Chapter 4

Youth work and social work in the Slovak Republic: connections and disconnections

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Introduction

Youth work and social work with youth have been influenced significantly by the political situation in Slovakia[6] during their respective pathways of development. The political situation has had an impact on their content and quality, as well as on their development during particular periods, and on their mutual relations and fields of activity. From the early 20th century youth work and social work were gradually separated from church activities in the social-health arena concerning all citizens, including general hospitals, almshouses and brotherhoods. The first signs of youth work can be found in the education area of trade associations and in school association activities.

To understand the mutual correlations and the situation in individual eras, we have divided our analysis into several periods; in relevant introductions we briefly specify connections with respect to political developments and the more general situation in our country. We also focus on the clarification of the status of youth work and social work with youth, particularly in their institutional context. We provide instances of some organisations that may serve as an inspiration for current youth work and social work practice, too. Since the current legislation defines youth as young people up to 30 years of age the presented historical analysis of the target group is relevant.

Youth work and social work at the turn of the 20th century

Prior to the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, Slovakia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, more precisely part of Hungary. Legislative measures and the related institutional background of youth work and social work were then defined by legal regulations applicable to the whole of Hungary.

6. The sixth History of Youth Work in Europe seminar, though held in Malta, took place during the Slovak Republic's Presidency of the European Union. Given the absence of Slovakia's contribution to previous seminars, this was felt to be an opportune moment for a comprehensive elaboration of the country's history of youth work within the context of its relationship with social work.

Youth work before 1918 was marked by a commitment to Slovak national self-consciousness during the Hungarian "Magyarisation". The national liberation and national unification movement was primarily connected with activities of various (literature, reading, charity, student and economic) associations (Dudeková 1998). Students were active in student clubs operating in close connection with schools, especially in larger towns. The foremost student organisation of that period was the Slovak Youth Union. There were also self-study clubs for students which were functioning at schools with their student council, even though these were formed under teachers' supervision (Bernát 2008; Kominarec 2008; Michalička 2001). From a broader perspective, there were temperance or moderation associations (the first one founded in 1840) and Sunday schools (the first in 1834) which included young people. A significant role was played by the new association Matica slovenská, whose representatives felt the need to promote learning about Slovak culture and history; therefore they greatly supported Slovak students. Although Matica slovenská was officially dissolved in 1875, the government formed the Hungarian-Royal Slovak Educational Association from it later on (Botto 1923).

The most widely known mass sports association was Czech Sokol, with branches in Slovakia. Besides physical education and sports activities forming its basis, it strived for the overall physical, personal and moral development of citizens (Holubec 1920). In the mid-1890s Catholic gymnastic associations grew stronger, particularly in Moravia, leading to the formation of Czechoslovak Orol in 1909. Orol started in Slovakia only after 1918. Another competitive organisation for physical training was the Workers' Sports Union; the first Slovak union was founded in Bratislava in 1912. There was great rivalry between physical training and sports organisations, not only in the sense of sports competing with each other but as a result of various ideological issues. It has been suggested that physical training organisations experienced their "golden age" after the First World War (Gálik 2007; Holubec 1920).

Due to its methodology, scouting was identified among those sports and physical training organisations that had a special focus on work with young people. A. B. Svojsík brought scouting to Czechoslovakia, and in 1912 he organised the first tentative outdoors summer camp in Lipnica. The first Scout troop in Slovakia was formed in 1913 at the grammar school in Komárno. In June 1914, Junák – Union of Scouts was founded. Scouting then gradually grew into a great movement and fully developed after the First World War.

The period before the First World War therefore laid the foundations of youth work in Slovakia in various areas, and although it was greatly restricted during the war years, youth work continued to develop again after it ended.

The end of the 19th century in Slovakia, as in other countries, also witnessed the gradual development and professionalisation of social work, particularly as a result of urbanisation and industrialisation. Care for children and young people was one of the key issues in Slovakia during that period, apart from care of the poor, the homeless and alcoholics. As Brnula (2013) writes, care for children and young people grew, with particular attention paid to three groups:

- orphaned and abandoned children and young people;
- wandering children and young people (youth on the streets) and delinquent children;
- children with disabilities.

Care for these groups of children and young people was provided largely by associations, charity and church organisations and communities, though certain legal measures (e.g. Civil Code of 1811, Criminal Code of 1852 and School Act of 1868) constituted some rights for young people, but did not deal with endangered youth or youth committing crime. As Kodymová (2001) states, random and fractured care was gradually changed to more organised care based on principles of individualisation and prevention at the beginning of the 20th century. The state, through its co-ordination of provision, also took over the care of children and young people. Several legislative measures were adopted, including solutions to social issues related to children and young people, and numerous organisations emerged with the intention of providing support.

Care for orphaned and abandoned children

Various institutions provided care for abandoned children and orphans: from simple charity shelters, (church, monastic, association, municipality and countrywide) orphanages to institutions with state care. Besides overall provision (accommodation, food, clothing, etc.) and education, the residents received basic, sometimes vocational, school education (Drenko 2002). By the significant measure of legal norm enactment in 1901 (Legal Article VII/1901), the state took over the management of care provision for abandoned and orphaned children. Legal protection of these children up to the age of 15 was determined by the act, with two public children's homes established in Košice and Rimavská Sobota in 1904. Abandoned children were defined as those under 15 having no possessions, no family or relatives and not receiving care from any social institution. A wardship court determined whether or not the child was abandoned and until the resolution of the wardship the municipality took care of the child. According to the law, abandoned children were also children whose care or education was neglected and those committing criminal activity (Kováčiková 2000). As stated by Dudeková (2003), steps to formalise care for abandoned children were at least partly aimed at decreasing orphans' mortality rates in non-state orphanages. This intention, however, failed and the system of care for these children had many negative aspects. Children were in fact forced to work, and many remained neglected, with some family residential communities not complying with basic health and hygiene requirements.

Care for begging and delinquent youth

Monasteries and orphanages had provided care for poor and begging youth since medieval times. A significant milestone in so-called safeguarding measures in criminal law was reflected in the gradual separation of juvenile and underage delinquents from the adult criminal justice system. In the second half of the 19th century, houses of correction replaced institutions for begging, wandering and neglected youth. Within present-day Slovakia, Penal Code amendment of Legal Article XXXVI of 1908 and Legal Article VII of 1913 adjusted the juvenile justice system in Hungary. Courts were empowered to issue young people with warnings, detention, a stay in a house of correction, a prison sentence or a financial penalty. They could order aftercare or protective custody to juveniles aged 12 to 18 whose educational deficiencies were not being dealt with in the family (Kováčiková 2010).

Special care for delinquent youth started in Slovakia at the beginning of the 20th century. The first correction institution was founded in Košice in 1903 – the Košice royal house of correction (*Košická kráľovská polepšovňa*) for the re-education of sentenced, neglected and amoral, antisocial juveniles. In all, 240 boys were gradually placed there. In 1919, the house of correction was renamed the Institution of Comenius for the education of abandoned youth (*Komenského ústav pre výchovu opustenej mládeže*). A similar facility was founded in Slávnica in 1907.

Care for young people with disabilities

Care for children with various disabilities was initially a part of care for adults and abandoned and orphaned children; later special institutions were established for these young people, specialised according to the type of disability.

Expenses saving and higher-level professional care led to the employment of qualified staff. Despite only a few special care institutions existing in Slovakia and Hungary at the beginning of the 20th century, the trend towards gradual specialisation and professionalisation grew stronger. Hungary had several specialised institutions for children in 1900 (100 orphanages and 14 asylum houses, one institution for the blind, seven for children with severe speech and hearing impairments and three for children with a mental disability), but the situation changed quickly in subsequent years. In 1911, the numbers increased to 109 orphanages, nine institutions for the blind, 16 for children with severe speech and hearing impairments (of which three were in Slovakia: in Jelšava, Kremnica and Bratislava) and eight for children with a mental disability (with only one private institution in Slovakia, "Blumov ústav" in Plešivec). While facilities in villages provided care for only 10 to 20 individuals, two Budapest almshouses provided care for some 3 500 adults and children (Dudeková 2003).

Other activities in social work with young people

By the mid-1830s, women's civic associations had been established in the towns, which brought new forms of care for the poor. For example, the movement that established *opatrovne* (nurseries providing care for children aged three to six while their parents were working) gained popularity. Women's associations often organised other activities for helping poor children and young people (for example, providing food and clothes), and later on they founded various types of advisory services. As Brnula (2013) writes, another social-work sphere was the sphere of "work", gaining interest mainly where child labour had to be monitored.

Youth work and social work during the Czechoslovak Republic (1918-1938)

In 1918, newly formed Czechoslovakia took over social legislation from Austria-Hungary; however, new social measures and independent procedures were required in respect of domestic conditions. In relation to youth work and social work there were two significant developments.

First, there was the growth of civic association activities and non-profit organisations. This first Czechoslovak Republic period is also defined as the age of associations,

with the state-guaranteed right of association by constitution and other measures. The number of voluntary associations, clubs and foundations grew significantly. They were created for various purposes and often also reflected religious, ethnic and professional affiliation or political belief. Social and health associations and foundations were especially prominent. Even though many engaged in increasingly professionalised activities, the majority operated on a voluntary basis.

Second, this period witnessed innovative social policy that aimed to improve social conditions across a broad spectrum of the population. Several acts were ratified that provided the legal basis for public social care; social insurance provided material support for employees in case of illness, old age and disability. In co-operation with private associations, the state established a network of institutions, assuming they would complement each other internally and organisationally (Kodymová 2001).

The formation of Czechoslovakia brought new challenges and opportunities in youth work. The competences of the newly formed department in the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment included formal education, self-improvement and social care for youth issues, church, fund and charitable activities. The system of work with children and young people in out-of-school time, which was formed in interwar Czechoslovakia, was practically similar to modern practices and forms.

Youth work was performed mainly by educational and self-study clubs. Regular meetings of clubs pursued systematic activities and work in selected areas of interest. Tea parties and other sessions provided freer meetings with students, with programmes of an entertainment and educational nature, including presenting the results of the interest activities of individual clubs. Schools offered space for doing sports aside from formal education. Various trips, excursions and community activities were arranged, including theatre performances, celebrations and parties. Libraries, an inseparable part of schools, served as a pedagogical influence over leisure time. From historical sources, we can see a closer connection of schools with associations and their activities than today, possibly because teachers were their leaders, sustaining their commitment towards the growing generation and fulfilling their duties to be involved in activities aimed at self-improvement. Youth work activities were recognised not only as developing the interests of young people in specific areas but also as an important place for social interaction, learning to co-operate and building up young people's character.

The activities of physical training and sports organisations and associations can be illustrated through the provision made by Sokol and Orol, the most attended Czechoslovak organisations. The aim of Sokol was to improve the health, strength, courage and perseverance of all Czechoslovaks, trying to raise the morality of youth and craft solid character into their souls. Its important feature was education towards democracy and equality. It also included national defence education as a way to guard and protect the freedom only recently gained. Sokol fought against alcoholism and other vices, and aimed at the physical, mental and moral development of youth (Holubec 1920). Similarly, Orol's aim was the education of a nationally aware people, responsible for themselves and their nation. The content was education towards justice and equal civil rights resulting in solidarity, unity and national unification (Gálik 2007). These organisations performed a variety of activities. In the 1920s, an

interest in tourism and time spent in nature steadily grew; the response was trips, walks, excursions and camps. And in order to support quality youth work in their organisation, numerous educational courses for trainers and coaches were arranged and many methodological handbooks and magazines were published (Česká obec sokolská 2015). Workers' sports unions were active too. Left-wing organisations were separated from the Union of Workers' Sports Associations and formed the Federation of Workers' Sports Unions in 1921. Left-wing organisations criticised the church, religious organisations and democratic organisations, hence their activities, for example in organising May celebrations during May religious services or encouraging the participation of young people in strikes, demonstrations and politically motivated activities (Budský 1961). Sports associations, with their voluntary engagement and interest in nature, attracted young people. Consequently, young people's involvement in the activities of sports associations and sports clubs was noticed by the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment, which increasingly directed it through regulations (1928, 1937).

Catholic intelligence representatives had striven for the more systematic establishment of Scout troops in Slovakia since 1922. They set up their individual organisation Slovak Catholic Scouts in 1928 and published the magazine *Scout* for members from 1930. This was followed by *Girl Guide*, as well as handbooks for working with children and young people. Scout leaders were prepared through training courses, for example Forest School (Milla 2008). In Czechoslovakia, there were also small left-wing Scout organisations – Spartak Scouts and Scouts of Work, forming the organisation Spartak Scouts of Work in 1924, with only about 4 000 members, whereas Junák – Union of Scouts recorded 28 000 members in 1928 (Bartoš et al. 1967). There were also other organisations and movements acting on similar principles, especially the League of Forest Wisdom (Woodcraft Folk), and also branches of German organisations such as the *Pfadfinderbund* and *Sudetendeutscher Wandervögel*.

The tramping movement started at the beginning of the 1930s as one of the consequences of gradual industrialisation – young people employed in factories were searching for closer contact with nature, friendship and the free life. The first provisional tramp cottages and settlements grew in the Czech lands, in Slovakia, initially only around Bratislava. At first, the public did not pay much attention to them, but with growing numbers of young boys and girls involved, moralistic reports and articles emerged describing (and expressing concern about) the free life of tramps without adult supervision, with corresponding opportunities for young people's lascivious behaviour. Therefore, in April 1931, common camping in nature, tents, cottages and log houses, wearing insufficient swimwear, swimming in restricted locations and carrying weapons were prohibited. Even though tramping, in terms of its philosophical foundations, was against any formal organisational processes, the assembly of tramping groups was organised in 1931. The tramping community also published its own magazine *Tramp* (Bartoš et al. 1967) for members and other interested people.

Besides scouting, branches of other worldwide organisations were founded in the Czechoslovak Republic in the 1920s: in 1920, the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) and in 1923, the YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association). One characteristic of the YMCA approach to youth work was its complexity, as it included both social pedagogy and social work. With financial support from the American

branch of the YMCA, it was able to construct buildings for organising its activities and providing various services in Czechoslovakia. In 1923, the central committee of the YMCA administered 14 organised local branches, of which three had their own buildings, and another six were having buildings constructed. Two other branches worked with university students. The YMCA also opened up two camping sites for young people – one of them in the Orava region (in the northern part of Slovakia). Membership consisted of young people from 12 years of age – initially only boys could join but later on girls could as well. The YMCA and YWCA ran various activities, but the greatest innovation was in providing room for young people in the sense of "open" clubs, even though organised activities still formed the greatest part of its work (*YMCA v Československu* 1924).

The Czechoslovak Red Cross organisation also paid great attention to children and young people through its dedicated section, Youth of the Red Cross, after the First World War. Favourable conditions for the development of this organisation were due to the state of the public health sector after the war and the support of the president's wife, Alice Masaryková, who was the organisation's leader. At this time Youth of the Red Cross had 92 135 members; 3 481 classes from 1 602 schools were participating in Slovakia in the academic year 1927/28 (Cincík 1928). The main task of the organisation was the dissemination of education about health and hygiene among pupils and students. Young people were also encouraged to pay attention to their surroundings and to contribute to its improvement by voluntary and charity work. Furthermore, they communicated with other branches of the organisation both within the country and abroad (Čečetka and Marták 1935; Čečetka 1935; Cincík 1928; Šteller 1936).

Students were associated with numerous new small-size associations and organisations which copied many current political party and religious affiliations in the Czechoslovak Republic and in Slovakia. The central organisation in the latter was the Union of Slovak Students, formed in Banská Bystrica in 1921. Its aim was "to improve the social position of Slovak university students, act on their behalf before authorities, quicken construction of the University of Comenius, strive for a Slovak technical university, publish the magazine *Young Slovakia* and co-operate with the Central Union of Czechoslovak Students" (Kopáč 1971: 35).

The Communist Youth Union of Czechoslovakia, founded in 1921, changed its name to the Young Communist League of Czechoslovakia (Komsomol) during its second convention in 1922. Its communication tool was the magazine *Young Communist*. Even though its activity was officially stopped in the same year, many groups continued illegally or in different youth organisations, declaring their support for communist ideology (especially in sports unions or socialistically-tuned Scout organisations). Left-wing academic youth participated in the Association of Socialist Academics, founded in 1928. In 1932, activities of all organisations that were associated with the Communist Party and also the Komsomol were officially stopped, resulting in the establishment of youth sections directly within the Communist Party. Another left-wing organisation operating at that time was the Union of Poor and Progressive Students (established in 1932), outwardly a tourist organisation, but with Marxist education woven through it (Bartoš et al. 1967).

There were many other youth organisations linked to political parties: for example, the Imperial Union of Republican Youth Agrarian Party, the Young Generation of Czechoslovak People's Party, the Young Generation of Czechoslovak National Democracy, the Youth of National Fascist Community, the Youth of National League and the Youth of Czechoslovak Middle-Class Traders' Party. There were also student organisations of a religious nature active in Slovakia during this time: for example, the Centre of Slovak Catholic Students, the Academic League, the Centre of Slovak Evangelical Students and the Central Union of Jewish Academics of Slovakia. In the mid-1930s, there was an effort to unify associations and youth organisations in Slovakia, but it failed due to philosophical and political differences. Left-wing parties, together with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, founded the Slovak Youth Union in 1936, and published the magazine *Youth Altogether* in 1937. In spite of concerted efforts at the start, the Slovak Youth Union did not become a nationwide organisation (Bartoš et al. 1967).

Despite strong ideological convictions and the corresponding direction of the activities of these diverse organisations, provision for young people delivered rich activity in the sphere of non-formal education. Standing up for young people's interests and needs and seeking adequate forms and methods became the issue of their survival, which was reflected in a programme of regular meetings and occasional events. Therefore, besides lectures and training, organisations also arranged various shared trips, parties, camps, cultural, sports and other events.

During the first Czechoslovak Republic, the central authority for state administration in the social sphere was the Ministry of Social Care. The Ministry's competence included care for youth and social work with young people, which was guaranteed by the state, but numerous non-state (municipality, association and church) entities also participated in its realisation. The state, through the Ministry, granted subsidies for the provision of activities focused on youth care.

The protection of children and young people came within the sphere of public youth care (also guaranteed by the state), which managed to connect health, social and educational provision, thus achieving a complex concept of social care. State authorities often gave their tasks to non-state bodies: public guardianship, protection of children in foster care and illegitimate children, and also social-health care performed by advisory services. Only limited state care was directly provided.

A specific juvenile justice system gradually came into being, with an active role for social work. Act No. 256/1921 on the protection of children in foster care came into effect in 1921, and a government regulation in 1930 ordered supervision of children in foster care and illegitimate children under the age of 14. The operation of this separate supervision was assigned to one state organisation, the wardship court, and one non-state organisation – District Youth Care (Okresná starostlivosť o mládež), which was mostly founded by women, as stated by Kállay and Levická (2015). Together they covered the whole Czechoslovak Republic but were independent from each other. Due to their positive results, they were entrusted with the provision of aftercare, which was arranged by supervisory trustees.

In 1931, youth criminal justice was consolidated by law and government regulation. According to legal provisions, those under the age of criminal responsibility (under

14) and juveniles (from 14 to 18) were not supposed to be punished but educated. The law emphasised the principle to punish least and educate most (Cisár 1942). Short-term punishment and protective education were carried out at the Institution of Comenius for the education of abandoned youth in Košice, and also at Slovenská Ľupča from 1937. The association Záchrana (Rescue) took care of amoral girls; it established a shelter for socially deprived, pregnant, abandoned and unemployed women in Bratislava in 1927. A girls' educational institution was opened in Likier-Hnúšťa in 1936.

Government Regulation No. 40/1932 saw the development of another institution of public guardians of district youth care to undertake immediate supervision of all underage young people. Many municipalities did not acknowledge public guardians because they already had their own. Inspection activity was split, because as well as supervision consultants, there were also public guardians of district youth care and public guardians of municipalities within the sphere of the wardship court (ibid.).

The areas that were not guaranteed by the state included: youth care; social-health counselling (for example, counselling on contraception, on disabilities, etc.); recreational activities; hygiene and health care; care focused on the fight against what was then seen as sociopathological phenomena (alcoholism, prostitution, sexually transmitted diseases); career advisory service; leisure-time activities for children and youth; and support for students and young people from poor backgrounds. The most significant feature of non-state care was the involvement of the middle classes. Non-state organisations received almost no public funding thus creating the need for them to raise funds and perform actions for supporting their activities (Kodymová 2001).

Municipalities were mainly in charge of care of the poor as well the education of children, and therefore they established *opatrovne*, homes providing care and protection, and day shelters for children, while also building holiday camps for poor children and organising feeding stations (ibid.).

Care for children and young people was provided through outreach work, advisory services (e.g. advisory services for mother and child, careers advisory services) and through institutional care. Social workers undertook casework practice based on a systematic assessment, and adjusted what had previously been random help to more intentional preventive casework aimed at reaching individuals and monitoring their progress. They undertook counselling and elaborated professional diagnoses.

The Czechoslovak Red Cross had started developing significant activities in its care of children and young people since 1919 by founding orphanages – shelters with an older woman caring for a small number of orphans. Some were connected with workshops for the purposeful employment of children.

Institutional care in Slovakia was differentiated by the group of people who were placed in them (for example, orphanages, homes for elderly people, institutions for physically disabled children). Nutrition, accommodation, treatment and medical care were provided for them (Matoušek 1995).

Youth work and social work during the first Slovak Republic (1939-45)

Civil society functioning in Slovakia was interrupted by Hitler coming to power in 1933 and the subsequent political developments in Europe. In 1938, after a declaration of autonomy and the formation of the Slovak state, with a commitment to lead foreign policy in compliance with Nazi Germany, many democratic organisations were banned and associations dissolved. The state wanted to control these associations and therefore appointed to them its own delegates and officials. Czechs and Jews were excluded from association life. Associations loyal to the state formation at that time gained support for their activities. Existing associations had to be unified in organisations such as Hlinka's Guard and Hlinka's Youth, founded by the monopoly Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (Dudeková 1998; Mannová 1991). Only some associations which were administered by the church (except Jewish associations) and working on a confession basis were allowed.

Youth work continued in content, form and method as it had in the Czechoslovak Republic period. The cultural-educational activities of teachers were directed by the Centre of Enlightenment at the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment, established in 1941 (Mátej 1976). But many activities and material-technical provision were affected by the political, social and economic situation. Teachers tried to preserve the activities of school clubs or create a room for self-study clubs. Compared to the previous period, co-operation with various associations during out-of-school time disappeared from school activity as they were prohibited and replaced by the activities of Hlinka's Youth, to which a majority of pupils (forcibly) belonged (*Výročná správa odbornej školy pre ženské povolania Ružomberok* 1943; *Výročné správy Gymnázium Ružomberok* 1919-1944).

As Hlinka's Youth had the most prominent place in youth work during the first Slovak Republic, playing an important role in influencing a whole generation of young people, it therefore deserves special attention. It affiliated children and young people aged 6 to 20, boys and girls separately. Its aim was "to bring up committed patriots to the state and nation in the spirit of Christian principles by national defence education and pre-military training of boys and girls" (Milla 2008: 10). The organisation's structure and activities were similar to that of the Scouts, supplemented by the ideology of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (Domasta 1940; Milla 2008). Its educational methods and forms resembled the fascist youth organisation in National Socialist Germany – the Hitler-Jugend (Somr 1987). The preparation of leaders was conducted at leadership school, where they learned about the principles of the leadership programme and the ideology and structure of the organisation, and carried out pre-military defence activities, sports and various activities related to interests and hobbies. Hlinka's Youth co-operated closely with Hlinka's Guard. It led to the militarisation of young people and was incorporated in guard, discipline and security services (Milla 2008). After the Second World War (1945), Hlinka's Youth was dissolved and its property was given to the state or to the new united organisation being formed – the Slovak Youth Union.

With regard to Hlinka's Youth, despite the positive aspects related to the life experiences of young people involved in the group activities, and youth leaders and youth workers believing in their contribution to the development of young people, the

underlying (Christian) National Socialism and the fascist ideology of a totalitarian regime that was implemented through this organisation cannot be overlooked. Through that lens, the activity of Hlinka's Youth and its representatives must be denounced as being non-democratic, markedly contributing to the ideological indoctrination of young people by using forms and methods that attracted them.

In relation to social work, educational youth care was entrusted to Hlinka's Youth during the first Slovak Republic; social-health care that had been developed during the first Czechoslovak Republic and provided by many organisations was concentrated into Regional Centres of Youth Care (*Krajinského ústredia starostlivosti o mládež*). Both organisations were supposed to co-operate with each other. However, legal measures related to social work with youth from the period of the Czechoslovak Republic remained applicable.

Detailed information on social-health care for young people during the first Slovak Republic is provided by Hájovský (1941). Social care for youth was divided into state care performed by state administration and voluntary care performed by voluntary organisations. The difference was in the financing of care. In 1941, the following state institutions provided care for young people: two state children's homes (for found or abandoned children under 15); three state orphanages (for orphans and half-orphans); three state institutions for children and young people with severe speech and hearing impairments (for children aged 6 to 14); one state institution for the blind; two state educational institutions; and two institutions for the mentally ill (these were private, but the state had reserved places in them). The following institutions provided by voluntary organisations were working in the same year: 24 district children's homes; one children's home for begging and wandering youth; four shelters for apprentices; three institutions for those with severe speech and hearing impairments; one institution for the blind; two institutions for the physically disabled; four institutions for the mentally ill and epileptics; and three for amoral, antisocial children and young people. Churches also administered several orphanages (Hájovský 1941).

Act No. 213/1941 on the public protection of youth, public guardianship and amendment of aftercare consolidated the duplication of supervision of underage young people, while only public guardians supervised underage young people dependent on public protection under the wardship court's control. According to the law, underage children of divorced parents, of those not living together, children in foster care and in aftercare were subject to public protection. Public guardians could be persons *sui juris* and with good reputation; persons interested in the education of young people, social workers and officials from organisations providing voluntary care for youth, and also those living in the same region as entrusted children, were preferred as public guardians. The act introduced an Aftercare Institute. According to the law, aftercare was performed by the wardship court. Protective guardians had to be in immediate and regular contact with their entrusted person in order to monitor their physical, mental and moral development, to make sure these individuals were not neglected, were attending school or working, and to prevent unwanted activities. In case of problems, a protective guardian submitted a report to the public guardian, who in turn reported to the wardship court. The protective guardian was entitled to visit his or her "ward" and also to summon them.

In Slovakia in 1941, careers advisory services were providing parents or young people with advice and an overview of labour market opportunities, and also support in finding employment. They co-operated with labour and trade licensing offices. Young people in need who were working were also supported in various ways, through, for example, maintenance allowances, the purchase of clothing, stays in sanatoriums and the acceptance of apprentices in homes during the holidays.

One of the most significant organisations was the Social Institute of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, established in Bratislava. Kováčiková (2010) has summarised its roles as: providing social and social-health care, ensuring its realisation, looking into the management of charity and voluntary associations and submitting assessments on their tasks. Its competences included care for youth in their family and care for abandoned, wandering and begging or otherwise dependent young people (Zpráva 1942). Brnula's opinion (2013) that this action, in terms of social work, may be viewed positively can broadly be supported. However, in terms of human rights and social justice, it is not possible to agree that it was true social work, given that it took place when basic human rights and freedoms were not maintained.

Youth work and social work from 1945 to 1989

In May 1945, at the end of the Second World War the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic came into being. After 1945, approximately 10 000 associations resurrected their activities with over half a million members (many committed to youth work, such as Slovak Sokol, Slovak Orol, League of Forest Wisdom (Woodcraft Folk), Slovak Scouting, the YMCA and the Salesians, as well as social work with young people). In June 1945, the National Front government decided to create unified mass organisations (trade unions, youth unions, sports unions, women's unions), and all the existing associations of the respective group had to join in. The communist totalitarian regime was imposed in February 1948, resulting in the total incorporation of existing associations under the National Front. It was prohibited to use terms such as "association" and "associating" and the basic principles of voluntary membership and internal democracy of the association were violated. The assets of associations, church and charity organisations and foundations were nationalised (Dudeková 1998). A reform movement reached its peak in 1968 (the Prague Spring), seeking the partial democratisation of the regime, but its progress was reversed as a result of invasion by five Warsaw Pact armies on 21 August 1968. Subsequently, there was a return to "normalisation" (until 1989) and military occupation by the Soviet Union (until 1991).

With regard to youth work, from August 1945 national youth unions were established. Communist activists led the first Pioneer groups who were copying the Soviet Union Komsomol example. The Czechoslovak Youth Union (ČSM) was formed on 23-24 April 1949 by connecting four national youth unions: Czech, Slovak, German and Polish. ČSM was a part of the National Front and the most important decisions were presented at the Congress of the Communist Party pf Czechoslovakia (KSČ) or the Central Committee of the KSČ, with delegated powers. Youth work had been presented as an "objective necessity of socialistic society". Through ČSM, the Communist Party led and educated "the new man" who was ready for life in the new society and who was resistant to "bourgeois and petty bourgeois relics" (Svatoš et al. 1978). ČSM

also led young people to initiate participation in economic development and to join in "youth constructions", such as the building of railroads and dams. Ideological education took various forms.

At a unifying conference in 1949, the framework organisational principles of the Pioneer Organisation (PO SZM) and the Pioneer emblem were accepted (ibid.). ČSM was responsible for the development of the Pioneer Organisation. There followed a period of cadre screening, suspicions and repressions, which also affected the Youth Union in the early 1950s. The ČSM leadership was subsequently withdrawn and members of ČSM were excluded from the KSČ. These repressions caused stagnation and visible ČSM decline (Beláň 2015).

The reform period of the 1960s was mirrored in youth work. PO SZM split into two equal organisations, and five other children's organisations were formed and brought together into the Association of Children and Youth Organisations of Slovakia in 1969 (ibid.). With the entry of Warsaw Pact army troops into Czechoslovakia in 1968 the situation changed again. The Prague conference in 1970 renewed a unified youth organisation under the name of the Socialistic Youth Union (SZM), formed by two territorial republic organisations. Basic documents were accepted – programme declarations, statutes, programme and organisational principles for the Pioneer Organisation of SZM (Svatoš et al. 1978). Independent organisations were banned. Obligatory membership in socialistic youth and children's organisations ceased only after the "velvet" revolution of 1989.

At the beginning of this period, Pioneer troops were formed by factories in the towns, while their establishment within schools was recommended by the KSČ in 1960. Pioneer groups, formed by troops (school classes) then became a part of basic school structures; the role was to provide education for the future citizens of the socialistic state through "out-of-school" education (Act No.186/1960). Troops consisted of a number of smaller teams and were co-ordinated by elected boards. Troop leaders were nominally "volunteers" – teachers, parents, factory activists – but they were working only under the leadership of instructors (aged 15-18), with Pioneer group leaders offering help with teaching methods. Pioneer group leaders were in fact school employees. KSČ, SZM and PO SZM worked at district, regional, republic and central levels. Delegates met at congresses (SZM) or conferences (PO SZM).

Pioneer groups organised systematic work with children up to the age of 15 who were attending basic schools. From 1949, Houses of Pioneers and Youth (organised according to the Soviet Union model) provided space for the development of children and young people's hobbies and personal interests. There were clubs, specialised activities, ensembles and also specialists for the support of Pioneer groups' work in schools, called the methodology department (Svatoš et al. 1978). Another tradition, the Pioneer recreation camps, had started in 1949, which provided free stays for children and young people over the age of seven (copying the camp Artek, in the Soviet Union).

The education and training of Pioneer workers and those responsible for the training in Pioneer methods was financially and personally supported by the state. From 1950, the Central House of Pioneers started in Prague Karlín, and in 1951 the Central House of Pioneers and Youth of Klement Gottwald was founded in Bratislava – these

facilities became the methodological and educational centres for youth work (ibid.). The need for the professionalisation of youth workers led to the establishment of a special secondary pedagogical school – the School of Pioneer Workers in Seč, serving as an educational and experimental centre where various tools, activities etc. were prepared and tested during students´practical training, later promoted at national level as recommended ones. The school in Seč operated from 1953 to 1984. Youth work was reflected at a professional level in pedagogical theory and practice. In the 1960s, leisure-time education as a partial discipline within educational studies/science was established, which dealt with out-of-school education. It evolved into masters degree university studies in youth work (Kratochvílová 2010). The field of study called pedagogy of children and youth movement was later derived from it and started in Prešov and Banská Bystrica in 1984.

From 1958, PO SZM's educational system came under the heading "What a Pioneer should know and manage". This was approved at the 3rd Congress of the ČSM, which implemented youth work for children aged 6 to 9, forming groups called "Sparks". By 1966, the educational system called Flames and Ways was introduced, which was a set of requirements containing new tasks and specific Pioneer activities (*Výchovný systém Pionierskej organizácie SZM pre iskry a pionierov – Záväzná časť* 1985). Interest groups started after 1966 and apart from its compulsory elements, Pioneers could learn more about different thematic fields inspired by specific professions (*Výchovný systém Pionierskej organizácie SZM pre iskry a pionierov – Nadstavbová časť* 1983) and they could obtain special badges – technician, natural historian, artist, sportsman, tourist, country defender and practical girl. Young people could also focus on other areas of their interests, such as historian, philatelist, hunter, theatre artist, singer or swimmer. It involved self-study or work in smaller interest groups with a professional practice consultant: Pioneers kept a diary about the results of their efforts and the consultant confirmed competences gained followed by a final interview. From 1952 onwards, the movements of Young Michurins (oriented towards botany and zoology) and Young Technicians (focused on mechanical engineering) developed.

A part of the educational system made use of uniforms and various rituals (lining up, report giving, flag raising, photograph taken under the red flag, and others). From 1959, so-called statewide games were launched, with children under the age of 15 participating. In 1959, for example, Smer Praha/Direction Prague took place, where Pioneers learned military songs, visited locations of fights, organised defence games, drew sketches of their town liberation and searched for survivors of Czechoslovak soldiers fallen at Dukla. In 1961, "Quest after the Red Flag" events took place, during which Pioneers learned of the KSČ and the founding of the Czechoslovak Komsomol, searched for the first Komsomol members, the party's long-serving members, and invited them for sessions. They searched for historical battle locations where the proletariat fought, and met officials of villages and towns (Svatoš et al. 1978).

The education system was based on egalitarian principles. "Sparks" and Pioneers were encouraged to help their weaker classmates out of mutual solidarity rather than social help. Pioneers had patronages over "Sparks" troops and older Pioneers over younger ones, helping them with learning or home duties. Roma children especially remained under the leaders' educational influence during afternoon activities which were part of the Pioneer and "Sparks" troops' meetings. Traditional activities included

care for elderly citizens (shopping, help and visits) and visits to orphanages. Pioneer workers led the preparation of activities according to the needs and current situation of the children and young people (while supporting children with certain forms of disadvantage). Another expression of traditional socialistic solidarity was through various fund raising such as for a digger (excavating machine) for Cambodia.

Besides the development of the youth movement described above, youth work was strongly established as a part of the school educational system. School Act (No. 95/1948) implemented a unified school system that included institutions of non-formal education, and a substantial part of this was the development of students' interest activities. Youth work was therefore developing during this period in the following three ways:

- activities provided by schools and teachers at the end of formal education classes in interest areas – out-of-school clubs and community activities;
- activities provided by other educational facilities – school clubs, pupils' homes (dormitories), children's homes (foster care institutions), Houses of Pioneers and Youth and groups of young natural historians, technicians and tourists;
- social organisations for children, youth and adults, especially the Pioneer Organisation and the Czechoslovak Youth Union. (Kratochvílová, text not published).

From 1945 to 1989, social policy and social care depended completely, in terms of both finance and organisation, on state authorities. Not much attention was paid to social care, on the assumption that all social problems would disappear when class differences ceased to exist. Act No. 174/1948 concerning the domestic right to citizenship based on the town or village where a person lived was cancelled and replaced by Czechoslovak state citizenship. The duty of social provision and care for all citizens was thereby transferred to the state. It also took over all charity and non-state institutions, children's homes and educational institutions, assuming all related expenses.

Care for abandoned and orphaned children was directed to state collective care within state social policy. In 1947, Act No. 48/1947 on socio-legal protection of youth cancelled associations of district care for youth and Slovak central youth care and replaced them with separate committees of district national committees and a social care committee. The state took over the care expenses. Alternative care facilities were changed into educational facilities guided by socialist pedagogy principles; collective education formed the basis of these (Kováčiková 2000). Alternative care was limited, then completely terminated by the act of 1952 and renewed only in 1973. Organisational reforms split the social care sphere into state departments. This also affected spheres of care for abandoned children and youth (according to the child's age, the Department of Health, Education and Justice was in charge).

Care for delinquent youth passed through many changes from 1945 to 1989. Responsibility, structure and names of facilities were changed. Facilities were differentiated according to the young person's age, the severity of offences committed and the degree of behavioural disorders. Kováčiková (2000) states that Makarenko principles of education (militaristic, collective, drill and work based) applied, while schools and professional preparation courses were established alongside them in 1945-55.

Care for disabled youth was provided mostly in institutional facilities providing for large volumes of people, located away from towns and villages.

Criticism of the system increased in frequency during the 1960s. The formulation of new social policy concepts and a renewal of social care thinking occurred in the mid-1960s, which led to the development of social work as a profession. A methodological guide published in 1968 (*Sociálny pracovník*, Ministry of labour, social affairs and family 1968), confirmed social work as a socially serious and necessary discipline. Social work was oriented to children and youth, and also to people with disabilities and the elderly during the period of "normalisation", as the communist regime sought to return to the way of life that had prevailed prior to the attempted revolution of 1968. Vocational social work started in large factories and with young people.

Youth work and social work after 1989

The revolution in November 1989 brought dramatic political and social changes. People were encouraged to establish many political parties, as well as non-governmental organisations and voluntary engagement regarding young people.

The post-revolution period marked the dissolution of the mass organisation of children and young people, the re-establishment of some "old" organisations from before 1945 (such as the YMCA, Slovak Scouting, and the Salesians that had first been established by Don Bosco). Newly gained freedom was expressed in the booming formation of new children's and youth organisations. PO SZM and Pioneer groups were abolished in schools, though the Houses of Pioneers and Youth (renamed as Houses of Children and Youth, and later Leisure-Time Centres) continued as part of schools and school facilities.

The Youth Council of Slovakia (RmS) has been functioning since 1990. Its original aims were: the guarantee of equal relationships between children and youth organisations within Slovakia and bringing together international children and youth movements. Initially, RmS solved issues of youth organisations' funding, state policy towards youth and sharing premises after the previous SZM, which was provided by the Foundation of Children and Youth. Since 1999, RmS has been stabilised in three basic spheres: advocacy for member organisations (proceedings with state administration, municipality, institutions), service for member organisations (such as training of organisation workers, presentation of organisations) and foreign activity (representation of organisations at international forums, bilateral proceedings).

Youth policy and work with youth were influenced by the Department of Youth in the Ministry of Education. In 1992, the first post-revolution document of the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic, which defined the approach of the Slovak Republic towards young people (including youth work), was the so-called Principles of State Policy of the Slovak Republic towards Youth ("Principles 1992"). Part of the finances originally funding SZM and PO SZM was transferred to Programmes of Protection and Support of Children and Youth, functioning from 1993 to 2007. State policy towards youth after 2000 was defined in other documents: Concept of State Policy in Relation to Children and Youth until 2007, Key Areas and Action Plans of State

Policy towards Children and Youth in the Slovak Republic for 2008-13 and in the Strategy of the Slovak Republic for Youth for the years 2014-20.

The Central House of Pioneers and Youth of Klement Gottwald, the present IUVENTA – Slovak Youth Institute – originally continued for a few years after the revolution with several work streams: methodological support of activities and clubs in Houses of Children and Youth/Leisure-Time Centres, organisation of traditional competitions in school subjects (Olympiads), and it later became the administrator of the first programmes foreshadowing wider co-operation in Europe, including during the European Union accession and membership period (CEEPUS, Youth for Europe, Youth in Action, YOUTH and the present Erasmus+). Since 2000, IUVENTA has been preparing background material for legislative documents, being assigned various tasks in the youth field by the Department of Youth, (strategies, reports, grant programmes) and participating in supporting the specification of youth policy in consultation with target groups, especially children and youth organisations.

Act No. 282/2008 on Support of Youth Work defined the target group of "youth" as up to the age of 30 and implemented the official terms "youth worker", "youth leader" and "young leader". The act also deals with the financing of youth organisations and youth work provisions from public funds. Current youth work is delivered by various organisations and institutions such as children and youth organisations (currently 19 supra-regional and nationwide organisations with approximately 75 000 members); and a network of Leisure-Time Centres (Youth Clubs) belonging to the school system. Two national projects focusing on improvement competencies of youth workers were co-financed from the European Social Fund: Komprax – Competences for Practice (2011-15); and Praktik – Practical skills through informal education with youth (2013-15) implemented by IUVENTA.

Social work with youth also went through dramatic changes following the revolution. The social sphere and social policy were transformed across many aspects (for example, decentralisation, humanisation, democratisation, the exclusion of state paternalism, deinstitutionalisation and transition to community forms of care) and brought about new forms of professionalisation of social work. These changes were connected through legislative measures and also through the formation of new institutions and (public and non-public) organisations focused on various areas of social work performance. The management of social work with youth was gradually taken over by the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family. Various powers (for example in the area of social services, but also socio-legal protection of children and youth) were transferred to higher territorial units (regional municipalities), villages and towns. Moreover, practice responsibility for social work with young people was also taken on by many non-state agencies.

Jusko (2009) discusses target groups of social work with youth, classifying youth at risk, subcultures of youth and non-organised youth. He argues that social work with youth includes a broad range of activities, from the area of employment and young people's position in the labour market, through living, health and healthy lifestyle issues, to work with ethnic minorities, youth impaired by health issues, socially inadaptable youth, and more, including aiming to help young people to find solutions to and overcome socially problematic situations connected with study, employment,

family and partnership issues. The main aim of social work with youth is to provide all young people with the opportunity for self-definition, self-articulation, self-organisation of their lives and self-establishment in life.

Conclusion

The historical development of youth work and social work with youth has been marked by significant discontinuity in individual periods caused by political regime changes, especially by alternating forced authoritarian regimes. However, this chapter has also suggested that both forms of youth work in Slovakia were developed autonomously. In history, only a few organisations managed to bridge both – youth work and social work with youth. While the youth work field (primarily focused on the "mainstream and non-problematic" youth population) was initially connected mainly with the area of upbringing and education (particularly leisure time and interest activities), social work with youth (primarily focused on "problematic" youth and youth at risk) was interconnected with social care. This development resulted in the current form of their specification and mutual relations.

While youth work is developed primarily within the policy area of education, social work with youth particularly falls in the policy area of employment, social affairs and family. The legislative anchoring of youth work is within the Act on Support of Youth Work, but also in the so-called School Act. Social work with youth, in contrast, has its backbone in several legal regulations, mainly in the act on socio-legal protection of children and social guardianship, the Family Act, the Act on Social Services and the Act on Social Work.

Both youth worker and social worker are in the competency profile specifications of the national system of occupations (www.sustavapovolani.sk). Even though many specified competences, knowledge and skills are common, it is sufficient for a youth worker to have "only" completed secondary vocational education, whereas a social work assistant must hold a bachelor degree and a social worker a master's degree, in both cases in the scientific field of social work.

The competency profiles of youth worker and social worker with youth are reflected in differences in preparation for the performance of these activities. Preparation for youth work in Slovakia is performed within the secondary education system (pedagogical and social academies), in the informal education system and in the university education system (within study programmes: pedagogy, leisure time pedagoy, social pedagogy and social work). This is related to the fact that the study field "youth work" is not placed in the basic document allowing creation of study programmes and their submission for accreditation (the system of study fields of university education). By contrast, with the Act on Social Work of 2015, education for undertaking social work with youth is completed only by university education and only within the study field of social work (it is no longer possible for graduates of other programmes to practise as social workers with youth).

Differences in practical performance of youth work and social work with youth are also significant. Youth workers are often volunteers, while social workers with youth usually function as paid employees co-operating with or co-ordinating volunteers.

Despite these distinctions, it is also useful to note the common fields of activity regarding youth work and social work with youth, which include an open environment, outreach work, work in residential facilities for youth and activities organised within various organisations (such as children and youth organisations, and low-threshold clubs). Furthermore, youth work connects with the school setting, whereas social work with youth is more related to family settings and the performance of socio-legal protection and social guardianship. Prevailing methods of youth work are group activities, whereas work with individuals is more predominant in social work with youth. Social workers are, however, no longer bureaucrats and life organisers, but now more of a guide and counsellor able to accept clients as individuals capable of solving their own problems. Social work, however, still maintains a social protection function and formal control in relation to youth, aiming to prevent the occurrence or recurrence of unfavourable life situations.

Despite these differences, there is potential space for co-operation in several areas. The Strategy of the Slovak Republic for Youth for the years 2014-20 stresses the need for intersectional and intersectoral measures. In the current documents of youth policy (at European as well as national level) specific attention is paid to young people with fewer opportunities. Ever-growing poverty, unemployment, migration and ethnic minority issues, and also increasing problems related to racism and extremism, are challenges faced by youth work as well as social work with youth. In our opinion, there should be a common effort for finding solutions, rather than seeing each other as competitors. Both forms of working with young people are, today, actually based on the principles of respecting basic human rights, social justice, a partnership approach and mutual respect.

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