ACTA

XXXIII Annual Conference

5-7 September 2002

Stockholm

Swedish Presentations

IALHI Projects

National Presentations
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# International Association of Labour History Institutions

## ACTA

### XXXIII Annual Conference

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FOREWORD

Karin Englund
Secretary General IALHI

The XXXIIIrd IALHI conference was held in September 2002 in Stockholm, organised by the Swedish Labour Movement Archives and Library (ARAB). Stockholm was chosen as the venue for the conference 2002 because of the 100th anniversary of the host institution, ARAB.

Since the year of 2000 the ACTA publications have had a wider scope than before. In addition to the scientific lectures of the conferences, the IALHI project presentations and the presentations of the host country and member projects have also been included. This publication therefore includes the different presentations at the conference, both of the IALHI related projects and the presentations by the members. Two themes were discussed during the workshops of the first day of the conference: Gender issues and Peoples' Houses. The workshop on Gender was organised by Jenneke Quast at the International Institute of Social History and the workshop on Peoples' Houses by Margareta Ståhl at ARAB. The papers from those workshops are also included in this publication.
The Swedish Labour Movement Archives and Library celebrates its first 100 years

by Karin Englund
Director of the Labour Movement Archives and Library, Stockholm

The Swedish Labour Movement Archives and Library, established in 1902, celebrated its centenary in 2002. The Swedish name of the institution was for a long time Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv (the Labour Movement Archives), but in 1977 it was changed to Arbetarrörelsens Arkiv och Bibliotek (ARAB), to mark the fact that the library is an important part of the institution. The short form ARAB is frequently used, and will be here, albeit anachronistically for the time before 1977.

In this presentation I shall give some glimpses of the century long history of the institution and of its holdings, with an emphasis on the non-Swedish material. The presentation is based largely on three of the publications that were written as part of the centenary celebrations: Labour’s memory about the history of ARAB, and The World in the Basement about our foreign and international material. Both are available in English. A third centenary publication, Klass i rörelse (Class on the Move), gives an account of the history of the labour movement in Sweden, from the middle of the nineteenth century until today. Klass i rörelse is published in Swedish only.

Labour organised late in Sweden
Compared with many other European countries, the working class organised late in Sweden. It was only towards the latter part of the 19th century that the labour organisations as we know them today were established, the Social Democratic Party in 1889 (I will use the short form of the Swedish name Socialdemokratiska arbetarepartiet – SAP) and the Trades Union Confederation (Landsorganisationen – LO) in 1898. Trade unions for different groups, such as the Metal workers, existed earlier, as did many local organisations. There was both co-operation and rivalry between the two branches of the labour movement. The distinction between political and trade union organisations was not always clear and the debate was intense (and has been ever since) about the different roles of these organisations.

An interesting account of the conflict and its development can be found in a history written to mark the 50th anniversary of the Metal Workers Union in 1938, which describes the situation around the time of the establishment of the SAP and LO. According to the author it was “an intense mess” and he quotes one of the first leaders of the Metal Workers Union saying “a trade union was formed on one day, joined the party the second day, and went on strike the third”. There were those who argued for a strict division of labour between on the one hand the trade unions and work-related matters and on the other the party organisation and society-related matters, a debate that is still going on.

In the political field the debate was equally heated over the best methods to improve the situation of the workers and society as a whole: revolution or reform, peaceful, legal methods or violence, co-operation with the Liberals over universal suffrage or confrontation, pacifism or a national defence with general conscription. The tension between the different groups within the Social Democratic Party resulted in 1917 in the expulsion of a group of revolutionary opponents from the more reformist SAP. Those formed the Swedish Social Democratic Left Party, which a few years later changed its name to the Communist Party.

Universal suffrage was gained as late as 1919 in Sweden and in the following elections Social Democrats got enough votes to form the first (of many) minority governments in 1920.
It started with the libraries
Members of the young labour movement in Sweden were eager to learn about the new ideas from Germany, France and England. They tried to follow what was going on in countries where the workers had already been organised for some time. Books and pamphlets were brought to Sweden from the Continent - already in 1848 there was a Swedish edition of the Communist Manifesto, the first translation of the document into a foreign language. The literacy rate was high in Sweden, following the introduction of elementary schooling for all children as early as 1842. There was considerable mobility among workers, both within the country and to other countries. Ideas travelled by letter and by foot and were rapidly disseminated among fellow workers.

The authorities did their best to stop the socialist agitation, often by prison sentences for unpatriotic propaganda, but these prison sentences tended to enhance the status of the movement. The workers wanted to study socialism and were eager to find books that could develop these ideas. Books were, however, expensive to buy. There were libraries, but they were either research libraries, to which workers had no access, or private lending libraries that did not hold the books that the workers would want to read. Borrowing from those libraries was out of the question anyway, since their charges were prohibitively high and their opening hours impossible for most workers. Consequently small lending libraries were established by workers organisations and in 1891 most of these were merged in Stockholm into the Stockholm Workers Library. On 5 January 1892 the inauguration of the library took place in a small room in the Old Town, in the premises of a former small bread shop, where the shelves for bread were converted into bookshelves. The occasion was described later in a brochure, celebrating the 10th anniversary of the library: “it was miserably cold and dark, no windows and on the shelves less than 400 books and not a coin in the treasurer’s chest”.

This little library grew rapidly and within ten years it was the most used library in the country and the largest available to workers. The statistics show an impressive lending capacity of nearly 50 000 loans a tear. It soon outgrew the small dark room in the old town and moved a number of times until it found its home in 1901 in the new People’s House of Stockholm, where it occupied six rooms of which two were reading rooms. This also became also the birthplace of the Labour Movement Archives (ARAB) in 1902. The start for ARAB was as humble as it had been for the library: one small room without a window.

The idea of an institution for the archives of the labour movement was very innovative. When the Workers’ Library started it was with similar institutions elsewhere, especially in Copenhagen, as a model. There was no corresponding forerunner for an archival institution for the early labour movement.

Oscar Borge – visionary and practician
The idea that the labour movement’s archives should be collected and kept probably came originally from one of the men on the board of the library, Oscar Borge. He was a scholar in natural sciences - with fresh water algae as his speciality – interested in and sympathising with the new radical ideas of the labour and trade union movements. He assumed that these movements were going contribute to a new development of Swedish society and concluded that the documents connected with this development must be preserved for future research. Already in his first annual report in 1903 he wrote that 7 519 items had been donated to the institution, of which 3068 were manuscripts and 4418 printed items, the rest falling into the category various items. He emphasised that the collection activity targeted all types of material “however insignificant they may seem” and that it involved all political and trade union organisations and their individual members. ”Dr. Oscar Borge, Labour Movement Archives,
People's House, Stockholm, wishes to receive all old documents, protocol books, statutes and printed memos that the members have” says a circular letter from 1904.

If anyone is to be made the hero of the history of the institution, it is its prime mover and first director, Oscar Borge. In his 35 years as Director – most of the time as the only full time employee - he worked ardently to add to and classify the collections. He said that ‘If you do just a little each day, gradually a great deal will be done.’ He seems to have had a unique combination of visionary imagination, practical skills and a tremendous capacity for work.

**At Red Square**
The ARAB is, and has always been, situated at Norra Bantorget in Stockholm, which is also the address for a large number of central labour movement organisations; the place has therefore been nicknamed "Red Square". The Building Maintenance Worker’s Union is located in the same building as ARAB, across the street is the Trades Union Confederation, round the corner the People’s House of Stockholm, the local organisation of the Stockholm Social Democratic Party (“The Workers Commune”), across the square we find a number of trade unions such as the Transport Workers, the Metal Workers, the Painters Union etc. A few blocks away are the headquarters of the Social Democratic Party, of the Left Party (previously Communists), of the Syndicalists and of the Workers Educational Union (WEU). The Stockholm branch of the WEU is situated within two minutes walk.

This reflects more than just a geographical closeness. The ARAB has throughout its 100 years of existence had the enthusiastic support of social democrat politicians and the trade union leaders. An early example of this is the well-known social democrat leader, Hjalmar Branting who took a keen interest in the ARAB, and whose personal archive is kept at the institution. The fact that he left his archive (as well as his library) to the ARAB set an example, which has been followed since. The personal archives of all the social democrat prime ministers are at the ARAB, and only the official material from the government offices is deposited with the National Archives. The same is true for many other ministers as well and this division of labour between the National Archives and the ARAB is nowadays accepted. As late as the 1980s, however, the head of the National Archives tried to persuade the then Minister for Education and Research, Bengt Göransson, to leave his archive with them. When Göransson later told me the episode he added: “That is when I understood fully the importance of the ARAB”.

The ARAB was ready to open to the public on 1 November 1903. A few days before the opening, Hjalmar Branting visited the archive. The day before the opening he wrote in the newspaper Social-Demokraten:

“Outwardly it still appears totally insignificant, housed in a very small room hidden away in the interior of the library premises in the Peoples House. But the important thing is that here a beginning has been made, which can, and of this I am convinced, also shall grow into something extraordinary and valuable of its kind, a source for the future for those who will record how the Swedish labour movement came into being and grew strong.”

This approach certainly reflects the attitude of Hjalmar Branting also in political matters- he was a born reformist. When he later became the first Social Democratic prime minister of Sweden he gave Oscar Borge the manuscript of the government declaration and a description of how it had been drafted out. ‘This account of its origins may perhaps justify the document’s place in the Archives’, he wrote. He went on: ‘however, for the present these details are not for public consumption. At least wait until our demise!’
Owners, organisation and financing

The ARAB started as a part of the Workers Library. From 1 July 1906 the LO and SAP took over responsibility for it. Oscar Borge emphasised the significance of the change in his annual report for 1906: "On the one hand, they [the Archives] have thereby gained a more official stature within the labour movement, which naturally results in the organisations feeling a greater obligation than before to furnish them with their printed material. On the other, the change of ownership has put the Archives on a much sounder financial footing [...]". Soon after, the ARAB moved to its own premises, two rooms in the People's House. The ARAB has since moved four times – always within some 100 metres of the People's House and "Red Square".

The first board - or as it was called initially, the Archive Council - consisted of SAP's treasurer and LO's treasurer, together with a representative from the Stockholm Workers' Library. Besides these formal arrangements, Oscar Borge's close relationships with the labour movement leaders and the SAP's leader, Hjalmar Branting, in particular, were of importance for the institution.

The 1906 change did not mean that the institution was transformed into an archive institution for LO or SAP. It remained an open institution as prescribed by its statutes. This is clear, for instance, in the correspondence in 1905/06 between Oscar Borge and Wilhelm Jansson, a Swede who was active in the German Trades Union Confederation and an important intermediary between the Swedish and German labour movements. They discuss the German social democrats' archives and in his comparison Jansson observes that the SPD's archives were not 'archives in your sense' but limited to the party's requirements. In 1908 Oscar Borge wrote to Karl Kieffer in Copenhagen, where the idea of establishing a similar institution was being considered, that the archives at ARAB were available 'free of charge to all, and consequently not just to members of the Party and the National Secretariat (LO)'.

The co-ownership of LO and SAP lasted until 1966 when the institution was changed into a foundation, still with LO and SAP as owners but with the Government acting as additional trustee alongside them. The Government thereby accepted the argument put forward in two memos from the then director, Tage Lindbom, to the Department of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs in 1965. In this, Lindbom claimed that through its archive and library section the institution was responsible for a cultural heritage of national interest, not just of a particular movement, the labour movement. However the institution lacked the resources to do the job properly. Its double function as archive and library was also cited. The library was characterised by Lindbom as a 'special library about the modern labour movement and the political and social doctrines intrinsic to it' and 'one of the best stocked in the world'.

At the same time it was stressed that the role of ‘the keeper of tradition’ within the labour movement should be maintained but that 'the Archives should adopt a neutral position in their relations with the various and differing tendencies within the labour movement'.

This arrangement with three co-trustees is still operative and they carry between them the costs for the basic funding of the ARAB according to a "key of division" with 40% by LO, 40% by the government and 20% by the SAP. The board consists of two representatives each from LO and the Government and one from SAP. The head of the National Archive is one of the two representatives of the Government. The chairman of the board has always been one of the LO representatives.

In addition to the basic funding from the owners, the institution gets contributions from a support organisation, consisting of 16 labour movement organisations. Additional income comes from consultancy work, and sales of the magazine Arbetarhistoria and other publications. The staff has grown over the years, from Borges one-man performance to today's 30 employees.
A wide variety of material and activities
Today the institution has 15000 shelf meters of archival material with 5000 archives. They originate from political, trade union and other organisations as well as persons active within the movement. There are also some 150 foreign archives and international collections. Extensive collections of photographs, slides, posters, films, audio recordings, banners, pins and other objects convey additional historical information. The library is today a scientific library with literature about or published by Swedish, foreign and international labour movements. The holdings mirror the development, theory and organisation of the trade union and political labour movement. An important part of the library holdings are the printed sources of the history of the labour movement such as congress minutes, annual reports, programme statutes, agreements, booklets and pamphlets, the trade union press and newspapers and magazines from all socialist movements. It also contains a large section of books by Swedish writers from the working class.

To visitors from abroad (and occasionally to new Swedish visitors) it comes as a surprise that the institution houses both social democrats and communists, both the trade unions and syndicalists, and that the library is so well stocked with political literature in English, French and German.

In many countries there are different institutions for the different archives, at least a separation between trade unions, social democrats and communists. Our regular visitors, all those who want to study the history of the labour movement, appreciate this "ecumenical" arrangement.

The explanation is – as so often – to be found in history. The collection of material started early in the life of the labour movements. There was and has always been a close cooperation between the social democrats and the trade unions. The institution was formed before the division between social democrats and communists took place. The attitude of the directors of the institution has always been that ARAB must be an open institution, not a service institution for one or a few organisations. This openness to students, to scholars, and to the general public parallels openness to all kinds of materials that can serve the overall aim of the institution: to facilitate the study of the history of the labour movement.

Another thing that amazes some visitors is the fact that so much has been preserved by the organisations. In the history of the Metal Workers the author notes that "there are probably few organisations in our country that have kept their papers in such good order as the Iron and Metal Workers Union". There were only six of the letters from the earliest period that he had not been able to trace. He offers no explanation, but one may well be the fact that all the popular movements emphasised the importance of correct organisational work. Orderly meetings with a list of speakers and clearly worded propositions are important. Minutes from the previous meeting must always be read to the meeting and accepted, so that no alterations are possible. In short: the formalities around meetings and decisions were regarded as an important safeguard against coups and malpractice and an important cornerstone of democracy. With that attitude, it also becomes important to preserve these documents. The other explanation is of course the awareness in these organisations of the importance of the struggle for a better society.

Exhibitions instead of a museum
ARAB's multiple function has often been emphasised: archive, library, museum and research centre. This combination of functions was inherent in the original proposal of 1902, although the role as museum was never fully developed. Today we have opportunity to exhibit some of the museum pieces that have been collected thanks to the relatively spacious premises at Upplandsgatan 4. There is always, however, competition for space, so every exhibition has to hold its own against the need for more shelves, more room for microfilm, for computers and
for reading rooms. For the Centenary exhibition, however, all available walls were used, to expose as much as possible of our exhibition material. Here we could find one wall that describes the history of the institution up to today, its different addresses during 100 years and the establishment of our latest archive depository in a mining society in the county of Dalecarlia.

Here were also some of the publications of ARAB over the years exhibited, as for instance the publication Socialdemokratins samhälle, publish in 1989, in connection with the 100th anniversary of the SAP. This book was later translated into English, Creating Social Democracy, 1992 and in Russian in 2001.

One section was dedicated to the international material, with solidarity movements such as the Vietnam committee, the Swedish relief committee for Spain, the Chile committee, material from the freedom struggle in southern Africa etc.

Here were also examples of the so called “camouflage literature”, published especially in the years before and during World War Two. Inside seemingly harmless covers with titles such as “Das schöne Österreich”, “Cicero- three books on duties” or “Dr Oetkers Pudding-pulver” one will find anti-fascist and anti-Nazi pamphlets.

On the first floor a display illustrated the often tedious and not so glorious work of the organisation: a small mountain of chairman’s gavels, a pile of various statutes, lists of member fees paid, rubber stamps, receipts, pins and other items.

Opposite that, on the wall in the same corridor was one of the jubilee gifts, namely a series of portraits produced for the 100th anniversary of the first International in 1964. They are ten little miniature portraits, printed on cigar bands, all representing famous socialists: Marx, Engels, Bebel, Jaures, Adler – and among them our own Hjalmar Branting. This series of portraits is beautifully mounted and framed and was a gift from AMSAB, presented to ARAB at the birthday party in May 2002. In the same corridor was also an exhibition of our oldest archive, the bookbinders guild, from 1631 onwards.

On one of the shelves were two small brown cubes, the size of a sugar cube. When you look closely you see that they are a couple of dice. They are made from the rough bread that was served in the prisons in the late 19th century and the man who made them was the famous agitator August Palm. He was one of the early leaders of the Social Democrats, and the editor of the newspaper Socialdemokraten. He was sentenced to prison a number of times and as a pastime played at dice with himself, with his own home made dice. Next to Palm’s dice are his broken eyeglasses. They were given to the ARAB together with a note from Palm in which he carefully describes the occasion when they were damaged. He was speaking at one of the liberal workers clubs that existed alongside the growing socialist groupings and was pushed down from the platform. The fact that he kept the broken eyeglasses and gave them to the ARAB soon after, shows that he saw the propaganda potential of the episode. This is one of many examples of how the leaders of the early period saw the ARAB as an important centre for the preservation of all kinds of material that could add to the knowledge of the movement.

ARAB does not collect museum items systematically, but among all the items that we have and receive, there are always some that will make interesting exhibitions or contributions to exhibitions. Among the richest and most spectacular material is, of course, the large banner collection of more than one thousand banners and standards. The posters are also frequently used in different contexts, for example, to add to the atmosphere of some time period in a theatre play or film. Posters from ARAB can for instance be seen in the film “Together” by Lucas Moodyson.

In 2001 we arranged a small exhibition within a nationwide project about Sweden and the Islamic world. Twenty institutions made separate exhibitions with their material relating to the Islamic world. The ARAB contribution to the project was a presentation of the delegations from Islamic areas that took part in the preparation for a peace conference in Stockholm.
in 1917. This was an attempt to reassemble the Second International and discuss how a fair and lasting peace should be created. The peace conference never took place, but in the preparations a number of delegations came to Sweden to present their views, among them delegations from Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. The material was later presented in a book with the same name. Throughout 2002 we provided material for exhibitions, among others, in Hungary on Hungararian-Swedish connections, in Spain on the Swedish-Norwegian hospital in Alcoy during the civil war, in Algeria on contacts between Algeria and Sweden.

What is the commonest kind of material at ARAB?

Given the breadth of scope of the institutions material, the type of archive that takes up most shelf space in ARAB is more or less what one would expect: the dominant type of archive is of trade union origin. The Social Democratic party and its “side organisations”, such as the women’s league, the youth movement and the christian social democrats are among the larger political archives, as is the Communist Party archive. Other organisations, such as the Workers Educational Union, the Tenants’ Union, the Pensioners’ Organisation etc. form relatively large archives. Within all these archives one finds the printed material for congresses, minutes, accounts and correspondence, pamphlets, study material etc. ARAB is host institution both for the national organisations and federations within the labour movement and for the labour movement organisations of the county of Stockholm. The local and regional material is otherwise found in the regional and local archives for popular movements throughout the country.

The unexpected material

In the account of our material published in connection with the centenary, we have concentrated on the less obvious holdings, the kind of archives that one does not automatically assume that we would have, mainly the non-Swedish material. That includes the foreign archives and books, the internationally oriented collections and the international material in the Swedish archives and collections.

The socialist ideas came, as mentioned, relatively late to Sweden. They came first to the southern parts, to the county of Skåne, as a result of contacts with the Danish labour movement. In fact, the oldest foreign archive is that of Foreningen for socialismens fremme i Sverrig (The Union for the advancement of socialism in Sweden). This was a support organisation started by Swedes in Denmark for socialist agitation and for the establishment of trade unions in Skåne.

As early as 1905 it was reported that the ARAB had 102 foreign organisations in the archive section, from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the USA. Dr Borge comments on this material that it is still “very insignificant since it consists almost exclusively of printed material that has accidentally come into the ownership of private individuals who then have handed it over to the archive”.

That would be an unfair description today. The material collected over a long time is both varied and extensive (although not systematically collected) and can be of great informative and research value. Of our 5000 archives 150 are foreign archives or internationally oriented collections. Among the foreign archives, personal papers are predominant. Of the different nationalities the German archives are the most numerous and of these many are of political refugees or refugee organisations. There are a number of Scando-American archives and Nordic archives. In addition to this there is a great deal of international material in other archives, especially the personal papers of, for instance, Hjalmar Branting, Olof Palme and Alva and Gunnar Myrdal.
For those who want a more complete picture of the foreign and international material at ARAB the book *The World in the Basement* would be the best guide. Here I have chosen to quote and summarise part of two of the chapters in the book to give a glimpse of the kind of material that is described. The first is by Martin Grass and describes international collections and archives and among them the material from the Socialist Internationals.

There is especially one international labour organisation whose material can be found primarily at ARAB, namely the International Socialist Temperance League (International Sozialistischer Alkoholgegner – ISA). This mirrors the strong interest in the temperance movement in Sweden, where a restrictive alcohol policy was seen as a way to liberate workers from one kind of slavery. It was not unusual during the 19th century that the salary was paid in part in liquor and that the employers were rather happy that the workers used the little free time they had for drinking. Those workers who were organised in the temperance movement were seen as potential trouble makers.

There is a fair amount of material at ARAB from the different socialist internationals, as a result of the Swedish participation from the early days. This material contains printed conference proceedings including reports from associated organisations from 1889 to 1989. Here also are reports on the situation in the various countries, the socialist parties and their struggle. A great deal of this material originates from the archive of SAP. The papers of the International Workers' Association (established in 1864) The Second International (1889), The Socialist Workers’ International (1923) and the Socialist International (1951) have been assembled at ARAB in a chronologically arranged collection. Together with the publications of the internationals in ARAB’s library, this forms a useful informative collection. There is also supplementary material in SAP’s archives and in the personal archives of some of those who were engaged in the activities of the Internationals, for example Hjalmar Branthing, Gustav Möller, Kaj Björk, Inga Thorsson and Alva Myrdal.

There are also smaller collections of interest: the trade union Internationals (International Trade Union Federation and International of Free Trade Unions); the Red Trade Union International and the communist Trade Union World Federation, the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee which tried to reassemble the International in 1917, the International Socialist Commission, the action centre of left-wing groups during the First World War, the Communist International, the Socialist and Communist Youth and Women’s Internationals; the International Young Falcons’ Organisation (Falcons Movement) and the Socialist Workers Sports International.

Of more recent origin are two other international archives of another type that are related to Swedish social democracy: the first is the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, which was active during the 1980s under the chairmanship of Olof Palme, known as the Palme Commission and the Commission on Global Governance, active from 1990 to 2001, with Ingvar Carlsson as chairman, in which global co-operation and the role of the UN were discussed.

International and foreign material is naturally also found in ARAB’s library section. Today the librarians do their best to keep up with the almost impossible task of choosing and purchasing relevant books in English, French and German. Over time the emphasis has shifted and many of the books are gifts and parts of book collections donated to ARAB. The library section holds literature of two kinds: scholarly literature on the labour movement and material published by the organisations. The material published by the organisations is first hand material that can shed light on developments and important events. Printed matter – books, pamphlets, leaflets etc – has been collected from different historical events, such as the year of 1848, the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Spanish Civil War of 1936.

Of the systematically collected books covering a theme, the 1848 collection is by far the largest. This collection is presented more in detail by Marie Hedström in *The world in the*
The director who succeeded Oscar Borge, Tage Lindbom, took a keen interest in the collection of books and material especially from France. He specialised in books printed in 1848 and the years immediately after and thus provided the ARAB library not only with revolutionary texts, but also the publications of the opposition; thus religious and anti-socialist writings are part of the collection. The 1848 material from France is kept together in one section of the classified catalogue. It contains some 400 works. The Archives section also has four boxes with material on "The French Revolution of 1848" with posters, fly-sheets, manifestos and ballot papers. The ARAB annual report of 1963 comments that "It is gratifying that the stock of older literature now is so good that the need for future purchases of antiquarian literature can be reckoned to be more modest than has been the case during the last fifteen years". There are also 1848 books and other material from Austria and Germany, although not as much as from France.

Activities during the centenary year 2002
In addition to its function as archive and library for the labour movement, ARAB is also a meeting place and centre for seminars and conferences where recent research results and current discussions can be ventilated. Thanks to the central location in Stockholm, ARAB is also frequently used by labour movement organisations for their own meetings. For larger gatherings we co-operate with our neighbours, the Peoples House, the Workers Education Union and the Trades Union Confederation.

In 2002 we organised a number of seminars and meetings to mark the jubilee. The first was a two-day seminar at the WEU on working class writers over the 100 years. Another seminar was arranged in connection with the publication of an Olof Palme bibliography which was presented on 30th January, commemorating Olof Palmes 75th birthday.

Since jubilees and anniversary celebrations are a complicated matter – as all of us who have passed our 50th birthday well know – we also decided to arrange a seminar on how to write one's own history, a Nordic historiographic seminar. The papers from this seminar are published in Swedish in the journal of ARAB, Arbetarhistoria.

In the year of centenary celebrations there were also some events with an international emphasis. One of these was a conference focusing on issues raised by a person born the same year as ARAB, Alva Myrdal. An international conference was held in Uppsala, where she was born in 1902. It was arranged together with among others the University of Upsala. The theme for the seminar was "Alva Myrdal's questions to our time", which offers a very wide scope. The questions she asked were: how do we get our act together, being useful members of society, working, raising a family, functioning as good wives, taking responsibility politically, making sure there is good housing, adequate schools, lasting peace and a fair distribution of wealth in the world? The conference certainly did not have the answers to these questions, but demonstrated a number of ways of dealing with the same questions today.

The other international seminar - or workshop - during the year of centenary celebrations was on "The Labour Movement on the Thresholds of Two Centuries". The idea was to look at the labour movement at the turn of the century in the years 1900 and 2000 and compare hopes, fears, ambitions and shortcomings. Most of the papers of this seminar are available on our website.

A third international event during 2002 was the annual meeting of the International Association of Labour History Institutions which was held in Stockholm, to mark the ARAB jubilee. In connection with this meeting the post of Secretary General of the association was handed over to me from Wouter Steenhaut, director of the AMSAB.

As the present director of ARAB I feel confident that the institution will be of increasing importance for studies in contemporary history and political science and a popular meeting place for all those who want to come together to discuss these matters. I think that in the years
to come we shall also see increased co-operation between organisations and institutions of our kind in the world, because it makes the job more interesting and because the results will be better if we co-operate.

Stockholm 2 January 2003

3 L. OLSSON and L. EKDAL, *Klass i rörelse - Arbetarrörelsen i svensk samhällsutveckling*, Stockholm 2002
6 J. LINDGREN, *Metallindustriarbetareförbundets [...] p V
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The Welfare State at the Crossroads

A historical and social scientific and research program on the transformation of the welfare state in Sweden and in the OECD countries.

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During the decades since the end of the Second World War, a well developed welfare state came to be symbolically identified with the Swedish nation. When young people in eleven countries were interviewed at the end of the 1970s on what aspects of their home countries they were most proud of, it was only in Sweden that a broad majority of youth answered that they were most proud of their country’s social welfare policies. After the political struggles which took place in Sweden in the 1950s on the introduction of public occupational superannuation (ATP), extensive political support began to emerge for the basic features of that which came to be called the Swedish model of social welfare. Internationally, the Swedish welfare state was subjected to intense scrutiny, both admiring and critical in character.

At the beginning of the new millennium, the situation of the Swedish welfare state has changed completely. In the course of the deep economic crisis of the 1990s, unemployment has increased dramatically at the same time as the public debt and public budget deficits have increased substantially. The character of public debate on Swedish social welfare policy has also changed. From having been seen as a national symbol, the welfare state has more and more come to be viewed as a hotbed of crisis. Many people have come see the welfare state as being, in itself, an important cause of social problems and a serious obstacle on the road to reform. The party truce between the major political parties on support for social policy has been dissolved, with major cleavages now also partly dividing parties internally. Extensive cutbacks have already been implemented in the welfare state, and new ones are being discussed. The social policy consequences of accelerating international economic integration and of Sweden’s membership in the European Union are unclear, but can turn out to be important. Regardless of what normative standpoints one has, the postwar construction of the welfare state and its current crisis must be seen as fundamental changes in Swedish society.

In international perspective, the problems of the Swedish welfare state over the most recent years appear to constitute a somewhat belated parallel to changes of a similar nature in the majority of the other OECD countries. A common aspect to these countries’ current situation is that unemployment once again has reached the high levels that were usual before the Second World War. In most advanced industrialized countries, including Sweden, the welfare state is thus now going through a period of transition. Transition periods of other kinds than those currently in progress can also be distinguished in earlier phases of the welfare state’s development. Among these we may count the transition from early poor laws to social insurance during the decades preceding the turn of the century, the Great Depression of the 1930s, the "Golden Age" of expansion during the quarter of a century after the end of the Second World War, and the mass arrival of women onto the labor market during the 1970s.

For historians and social scientists, transitional periods of this kind yield unusually good opportunities to study basic processes of social change. When studied in comparative per-
spective, periods of rapid social, political and economic changes in some sense constitute “natural experiments,” with improved opportunities to investigate which roles different kinds of actors, structures and processes play in societal transformation. In research on social change, it is very fruitful to employ a long-term historical perspective.

The overall goal for the research program *Welfare States at the Crossroads* is to study the transformation of the welfare state in comparative perspective, through cooperation between historians and social scientists. The time period studied extends from the late 1800s into the present day. The research is oriented towards studying the transformation of the welfare state by analyzing the driving forces behind its emergence and institutional development, differences in its structure among advanced industrialized countries, and the consequences of these differences for citizens’ living conditions. Within the research program, we aim to assess and to develop the forms of and opportunities for cooperation in the above mentioned research tasks between historians and social scientists. Sweden is compared with up to 17 other OECD countries, namely Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, (West) Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, Great Britain, and the United States. These countries have had an uninterrupted period of democratic rule since the end of the Second World War. A considerable share of the research is focused on Sweden and upon the Nordic countries. The program started in 1996 and is to continue for a total of eight years.

### The institutions of the welfare state

In the countries included within our research program, welfare states can be seen as having had a common overall goal--to protect citizens against different kinds of economic risks which they meet in the course of their lifetimes. Despite these broad similarities of goals, we find striking differences between countries when we examine the institutional structure of the most important social insurance programs. In some countries, the right to support has been dependent on being able to pass a means test performed by public authorities. In other countries, citizens have been encouraged to self-help through voluntary and self-administered funds. In a number of other countries social insurance has been organized in the form of separate programs differentiated by beneficiaries’ occupational affiliation. Depending upon whether one is a manual worker, salaried employee, farmer, or e.g. self-employed, one is there incorporated into a particular insurance program, each with its own conditions for benefits and differing levels of income replacement. Still other countries have incorporated all citizens into one and the same program, but have granted them flat-rate benefits, usually at a relatively low level. Here, it is left to the individual to take further steps to improve one’s standard of protection beyond the basic level. In some countries, however, institutions have emerged that not only provide for basic protection for all citizens, but which also provide for clearly earnings-related benefits, thereby enabling people to retain their accustomed standards of living.

In order to fruitfully sort and categorize the information we have on the development of legislated social insurance programs in our sample of countries, we have developed a typology which reflects aspects of institutional design discussed above. We have here departed from three dimensions in legislation on old age pensions and sickness insurance, namely criteria for entitlement to benefits, principles for setting benefit levels, and the programs’ forms of governance. On the basis of these program dimensions, we can distinguish five ideal-typical institutional forms among the social insurance programs which have existed in our sample of countries since the late 1800s. These ideal-typical models have been designated as the targeted, the voluntary state-subsidized and the state corporatist models, as well as the basic security model and the encompassing model.

The fundamental structure of these ideal types is depicted in Figure 1, which departs from blueprints of the relationship between institutions and the social structure of industrialized societies. The diamond-shaped fields reflect the socioeconomic structure of the popula-
tion, with the poorest farthest down and the best situated farthest up. The shaded areas reflect those shares of the population which have a legal right to support. Shading in horizontal lines reflect the payment of benefits (to those covered) in minimum or in flat-rate amounts, whereas vertical lines reflect benefits strongly related to earlier incomes. Here, we must however remember that extant institutions reflect the combined effects of multifarious and often contradictory social forces. We can therefore seldom expect existing institutions to clearly correspond to any single ideal type as sketched out here. Typologies of this kind can give us an overall image of the general contours of the social landscape, thus helping us to get our bearings, but cannot act as a guide on questions of detail.

The targeted model has precedents in the old poor laws tradition, and yields minimum benefits or flat-rate benefits to those who are adjudged to be poor or in need after an administrative test. Remnants of targeted programs are to be found in all countries. In Australia, the right to benefits from all social insurance programs is still founded, in principle, on income and assets testing. The voluntary state-subsidized model also has long-term precedents, and has been significant in provision upon sickness, unemployment and death. In Sweden, for example, unemployment insurance is still largely organized on this model.

The social insurance programs which began to be enacted in Germany upon Bismarck’s initiative in the 1880s broke both with targeting and with voluntarism. Compulsory social insurance programs were legislated, with the employed being affiliated to different programs on the basis of which occupational groups they were affiliated to. In this classical state corporatist model, programs are administered by elected representatives of wage earners and of employers. Beginning with insurance programs for industrial workers, coverage in the model was extended by creating new programs for other occupational groups, such as agricultural workers, private-sector salaried employees, craft workers, farmers and the self-employed, all with differing qualifying conditions and benefits. The level of benefits is strongly related to prior incomes (as is reflected in the vertical lines in our figure). Since it is in principle only the economically active who are included in these programs, significant constituencies are excluded from their purview (housewives, among others). Gradually, however, complementary programs have been enacted for those not active on the labor market. A state corporatist model of this kind can now be said to characterize social policy in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy and Japan.

The basic security model is based on the principle that the entire population shall be included in the same program, but that benefits are not to be income-related but instead flat-rate for in principle all citizens (as reflected in the horizontal lines of shading), albeit at what is usually a low level. The most well-known international advocate of this model was the liberal English social reformer Sir William Beveridge. The basic security model is now to be found in Canada, Denmark, Ireland, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Switzerland, Great Britain and the United States. Bismarckian and Beveridgean ideas are combined in the encompassing model, which first emerged in Sweden in the 1950s. The decisive step taken here was that the People’s Pension, which only gives basic protection, was complemented by occupational superannuation (ATP), which yields pension benefits clearly related to prior income. The encompassing model thus yields basic security for, in principle, all citizens, but also clearly earnings-related benefits to those who have been economically active. This legislation was enacted in 1958 after a protracted and intensive political conflict, including a referendum, dissolution of the Riksdag and a final vote where one member from the opposition abstained from voting and thereby helped to carry through the superannuation program. This kind of encompassing model has also been instituted in Norway and in Finland.

This typology over the institutions of the social insurance state has shown itself to be very fruitful as a point of departure for historical studies within the framework of our project. This nuanced typology allows each particular social insurance law to be classified in its own right, and at the same time makes it possible to capture basic stages and transition periods in the history of particular welfare states. Thereby the typology becomes not only usable for pur-
poses of precise hypothesis testing and program characterizations, but also for purposes of historical research which aims to establish points of transition and stages in welfare state development.

Typologies of this kind can also help to solve a basic problem for historical case studies regarding the choice of countries for comparative study, as well as interpretation of the results. The labor-intensive methods of historians usually mean that one must concentrate upon a few countries. A typology of welfare states can then be fruitful as guidance on localizing cases between which comparisons can be fruitful, as well as for structuring comparisons. In historical studies, we can then assess and expand on causal analyses of welfare states’ institutional transformations.

One of the results from the historical studies we have executed thus far is that institutional design choices have often been influenced by the strength of voluntary organizations beyond the public sector. For example, differences in the strength of voluntary sickness insurance funds have played an important role in explaining the differences which have arisen in the development of voluntary state-subsidized sickness insurance in Sweden and in Denmark (with strong voluntary movements) compared to that in Norway, where a compulsory statist policy was enacted early on.

Institutional design choices became central in the development of the Nordic welfare states when three of them broke with the principle of basic security and instead invested in the encompassing model, which made it possible for citizens to maintain their accustomed standard of living also in old age and in sickness. Sweden, Norway and Finland took these steps in the course of the period between 1955 and 1970. Denmark, on the other hand, was to retain a generous People’s Pension instead of enacting a comprehensive income-related employees’ pension, and applies income-relatedness only weakly and regressively to sickness insurance benefits.

How can we explain institutional design choices of this kind? Here, cooperation between historians and social scientists gives a rich yield. When historians go into close-range engagement with unpublished source materials, they find evidence of a long-term and fascinating power struggle within the Swedish labor movement, with proponents of basic security and of income security pitted against one another. The early postwar Minister of Social Affairs, Gustav Möller, wished to see a Swedish Beveridge model with flat-rate benefits, unrelated to prior incomes (but related to provider responsibilities). Arraigned against him stood some of the leading representatives for the blue-collar Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO), as well as for the sickness and unemployment insurance funds. They wish to see income security instated, and eventually win the power struggle with Möller. Thus the foundations are laid for the encompassing model within social insurance. The policy solution which LO and its allies force through then becomes a new main alternative to how welfare politics can be institutionalized in modern capitalist democracies. As an important underlying reason for this political stance, we may find within the Swedish LO an entrenched tradition of differentiating various categories of members with regard to membership contributions and benefits. LO had instated its own, legitimate order for how different categories of workers were to be seen and treated, which the organization also aimed to integrate into state systems of welfare.

What consequences follow from such choices of institutional design with regard to (for example) levels of income inequality and of poverty within the population? Here it is important to investigate differences in policy consequences for different socioeconomic groups or classes. Many researchers and politicians have argued that redistributive impacts become the greatest with means-tested or targeted programs—that is, when benefits paid out by the state mainly go to the most needy. The “War on Poverty” launched by the Johnson administration in the USA in the 1960s was conducted solely by the use of such programs. The targeted model can be said to follow a “Robin Hood strategy”—taking from the rich and giving to the poor. The basic security model, with flat-rate benefits, implies strict equality—equal amounts to one and all. The state corporatist model redistributes mainly within relatively homogenous
occupational categories, but less between such categories. The encompassing model follows
the biblical Matthew principle—to him that hath, it shall be given.

A redistributive paradox seems to obtain here, as indicated by our empirical studies on
the basis of comparable household disposable income data in most of our countries at the end
of the 1980s. The paradox can be formulated as follows: the more a country directs benefits to
the worst off, or holds itself to flat-rate benefits only, the more inequality and poverty tends to
result. Inequality in the distribution of household disposable incomes is lowest in countries
with the encompassing model, that is Finland, Sweden and Norway, and highest in countries
with targeting or basic security—among others, the USA, Great Britain and Switzerland.
Countries with the state corporatist model, such as Germany and Belgium, tend to end up in
between. The Matthew principle thus appears to generate more equalization and redistribution
than both the Robin Hood strategy and the strategy of strict equality. This reflects the fact that
the total level of redistribution not only depends on how great a share of redistributed means
go to the worst off, but also on the volume of the redistributive process—that is, on how much
money actually is in transit. The more redistributive efforts are directed only to the worst off,
or to basic benefits at what are often low levels, the less extensive these efforts tend to be.
Among other things, this depends on the fact that low public benefit replacement rates eventually lead to the better-off citizens’ attempting to protect their customary living standards with
the help of private insurance programs, collectively bargained insurance and savings. This
often leads to higher levels of inequality than those which are generated by earnings-related
public social insurance systems.

The development of social citizenship
The modern welfare state, which found its beginnings in the social insurance legislation of
Bismarck’s Germany, can be seen as an expression of extended social rights as well as duties.
Among the duties of citizenship, we may include provision for oneself and for one’s family,
living a well-ordered life, following societal norms on moral conduct, and paying one’s taxes
and social insurance contributions. An important part of the rights and duties of social citizen-
ship is codified into the legislation on the major social insurance programs.

International comparative social science research has attempted to illuminate the develop-
ment of social rights, but has only been able to do so indirectly in the course of the past
twenty-five years. This has been done by use of social expenditure data compiled by the ILO
and by the OECD. But the figures on social expenditure are affected by many factors of less
relevance for our perspective here, such as the age composition of the population, levels of
unemployment, and sickness absence, as well as by whether benefits are taxable or non-
taxable. As long as comparative research is based mainly on expenditure data, we will get a
more or less distorted reflection of the development of social rights.

Within the framework of our research program we are in the process of building up an
internationally unique database, the Social Citizenship Indicators Program (SCIP), which
codifies and quantifies the rights and duties associated with the five most important social
insurance programs—that is old age pensions, sickness insurance, unemployment insurance,
work accident insurance, and child benefits. The database covers all eighteen of our countries,
and codifies national legislation in these five policy domains for the years of 1930, 1933,

The legislation for each program is quantified for three different household types re-
garding benefit replacement rates (minimum, standard and maximum), coverage rates in rele-
vant population groups, duration, administrative waiting days, qualifying conditions, financ-
ing, and so on. In order to be able to meaningfully compare social insurance benefit rates be-
tween countries and over time, we have assessed benefit rates as a percentual share of an aver-
age industrial worker’s wage for each country and year (on a net basis after taxes and social
insurance contributions).
The replacement rate can thus also be changed by changes in levels of wages and of taxation. In those countries which have different programs for different occupational groups, we have assessed benefits in that program which covers metal workers. This database has shown itself to be very fruitful as a basis for comparative studies. It can be used for descriptive purposes and in order to test hypotheses derived from social scientific theories, but also to give points of reference for interpretation in historical studies based on a more limited amount of countries.

In order to demonstrate how net benefit replacement rates have changed during the period between 1930 and 1995, we here depict developments in three social insurance programs, that is sickness insurance, unemployment insurance and old age pensions. Here we choose countries which during the postwar period have had social insurance programs on the lines of differing models: targeted programs in Australia, state corporatist programs in Germany, basic security in Great Britain, and the encompassing model in Sweden. In sickness insurance and unemployment insurance, we look to average replacement rates for two representative types of households—that of a single person and that of a family with two under-aged children where one of the parents works full time and the other is a homemaker. The duration of benefits varies—here we concentrate upon the first weeks of recipiency.

Within sickness insurance, normal rates of replacement were rather low until the end of the Second World War, staying at between 20 and 40 percent of an average industrial worker’s wage (Figure 2). Benefit rates were highest in state corporatist Germany, somewhat higher than in Sweden which at this time had a voluntary state-subsidized model with state-recognized sickness insurance funds. The lowest rates applied in Great Britain, with a basic security model of insurance. As a result of postwar reforms, however, British sickness benefit rates increased to 45 percent by the mid-1970s, only to decrease back to 1930s levels by the beginning of the 1980s. Australia did not legislate its targeted sickness insurance program until 1944, and had very low replacement rates all the way into the mid-1970s, when they were raised somewhat. In Sweden, the 1955 institutional reform of sickness insurance led to a radical increase in replacement rates—reaching 90-percent levels by 1974, but decreasing to 75 percent during the 1990s. In Germany, replacement rates gradually increased during the 1950s and ‘60s, yielding 100 percent wage compensation for manual workers after the legislation of full employer financing in 1969 (a system corresponding to that which had long existed for salaried employees).

As far as unemployment insurance is concerned, the state corporatist model in Germany yielded relatively high replacement rates during the first years of the 1930s, but these were cut by Depression-era legislation and remained lower by 1939. After the Second World War, replacement rates instead increased gradually to about 70 percent during the 1960s and ‘70s, only to decrease after 1980 and reach 62 percent by 1995. In Sweden, voluntary state-subsidized insurance (according to the so-called Ghent system) was legislated in 1934. We here depict replacement rates for benefits in the Metalworkers’ union unemployment insurance fund. Starting from low levels, benefit rates increased gradually, mainly as a result of increases in the maximum daily benefit. Despite the increased formally legislated replacement rate at 90 percent of prior wages, in force from 1974 to 1992, the maximum allowable daily benefit was rather lower than the equivalent daily industrial worker’s wage. The actual replacement rate at this wage level was thus lower than the formally legislated rate, and reached its maximum level of 84 percent in 1990. The formal level was cut to 80 percent by 1995, yielding an actual level of 77 percent. Australian targeted programs yielded replacement rates of about 25 percent up until 1970, which had however been increased by 1975. Thereafter, however, replacement rates have declined. In Great Britain, replacement rates long remained at about a third of the industrial worker’s wage, but increased somewhat up until 1975. After 1980, a drastic decrease came along which pressed down replacement rates to 23 percent by 1995—that is, under the levels obtaining during the 1930s.
With regard to old-age pensions, we here depict replacement rates for those newly pensioned, as an average of rates for a single-person household and for a married couple where only one of the partners has worked for a wage income. The replacement rate can vary with the number of years worked — we here depict replacement rates for pensions which those having worked for the maximum allowable number of pension-entitling years have a right to. The German pensions increase with increasing numbers of years worked, but homemaking wives have no rights of their own to a minimum pension. In the beginning of the 1930s, pension replacement rates were lowest in Sweden and highest in Germany (see Figure 2c). Also the targeted pensions in Australia were at this time higher than the Swedish basic pensions.

Despite increases in the Swedish People's Pension in connection with reforms during the 1930s and 1948, Swedish pension levels were still relatively low also during the 1950s. The enactment of occupational superannuation (ATP), however, yielded gradually increasing replacement rates for the newly pensioned during the years succeeding 1960. Pension replacement rates reached a maximum of 93 percent in 1985, but have declined since then—something which reflects, among other things, sizable increases in real wage levels towards the end of the 1980s, but also changes in indexation and in marginal tax rates during the 1990s. The income-related pensions in Germany were relatively high for a long time, but the average replacement rate for the two household types studied remains rather low because women working at home have not had the right to their own pension. In Great Britain, an income-related supplement was enacted to the basic pension, something which gradually has led to an increase in replacement rates. Australia's targeted pensions have yielded replacement rates of about 30 percent during the earlier postwar years, but they have increased somewhat since the mid-1970s.

Changes in benefit replacement rates, as well as in other aspects of social insurance programs, reflect the impact of many factors—political, economic and demographic in character. It is of special interest in this context to further analyze patterns of cutbacks in different countries, concentrated to the periods of recurring economic crises since 1973.

Gender and inequality
The gender perspective has, in the course of the latest decades, yielded very important insights for comparative welfare state research. In this as is other respects, our research program has combined historical and social scientific studies. The historical studies can engage in in-depth analyses of how different social and welfare state institutions are oriented to men and to women, and how they thus contribute to the construction of the gender order — that is, norms for what society expects of men and of women in different situations. Turn-of-the-century poor law provision and philanthropy made important distinctions between men and women as well as between married and unmarried women, with unmarried mothers and widows also being treated in particular ways. Societal institutions rewarded primarily those women who were or had been married, and who lived according to established societal norms. Adherence to norms was also judged to be more important for women than for men.

A similar problematique is met with also in the development of Swedish child protection service institutions. In 1918, a public authority was created in order to pressure men to take the provider's responsibilities which society, and the mothers to their children, demanded of them. This meant that the Swedish state, in this policy domain, extended support to single mothers and split families instead of prioritizing support to the nuclear family.

In the 1930s, an activation of family policy occurs in many countries, not least under the impact of declining nativity rates. Here different countries chose different paths. In given cases, policy measures were focused upon women in their capacity as mothers, and were designed to (as effectively as possible) support the nuclear family as a social institution. In other countries, including Sweden, there were also policy features which made for a strengthened position for married and unmarried women vis-a-vis that of men—among other things, this
made it easier for unmarried women with children to provide for them. In the long run, this policy seems to have had the effect of keeping poverty rates low among single mothers in Sweden.

Research on inequality between men and women must take a position on the question: inequality with respect to what? Here many have studied differences in material standards of living within the family. We would argue that the analysis of gender inequality must also see individuals as actors, and inequality as regarding freedom to attain welfare. As Amartya Sen has emphasized, we must also study the range of an individual's choice — that is, her actual possibilities to choose between different action alternatives, something which reflects the extent and the diversity of the goals which individuals have capabilities to realize.

In advanced industrial societies, the sphere of economic activity and the labor market constitute central arenas for distributive processes and for socioeconomic stratification. Thus, participation in working life will not only determine the distribution of resources basic to material inequality, but also has significance for the identities of men and women, as well as for the bargaining positions of men and women within families. A changed distribution of bargaining power within the family is likely to be a precondition for changes in the distribution of unpaid caring work within the family. In the advanced industrial societies of today, inequality between the sexes with respect to labor force participation is thus presumably a basic aspect of gender-based inequality writ large.

Since the 1970s, the share of women in the labor force has increased in almost all industrialized countries. Yet, the difference between shares of women and of men outside the labor force is still great, and the size of this differential varies markedly between countries. These differentials reflect factors such as cultural and religious traditions, as well as (to a great extent) gendered policy models which have varied cross-nationally.

Within our research program, we have developed a typology distinguishing between three gender policy models: general family support, the dual earner model, and the market oriented model. General family support directs subsidies to nuclear families, and is based on acceptance or neutrality of the state regarding whether wives have foremost responsibility for caring work within the family, only temporarily acting as secondary breadwinners. In the dual earner model, policies are designed so as to promote women's continuous labor force participation, making it possible for both men and women to combine parenthood with wage work — attempts are thus also made to steer the distribution of unpaid caring work within the family. In countries where neither of these complexes of policy features is especially well developed, we may assume that policy choices have been made (or abstained from) so as to let market forces decide family provision, leaving it up to individuals to shape gender relations in accordance with their own capabilities and with market logic. Countries following this tradition can thus be viewed as being market oriented in their policies regarding gender relations. In these countries, various private solutions for caring work become very important.

When we rank our eighteen countries with respect to their policies regarding general family support and dual wage-earner family support in the period 1985-90, it turns out that on both of these dimensions the lowest values are attained in a category of countries which includes Australia, Japan, Canada, New Zealand, Switzerland, Great Britain and the United States. These seven countries can thus be said to have a market-oriented gender policy. Poli-

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1 As indicators of the development of the general family support model, we take the level of cash child benefits and of child-related tax breaks as indicating support for children and for a homeworking wife. Because of insufficient detail in descriptions of the organization of child care in several countries, we also have to use as a measure general family support the extension of institutional child care for older pre-school children. In many Continental European countries, such day care institutions have mainly aimed to take burdens off the homeworking wife, something which shows itself in that they offer places mainly on a part-time basis, and that most of the child care centers are closed on Wednesdays. As a measure of the development of the dual earner model, we take extension levels of institutional child care for the youngest pre-school age children (0-2 years of age), benefit levels and conditions of parental insurance, the rules for fathers' leave, and extension of home help to make it possible for the frail elderly to continue living at home.
cies for general family support characterize Belgium, France, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Germany and Austria, where the Catholic Church has for a long time had a position of strength and where strong support has been directed to the traditional family. Among these countries, France and Belgium also receive relatively high values on policy codings reflecting support for the dual earner family. The dual earner model can be said to dominate only in Denmark, Sweden, Finland and in Norway.

To gain perspective on the differences which gender policy institutions make for differences in gender-based inequality, we here depict differences between the shares of women and men (aged 20-54) outside of the labor force. Those who find themselves outside of the labor force may be presumed to have less freedom of choice—differences in the scope of this freedom may be interpreted as reflecting gender-based inequality. There is a very broad range of variation among our 18 countries regarding gender inequality (see Figure 3). The difference between Ireland's and Sweden's gender differentials in participation rates is almost 50 percentage points. As expected, we find the greatest gender differences in participation in the seven countries with general family support, and the smallest differences in countries with a dual earner model, whereas countries with a market-oriented policy end up somewhere in between. On the whole, the observed rank order thus confirms our earlier hypothesis to this effect. Some deviations do, however, emerge. Thus, for example, gender inequality is about as extensive in Great Britain, with a market oriented model, as in France with a general family support model. Among countries with the dual earner model, Norway has somewhat greater gender inequality than the other countries do.

**Inequality in different types of welfare states**

The account above indicates that there exist, among our eighteen nations, broad patterns of structural and cultural factors which can be assumed to exercise indirect impacts on constellations of class-based and gender-based inequality. Influences from such causal factors are mediated through different political movements and organized religious groupings, as well as through welfare state institutions encoding social insurance law and policies on gender inequality. Despite the fact that the historical developmental processes involved have been complex, and are to a considerable extent unresearched, we may venture to formulate some general hypotheses.

The traditional left-right divide in the politics of industrial nations presumably has had the consequence that political interventions in market-based distributive processes, regarding both class-based and gender-based inequalities, tend to be less significant in countries where secular conservative and/or liberal parties have been dominant than they are in countries where social democratic parties have been strong. The European confessional parties, mostly Catholic in background, have accepted market intervention to a greater extent than have secular conservative or liberal parties, if not to the same extent as traditional social democratic parties have done. At the same time, these confessional parties have emphasized the preservation of traditional family patterns more strongly than what both social democratic and secular liberal-conservative parties have—preserving the status of the homemaking housewife and the traditional family has been one of the confessional parties' most important political goals. These differences in political orientation mean that we can expect differential patterns to emerge between nations regarding inequality with respect to both class and gender—these patterns of inequality are mediated through different combinations of class-relevant and gendered sociopolitical institutions.

Among our countries, focusing on the past two decades, we can distinguish different constellations of institutional structures with consequences for class-based inequality (as reflected in the distribution of disposable incomes) as well as gender-based inequality (as reflected in differences between rates of female and male labor force participation). A provisional mapping of the welfare state's combinations or constellations of gendered and class-
relevant institutions indicates the following cross-national differentials (Table 1). The combination of basic security social programs and market-oriented gender policy is characteristic of Canada, New Zealand, Switzerland, Great Britain and the United States. The combination of targeted social programs and market oriented gender policy exists in Australia. In relation to the rest of our countries, all of these countries have high levels of class-based inequality. However, with the exception of Australia, they lie at intermediate levels of gender inequality. The large share of women outside of the labor force in Australia may reflect the fact that this country has solved many of its labor force problems through immigration. Finland, Norway and Sweden evidence a combination of general programs with income security and the dual earner model of gender policy—these countries have the lowest levels of both class- and gender-based inequality.

The combination of corporatism and general family support is to be found in Belgium, France, Italy, Germany and Austria. The state corporatist model’s intermediate levels of income inequality obtain in Belgium, Germany and Austria, whereas the high levels of gender-based inequality following from the general family support model is to be found in Germany and in Italy. By contrast, levels of income inequality are somewhat higher than expected in Italy, something which may reflect (among other things) the sizable regional differences between northern and southern Italy. Here France constitutes an interesting deviating case, with higher than expected levels of income inequality but with lower levels of gender-based inequality than what might have been expected. This partly reflects the fact that although the state corporatist model of social security was constituted in France before the First World War, the confessional Catholic party movements had always had a relatively weak position, and were dissolved in the course of the 1960s. Though France has had state corporatist social insurance institutions, postwar politics there have been largely dominated by secular conservative and liberal parties, something which may have contributed to higher levels of income inequality but also to lower levels of gender-based inequality.

In Ireland and in the Netherlands, where basic security social programs are combined with general family support, gender-based inequality is at a relatively high level. In Denmark, with its combination of basic security social programs and the dual earner model, as well as in the Netherlands with its basic security model, income inequality is lower than in other countries with basic security social insurance, but still higher than in countries having the encompassing model. Behind these facts lie, among other factors, continual conflicts between divergent political tendencies in the course of the postwar period. Japan, with a combination of state corporatist social programs and market oriented gender policy, has high levels of gender-based inequality, something which reflects the country’s specific cultural traditions and a high share of three-generation extended families.

**Universalism and social categorization**

The historical research and public debate of recent years, regarding both the Swedish and, more generally, the Scandinavian welfare states, have called into question whether Swedish welfare policies really have decreased inequalities of condition obtaining between different categories of citizens. The extensive and internationally closely followed debate on forced sterilizations in Sweden was based on a strong, if not empirically well-founded, questioning of precisely the equalizing aspects of Swedish welfare policy. Other debates, on e.g. state care institutions for those labelled as feeble-minded, have also questioned the welfare state’s solicitude for all groups of people who are lacking in wherewithal.

Our own research has shown that Swedish welfare policies have been characterized, during extensive periods of time, by moralist thinking and categorizing which has historically excluded several client groups from the purview of universal systems. Alcoholics have, at times, been excluded from receiving the citizens’ basic pension (or people’s pension), as have clients of care institutions for the poor. Those who have been long-term clients of care institu-
tions for the poor were also excluded from the right to vote in Sweden until 1944. Swedish social policies have not only guaranteed social rights—they have also posed demands upon citizens, and have emphasized the responsibilities of men to take care of themselves and of their families, as well as the responsibilities long ascribed to women for living virtuous lives and caring for their families.

Through our historical studies, we can get a sense of how vulnerable people and groups have been treated within different social policy programs and regulatory frameworks. Poverty has long been seen as a reason for societal intervention through particular policy measures of social support. Radical changes have taken place over time not only in the extent of such programmatic measures, but also in the conditions to qualify for them. In the Swedish industrial city of Norrköping, a broad spectrum of program opportunities for aid to low-income women existed already at the turn of the century—at the same time as the benefits available through them were often low and insufficient. These were not only conditional upon economic means, but also upon the recipient’s lifestyle and broader social situation. Society’s demands upon neglectful male providers were made more severe since the 1920s. According to the moralism of the times, people who did not work needed to be brought up to work and to responsibility, with the help of more or less explicitly coercive methods such as forced work and workhouses.

As our historical studies indicate, we can thus find several special regulations in Swedish welfare policies, generally known for their universalism and for their broad-based popular character, which have made quite specific demands on how people of different kinds are to be incorporated into these systems and on what level of support they are entitled to. Also in other countries, we find similar kinds of special regulations, whereby state corporatist social programs (for example) categorize people on the basis of their occupational affiliations. These kinds of categorizing regulations are founded on the state’s notion of who individuals are, and extend specific rights and benefits in relation to traits hereby viewed as important.

The question of who one is, and of what one has rights to, is related not least to the labor market position of the individual in question—family affiliation, mainly regarding the extent of caring responsibilities, is also a central identifying criterion. In categorizations on such grounds, there are often aspects of moralism involved: men are supposed to work and to provide for themselves, women are supposed to live virtuously. Categorical affiliation contributes to structuring individuals’ opportunities to choose how they wish to live their lives.

Social insurance systems have thus not only been oriented to matters of economic redistribution, or those of social rights and duties. They thus also encode more or less hidden societal texts or messages. When citizens take advantage of their opportunities and rights to protect themselves against basic risks of insecurity, they do not only solve questions of social protection. They thus also choose between different modes of managing relations between different categories of citizens, as well as different kinds of relations of dependence. These choices involve dimensions other than the economic, a dimension of that which we can call legitimacy or social order.

The welfare state cutbacks of recent decades have meant that old questions on universalism and the social rights of individuals have once again moved high up on the political agenda. Questions arise again, for example, on how those who have not yet established a firm foothold on the labor market shall be provided for when the unemployment insurance system’s already existing character of a re-employment subsidy for core workers is further strengthened and emphasized. Insurance benefit termination and early retirement pensions may become included among the many forms of modern constraints upon social rights, and also incorporate a moralizing element. Means-testing of social assistance can also be redesigned so as to demand more, or less, from individuals.

The unemployment crises of the interwar period exposed the democratic regimes of those times to serious crises, which posed a threat to the entire social order. In countries such as Germany and Italy, mass unemployment contributed to undermining trust in democracy.
and in preparing the way for Naziism and fascism. In other countries, such as the United States and the Scandinavian countries, democratic governments succeeded in mobilizing societal resources for extensive programs against unemployment, at the same time as the unemployed appeared to have been integrated in society—the belief was instilled in them that social opportunities existed for their rights and interests to be safeguarded. In modern welfare states with comparatively well developed social insurance systems, re-emerging mass unemployment has become one of the most central threats upon the living standards of individuals and social rights, as much as against public finances and economic growth. Here, the situation for increasing populations of immigrants and refugees appears to be becoming especially precarious.

The question of how those who have been impacted by mass unemployment will react and take action politically is an important one, both for researchers and for politicians. Within our program, doctoral students in history and in sociology have cooperated to analyze the difficulties which the unemployed meet with in their attempts to organize themselves for collective action. One of our studies examines the problems which the unemployed in Stockholm met with in 1919, when some of them constituted The Unemployed Peoples' Association in order to improve their own living conditions and influence political decisionmakers. The unemployed were not nearly as passive as what is sometimes assumed, often attempting to organize themselves—their possibilities to do so were, however, constrained by an already existing network of organizations which did not want competitors beyond their control. A central problem thus became the political conflicts which the unemployed peoples' organizations became involved in.

Another of our studies evaluates how political perspectives and action preferences among the Swedish unemployed were changed by mass unemployment in the course of the 1990s. In order for collective action to arise among the unemployed, it is not sufficient for the unemployed to interpret their situation as a bad one. They must also have the resources to act collectively, as well as confidence in the efficacy of politics to change the course of unemployment trends. Against the background of generally held expectations on the passivizing influence of unemployment on the unemployed, our results show unexpected changes in unemployed peoples' propensities for collective action. A study of the organizing attempts pursued by the unemployed in Sweden during the 1990s directs attention to the complicated interplay between different preconditions for collective action, in motion already during the interwar years. Even though seven decades separate the time periods studied, many of the problems for political action by the unemployed have persisted during this century.

**Welfare state development reflects social change**

In the advanced industrialized countries, the development of the welfare state has often taken place against the background of intensive debates and conflicts. Here, perspectives entertained by people in various social strata have been very different. In discussions preceding the enactment of the first great social reform in Sweden, the 1913 law on People's Pensions, leading economists called the law into question from their theoretical points of departure. Professor Gustav Cassel claimed that the proposed reform would "inevitably end the soundness of public economy which, until now, has been one of our country's special strengths," while Professor Gösta Bagge claimed that the proposal would undermine the Swedish people's drive to independent frugality. On part of those elderly persons most directly affected, the perspectives held were often different. In his memoirs, the Swedish working class author Ivar Lo-Johansson writes about his grandmother, a farm laborer's widow, who with the arrival of the People's Pension, was able to take out a pension of about six crowns per month for the first time in her life as she approached the age of eighty: "The People's Pension was the first cash wage which my grandmother had ever received in her entire life. She received it even without doing work, just because she was old...Now she had...received compensation beholden entirely
to herself, money which she could put away so as to buy a new woolen sweater if she wished, and save that which remained for her burial.12

The emergence and transformation of the welfare state reflects, in differing ways, processes of central importance for the distribution of life's goods between individuals and between groups of citizens. Research on welfare state development thus becomes an area of useful inquiry in shedding light on basic scientific questions on social change. The questions involved deal with the driving forces of social change, as well as the processes through which change is played out and the consequences change has. In research on such questions, cooperation between historians and social scientists can be fruitful indeed.

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APPENDIX: Table titles, etc.

Figure 1: Ideal-typical models of social insurance institutions among the advanced industrialized countries. [Targeted, Voluntary State Supported, State Corporatist, Basic Security, Encompassing]

a) Targeted

b) Voluntary State Supported

c) State Corporatist

d) Basic Security

e) Encompassing

Figure 1.
Ideal-typical models of social insurance institutions among the advanced industrialized countries.
Figure 2: Income benefit levels in sickness insurance, unemployment insurance, and the old age pension system 1930-1995 in Australia, Great Britain, Sweden, and Germany (net of taxes and social insurance contributions.)
Figure 3: Differences between percentages of males and females outside of the labor force in 18 countries, distinguished by dominant models of gender policy (25 – 54 years, averages 1983-1990).

Table 1: Combinations of institutional models of social insurance and gender policy in relation to relative levels of class and gender inequality in 18 OECD countries, 1985-1990.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Institutional models of Social insurance/Gender policy</th>
<th>Class inequality</th>
<th>Gender inequality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Basic Security / Market Oriented</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>Basic Security / Market Oriented</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>(Medium)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>Basic Security / Market Oriented</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Basic Security / Market Oriented</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>Basic Security / Market Oriented</td>
<td>(High)</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>Targeted / Market Oriented</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Basic Security / General Family Support</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>Basic Security / General Family Support</td>
<td>Medium*</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>Basic Security / Dual Earner</td>
<td>Medium*</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>State Corporatist / General Family Support</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>State Corporatist / General Family Support</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>State Corporatist / General Family Support</td>
<td>High*</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>State Corporatist / General Family Support</td>
<td>High*</td>
<td>(Medium*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>State Corporatist / General Family Support</td>
<td>(Medium)</td>
<td>(Medium*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>State Corporatist / Market Oriented</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Encompassing / Dual Earner</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>Encompassing / Dual Earner</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Encompassing / Dual Earner</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Unexpected levels of inequality, given the type of prevailing institutions. Uncertain estimates in parentheses.
Selected publications


Edman, Johan (in press) "På grund av sitt alkoholmissbruk och omoraliska leverne..." Lag och norm inom anstaltvården av alkoholmissbrukande kvinnor 1940-1958". *Arkiv för studier i arbetsrörrelsens historia*.


Montanari, Ingalill (in press) "From family wage to marriage subsidy and child support." *Journal of European Social Policy*.


Creating an International Archival Database

by Göran Kristiansson and Per-Gunnar Ottosson,
National Archives of Sweden

A Swedish National Archival Database (NAD)
In the late 1980’s an Archival committee in Sweden concluded that the maintenance of archival information seemed to be very expensive, especially so if researchers does not make use of the documents in question. The key problem was that it was difficult to locate the relevant information. Therefore it was suggested that a National Archival Database (NAD) should be constructed to guide researchers towards the information and provide the location of where that information is stored. The National Archives of Sweden received the necessary funding and the development of the NAD began in the autumn of 1990. The first edition of NAD was produced 1993 and the present one was compiled 1998.

The NAD consists of descriptions of both public and private archives kept in archives, libraries and museums in Sweden. It is built up of data imported from different archival databases in central, regional, and local institutions, including the National Registry of Private Archives. The data is imported as text files encoded in a MARC format from different hardware and software environments such as UNIX, PC and Macintosh.

The present edition of NAD on CD-ROM contains:
- General information of about 170 000 fonds
- Inventories (container lists) for around 38 000 fonds
- Lists of microfiches for loan or sale, particularly parish records
- A historic topographical database
- A history of regional and local administration.

The Internet edition of NAD was produced in the year 2000 and is now available on www.nad.ra.se. We are still in the process of filling the database with updated information and expect in the beginning of next year to have about 6.5 million descriptions in the database.

The descriptions in NAD is based on the General International Standard Archival Description ISAD(G) and the International standard Archival Authority Record for Corporate Bodies, Persons and Families ISAAR(CPF) developed within the International Council on Archives (ICA). More information can be found on http://www.hmc.gov.uk/icacds/eng/home.htm.

The Archival Information System (ARKIS)
A prerequisite for NAD was the development of local archives systems in the national and the regional archives. The system was developed primarily to support registration of basic information on group levels, simple finding aids (container lists), and cartographic material. It has also special but limited functions for repository control and the registration of preservation needs. The data model has fixed tables for the level of descriptions in simple "container lists". Information on the fonds and their creators is kept in different sections of the system.

The point here, however, is that no other archival institutions were forced to use this system in order to participate in the National Archival Database. They could freely develop their appli-
cations according to their own needs as long as their system was able to export data according to the NAD data dictionary.

We also found that commercial suppliers of archival software were very compliant to provide that facility in their products. The National Archives of Sweden also developed a simple NAD application to support smaller institutions wishing to participate in NAD.

The next generation software, ARKIS II

ARKIS I served most of the essential requirements the first years of its use in the organization. During recent years there has, however, been a growing demand for the development of more functions. There was therefore an urgent need for a new system that could include all these functions and keep control of the information within our organization.

The system requirements include among many things:

- accessibility on Internet or Intranet - optional also for the entry of data
- full implementation of the principle of multilevel archival description in ISAD(G)
- management of documents (all archival meta data)
- management of microforms
- management of acquired databases and electronic records

It was decided that a generic data model in a network relational database system should be used because it provides the most flexible solution and gives full support for multilevel description without a fixed number of levels. The user interface is based on standards that now are familiar to all users of Windows 95 and the Internet. The multilevel description of a finding aid, for instance, is managed by a tree structure as in a common file manager.

The system is really a merger between three different systems: the original ARKIS system, a microfilm database, and a database for magnetic tapes. It is designed to meet the needs of the national archives and regional archives in Sweden that maintain more than 500,000 meters of records in custody.

It was also concluded that the MARC-AMC does not fully support a data model based on the principles of ISAD(G) and ISAAR(CPF), and it is not well suited for multilevel descriptions and tagging of inventories. Instead it was decided that the application should be able to export and import XML (Extended Markup Language) files in accordance with the EAD (Encoded Archival Description) document type definition. As an exchange format it has the potential of becoming very useful both for the record creating organizations in their work and for the repositories when the records are about to be transferred. More information can be found on http://www.loc.gov/ead/ead.html.

The development of ARKIS II began in 1997, with the actual programming in the beginning of 1999, and has been completed this year. At the moment we are converting all the old data and educating our staff in the National Archives and the regional archives all around the country.

Creating an European Archival Database

For the National Archives of Sweden, the European Union Archive Network (EUAN) - project was a natural continuation of the Swedish efforts to build a National Archival Database. The project aims to open up access to public archives in Europe, to attract new users to archives and to overcome barriers of administrative tradition, culture and language.
The underlying vision is that a citizen should be able to, using Internet or other future technology, get information about the contents of the national archives of another country in the Union.

EUAN is a project for the Info2000 initiative launched by DG XIII of the European Commission, responsible for telecommunications and the information market. Info2000 projects are multi-national, public-private sector partnerships which exploit public sector information.

The EUAN partners are:
- the National Archives of Scotland (co-coordinator)
- the National Archives of Sweden
- the National Archives of Italy
- the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam
- the Scottish Archive Network Ltd

The result of the project is a prototype installation built on the Swedish Archival Information System ARKIS II. It contains top level descriptions from the participating institutions. The description is based on five core elements recommended in the descriptive standard ISAD (G), developed by ICA:s Committee on Descriptive Standards.

It is decided that XML, in accordance with the Encoded Archival Description (EAD) – Document Type Definition, and MARC – AMC shall be used as exchange formats. Each participant produces an EAD/MARC - files on their web server and these files will periodically be transferred automatically to the EUAN server. Delivered MARC – files are converted to EAD – format and all EAD - files are then imported to the EUAN database.

The information is indexed and made available on the Internet and may be retrieved either through a simple or an advanced search screen. When a user finds relevant records and wants more information about the material, there is a link to the record-keeping institution.

In the future, when more institutions have their material indexed in the EUAN – database, researchers will be able to get an overview of where in Europe different material are kept and perhaps even get a digital copy of information needed.

Further information can be found on the EUAN – web site, www.euan.org.

Linking and Exploring Authority Files (LEAF)
In connection with ARKIS II there has been cooperation between the National archives and the Royal Library trying to establish a foundation for a national authority database. The aim is to have authority records on corporate bodies, persons and families that can be used by archives, libraries and museums when they describe their holdings. The National Archives is also involved in a European Union project, called Linking and Exploring Authority Files (LEAF), which has the same aim on the European level. More information can be found on http://www.crixnet.com/leaf/ and http://www.library.yale.edu/eac/.

As a final conclusion, I would like to stress the importance and need for national initiatives for archival descriptions based in international standards and the construction of national authority databases for personal names, corporate bodies and place names in cooperation with Archives, Libraries and Museums. As a long term result, we would then have the possibility to retrieve information about, for instance, a well known artist, scientist or author and find out where in the world documents, literature and artifacts related to these persons are located.
IALH Projects and National Presentations

The IALH gender project

The Internet Guide to Sources for Women's and Gender History in IALH Institutions

by Jenneke Quast
International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam

Why a guide like this? In the past few years, the relationship between women and labour, gender & class, socialism and sexuality, feminism and socialism has frequently been the subject of conferences, workshops and publications of labour history institutions, so the time just seemed ripe for a project like this. Secondly, collection guides are useful and guides that can be searched on the Internet are even more useful. Thirdly, archivists and librarians may find it interesting, gratifying and stimulating to look at their own collections from the gender angle.

Following a proposal to the Co-ordination Committee to make a guide to sources for women's and gender history in IALH institutions, several members sent information on gender-related materials in their collections for inclusion in the guide. The result is a special "gender" page on the IALH website, at www.ialhi.org/gender.

The information provided takes several forms: MS Word documents, PDF files, HTML files. In cases where no electronic document is available, there is a brief description on the IALH website. The files are stored either on the institution's own webserver or on the IALH server. Hyperlinks on the IALH gender page point to the individual collection information. In a few cases there is an additional link to websites of national projects bringing together information on women's and gender related collections.

Presentations and discussion

The gender guide-under-construction was shown on a projection screen, and workshop participants who had sent information for inclusion in the guide briefly presented their contributions.

Franck Veyron (BDIC, Paris) had contributed an MS Word document containing bibliographic information on "Sex, gender and sexual orientation". This was prepared for an existing project in which the Service des Droits de l'homme de la BDIC is involved. Franck pointed out that this is a preliminary list, which does not cover all gender related materials in the BDIC.

Janette Martin (Labour History Archive and Study Centre, Manchester) presented an article broadly describing gender related archival materials in the LHASC and a few examples of these archives, made accessible using the International Standard Archival Description (ISAD(G)), which is also used for the Genesis project. They are available as MS Word documents from the IALHI site.

1. Presentation at the gender workshop at ARAB, 5 September 2002. In the room where the workshop was held, there was a small exhibition of materials documenting women's history in the ARAB.
Urs Kaelin (Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv, Zurich) stressed the importance of identifying not only archival and manuscript collections, but also printed materials. The Sozialarchiv has detailed descriptions of women's organizations records and personal papers on its own website. This information is also available as an MS Word file from the IALHI website.

The FES Bibliothek (Bonn), represented in the gender workshop by Ruediger Zimmermann, published a guide entitled 'Women in the German Labour movement, an inventory of newspapers, journals, minutes and reports in the Library of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation', available as a PDF file from the website of the FES Library. A similar comprehensive guide for the FES Archive was presented by its compiler Ilse Fischer. Her presentation offered clear examples of the large number of sources for the history of women and gender that can be found in labour history collections. Her guide will be shortly available from the website of the AdsD.

The Tamiment Library (New York) has information on sources for women's history published on its website, as HTML files. Andrew Lee explained they call it a "pathfinder", reserving the word "guide" for more specific, formal, collections information.

The IISG (Amsterdam) has webpages listing papers of persons involved in the labour movements in the Netherlands and other countries. It is based on the Index of Archival Collections held by the IISH, with additional entries for women whose papers are part of the archives of their correspondents or relatives, and some introductory biographical and bibliographical notes.

It is not always easy to identify gender-related materials. Kiril Anderson (RGASPI, Moscow) explained that many repositories in the Russian Federation have such documents, but they are dispersed through the records of a large number of state organizations and agencies. The same is true - to a certain extent - for US government agencies records. Solveig Halvorsen (Arbeiderbevegelsens Arkiv og Bibliotek, Oslo) argued that gender-related materials can be found in nearly all collections. Jaap Kloosterman (IISH, Amsterdam) suggested that in these cases analytical articles broadly describing what kind of materials can be found in a repository are very helpful to researchers.

Other institutions have gender-specific information about their collections that is not - or not yet - available electronically. Stellan Anderson (ARAB, Stockholm) presented a printed index, Women's archives: personal archives from women active in the labour movement, and archives/collections from organizations which on central and local level mainly organize women, in Arbetarörelsens arkiv och bibliotek (August 28, 2002). The Paderborner Archiv zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung, in response to our proposal, wrote a letter describing women's history materials in Paderborn. The George Meany Memorial Archives has a printed list entitled Women in the Labor Movement: a Checklist of Sources in the George Meany Memorial Archives 1996-1997.

**Project presentations**

Genesis, Association Archives du Féminisme, CODHOS, Archivi Riuniti delle Donne, Sources for women's history in IALHI Institutions.

Jenny Haynes introduced the Genesis project, a mapping initiative to identify and develop access to women's history sources in the British Isles. A summary of her presentation will be sent separately; the url of the Genesis website is [www.genesis.ac.uk](http://www.genesis.ac.uk)

Françoise Blum gave an introduction of the Association Archives du Féminisme, a French project to preserve the records of women's organizations and feminists' papers. Information on the Association can be found at their website [uweb.univ-angers.fr/ARCHFEM/asso1.htm](http://uweb.univ-angers.fr/ARCHFEM/asso1.htm). Françoise also introduced the cooperation project CODHOS, Collectif des centres de documentation en histoire ouvrière et sociale, or Associa-
tion of Labour History Institutions in France. More about this initiative can be found in the
printed article included in the conference papers. The url of CODHOS is www.codhos.asso.fr

Maria Luisa Betri (Dipartimento di scienze della storia, University of Milano) gave an
introduction to the Archivi Riuniti delle Donne, the Italian association aiming at safeguarding
primary sources for women's history and promoting research and education in this field. The
url is www.storiadelledonne.it/ard/ard.htm.

The url of the Sources for women's history in IALHI Institutions is
www.ialhi.org/gender.

Future contributions to the list

Sources for women's history in IALHI Institutions
IALHI members who wish to do so can send information about sources relating to women's
and gender history in their collections to Jenneke Quast, IISH, Amsterdam, email jgu@iisg.nl

Sources that may be included:
- Anything related to women's and gender in labour history
- Women's social and political organizations; women's trade unions
- Unions in trades and industries in which women dominated
- Reform movements in which women figured prominently (temperance movement, peace
  movement, sexual reform organizations)
- Papers of individuals who were involved in such movements and organizations
- Documents related to the Frauenfrage, feminism, women's suffrage, women's work and
  payment, prostitution, sexuality, marriage and the family, education for girls, prostitution,
  housing
- All material types can be included: archives and manuscripts, periodicals, photographs,
  posters, pamphlets, audiovisual materials and other rare or unique documents. Articles
  broadly describing book collections are welcomed to.

Level of description:
Analytical articles - anything to fill the gap between general collection information and item
level description - are very instructive and helpful.

Format:
The information can be sent in any format. It can be an existing list, whether electronic or
printed. It can be an Internet address: existing online guides will be referred to by a hyperlink:
to the IALHI website or to the institution's own server.

The web address of Sources for women's history in IALHI institutions is:
www.ialhi.org/gender
The IALHI gender project

Présentation du répertoire en ligne Internet Guide to Sources for Women's and Gender History in IALHI Institutions (Sources pour l'histoire des femmes et des genres dans les fonds des institutions membres de l'IALHI)

Jenneke Quast
Institut International d'Histoire Sociale, Amsterdam

Pourquoi travailler à la constitution d'un tel répertoire en ligne? Parce que, d'abord, ce projet semble d'actualité: depuis quelques années, la question des rapports entre les femmes et le monde du travail, celle des liens à établir entre histoire des genres et histoire sociale, entre socialisme et questions sexuelles ont en effet été évoquées dans de nombreux colloques, travaillées dans différents séminaires, et ont même fait l'objet de plusieurs publications dans l'une ou l'autre des institutions de notre réseau. Parce que, d'autre part, les répertoires de sources - en particulier lorsqu'ils sont accessibles et consultables en ligne - constituent toujours des outils utiles aux chercheurs.

Et il faut considérer, enfin, que cela peut être utile et gratifiant pour nous tous, bibliothécaires, archivistes et documentalistes, de reprendre en partie la description de nos fonds, avec cette fois-ci une nouvelle grille de lecture - celle des questions de genre.

L'idée de ce travail ayant été lancée par le Comité de coordination il y a quelques mois, plusieurs représentants de nos institutions membres ont fait parvenir différentes informations, destinées à constituer les premiers éléments de notre répertoire commun.

Dès aujourd'hui, il est donc possible de consulter sur le site de l'IALHI une page "Women's and Gender History in IALHI Institutions", dont l'adresse exacte est la suivante: www.ialhi.org/gender.

Jusqu'à présent, ces informations ont été envoyées sous différents formats (documents Word, fichiers en format PDF ou HTML etc.). Selon la volonté de chaque contributeur, ces différents fichiers peuvent être enregistrés sur le serveur de l'IALHI, ou conservés par les institutions qui les ont produits: dans ce second cas, nous signalons leur existence et créons vers eux un lien hypertexte sur notre page Sources for Women's and Gender History.

Les différentes institutions ayant collaboré à la constitution du répertoire sont classées selon leurs localisation nationale. Dans quelques rares cas, nous avons pris le parti de signaler l'existence de projets documentaires collectifs nationaux concernant directement l'histoire des femmes (Genesis—Developing Access to Women's History sources in the British Isles en Grande-Bretagne, ou Archives du Féminisme en France). Des liens hypertextes permettent là encore d'accéder directement à ces sites à partir du nôtre.

Présentation de contributions. Débats
Le répertoire tel qu'il est actuellement consultable en ligne est présenté sur un écran de projection. Quelques représentants d'institution ayant contribué à sa constitution présentent rapidement leurs envois.

Pour la BDIC (Paris-Nanterre), Franck Veyron a envoyé, sous forme de fichier Word,
une liste d’ouvrages récemment achetés par le service ‘Droits de l’homme’ de sa bibliothèque dans le cadre d’un programme de constitution d’un fonds documentaire ‘Sexe, genre et orientation sexuelle’. Franck insiste sur le fait que cette bibliographie très spécialisée ne représente absolument pas l’ensemble des fonds conservés à la BDIC concernant l’histoire des femmes : il s’agissait seulement d’apporter vite une première contribution. D’autres descriptions de fonds d’archives disponibles à Nanterre seront envoyées le plus vite possible.

Janette Martin (Labour History Archive and Study Centre, Manchester) explique avoir préféré envoyer un article (Sources for Women’s history) qui présente rapidement les grands fonds d’archives et de documentation disponibles au LHASC. Elle décrit plus précisément quelques unes de ces archives, inventoriées selon les règles codifiées de l’International Standard Archival Description (ISAD-G), suivies aussi pour l’ensemble du projet Genesis.

Représentant les Archives suisses d’histoire sociale (Schweizerisches Sozialarchiv de Zürich), Urs Kaelin souligne la nécessité, pour la qualité finale du projet, de ne pas se contenter de recenser les seuls fonds d’archives ou les collections de manuscrits, mais aussi les documents imprimés. Il disposait déjà d’inventaires détaillés de fonds d’archives concernant différentes organisations ou personnalités féministes conservés dans son Centre : ceux-ci, envoyés sous forme de fichiers Word, sont désormais accessibles sur notre site.

La bibliothèque de la Fondation Friedrich Ebert (FES) de Bonn, que Ruediger Zimmermann représente à Stockholm, a rédigé un guide de 115 page, en anglais, intitulé Women in the German Labour movement, an inventory of newspapers, journals, minutes and reports in the Library of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Les Femmes dans le mouvement ouvrier allemand : inventaire des périodiques, rapports et compte-rendus conservés à la bibliothèque de la Fondation Friedrich Ebert), désormais accessible en ligne sur le site de l’IALHI. Un autre inventaire, concernant cette fois les archives de la Fondation, nous est présenté par son auteur, Ilse Fischer. Grâce à de nombreux exemples, elle nous montre que l’histoire des femmes, ou l’histoire des genres, peut aussi se fonder sur l’exploitation nouvelle d’archives concernant l’ensemble du mouvement ouvrier. Le guide rédigé par Ilse sera bientôt consultable en ligne sur l’une des page des Archives de la social-démocratie allemande, hébergées sur le site de la Fondation.

La Bibliothèque Tamiment (Tamiment Library) de New York dispose aussi, sur son propre site Internet — mais directement accessibles aussi depuis celui de l’IALHI par lien hypertexte —, de guides pour l’accès à ses fonds concernant l’histoire des femmes. Ce ne sont pas, à proprement parler, des ‘inventaires’ : Andrew Lee explique préférer les qualifier de simple premier survol des collections disponibles dans sa bibliothèque.

Quant à l’Institut d’Histoire Sociale d’Amsterdam, il a sélectionné pour le site de l’IALHI, au sein de l’index général de ses collections d’archives (Index of Archival Collections), un certain nombre de notices d’inventaire correspondant à différentes personnalités ou organisations du mouvement ouvrier, et concernant l’histoire des femmes. Ces notices peuvent être introduites par des notes biographiques ou bibliographiques donnant de premières informations sur les personnalités concernées — lorsque par exemple les documents de telle figure féminine ne sont conservés que comme partie des archives d’une autre personne avec laquelle celle-ci pouvait entretenir des liens familiaux, amicaux, politiques ou professionnels.

Il n’est pas toujours facile de définir précisément quels types de documents peuvent servir pour l’histoire des genres. Leur éparpillement rend aussi leur identification compliquée. Kiril Anderson (RGASPI, Moscou) fait remarquer que beaucoup de centres d’archives russes disposent sans doute de véritables gisements en la matière. Cependant, les fonds potentiellement utiles n’ont pas été inventoriés selon ce point de vue scientifique, et se trouvent donc jusqu’à présent dispersés entre les différentes archives de nombreuses organisations, officielles ou non, et de nature fort hétérogène. Solveig Halvorsen (Arbeiderbevegelsens Arkiv og Bibliotek, Oslo) souligne ainsi qu’on pourrait presque
finally consider that all documents of archives are susceptible to serve as source for a history of genres... Jaap Klosterman (IISH, Amsterdam) recalls that at the time the question of the choice of funds to signal is too problematic, it is always possible to send to courts articles offering a rapid description of the types of documents available in the institution concerned. Also synthetic, these indications are always useful to researchers.

Other members of the IALHI have established the guides of their funds concerned the history of women who are not yet accessible online due to the absence of the instant under the form of electronic. (In attending, these documents may not be demanded by their authors). Stellan Anderson (ARAB, Stockholm) shows the répertoire paper Women's archives: personal archives from women active in the labor movement, and archives/collections from organizations which on central and local level mainly organize women, in Arbetarörelsens arkiv och bibliotek, realized by the ARAB in August last. Of the same, after our first request of the sending of contributions for the site of the IALHI, the Paderborner Archiv zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung we have made to deliver a letter developed describing the collections of feminists conserved at Paderborn. Finally, the Centre d'archives du Mémorial George Meany (The George Meany Memorial Archives, Silver Spring, USA) we have a version of a book imprinted of their inventory Women in the Labor Movement: a Checklist of Sources in the George Meany Memorial Archives 1996-1997.

Présentation de projets locaux ou nationaux.

Presentation of the following projects: Genesis, Archives du Féminisme, CODHOS, Archivi Riuniti delle Donne, Sources for women's history in IALHI Institutions.

Jenny Haynes (The Women's Library, London) presents the results of the project Genesis (Developing Access to Women's History Sources in the British Isles), work of inventaire and description unified of the ensemble of the sources on the history of women available in different centers of archives of the British Isles (cf. the site of Genesis, at the address www.genesis.ac.uk) (A summary of the detailed, you will be bientôt envoyé).

Françoise Blum (Centre d'Histoire sociale du XXème siècle, Paris) evokes the activities of the French association Archives du Féminisme, which, since its creation in 2000, it is still devoted to the objective of contributing to the preservation of the archives of the associations and militants feminists, as well as the development of the documentation and the search in this domain. More detailed information on the Archives du Féminisme are available on its website, at the address buweb.univ-angers.fr/ARCHFEM/. Françoise Blum also recalls: the work engaged in France by the CODHOS, Collective of centers of documentation in history working and social. (You will find all the necessary information on this initiative national in the paper of presentation which you have been given to Stockholm with the dossier of the Conference). The CODHOS dispose also of a site Internet, at the address www.codhos.asso.fr

Maria Luisa Betri (Dipartimento di scienze della storia, Université of Milan) gives details on the activities of the Italian association Archivi Riuniti delle Donne, which works to the safeguarding of the sources of primary concern the history of women in Italy, as well as defense and promotion of different activities, research or education, carried out in this domain. More detailed information on Archivi Riuniti delle Donne are available on its website, at the address www.storiadelladonna.it/ard/ard.htm
Sources for women's history in IALHI Institutions:
quels développements à venir ?

Les institutions membres de l’IALHI qui le souhaitent peuvent évidemment continuer – ou commencer – à envoyer leurs contributions : la coordinatrice du projet est Jenneke Quast (IISH, Amsterdam). Son adresse électronique est la suivante : jqu@iisg.nl.

Tous les envois sont les bienvenus, et peuvent concerner tout aussi bien :
- le rôle et l'histoire des femmes dans le mouvement ouvrier,
- les organisations corporatistes ou syndicales concernant des branches de l'industrie ou du commerce employant une main d'œuvre majoritairement féminine,
- les mouvements de réforme au sein desquels les femmes occupaient une large place (organisations de tempérance, mouvements pacifistes, associations familiales, etc.),
- des fonds personnels de militants ou militant(e)s dans l'une ou l'autre de ces diverses activités,
- des documents d'archives relatifs aux questions de luttes féministes, ou de batailles pour le droit de vote des femmes ou, dans un autre registre, concernant les luttes sociales des femmes (pour de meilleures conditions de vie, de logement et de salaire, pour la liberté d'éducation, contre le sexisme, contre la prostitution, etc.,
- etc.

Précisions pratiques:
Tous les types de supports documentaires peuvent être inclus dans les descriptions de fonds : archives, papiers personnels, correspondances, périodiques, photographies, affiches, brochures, documents audiovisuels, etc.

Pour certaines grosses institutions, un inventaire détaillé des fonds disponibles est difficilement réalisable : de courts articles synthétiques de présentation des collections peuvent alors les remplacer, et être mis en ligne pour information.

Le choix du niveau de description des fonds est laissé à l'entière liberté de chacun. Quelle que soit sa précision (depuis la présentation très générale jusqu'à la description pièce par pièce), aucun guide d'accès aux sources n'est jamais inutile…

Enfin, rappelons que les envois peuvent être effectués selon le format qui vous convient le mieux. Si vous disposez déjà de répertoires en ligne installés sur votre site Internet, il n'est pas nécessaire, d'ailleurs, de nous les communiquer physiquement : la simple création d'un lien hypertexte vers la page concernée est suffisante.

L'adresse web de Sources for women's history in IALHI Institutions est:
www.ialhi.org/gender
Genesis

Developing access to women’s history sources in the British Isles

by Jennifer Haynes
The Women’s Library, London

Genesis is a mapping project to locate and describe research resources for women’s history in the British Isles. It has two strands: a database containing collection descriptions from archives, libraries and museums in the British Isles which may be searched from the Genesis web-site; and a guide to sources which provides a single access point to women’s history research resources on the internet.

Finance for the initial phase of the project, which ended in July 2002, was provided by the Research Support Libraries Programme, funded by the four UK higher education funding bodies. The Women’s Library, based at London Metropolitan University, led a consortium of 46 institutions, including universities, national repositories, special repositories and associations from which were gathered descriptions of women’s history collections.

A particular strength of the project has been the variety of institutions involved, ranging from the British Library to the Feminist Archive (South), which is run by a collective of volunteers. Project Officers based at The Women’s Library were able to work with some of the smaller institutions to assist in the creation of the descriptions and The Library hopes to continue to build on these relationships in the future. There are currently just over 1,500 descriptions on the database, 66% of which have been made available in this format for the first time.

The guide to sources provides links to a very wide range of web resources on women’s history. Currently only sites that appear in English are included, but it is hoped that this will change in the future.

The Women’s Library is currently looking at ways to develop the project, to expand the number of institutions involved and to extend the guide to sources. All suggestions are very welcome.

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Le projet GENESIS
Faciliter l’accès aux sources
de l’histoire des femmes dans les Îles Britanniques

Jennifer Haynes
The Women’s Library, London

Le projet Genesis a pour objectif concret le recensement général et la description unifiée de l’ensemble des sources documentaires pour l’histoire des femmes disponibles dans les Îles Britanniques. Pour l’instant, ses réalisations ont pris deux formes différentes: la constitution d’une base de données commune offrant un accès direct aux inventaires des fonds spécialisés de nombreux centres d’archives, bibliothèques et musées; l’établissement d’un guide d’accès aux ressources en ligne sur ou pour l’histoire des femmes.

Le Research Support Libraries Programme – une initiative de soutien à la recherche en bibliothèques, mise en place par les quatre grands organismes de financement de l’enseignement supérieur en Grande-Bretagne – a entièrement financé la première phase de ce travail collectif, qui s’est achevée en juillet 2002. La Women’s Library (Bibliothèques des femmes), qui dépend de la London Metropolitan University, était chargé de coordonner les activités des 46 institutions, de statuts divers (universités, centres d’archives nationaux, centres de documentation spécialisés, départements archives d’associations, etc.), ayant accepter de participer à la réalisation de ce projet.

Cette variété des collaborations – depuis la British Library (Bibliothèque nationale anglaise) jusqu’aux Feminist Archive (South) de Bristol, animées par un collectif de volontaires… – a grandement contribué à la qualité finale de la base de données. Et les personnes embauchées pour sa réalisation, installées à la Women’s Library, avaient la possibilité d’aider les institutions les plus petites, sans grands moyens, à préparer leurs contributions selon les règles collectives adoptées: un réseau de travail en commun a ainsi été créé, que la Bibliothèque des femmes espère bien à l’avenir entretenir et développer encore. À ce jour, plus de 1500 fonds sont recensés et décrits dans la base Genesis – et pour les deux-tiers d’entre eux, pour la première fois sous un format aussi détaillé.

Quant au guide d’accès aux ressources en ligne, il se présente sous la forme d’un répertoire de nombreux liens hypertextes. N’ont été recensés pour l’instant que des sites en langue anglaise, mais rien n’empêche de travailler aussi, plus tard, sur d’autres langues.

La Women’s Library s’occupe désormais de la maintenance du projet, en travaillant au développement de ce réseau de coopération ainsi qu’à la mise à jour continuelle du guide des ressources en ligne. Toutes les suggestions sont les bienvenues.

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Documents on Gender and Women’s History
in the Archives of Social Democracy in the Friedrich Ebert Foundation

by Ilse Fischer
Archives of Social Democracy in the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Bonn

Special Problems of Researching and Recording

The Archives of Social Democracy in the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (AdsD) have at their disposal numerous record groups including relevant material on women’s history and on biographies of individual women. Archival material on specific time periods or topics is not always available with the quality and density one might wish for. The sources, nevertheless, span a remarkable range in terms of time and content. It is, for example of symbolic value for the history of the Archives of Social Democracy and its “predecessor archives” which are closely linked to the development of Social Democracy in Germany to find in one of the oldest record groups, namely the “Early Period of the Labour Movement”, a letter dated 1865 by Louise Otto-Peters to the Arbeiterbildungs-Verein Leipzig [Workers’ Education Society Leipzig] on the establishment of a Sunday school for girls and to find in the documents from 1993 a motion by the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] members in the Joint Constitutional Commission on “gender-fair language of the Basic Law” (deposited Hans-Jochen Vogel).

Trying to apply the term “gender” systematically to archival material leads to dimensions difficult to capture with the current (and probably also future) indexing status due to the volume and diversity of documents (40,000m²) as well as of the audiovisual collections in our Archives. This would require, at the same time, the application of an “evaluating” filter to the cataloguing which would lead to problems in the field of indexing as well as usage due to its subjectivity and inflationary results. To give an example: In the personal papers of Gustav Heinemann one comes across the constitutional complaint about the Compulsory Military Service Act (1956), lodged by women representing their sons who were under age. Whether material of this kind is to be classified under the “gender aspect” or not is a question of research rather than a question of archiving methods. In the AdsD’s usual cataloguing itself the term “gender” is applied (mostly with more recent documents) only when referring to content which have already been classified as belonging to this term in the files themselves. Free and indexed description as well as subject cataloguing (e.g. with collections), however, include terms such as equality, women’s movement, women’s history, etc. Therefore, the following remarks concentrate first of all on applying the aspect of women’s history, women’s movement, and women’s policies, which are easier to identify. Nevertheless, starting points for gender-related research will be referred to.

The record groups, files, or documents in the Archives of Social Democracy in the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in consideration are, as far as written material is concerned, primarily records related to individuals or former files from organisations and institutions originating from of the labour movement, particularly German social democracy, the trade unions, as well as other democratic and social movements. As regards the material on women’s history, this means first of all that the corresponding documents originate from this political and organisational context. However the scope of the topics is much wider. Thus, it

is immediately plausible that record groups such as the files of the Parliamentary Party of the SPD in the Bundestag reflect at the same time important aspects of the general socio-political discussion in the Federal Republic. The same is true, for example, for some collections including documents of different political background such as the collection of leaflets also including documents on the position of the non-socialist parties regarding women as voters or the political activities of women. As the AdsD’s work is no longer limited to safeguarding and archiving political party and trade union files alone but includes other groups (e.g. the peace movement) or individuals (e.g. publicists), as well, the files often comprise material and aspects one might not expect in the first place in the record groups of our Archives.

The particularly problematic nature of recording archival material relevant to women’s and gender history derives not least of all from the tension between great amounts of documents of relevant provenance (e.g. files from different offices or departments of women’s affairs of individual organisations) of strongly varying significance as regards content and rather isolated documents (e.g. correspondence) which might be of great value for a certain research project. Therefore, the generating of a special inventory on the basis of content hardly seems practicable. The EDP indexing of personal records alone, including only parts of the personal papers archived here, list for example more than 1200 entries for the keyword “woman-...”. Thus, a detailed listing of material seems to make sense only when related to a certain research project – and many documents will definitely count as gender-relevant documents only when looked at under a certain aspect. In the end, the difficulties indicated above can only be dealt with by means of a user support with intensive consultation services. Consequently, the following remarks are first of all meant to draw attention to greater record groups which might be of interest to women’s and gender history as well as to explain the nature of documents possibly to be found by means of describing certain archivel material.

Generally, one should take into account that not all our files have been recorded by archivists yet. Particularly, when it comes to documents from the field of party or trade union organisations where single record groups often comprise hundreds and thousands of meters of files, very often, there is no order or index available or at least not as detailed as it exists for most of the personal papers. Moreover, even though part of the indexed archival material is recorded in the archive database “Faust” conventional finding aids (sometimes in the form of acquisition lists or card files) have still to be referred to.

**Personal Papers (cf. Appendix)**

**Personal papers from women** can be linked with women’s or gender history most easily in a very general sense through the registry-forming persons’ names. One can not assume, however, that the papers have to include necessarily material particularly on women’s issues or women’s policies. The appendix includes a overview of women’s files in our Archives independent of the content of the individual files. Compared to the total number of personal papers of men and women in the AdsD the situation as regards sources is still relatively weak the personal papers of women. Only 125 (13.6%) out of the 920 personal files are by women (status summer 2002) already including those of married couples registered under both names. For the older groups of documents beginning at the end of the 19th century this situation can hardly be improved. In spite of all progressive theoretical and political approaches that the labour movement pursued with regard to women’s issues this situation reflects the marginal role women played as functionaries in political parties and in the trade unions. Looking at the period before 1918, archival material by women exists in the AdsD only in the form of microfilms from the Moscow Russian State Archives of Socio-Political History (RGASPI). As to original documents for this period there are only isolated documents by women to be found in men’s papers. For the time of the Weimar Republic and the Nazi period the situation
as regards source material is also not much better. There are at least some files by women including material from this time or – and this is typical – files by women who were politically active during this time, but whose papers originate from the time after 1945 (e.g.
personal papers of Marie Juchacz). It is yet surprising that there are hardly any records from women active during the Weimar Republic e.g. as members of parliament. Undoubtedly, it is true for this group (just as for the group of politically active men) that a lot of material was lost because of the Nazi period, emigration, or the effects of the war. One can only speculate as to other reasons that might have played an additional role (varied appreciation of the material of political work of women and men by their families or lack of interest on the side of the archivists acquiring this material). The situation as regards sources has improved for the post-World War II period even though the generation of early members of the Parliamentary Council and of the Bundesstät is represented only by a few files. However, in some cases these files are quite extensive and significant as regards their content (e.g. Helene Wessel, Käte Strobel).

The overview of files by women in the Archives of Social Democracy included in the appendix does not exclusively refer to those documents related to women-specific issues. Especially under the aspect of gender it seems to make sense to document the entire range of political work by women represented in the archives. Nevertheless, one has to take into account that many files document the activities of the women in question only in a fragmentary way.

The Provenance ranges from the (few) documents of former members of the Reichstag (Marie Juchacz, Anna Zammert) to files of former or current members of the Bundestag (Lisa Albrecht, Elfriede Eilers, Ilse Elsner, Katrin Fuchs, Liesel Hartenstein, Renate Lepsius, Ingrid Matthäus-Maier, Annemarie Renger, Renate Schmidt, Brigitte Schulte, Sigrid Skarpelis-Sperk, Käte Strobel, Helga Timm, Helene Wessel, et al.). The files of members of the European Parliament (Erika Mann, Leyla Onur, Heinke Salisch, Barbara Simons, et al.) and trade unionists (Thea Harmuth, Ruth Köhn, Maria Weber, et al.) are included just like the papers of politicians who were ministers in the past or of those who still hold that position, e.g. Katharina Focke, Rose Götte, Edelgard Bulmahn, Herta Däubler-Gmelin, Ulla Schmidt, Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul (including also files from her function as chairperson of the Young Socialists). There are also files of women who have occupied prominent positions in the Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialdemokratischer Frauen [Working Group of Social Democratic Women] (Elfriede Eilers, Karin Junker, Ruth Zutt, Inge Wettig-Danielmeier). In addition, there are personal papers of women who have been public figures in numerous ways – be it as publicists and journalists (Carola Stern, Else Reventlow, Gerda Weyl, Friedel Oelrichs), as workers’ poet (Emma Clara Döltz), or as revue performer (Karin Hempel-Soos). There are also documents on the work of women having been active in the peace movement like Christel Beilmann or Charlotte Boeckcn, or of women who – apart from their political work – held functions in the educational field, in adult political education, in the legal profession, or as scientists (e.g. Minna Specht, Erna Blencke, Nora Platiel, Susanne Miller, Grete Henry-Hermann). At the same time, many of them played a role in the political emigration or the resistance during the Nazi period.

Of course, “women’s files” can always provide only part of the sources on women’s and gender history. One should keep in mind that relevant material is always (and on quite a large scale) to be found in personal papers of men. On the one hand, these personal papers often “reflect” directly the activities of women as correspondence partners or authors of notes, applications, or other documents. On the other hand, personal papers of politicians in general often comprise documents on gender issues – as in the papers of the social democratic federal chancellor, chairmen of the party, and chairmen of the parliamentary party in the Bundestag such as Willy Brandt, Helmut Schmidt, Herbert Wehner, Hans-Jochen Vogel, and others - up
to the papers of a great number of members of parliament having dealt intensively with gender issues in commissions, committees, and working groups (e.g. Nils Diederichs, Hartmut Soell). Particularly in view of biographical research for the time before 1945 it can be worthwhile to check the papers of prominent Social Democrats of the post-war period with regard to curricula vitae and individual fates communicated by letters or other documents by women (about themselves or their families) in retrospect to the Nazi period.

Archives of the Executive Committee of the SPD

The archive material amounting to a total of about 4,000m comprise records in the form of files (of varying density) of the Executive Committee of the SPD since 1945. The record group Executive Committee of the SPD includes the files of the Office of Women’s Affairs (“Frauenbüro” (Referat Frauen) amounting to approximately 1200 file units. A brief description (file group, file title, time, additions as to content only in exceptional cases) exists in the form of finding aids and in the archive database Faust. All in all, the files cover the period between 1946 and 1998. On a large scale, they reflect women’s work in the SPD from the first years after the war to the present day.

This record group (correspondence, minutes, circular letters, news services, also including files of the member of the Executive Committee Herta Gotthelf [1902 – 1963], head of the Women’s Secretariat and editor of “Gleichheit” (Equality)) comprises among other papers: material on SPD national women’s conferences, correspondence with the different party districts, the military government, members of the Bundestag, trade unions, non-party women’s organisations, material on contacts abroad, annual reports, documents of the committee for women’s issues in the Executive Committee, minutes of meetings of the National Women’s Committee, documents on international women’s organisations and conferences and on events such as meetings, trainings, seminars, on election campaign preparations, Berlin contacts, contacts with the Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialdemokratischer Frauen (AsF), on § 218 [termination of pregnancy], material on issues such as gender equality policy, part-time work, anti-women advertisements, peace activities, International Women’s Days, women in male-dominated professions, policies relating to the family, affirmative action law, promotion of women, Women’s Initiative October 6th, foreign women, women’s history, biotechnology and genetic engineering.

Further files on women’s issues are included in the files of the Bureau of Organisation (Referat Organisation) (voters’ initiatives, campaigns, etc.), the Secretariats Fritz Heine and Erich Ollenhauer (campaigning for women) and other sections of the Executive Committee of the SPD.

Informative material on women’s work and on women’s history can also be found in the record groups Office Erich Ollenhauer (scattered all over the record group) and Office Kurt Schumacher (in different places as well as concentrated in the 5 file units “Women’s Office in the Executive Committee of the SPD [Herta Gotthelf]” from the years 1946 – 1948, including correspondence with the party districts).

Files of the SOPADE (Record Group Emigration)

The record group comprising the files of the SPD leadership in exile from the years 1933 to 1946 includes – next to extensive correspondence with individual persons and organisations – minutes of the party organs and material on the political discussion on the fighting against National Socialism and the reconstruction of Germany after the war. At the same time, it provides information on the fate of individuals during the Nazi period, including a number of
active female Social Democrats, who shared their husbands’ fate of political persecution or of women who were directly affected themselves by persecution for political or racial reasons.

Out of the material on well-known Social Democrats one should underline the correspondence of Marie Juchacz (1933 – 1945), Hanna Kirchner (1933 – 1940), and Herta Gotthelf (1934 – 1945) with the SOPADE, as well as documents on individual fates during the Nazi period.

**Parliamentary Group of the SPD in the Bundestag and other Parliamentary Records**

The files of the parliamentary group of the SPD in the Bundestag (1949 – 1998) reflect on a large scale the discussion led in the Federal Republic on legislation in the field of women’s affairs policy, gender equality policy, and policies relating to family topics. The files up to the end of the 6th legislative period (1972) have been made accessible by means of conventional finding aids and the database Faust. Tape recordings of the parliamentary group meetings exist for the years 1971 – 1989, in some cases even before that.

The files of the working group “law policies” are of special interest for research on women’s affaires. They include the documents on the great reforms of the 1960s and 1970s: on the changes in matrimonial and family law, in divorce law, on the reform of the illegitimacy law, and on the discussion about the reform of § 218 (termination of pregnancy). Since 1987 the parliamentary group created a special working group “equality of women and men”. The files of which are essential source material for all women’s topics. In the same way several other working groups like “family affairs, senior citizens, women and youth” or “social policies” contain informative material on family, youth law, on old age pension (particularly provision for old age of women), and the Maternity Protection Act.

In this context, one also has to point out the record groups “Round Table” and “SPD group in the Volkskammer of the GDR” (1990) including some material on women’s issues and women’s policy in the period of radical change during German reunification.

**Files of Social Democratic Party Regional Sections and the Parliamentary Groups in the Parliaments of the “Länder”**

The former files of the different subdivisions of the SPD (parliamentary groups of the “Länder”, party organisations on the level of the “Länder”, districts, subdistricts, and single offices of towns) collected in our archives are extremely extensive and begin in most cases not before the 1950s or even later. Material from earlier times (Weimar Republic or the Empire) is included only in very few exceptional cases. Most of the record groups of the regional archives are not indexed in detail. For many files there are acquisition lists, card files, or temporary finding aids. However, these files of the different sub-organisations are usually important for research on women’s work in the SPD at regional and local level because in almost all of the cases they include material (although of varying density) on women’s work in the different organisations and on the Arbeitsgemeinschaft sozialdemokratischer Frauen (correspondence, minutes, leaflets, press cuttings, notes). This material refers to the discussion within the party on the participation of women in political offices and mandates as well as to activities, events, and reactions on bills (e.g. matrimonial and family law, pregnancy counselling, establishment of shelters for battered women). In some cases, the files also include historical collections (e.g. on women’s history during the Nazi period, etc. and on biographies of female politicians in the respective regions) as well as some original material from the time before 1933. An example of that are the documents from the SPD women’s work in the district of Hamburg-Northwest from the years 1926-1933.
Other Organisations and Institutions

The Archives of Social Democracy host a number of non-party record groups taken over from different institutions and organisations some of which are linked to the labour movement or coming from the wider field of social and cultural movements. These include the files of the Workers’ Social Aid (Arbeiterwohlfahrt, AWO) as well as files from the peace movement. All of these could be worth considering with regard to historical women’s and gender research issues.

Particularly worth mentioning at this point is the record group

**Internationaler Jugendbund [International Youth League] (IJB) / Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampfbund [International Socialist Fighting Alliance] (ISK)**

These archives cover the period between 1916 and 1979 as well as additions from later years. They document the activities of the *Internationaler Jugendbund* founded in 1917 by the Göttingen philosopher Leonard Nelson and the pedagogue Minna Specht and of the *Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampfbund* founded in 1926. Apart from material from the time before 1933 (IJB/ISK conferences, seminars, activities of different local branches) the files include mainly documents on the resistance activities against National Socialism and the political work during emigration as well as correspondence and documents from the time after the dissolution of the ISK. Compared to other political organisations the IJB/ISK stands out for its exceptionally large number of politically active women. Their work is made clear directly or indirectly through the correspondence, reports, and documents included in these archives.

Among others, one should mention: Hanna Bertholet (Hanna Fortmüller), Anna Beyer, Erna Blencke, Nora Block (Nora Platiel), Klara Deppe, Jenny Fliss, Grete Henry (Grete Hermann), Maria Hodann (Mary Saran), Regina Kaegi-Fuchsmann, Aenne Kappius, Eva Lewinski (Eva Pfister), Hilde Meisel (Hilde Olday / Hilda Monte), Mascha Oettli, Minna Specht.

Feminist Archives

In the summer of this year the Archives of Social Democracy received files of women’s archives in Bonn comprising in particular records, material, and leaflets from autonomous women’s groups in Bonn as well as documents on national women’s events.

National and International Trade Union Movement

The trade union archives in the AdsD range from the former files of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (ADGB)* [General German Trade Union Federation] to the *DGB* [German Trade Union Federation] archives which were integrated into the AdsD in 1995 up to the record groups of numerous individual national and international trade union organisations (a total of approx. 12,000m). Within a short period of time, a great number of former files have been given to the AdsD over the last years – not least of all because of the taking over of extensive trade union archives due to mergers of single-industry unions into

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larger associations. A small part of these archives is described in detail, almost all files are pre-structured and usable for research. It can be assumed that because of the membership structure of these associations which produced these files, a large number of them will be of interest for research on gender issues, women’s work, and on questions regarding occupational and trade union organisation of women. This is of course particularly true for the files of the Deutsche Angestellten-Gewerkschaft (DAG) [German Union for Employees], the Gewerkschaft Handel, Banken und Versicherungen (HBV) [Trade union for Commerce, Banking, and Insurance], the Gewerkschaft Nahrung-Genuß-Gaststätten (NGG) [Trade Union Catering and Food and Drink Industries], and the Gewerkschaft Textil-Bekleidung (GTB) [Trade Union for Textile Workers] – to mention just a few. Moreover, the trade union files will include informative material for research on the working terms of men and women.

The record groups of the single-industry unions usually include special files which are obviously relevant for research on women’s history due to their provenance, namely files from their corresponding offices of women’s affairs. These files mainly comprise documents providing information about the attitude of the trade unions themselves towards women’s interests and gender equality issues (demand for appropriate representation of women in the different functions and for women employees in the trade union organisations as well as wage negotiation problems). Here, one can also find statements on certain political issues of relevance for women’s policies and policies relating to the family or on trade union demands and activities concerning these topics. Material on working conditions of women, often very specific surveys under the aspect of gender equality, is also included in a number of files of national and international trade unions. The files of the tariff secretariats and bargaining commissions are of special significance as they provide insight into wage negotiations and wage structures which not least of all are an expression of gender issues.

When planning research projects on the working conditions of women, their organisation or conflict behaviour, one should concentrate not only on the files of the corresponding boards or central bodies. In many cases it is precisely the material of the trade union organisational subdivisions on the level of the Länder, districts or other offices that provides information on work situations, material on the situation of women in different companies, for example on the issue of precarious employment relationships or on strikes. In order to understand the regional scope of documents one should have a look at the files in our archives concerning different administrative sections in the Gewerkschaft Textil-Bekleidung representing numerous towns ranging from Heidenheim in Baden-Württemberg to Bielefeld-Gütersloh in North Rhine-Westphalia to the regions of the Vogtland and the Erzgebirge.

**General German Trade Union Federation (ADGB) 1919–1933**
The remainder files of the ADGB reflects both the contacts of the umbrella organisation with some single unions as well as its general political activities. Material on women’s issues or documents referring directly to women belonging to a trade union are very rarely to be found in these files, e.g. seminar for youth workers and youth leaders in Bonn in 1928, Adult Education School Castle Tinz: This file includes documents on “men’s courses” (1922 – 1933) and “women’s courses” (1927 – 1932). Another part of the ADGB former files which came to the Archives of Social Democracy with the archives of the DGB include a few documents by Gertrud Hanna, editor of the “Gewerkschaftliche Frauenzeitung” [Trade Union Women’s Newspaper] and head of the Arbeiterinnensekretariat [female workers’ secretariat] (correspondence, documents on the International Trade Union Female Workers’ Conference in Paris, in 1927).

**Archives of the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) in the AdsD**
Material on women’s issues can be found in the files of the members of the Managing Board (Thea Harmuth, Maria Weber, Irmgard Blättel, Ursula Engelen-Kefer) and in the office of
women’s affairs. Moreover, drafts and resolutions on women’s policies are included in the minutes of the National Managing Board, the National Board, and the National Committee. These documents from the years 1949–2000 refer to the remuneration of women, equality of men and women (opinions on legislation), maintenance of industrial health and safety standards for women, action programmes for women’s work in the trade union, women and co-determination, guidelines for women’s work in the DGB, promotion of women in the organisation of the DGB itself, national and international trade union activities regarding women’s issues (DGB women’s campaigns, etc.) national women’s conferences. In addition to the files of these bodies, the files of the offices of social policy and policy for wages and salaries should be taken into account particularly for specific subject matters.

While the regional boards of the Länder in general did not turn over their files to the DGB Archives the women’s bodies at a regional level were obliged to transfer theirs. As a consequence, today, the subject files of the national board also include, although incomplete, the documents of the regional women’s committees of the Länder and of the women’s district committees. An exception to this are the files of the DGB in the British-occupied zone or today’s Land districts of Nordmark, Bremen-Lower Saxony, and North Rhine-Westphalia that were also transferred to the DGB Archives (and thus, the corresponding women’s offices, as well as the former files of the Women’s Secretariat in the British-occupied zone, are included in these record groups and will be of particular interest to research on women’s work in trade unions during the early post-war period).

A peculiarity to be mentioned is the fact that the documents of the National Managing Board also comprise files of the German Women’s Council having come into the possession of the DGB Archives because of the functions of the DGB board members Maria Weber and Irmgard Blättel in the German Women’s Council.

Almost half of the DGB files have been made accessible by finding aids (some even in digitalised format), the other files are recorded in acquisition lists.

Collections
Some of the extensive collections of written material in our archives will here be presented as they are of particular interest for themes like Gender / Women / Women’s Movement / Women’s History:

Collection “Minor Acquisitions”
The record group “Minor Acquisitions”, amounting to approximately 17m, comprises first of all individual documents, membership books, autographs or dossiers on different people and topics. The following accentuations are again rather to be seen as examples of possible findings concerning the topic women’s history.

Particularly interesting is the material in the files “personalia and dossiers” including autographs, memoirs, documents. They cover among others: Eva Pfister (memoirs), Ruth Schmidt, Eva Macias, Gundel Trantofsky, Elfriede Trautmann (memoirs), Helene Troost (personal documents), Rose Frölich, Clara Zetkin, Irmgard Enderle, Hildegard Behrisch, Agnes Behm, Frieda Paul, Bertha von Suttner, Anna Blos, Margarete Susman, Hanna Kirchner (correspondence). The files “Third Reich and Second World War 1933 – 1945 /Nazi Justice” include a number of documents on political law suits covering among others: Margarete Leupold (Generallstaatsanwaltschaft Hamm, 1934), Käthe Lenau (Oberlandesgericht Hamm, 1935), Hedwig Sylvia Leibetseder [Gertrud Rath] (Kammergericht Berlin, 1936), Margarete Kellershohn (Volksgerichtshof, 1935).

Furthermore, the record group comprises a collection of membership books of famous and unknown members of the SPD, also including numerous women. Finally, there are some „Curiosities“ among them a “magazine” with the title “Die Rote Universität. Organ der
marxistischen Amazonenschule Tinz” [The Red University. Organ of the Marxist Amazons’ School Tinz] edited by participants of the 4th women’s course at Castle Tinz in 1924.

Collection „Personalia“
The collection “Personalia” is primarily a collection of material related to individual people (press cuttings, press releases, in some cases other documents, like correspondence, speeches, biographical and autobiographical notes). The collection is in alphabetical order and not indexed separately; it is accessible to researchers only by looking through the file units concerning the relevant names. Since press articles often consist of contributions on specific occasions (birthdays, appointments into an office, obituaries) the files include an abundance of biographical information on well-known and less well-known politically active women from different regions mostly (before 1989) in the old Federal Republic - in some particular cases also from the area of the Soviet zone /GDR.

Collection of Press Cuttings
The collection of press cuttings is mainly used to file newspaper articles, press services, etc. under headwords. Material covering our topics can be found in the old subject catalogue (1945 – 1959) generally under “Women’s and Family Issues”, in the more recent parts of the collection (1973 ff.) under “Population” and its corresponding gender specifications. Under the headwords “Social Affairs”, “Labour”, “Welfare”, “Youth”, relevant material can also be found.

Information and Press Services
The information and press services of the SPD and the SPD group in the Bundestag arranged in chronological order include material dating back up to the immediate post-war period. With regard to women’s and gender issues, they are a prime source for the day-to-day discussion of politics. Particularly interesting is the “Frauen-Korrespondenz” [Women’s Correspondence], regularly inserted in the “Sozialdemokratischer Pressedienst” (Politik) [Social Democratic Press Service (Politics)] published since 1946. From November 1967 onwards the correspondence became an independent supplement named “Frau und Gesellschaft” [Women and Society], continued as a series of brochures after 1974.

Leaflets and Pamphlets
The collection of leaflets (about 40,000 items) comprises material from the period around 1890 up to the present day. In spite of the fact that the emphasis is on leaflets and pamphlets of social democratic provenance, it also includes material of other political parties and organisations. Aside from leaflets related to individual female candidates for different parliamentary and other representative bodies there are e.g. election appeals by the SPD and other political parties specifically addressing women. Research in this record group is made possible by a subject and a name catalogue, in addition full-text search can be done within the scanned texts. Leaflets relevant to gender issues can be found e.g. by means of the subject index leading from the headword “women” to “women’s movement”/“violence against women”/“equality”/“women’s suffrage”/“termination of pregnancy”. Entries like “feminism” will also lead to further results.

Research on this record group can be done by means of a database on the Internet to be reached via the homepage of the Archives of Social Democracy in the Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

**Poster Collection**

The poster collection with approximately 60,000 objects (period covered: 1848 up to the present day) centering on the labour movement, particularly social democracy and trade unions offers visual material mostly from the time after 1918. A major part of the collection has been digitalised and recorded through the archival EDP system “Faust”. The collection comprises numerous picture motifs on posters for election campaigns especially addressing women and calling for women’s votes, as well as presentations of women-related topics (e.g. employment of women, education, pension policy, reform of § 218). Here, research on a part of the collection can be done through the database on the Internet, as well.

**Sound and Film/Video Archives**

The extensive sound archives (period covered: 1918 up to the present day) includes some very rare sound documents of female politicians in form of digitalised shellac records and sound recordings (e.g. speeches by the members of the Reichstag Marie Arning, Marie Juchacz, and Toni Sender on the Reichstag election of May 1928, by Clara Bohm-Schuch on the Reichstag election on September 14th, 1930, by Clara Zetkin the opening speech as chairwoman by seniority of the Reichstag on July 31st, 1932). The film and video archives begin in 1911 and contain approximately 61,000 films as well as about 10,000 videos. The archives store also documents which will be of interest to researchers in the field of women’s studies, e.g. amateur shootings of members of the Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampfbund in exile in London or the film “Die sozialistische Fürsorgeerziehung” [Socialist Welfare Education] (on the AWO facilities of Immenhof) including a film sequence with Marie Juchacz, founder of the Workers’ Social Aid. The video collection contains recordings from a series of FES events covering women’s issues (Socialist International Women Conference, Berlin 1992, etc.).

**Photo Archives**

The photo archives with their approximately 1,000,000 photographs have at their disposition extensive picture material on politically active women—particularly the in the section related to individuals (350,000 objects). Numerous photos, collected under subject matters show congresses, events, or motifs from the world of labour. Looking for pictures of Luise Zietz or Anna Nemitz at the extraordinary USPD Party Conference in Berlin in March 1919 will be equally successful as searching for photos of women’s demonstrations at the International Women’s Day 1927 or inquiring for pictures of the SPD Women’s Conference in Cologne in May 1953. The photo archives facilitates research via a database on the Internet.

**Summary**

This brief overview shows the problems for archivists and historians researching records on women’s and gender history in our Archives. However, this presentation also makes clear through special questioning and strategies access to these documents can be considerably improved. In addition, archivists will certainly also have to give thoughts on further assistance to researchers. One step towards an improved recording of women’s records in the Archives of Social Democracy has already been taken: By now, files of men also including the documents of their wives are consistently indexed under both names or divided into separate files. Thus, one should always keep in mind that – as mentioned before – numerous record groups of “male” provenance can yet be of interest under the gender aspect. Nevertheless, the problem of “hidden sources” as the most difficult chapter in indexing archives material continues to exist. Finally the assistance of each staff member in the archives is indispensable.
because through their experience with the documents and the collected material in their respective field of work they are able to give essential insight, help and advice. This was the case with this paper, which — as should be mentioned at this point with grateful thanks — would not have been possible to compose without the support of the colleagues in the Archives of Social Democracy.

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Belgian Volkshuizen

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This article is merely a sketch and does not give a complete, scientifically founded survey of the phenomenon of the Belgian voltshuizen.

The “Belgian model”
Belgium is the foremost country for co-operative voltshuizen (1). The voltshuis is a socio-political centre affiliated with the socialist movement in Belgium, and existed alongside liberal houses and guildhalls for the Catholic movement. When the socialist trades unions were enjoying their heyday in the 1920s, they also began to build union-affiliated community centres with various names such as Achtenhuis [Eight-hour House], Ons Huis [Our House], Voor Allen [For All], or simply Volkshuis and Syndicaal Huis [Union House] (2).

This article deals only with the socialist co-operative voltshuizen. The voltshuis was a home from home where labourers could develop themselves politically, socially, culturally and athletically (3). As the heart of the socialist movement, meetings, celebrations and music were actively conducted in the voltshuizen. All major demonstrations departed from and ended at the voltshuis (4). Volkshuizen belonged to the people and were built by and for the people; they were a material expression of the emancipation of the working class (5). This is how the concept of the voltshuis is outlined, defined on the basis of an ideology, an organisational form and a programme. Volkshuizen should thus be associated with socially progressive ideas. In the Belgian context, these ideas correspond with the ‘socialism’ of the Belgische Werkliedenpartij [Belgian Workers’ Party] (est. 1885). But where did the money for all this come from? On the one hand, there was the support of the wealthy, enlightened bourgeoisie, as was the case for the Brussels voltshuis; on the other hand, there was the creation and management of their ‘own space’ on a co-operative basis, following the Ghent model (6). Around the turn of the century, voltshuizen were built throughout Belgium, especially following the example of Ghent. The co-operative society was always the initiator of this trend. In a number of cities, the mutualiteit [health insurance association], the trades unions and the political circles grouped themselves around the co-operative society. The party acquired members and funds through the co-operative society. In 1900, Belgium had more than one thousand socialist co-operative societies which, when necessary, were a reliable source of support for the political and union activities of the Belgische Werkliedenpartij (7). Bread co-operatives were started everywhere because bread was the labourer’s main staple besides the potato. The co-operatives attempted to bake bread more cheaply. The system in which the buyers of the bread took a share of the profits was also introduced everywhere, and this was paid out regularly (8). It was the co-operative movement that laid the material foundation for the struggle for independence that found its most moving expression in the voltshuis (9). The classic formula included a café, sometimes meeting rooms and offices, possible a banquet hall and often a co-operative shop (10). Besides the bakery, there were often created a grocery, a pharmacy, textile factories and newspapers.

A voltshuis may have been a wooden shed, a converted farmhouse or a large townhouse that served as a meeting place for the local socialist movement. In a second phase and in bigger cities, more complex structures sprung up that were soon called ‘temples’, without any
exaggeration (11). These socialist temples, the palaces for the working man, were regarded as wasteful extravagance by the bourgeois objectors (12). With the establishment of socialist meeting halls here and there, a permanent end came to the assembly of socialist pioneers in taverns and the risk that at any moment they would be shown the door (13).

But the rapid rise of the co-operative movement was interrupted by the First World War. By the beginning of the 1920s, the first centres in rural towns were often making room for majestic constructions, new buildings designed, often for the first time, by an architect. The co-operative dominance in the socialist movement, which had been so pronounced prior to WWI and which gave Belgian socialist development such an original role within the European context, gradually began to disappear. From the 1920s, a movement towards centralisation also began to appear. An attempt was made to better align the local co-operatives with the associated volkshuizen through a national co-operative federation or ‘Office Coopérative’.

This initiative, however, was not successful (14). In March 1934, the co-operative Bank van de Arbeid [Worker’s Bank] went bankrupt due to a complex series of internal and external factors. The entire co-operative movement was the victim of the bank counters closing. For many years, they were stuck with the repayment of a heavy burden of debt, which certainly had a negative effect on all co-operative activities (15).

In order to be able to make these repayments, some societies were forced to sell their mortgaged real estate properties, such as volkshuizen, cinemas (16), etc.

The outbreak of the Second World War brought an end to the fervour of the pioneer years in and around the volkshuizen. The co-operatives suffered great hardships in the 1950s and ‘60s, and seldom made further investments in grand infrastructure as in the initial period. Many volkshuizen that had known glorious moments in their time were left to crumble and were sold. The volkshuizen emptied, to the advantage of the commercial leisure industry that came to have an enormous impact on the masses (17). The Feestpleis Vooruit [‘Forward’ Reception Rooms], symbol of socialist Ghent, was saved from a silent death at the very last moment, but its transformation into an independent cultural centre can hardly be seen as an example for the future function of other volkshuizen, due to the extremely particular circumstances (scope and tradition, absence of a cultural infrastructure in Ghent, etc.). The possibility of a more open, pluralistic position for the volkshuizen is in fact contradictory to the original idea of the volkshuis as a socialist microcosm of all political, sport and cultural activities (18). Due to the absence of a national socialist strategy, today there is a lack of coherence in the function of the approximately 200 socialist meeting halls in Flanders (19).

The Belgian model abroad
The Belgian co-operative model was inspired by the British example of ‘The equitable pioneers of Rochdale’.

In 1865, a Belgian delegation attended the conference of the International Worker’s Association in London. There, they were confronted with various visions of the co-operative and met the delegates from Rochdale (20). But from its foundation, the Ghent Vooruit struck out on a new course that was of great importance to the originality of the Belgian case. The co-operative society was not merely an integral part, but also the basis of the socialist labour movement (21). Despite the Ghent example, most co-operatives began as neutral and the decision to join the BWP usually caused a great deal of tension (22).

Nonetheless, in the long run, up to 1914, the vast majority of the co-operative members were members of the BWP, which was supported by an ideology that emphasised the ‘revolution’ (23). Serious discussions took place on the value of the co-operative as a means of organisation. The use of co-operative societies for political purposes and the propagation of the class struggle with co-operative monies was seen by some as pure heresy. Still, the suc-
cesses of the Belgian co-operatives did lead to their being imitated by socialists all over the world (24). In 1911, for example, the Ghent Vooruit was the primary example in the argument between social democrats from New York and Boston about how the co-operative could be put to use. In Boston, they had begun setting up their movement, based on the Vooruit model, in 1896 (25). The co-operative organisation of the Belgische Werkliedenpartij made an impression on the entire world. Nonetheless, in Belgium dissension remained on the question of whether the BWP was a political movement based on the co-operatives or a co-operative movement with political projects. It soon became clear the initial strategy in which the co-operative was merely seen as a tool would have to make way for the notion that co-operatives functioned as the third pillar of socialism (26).

The spread of socialist co-operative societies in Belgium occurred primarily between 1885 and 1895. During this period, the Ghent Vooruit – established in 1881 as a socialistic Rochdale – was the reference point. Ghent was also the organisational centre of the Belgian socialist movement on many other levels. Outsiders consistently remarked that thanks to their co-operative institutions, the Ghent activists radiated an optimism that people in other federations could only dream of. It is clear that the co-operative played an important role in creating a sense of belonging to a group, a certain pride and a particular identity. In only a few years, the Ghent Vooruit expanded into an actual company. Bread was no longer baked in a basement somewhere, but in what was then considered to be an ultramodern industrial bakery that became internationally renowned for its hygiene and working conditions. At the time, the Vooruit was also already a leader in the European clothing industry. The benefits to the labour movement were abundantly clear. The co-operatives made substantial contributions to the vitality and power of the party with the material possibilities they created, through which the movement had access to its own conference halls, could finance propaganda campaigns, distributed various newspapers, could support several socio-cultural associations, etc. (27). Anseele continually emphasised that the development of the co-operative was the path to achieving the emancipation of the labourers (28). ‘Pragmatism’ is probably the word that best characterises the behaviour of the Ghent social democrats during the 19th century (29).

Ghent

The very first volkshuis in Belgium opened its doors in Jolimont in 1872. But it was primarily the concept from Ghent, where in 1881 Edward Anseele successfully began his co-operative movement, which stood as the model for all volkshuizen throughout Belgium. The Ghent co-operative Vooruit began in 1881 with a small, modest bakery. Only two years later, in 1883, it was necessary to find a larger building. The Vooruit was then able to rent a complex on the Garenmarkt, which contained a large café, offices, a print shop, a bakery, a banquet hall and a library. From 1884, Anseele promoted this prototype of the co-operative bakery with an adjoining volkshuis in Flanders, Wallonia and northern France. The struggle for food and the conflict over bread, the primary source of food for the common man, merged with the labourers’ political struggle for better living conditions (30).

The further development of the Ghent co-operative occurred at an explosively rapid tempo. Over the years, there followed a leather shop, a new bakery and coal shop and various neighbourhood clubs and people’s chemist’s shops. In 1893, the Vooruit moved to the real city centre, namely the Vrijdagmarkt. There, the Vooruit bought 2 cafés, renovated them, and on 18 November 1894, these new premises were inaugurated with a celebration. In May 1897, however, the building was razed by fire. Almost immediately, construction of new accommodation was begun, led by architect Ferdinand Dierkens. Dierkens was a member of La Liberté, one of the two freemasons’ lodges in Ghent at the time, of which a number of important progressive allies of the Ghent social democracy were also members (31). The first wing was
inaugurated in 1899, the second followed in 1902. From then on, the eclectic, imposing ‘Ons Huis’ dominated the entire Vrijdagmarkt. One novel detail was that the shops were lit by electricity. Ons Huis had its own powerhouse, which also supplied light to the adjoining buildings. This light was the symbol of a new era in which socialism would become Lucifer, the bearer of light (32). Ons Huis is exceptional in its layout and dimensions, but Dierkens’ design for the Feestlokaal Vooruit in the Sint-Pietersnieuwstraat especially reflects the true birth of the self-awareness of the working population (33). But the Feestlokaal not only symbolises the peak of the socialist movement’s power; it is equally the symbol of the relative nature of that power, of the relative isolation in which the socialist movement existed. All socialist activities were concentrated there, in a single complex.

The inaugural celebrations were planned for 15th August 1914, but on 4th August German troops crossed the Belgian border, occupying Ghent on 12th October. At the end of 1917, the German army requisitioned the Feestlokaal and all regular activities were brought to a stop (34). After the war, the socialist club life once again found accommodation in the Vooruit, but in the 1920s and ‘30s some of that life spread to the neighbourhood volkshuizen (35). Nevertheless, during the period between the two World Wars, no fewer than 82 organisations found temporary or permanent accommodation in the Feestlokaal. More than 72% of these were cultural associations (36).

In 1945, the Germans, Americans and Canadians successively left the building in an abominable state. The Ghent socialist movement did not have the necessary means to completely restore the building. One room after the other was closed. In addition, interest in the socialist cultural palace diminished. Socialist Ghent crumbled away (37). After the sale of Ons Huis on the Vrijdagmarkt to the trades union and the mutualiteit respectively, in 1956 the co-operative opened its new shops in the Feestlokaal. A lack of funds prevented an even more drastic intervention, which planned to make one huge supermarket of the entire complex (38). When AMSAB was founded in 1980, it was accommodated by the co-operative in the vacant shop-premises in the old Feestlokaal (39).

The building continued to decay, but in 1982 a crew of young people began a months-long process of clearing out debris. A protocol was agreed between the owner, the co-operative and the socialist communal action group. The non-profit organisation Socio-Kultureel Centrum Vooruit was born. An ambitious restoration programme turned the old volkshuis into a dynamic meetingplace, while at the same time respecting the building’s original glory and its tradition (40). In 1983, the Vooruit was listed as a protected monument and an official attraction of the city of Ghent (41). Today we think of the Vooruit as trendy: an open and trail-blazing Arts Centre for young and old.

**Brussels**

After visiting the Brussels marble-worker Louis Bertrand in Ghent in 1881, a few like-minded individuals decided to founded a society, following the example of the Vooruit co-operative. So on 3rd September 1882, the Boulangerie Coopérative de Bruxelles [Co-operative Bakery of Brussels] was created.

The success of this initiative lead to the change of the co-operative’s name in 1888 from ‘Boulangerie Cooperative Ouvrière’ ['Workers' Co-operative Bakery'] to the Co-operative Society ‘La Maison du Peuple’ ['House of the People']. In the new statutes, it was clearly stated that the co-operative was associated with the activities of the Belgische Werkliedenpartij. Due to its growing success, it was decided to build a yet bigger volkshuis (42).

So between 1895 and 1899, the art nouveau-style volkshuis was designed and constructed according to the plans of the architect Victor Horta. At this time, there was an alliance between progressive, free-thinking liberals and socialists, who stood together on issues
such as universal suffrage, the abolition of call-up by lot, and compulsory education for all. It was this alliance that lay at the basis of the construction of the Brussels volkshuis (43). Horta was a member of the ‘Les Amis Philanthropes’ ['Philanthropic Friends'] freemasons’ lodge, to which leftist-liberals and socialists belonged. There, he was presented to the leaders of the BWP, Vandervelde, Furnémont and Hallet, who later give him the building contract (44). Just like their liberal friends, Emile Vandervelde and Max Hallet came from prosperous bourgeois families. They had studied together and were convinced that together they could create a more just society. This enlightened bourgeoisie became the focus of the avant-garde movement (45). Originally left-liberal, they had then joined the Belgische Werkliddenpartij, where they took up the leading positions (46). This was a new generation of politicians, industrialists and intellectuals who wanted to ‘invest’ in progressive ideas which would also be expressed in architecture (47). In 1891, they established La section d’art et d’enseignement (The department of art and education). From this circle, they organised exhibitions, gave lectures, organised musical performances and commissioned architects, with the intention of always choosing the talented individuals who were the most innovative at the time (48). The construction of the volkshuis was largely financed by the progressive industrial magnate Ernest Solvay (49). By choosing Horta, Vandervelde and Hallet expressed their support for a completely new style, which broke with the traditional eclecticism and neo-gothic that the dogmatic liberals and Catholics had used for their buildings. The Catholics considered the sensual lines of art nouveau pagan and judged them most harshly in their schools. The use of industrial materials such as glass and steel, which replaced expensive marble, were further regarded as common and vulgar. Maligned by the conservatives, Horta’s architecture – especially the volkshuis – became as it were a built metaphor for the communal ideal shared by progressive liberals and socialists, an amalgam of an artistic-architectural avant-garde and the socialist movement, Art Nouveau and the actual march towards a New Society (50).

Once again, Ghent was a model for Brussels. In Brussels, too, the building had to provide space for the various activities of the socialist movement. The construction became an opportunity for the full application of the co-operative system. Thus, the various works were carried out as much as possible by co-operative societies. The furniture and paintings were made by members of the woodworkers’ and painters’ trades unions, and glass- and metalwork was also done by associations who were members of the co-operative (51).

In 1914, the La Maison du Peuple co-operative had approximately 15,000 members and ran 40 shops, 8 butcheries, 3 bakeries and 6 volkshuizen (52).

The Brussels Horta volkshuis did not have a happy end like the Vooruit in Ghent. The volkshuis was demolished in 1964. Attempts to spur the government to save the building through international petitions came to nothing.

Once upon a time there was a volkshuis...

Notes
(1) Brauman et Culot, Architecture pour le peuple, 7
(2) Stallaerts, Onder dak, 89
(3) Stallaerts, Volkshuizen, 19
(4) Stallaerts, Volkshuizen, 20
(5) Srynyn, Huizen van, voor en door het volk, 107
(6) Srynyn, Huizen van, voor en door het volk, 108
(7) Srynyn, Huizen van, voor en door het volk, 17
(8) Stallaerts, Onder dak, 79
(9) Stallaerts, Volkshuizen, 19
(10) Stallaerts, Volkshuizen, 20
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The People’s House –
the Danish Equivalent of Ruskin Hall

by Henning Grelle
Labour Movement Library and Archives, Copenhagen

The golden age for building The People’s Houses, buildings financed and owned by Danish Labour organizations, fell between the 1870s and 1914. During this period a number of the People’s Houses were erected in Copenhagen and in some provincial towns.

During the following period, from about 1914 and until the late 1950s, a number of The People’s Houses were built in medium-size provincial towns, and in Copenhagen some of the old The People’s Houses were demolished, and new ones erected on the same sites.

During the third and last period, from around 1960 and until today, no new The People’s Houses were built. Existing The People’s Houses are sold off to new owners to be used for entirely different purposes. The oldest one of The People’s Houses in Copenhagen has been transformed into a museum (however, still capable of fulfilling the same functions as the People’s House). The only The People’s House still left is The People’s House in Århus which still operates in accordance with its original purpose, still owned by the local trade unions. In general, it is safe to say that the interest taken in The People’s Houses coincides with the break-through and upswing of the Labour Movement during the years before the Second World War. Until that time, membership figures for the Social Democratic party and for the trade unions ran parallel.

After the Second World War, and particularly during the development of the welfare state from 1960 onwards, many of The People’s Houses ran into difficulties. On the one hand, party membership dwindled, on the other trade union membership figures continued to rise. Many of The People’s Houses were not big enough to accommodate large-scale trade union congresses which, therefore, had to be moved elsewhere, while at the same time the Houses could not be financed on the basis of small-scale meetings exclusively. There are, most likely, other more complex contributing factors to the decline, but in the main financial factors played a role.

The fact that there were too few financial resources available made it difficult to modernize and refurbish The People’s Houses so that they could satisfy modern-day requirements. To this was added the general dissolution of traditional working-class culture. For instance, from the 1960s, the political and trade-union movements initiated a cultural offensive encouraging workers to take advantage of the cultural goods held in the hands of the state and the other social classes, all of which were very much on the increase. Where the People’s House with its summer fetes, its Christmas parties, etc., used to constitute the one and only alternative and place of venue for working-class families and their children, there was now a broad spectrum of cultural events on offer, which in conjunction with increased amounts of leisure time left The People’s Houses as isolated islands.

Research and Literature
No overall general description of The People’s Houses in Denmark is available. Nor has the subject been systematically researched. However, we do have a rich literature on individual The People’s Houses all over the country. Descriptions vary in terms of their quality and scope. At the Workers’ Museum at Rømersgade in Copenhagen, efforts are made to write a general account of the building’s history. In the following, you will find a short description of
This assembly hall is the first of its kind in Denmark to be built and owned by the Labour Movement. Also in a European context it is one of the oldest. In 1872, the year following the establishment of the International Workingmen’s Association in Denmark, a so-called Building Committee was set up to collect money for a building. Because the Association was banned and the leaders imprisoned, these endeavours only began yielding any results in 1875. A joint stock company offered shares at DKK 10, which could be paid in by weekly instalments of DKK 1. The capital to be raised was DKK 100,000., but by 1876 only DKK 11,000. had been raised. The reason was a lack of money among workers, not a lack of interest. In 1876 the plot of land in Rømersgade was bought from the Copenhagen Municipality through an intermediary at a price of DKK 39,000. with a down payment of DKK 11,000. The purchase of the plot made the initiators keen to start building, An attempt was made to raise a loan of DKK 60,000. from British trade unions, but the British contacts were hesitant.

By 1878 it had become possible to erect a building at a price of DKK 127,000., but there was a shortfall of DKK 20,000. The original plan for the house was changed. Now it would contain flats, a pub, and a shop in order to consolidate the operation. On 10 August the foundation stone was laid, and on 23 April 1879 the building was inaugurated. Total costs amounted to DKK 210,000. of which DKK 20,000. was paid in cash. The balance was raised through a mortgage from a building society and a loan granted by the Copenhagen Municipality. This meant that from the outset, finances were strained.

Things improved over the next 30 to 40 years during which time refurbishment and improvements were carried out. From 1938, plans were afoot to build a new and much bigger house on the Rømersgade site. Surrounding buildings were purchased, but when Denmark was occupied by the Nazis in 1940, the plans were shelved.

Over the 1960s and ‘70s, the Assembly Hall ran into trouble. The house was too small and the standard too low. Instead of ensuring good maintenance for the original beautiful ornamentation, everything was covered up with cheap wooden boards. Upkeep of the external surfaces was neglected, and guests to the assembly hall would find themselves drenched from rainwater seeping in through the roof.

In 1982, the building was turned into a Workers’ Museum and it was renovated so that today it has regained the appearance it had before the First World War.

During the period 1934 to 1965, the building was operated according to co-operative principles. Any profits made went to the Labour Movement rather than into the pockets of a private restaurant keeper. Attempts were also made to pursue this principle in Århus, but generally without any pronounced success. Over the years, the board in charge of leasing out or letting the facilities to restaurant keepers consisted of trade union representatives exclusively.

The local Social Democratic constituency party purchased a villa and its grounds in 1894 (purchase price: DKK 190,000.). In 1895 it was converted into an assembly hall with an amusement park.

In 1905 the building was purchased by the daily newspaper, the Social-Demokraten, which was in charge of operating the building until 1942.

In 1942 the building was taken over by the Confederation of Copenhagen Trade Unions at a price of DKK 450,000. This organization initiated plans to build a new and bigger House on a larger plot of land.
1953 saw the beginning of the demolition of the old The People’s House, and in 1956 a new House could be taken into use (DKK 16,588,422). The House remained the property of the Copenhagen trade unions until 1993. The Library and Archive of the Danish Labour Movement, the ABA, was housed here from 1971-93.

The House was sold to the music place “Vega”, and today it is a place for performing music with international groups; it also serves as home for the administration of a number of music agencies. The building has been scheduled as a monument by the authorities, and its outward appearance remains unchanged.

The People’s House – Århus – Århus Congress Hall
The earliest initiative to set up an assembly hall in Denmark’s second largest town, Århus, was taken in the mid-1870s.

In 1888 a collection of funding was begun through an offer for shares at a price of DKK 12.-. This amount, however, was soon reduced.

In 1892 a property in Studsgade was purchased (price: DKK 45,000.) and the House was inaugurated in May 1893. After 1900 the building had become too small and plans for a new and bigger started.

In 1907 the former Free Masons’ Lodge at Amaliegade was purchased, and after having been converted, it was inaugurated as the Workers’ Assembly Hall of Århus in 1909. In 1934, after 25 years, this same building was renovated, and once again in 1939, at which time it was given the name of The People’s House.

From 1970 to 1976 the House was modernized, and the building was given the name of Århus Congress House.

In 1988 the building was to be sold as a result of its unsatisfactory financial situation, but in 1989 the sale was called off, and instead it was to be modernized. This was done in the time leading up to the inauguration of the Århus Congress House in 1999 on the day of its 90th anniversary.

From 1969 the management of the house followed co-operative principles. Normally the operation of the House and its restaurant was leased out. The question of co-operative management versus leasing out to a restaurant keeper/manager has been debated in Århus for 90 years.

The Assembly Hall “Jylland” – Randers
In 1896, the trade unions of the working-class town of Randers north of Århus purchased an old building that went by the name “Jylland” (Jutland), and converted it into an assembly hall. The building was purchased in the expectation that it would be possible to collect enough money to ensure operations and investments, something which turned out to be quite difficult. In 1898 it was decided that for seven years the trade unions would pay DKK 1 per member, a decision that was extended after the first seven years. In 1937, “Jylland” was renovated and enlarged. In the 1970 major financial difficulties were encountered, and from the 1980s, the trade union established a joint stock company to invest money into “Jylland”.

In 1997 the towel was finally thrown into the ring and the building was sold and converted into an activity centre. By 2002 the trade unions expect to recoup their share capital.

Types of Problems
In the history of The People’s Houses, we come across a single recurrent problem: They were built or acquired to provide workers with a place to hold their meetings, so they were, as a matter of fact, a simple necessity – “We are building a house to protect us in our need,” as the old Danish working-class song, “The March of the Socialists” of 1871 has it.
The working class was a persecuted class, perceived by the police as socially subversive, almost criminal. For this reason, those landlords who were willing to make their premises available to workers risked their livelihood if they admitted socialists. As a consequence of this state of affairs, the idea of building or owning their own premises was born in the Labour Movement. There is little reason to doubt that this fact was behind the wave of initiatives to build The People’s Houses.

Another question, which seems more interesting to look into, concerns the intentions of the initiators, once the decision to build a People’s House had been taken. The outcome was rarely just a meeting room, but rather a kind of community centre capable of housing cultural activities, flats, big and small meeting rooms, an assembly hall, a café and a restaurant. Not all of these features were included from the start, but they are general to the Houses during the first 25 years of their existence. They were, in fact, a working-class centre providing a framework for political and trade-union dynamism in a broad cultural setting. The ideas behind these arrangements should, therefore, be seen as having their point of departure in the attempt to provide workers with the opportunity to create their own identity as a class, something which was considered necessary if this class was to grow and play its role in society. Undoubtedly, co-operative ideas as found in the co-operative retail and production movements formed part of the basis. But as already indicated, it was not an easy matter to implement these ideas in the operation of the People’s Houses.

Another important problem in a Danish context is the following: Why could The People’s Houses not survive in Denmark? This question has already been touched upon in the introduction. One recurrent feature is that most of The People’s Houses ran into financial difficulties from the 1960s, so that they could not raise the necessary money for renovation, enlargement and modernization, and consequently they were the losers in the competition with other premises. Another possible explanation is that the operators were not sufficiently forward-looking to throw open the buildings to the rest of society in a time when the working class was no longer persecuted, but an integral part of society. A building known as the City’s Red Citadel would probably not seem very enticing to the middle classes.

Studies of the financial situation of the Houses during the transition from “the golden age before the Second World War” to the welfare state are yet to be made. All we know is that all the Houses ran into difficulties and only few survived.
People's Houses and People's Parks – Meeting places for democracy

by Margareta Ståhl
Labour Movement Archives and Library, Stockholm

People's Houses and People's Parks – meeting places for democracy is meant to be a popular educational project as well as an interdisciplinary scientific research project. Many researchers have already declared interest in the project and members of local study circles are investigating in their own People's House. Many organisations are involved.

What has been done?
Conferences, exhibitions and lectures
We arrange conferences together with regional and local labour movement organisations to inform ourselves to get a broad picture of what is going on among study circles and scientific research and to stimulate the interest in history of local People's Houses and Parks. We also arrange conferences in co-operation with for example museums and county government boards to inspire them to further work and engagement. Just a week ago we got a promise from the county government board in Stockholm to initiate an official inventory of all People's Houses in our county.
Some small exhibitions have been shown and lectures have been delivered.

Databases
Last year my colleague Kerstin Kokk made a report based on an inquiry to all People's Houses and Parks connected to the National Association of People's Houses and Parks as well as to popular movement archives, selected museums and other authorities of cultural heritage. From this material we have now constructed three databases:
- houses and parks 1,600
- bibliography 500
- archival materials 900

The scoop of the archival material in Sweden is probably unique in the world. We often can follow the development of an association and its work in minutes, annual reports and accounts from the first meeting when the question of a house for the labour movement arouse until today. The documents tell us how the unions and other members of the labour movement – sometimes also the temperance movement -collected money to build their own houses when they were not allowed to use existing premises. We can study meetings, agitation, demonstrations and other serious labour movement activities as well as amusements like dances, bazaars, film and theatre.

The central question
The central question – the importance of space for development of democracy – could be put in many different ways. The scientific project is supposed to be interdisciplinary as well as multidisciplinary. There are architects, art historians, ethnologists, historians, culture- and communication researchers showing interest in the project but also institutions like museums and archive-institutions. Methodically we may be able to compare houses in different areas or
during different times, we can examine meetings or investigate rules and manners, study how the rooms reflect democratic processes. And we may not forget the gender perspective: is this a totally masculine world? Where were the women?

*The Name*

The name “Peoples House” is interesting. We know that it did occur on a house in Malmö, in the south of Sweden 1893. We know after the workshop today that I came from Belgium, translation of “Maison du Peuple”.

*The owners and the users*

It could be of interest for the question of democracy to examine who once were and who are today the owners of the establishments? Local or central organisations, private persons, local governments or subsidies from the state? For whom were the Houses and Parks open and who are the visitors today?

In Sweden we are working in those two projects but we have a wish that it would be also a third project, an international project sometime in the future.
People’s houses in Switzerland

by Karl Lang

The last two decades of the nineteenth century were the period of formation of the national organizations of the trade unions (1880), the socialdemocratic party (1888), the organizations of workers culture (Arbeitersängerverband 1888, Naturfreunde 1896, Sozialistischer Abstinentenbund 1895). All these organizations needed rooms for their meetings, but also offices and restaurants.

The first people’s houses were constructed between 1900 and the first world war. The first decade of the twentieth century was a period of rapid development of labour and labour movement in Switzerland.

The end of the first world war and the revolution in Russia gave impulses for new people’s houses. But at the same time the split of the labour movement into communists and social democrats created heavy problems for the daily life of these institutions. Nevertheless after 1930 some new houses were contracted in towns with a majority of socialdemocrats (Rotes Biel, Rotes Zürich).

In Switzerland some 30 people’s houses have been created, at the end of 20th century about 20 are still existing.

Generally labour and labour movement had to fight hard for these buildings, in the local parliaments and in the public with leaflets and press campagains. More than once the project of a people’s house had been combined with a request of the middle classes to get the majority of the votes in the poll.

Most of these people’s houses were managed as a cooperative. A hard work was always the gathering of the capital. Shares subscribed by trade unions and individuals never were sufficient, therefore the community had to participate with a mortgage.

After the second world war began a slow but steady decline of the people’s houses. The area of cold war reduced the self-confidence of the labor unions and the parties of the left. Therefore membership in a labour union and in the organizations of labour culture lost their attractivity. Therefore some of the people’s houses collapsed, others changed their name. After 1968 emerged a new left with need of organizations and places for their culture. But the conflicts with the traditional labour organizations often prevented the use of the existing infrastructure.
KARK – Photo archive project

An example of national co-operation between archives in Finland

by Pia Pursiainen
The Peoples Archives, Helsinki

There are several private archives in Finland, which collect private records and archives of different associations in their own branch and place the material for researcher use. These archives broaden our mind about the diversity and richness of the Finnish people and society. To Private Archives Association belong ten archives with statutory State aid. These archives are The Archives of the Centre Party, The Archives of the Organizations of the National Coalition Party, The Archives of Salaried Employees, The Archives of President Urho Kekkonen, The Central Archives for Finnish Business Records, The Finnish Labour Archives, The People’s Archives, The Sports Archives of Finland, The Swedish Central Archives and The Trade Union Archives.

These private archives serve customers also when seeking picture information. With the database now released, it is intended to give for customers a better idea about the pictorial material in archives, and in this way, to lead interested people to research in the collections.

Stages and results of KARK-project
The KARK - Photo archive project was launched with the Information Society benefit received from the Ministry of Education and its’ first stage has now been reached. This first stage consisted of two phases: first, an inventory was made in each picture collection owned by the institutions taking part in this project. As a result it was found out that there are over 1.7 million pictures in these collections. As a second phase about 300 samples were sorted out from these pictures, to display the whole variety of the collections in an image database.

The inventory of picture collections
The inventory told, how much and what kind of pictorial material these ten archives have, in what condition the material is, which themes and which time periods it covers. Also, it revealed some aspects concerning the physical picture and its’ arrangement.

KARK- Image database
In this database, there is a short description text connected to each picture, telling briefly about the content. Aswell it is mentioned, when known, the name of a photographer, the place, date and the archive. Information retrieval is possible by an archive or by date and a full text search is possible too. User interface is very simple and it is hoped to serve teaching, researching and everybody, who are interested in old photographs.

The second stage of KARK-project
At the second stage of the project the amount of pictures is going to be increased up to 2000. Also a new technical improvement - an administration site - will be added. It will help the archives to manage the amount of pictures and all the information concerning them. Each archive will get a password access to database to update information, to add a new picture with its indexing information or to delete an existing picture. The user interface will be as easy as possible also here in private site. The second stage of this project will last until 30.4.2003.
The URL of the KARK-project and the database is www.yksityisetkeskusarkistot.fi

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NEW LIFE OF COMINTERN ARCHIVE

by Kirill Anderson
Russian State Archive of Social and Political History, Moscow

Among numerous international political organizations of the 20th century, the 3d, or Communist International, better known as Comintern, probably was the most famous and notorious at the same time. Until recently it was blamed or glorified depending mainly on personal political sympathies without much knowledge of the real organization itself.

Created just after World War I, in 1919, Comintern was highly influenced by postwar disenchantments and expectations mixed with long standing traditions of secret radical societies, borrowed more from Blanqui, than from Marx. “The international party of revolutionary proletariat” was supposed to lead its battle for better world through legal and illegal activity. Though the last one did not predominate in practice of Comintern, secrecy covered most of it operations, even the minor and quite inoffensive ones. This feature was partly inherited from ancient clandestine societies with their strong hierarchy of admitted to certain level of “sacred knowledge”. Partly it was nothing but common game of bureaucracy of any kind, adding significance to routine manipulations which otherwise would be considered a mere nonsense. And Comintern was huge bureaucratic body.

In its better times Comintern united more than 70 national communist parties, each of them officially recognized as totally equal to others. But in fact only few defined the general policy of CI. On early stages these were Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) and German Communist Party, later – RCP(b) only.

Bolsheviks were known as the most bitter critics of the “ancien regime” system of government, which they described as the most bureaucratic and inefficient. But in real life they reproduced, sometimes multiplying the most typical features of bureaucratic way of reasoning. Thus it was believed that failures in policy were due mainly to imperfect managerial structure or the lack of proper control. Remodeling of the inner structure of the Comintern bodies, transfer of the certain functions from one department to another and back, has been one of the main concerns of the leaders of CI, probably of no less importance, than crucial political issues. (See the best and in fact the only study on the history of CI remodeling – G.Adibekov and E.Shachnazarova. Organizacionnaja struktura Kominterna. Moscow, 1996).

As a result, CI was, following I. Kant term – a body “an sich”, mysterious not only for outsiders, but for many from the inner circles as well. Great deal of what has been written on CI during its existence was based on gossips, guesses and official papers, which gave filtered information. But even for those few chosen, who, after the dissolution of CI (1943), had been granted an access to CI archives, this complex of documents was a kind of a gigantic labyrinth, comprising several million pages in more than 80 languages, with finding aids intended to protect the information, rather than to assist the researcher. Left along the decision of Executive Committee of CI in Soviet Union, the Archive of CI was kept safely (both from physical state of documents and their protection from the public points of view) at the Central Party Archive of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of CPSU until August 1991, when after known events the archive was nationalized and became one of the federal archives under the name Russian Center for Preservation and Study of Modern History Records (RCHIDNI), later – Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI).

Inter-archival international co-operation
August 1991 became a turning point for Russian State, including its archival institutions. The openness of archival information has been declared and in many instances achieved. From
1992 on, about 1500 researchers a year work at RGASPI (compare with 60-90 in “party
archive” epoch), many of them non-Russian citizens (from about 58 countries). New, really
public character of RGASPI still could not solve one of the main problems for foreign
researchers – linguistic one, as the finding aids are in Russian. In addition, the very character
of them, as I mentioned before, made them useful, but not sufficient for quick search of
concrete information. Of course, any sensation (and who could dream about free access to CI
files even in 1990?) is attractive to adventurists at large, not to journalists only. Many
commercial proposals had been made on scanning or microfilming of CI archive, but they all
were declined by Federal Archival Service of Russia (Rosarchiv), governmental institution in
charge of the archives. One of reasons, besides others, was our conviction, that though these
documents are in the possession and custody of the Russian Federation, they belong to world
cultural heritage and, subsequently, any big project aiming at large scale use of CI archive
must be international one. That’s why when a proposal to create a computerized version of CI
archive came from ICA, headed then by Dr. Charles Kecskemeti, it was taken into serious and
favorable consideration.

After several years of negotiations, consultations with leading historians, engaged in
Comintern studies, as well as a thorough technical expertise a Framework Agreement was
signed in 1996 between Rosarchiv and ICA, covering the basic principles of the Project of the
computerization of Comintern archive. Later on an agreement on the implementation of the
Project was concluded between RGASPI and ICA. National Archives of Germany, France,
Sweden, Switzerland, as well as the Ministries of culture of Italy and Spain, the Library of the
Congress of USA and Open Society Archive became partners in this enterprise. To co-
ordinate an activity on the project an International Committee on the Project of
computerization of the Comintern Archive (INCOMKA) was established. From the very
beginning the Project was patronized by the Council of Europe.

Though technological patterns of the Project were based on the model already in
existence in Archivo General de India in Seville, the company in charge of software
(Informatica El Corto Ingles) was to adopt and to modify it according to specific needs of the
Project. By now the main goal of the Project – creation of a data-base, covering all the files of
CI archive, and digitization of 1 000 000 pages of documents is reached. Data-base (in
Russian and English) has 230 000 entries and allows to lead the search using different types
of descriptors (personal names, organizations, geographical and subject index etc.). For the
majority of entries information has been derived from the headings of files, but in most
important cases, such as minutes of the Executive Committee of CI, single documents were
used. Selection of the documents for digitization was made by INCOMKA after
recommendations of experts-historians from several countries. Collection includes complete
set of documents of ECCI, its departments and different affiliated bodies. As soon as the
process of declassification of previously restricted files is in progress, new entries and new
documents might be included into the data-base and collection.

According to the Framework agreement, each of the partners will receive a copy of the
data-base and collection for free use at their institutions. On-line access will be established,
probably, in a year or two thus facilitating the use of the Archive for many more researchers.

The project is quite unprecedented on many reasons. First of all, it makes really public
one of the most “secret” archives of the near past. With view of the volume, complexity and
multilanguage character of CI archive, it is a real breakthrough in modern archival
technology. But probably of no less importance was the very work on the implementation of
the Project, which united archivists of so many countries, who in spite of initial difference in
approaches and views, managed to act with good team-spirit, showing impressive example of
inter-archival international co-operation.
The Labour Research Service in South Africa

by Bevil Lucas
LRS, Woodstock

The Labour Research Service is a non-governmental organisation, established in the 1980’s, serving trade unions in South Africa. A key part of the organisation is the Trade Union Library, which provides information and education to strengthen the organisational capacity of trade unions.

In 2001, the Trade Union Library started a project called the South African Labour History Archive Project which aims:

- To promote knowledge and understanding of the history and activities of the labour movement of South Africa.
- To build unity of the working people of South Africa through the promotion of a common sense of identity and history.
- To promote a culture of critical enquiry and debate within the labour movement in South Africa.
- To promote understanding amongst South African unionists of international labour and trade union solidarity through investigating solidarity activities in the past and present.
- To promote solidarity with labour movements in other parts of the world through sharing the experiences of the South African working people and learning of their experiences.

The projects
The project is divided into four main parts:

1. Design and develop the LRS labour history archive - Consult with existing archives both in SA and overseas, to assist in the design of the archive, and the form of storage.
2. Design and develop a Labour History Archive Website - Develop an online labour history facility which will make the archive of the Trade Union Library and other labour history archives more easily available to a wider range of user groups.
3. Conduct a Field survey - Contact existing archives and develop an index of resources and interested participants. Develop a long term plan for a labour archive collective/institution.
4. International Study Circle (with Education Unit) - Choose topic and participants in the International Study Circle, for execution in 2002.
Proposed activities for the period 2003 – 2005

Review of Project
The work done in respect of the survey would need to be reviewed and consolidated to enable us to determine the impact the project has in locating the importance of labour history in South Africa and how the trade union movement is building on its past experience. This review would enable us to strengthen the educational component and firmly locate the historical contribution the trade union movement has made in building a democratic state. Impact indicators need to be developed for future evaluation of the project. Trade unions and other stakeholders will be consulted on the relevance of the current aims and objectives, and indicators will be designed in consultation with them.

Towards this end an initial evaluation of the project thus far will be conducted in 2003, along with a consultation of various stakeholders to set impact indicators. A second impact assessment will be conducted in 2005, to measure the success of these indicators.

Collecting resource material for the LRS Labour History Project
The material collected by the LRS and available at the Institutes with whom the LRS has made contact during the first phase of the field survey will be sorted and filed and made available on the SA Labour History Website. The LRS will continue its partnership with Khanya College with respect to researching certain themes within the period 1966 – 1979, and who will also be involved in the sourcing and selection of material for the website will continue.

The LRS will strengthen access with its member trade unions and the major federations, and draw on their resources, particularly the resources of those unions who have already documented their history. In addition the LRS will begin collaborative projects with member unions to build up personal histories of workers involved in the period 1966 – 1979, and link these projects with the educational activities outlined below.

In addition to this the LRS will work closely with the Swedish Labour History Institute, collaborating on key aspects of the project.

Development of Educational strategies and programmes
Once the website is set up it will be important to be innovative in the ways in which information is presented on it and use it as a way of broadening access to both the LRS archive as well as other archives. It is also important that the interactive aspects of the website, where participants will be able to discuss their views and experiences of specific events in the period, be developed more fully.

With this in mind it is important that an educational programme be developed and implemented which will allow workers to participate fully in the project. This will involve both educational activities on the use of the internet and the website, as well as educational activities on how to write a working life history.

It is critical that member trade unions play an active role the archiving of their local history in the province. This discussion should include a display of their material and also other visual media on the website.
The activities of the educational aspect of the project will include:

- Developing profiles of prominent people in the labour movement in the period
- Developing a history of left politics in SA
- Conducting interviews with unionists and worker activists which will be made available on the website
- A discussion forum and a debating forum where workers can debate and discuss their views on the key themes and other aspects of the period. This discussion will take place via the website
- Courses and study circles on trade union history and lessons for the future.

Consolidating the field survey

Substantial progress has been made in respect of the LRS archive and the documentation of material collected thus far. An important aspect of the project and which we are in the process of finalising is a protocol agreement with a number of academic institutions such as the Mayibuye Centre University of the Western Cape, The University of the Witwatersrand, The University of Natal and the University Of Fort Hare. These institutions will be important partners in the project for the continued collection of documents and the displaying of these materials on the web. As the collection of archival material raises problems of growing collections and space, the LRS has to work closely with these organisations to ensure that any resources collected are properly documented, stored and made accessible. The agreements with these organisations will be finalised in the next phase.

Further field-work will continue to collect documents which cover the themes outlined above. It will also begin to interview people involved in trade unions during the period 1966 – 1979. It will also continue the links with member unions who have documented their own history.