Public History:*

Stefan Müller (Archiv der sozialen Demokratie, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Bonn; ZARAH co-operation partner)  
Júlia Perczel (Institute of Human Sciences, Vienna)  
Evi Scheller (Digital Museum Strategies, Wien Museum)

*Note on program item “Discussion of Pre-circulated Papers”:* In these sessions the two international experts and ZARAH team members discuss the pre-circulated draft papers authored by ZARAH team members. (For a list of the ZARAH researchers’ component studies and the available research descriptions, to which the pre-circulated papers relate, see the appendix at the end of this document.) Seventy minutes are allocated to the discussion of each paper.

## *Workshop Program*

### Monday, 10 October

QS B-319 Senate Room

### *Discussion of Pre-circulated Papers I*

Facilitator: Ivelina Masheva

09:00–10:10

**Zhanna Popova:** Ambivalent Transnational Encounters of a Labour Activist: Halina Krahelska, 1920s-1930s

10:10–10:30

***Coffee Break***

10:30–11:40

**Veronika Helfert:** The Private is the Workplace: The Federation of Austrian Democratic Women and New Social Movements, Labour-related Concerns, and International Entanglements, 1960s-1980s

11:40–11:50

***Ten-minute Break***

11:50–13:00

**Selin Çağatay:** Constructing the Woman Worker as a Political Subject: ICFTU- and AAFLI-supported Educational Activities in Turkey, from 1960s to early-1990s

13:00–14:30

***Lunch Break***

***Discussion of Pre-circulated Papers II***

Facilitator: Zhanna Popova

14:30–15:40

**Alexandra Ghit:** Women Tobacco Workers in the 1920 General Strike in Bucharest: Build-up of Activism and Long-term Effects on Labor Regimes in Romania

15:40–15:50

***Ten-minute Break***

15:50–17:00

**Susan Zimmermann:** Dance Around a “Sacred Cow”: Women’s Night Work and the Gender Politics of the Mass Worker in State-socialist Hungary and Internationally

17:40–19:10

***ZARAH Public Lecture***

CEU Auditorium

***Mahua Sarkar***

**Talking with Men: Ethnographic Research Among Transnational Labour Migrants**

Co-hosted by ZARAH, the Department of History and the Department of Gender Studies

**Tuesday, 11 October**

QS Auditorium

***ZARAH Public History***

Facilitator: Eszter Varsa

This morning, and one session on Wednesday, are dedicated to the discussion with the invited public history experts on the ZARAH Public History Website.

09:00–10:30

**Júlia Perczel:** Analyzing ZARAH Metadata to Enhance Insight into Patterns of Women's Labour Activism in Eastern Europe and Transnationally

10:30–10:50

**Coffee Break**

10:50–12:20

Team Brainstorming with **Stefan Müller** on the ZARAH Public History Website

12:20–13:30

**Lunch Break**

**Discussion of Pre-circulated Papers III**

Facilitator: Alexandra Ghit

13:30–14:40

**Jelena Tešija:** Eastern Europe in/and the International Co-operative Women's Guild, 1921-1963

14:40–14:50

**Ten-minute Break**

14:50–16:00

**Ivelina Masheva:** Enforcing Labour Laws in the Bulgarian Textile Industry: The Role of Women Workers, Trade Unions and Labour Inspections, 1920s-1940s

16:00–16:20

**Coffee Break**

16:20–17:30

**Eszter Varsa:** "Through the Eyes of a Woman": Agrarian Socialist Labour Activist Mariska Várkonyi in 1890s-1900s Hungary

**Wednesday, 12 October**

QS B-319 Senate Room

**ZARAH Public History (continued)**

Facilitator: Selin Çağatay

14:00–15:30

**Evi Scheller:** Designing Public History Websites that Work Intuitively

16:00–18:00

**Favoriten: A City Walk in a Viennese Working-class District Through the Lens of Gender and Work**

Guide: Veronika Helfert

## **Appendix: ZARAH Researchers' Component Studies and Available Research Descriptions**

### **1. Selin Çağatay**

**Component Study:** *Women into Gainful Work in Turkey and Transnationally: Labour Activism and Gendered Education in the Semi-Periphery, 1950s to 1990s*

### **2. Alexandra Ghit**

**Component Study:** *Women against Paternalism and Exploitation: Gendered Work and Entangled Organizing in the Tobacco Industry, in Greater Romania during the Twentieth century*

### **3. Olga Gnydiuk**

**Component Study:** *A Story of Women's International Endeavor: The Politics of Women's Paid and Unpaid Work in and beyond the World Federation of Trade Unions, 1940s to 1980s*

### **4. Veronika Helfert**

**Component Study:** *Ruptures in Consensus? An Entangled History of Women's Labour Activism in Austria and Transnationally, 1945 to the 1980s*

### **5. Ivelina Masheva**

**Component Study:** *Competing for and Marginalizing Women Workers: Trade Unionism, Syndicalism and Corporatism in Bulgaria and Internationally, 1920s-1940s*

### **6. Zhanna Popova**

**Component Study:** *Polish and Jewish Women Labour Activists in the Polish lands and Internationally from the 1880s to the 1930s*

### **7. Jelena Tešija**

**Component Study:** *The Co-operative Movement in and beyond the Yugoslav Lands from the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century to the 1950s: Gendered Politics and Women's Contribution*

### **8. Eszter Varsa**

**Component Study:** *Sisters and Comrades of the Land: A Gendered History of Agrarian Socialism in Hungary, 1890s-1920s*

### **9. Susan Zimmermann**

**Component Study:** *Shifting the Scene: Women Trade Unionists and the Politics of Women's Work in Hungary and Internationally, 1950s-1980s*

***Women into Gainful Work in Turkey and Transnationally: Labour Activism and Gendered Education in the Semi-Periphery, 1950s to 1990s***

ZARAH Component Study Selin Çağatay  
Short Description

This ZARAH Component Study investigates the educational activities targeting urban and rural women to integrate them and improve their status in the world of gainful work in Turkey and transnationally. These activities included vocational and skills training, literacy training, educational seminars, and programs as well as workers' and trade union education initiatives broadly conceived. Covering the period from the 1950s – when technological, demographic, and economic developments facilitated women's greater involvement in income generating activities – until the 1990s, it analyzes the differential agendas of the actors involved and highlights the different scales of activism and their entanglement.

Educational efforts concerning women in Turkey gained momentum and took a transnational turn in the post-1945 period which was characterized early on by increased interaction between the state and labour activists and the growing influence of international labour and global governance institutions (e.g., ICA/AID, ICFTU, ILO, OECD, UNESCO). In the following decades, more actors entered the field (e.g., AAFLI, AFL-CIO, ETUC, UNICEF, World Bank) and engaged in various forms and scales of collaboration with local labour and women's movements. The actors involved construed working women as rights-seeking subjects whose socio-economic empowerment would be achieved by their advancement in gainful work through education. Their highly diversified approaches and agendas were shaped by Cold War rivalries, Turkey's semi-peripheral positioning in the global world order, and competing visions of gendered social relations.

The Component Study takes educational activities targeting women as a vantage point to understand how gender and labour struggles were co-constituted by the state, national and international trade unions, global governance institutions, women's organizations, and various social movements seeking women's and/or workers' rights. It shows how women labour activists in Turkey and transnationally transformed themselves and the struggles around them through educational activities. Thematic foci of the study include literacy training for women of various disadvantaged groups, vocational and skills training, and education provided by local trade unions (e.g., TÜRK-İŞ, DİSK) in collaboration with international trade unions and women labour activists as well as feminist researchers at home. The study relies on documents related to national and international governance, trade unions, women's activism, and expert discourses available at Turkish and international archives and libraries. Oral history interviews with activists who organized and/or participated in educational activities involving women in Turkey complement this source material.

***Women Against Paternalism and Exploitation: Gendered Work and Entangled Organizing in the Tobacco Industry, in Greater Romania<sup>1</sup> during the Twentieth Century***

ZARAH Component Study Alexandra Ghit

My Component Study looks at the evolution of women's paid and unpaid work and labour activism in the tobacco industry in the Transylvania region of the Kingdom of Hungary until 1918 and in rural and urban Romania (including Transylvania) thereafter, until 1989. The four case studies making up my Component Study, covering the period from the 1890s to 1989, will chart the emergence and long-term evolution of activist claims and actions by women workers in the tobacco industry from the above-mentioned areas. They will explain how various forms of women's labour activism countered practices of labour control and shaped the operation of the tobacco industry, through local, national and transnational actions. They will also look at how tobacco women's labour activism was linked to the wider, transnational labour movement and other social movements, such as feminism. The tobacco industry in much of Central and Eastern Europe was state-owned, during but also long before state socialism. In interwar Romania, the tobacco industry was a key component of the state's debt repayment program. Consequently, the industry was historically strongly attuned to waves of globalization and geopolitical reordering, making it a highly suitable vantage point for understanding the role of women's work and women's labour activism in long-term state-mediated processes of regional integration into the world economy and attendant reorganization of social relations. Conversely, the focus on the tobacco industry can reveal how gender relations were shaped by industrialization and forms of coerced agricultural work.

I define the tobacco industry as comprising tobacco cultivation, tobacco processing – sorting, bulk storage of harvested tobacco, and tobacco product manufacturing – of cigarettes, cigars and smoking-related products such as matches. As suggested above, I focus on the long-term history of the tobacco industry because of its multi-sector span (covering agriculture and manufacturing), unbroken history of state ownership (tobacco production and sale was a state monopoly in the Kingdom of Hungary and in Romania), historical characteristic of employing, since at least the 1890s, a predominantly female workforce and involving in (paid and unpaid) agricultural work women from rural areas, most of them subordinate members of peasant or landless agrarian households; the latter households were often situated in the vicinity of towns and cities

Differently from previous studies on labour control and women's work in the region covered by the ZARAH project, the case studies making up my Component Study focus on the development of activist claims and actions of women workers, rather than privileging the investigation of the labour control practices affecting these workers. The scope and chronological range of the project allow for fruitful comparison of agendas and repertoires of labour activism (across borders, regions and sectors of the tobacco industry), the tracing of medium and long-term tendencies in gendered labour activism, and a more thorough historicization of key themes in the historiography of labour and gender in Central and Eastern Europe and beyond.

My Component Study builds on and contributes innovatively to both the historiography on women's work in the tobacco industry and the historiography of gender and labour in state-socialist regimes. The historiography of women's work in the tobacco industry shows that since the nineteenth century, state ownership sometimes meant better pay and benefits than in other industries. At other times, or simultaneously, it also meant more intense exploitation and

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<sup>1</sup> "Greater Romania" is used here as a shorthand to denote the Kingdom of Romania and the territories that became part of the Kingdom of Romania through the Versailles system settlements after the end of the First World War. The study will include a focus on Transylvania, an area in present-day Western Romania that was part of the Dual Monarchy Kingdom of Hungary until the end of the First World War; rather than naturalizing Transylvania's "belonging" to "Greater Romania", the study will showcase distinctive legacies and (post)imperial entanglements, in fact problematizing the imperfect but historiographically established "Greater Romania" terminology.

domination (achieved through both coercive control and non-coercive practices such as industrial paternalism).

Studies on industrial paternalism (in the English context, especially) show that this form of labour control was prevalent in workplaces where women were the majority, with resistance to paternalism also taking highly gendered forms. The gendered specificity of repertoires of activism in paternalistically organized manufacturing merits further research in the context of tobacco factories in Eastern Europe, especially when considering that they were among the earliest types of industrial establishments in Transylvania and Southern Romania. In fact, the entire industry was the target of great amounts of bureaucratic and various other kinds of state attention (police, judicial) since the 1890s. At the same time, and consistently so, the industry was a very visible site of women's labour activism, from the late nineteenth century onwards. In fact, research on women's labour activism in tobacco manufacturing in Europe emphasizes the intensity of women's labour organizing in this branch (especially through studies on France and the Ottoman Empire before 1914 and on Bulgaria in the first half of the twentieth century).

However, the research on activism in tobacco manufacturing in a European context leaves the agricultural sector of the tobacco industry virtually unexplored. Research on gender and tobacco cultivation in the American South in the twentieth century points to the significance of women's and children's labour on tobacco farms. The historiography of the Ottoman Empire has established the significance of the monopolized tobacco industry in servicing the struggling state's external debt – with paid and unpaid tobacco workers from the Ottoman Empire thus becoming tightly bound to the development of a global financial system. This research suggests it would be fruitful to look into labour control and labour activism in the agricultural sector of the tobacco industry in post-Ottoman, post-Habsburg Eastern Europe during the twentieth century, when international financial constraints multiplied, so as to establish how financialization influenced labour activism, particularly women's labour activism. Applying to the case of Romania's monopolized tobacco industry insights from the recent global labour history scholarship on coerced and unfree labour promises to be particularly productive. Combined with attention to gendered labour struggle, attention to labour coercion could contribute to expanding and nuancing histories of rural women's work and activism during the past century.

Research on women's work in various state-socialist countries has emphasized state attempts at altering constructions of gender and gender relations, for ideological reasons but especially in the service of catch-up development projects. Recent studies on labour regimes in Romania focus on the period 1939-1965 and the practices engendered by war economies and postwar reconstruction. They discuss the "deficient paternalism" of "quintessentially male" workplaces such as metallurgies or stress the ineffectiveness of mid-level bureaucrats' attempts at developing paternalistic practices in factories producing large consumption goods such as shoes and boots. As mentioned above, my research shifts the focus on to activism against labour control, thus expanding on the current interest in labour management.

The four case studies will discuss: gendered paid and unpaid work in tobacco cultivation and processing in the Southern plains of Romania (especially Dâmbovița county); labour mobilization and labour activism in cigarette and matches manufacturing in the Transylvanian city of Cluj (in the Kingdom of Hungary until 1918, afterwards in Romania), and in Bucharest from the 1920s to the 1950s; and Cold War dynamics shaping tobacco women workers' negotiations with their employer, the state and its bureaucrats ("activism within the state") in Romania and transnationally, after 1965.

Across the four case studies I will, with different degrees of emphasis, pursue four major directions of inquiry:

First, I am interested in continuity and change in methods of labour exploitation (particularly rationalization) and labour control (especially paternalism) applied in tobacco processing and

manufacturing. What kind of paternalistic welfare initiatives preceded or followed the introduction of more intense or health-damaging work methods in cigarette and matches factories in the Kingdom of Hungary until 1918 and in Romania thereafter? What transnationaleconomic circumstances, genres of social knowledge production, and (post)imperialadministrative, legal, cultural legacies mediated these changes?

Secondly, I will analyze how women's agendas and repertoires of activism in tobacco manufacturing changed in response to state-employers' changing practices of labour exploitation and control, but also in connection to the local and transnational socialist, social- democratic, communist, feminist and reform currents, and later in relation to the Non-AlignedMovement and postwar interstate organizations (including the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Labour Organization). How and how often did women workers involved in the tobacco industry struggle against, resist, shape or adapt to changes in work conditions? How did they relate to and shape broader developments in organized labour activism of all political stripes, in urban centers such as Cluj and Bucharest, or in agricultural areas, as in the tobacco-growing villages of Dâmbovița county? The global literature on women's labour activism points to the complicated relationship between women workers and the organized labour movement, as well as with feminists and various social reformers, duringthe nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Were women workers integral to left-wing (and right-wing) labour mobilization in Cluj and Bucharest or rather marginal? Were there strategic cross-class alliances with middle-class women's associations, and at which points? What role did ethnicity and religion play in tobacco industry women's labour activism? In what ways wastheir activism transnational? How did imperial and post-imperial legacies shape such activism,before and after the state-socialist period?

Thirdly, I will examine how state ownership shaped labour relations and labour activism. Howdid the monopoly status of the tobacco industry influence the agendas and repertoires of womenlabour activists? How did tobacco cultivation, processing and manufacturing become linked tostater-building, nationalization, austerity and catch-up development projects of the Kingdom ofHungary and the Kingdom of Romania (and the latter's subsequent, state-socialist, iteration)?

Fourthly, I will explore how paid and unpaid work in the various branches of the tobacco industry shaped gender relations in the workplace and within households. How did gender constructions and gender norms mold labour activism in the various sectors of the tobacco industry? What role did assumptions about gender and gender relations play in coercive and non-coercive labour control practices? Did women's paid and unpaid work and some women's labour activism in the tobacco industry destabilize patriarchal arrangements within households,or were outcomes highly variable?

Finally, my research will seek to illuminate key transnational and *longue-durée* developments in women's labour activism. It will contribute answers to two overarching ZARAH questions:How was women's labour activism and its agendas part of or apart from local, national, regional, transnational, and international labour and women's activisms and their histories during this period? And, as emphasized above: To which extent and in what ways was women's labour activism shaped by continuity and change in post/imperial and nation- and state-buildingpolicies, and how did it contribute to these processes?

In a broad sense, my Component Study will contribute to the development of gendered and decolonial global scholarship on labour activism, including on women's labour activism during state socialism. In a narrower sense, it will, among others, contribute to placing the gendered character of state-socialist economic development and social control strategies in a longer history of social change in the ZARAH Region, one influenced by imperial and post-imperial competition and legacies. Also, it will help define this process of social change as one heavily dependent on women's unpaid or barely paid labour and state-coerced labour. It will reveal a long history of struggles against the super-exploitation of women workers, and of workers' frequent, often systematic, attempts to counter or reshape various forms of extracting labour (including



patriarchal control in rural households and communities). By showing the continuity of intensive labour and gendered labour control practices across regimes, my study will further problematize the canonized gender studies argument that state-socialist regimes and their politics of full employment placed a system-specific “double” or “triple burden” of labour on women, while also providing a range of benefits which undermined private patriarchal authority but facilitated virtually unprecedented forms of state control of women’s lives. My case studies will show that such dynamics were frequent for at least certain categories of employed women before state socialism, in “free wage labour” contexts, with labour activism integral to bringing smaller and larger improvement to these workers’ lives.

*A Story of Women's International Endeavor: The Politics of Women's Paid and Unpaid Work in and beyond the World Federation of Trade Unions, 1940s to 1980s*

ZARAH Component Study Olga Gnydiuk

This ZARAH Component Study explores a key dimension of the politics of women's work pursued by trade unionists associated with the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), and trade unionists active in the state-socialist countries, in the period between the 1940s and the 1980s. Highlighting the contribution of female functionaries and activists, the study discusses how male-dominated, communist-led international and national trade unions construed the relationship between women's gainful employment and paid and unpaid family work. The WFTU addressed problems, interests, and social rights of working women from the beginning of its operation in 1945, i.e., before and after the split in 1949 when the competing International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) was founded. This study focuses on female trade unionists whose activities unfolded on various levels, i.e., at the workplace, within the apparatuses of branch trade unions as well as national and international trade union federations, and in conjunction with other actors within the layered state-socialist state and internationally. It demonstrates that these women played a significant and sometimes contentious role in setting trade unions' agendas and shaping their practical and principal policies regarding social services and benefits related to childcare and maternity issues and other policies aimed at negotiating the tensions between women's paid employment and their family responsibilities as these actors construed them. The activities of the women at the center of this study were routed in strong affirmation of women's full involvement in paid employment, the vision of economic and social development in its state-socialist guise, and Cold War rivalry as translated into the politics of advancing women's emancipation within the ILO, the United Nations, and the competitive relations between WFTU and ICFTU. The study expands our knowledge on communist-led trade unions' politics of women's paid and unpaid work and the role of female trade unionists in shaping these policies. Shifting the scene to Eastern Europe and the world of state-socialism, it contributes to developing a fuller understanding to the evolving international politics of women's work.

*Ruptures in Consensus? An Entangled History of Women's Labour Activism in Austria and Transnationally, 1945 to the 1980s*

ZARAH Component Study Veronika Helfert

This Component Study explores working women's activism in the Second Austrian Republic between the end of World War II and the 1980s. It combines an inclusive understanding of repertoires and agendas of activism with multi-level analysis. After World War II, working women began to move away from domestic services and agriculture to retail and commerce, services, the public sector, the textile, and metal industries. Their activism was shaped by the complex socio-economic and political context of the postwar period (characterized by rebuilding and renewal of the organizations and traditions of the international and Austrian labour movement, the legacies of the National Socialist past and the early Cold War), the building of the "corporate" Austrian welfare state, and the beginning of the liberalization of labour law and labour relations as well as deindustrialization. Focusing on the textile and metal industries (with women forming the majority vs. a minor proportion of the workforce respectively) and selected networks of female labour activists, the study addresses different scales of activism, ranging from grassroots and shop floor activism to women's organizing and action in local, national, and international contexts and within the "corporate" Austrian state. Working women were organized in trade unions aligned with social democracy, in communist, and Christian social associations and unions as well as in single-sex or mixed-sex issue-based groups. The matters they raised ranged from questions of food supply and job opportunities, equal pay, discrimination in the workplace and beyond, to politics concerned with care responsibilities, to name but a few important issues.

The study centers upon four case studies that are based on a multi-scale analysis, an inclusive understanding of activism, an attentiveness to the entanglements of different categories of social inequality, and a focus on women activists in their different networks. These conceptually interrelated case studies explore: various forms of collective activism of (communist) working women inside and outside the shop floor in the aftermath of World War II, connecting their activism with transnational trends and policies discussed in international organizations and in state-socialist countries (in the following Case Study 1); strategies of women migrant workers to improve their living and working conditions, their specific gendered and classed interests, and the positioning of their activities vis-à-vis women trade unionists (Case Study 2); the co-constitutive development of vocational training for women workers between the local, the national and the international level showcasing the labour-related activism of women within and beyond the state (Case Study 3); and the networks between women trade unionists, feminists, and other activists on the left who engaged with agendas at the intersection of class and gender (Case Study 4).

With its inclusive understanding of women's labour activism, the Component Study makes a fourfold conceptual and historical-empirical contribution:

First, the study addresses women labour activists at the margins of the existing historiography. In 1950, approximately one fifth of the Austrian overall population was organized in trade unions, among them 26%, or 335,000, women. By 1990 the proportion had risen to 31%. In contrast, the percentage of female functionaries in the trade unions remained low. Since the foundation of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions (ÖGB) in 1945, women labour activists responded to this underrepresentation with women-specific organizing within the ÖGB and, over the years, its branch trade unions. With its inclusive understanding of women's labour activism, the study brings a new perspective to the relatively well-researched history of social democratic female trade unionists and their activities. It also expands the scope of the historiography by including Christian social and communist women (Case Studies 1 & 3) and taking into consideration migrant women workers (Case Study 2), as well as activists organized

in trade unions associated with new social movements, like the environmental movement (Case Study 4). In addition, the study complements existing research on activities in the women's departments of specific trade unions with activism in mixed-sex organizations (Case Studies 1 & 4).

Secondly, the study discusses the history of women's trade unionism and labour activism within a transnational framework, exploring both the changing role of Austrian trade unionists in international organizations and the share of international trends and interaction in shaping women's labour activism in Austria. It explores the connections between women's labour activism in Austria and communist international organizations, such as the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) and the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) as well as between Austrian women's activism and activists and developments in the neighboring state-socialist countries (Case Studies 1 & 4). Finally, the study examines the role of Austrian women labour activists in the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the impact of the politics of these organizations on Austrian activism (Case Studies 2 & 3).

As a third contribution, the study recovers workplace-related activism outside or at the margins of the trade union movement, rethinking its contribution to the history of women's labour activism and labour activism as such. The first decade after World War II was marked by strikes, such as the 1948 strike in the shoe industry, or other collective forms, like eviction protests. Apart from the large metalworkers' strike in 1960, no pronounced wave of labour disputes occurred until the 1970s. The study does not only explore strikes, but also other forms of collective protests and militancy by which women challenged injustice related to gender, class, and other categories of social inequality (Case Studies 1, 2 & 4). The focus on initiatives within state institutions concerned with vocational training and job opportunities complements this focus, and similarly broadens our understanding of labour-related activism (Case Study 3).

Fourth, the entangled history of the labour movement and other social movements is of interest to the study. As it explores the networks between women trade unionists, feminists, and other left-wing activists occupied with agendas at the intersection of class and gender, the study aims to reevaluate main narratives that have characterized the public discourse and historiography on (so-called) second-wave feminism in Austria. It contributes to recent scholarship reexamining the history of feminism in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Case Studies 1 to 4).

Consensual social partnership has long been the backbone of the narrative of Austrian history from the post-World War II period to the 1980s, describing the country as a capitalist society void of large-scale political conflict and characterized by strong corporate social politics. As it brings to light conflicting histories of multiple negotiations of gendered socio-economic rights, female labour activists at the margins of the workers' and women's movements, and the transnational negotiation of working women's rights, this ZARAH Component Study disrupts and goes beyond this narrative. It shows that women workers and those claiming to represent them have campaigned within a multitude of available socio-political frameworks. The history of women's labour activism in Austria was a history of interaction between labour and feminist activists, including women on the radical left, and transgressing national borders and the boundaries of the Cold War. Finally, the study contributes to ZARAH's overall aim of rethinking the cycles of European history by connecting the history of women labour activists in the Second Austrian Republic, their networks, repertoires and agendas to the pre-World War II international and national labour movement as well as to Austria's National Socialist legacies.

*Competing for and marginalizing women workers: Trade unionism, syndicalism and corporatism in Bulgaria and internationally, 1920s-1940s*

ZARAH Component Study Ivelina Masheva

The Component Study examines the relationship between women workers in industry and services and trade unions representing the whole political spectrum in interwar Bulgaria. It pursues a multi-scale approach which takes account of the travelling and translation of organizational forms, repertoires, and agenda-setting from the local to the transnational and vice versa. Although Bulgaria remained an agrarian country throughout the period, the industrialization process of the interwar period created an ever-increasing number of gainfully employed women. While in 1905 only 13,512 women were working in industrial establishments, their number had grown to 29,017 by 1920, to 46,495 by 1934 and to around 100,000 in the early 1940s. The distribution according to industrial branches was not even as some industries concentrated a significant proportion of the female workforce: In 1941, about one in four women in industrial employment worked in the tobacco warehouses and (manu)factories and one in five in the textile industry. Tendencies of increased participation in the labour force were also visible in the service sector. In 1937, 20,541 women were working in public service, a majority of them (13,204) employed as teachers. The number of women in gainful employment in interwar Bulgaria did not only lead to an increased visibility of women labour activism, but also resulted in issues of women's labour taking a more prominent place in trade unions' agendas, in government policies as well as in public discourse.

The study is guided by the following research questions: How did different types of trade union organizations address gender issues? How did their agendas and repertoires concerning women's labour evolve over the course of the period, and what were the reasons for these developments? How did competing gendered visions of trade union organizing relate, influence, interact with and/or counteract one another? What was the relationship between trade unions and "unorganized" women labour activism? How were issues of women's labour negotiated within the tripartite relationship between trade unions, employers and the state?

The study examines three main clusters of trade union organizations, covering their umbrella organizations on the national level, their local and branch trade unions and their international connections. The first group encompassed trade unions affiliated with the Communist Party. Their national umbrella organizations were Obsht rabotnicheski sindikalen suiuz [General Workers' Trade Union] (1904-1924) and Nezavisimi rabotnicheski profesionalni suiuzi [Independent Labour Trade Unions] (1925-1934). Internationally, these unions were affiliated with the Red International of Labour Unions (RILU/Profintern). The second group, Svoboden obsht rabotnicheski sindikalen suiuz [Free General Workers' Trade Union] was affiliated with the Social-Democratic Party and on the international level with the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU). Since 1921, the Free General Workers' Trade Union formed a loose coalition Konfederatsia na truda [Labour Confederation] with the independent union of employees and civil servants Suiuz na suizite [Union of the Unions]. As the communist and social-democratic trade unions influence varied from sector to sector, the study aims to cover a sample of branch organizations with a varying proportion of female workers in both the industrial and service sectors. Following a coup d'état in 1934 a third type of union, namely a corporatist trade union, Bulgarski rabotnicheski suiuz [Bulgarian Labour Union], was established. Statute, structure, and objectives of the Bulgarian Labour Union were inspired and deeply influenced by similar organizations already in existence in fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany. All other trade union organizations were banded and strikes were illegalized. However, in practice some trade unions continued to exist in the underground; together with grassroot and shop floor organizing, they continued to employ a variety of activist repertoires, including strikes and other militant forms of labour activism.

Apart from these three large clusters of trade union organizations, unions and activists which acted independently and/or moved between camps such as anarchists and independent syndicalists will also be studied.

While characterized by features specific for Bulgaria, all three clusters of trade unions were also deeply influenced and inspired by distinct international models, movements and ideologies of workplace-related organizing and activism, i.e. communism, anarcho-syndicalism, socialism (social-democracy), and corporatism. The Component Study investigates women's labour activism identified with each of the clusters as operating on and between various, i.e. local, national, and international, scales of activism. Regarding the international level, the research addresses the two major international labour organizations in the interwar period, the Profintern and, as far as applicable, the social democratic International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU). On the local level, the study also includes the interconnections between the organized labour movement and grassroots women's activism, protests organized on the shop floor and individual women workers' actions such as filing complaints in arbitration courts or with the labour inspections.

In terms of agendas, the study focuses on several cluster of issues. First, it investigates the demands for wage justice and equal pay that took a most prominent place in (women's) labour activism in the interwar period. Together with the demands for higher wages and a living wage, the study also investigates the demands addressing gender pay discrimination. The slogan "Equal pay for equal work" featured frequently in left-wing and particularly communist women's demands. The study aims to explore how gendered wage differentials were addressed in collective bargaining agreements, particularly in the 1930s and 1940s when these became a wide-spread phenomenon. Secondly, the study addresses the restructuring of production processes and labour relations, at the time discussed as "rationalization", and how it affected women workers in industrial employment. While the drive towards rationalization started in the 1920s, the process was significantly intensified by the world economic crisis. As consequence of the intensification and precarization of labour, as well as of the processes of deskilling and redefining skill, Bulgaria witnessed a wave of labour conflicts in the 1930s and early 1940s. Since the rationalization, especially in the tobacco industry, disproportionately harmed skilled male workers, the efforts to mitigate its effects took a distinctly gendered course with measures such as putting a cap to the percentage of women workers in the industry, prioritizing the hiring of heads of households etc. Third, the Component Study investigates the demands for observing and enforcing labour laws as well as hygiene and safety standards. The 8-hour working day and 48-hour working week constitutes a key example of progressive legislation, passed in connection to an International Labour Convention (ILO C001 – Hours of Work (Industry) Convention), whose enforcement turned out to be long, difficult and complicated process. As it investigates the gendered process of implementing labour law in practice and enforcing compliance, the study highlights the connections between trade union activism and other actors such as non-unionized women activists, social reformers of various political and social affiliations as well as the labour inspections.

Researching the topic of women and trade unions in interwar Bulgaria is particularly challenging due to the quantity and quality of secondary literature available. While the interwar labour movement was a popular research topic during the state-socialist period, the scholarship produced was not only gender-biased but also heavily ideologized. While communist trade unions were overrepresented in state-socialist labour histories, all other forms of labour organizing such as social-democratic, anarchist and corporatist trade unions were marginalized. Moreover, labour activism of all kinds including communist was represented in a highly particular, limiting and ideologically biased way. As a result, the state-of-the-art of research into labour activism in the interwar period is gender-biased, methodologically outdated and whole research areas constitute blank spots. Therefore, the Component Study has to rely heavily on primary materials, such as trade union archives, ego documents, periodicals, police records,

labour inspections documents and printed materials.

Like the ZARAH project in general, the Component Study's combined interest in gender and class addresses the gender bias in the history of labour activism. Gendering the history of the multiple and rival visions and practices of labour organizing highlights their entangled history on local, national and international levels. In the 1920s-1940s, trade unions' complicated relationship with the unionized and non-unionized female workforce was characterized by a vacillation between a desire to unite all workers on one hand and conservative visions of domesticity associated with the single male breadwinner model on the other hand. Studying Bulgarian trade unions gender politics reveals the evolving patterns of inclusion, exclusion, suppression, promotion and/or marginalization of women's labour activism and women workers' interests.

*Polish and Jewish women labour activists in the Polish lands and internationally from the 1880s to the 1930s*

ZARAH Component Study Zhanna Popova

This Component Study focusses on Polish and Jewish urban women labour activists in the lands of the Polish partitions and later in independent Poland as they lived through intense social, economic, and political transformations from the late nineteenth century to the eve of the Second World War. Women took part in creating these new realities and adapted to them: they entered the industrial workforce in ever-growing numbers, initiated and joined labour-related collective action, participated in clandestine and legal political organizations and social movements, or opted for regional and transcontinental migration in order to improve their circumstances. As part of the ZARAH project, this study is built upon an inclusive perspective on women's labour activism. This perspective prompts an inclusive interpretation of activist repertoires: Although strikes and factory shop floor activism are extremely important for this study, one of its main objectives is to highlight the multiplicity of arenas of women's activism. Their repertoires of labour-related activism were not limited to work within trade unions or political organizations, but included building informal and formal networks, providing one's own home as a place for meetings, offering jobs and educational opportunities, establishing mutual aid funds, migrating and facilitating migration of others, petitioning, organizing wildcat strikes, struggling for education and childcare, and much else. After the establishment of an independent Polish state in 1918, women came to enjoy new opportunities for activism within the state. They could bring their activist experience to new positions within the state apparatus where they were now employed as labour inspectors, ministerial officials, or researchers. This wide variety of repertoires was related to the fact that women labour activists pursued multiple agendas. Another central objective of this study is, therefore, to investigate which issues women labour activists identified as particularly important, how they formulated their agendas to achieve their aims in a context ridden by political and social tensions, and how these agendas changed over time.

In order to capture this multitude of repertoires and agendas, this study puts activists, rather than organizations, center stage. Tracing the lives, politics, and struggles of selected activists through a multitude of socio-political contexts allows me to connect local manifestations of activism with the larger regional, national and global changes that took place during this period. Through the lives of activists, I am able not only to trace the agendas and repertoires of the organizations and movements they were part of, but also to see how their lives and their activism were woven into and impacted by the major political and social processes, such as industrialization, the creation of an independent Polish state, wars and revolutions, development of international organizations, and mass migration. This focus on individual trajectories of activists also provides an opportunity to investigate continuity and change between the pre- and post-1918 periods, as some activist careers spanned over several decades. Such focus also allows me to trace the involvement of activists in a multitude of organizations that pursued agendas which could overlap but also contradict each other. This multiple involvement was due to the fact that in the male-dominated world of labour activism, the agendas of female labour activists' agendas often did not fit within the program of a single organization. Women moved between different activist "camps", and this flexibility of activists' trajectories sometimes led to the transgression of existing borders between different organizations and movements. A focus on individual trajectories also provides me with a privileged vantage point to grasp and analyze this dynamic.

In order to achieve these goals of foregrounding and exploring the multitude of women labour activists' agendas and repertoires, I will focus on two major research questions. First, I will investigate the inter-ethnic relations of ethnic Polish and Jewish women in the domain of labour activism. Scholarship on Polish socialism has highlighted connections and exchanges between



the Polish Socialist Party and the Bundists, both on the levels of political and ideological production and, more recently, in everyday interactions in local politics. At the same time, when it comes to the histories of labour activism in the region, especially in the case of women workers, such focus on historical entanglements is lacking. Although Polish and Jewish women often lived and laboured side by side, their social lives are commonly described as though they were hermetically sealed from each other. Confrontations between political movements as well as the political and economic marginalization and exclusion of ethnic minorities cannot be neglected. Nevertheless, they did not entirely preclude inter-ethnic relations. The intensifying ethnic tensions and discriminating policies that targeted the Jews and limited their economic opportunities in the Russian Empire and, later, also left their mark on women's labour activism both in terms of ethnic tensions and inter-ethnic solidarity in independent Poland. These political interactions need to be explored simultaneously through the lens of ethnicity, gender, and class. Tensions surrounding the end of empires and the state-building in independent Poland impacted not only social and economic opportunities of Poles in the new-born state, opening a large field of state work and possibilities of activism within the state to white-collarworkers, but also the opportunities of the Jewish minority, which throughout the 1920s and especially the 1930s saw growing limitations to its economic activity. My study seeks to trace how the widening gap in labour conditions and opportunities of Jewish and Polish women workers impacted their activism and how Jewish working women responded to this development.

Second, I intend to investigate the role of women labour activists, both Polish and Jewish, as transnational agents. I address this transnational dimension of women's labour activism in the Polish lands through the following three focuses. The first focus will be on migration as a form of labour activism. I intend to investigate how migration could be not only an attempt to improve one's economic circumstances strictly speaking, but also a way of challenging a discriminating gender regime or facing ethnicity-based marginalization. The second focus here is on the relations of labour activists with the international organizations during the interwar period. In the 1920s, Polish women labour inspectors worked for improving labour conditions of women industrial workers across the country, not only investigating local conditions but also seeking to unify and consolidate labour norms in the country that had been divided for so long. Some of them were part of wide transnational networks, took part in the conventions of the International Labour Organization, and not only worked on the implementation of international labour norms in Poland but also aspired to participate in the creation of these norms. The third focus will be on the transnational networks of marginalized activists. Jewish women activists rarely obtained positions within the governmental structures but nevertheless were part of transnational networks: the Jewish Bund was a transnational party *par excellence*, but informal networks, such as networks of émigrés, were also important. By discussing women's participation in the multitude of transnational networks, this study does not only explore what women brought to these networks, but also how transnational activism shaped women's activism in the Polish lands.

With this Component Study, I aim for a connected history of women labour activism, a history that highlights not only the role of these women in the world of male-dominated activism, but also pays attention to the most marginalized women workers and their struggles, both in the Polish and Jewish communities. My Component Study contributes to the understanding of several issues of key importance across the whole region studied in the ZARAH project. This includes the role of ethnicity and minority politics as they played out in the domain of labour-related activism, the effects of post-imperial nation-building on women's labour activism and vice versa, and the interaction between women's participation in transnational activist networks and their activism in Poland.

*Sisters and Comrades of the Land: A Gendered History of Agrarian Socialism in Hungary, 1890s-1920s*

ZARAH Component Study Eszter Varsa

This ZARAH Component Study explores the organizing and activism of poor peasant women under the banner of socialism in Hungary, a predominantly agricultural country undergoing a series of political changes and ruptures, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The study establishes the pioneering role of rural working women and those claiming to represent them in addressing the poor remuneration and inhuman treatment of the masses of agricultural poor (day laborers and servants) as well as issues related to peasant women's unpaid work. The women organized and became active together with men and in their own women-only organizations from the early 1890s onwards, preceding the organization of women of the industrial working classes. The study presents the contours and profile of various clusters of activist women and explores their motivation to take up action and join men in their struggle for better living and working conditions. It showcases women's specific contributions to this struggle and reveals the agendas and repertoires of action they pursued in their own single-sex organizations. Women participated in various forms of action, including harvesters' strikes, alternative action towards the improvement of living and working conditions among agricultural workers, and the founding of communes. Agrarian socialism in Hungary involved women of diverse ethnic backgrounds and, in various combinations, class, gender and ethnicity played a key role in shaping peasant women's activism.

Building on a rich array of archival sources, contemporary papers, and other untapped, often local sources, the study thus examines within a common analytical framework the activism of poor peasant women in mixed-sex and single-sex organizational and activist contexts and engenders the history of labor activism pursued by the rural population in Hungary. It advances an inclusive understanding of the often-overlapping history of women's labor activism, valuing women's choices to organize within male-dominated institutions, women's cross-class networks or within their own circles without prioritizing one of these choices over the other. The study builds on and departs from the large body of literature on agrarian socialism and the existing works on women workers' activism that have been written mostly between the 1950s and the 1980s; these studies provide rich detail on left-wing activism among poor and landless peasants yet fail to address, beyond sporadic mention, the involvement of women. The historiography on women workers' activism does not discuss agrarian activism. The Component Study contributes to the new global labor history and to feminist historiographies of women's activism by shedding light on the yet unexplored activism of rural working women in Hungary.