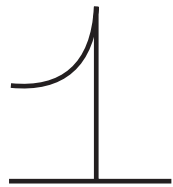




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Věnování

Dedication

Toto číslo je s úctou věnováno prof. Tomáši Kasperovi, šéfredaktovi časopisu *Historia scholastica*, k jeho životnímu jubileu.

Redakce časopisu Historia scholastica

This issue is respectfully dedicated to Prof. Tomáš Kasper, editor-in-chief of *Historia scholastica* Journal, on the occasion of his jubilee.

The editors of Historia scholastica

S Invisible Children: the Face and Reverse of Special Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1958–1990

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Abstract Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) was one of the republics of the former Yugoslavia (SFRJ), a state with an established totalitarian regime that kept its subjects under control and imposed a recognized ideology on them. Although it tried to present itself as a country with equal rights for all people, that was not the case. Namely, the example of people with disabilities reveals the double face of the regime. While other republics developed already inherited institutions for the care of children with disabilities, BiH did not even have a higher education institution for the

education of specialists for working with children and adults with disabilities until the mid-1990s. Special elementary schools were also rare. In some elementary schools, there were auxiliary departments for children with disabilities. Segregation was highly emphasized and parents often hid their children because of shame and public condemnation. In this paper, I will try to show how the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina treated special education within the state of Yugoslavia. It is obvious that, despite the needs, special education in BiH was underdeveloped. At the higher education institutions that trained future teachers, there was no mention of working with children with disabilities. For the most part, schools solved this issue according to their priorities and possibilities. Although they talked about the importance of health and inclusion in the education of all, the example of this republic shows the opposite. So, it is evident that the ideology of a totalitarian regime in the 20th century misuses the concept of child health. In doing so, such regimes use childcare to publicly promote their ideological intentions and social awareness while the situation in practice testifies otherwise. From the data obtained by researching three pedagogical journals in the period from 1958–1990, it is clear that special education remained somewhere in the corner and that schools or teachers decided by themselves whether or not they would accept these children into their environment. Therefore, the situation in education in BiH, a society that called itself socialistic, often had results that showed the opposite, and this was exactly what was reflected in the field of special education.

Keywords children, special education, politics, ideology, socialism

Introduction

This paper will shed light on one period of education development in BiH, attempt to reveal the roots of the problem and the emergence of special education, and to some extent determine the continuity of the development of special education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is important to note that in the researched time periods, different terms were used to identify children with developmental difficulties (retarded, defective, mentally retarded, moronic children...). At the same time, the course of changes in education that were caused by the publication of the General Law on Education from 1958 and the appearance of new laws as an upgrade to the basic law is of great importance for this work. The interest of the existing governing structures of that time was reflected in the laws and their form, but also in their practical application. It is certainly useful to see the attitude of the new government towards children in general, and especially towards children with developmental difficulties. Of course, special education as a social construction was not spared from various manipulative and political influences that tried to control it in different ways. It can be clearly seen that the practical application of special education has always been a manifestation of ideological influences. Long after World War II, special development of special education, separate from regular schools, was encouraged in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was also reflected in the legal regulations stating that children with developmental disabilities should be educated separately, in special schools or institutes. Therefore, it was aimed directly at dual education and separation, which persisted until 1990 and the recent war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1990–1995). Opći zakon o školstvu¹ passed in 1958 introduced changes in the entire education, at least theoretically. It provided the legal framework, according to which other official and authoritative acts were adopted. Thus, in 1960, Zakon o specijalnim školama², Pravilnik o kategorizaciji i evidenciji djece ometene

1 The General Law on Education.

2 The Special Schools Act.

u fizičkom i psihičkom razvoju³, and Pravilnik o organizaciji i radu specijalnih škola⁴ were passed. Here, it is also important to mention that special schools were currently under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, while special institutions where children and youth with limited development opportunities, moderately and severely disabled, were accommodated, remain under the jurisdiction of social protection (Šarenac, 1999). So, this is the first research period, 1958–1970, when legislation related to education was established.

From 1971–1980, there was a reform of the school system, to which most of the researched texts were devoted and which was hailed by the majority of authors as an urgent need (Nikić, 1973; Meštrović, 1974; Ljepojević & Sučić, 1974; Marković, 1972). Also, this is the period of entry into force of the Zakon o osnovnom obrazovanju i vaspitanju⁵ in 1971. This Act contributed to the numerous establishment and development of special departments at regular schools. It repealed Zakon o specijalnim školama and special education became an integral part of the unique school system in BiH. In this period, more precisely in 1978, the new Nacrt Zakona o osnovnom obrazovanju i vaspitanju⁶ came into force, which, in Article 154, determined that every primary and special school must have a pedagogue in its composition, and that he/she has the position and responsibilities of a teacher.

From 1981 to 1990, a new school reform was introduced, which was propagated loudly and which confirmed that the original reform was not properly implemented, or at least not completely. Also, the new refined Zakon o osnovnom obrazovanju i vaspitanju⁷, 1989, was adopted. This is the time when, finally, the first departments and educational groups for preschool children with disabilities in mental and physical development are opened. Preparatory departments were also opened

3 The Regulation on the categorization and registration of children with disabilities in physical and mental development.

4 The Regulation on the organization and operation of special elementary schools.

5 The Act on Basic Education.

6 Draft Law on Basic Education and Upbringing.

7 The Act on Basic Education and Upbringing.

at all institutions for deaf, blind and mildly mentally disabled children and at special elementary schools in BiH. In the 1989/90 school year, the first educational groups for mildly mentally disabled children were opened at preschool institutions in Sarajevo and Zenica (Šarenac, 1999).

Pedagogical Journals

Three pedagogical journals (*Prosvjetni list*, *Naša škola* and *Porodica i dijete*)⁸ which were published in the investigated period from 1958–1990, contributed to a better understanding of the situation in education in general and in special education in particular. These pedagogical journals are conceptually different both in appearance and content. For this paper, most contributions were taken from *Prosvjetni list* because it transferred the experiences of all schools in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, statistical data were published and numerous examples of violations and non-compliance with the Law were cited when it comes to various forms of school obligations. This journal also conveyed the political views of certain structures of that era, and brought excerpts from laws that related to education. Certain contents, current for the researched time, often brought identical information, which was especially pronounced when presenting statistical indicators. *Prosvjetni list* dealt with topics such as laws, regulations and all other normative legislation related to education and educational workers, while *Naša škola* and *Porodica i dijete* commented on the need to humanize relationships within schools, family education, pre-school education, and problems in teaching and proper implementation of the teaching process. All three journals equally pay attention to social inequality. *Prosvjetni list* also informed about the need to train professional staff in the teaching of defectology due to the constant deficit. Thereby justifying its purpose as a trade union newsletter, because it mainly deals with the problems of educators and improving their status, but also points to their responsibility regarding the education of children and adults (Šušnjara, 2013).

8 Educational news, Our School and Family and Child.

In school, the conditions were such that the passing rate in education was the main item in everything. The emphasis was mainly on insufficient students, and the good ones were left aside, thus weakening their ambition and motivation. With all these issues, it would be difficult to expect due attention to be paid to the needs of children with mental and physical difficulties. However, as the *Zakon o specijalnim školama*⁹ was enacted in 1961, certain actions began to take place in society. Children who need additional support in teaching are starting to be in focus more, the issue of financing special schools and departments that should have been established as soon as possible due to the needs was raised. Namely, until 1961, not a single special school was built, nor was any other building intended for these purposes. There were special departments at regular primary schools in larger towns, for deaf and mentally underdeveloped children. It was emphasized that this schooling is more expensive than regular schooling, and that considerable funds should be allocated for categorization, which often did not take place in the right way or did not take place at all. From the articles, it was learned that the Social Insurance Institutions and municipalities were obliged to pay the education costs of these children, but they did so only in cases of categorization. The categorization process took place very slowly and many obstacles stood in the way of this process. Thus, we can mention the reluctance of schools to cooperate, the refusal of parents to send their children to this process, but also the lack of professional staff for evaluating children with developmental difficulties and carrying out specialization, as well as various administrative obstacles that did not work in favor of children and their parents. The situation became somewhat better with the adoption of the Regulation on records and categorization of children in 1962. Obviously, social needs and constant initiatives of certain institutions and individuals accelerated this process, and contributions in the mentioned pedagogical journals probably also contributed to this (Šušnjara, 2013).

9 The Special Schools Act.

Lack of Staff and Institutions

Many articles in magazines were devoted to recruitment problems in special education. In BiH itself, judging by the content of the articles covered, there was no particular interest in the study of this pedagogical area. Perhaps the reasons for this were the non-existence of these higher education institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At that time, few could go to study in Zagreb or Belgrade. Therefore, the education authorities offered scholarships for going to this study, however, students from other republics who, after completing their studies, did not stay in BiH, but returned to their home republics, applied for the competitions. Why the response of local students was so weak is not clear from the articles, but it is assumed that they were not motivated enough or that the social community failed in its efforts to bring this field closer to high school students and future students and highlight its value and humane need, as well as its quality. However, teaching in special departments at regular schools and institutes was carried out by teachers, for whom one author points out: "Namely, they manage as they know and know how, they are left to their own devices as far as the curriculum and teaching aids are concerned, as well as the help of experts" (Korać, 1962, p. 4). This author also thought that his article could encourage the editors of *Prosvjetni list* to motivate readers and associates to give their contributions and comments about special education, because this would be almost the only way to exchange experiences among teachers-specialists, but also to attract attention of the entire public or at least educational. It is obvious that special education was still in the phase of initial development in 1962 and that this process proceeded very slowly: "[...] because almost nothing has been done on the reform of special education, and what has been done is imperceptible" (Korać, 1962, p. 4).

As a bright spot in these years, the news of the founding of a completely new institution for that time, in 1963, namely the Medical and Pedagogical Counseling Center in Prijedor, which people initially refused to accept, but later not a single decision was made about the mentally disabled children or children with other difficulties in the area of the Prijedor municipality without consultation with the experts of

this institution. This made the work of parents, teachers, and social workers easier. In this case, the municipal authorities were the initiators of this project. In order to improve the situation in this branch of education at least to some extent in other areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the state tried to organize seminars for teachers of special schools and institutions from all republics, in which special pedagogues also participated. The seminars are mainly organized by the Central Board of the Association of Special Education Teachers of Yugoslavia.¹⁰ This is how we learned about the problems that were constantly present in special education throughout the country, starting with the fact that there was not a single scientific-professional institution at the level of the republics or at least at the federal level that specifically dealt with the study of special schools. There was also a big difference in the curricula, as if they were not dealing with children with the same difficulties. The problem of personnel and funding was highlighted this time, as well as the lack of textbooks for this field. Over time, it was discovered that the number of children with disabilities in mental and physical development was increasing, while the number of special schools and departments remained the same, symbolic. One of the authors stated that with the increasing inclusion of children in eight-year schooling in 1968, an increasing number of children with various physical and psychological difficulties appeared (Krunić, 1968). Although many schools, authorities and society made great efforts to expand the network of special schools throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, most municipalities were not ready to cooperate. Some of them, despite the difficulties and financial expenses, started to categorize students, but that's all that was done. If there was a will and an initiative was taken to send categorized children to special schools or institutes, there were simply not enough of such schools. Therefore, parents wondered what the purpose of categorization is, if children continue to stay in regular school and repeat the same class there for several years, and at the same time make the work of the teacher more difficult and attract negative

10 Centralno društvo defektologa Jugoslavije.

attention to themselves (Šušnjara, 2009). The author Krunić conveys the common belief at that time that the presence of children with disabilities “also negatively affects the other students and the success of the class, even the school as a whole”, and points out that it is not natural to keep these children with ‘normal’ children, because it is unfair and harmful (Krunić, 1968, p. 4). It is evident from everything that children with disabilities are completely separated from regular schooling, that they are educated and brought up in isolation from other children. Thus, the seventies were entered in a ‘segregated’ mood. Although from the political scene it was emphasized that “we need education which would prepare and educate our children for life in which only work and labor results define the position of human beings within society. The school has an irreplaceable role in the development of self-managed socialist awareness of the young generation. This is an important condition for the young generation if we want them to take over responsibility for further self-managed development of our society” (Mesihović, 1987, pp. 4–5). Article 7 of the Constitution of Yugoslavia (1963) states: “Only work and the results of work shall determine a person’s material and social position. No one may directly or indirectly gain material or other advantages by exploiting the work of others” (Horvat, Marković & Supek, 1975, p. 258).

Forced Integration

In addition to children with mental and physical disabilities, in the period 1971–1980, some other categories of children with special needs appeared, namely traveler children, children from poor families, children with learning difficulties, children who lived in student dormitories or children without parents placed permanently in homes or other families. Children who came from the provinces to larger cities were mostly different from other children in terms of their clothing, behavior, knowledge, etc. They were often the object of ridicule by other children, and there were times when there were conflicts between children or children newcomers were forced to leave school. The element of social inequality was very present among these children and this made the situation even more difficult. In this case, the necessity of

a psychological-pedagogical service, of which we find no trace in this period, was particularly evident (Šušnjara, 2013). Integration is a word that does not appear in this period, except in cases where it has a negative connotation, i.e. the unwanted presence of disabled children in regular classes. It is obvious that many factors influenced such views, such as the omnipresent illiteracy and lack of education of a large number of the BiH population, insufficient awareness and education of the teachers themselves, and the government structure as well. Legal regulations were tried to be implemented and respected, but only when great pressure was exerted. There are rare examples of self-initiative action by individuals in the field of upbringing and education, especially special education (Šušnjara, 2009).

Through the introduction of new laws, that is, the improvement of already adopted ones, efforts were made to give special education the shape and place it deserves in society as soon as possible. The representatives of special schools advocated for a special law that would solve the problem of special schools at all levels. Basic education covered more than 3,000 children, and it was estimated that there were about 85,000 children in Bosnia and Herzegovina who needed to be provided with special education and professional education (Šajatović, 1971). The new Curriculum tried to contribute to the same goal, stressing that special departments must be opened for children with disabilities in mental and physical development, because they cannot follow the provisions of this curriculum, which, as usual, is adapted to students of average intellectual abilities. This represented another type of selection and isolation of these children from regular classes, supposedly for their good, but in most cases for the 'good' of those who were not ready to face this problem. However, due to unresolved funding, the issue of opening special departments remained open and waited for better times in the future. Thus, in the majority of schools, some form of forced integration took place, in which, in the end, the children who were supposed to be provided with an individualized approach to teaching, which could not be implemented because there were no adapted teaching programs, textbooks and specially trained teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina (M. N., 1972). When it comes to

the categorization of children, the author Bikić (1971) complains that this assessment procedure was carried out partially and unsystematically. If it had been carried out in the right way, by committee and in an organized manner, the results would have been absent because the social community would not have ensured the conditions for timely and appropriate placement of children with difficulties. "Special education was put in a second class on the track" (Tomlinson, 1982, p. 6).

Prejudice and Social Division

The special elementary school in Tuzla was initially considered a 'school for the insane' (Mahmutagić, 1971, p. 8). Therefore, parents avoided sending their children to these schools, precisely because of prejudice and mockery. All this only created additional problems for the children and slowed down the possibilities of their, already questionable, further development. The aforementioned school in Tuzla has shown through its work and results that with the right approach, individuals can achieve knowledge according to their capabilities, and it soon became too small to accommodate all those interested. In order for these students to acquire secondary school education and become independent, in 1973 four special departments were formed at the Vocational school, two for semi-skilled workers and two for skilled workers (Mahmutagić, 1973). This school could have been a good indicator for other communities to take a similar approach with their students, but this mostly did not happen. In 1974, there were four special schools, two in Sarajevo and one each in Zenica and Tuzla, and one Children's Institute in Sarajevo (Sučić, 1974).

It is evident from the majority of the processed articles that the entire school system in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was still not ready to face the problem of students who have learning difficulties and therefore lagging behind in development. The cause was partly due to legal regulations, partly due to teachers' unwillingness to face this problem, and partly due to ignorance of the problem itself. It is also evident from the texts that children from poor families had problems enrolling in and attending schools. Unfavorable financial situation did not allow education according to their capabilities, and

often their talents and needs remained undiscovered (Šušnjara, 2013). This is all the more surprising since the state at that time advocated equity and social equality of all citizens, regardless of their place of residence. The entire education system was under the control of the state and the propagated ideology, and the goal was to create the impression of equal care for everyone. The entire educational system in the socialist Yugoslavia was under constant observation of the ideology that shaped and directed education. The same occurred in BiH. “The main idea that dominated the field of schooling was the unity of education as a symbol of social justice” (Medveš, 2020, p. 65).

The social division of society was very present and influenced the creation of differences between students, depending on the area they came from. Members of the poor levels of society were forced to attend the nearest schools regardless of personal interest and wishes. Some stayed out of school precisely because of the great distance or poor material situation, and there was no special social initiative to change this situation and improve the position of this category of society (Nikić, 1973). Therefore, it was also difficult to find a job, and being without a job meant even deeper poverty. The economic reforms initiated in Yugoslavia from 1960 onwards had an effect on the increased number of dismissed workers and thus new social problems. A slogan that was widely used at the time that “From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs” was changed into “From each according to his ability, to each according to his work” which again put unemployed workers in an unenviable position and brought them to the edge of existence (Mihaljević, 2019, p. 38). Being unemployed at that time meant losing all rights and becoming a second-class citizen (Woodward, 1995, p. 4). Therefore, many workers felt threatened and marginalized (Županov, 1971, pp. 22–23). The problem of mistreatment of female children was also constantly present. In 1973, there were a surprisingly large number of young women and girls who remained out of any educational process, either because of the prejudices of the environments in which they grew up, or because of the authorities’ ignoring of this problem. This led to a situation where young mothers, who were the first educators of young people, were mostly illiterate, and

this was a devastating fact. Illiteracy was otherwise a rampant phenomenon in Bosnia and Herzegovina in this year as well, and educators were, as the author says, themselves confused by the aforementioned statistical indicators. “That’s why it’s a big problem, because it’s hard even for literate people to get involved in modern life, let alone for illiterate mothers who need to offer their children some explanations and help, but they’re not able to” (D.G., 1973, p. 2).

Most of the content from that period was written in order to attract the attention of the pedagogical, educational, cultural and wider public to the problems of schools, especially children who did not fit into the given norms. Thus, almost all the authors are in favor of removing the punishment from school and persistently relegation of children for whom it is obvious that they cannot progress. If it is not possible to place them in a special department or to work with them individually in supplementary classes, then they should be put on the right track using the method of relocate from class to class. It is not permissible to bring down those who cannot achieve success because they have intellectual difficulties. “Teachers like this are not pedagogically or morally up to the task of educating and modelling young people!” (Ljepojević, 1974, p. 6). Most of the authors condemned educators who persisted in the practice of failing mentally disabled students, saying that anyone who produces a repeater is a social problem and a bureaucrat who only cares about the final indicators at the end of the year (Knežević, 1975). Although the self-governing society propagated the equality of everyone’s work, here is an obvious example of disrespect for the set standards and everyone’s right to education. In spite of the egalitarian values on which socialist Yugoslavia was founded, social disparities and class inequalities occurred throughout the socialist period and were continually increasing during that era (Popović, 1977, p. 37; Allock, 2000; Archer, 2014, p. 140).

There was also a great deal of criticism directed at schools where children from troubled and poor families were not given the necessary attention, but were, on the contrary, characterized by inappropriate comments and ridicule. It often turned out that these children just needed a more humane approach and more attention, and they were

able to show satisfactory results (Meštrović, 1974). However, there were also a couple of articles that harshly criticize any gentleness with students and believe that the only healthy attitude of teachers is to exclude problematic children from school, because these children have a bad influence on other students. Here too, the lack of a pedagogical-psychological service, which the authors rarely mention, is evident, and we conclude that it was still not significantly present in school practice at that time (Šušnjara, 2013).

Opening Institutions and Taking Care of the Needy

In 1978, the Association of the Blind of Bosnia and Herzegovina, together with typhologists, advocated the idea of integrating blind children into regular education where possible. Efforts were made to encourage this process in the Republic of BiH as well, following the positive examples of Croatia and Slovenia. By the way, blind children in BiH were brought up and educated in institutions for blind children, which were specially equipped for their needs and this, again, was a significant progress, considering the difficult beginnings. When talking about secondary and higher education, a smaller number of blind students attended a regular gymnasium, music or some other school without interruption. Therefore, it could be expected that the integration will be realized in the future in BiH, and until then it remains only a bold attempt (Šušnjara, 2009).

Most of the content does not only deal with the treatment of children with disabilities, but also about the environment in which they lived, and especially about their lecturers and the level of education of their parents. Not knowing the reason for the child's lagging behind in school and his/her needs, the parents, together with the teachers, mistreated the children. Wrong ways and procedures of 'treatment' were resorted to both at home and at school. Here, the lack of a professional person in the school (pedagogue or psychologist) is clearly noticeable, who would be able to guide all three parties to the true essence of the problem. One of the correspondents of *Naša škola* agrees with this, saying: "Our self-governing society, which is developing on the application of the achievements of science, must also solve the problem of

categorized students on the basis of modern achievements of psychology and pedagogy, as well as other sciences that treat this problem. He is there and needs to be dealt with” (Gojanović, 1969, pp. 239–242).

Nevertheless, the fact that in the 1980s there was an increasing presence of pedagogues in schools is encouraging. So that a certain burden fell from the backs of those teachers who did everything to provide each child with the same upbringing and education, and also facilitated the work of children who were often deprived of a professional interview, let alone treatment. Of course, opportunities for working with parents and the entire community have also opened up here (Šušnjara, 2013).

However, through the analysis of all of the above, it is evident that more has been done to improve the existential aspects of development and the position of persons with developmental disabilities, which cannot be said for the social and educational sphere. Integration remains a frequently discussed term in the late seventies and early eighties, and it was considered that it could only be implemented with the presence of special education teachers in schools, who would be the bearer of certain parts of the educational and rehabilitation process, together with other subjects of the teaching process. For the process of integration, social, professional and scientific conditions had to be created in order to achieve a more serious elaboration of theoretical and socio-practical assumptions for the transition to the integrative process. The often mentioned term of education reform seems to have managed to take root and with its socialization orientation to help change old-fashioned thinking and obsolete pedagogical procedures in teaching (Šušnjara, 2009).

Statistical indicators relentlessly showed that the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina still lacks qualified personnel in the field of special education, which is evident in an article from 1981 in which the author states that the situation with personnel will improve after the opening of the Department of Special Education at the Pedagogical Academy in Sarajevo (Mulabegović, 1981). As it is known, that department did not come to life until the end of the 1990s. Also, a large number of contributions advocate the importance of preschool education of developmentally disabled children, and their early detection, so

that preventive measures can be taken in time and these children can be sent to the appropriate place. This would reduce the costs of society, as well as the worries of parents. The non-opening of these institutions was often justified by the fact that the symptoms of difficulties and retardation in these children were only discovered when they started school, which was unfounded, because in 1985 alone, 1,612 children up to 7 years of age with disabilities in psychological development and 601 children underwent categorization with disabilities in physical development (Hromadžić, 1987). So, the numbers disproved the claims and these children should have found their place in society and in the educational processes. Also, until 1987, a special program of educational activities for these children was not determined, so classes were conducted according to adapted programs of other republics (Šušnjara, 2013).

At the beginning of the 1980s, there are also authors who advocate integration in their texts, but a closer reading reveals that they consider integration to be the inclusion of disabled children in special departments within regular schools, in an environment that these children can share with their peers or at least partially be with them during the holidays, depending on the school's availability. In BiH, some municipalities did everything to prevent the opening of special departments within the school. Thus, some children stopped to be developmentally disabled after completing the fourth grade and moving to the fifth grade of elementary school, without consulting the expert committee. There were strong prejudices that could only be broken by humane, practical work and the inclusion of these children in the daily work of the school, and by working with parents and interested members of a certain community. It was necessary to bring the culture of living and the attitude towards others and differences to a decent level. The law also states that these children should be integrated into regular schooling, but in the manner shown in the draft for the social agreement on the protection of children with disabilities in mental and physical development from 1979: "Special education is an integral part of the education and upbringing system. It is realized within the framework of regular primary and secondary education. Special education includes all

children with disabilities in mental and physical development, mildly mentally retarded children, children with impaired hearing and vision, physically disabled children with normal mental abilities. These children receive their primary education in special primary schools, special departments within regular primary schools and in special institutes, which are important for the wider area of BiH. When children with disabilities in physical and mental development complete primary education, their further education and upbringing is organized in special schools for secondary education and in centers where they are trained for simple and less complex occupations” (Mulabegović, 1981, p. 7). In the meantime, desirable contents were constantly present, with which ideological propaganda was filled even where there really was no place for it. “Our humane socialist self-governing society is interested in every human being, and therefore also in developmentally disabled children. But also if the company invests certain funds, it would be normal for these funds to be returned; if not completely, at least partially” (Veljković, 1978, pp. 287–293). Under socialism, “everyone was supposed to be/come a worker – the income from employment was to be/come the sole source of support for people of working age...” (Mladenov, 2021, p. 6). However, some progress was made, and in the 1980s, a special elementary and secondary school was opened in Sarajevo (Šušnjara, 2013).

On the other hand, the introduction of social work in some schools was a pressing need in certain areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially those where illiteracy prevailed and normal, hygienic living conditions were questionable. Thus, the example of the municipality of Nemila was cited, as one of the more drastic ones, which warned about the situation in smaller towns, and the complete poverty and special lack of education of mothers, but also fathers, in 1985. And here again, the apparently acute problem of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be mentioned. Namely, the staff situation, despite the efforts, was still at a low level. At the state level, there was not even a single nomenclature for the title of special education teacher, the possibilities of describing special education positions in the clinical, educational and social part of social practice in the rehabilitation of the disabled,

etc. were limited (Šušnjara, 2013). Thus, social inequality was a fact that could not be ignored or wrapped in ideologically desirable texts. “The assumption that the lower social class were mostly likely to produce defective children became more pronounced” (Tomlinson, 1982, p. 29).

After all mentioned above, it is a devastating claim by one author that no record was kept of the actual number of children and youth with mental and physical developmental disorders. This number was not reported during the population census, nor did the Republic Institute of Statistics keep records of those with disabilities in mental and physical development. However, according to some data cited in most of the contributions, the estimated number of children and youth with disabilities in mental and physical development was significantly higher than the number of detected and categorized children (Andrić, 1981). Also, the number of categorized children was significantly higher than the number of those who were included in primary and secondary targeted special education. Nor was the planned attendance of children in this education fulfilled. The reasons for this state of affairs were numerous, from the unsatisfactory number of commissions for assessing abilities and classifying persons with disabilities to the lack of social workers (Hromadžić, 1987). When this situation was in 1987, then one can understand the earlier periods, which did not even have the conveniences of this modern age. It is important to note that in this final period special teachers and teachers of various profiles, as well as trade union representatives and politicians appeared as correspondents for *Prosvjetni list*, or their views and views on the given situation were quoted. They all agreed on one thing – the lack of professional staff, insufficient care for children with special needs, and the lack of seriousness of certain municipal and educational authorities in approaching this problem. We have seen that there were disagreements at the state level due to the non-uniformity of the criteria for recognizing the diplomas of different faculties of special education, and that there was a lot of disagreement when determining the role of special education and upbringing in regular classes. Often, the theory, together with the laws, dictated one thing, and practice implemented the other. Sanctions taken against schools that refused to grant these

children the status of students with special needs were not mentioned anywhere (Šušnjara, 2013).

The Role of the Teacher

It was important to establish social services within schools in order to provide protection and special care to children who were lagging behind in development or causing problems at school. Social protection of youth and children was necessary at that time due to unresolved social issues in many social communities. The schools alone could not do much for these children, but by combining all social factors, a lot could be done for the social care and care of the children. This represented a weak link in the school system of that era. In most of the texts, the role of the teacher was imposed as crucial. The teacher was the first person in the class who could notice the child's difficulties. The teacher was expected to take appropriate steps to alleviate the problem. At the same time, no one dealt with the issue of professional training of teachers and referrals to possible courses, so that they could fulfill the obligations imposed on them. Counseling centers for the mental health of children and youth were opened in Tuzla, where a team of experts worked, but a special education teacher was not present in that team. The information we learn about the position of mentally retarded children is also interesting. Namely, the text claimed that categorized children had better treatment, because they were then sent to special schools, than children who fell into borderline cases. They literally stayed at the border. They did not manage in regular classes, nor were they sent to special departments. These children were a constant problem for the school, but also for society (Šušnjara, 2009). We also learn that in 1976 and after the categorization was carried out, children were not sent to special schools or departments, precisely because of the undeveloped network of institutions for sending children to school. These kids were mostly worked by teachers, unmotivated to work, because they were, technological surplus, as education workers were called then, who didn't have enough standard hours or were about to lose their jobs. Thus, the teachers felt punished, but so did the children (Beus, 1977). Even though education was considered as an

activity of national importance, teachers' position was not adequately recognized within society. They work hardly but their material status was still lower than of those who worked in other public areas (Šušnjara, 2016). "The material position of the educational laborer was not at a satisfying level, even though the general law of education determined the educational sphere as an activity of major social importance. Therefore, such contradictory and unfavorable conditions provoked a belief concerning educational laborers that they were not adequately recognized socially and their material status was lower than that of others with the same qualifications within the social and economic spheres" (Ilić, 1989, p. 311).

Perhaps due to the lack of experience of the teaching staff in working with these children, the children became aggressive, showed deviant behavior and were repulsive to the environment in which they lived. At the same time, the school often knew how to be the cause of the problem, but also the solution maker. Through supplementary classes, it was possible to help eliminate the causes of falling behind in school, because in this type of teaching, individual work with children prevailed, which many authors recommended. If supplementary education is applied in the right way, if it is focused on the needs of children, then it fulfills its role (Marković, 1972). In this part, we also learned about the large presence of social differences among children, which is surprising considering the principles on which the education system of the Yugoslavia was based. Judging by the content of the text, the distance between the school and the home, the elitism of certain schools, family poverty, illiteracy, children placed in homes or other families, repetition of classes and others contributed to the differences. When it comes to repeating classes, an article is attached that approaches the upbringing and education of children with special needs in a very brave and humane way. The author advocates that children with difficulties spend the period of determining their abilities in the conditions of regular classes, because it is beneficial for them, because they could still adopt some of the content offered in regular classes. Every child, however, has developed some specific factor and, according to the author, could achieve above-average results in that

area. If the child did not achieve special results in some subjects, s/he should have been allowed to work and develop what he was interested in, even outside the teaching process. More capable children would not be bothered by such a child, and when he finally moved to the special department, he would have had a period of familiarization with the functioning of the school. Thus, the process of approaching normality and possibilities would be more painless (Tobudić, 1980). The spirit of integration and even inclusion can be felt in these proposals, so this article is a great support for this work.

Conclusion

The period after the World War II is, in fact, characterized by noticeable cultural and economic backwardness and lack of enlightenment of the wider masses of the people in the new Yugoslavia. Therefore, the state made great efforts to alleviate this situation and to train teaching staff. It is evident from the attachment that teachers' schools were opened, which were entered spontaneously and from which quality staff did not leave, which aroused the resentment of senior professors and educational advisors. The principles and methods of the old school were mostly implemented in the schools. The students sat and listened, while the teacher presented the material. There was no reverse process. Even corporal punishment was applied, especially to children who were not able to get good results in their studies, all with the blessing of their parents. It was not possible to talk about any special work with children with developmental difficulties, because schools were overcrowded, and special departments were a rarity and were only found in larger cities. There were not enough textbooks, so teachers used textbooks from other republics, primarily Croatia and Serbia. As for the staff for special education, which developed slowly in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, they were educated in Zagreb, Belgrade or Ljubljana, but in insufficient numbers, which is why this education stagnated. It follows from everything that the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was not and could not be fertile ground for the development of pedagogy, because there were no institutional frameworks for it. There was no chair for special pedagogy, there were no

specialized pedagogical journals and textbooks for this field, there were not enough schools, institutions and institutes, and, as we have already said, there was a lack of appropriate personnel. Socio-economic, cultural and educational underdevelopment were not fertile ground for the development of pedagogical and advanced ideas. Teaching both qualitatively and quantitatively-institutionally showed a tendency to develop, although there was no significant shift in those first years. Also, young people from all backgrounds are not equally enabled to finish school and get involved in productive work or public and cultural life. Some educators, including correspondents of pedagogical magazines, boldly and openly observed the situation on the educational scene in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and were critical of irregularities and wrong work methods. They expressed their assessments of the events and times in which they lived, and were especially ruthless when criticizing irresponsible teachers, principals and the entire school staff for not complying with legal provisions and not providing all possible and prescribed services to children with developmental disabilities. There were almost no pre-school institutions for children with disabilities in mental and physical development, and these institutions were of great importance for the early detection of disabilities in children, and their timely prevention. However, if it is known that until 1987 there was no specific program of educational activities for children with developmental disabilities in BiH, but classes were conducted according to adapted programs of other republics, then it can be seen that this area still remains insufficiently developed. "Special education has developed as one of the most secret areas of education, partly because of the medical connections and ideology of medical confidentiality" (Tomlinson, 1982, p. 239).

The demarcation of regular and special education was reflected both through legal provisions and through society's attitude towards this type of education. Dual schooling functioned in all three periods of the research, although in the third there are glimpses of organized integration in larger school centers. Namely, integration was carried out in schools where there was a prevailing enthusiasm and desire

to help children with developmental disabilities, as well as their parents, which is evident from the examples mentioned in the text. However, these were exceptions. We can say that there was also a negative integration. Children with developmental disabilities, in fact, disappeared from the records of special departments within regular schools and were integrated into regular departments. Illiteracy surprised the ruling structures, although a lot of effort was made to overcome it. It was devastating that the majority of the female population was illiterate, mostly young mothers. These are probably those girls whose prejudices of their families contributed to their lack of education. It is obvious that there was little thought about the importance of women's education at that time. As Delors (1998) claims, the primary education of women is important from an economic and a social point of view. This inducement has confirmed to be one of the best modes to accomplish justifiable progress of a country and its economic development.

As birth rates increased, so did social inequality, as reflected in the education of children who were far from the larger urban centers where secondary schools were located. Thus, in BiH, secondary schools were concentrated in 13 more developed municipalities. It is a devastating fact that in 1973 in Bosnia and Herzegovina there were 672,000 illiterate people aged 10 and over. Thus, every sixth resident was illiterate, and only 9 % of the mildly mentally disabled were included in special education. "Educational integration is by no means just the physical placement of children with developmental disabilities in a regular school, but it understands true inclusion in the work and life of the school, which is ensured by creating a series of assumptions" (Potkonjak & Šimleša, 1989, p. 276).

Segregation philosophy and practice in the past determined the attitudes of society and individuals towards people with developmental disabilities in special schools. People with developmental disabilities were raised in separate spaces and cut off from the rest of society. Dual, completely separate schooling was encouraged, which is also evident from the legal provisions. All this only strengthened social stigmas and resistance, and produced aversion towards the other and the different. The non-acceptance of children with special needs contributed to the

rigidity and homogenization of teaching, as well as to the creation of the myth that, once a class with normal students is established, there will be no need for additional modifications or adaptations, as would be the case if one started working with children with special needs (Stainback & Stainback, 1996).

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