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Obsah
Contents

Studie
Studies

Úvodník
Editorial

The first issue of Historia scholastica Journal presents 10 studies, most of them in some way thematizing the impact of the totalitarian regime on the field of education. A. Canales focuses on the change of educational policy of the Franco Regime in Spain in the 1960s, which was in contradiction with the still prevailing political and ideological principles of Franco's Dictatorship. E. Protner's study provides insight into the discontinuity of pre- and post-war Marxist pedagogy in Yugoslavia, using the example of slovenian pedagogue Jože Jurančič. How communist ideology was reflected in the functioning of education in Yugoslavia, specifically in Bosnia and Herzegovina, shows in her study S. Šušnjara.

Three other studies focus on education in the area of states in the territory of the former Soviet Union. I. Nelin examines the evolution of psychoanalytic pedagogical ideas in the Soviet Union, his study highlights the experiments in psychoanalytic education and their subsequent prohibition due to political shifts.

E. Bērziņš and I. Ķestere examines how Soviet narratives in the field of history of education were deconstructed in the Baltic States and how historians constructed a new view of the national history of these states.

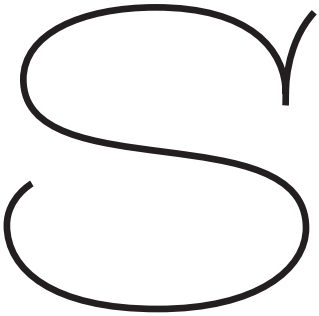
I. Ivanavičė and I. Stonkuvienė focuses on the mechanism of ideological assimilation of Lithuanian Roma through school and education in the Soviet Union; the study explores key dimensions of Roma education, including the construction of the New Soviet Man, the impact of forced sedentarisation, and the role of schooling in promoting linguistic assimilation, discipline, and social control. Belonging is an important phenomenon, the basis of which does not have to be only belonging to one ethnic group, as is the case in the study of Roma in Lithuania. F. Guerrini explores generational belonging in the generation of children born during the war. Her work focuses not only on specific research on belonging in the war generation, but also shows the theoretical perspectives of research on such a complex phenomenon as belonging.

Two studies in this issue relate to special education. J. Randák looks into the situation in special education in Czechoslovakia after the communists came to power in February 1948 and shows that the optimistic proclamations of the state representatives were often at odds with the real experience of teachers at special schools. K. Eliášková and M. Šmejkalová examine teaching of Czech language of visually impaired pupils at special schools from 1972 to 2010. The long period of research allowed the authors to examine not only the development of didactic approaches, but also the change in the ideological framework of education during this time.

While most studies deal with education in the second half of the 20th century, I. Garai investigates the issue of deprofessionalization of secondary school teachers in pre-war Hungary.

We believe that all of the submitted studies will contribute to the clarification of many unresolved research questions as well as stimulate interest in further research.

Jan Šimek



Studie
Studies

The Copernican Turn of Franco's Secondary Education Policy. A Paradoxical Case of the Global Architecture of Education[1]

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Abstract In the early 1960s, the educational policy of the Franco Regime underwent a Copernican turn. After two decades of intense privatization and constriction of the school network, the Dictatorship promoted an accelerated growth of the educational system led by the state. Despite its transcendence and its radical nature, the Spanish historiography has not addressed the explanation of this turnover. This article aims to advance in the articulation of an explanation based on the new priority of the Dictatorship in these years (economic development) and the decisive role of the international organizations to which it turned for advice. The functionalist theories prevailing in these organizations, which placed education as a prerequisite for industrial *take-off*, configured a Global Architecture of Education that included both prescriptions for modernization, new methods (planning) and, above all, a new language. The article explores how this Global Architecture of Education was introduced in Spain in contradiction with the previous educational policy of the Regime and, even, with the still prevailing political and ideological principles. It is argued that only from this international perspective is it possible to understand the paradoxical evolution of the late educational policy of the Dictatorship.

Keywords Franco Regime, secondary education, development, global architecture of education, functionalist theories of education, international organizations of education

1 This research has been conducted in the framework of the Spanish National Research Project PID2020-114249GB-I00/AEI/10.13039/501100011033.

The Quantitative Revolution

Traditionally, secondary education in Spain had had very poor coverage.[2] It was a very minority track which were reinforced in their elitist character after Franco's victory, which put an end to the popularisation attempts of the Second Republic and imposed a return to the more traditional university oriented secondary education. During the first fifteen years of the Franco Regime, the number of students grew steadily but moderately, and it was only in the mid-1950s, after the 1953 Reform, that a certain activation of enrolment was detected (Canales, 2021).[3]

Suddenly, however, after these two decades of lethargy, in the 1960s all quantitative indicators relating to secondary education shot up. Enrolment increased by an average of around 12% per year, with exponential increases of close to 20% in specific years such as 1961 and 1967. In total, between 1960 and 1970, in just 10 years, enrolment tripled. The total number of schools grew less, but still experienced a significant increase that led to a doubling. The number of teachers was the indicator that took the longest to take off, although it grew strongly in the final years of the decade to almost triple (Figure 1).[4]

These developments constitute a real quantitative revolution which finds its most precise expression in school enrolment rates. The gross enrolment rate in secondary education almost tripled during the decade, rising from 15% to 42%. The net rate doubled in only seven years, from 18% in 1963 to 34.7% in 1970. Starting from a very low base, by

2 At the end of the 1950s, the Spanish schooling rate in secondary education was only 27%, compared to 96% in the United Kingdom, 81% in Germany, 75% in France, 46% in Italy and even 32% in Greece. Only Portugal was below with 23% (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1962, p. 169). Another source citing OECD data establishes a rate of 9.7% between 15 and 19 years of age, compared to 30.8% in France, 17.6% in the United Kingdom and 15.7% in Italy (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1964, p. 52).

3 For an overview of education under Franco's Regime, see Canales, 2021.

4 Unless another source is indicated, all statistical data come from the series published by the Spanish National Institute of Statistics in the series *Estadística de la Enseñanza en España* and *Estadística de la Enseñanza Media en España*, different years.

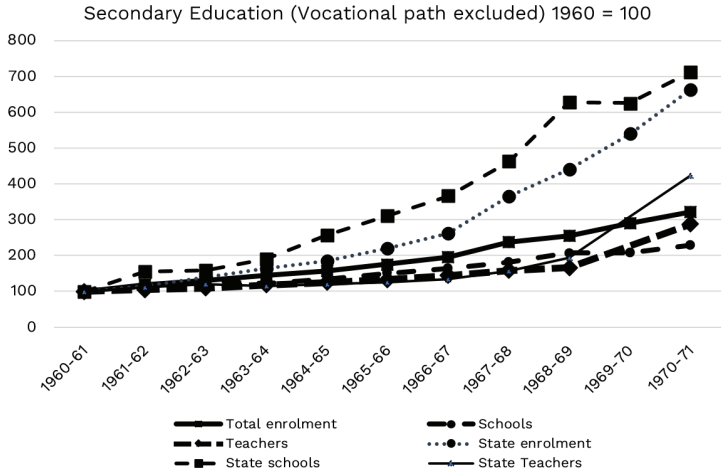

Figure 1. Secondary Education.

1970 net rates of over 40% had been reached at 12 and 13 years of age in secondary education in parallel to primary education. Similarly, gross rates at 15 and 16 years had tripled over the decade.

The Leading Role of the State

The above data leave no doubt about the radical quantitative expansion of the system. However, they are only the tip of the iceberg of a more profound change that is truly revolutionary: the leading role of the public sector in this expansion. While total enrolment increased by a factor of three, public enrolment increased by a factor of six and a half; while the total number of schools doubled, public schools increased by a factor of seven. Finally, public teachers also grew much more than the total number of teachers. This leading role of the state meant a real Copernican turn in Franco's educational policy.

The Radical Post-war Subsidiarity

Until then, the principle that had determined and tightly constrained the policy of the Franco Regime in secondary education had been the subsidiarity of the state in favour of the Catholic Church. After the civil

war, the Dictatorship relinquished the traditional functions of the state in this area and promoted the dismantling of the national education system to benefit the Church. This was a process unparalleled in Western countries, let alone in the fascist or fascistized dictatorships of the time, which zealously retained control over secondary education aimed at educating the new elite. In Spain, by contrast, half of the state secondary schools (*institutos*) were closed, and the resulting migrated number (119) remained unchanged for two decades, until 1961. In addition, a reform of secondary education was passed which radically deregulated the sector and freed private schools from the traditional state control through official examinations. The only accountability mechanism was a final examination before a board of university professors after the seven years of study. Before that time, there were no longer even official grades or marks, as each school was free to recognise or not the qualifications of another. The result of this combination of deregulation and radical pruning of the state network could not be other than the proliferation of private schools, mostly in the hands of religious orders and congregations. In 1943, the number of private schools was more than double that of 1933, the year in which the secularist law prohibiting religious orders and congregations from teaching was passed. But the progression did not stop there. By the end of the 1940s, the number had quadrupled, and in 1959 the 119 surviving *institutos* after the civil war were dwarfed by the 1180 private schools (745 belonging to the Catholic Church). There is no doubt that the first two decades of Franco Regime were a veritable *golden age* for Church schools (Canales, 2015).

This model withstood unchanged the intense pressures of its opponents, notably the fascists of the single party, who led the discontent of state teachers and parents through loud public campaigns. It was only in 1953 that the model was finally modified with the division into three cycles (4+2+1) and increased state regulation, without this reorganisation entailing a questioning of its subsidiarity. On the contrary, the entire preamble of the reform law was aimed at justifying that in no case was the state encroaching on or undermining the

rights of the Catholic Church, and additional legal guarantees were granted to it.

The First Intervention: Active Subsidiarity.
From the mid-1950s onwards, it is possible to detect a change of discourse in the Ministry of Education that pointed to the need to expand secondary education to traditionally excluded sectors. This approach did not necessarily imply an open questioning of the hegemony of private schools, as it did not affect the social sectors that traditionally nurtured secondary education, but rather aimed to target those sectors excluded either by income or geographic location. It was therefore a kind of active subsidiarity that did not question the rights of the Church, as the canonical Catholic position had always accepted the right of the state to intervene where the Catholic Church did not reach, as was now the case. Consequently, there was no direct growth in the public network of state schools – the Regime did not create a single one until 1961 – but alternative indirect formulas of collaboration with other agents were used. These were the Filial Sections, approved in 1956, the Free Adopted Schools of 1960, and finally the Delegated Sections of 1963.

The Filial Sections were secondary schools aimed at the population of the poor suburbs traditionally excluded from the provision of secondary education, located in the central and bourgeois areas of the towns. These schools offered the four-year lower secondary education, *Bachillerato Elemental*, but without Latin. They were set up in collaboration with private or social institutions which were the owners, mostly bishoprics or Church organisations (Cruz, 2017). The Free Adopted Schools had the same objective of reaching traditionally excluded sectors, but in the rural areas. In this case, the collaborating institutions were the local councils, which provided facilities, furniture and the salaries of most of the teachers, while the state guaranteed the academic level through two state teachers, one for Sciences and another for Arts (Cruz, 2013). Finally, the Delegated Sections, created in 1963, were no more than a physical extension of the state schools from

the centre, reduced to classrooms, in the urban suburbs which were growing uncontrollably due to massive rural immigration (Cruz, 2019).

The Open, Direct and Massive Intervention

This limited and discreet state action on the margins soon turned into open, direct and massive intervention at the very heart of secondary education through the creation of state secondary schools (*institutos*). After 20 years of stagnation, four new *institutos* were opened in 1961 and no less than 31 the following year, a sudden increase of almost 22%. Throughout the decade, an almost exponential average growth of 13% per year was maintained, with spectacular increases of 44% as in 1968. In total, the network of state schools tripled in just ten years, after 20 years of stagnation.

This new leadership of the public sector ended up by altering the traditional balance in favour of the private sector that had been established after the civil war. Over the course of the decade, private enrolment fell significantly from 50% to 40%, while state enrolment shot up from 17% to 35%, at the expense of free enrolment,[5] catching up with private enrolment only a year later.

To summarise, there are two basic features of Spanish secondary education during the 1960s. Firstly, an almost exponential quantitative expansion; secondly, a notable and decisive process of stateisation. If one takes into account that the policy of the Regime up to that time had been the restriction of the state sector, privatisation and subsidiarity towards the Catholic Church, one cannot but conclude that this was a radical, almost Copernican, turn which seems to demand an explanation.

In Search of an Explanation

Despite its revolutionary character, Spanish educational historiography has paid little attention to this Copernican turn in Franco's educational

5 Free enrolment consisted of pupils who were only entitled to take an official annual examination, but not to attend classes in recognised schools.

policy. This radical change tends to be interpreted as a mere return to normality, as the *natural* and *expected* response to the notable shortcomings and dysfunctions of Spanish secondary education. It is not, therefore, an issue that deserves special attention, but a logical adjustment, a kind of need in the process of modernisation or, if wanted, a return to pre-war pedagogical reason as the National-Catholic delirium of the victors relaxed. Ultimately, the self-evident goodness of the new policy spares explanation.

However, this approach ignores the fact that these shortcomings and dysfunctions were not new, and that the Regime had hitherto been completely indifferent to them. It is not, therefore, a question of discussing the goodness or convenience of the new policy, but of explaining why the Dictatorship suddenly cared so much about deficits it had hitherto disregarded. This previous indifference, moreover, was not surprising, since such shortcomings were, in fact, a consequence of the educational priorities of the victors in the civil war. There is, therefore, nothing self-evident, natural or mechanical in the new policy, but rather a radical rectification of policy that demands an explanation.

Juan Manuel Fernández Soria deserves credit for having, many years ago, unsuccessfully pointed out the answer to this question: the reasons for the Copernican turn in Franco's educational policy lay in a change in the Regime's source of legitimisation (Fernández Soria, 1998, pp. 151–86; Fernández Soria & Sevilla, 2021, p. 29). In the 1960s, Francoism detached itself from the imperial National-Catholic values associated with the victory in the civil war and prioritised peace and material well-being as the main source of its legitimisation.

From the late 1950s onwards, the Dictatorship pinned its hopes of survival on economic development. After a long period of resistance, the purist sectors were forced to abandon autarky and adopt a policy of economic liberalisation and openness to the West. A change that found its maximum expression in the 1959 Stabilisation Plan, a milestone that has traditionally been considered the boundary between the two phases of the Regime. The Plan, actually a massive international rescue of a bankrupt economy, gave way to the new stage known as developmentalism (*desarrollismo*), a period of little more

than a decade of extremely high growth rates that were accompanied by key socio-economic changes such as industrialisation, massive migration from the countryside to the towns and the development of the middle classes.

It could be argued that the educational expansion of the 1960s was a further consequence of this socio-economic change. Indeed, there is a broad consensus about the importance of the educational demand of these new middle classes produced by developmentalism, notably in secondary and higher education, and it seems plausible that the Dictatorship wanted to satisfy it. However, the synchrony of economic and educational change suggests that the latter was much more than a by-product of the former, for if it were, it would have had to take place some years later. On the contrary, education was not a consequence, but part of the core of the change programme.

The key to understanding Francoist new education policy lies in the place of education in the development programme. Obviously, the Regime did not design the new economic policy on its own, but relied at all times on the advice and supervision of the international development agencies that had been emerging since the end of the Second World War: the World Bank, the OECD and, in education, the UNESCO.

In the 1960s, the theoretical framework from which these institutions designed their development policies was constituted by Walt W. Rostow's Theory of the Stages of Economic Development (1960) and the Theory of Human Capital developed by Theodore Schultz (1964), Gary Becker (1958), and Jacob Mincer (1960). According to the first theory, all countries could aspire to industrialisation provided that they accumulated a certain amount of fixed capital to ensure *take-off*. Conforming to the second, this fixed capital included the human capital that was formed through education. The corollary of the combination of the two theories was none other than the belief that investment in education constituted a direct investment in economic development. Education was thus not a consequence of development, but practically a prerequisite. It was a central element of the development package that

could not be ignored without questioning the whole; otherwise, no doubt Francoism would have done so with great relief, but it could not.

The extension of education under state leadership remained a subject of caution and resentment. Large sectors of the Regime mistrusted these developments and wondered why they had fought, and won, a civil war. However, at that point, unlike in pre-war times, they lacked a language through which to formulate an alternative. The international developmentalist agencies were not only pointing the path, but they were also setting the language to walking it, a conceptual framework of ideas and models that has come to be known as the *Global Architecture of Education*.

The Global Architecture of Education

In 2006, Jones coined the concept of Global Architecture of Education to refer to the "complex web of ideas, networks of influence, policy frameworks, financial arrangements and organisational structures" (p. 43) that strongly constrain the way education is constructed around the world.[6] The idea that international agencies start from a set framework to propose solutions for the countries that seek their advice is certainly not new. The interest of the concept lies in the fact that it includes not only these "recipes", but also the language from which to interpret and analyse them (Tröhler, 2014, p. 5), a kind of conceptual mesh that points to what Schriewer (1996, p. 28) called at the time the *semantics of modernisation*. This dimension places educational discourse at the forefront and leads directly to the academic networks that produce and validate knowledge about education. Thus, the global architecture would not only establish what should be done in education, but even what should be thought about it.

This Global Architecture of Education is a particularly relevant theoretical framework of analysis for the Spanish case, since we are dealing with a regime that not only faced the incongruence of its educational

6 I thank Mariano González-Delgado and Tamar Groves (2021, p. 213) for the first contact with this concept.

policy with the new objectives of economic development, but also lacked a language through which to formulate an alternative. It could be said that the position of the second Francoism in the face of the new international prescriptions was almost one of defeat and surrender, since the post-war National-Catholic principles were completely extemporaneous in the West of the 1960s and even practically inoperative to articulate a real process of *appropriation* (Depaepe, 2012). In this sense, the Franco Regime was an extreme case of the tension between internal and external factors present in all modernising countries (Ossenbach & Martínez, 2011, p. 680).

The Plunge into the New Language

It seems quite clear that, from the early 1950s, the Francoist education authorities, led by Minister Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez, were aware of the exhaustion of post-war policies, especially in secondary education. Hence the reform of the model of the victory in 1953, under the tutelage of the Vatican, with the aim of establishing a more solid and, above all, standardised basis for Catholic hegemony. At the same time, a positive view of the extension of secondary education, which was openly formulated as early as 1956, began to gain ground. However, it happened still within the framework of the victory and as a legacy of the fascist social programme embodied by the first education minister, Jesús Rubio García-Mina, who seemed to be more Fascist than Catholic.

Although relations with international organisations were established throughout the 1950s, insertion into the Global Architecture of Education did not take place until after the 1959 Stabilisation Plan and the adoption of French-rooted indicative planning, which gave rise to the Development Plans. At the turn of the decade, a new language, suddenly and spectacularly, burst onto the scene.

The most important milestone in this process was the incorporation in December 1961 of Spain into the OECD's Mediterranean Regional Project (MRP). The project provided advice on setting educational development goals to traditionally backward southern European countries such as Portugal, Italy, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece, and constitutes a paradigmatic example of the Global Architecture of Education

(Delgado, 2020, pp. 133–4). In April 1962, a course on integral educational planning, held in collaboration with UNESCO, displayed the adoption of the new formulas of policy making. Given the nature of the Dictatorship, the Army and, of course, two episcopal commissions could not be absent; but these were no longer the traditional National-Catholic forums of the early Franco Regime. Now the main technical ministries, the CSIC (the research council), the National Institute of Industry (the owner of the many state companies) and even the Higher Banking Council were also involved, and above all a new staff linked to UNESCO. At their head was the Spaniard Ricardo Díez-Hochleitner, Head of the Planning Division of this organisation, who was to play a key role in the application of this global architecture in Spain, as will be seen below. He was joined by Columbia professor and US State Department advisor Guy Benveniste and Frankfurt professor Friedrich Edding.

The course set out the objectives of Spanish education for 1970 as a substantial expansion of school leaving age to 14 in 1965 and to 16 in 1970, which was an audacious objective, given that it was still 12, and was not being complied (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 192, p. 199) This ambitious enlargement implied a radical reorganisation of the structure of the system: it was proposed to put an end to parallel schooling between primary and lower secondary from the age of 10, establishing a single primary education until the age of 12 and later a lower secondary education for all. This new lower secondary would not be common, but tripartite: 30% of pupils would take the traditional academic stream, 5% the teacher training schools and 65% the vocational track. Given Spain's meagre school network, the objective was hardly more than chimerical. Hence, from the outset, an exception to its fulfilment was envisaged and it was foreseen that 31.5% of pupils would take this secondary education in their same primary school with specially trained teachers and in special timetables. This exceptionality did not seem to worry the drafters of the report too much, as they stated that it would affect the "less intellectually gifted part" destined to provide unskilled manpower, in which they unblushingly included most of the rural pupils (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1962, p. 183).

This report of mid-1962 recognized that the work of the Spanish MRP commission was being carried out in parallel, with the participation of foreign scholarship holders from the OECD and under the coordination of the Spaniard Mariano Rubio, who would become Governor of the Bank of Spain in the second half of the 1980s, but at that time an expert of that international organization. This second report, dated barely a year and a half later, in December 1963, fully assumed the language of human capital. Already in its first sentence it referred to "human resources" and the whole prologue revolved around this concept and the policies to be implemented to prevent the lack of training of the manpower from slowing down economic growth (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1964, p. 7 and 13–14). The priority was, therefore, a notable quantitative expansion of schooling to reach 100% schooling from 6 to 14 years of age in 1970, starting from 88% from 6 to 10 and 68% from 11 to 13 in 1960. For higher ages, it was proposed for 1975 to go from 15% to 48% in the 14 to 17 age group and a much more modest growth, only from 4% to 6%, from 18 to 24. To summarise, for the secondary education age group, an increase of 50% was foreseen from 11 to 13 and no less than 220% from 14 to 18.

Given the magnitude of the expansion, the report focused on complex projections of the main factors and associated investment needs. But it was much more timorous in terms of curricular reform than its predecessor. It urged the creation of an eight-grade elementary school, up to 14, but maintained the lower secondary school in parallel from 11. As discussed above, the ministry complied with this plan and effectively promoted this exponential growth, although the 32% from 14 to 18 in 1970 (Viñao, 2011, p. 467) was still far from the 48% expected.

Educational Technocracy: Much More Political than It Seems

The new educational policy of the Franco Regime was part of the semantics of modernisation of the Global Architecture of Education, which understood education as a technical, basically quantitative issue (Martín & Delgado, 2020). If the provision of human capital was a requirement for development, it was clear that the priority in backward countries should be the enlargement of schooling, especially in

secondary and higher education. With this commitment to the technical management of quantitative expansion, the international educational discourse of the time seemed to erase at a stroke the major ideological and political issues that had been the backbone of the educational debate during the previous century. Probably the best example of this international developmentalist technocracy was the aforementioned MRP of 1961, which included in the same program six countries with very different political regimes: a Western democracy such as Italy, two parafascist dictatorships of the 1930s, such as Spain and Portugal, a socialist country such as Yugoslavia, and other authoritarian countries such as Greece and Turkey. All were in the same package, equalized only by their educational backwardness, as if ideological or religious values no longer played any role in their educational models (Tröhler, 2014. p. 7).

However, educational technocracy was much less technical than it seems at first glance. It is very common to denounce the ideological assumptions on which it was based, favourable to a certain model of expansion of Northern capitalism (Tröhler, 2014, p. 6). However, much less has been explored the opposite ideological side, i.e., its components in leading to freedom, equality and democratization, which in the case of the Franco Regime meant a frontal challenge to its foundational principles.

From the outset, the dominance of the experts implied unusual novelties in the ideological selection patterns of the personnel. The presence of a student opponent exiled, like Mariano Rubio, at the head of the Spanish MRP commission was at least surprising, as was, for example, the appointment as Rector of the University of La Laguna of Antonio González, a member of a repressed Republican family (González, 2011). It was understood that the technical management of the huge quantitative expansion required this kind of relaxation of the restrictive criteria of the victory, which at that point were seen as outdated faced to the new hegemonic principles of *modernization* and *planning* (Viñao, 2020). However, the ideological questioning of the Regime went much further.

Certainly, the MRP commission's report was clearly economistic and functionalist. Nevertheless, its analysis of the educational reality

was very critical from a social point of view. It denounced the early abandonment of most pupils for economic reasons, the influence of the cultural environment of families and the discriminatory nature of early selection towards the poorest sectors, in addition to the marginalization of the rural population (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1964, p. 61). We can obviate the progressive ideological component of all these issues through their subsumption in the functionalist suppression of bottlenecks in the provision of skilled manpower for development; but then, for the sake of consistency, we should do the same with the theories of reproduction, cultural capital and the rest of the critical theories of the radical educational sociology of the period.

Even something as simple and apparently neutral as the mere quantitative growth of the educational system had a deep ideological significance in Spain. Its underdevelopment had not only been a financial issue, but also the result of a harsh ideological and cultural confrontation, that ended up being one of the factors leading to a bloody civil war. Proof of this is that when the traditionalist forces gained omnipotent power thanks to their military victory, their first choice was to destroy the educational system by prioritizing catechism over the alphabet. In line with this approach, after the war, school building programs were halted, half of the state secondary schools were closed and thousands of teachers were purged for political and ideological reasons, in addition to the dismantling of the country's main scientific and intellectual groups. By placing quantitative expansion as a new priority in the 1960s, the educational technocracy of the second Francoism took a stand and closed the fierce debate of more than a century between the defenders of education and the traditionalist sectors that distrusted it. The Global Architecture of Education was based on the axiom of the goodness of the school system, from which it was derived that its expansion was an unquestionable objective and a responsibility of the state. Its assumption by the Franco Regime implied the recognition of the obvious failure of the educational principles for which it had waged a war. Fortunately for the Dictatorship, the rhetoric of international technocracy made it possible to disguise this major ideological rectification as a neutral adaptation to the needs of economic modernization.

But this masking could not hide the crude reality: the educational policy of the second Franco Regime was nothing more than a mad race to rebuild what had been destroyed and make up for the time lost in the previous two decades. It would be a good thing if historiography were as aware of this reality as the Francoist authorities were.

The 1970 Reform: the Final Paradox

In 1968, the new Minister José Luis Villar Palasí promoted a radical global reform of the entire educational system, the basic structure of which had been maintained since 1857. International technocracy again proved to be decisive here, as the minister turned to men who were very familiar with the Global Architecture of Education insofar as they themselves came from these international organizations. This was the case of the aforementioned Ricardo Díez-Hochleitner, the new Technical General Secretary of the ministry, who had worked for the ministry of Colombia, the OEA, the World Bank and directed the Educational Planning and Financing Division of UNESCO, and who was preparing to import to Spain the same recipes he had applied in Colombia and recommended for Asia or Africa (Viñao, 2020, pp. 131–2). This was also the case of José Blat Gimeno, another senior UNESCO official who temporarily left the organization to work on the Spanish reform. These personnel were basically alien to internal Spanish factors. To begin with, they did not think from the categories of a Spanish educational traditionalism defeated by the times but spoke the modern international educational language. Moreover, they had an additional element of autonomy: they did not participate in the Regime's game of political *families* and were not sensitive to the threat of dismissal, since their careers were solidly secured abroad. Only from this remarkable autonomy can be understand the audacity of the official diagnoses they made, such as "it could be said that two educational systems coexist in our country: one, for families of middle and high socio-economic category, and the other, for the less favoured social sectors" (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1969, p. 25).

These international staff resorted, like the good technicians they were, to the most realistic and pragmatic model available: the creation

of a common eight-grade elementary school. The debate that had been raging since the late 1950s on how to replace the parallel schooling between primary and secondary from the age of 10 onwards was resolved in favour of a common primary school and not, as most seemed to expect, with the universalization of lower secondary education, in the English or Italian way. This was a crucial new leap that Spanish historiography simply overlooks.

Undoubtedly, were technical and financial reasons what determined this choice. The meagre nature of the Spanish educational system, with schooling rates from 6 to 9 years of age barely exceeding 85% in 1967 (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1969, p. 21), made the universalization of lower secondary education a chimera (it should be recalled that even the 1962 proposal on this direction contemplated an exception for one third of the pupils). Nor had hybrid schools been developed between the ages of 10 and 14, as in other countries, that would constitute a potential institutional basis for such an extension, since for this age group there was basically only the first cycle of classical academic secondary education (*Bachillerato Elemental*).

The involvement of the international technocracy in this process was reinforced with the creation of a Technical Assistance Commission for the Reform, under the presidency of former Colombian Minister of Education Gabriel Betancur, to whom Díez-Hochleitner had been a technical advisor. It brought together relevant figures from the international educational world such as Philip H. Coombs, former director of the International Institute for Educational Planning at UNESCO, Giovanni Gozzer, a UNESCO technician and director of the Centro Europeo dell'Educazione, and John Vaizey, a UNESCO expert and professor of economics at Brunel University (Ossenbach & Martínez, 2011, p. 697)

This technical level of educational policy was also complemented by the pedagogical disciplinary framework. Spanish academic Pedagogy had not remained oblivious to the developments in its environment and made the semantics of the global educational architecture its own. Even under the version of appropriation, the incorporation of Western didactic principles pointed to a renewal of methods and

practices and a new pedagogical conception that the law echoed (Mayordomo, 2021, p. 86).

The result of the whole process was a compulsory eight-year common primary school, followed by two branches of secondary education from the age of 14 onwards: the academic stream leading to university and the vocational training. The 1970 Reform has traditionally been accused of confirming the difference in prestige between the two by requiring the completion of primary school to gain access to academic education, while mere schooling was sufficient to follow the vocational track. In this way, a devalued pathway would be configured for the low-income sectors now incorporated into the system. This was undoubtedly the result, but we should not lose sight of the fact that the objectives of the law included a first vocational education for all young people. From this perspective, non-selective vocational training would be the way to put into practice the 1962 universalization forecast, which put the number of students who would go on to vocational studies at 65%.

The critical literature of the 1970 Reform is extensive and recurrent. It is only recently that a historiographical reconsideration of its advanced and comprehensive nature seems to be gaining ground (Fernández Soria & Sevilla, 2021, Delgado, 2021, Canales, 2022, Rico & Sevillano, 2024). At that date, only Sweden (1962), Italy (1962, until 14), England and Wales (1965 recommendation), and Norway (1969) had undertaken comprehensive reforms, while consolidated democracies such as France and Denmark did so much later, in 1975. Thus, the 1970 Reform becomes the great paradox in the history of Spanish education, since it involves the adoption of the formulas, methods, and policies of those who were defeated in the civil war and cruelly punished. This article argues that only from a perspective that takes into account the international organizations and the imposition of a new conceptual educational framework, which we call the Global Architecture of Education, is it possible to advance in the understanding of this paradoxical result.

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The Discontinuity of the Left-oriented Pedagogical Paradigm after the Second World War in Slovenia on the Example of Jože Jurančič[1]

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Abstract In the time between the two wars, left-leaning teachers in Slovenia created a specific pedagogical paradigm based on empirical research into the effects of the social environment on the child and supported alternative didactic forms of teaching. A typical representative of this paradigm was Jože Jurančič, a pre-war communist teacher who was interned in an Italian concentration camp on the island of Rab during the war. There, upon the capitulation of Italy, he heroically organized the liberation and creation of the Rab Brigade. Immediately after the war, he assumed high political positions in the new regime. Newer research reveals the cynicism of the authorities that sentenced Jurančič during the time of the Informbiro to prison, which he spent from 1949 to 1954, among other places, in Goli otok, a famous communist prison. As a hero of the Rab camp, he was forced here in 1953 as a political prisoner to carve a stone for a monument on the 20th anniversary of the liberation of the camp. In a metaphorical sense, he was carving a memorial to himself. After his release from prison, Jurančič withdrew from public life. Still, in 1957, he published a controversial article criticizing the leading Slovenian theoretician of post-war socialist pedagogical doctrine for his negative attitude towards the pre-war progressive efforts of left-oriented teachers and his excessive reliance on Soviet pedagogical doctrine. This controversy reveals interesting differences between Marxist-oriented pedagogues, offers an essential insight into the discontinuity of pre-war and post-war Marxist pedagogy, and, at the same time, opens up the possibility of interpretation that recognizes the pluralism of concepts in post-war pedagogical thought.

Keywords left-leaning teachers, totalitarian state, pedagogy, history, discontinuity

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Introduction

In Central Europe, the State has been the „owner of education" at least since 1770, when Empress Maria Theresa issued the famous decree declaring that „education is and will always remain politicum" (Engelbrecht, 1984, p. 98, p. 490). School is a *politicum*, a matter of the State even today. Of course, there is an essential difference between politics in a monolithic (this mostly means one-party) political organization of the State or in a politically and party plural state, which we associate with parliamentary democracy (Medveš, 1990). In the territory of today's Slovenia, both forms of political organization have changed several times since the time of Maria Theresa. The Austrian period during the absolute monarchy, temporarily interrupted by the events of the Spring of Nations in 1848, can be characterized as politically monolithic. Still, the constitution was already abolished in 1851. The revival of the constitution took place at the beginning of the 1860s, which finally led to the creation of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the implementation of the so-called December Constitution in 1867. After that, it remained the framework of the constitutional monarchy until its dissolution in 1918. At that time, after a short episode of the Kingdom of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was created. In it, the constitutional framework was very similar to that of Austria-Hungary, as it was a constitutional monarchy with a strong role of the king. Due to a severe political crisis, on January 6, 1929, the king abolished the constitution, dissolved the parliament, banned all political parties, and imposed a dictatorship. Parliamentary life resumed (in a much-reduced form) in September 1931 (Vodopivec, 2010).

We Slovenians felt the power of the totalitarian State most cruelly during World War II when the German, Italian, and Hungarian armies occupied Slovenian territory. After the end of World War II, Slovenia joined the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (name since 1963). At that time, the communists took power and made it impossible for all other political parties to function. The Union of Communists of Yugoslavia disbanded after the congress in March 1990, when the Slovenian and Croatian delegates left the congress due to the outvoting

led by Serbian leader Slobodan Milošević. It was followed by various parties in the former republics, which began to become independent. In Slovenia, the first rudiments of political parties started to emerge in 1988, and their legalization was made possible by amendments to the Slovenian constitution, which the Slovenian Assembly adopted on September 27, 1989. The first multi-party elections were held in Slovenia in April 1990. Two months earlier, the Union of Communists of Slovenia formally dissolved and reconstituted itself as the Party of Democratic Renewal. In the country's complex political situation, the Slovenian Assembly adopted a series of independence declarations and resolutions in the summer of 1990, vehemently opposed by Serbia and the Yugoslav army. The landmark event was the December 23, 1990, referendum, in which most people voted for Slovenia to become an independent country. On June 25, 1991, Slovenia promulgated the Basic Charter on the Independence of the Republic of Slovenia and the Constitutional Law, which transferred all the federation's powers until then to the republican authorities. The next day, the Yugoslav army intervened, but the clashes lasted only ten days. After the first military clashes in Croatia, Serbian politics and the army focused all their attention there, culminating in large-scale military clashes on the territory of the former common State. Still, Slovenia was given a free path for diplomatic recognition of the new State (Vodopivec, 2010).

Since our article is related to the thematic framework of the international scientific colloquium entitled State as the Owner of Education and subtitled Involvement of Totalitarian Regimes in the Field of Education in Europe in the Second Half of the 20th Century,[2] let us first point out some commonly known facts that illustrate the involvement of the Yugoslav or Slovenian political regime in the field of education after World War II:

– immediately after assuming power in 1945, the Communist Party took control over the realization of the ideological goals of education in building a socialist society (Gabrič, 1991);

2 Trnava, October 12–13, 2023 (Kudláčová, Martincová & Wiesenganger, 2023).

– the first post-war years were a time of discrimination against the children of defeated political and ideological opponents (Okoliš, 2009, p. 110);
– teachers were expected to fully agree with the principles of state ideology (Gabrič, 2009);
– private schools were abolished and banned (Kodelja & Kodelja, 2021);
– in the 1951/52 school year, religious education was removed from the curriculum – it was replaced by the subject *Social and Moral Education* (Šuštar, 1991; Gabrič, 2005).

We could continue to enumerate the encroachment of communist political power in the school field, but that is not the purpose of this article. In this magazine issue, colleagues from the former Eastern Bloc countries will list similar illustrations of education in totalitarian regimes. But we must be aware that the Yugoslav political regime, at least after 1948, when the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia became independent from Stalinist domination and began to pave its own way of building socialism, cannot be equated with the regimes of other communist countries under Soviet influence. There is even doubt whether it is possible to unambiguously define Yugoslavia as a totalitarian state (Flere & Klanjšček, 2019). There are also detailed analyses of the relationship between political power and education development in the socialist period of the former Yugoslavia for individual countries that emerged on its soil after 1990. The situation was described in Croatia by Igor Radeka and Štefka Batinić (2015), in Serbia by Nataša Vujisić Živković (2015), in Bosnia and Herzegovina by Snježana Šušnjara (2015), in Montenegro by Vučina Zorić (2015) and in Macedonia by Suzana Miovska Spaseva (2015).[3] We mainly highlight the article by Zdenko Medveš (2015), which analyzes the situation in Slovenia. The starting

3 The articles were published in the thematic issue of the *Journal of Contemporary Educational Studies /Sodobna pedagogika/* (see also Protner & Vujisić Živkovič, 2015). The thematic issue is available at: https://www.sodobna-pedagogika.net/en/issues/02-2015/.

point of his analysis is based on the distinction between school policy and pedagogical theory. The author defends the thesis that the term "socialist pedagogy" is not a helpful classification term for naming the pedagogical trend in post-war Yugoslavia, as pedagogical theory (at least in Slovenia) was too plural to be limited by the term "socialist". According to him, this theory was closer to scientific pedagogical currents in the international space than to communist school policy.

When we try to understand and analyze the dependence of education on state ideology in Slovenia, we have, on the one hand, indications that the Slovenian political regime did not succeed in completely subordinating pedagogical theory and that there was a certain pluralism that eluded the generally accepted notions of education in the countries of the former Eastern Bloc. On the other hand, however, we have richly documented evidence of the totalitarianism of the Yugoslav and, in this context, the Slovenian political regime from 1945 to 1990 (Jančar, 1998). In this article, we will present and illustrate the pedagogical aspect of the tension between pluralism and totalitarianism in the socialist social system of post-war Slovenia with the incredible life story of Jože Jurančič (1902–1998), a communist teacher who was described by Božidar Jezernik as one of the greatest heroes in Slovenian history (Jezernik, 2013).[4]

First, we will outline the pedagogical context in which Jurančič worked before the war and illustrate his pedagogical activity with a few examples. An outline of his actions and heroism during World War II will follow. We will continue with his activities after the war, when, as an old communist and war hero, he took leading positions within the new social system. His rise came to a radical end in 1949 when he

4 Božidar Jezernik (2013) wrote in the dedication to the monograph about *Goli otok – Tito's Gulag*: "To Jože Jurančič, one of the greatest heroes in Slovenian history". For those interested in the history of this Yugoslavian prison for political opponents, the monograph is also available in Serbian (2012), German (Jezernik, 2014), Czech (Jezernik, 2020), Russian (Jezernik, 2018) and Polish (Jezernik, 2013a) editions. Otherwise, he analyzed Jurančič's heroism in more detail in two articles (Jezernik, 2021; Jezernik, 2021a).

was imprisoned. In conclusion, we will describe how Jurančič, despite his terrible experience with the post-war political authorities, publicly criticized the school's misguided pedagogical image and thus school policy after serving his sentence. In this criticism, it is possible to recognize the discontinuity of the pedagogical concept defended by left-leaning teachers before the war.

The Pedagogical Concept of Left-leaning Teachers in Slovenia before the Second World War and Jurančič's Pedagogical Activity

Previous research into the pedagogical theory of the interwar period in Slovenia has shown the presence of four or five pedagogical paradigms: together with Herbartist pedagogy, there was traditionally Catholic pedagogy, which derived educational principles from theological justifications, reform pedagogy, which derived educational principles from the child's nature, and based on psychology, cultural pedagogy (Geisteswissenschatliche Pädagogik), which derived the educational approach from culture and relied on the philosophy of life, and socially critical pedagogy, which derived the educational approach from the child's environment and relied on sociology[5] (Protner, 2000).

Jože Jurančič was an active representative of this last pedagogical paradigm. Its representatives were left-leaning teachers. Jurančič became a member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1925 (Jurančič, 1985). It is essential to point out that this party was banned

5 The reader will easily find analyses of the aforementioned pedagogical paradigms in a domestic or international context, as we use names that are sufficiently generally established in the profession. The greater difficulty lies with the paradigm that we call socially critical pedagogy here. In fact, it is a pedagogical concept that cannot be called Marxist pedagogy, because the authors sympathized with Marxism, but concealed it due to censorship. We cannot call it socialist pedagogy, because the social system of that period was not socialist. We cannot call it critical pedagogy, because this concept is usually associated with the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, but despite some related ideas, we do not trace any concrete influence on Slovenian teachers between the two wars. Thus, this concept remains specific to Slovenia. For a more detailed description, see Protner, 2020.

in Yugoslavia from 1920 onwards, and its members operated illegally (Vodopivec, 2010, p. 167). This is a crucial circumstance – because of this, the theoretical derivations of the representatives of this paradigm have less political visibility and ideological sharpness than they would have if they could publicly defend their Marxist views.

Fran Žgeč, who was a member of the Communist Party since 1919, is considered the founder of this pedagogical direction in Slovenia (Žgeč, 1991). In 1923, he published his doctoral dissertation in which he analyzed the social situation of proletarian and peasant youth and developed the thesis that social circumstances determine a child's development. To enable the healthy development of proletarian children, "major social reform is necessary, a change in the social position of children and parents, and the education of the proletariat, especially of proletarian mothers" (Žgeč, 1923, p. 45). Here, the fundamental characteristic of Slovenian social critical pedagogy is already present: the focus was not on class struggle but on reflection on the position of the proletarian and peasant child and reflection on the appropriate didactic form of school lessons, which would enable the child to emancipate in the conditions of capitalist exploitation. In 1925, he also began collecting statistical data to prove the dependence of children's physical and mental development on the social conditions in which the child lives. On this basis, he stood up for school autonomy, which he understood in the spirit of the new pedagogical movements of reform pedagogy (or *working school*, as this pedagogical direction was called at the time). Based on these program guidelines, some empirical research was created until 1930, including the book by Jože Jurančič entitled *From School to the Nation* (1930). After 1936, this program was taken over by younger left-oriented teachers who organized themselves into the Teachers' Movement Association. Jurančič worked closely with them. They systematically deepened their statistical knowledge, and in the years leading up to the start of the war in 1941, some important research was done on the physical development of Slovenian children, their nutrition, and their general social situation (Protner, 2022). In the didactic sense, they advocated integrated lessons, a form of teaching that does not follow the logic of the subject but connects the learning

contents into integrated sets. The foundational work was contributed by Ernest Vranc (1936) with the book *Basics of Integrated School Work in Theory and Practice.*

Let's illustrate Jurančič's teaching activity with his memories of his work as a teacher before the Second World War. Jurančič was admitted to the teachers' college in Maribor in 1917, i.e., during the First World War. He remembers that even as a student, he was fascinated by the ideas of the Russian Revolution. While still a student at the war's end, he joined the military formation that occupied Maribor and ensured that the city remained within the borders of the new State of Slovenes, Serbs and Croats. During this time, he came into contact with workers, primarily social democrats. Even when he continued his education in 1919, he maintained contact with the workers and, at the same time, began to study Marxist literature. In 1922, he finished school and got a job as a teacher in a small town, where he taught 81 children simultaneously. From this time, he remembers that in his free time, he "greedy devoured the theory and practice of the Viennese 'school reformers' under the leadership of Otto Glöcklel, as well as the first reports on the Soviet school, whose ideologists were Krupska and Blonski" (Jurančič, 1974, p. 60).

After completing his military service in 1924, he got a job at a bourgeois school in a larger city. He remembers that he was already distributing illegal party literature then, including the "Balkan Federation" published in Vienna (Jurančič, 1974, p. 60). In the spring of 1925, he agreed with members of the Communist Party to move to a mountain village on the border with Austria to organize a channel for the passage of communists and illegal literature. That year, he was officially accepted into the Union of Communists (Jurančič, 1974a, p. 105).

In this secluded place, he encountered wretched social conditions, the hostile attitude of his parents towards the school, and poor school attendance. Jurančič describes that here, with his kindness, he soon won the affection of the children, and he won the affection of the parents after a random event when he helped in the happy outcome of the birth. He gained even more affection from parents and children when he inspired the children to calculate the cubic capacity of felled trees.

They enjoyed measuring wood in the forest and then spent long hours in class learning various arithmetic operations until they mastered the calculation of cubic capacity so well that their parents used their calculations, who were often cheated by merchants (Jurančič, 1985). There were many children in the place who did not have the means to purchase school supplies and textbooks. Together with the parents, Jurančič's proposal was accepted that the pupils establish a committee to buy school supplies and textbooks, take care of the records, and control the costs. In addition to the fact that the pupils now had to familiarize themselves with bureaucratic procedures, they also encountered concrete calculation problems, as they didn't understand what a 10% discount was, for example. It was an opportunity to cover the percentage calculation in the lesson, which the pupils quickly learned. This self-government succeeded perfectly and brought concrete benefits for the school, pupils, and their parents (Jurančič, 1974b).

Jurančič's reform pedagogical approach is already recognizable here, about which he wrote: "A teacher should have absolute freedom in his work. For me, curricula were always just a general framework in which I moved freely […] in the days when we calculated the cubic capacity of wood, we abandoned all other subjects, from language classes to history. There was so much interest among the children that it would be a shame to interrupt the interest in calculus and divert it elsewhere for the sake of the curriculum. Only when we were done with our calculations did we move on to other subjects and achieve excellent results within the prescribed curriculum." (Jurančič, 1985, p. 850). In fact, it was a modern approach at the time, and Jurančič gained a lot of attention and respect with it in pedagogical circles. Students of the teachers' college attended his school, he organized internships for other teachers and began publishing expert discussions in the pedagogical press. Before moving to a new job, he published the book Iz šole za narod (Jurančič, 1930), in which he accurately described the socio-demographic image of the place and presented his teaching experience. His work was also appreciated by school inspectors (Autor, 1988, p. 14). But although his illegal party activity was never proven, on suspicion of being a communist, he was criminally transferred to a new post after five years.

In the next place where he served, the social conditions were better, but here, he felt the ideological narrowness of the official school program even more. Apart from this, he also faced the problem of discipline in an overcrowded class. Like the previous job, the solution was to bring the lessons closer to the children's interests and encourage their activity. The following example is illustrative: when a pupil once said that he had heard about the discovery of the bones of a prehistoric person in a nearby place, Jurančič took the children to that place on an excursion, and while viewing the archaeological remains, the children constructed the critical points of the development theory themselves through questions (Jurančič, 1985). Along with the modern pedagogical approach, Jurančić's worldview (Marxist) attitude is also quite evident here. Even in this place, Jurančič was involved in general economic and cultural progress. He joined various agricultural associations, organized agricultural cooperatives, gave economic initiatives, connected farmers, and inspired them to rationalize work. With this action, he won the sympathy of the population. And yet, even in this activity, his political orientation is evident. For example, he admits that his intention in the youth agricultural courses was "to develop a materialistic understanding and worldview" (Jurančič, 1974c, p. 300).

In 1936, due to his political views, he was transferred again, this time to a backward wine-growing hill village. Like other teachers before, the authorities were counting on him getting drunk here. Instead, residents remembered him long after the war as a teacher who recovered the school's debts and got it back on its feet. In addition, he organized the collection of funds for constructing a fruit-drying plant, enabling farmers to sell their produce effectively (Jurančič, 1985).

In short, Jurančič's pedagogical motto has always been an effort to equip pupils with knowledge that will enable them to achieve social and economic emancipation in the conditions of the capitalist social system. Following the spirit of reform pedagogy, he prioritized the interests and curiosity of children and the needs of the school environment.

Jurančič's fate as a war internee during World War II and a political prisoner after the war

With the beginning of WW II on Slovenian territory in April 1941, Jurančič's ordeal began. Due to the threat of war, he and his wife and four small children moved to the area of the Italian occupation authorities in January 1942. Due to his participation in the resistance movement, the Italian army arrested him in April 1942. In September of that year, he was interned in a fascist concentration camp on the island of Rab, where internees died en masse due to poor living conditions. The fascists executed his wife as a hostage, and their children were left without parents (Jezernik, 2021). In the camp, Jurančič stood out for his help to fellow prisoners. He founded the illegal party committee and executive committee of the Liberation Front. When Italy capitulated on September 8, 1943, the Executive Committee of the Liberation Front took the initiative to free the internees. They met with the camp's military commander and invited him to a meeting of the internees on September 10.

There, in the presence of armed Italian soldiers, the internees announced the seizure of power in the camp. Jurančič was the main speaker and negotiator. At the rally, they confirmed the decision to establish the Rab Brigade, whose political commissar Jurančič became. Undoubtedly, Jurančič deserves the most outstanding credit for the peaceful takeover of power (without revenge) in the camp and the disarmament of the Italian army (2,200 soldiers and carabinieri) (Jezernik, 2021a). Jurančič returned to Slovenia with the Rab Brigade. In the liberated territory, he organized education, conducted party courses, and acted as the reconstruction and social welfare department head. From the fall of 1944 to 1945, he was the provincial secretary of the Liberation Front and the Communist Party, and just before the end of the war, he was present at the establishment of the first Slovenian government (Jurančič, 1985).

We can imagine that a man with such a biography was the ideal cadre to take over the highest political positions after the end of the war. After the constitution of the communist government, he became the assistant minister of education. In the spring of 1946, he was transferred to another position and was in charge of organizing the cooperative.

Among other things, he was an education counselor, head of the education department and secretary of the party cell at the Cooperative Committee at the Presidency of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, a member of the school committee at the Central Committee of the Communist Party and a federal deputy (Jurančič, 1985). In short, he became part of the political elite. But he resented political decision-makers because of his self-centered views on building socialism. Because of the false accusation, he was expelled from the Communist Party, forced to retire, and imprisoned in April 1949 during the time of the Informbiro – that is, during the tremendous political purges that followed the conflict between Tito and Stalin and the final liberation of Yugoslavia from the Soviet communist doctrine. He was jailed until December 1953, including on Goli otok, a famous communist gulag where the authorities imprisoned political opponents (Jezernik, 2021).

Here, Jurančič experienced the second biggest ordeal of his life. With his life experience, we can most vividly illustrate the perversion of Yugoslav communism. Goli otok is regarded in Yugoslav historical consciousness as a symbol of the violent conversion of political opponents. For many years, no one dared to speak about what was happening on this island. Jurančič was one of the first to vividly describe the psychological and physical violence he experienced in prison in an interview in 1985 (Jurančič, 1985). However, a detail nicely illustrates the old metaphor: "Revolution eats its children". For the 10th anniversary of the dissolution of the concentration camp in Rab, an initiative was taken to arrange the cemetery of Rab victims and erect a monument. The large-scale stone-cutting works were taken over by a company that used prisoners on Goli otok as a workforce, and Jože Jurančič was among them. As a prisoner on Goli otok, Jurančič carved a monument to himself and the heroism he demonstrated on the neighboring island during the war. At the 10th anniversary ceremony on the island of Rab, Jurančič's name was carefully kept silent (Jezernik, 2021; Jezernik, 2021a).

Jurančič, as a Critical Observer of Education Reform in Post-war Slovenia

After his release from prison in December 1953, Jurančič was unemployed for some time and worked as a construction worker. Still he was later employed as a secondary school secretary until his retirement in 1963 (Jurančič, 1985). Anyone familiar with totalitarian regimes in the countries of the former Eastern Bloc would recognize here a typical pattern of silencing dissidents. However, we must mention again that the freedom of action in the former Yugoslavia was different than in the countries under the influence of the Soviet Union, and Jurančič's story illustrates this well. Already four years after his release from prison (1957), Jurančič became involved in a controversy in the official teacher's newspaper about the reform of curricula at the elementary school level. The polemic was started by Ernest Vranc, the aforementioned pre-war theoretician of the didactic image of the school from the ranks of left-oriented teachers and an advocate of integrated lessons. The article was entitled "Why a 12-year vacuum?" (Vranc, 1957). In the introduction, he pointed out that the teachers received the first instructions for implementing the curriculum reform for the first three grades of primary school and that the older teachers were surprised to find that this reform reintroduced integrated lessons, as developed in the "left-wing Teachers' Movement" and enforced before the war. His assessment of post-war school activities is harsh: "The history of Slovenian education will have to assess the post-war era as a fatal emptiness when education was oriented according to models far removed from successful social development" (Vranc, 1957, p. 1). He described how "progressive teachers" adopted the concept of integrated curriculum before the war and introduced it in many experimental schools. "Progressive teachers easily recognized the dynamics and social dialectics in the 'nature-society' complexes, which were already discussed in the Soviet Union by the curricula of Blonsky, Pistrak, and Krupskaya (1922), but eight years later Stalin had them destroyed as 'unscientific'. And yet, in recent decades, youth psychology has found that we cannot ignore the legality of child development. If a component of a progressive society is still joining us, the question is forced upon us: What

have we lost already 12 years to? […] Why the persecution of 'integration' in the first years when we are introducing it again now?!" (Vranc, 1957, p. 1). He described a pre-war effort to reform curricula according to the principle of integration, which was listened to by the Ministry of Education in 1939. Still, then, the storm of war interrupted this effort. Nevertheless, this concept has taken hold in many Slovenian schools and has shown promising results. The curricula created during the war were also drawn up according to this principle. In his opinion, this didactic doctrine was stopped by an article from 1946, in which one of the leading pre-war social critical pedagogy actors assessed it as a "bourgeois delusion". "The era of strict systematics and isolated subjects according to Russian models has arrived…" (Vranc, 1957, p. 1).

In one of the following magazine issues, Jurančič appeared with the article *That's why the 12-year vacuum*. His condemnation of the post-war school policy was significantly harsher than Vranc's. In doing so, he directly condemned Vlado Schmidt, the leading pedagogical theorist and the absolute authority of post-war socialist pedagogical thought, who maintained this status until the 80s, for the discontinuity of pre-war pedagogical thought. He accused him of stopping the further development of the work of pre-war progressive pedagogues with his criticism of reform pedagogy (in an article from 1947 – he discussed reform pedagogy under the term *youth studies*). Between the lines, it is also possible to recognize the criticism of Schmidt that "after liberation, we imitated education in the SU. We did not want to understand that our compulsory education is over a hundred years old and that illiteracy no longer exists, that we must continue our work where progressive pedagogues were interrupted by the war, and thus, in the new socialist era to create more than they did in the West, where after the revolution they barely introduced compulsory education. Therefore, we should create much more and, in a short time, be a model for all socialist countries" (Jurančič, 1957, p. 2).

We do not have the space to analyze in more detail Schmidt's *article Youth Studies – a Sign of the Decline of bourgeois pedagogy in the Age of Imperialism* (Schmidt, 1947), which Jurančič argues with. The fact is that here, Schmidt primarily rejected the ideas of reform pedagogy, i.e.,

pedagogical direction, which derived educational principles from the child and presented itself as a non-ideological doctrine. His criticism is weighty and worthy of attention even today. But it is clear that Jurančič also recognized himself in this criticism, even though before the war, the representatives of social critical pedagogy did not fully identify with the ideas of reform pedagogy. This was not corrected even by Schmidt's *Correction to the article Youth Studies – a Sign of the Decline of bourgeois pedagogy in the Age of Imperialism* (Schmidt, 1948), in which he explicitly admitted that in the first article, he neglected "the germs of progressive thoughts that would be appreciated and taken into account all the more in the more difficult conditions they made their way through" (Schmidt, 1948, p. 223). In this article, he explained that pedagogy, which originates from the child, can also play a progressive role, and he explained this with the example of Rousseau and Tolstoy, who put "free education" in the fight against "the influence of reactionary ideology on the youth". The progressiveness of this theory lies in the fact that it is helpful as a "justification for the opposition against the ruling ideology. This is precisely the element of its social value, where the ruling ideology is reactionary (emphasis in the original). In our country today, the ruling ideology is progressive, and therefore – if we were to represent the point of view of this theory – we would find ourselves on the same line as the reactionaries who are fighting for the soul of our youth by trying to lead them away from the advanced educational standards of our society" (Schmidt, 1948, pp. 229–230). Another emphasis in Schmidt's text is essential, which helps us to explain why the post-war didactic doctrine interrupted the idea of integrated lessons developed by Vranc, Jurančič and other pre-war socio-critical teachers. In doing so, they were based on psychological studies of the child. For Schmidt and the post-war pedagogical doctrine, "pedagogy based on psychology was an apolitical pedagogy". He continues: "This pedagogy, for example, with its demand that we start from the child, from the needs of his growth, destroyed the systematic of learning contents, what is the positive side of the old school. Because without it, we cannot arm the youth with the knowledge, with the education necessary to fight for social progress" (Schmidt, 1948, p. 227). This pedagogical

logic helps us to understand why in the first post-war years, "the era of strict systematics and isolated subjects according to Russian models began," as we quoted Vranc above and as Jurančič also criticized.

Schmidt connected the pedagogical activity of pre-war left-oriented teachers more with the ideas of reform pedagogy than with the revolutionary struggle for a school according to communist ideology. Although Schmidt set up a consistent theoretical critique of reform pedagogy in his first post-war articles, he was unfair to pre-war left-oriented teachers' actions or interpreted them too one-sidedly. That is why Jurančič justifiably blamed him for not considering the social conditions in which teachers could not express their Marxist views due to censorship. He says: "Comrade Dr. V. Schmidt is probably unaware that pre-war progressive educators were not homogenous. There were few of us Marxists, and more were sympathizers of various variants. We did not turn them away; on the contrary, we attracted them to work. Progressive pedagogues were rarely ideologues but more progressive didacticists. The era in which we worked must be properly understood. Many 'pedagogical texts', published under the names of progressive pedagogues, were edited by official pedagogues so that they could then be published. More 'pedagogical texts' were not published; some were not even written. Comrade Dr. V. Schmidt should review these as well. We hid and wrapped up the problems we wanted to bring to the world as members of a materialistic worldview under youth studies (Jurančič, 1957, p. 2).

Jurančič's criticism that Schmidt did not evaluate the statistical research into the social circumstances in which Slovenian youth grow up deserves special attention. "Is comrade Dr. V. Schmidt not familiar with the works of our progressive teachers and professors, with which they statistically determined the corrupting consequences of the capitalist social order on the youth? Was it 'escape from social reality', 'the starting point of education be a child', 'pedagogy has isolated them from social problems', etc.?" (Jurančič, 1957, p. 2). It is true that the results of this research only implicitly expressed a socially critical

attitude towards political power, but left-oriented ideological goals and intentions were utterly recognizable.

In the end, one more criticism of Jurančič should be highlighted, which illustrates the feelings of a communist teacher whose pre-war pedagogical activity was entirely devalued by the post-war pedagogical doctrine. He asked Schmidt the following question: "Were progressive pedagogues before the war persecuted, fired from their jobs after being imprisoned because of 'collapsing bourgeois pedagogy', 'reactionary and racism'? Comrade Dr. Schmidt could be answered about this by former county chiefs, police bosses, state lawyers, investigating judges, school superintendents, etc., who were our bosses, as well as official educators and editors of magazines, who, according to their official duty, had to repel revolutionary bones from our works that we published" (Jurančič, 1957, p. 2).

Schmidt (1957) responded to personal criticism in the next issue. He pointed out that he insists on criticizing youth studies and that (at least) the reformist pedagogical ideas advocated by the members of the Teacher's Movement before the war could not have an "advanced social role" after the war. In this regard, his criticism is interesting, "that those who now miss realization of these ideas, after liberation, had every opportunity and social support for their implementation" and somewhat cynically adds that Jurančič blames him, a post-war university lecturer and theoretician stagnation in the development of education during the time when he himself was the assistant minister of education (Schmidt, 1957, p. 2).

Conclusion

The reasons for the discontinuity of the pre-war pedagogical paradigm of left-oriented teachers with the post-war socialist pedagogical paradigm are highly complex. Due to censorship, Marxist teachers in the pre-war period did not develop their theoretical concept in the form they might have wanted. This concept has yet to be reconstructed, whereby it is not possible to rely solely on their texts from the pre-war period. Still, it is necessary to include the memories and

interpretations they published in the post-war period. The story of Jože Jurančič is exemplary. It reveals the pedagogical enthusiasm of a communist teacher at a time when the Communist Party was banned and when it was in power. Pre-war officials of the illegal Communist Party did not show any particular interest in the pedagogical work of teachers. That is why the left-leaning practicing teachers in Slovenia created a unique pedagogical concept, which in its didactic model was inspired by the ideas of reform pedagogy. Still, regarding ideology and worldview, they strove for the emancipation of children from the working and peasant classes. In doing so, they relied on the results of empirical socio-pedagogical research based on the Marxist understanding of society.

The controversy we described above reveals that the part of their pedagogical practice that the leading pedagogical theorist of the socialist period criticized as "free education" and interpreted as "bourgeois delusion" was entirely unacceptable for the post-war pedagogical doctrine. On the other hand, empirical pedagogical research on the connection between the child's psychophysical development and the social environment, which unambiguously placed the pre-war left-oriented teachers in the circle of actors in the effort for a revolutionary change in the social order that took place after the war with the seizure of power by the Union of Communists of Yugoslavia, was overlooked for a long time. The reasons for such a dismissive attitude towards pre-war left-oriented teachers will have to be studied in more detail. Undoubtedly, the pedagogical theory of the first post-war years was inspired by the pedagogical doctrine of the Soviet Union. Still, it cannot be overlooked that Schmidt's pedagogical criticism of reform pedagogy (called progressive education in the Anglo-Saxon world) was theoretically wholly legitimate and is still relevant in many aspects today.

This observation once again confirms the idea raised in the introduction that when interpreting the post-war development of pedagogical doctrine in socialist Slovenia, it is necessary to distinguish between school policy, which was implemented by the political authorities, and pedagogical theory, which, however, also followed the independent

logic of pedagogy as a science. If we follow this logic, we can recognize in the described controversy the existence of a pluralism of pedagogical concepts and views on the development of education in Slovenia in a time characterized as totalitarian. The fact that Jurančič won the highest republican award for the field of education in 1972, in the period that we represent as the "leaden years of communism" in Slovenia, illustrates how misguided the notions of complete pedagogical single minding are at this time (M. K., 1972).

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The State's Uncertain Custody. Educational Care in Special Schools in Post-war Czechoslovakia

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Abstract The study focuses on the conditions in special education in Czechoslovakia in the first years after the Communist Party came to power in February 1948. It discusses opinions held by experts on new socialist pedagogy, psychology, hygiene and defectology, outlining the positions and roles attributed to special education by state authorities and institutions. Its main focus is the experience of special school teachers, which was often at odds with the optimistic proclamations made by state representatives and the new socialist science. The network of special schools in Czechoslovakia at the time was inadequate. Many children proposed for placement in special schools never enrolled in them and were therefore left beyond the reach of the emancipatory potential of these institutions, which were supposed to prepare them for adult life.

Keywords Czechoslovakia, 1948–1955, socialism, communist dictatorship, special schools, defectology, childhood

Introduction

In the spring of 1949, Jaroslav Kubišta, a miner from the North Bohemian town of Záluží near Most, addressed a letter to Prague's Ministry of Education. He pointed out that in North Bohemia there were "many children who need special care because they have mental defects". Kubišta himself was the father of a boy who attended a special school during his last year of schooling. As he told the Ministry, his son was able-bodied and capable of manual work. He assured the officials that "given the present need for every labourer, I am anxious that he should be a useful member of the nation". He could not, however, "get his son into any institution". He was referring to facilities for youth educated

in special schools that prepared them for future careers. However, all the three institutes then operating in the Czech part of Czechoslovakia were overcrowded.[1] Kubišta was therefore asking the Ministry to "ensure that these children are taken care of and that this pressing issue is resolved". He ended the letter with a political statement, "I am a miner and I know what work is and what the building of the republic needs in terms of manpower".[2]

A year earlier, in February 1948, the political situation in Czechoslovakia had changed. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia took power and would keep it for the next forty undemocratic years. Judging by Kubišta's letter, the rhetoric of building Czechoslovak socialism fuelled expectations as to what the state administration should be doing, including demands related to the care of children and youth who, although mentally different, were capable of education: that is to say, special school candidates and pupils. However, the miner Kubišta certainly did not know what members of the Czechoslovak National Assembly had already admitted in October 1948, discussing the problems of the first Czechoslovak Five-Year Economic Plan, namely that, due to other financial priorities, the Plan would not take into account the need to establish homes for young people in need of special care (Holman, 1949, p. 109), as children with physical and mental differences were formally called.

Time passed, but the situation did not improve. At the beginning of November 1953, teachers at the local special school in Mělník, Central Bohemia, convened a meeting. In its course, a problem that had been plaguing their institution was brought to light – the school was in dire need of a dormitory to house pupils from more distant places in the Mělník region. The existing building was not suitable. The headmaster therefore expressed himself firmly at the meeting: "We will ask

1 The institutes were located in Jirkov near Chomutov in North Bohemia, in Chroustovice in East Bohemia and in Kelč near Valašské Meziříčí in Moravia.

2 Umístění absolventů zvláštních škol – Kubišta Jaroslav, horník, dopis ze dne 9. května 1949. Collection Ministerstvo školství (unarranged), call number 13, B-. Národní archiv ("NA").

for another, more suitable one." Some improvement would be made by extending the school building, but in any case "having the pupils commute is only an insufficient substitute".[3]

The proposal put forward by the miner Kubišta and the dissatisfaction of the teachers in Mělník highlight the unavailability of educational care for special school pupils and candidates. As the following text will show, some of these pupils found themselves in a specific situation at that time – in an era that announced a happy (socialist) future for all, they lacked access to the desired, and officially prescribed, educational care.

Generally, the literature has paid little attention specifically to children from Czech special schools (Randák, 2022b). Although Victoria Schmidt's work on the segregation of Romani children and children with disabilities is thematically close to this paper (2015; 2019), it does not discuss the practice of special education in much detail. This paper therefore builds on texts that have explored expert perspectives on children with mental differences (Randák, 2018; Fapšo & Randák, 2021; Fapšo & Randák, 2023) and also draws on texts that provide an overview of the history of special education (Titzl, 2000; Titzl, 2005; Černá et al., 2015). Last but not least, Monika Mužáková's special education studies also need to be mentioned for their oral history-based exploration of the environment in communist Czechoslovakia in families having children with intellectual disabilities (2016; 2019; 2020).

The following paragraphs will first discuss expert opinion on the influence of the environment on the educational process and then examine and evaluate, in light of the experience of special school teachers, the role officially attributed to special education. Temporally, the paper discusses the situation in the late 1940s and early 1950s, when state leaders and post-war researchers made optimistic proclamations, while the reality observed did not easily align with their visions. Its aim is to present and interpret the ambiguity of special education in that

3 Zápis o pracovní poradě učit. sboru zvláštní školy v Mělníku konané 2. listopadu 1953. Protokoly pedagogické rady 1954–1955, Collection Základní škola praktická a Základní škola speciální Mělník. Státní okresní archiv ("SOkA") Mělník.

period. Geographically, it discusses the situation in the Czech part of former Czechoslovakia, specifically the area of Central and Northern and North-Western Bohemia, where, incidentally, immigrants from other parts of Czechoslovakia had replaced the German-speaking population that had been expelled in the aftermath of World War II.

The Influence of Environment and Education

In 1950, Josef Linhart (1917–1992), a representative of socialist-oriented psychology, published *Vliv prostředí a výchovy na duševní vývoj dítěte* [*The Influence of Environment and Education on the Mental Development of the Child*] (Linhart, 1950). In this book, this associate professor at the Prague Faculty of Education decided to deal with the bourgeois doctrine of heredity. Specifically, he targeted the German evolutionary biologist August Weissmann (1834–1914) and the American geneticist Thomas Hunt Morgan (1866–1945), who further developed the laws of inheritance formulated in the 1860s by Johann Gregor Mendel (1822–1884), the founder of modern genetics. Linhart argued that their teachings, disapprovingly labelled as Weissmann-Morganism (Hašek, 1951), overestimated the influence of heredity in the human organism, while fundamentally underestimating the influence of the external environment (Linhart, 1950, pp. 27–28).

Referring to the results of Soviet science, especially those of Ivan Petrovich Pavlov (1849–1936), Linhart opposed the fate of genes in favour of the formative influence of the environment, including the social, and ideally socialist, environment (Linhart, 1950, p. 13). He also argued that a child's development became chaotic due to the uncontrolled influence of the environment. Planned upbringing and education, on the other hand, he saw as a deliberate process of "intervention in mental and physical development" aimed at achieving what society needs (Linhart, 1950, p. 43) and considered schools to play a crucial role in it (Linhart, 1950, p. 67).

Linhart was not alone in his view that it was possible to productively form a child's character, abilities and personality. Anna Lebedová of the John Amos Comenius Pedagogical Research Institute – a key centre of Czechoslovak pedagogical theory – similarly took issue with

the Weismann-Morgan-Mendelian theory of heredity in the key journal *Pedagogika*, describing it as an unscientific tool serving the "imperialist ruling class" (Lebedová, 1951, p. 25). She also expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that some teachers "believe that the abilities and talents of children are something given, unchangeable, that they are fated by an unchanging heredity and an unchanging environment" (Lebedová, 1951, p. 22).

School hygiene was another area where the influence of the environment on children was also being considered. Miloš Kredba (1894–1967), a physician, summarised its foundations in a book. He reminded the readers of his *Školní hygiena* [*School Hygiene*] that a human being "lives and works in a certain living and working environment", his external world. The human organism responds to such surroundings, he says, "so that a balance is always maintained between it and this external world". Thus, if there is a relationship between the organism and the actor's external world, "there is also a certain mutual unity between the two elements". The human organism, which "is constantly being impacted by the torrent of influences from the external world, tries to respond to this torrent through the central nervous system" (Kredba, 1953, p. 6).

Schoolchildren's intellectual level is never discussed by Linhart, Lebedová and Kredba, but given that special school candidates were children capable of education, the view emphasizing the importance of external conditions in education can be considered relevant for such candidates as well, as a purposefully organized environment was supposed to stimulate even less gifted children. After all, local authorities negotiating the establishment of special schools in their municipalities were also aware of this fact. For example, in the spring of 1949 the special school in Jablonné v Podještědí in North Bohemia thought that the school building had to have an "educational effect on the feelings of the pupils".[4] Children transferred to this institution required

4 Organisaci KSČ v Markvarticích, p. 1. Zvláštní škola. Collection MěNV Jablonné v Podještědí, inv. No. 308. SOkA Česká Lípa.

"not only special educational care, but also the best environment in order for the school to achieve its purpose".[5]

Defectology, proposed in 1953 by Miloš Sovák (1905–1989), can be considered the key concept for pupils from special schools (Sovák, 1953a; Sovák, 1953b; Sovák, 1954). What did Sovák, a physician and professor at the Prague Faculty of Education, and therefore Linhart's and Kredba's colleague, propose? In his view, the key component of an actor's environment was the social relations into which one grows through upbringing and education. He therefore considered an actor to be defective only when his or her autonomy within social relations was impaired, a common feature in defective people being their limited relations to the community, upbringing, education and work. At the same time, defectology did not consider a defect to constitute a fatal flaw, a definitive loss (Sovák, 1953a, p. 239). Sovák specifically considered defectiveness to be a disorder, possibly long-term but not permanent, since the fate of a handicap can be reversed by rehabilitation and re-education. The development of working competencies was exactly how this was to be achieved (Popelář, 1953, p. 92; for a general discussion see Fapšo & Randák, 2021). To consider defective individuals as inferior was therefore unjustified and outdated under his concept (Sovák, 1953a, p. 242).

Czech experts were simply optimistic. The fate of genes or organ failure was to be overcome by harnessing the Czechoslovak socialist education system. The biologically or genetically given was becoming socially conditioned in the new pedagogical-psychological logic. It is in this context that special schools' role within emerging Czechoslovak socialism needs to be understood: as institutions providing an educational environment essential for the development of children and youth with mental differences.

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5 Organisaci KSČ v Markvarticích, p. 2. Zvláštní škola. Collection MěNV Jablonné v Podještědí, inv. No. 308. SOkA Česká Lípa. Similar ideas are featured in Zpráva o činnosti IV. ref. za rok 1949. Školství v kraji Libereckém, p. 14. Collection Krajský národní výbor (KNV) Liberec, box No. 406. Státní oblastní archiv ("SOA") Litoměřice.

Special Schools

Tasked with educating future generations in the new socialist system, the education system became one of the key parts of the ideological apparatus of the Czechoslovak communist dictatorship. Its organisation had been laid down by the Education Act, approved by the National Assembly in April 1948. It also mentioned schools for youth in need of special care, that is for youth "physically defective and with defects of the senses and speech, mentally and morally defective […]" (Chlup, Král & Kahuda, 1949, p. 22). The law made educational care for children and youth with differences, for the first time, an exclusive agenda of the state. It also made the promise that: "Pupil dormitories or other accommodation facilities necessary shall be established at schools as required" (Chlup, Král & Kahuda, 1949, p. 22).

Special schools specifically were expected to educate the "mentally defective youth". Given the emancipatory ethos associated with building a more just socialist society, they were not supposed to marginalise these children. They were conceived as institutions providing "other" education, aimed at forming intellectually weaker, yet morally reliable people who would find employment after completing their education. Therefore, the role assigned to special schools by the Ministry of Education was primarily vocational, as summarised in the 1954 *Učební plán a učební osnovy pro zvláštní školy* [*Learning Plan and Curriculum for Special Schools*], which specified that the special school "provides children with defective mental development with a basic general education by methods and means appropriate to their development and abilities in order for them to be able to integrate into production and thus become useful members of socialist society and builders of the Republic" (Učební plán, 1954, p. 3).

In the stimulating environment of these special schools, young people in need of special care were to be guided to live proper lives in socialist society. In addition, however, these schools were also seen by local government officials, arguing in favour of their establishment, as an instrument of prevention to take care of mentally less gifted children so that they would not become a burden on the municipalities or the state in adulthood. In Jablonné v Podještědí, these officials were

very specific in that they did not "wish especially in a growing socialist society to see pariahs growing up before our eyes, whom we could not responsibly integrate into industrial and economic life".[6]

It was work performance that was supposed to serve as the argument for securing a good reputation for special schools and their pupils in the eyes of the public. Raising awareness of their pupils' work, which individual schools were encouraged to do, can be seen as an affirmation of normality in terms of work. Special school children's achievements in growing crops were entered into competitions in which they reaped prizes even in confrontation with pupils of standard schools. Similarly, the fruits of their labour were displayed in public places, such as shop windows.[7] The crops growing club at the special school in Nový Bor in North Bohemia sent the magazine it published to all the schools in the Nový Bor district and to special schools in North Bohemia, as well as to schools in Prague and Slovakia. In June 1956, the special school in Mimoň prepared an exhibition of handicrafts, which was widely visited and praised by the public.[8] Special school pupils' products were also successful at regional competitions for young technicians.[9]

In addition to their pedagogical-psychological optimism about the formation of the child, there was one more thing that the above expert voices had in a common: they all came from Prague, the centre of Czechoslovakia. However, the likes of August Weissmann, Thomas

6 Organisaci KSČ v Markvarticích, p. 2. Zvláštní škola. Collection MěNV Jablonné v Podještědí, inv. No. 308. SOkA Česká Lípa. Similar ideas are featured in Memorandum o umístění zvláštní školy v severočeských Litoměřicích. Collection ONV Litoměřice 1949–1960, Školské záležitosti, inv. No. 370–1 , box No. 690; Souhrnné zprávy o školství v okrese, Memorandum o umístění zvláštní školy v Litoměřicích ze dne 21. ledna 1950, p. 1. SOkA Litoměřice/Lovosice.

7 Usnesení ke zvýšení úrovně, p. 2. Záležitosti mládeže vyžadující zvláštní péče, Kabinet učitelstva pro mládež vyžadující zvláštní péče. Collection ONV Rumburk, inv. No. 259. SOkA Děčín.

8 Zprávy o stavu školství – situační, výroční, Výroční zpráva za školní rok 1955/56 z okr. Česká Lípa o stavu školství, Připomínky k práci zvláštních škol. Collection ONV Česká Lípa. SOkA Česká Lípa.

9 Zápisy o poradách 1951/52–1957/58, Zápis osmé porady učitelů zvláštní školy ve Cvikově dne 13. května 1954. Collection Zvláštní škola Cvikov. SOkA Česká Lípa.

Hunt Morgan and Ivan Petrovich Pavlov can also be encountered outside Prague institutions, in local special schools. For example, in the North Bohemian town of Cvikov, one of the teachers spoke about the influence of the bourgeois concept of genetics during a pedagogical meeting in March 1952, criticizing the Weissmann-Morgan doctrine, as he called it, as putting too much emphasis on the passing of parents' traits onto their offspring and thus making the development of the child predetermined by heredity. A month later, the members of the Cvikov special school discussed the teachings of Pavlov. In December 1953, a teacher presented a report on heredity at a pedagogical council meeting of the same school: "Idealists claim that heredity is something unchangeable, over which man has no influence. A child is therefore born with innate immutable characteristics. This reduces the role of the teacher to that of a mere babysitter." By contrast, materialists, such as Michurin or Lysenko, had, according to the teacher, "correctly proven […] that inherited characteristics can be changed through proper upbringing." For special school teachers "this is a particularly important insight, as it proves scientifically the validity and necessity of our schools".[10]

For teachers of special schools this opinion would be confirmed by the study of domestic authors. For example, the minutes of the pedagogical council held by the special school in Mělník in August 1954 state that during summer holidays the members of the teaching staff studied Linhart's book *Vliv prostředí a výchovy na duševní vývoj dítěte* [*The Influence of Environment and Education on the Mental Development of the Child*].[11] It should also be noted that becoming employed as a special school teacher required passing a special school teaching examination or a final defectology examination. Thus, teachers can be assumed

10 Zápisy o poradách 1951/52–1957/58, Zápis čtvrté porady učitelů zvláštní školy ve Cvikově, konané dne 15. prosince 1953. Collection Zvláštní škola Cvikov. SOkA Česká Lípa.

11 Zápis o schůzi pedagogické rady zvláštní školy v Mělníku konané dne 18. října 1954. Collection Základní škola praktická a Základní škola speciální Mělník, Protokoly pedagogické rady 1954–1955. SOkA Mělník.

to have been instructed in the spirit of pedagogical-psychological optimism that attributed a fundamental role to education and the external environment.

Teachers professionally instructed in the spirit of such optimism could then develop higher expectations as to the employment prospects of their pupils. This is confirmed by the dissatisfaction expressed in the report drawn up about the special school in Cvikov in September 1954: "It is necessary for the higher authorities to deal with the integration of our pupils who leave school for the workforce." Unfortunately, special school pupils would be refused by factories and apprenticeship schools because of their lesser knowledge. Although they were not suited for every job, the Cvikov teachers argued, they could still be "good craftsmen, especially if they had the skills". But the state needed to stand up for these children by setting up special apprenticeships. Their lack of integration into mainstream society is "the main reason why the public still looks at special schools with scepticism".[12]

This in my view goes to show that knowledge is never limited just to the centre. However, in local contexts, it acquires different functions and meanings, is re-produced in different circumstances, in different situations and by different institutions and individual actors, and is now *somehow* put into practice in relation to children in education as such (Sarasin, 2011; Östling et al., 2018; Östling, 2020). The extent of its influence is not evidenced by the fact that it has been mentioned in the local setting, but whether it has become an actively used means of evaluating and reflecting on its conditions and momentary situations (Haikola, 2020, p. 269). It is therefore worth paying attention to what stimuli, motives and aspects of the educational approach to special school children have received attention at the local level since the early 1950s.

For example, minutes of the pedagogical councils and meetings of the teaching staff and reports produced by school inspectors seem

12 Rozbor o škole zvláštní ve Cvikově, p. 2. Collection Zvláštní škola Cvikov, Plány a rozbory výchovně vzdělávacího procesu, inv. No. 86. SOkA Česká Lípa.

to suggest that, even in local special schools, children were treated in line with this received progressive knowledge. However, it is difficult to confirm in what specific form education and upbringing in special schools was actually delivered.

(Un)certainty of State Supervision

Despite the uncertainty about what the educational process in special schools really was like, it will be clear from the following case studies that for some children it meant an opportunity to have a better life, if only temporarily. Among others, special schools taught many children basic hygiene, stood up for them against their parents and served regular hot meals. The family, which the psychologist Linhart counted on as one of the formative milieus, did not always function as it was expected to.

For example, in connection with checks on children's physical cleanliness, representatives of the special school in the North Bohemian town of Varnsdorf complained that parents "take very little care of their children's cleanliness. The children are rarely bathed […], they do not get clean underwear even once a week".[13] Similarly, in the chronicle of the special school in Jílové, the entry for 1955 says that parents "do not always show a sense for the healthy upbringing of their children, their cleanliness and a desire to provide them with everything they need, and develop some attachment to the school, which wants to educate their children and make them valid and equal citizens of the Czech nation". In the case of a pupil from Kralupy in Central Bohemia, it was noted by the school she had originally attended that her family circumstances were "of such a nature as to further exacerbate and aggravate her defects (especially moral ones) rather than at least contain them".[14]

13 Zhodnocení školní práce, chování a prospěchu žactva za šk. r. 1954/55, p. 2. Výroční zprávy o školách, inv. No. 251, Zvláštní škola ve Varnsdorfu. Collection ONV Rumburk. SOkA Děčín.

14 Ředitelství národní školy v Ješíně – Přeřazení žáků do zvláštní školy. Collection Okresní národní výbor (ONV) Kralupy nad Vlt., box No. 485. SOkA Mělník.

In October 1953, the teachers of the special school in Mělník discussed in more detail the plight of a pupil "who not only suffers from hunger but has to do all the chores at home (washing and cleaning)".[15] In 1952, a girl became a candidate for the special school in Kralupy nad Vltavou. Abandoned by her father, who had divorced her mother before that, she was now living with a lady, probably a stranger and not related to her.[16] In other cases, grandparents were providing care to children abandoned by their parents.[17] Teachers of the special school in Mělník concluded in February 1955 that certain siblings, who "are motherless, need to be fed" and decided that these children "would take the lunches of two other pupils for the time being" in order "to help the father who is in financial distress".[18]

By contrast, in Jiříkov, North Bohemia, the school management was happy about "the pupils' good upbringing and health and hygiene awareness, due to being led to it at school and in their group in their children's home". The pupils' behaviour was flawless. "Their good behaviour is very much aided by pupils' life in the group and therefore freedom from the external influences that cause bad behaviour in many cases."[19] What do these words of satisfaction express? The fact that the possibilities of educational care were theoretically greater when children lived outside the family in homes specifically intended for children in need of special care, or in dormitories set up at special

15 Zápis o pracovní schůzi učit. sboru zvláštní školy v Mělníku konané 12. října 1953. Collection Základní škola praktická a Základní škola speciální Mělník, Protokoly pedagogické rady 1954–1955. SOkA Mělník.

16 Evidence mládeže vyžadující zvláštní péče, dne 26. listopadu 1952. Collection ONV Kralupy nad Vlt., box No. 485, Ředitelství národní školy v Nelahozevsi. SOkA Mělník.

17 Evidence žáků vyžadujících zvláštní péči, dne 3. 12. 1951. Collection ONV Kralupy nad Vlt., box No. 485, Ředitelství národní školy v Úžicích. SOkA Mělník.

18 Zápis o schůzi pedagogické rady konané 7. února 1955. Collection Základní škola praktická a Základní škola speciální Mělník, Protokoly pedagogické rady 1954–1955. SOkA Mělník.

19 Zvláštní škola v Jiříkově, Hodnocení práce školy, p. 1. Collection ONV Rumburk, Výroční zprávy o školách, inv. No. 251. SOkA Děčín.

schools of the kind the headmaster of the Mělník school quoted in the introduction to this paper was sorely missing.

Staying there was of course evaluated positively. Even outside of school hours, the children were involved in appropriate activities, helping to keep their bedrooms, dining room and playground clean and do the gardening and work in the kitchen. They would also be able to attend after-school clubs and suitable workshops. An important component of life in such dormitories was the establishment of a daily routine and moral education (Štejgrle, 1953, p. 111). The fact that the schedule of daily activities could be organised around a regular structure that was beneficial to the child's organism was welcome from the standpoint of school hygiene (Vodička, 1953, p. 405).

The belief in the establishment of dormitories can be seen as an expression of confidence in the role of the community and the social environment in the education of children in need of special care. Or rather, it can be seen as one aspect of rejecting the genetic predetermination of Weissmann-Morganism, in the context of which special children's homes would actually be unnecessary, as nothing could be done to help children burdened by fate (genetics).

Certainly, one could think that through special schools and especially their dormitories, the child was subjected to containing supervision, and interpret it along the lines proposed by Michel Foucault (1926–1984) as the involvement of pupils bodies in the political field, as the immediate hold of power relations upon them, as training and marking them and forcing them to carry out tasks and perform ceremonies (Foucault, 1995, pp. 25–26) and to get accustomed to a timetable and the rhythm of their chores (Foucault, 1995, p. 149).

Indeed, special schools prioritised the cultivation of pupils' work competences as their aim, which seems to confirm the assumption that the political involvement of the body is related to its economic use. Here, the pupils' bodies are also involved as a force of production (Foucault, 1995, pp. 25–26), at least for the future years after completing school. After all, the chronicler of the special school in Mělník reported in 1954 that the school was "educating and teaching the future general labourer". When the teachers of the special school in Cvikov

were drafting a request directed to one of the regional enterprises to provide workshop tools for the manual training of their pupils, they did not forget to stress that thanks to the tools they would be able to prepare the children for life and "thus support the national economy by enabling them to find better and more productive employment in our socialist industry".[20]

But behind the facade of educational control of individual bodies, which is sometimes simplistically imposed on school establishments, something equally important should not be overlooked. It is clear from the examples quoted that special schools *did* in many cases provide the care that some children failed to receive in their own families, for instance because of parental disinterest.

Efforts to educate children, for example, in the sense of helping them develop basic hygiene habits and care for the cleanliness of their bodies and clothing, can therefore be interpreted as reasonable prevention of disease and care for the health of young pupils and, at the same time, as teaching school children the care of themselves in the sense of learning and adopting socially appropriate, *normal* behaviour, that is also in the spirit of inculcating in them the expected norms of a *good* and *proper* life, which they were to live after completing school.

In the case of special school pupils this was not only a matter of subjection, an interpretation that naturally offers itself, but also of self-development linked to the cultivation of their self-esteem, albeit in the context of socialist morals and values. "Our children suffer mostly from a feeling of inferiority, which is magnified in them by ridicule over all their failures in the standard national school. The child lacks confidence, is silent and bitter. In the special school, all of this disappears: the child is in an environment of equals, sees his first successes and gains self-confidence".[21]

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20 Průmyslový kombinát Nový Bor, dopis z 28. srpna 1954. Collection Zvláštní škola Cvikov, Patronáty různých podniků, inv. No. 91. SOkA Česká Lípa.

21 Doplněk ke zprávě o stavu a činnosti školy, p. 1. Collection Městský národní výbor Nový Bor, box No. 93/143, inv. No. 364. SOkA Česká Lípa. Similarly: "Based on professional research, pupils have their abilities put to full use, developed and trained

Special schools and dormitories should not therefore be seen just as spaces where children's bodies and souls are subjected to restrictive socialist disciplining. In fact, in line with the expert knowledge discussed above and given the family situation of some of the children, special schools, including dormitories, could become a place where they made progress as they were lifted from unsuitable conditions in their homes. This is confirmed by a recommendation given in the case of one pupil: "The boy would need to be placed in a children's home so that he can obtain, even outside school, the educational care that he is not receiving at home. The mother has three other young children of pre-school age, the father commutes to work outside the village, and, perhaps they do not really have enough time, but there does not seem to be enough good will to give the boy more attention of the proper kind."[22]

However, there is a catch in this line of argument. Children were assigned to special schools based on decisions of expert committees operating within district national committees (Ludvík, 1954, pp. 41–42), the second-lowest-level state administration institutions. Their verdict was supposed to take into account the benefits of changing the educational environment for special care candidates. However, many of the children remained outside of special schools' educational reach, despite obtaining expert committee recommendation for the transfer. The reason was simple: in the early days of the communist dictatorship, the special school network was not dense enough to cover the

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for practical life in the special school. Under the guidance of professionally trained teachers, small advances are made, their self-confidence rises, their interest in learning and attentiveness is strengthened, and thus slowly even the weakest pupil is enabled to have a productive life." Organisaci KSČ v Markvarticích, p. 1. Zvláštní škola. Collection MěNV Jablonné v Podještědí, inv. No. 308. SOkA Česká Lípa.

22 Evidence mládeže vyžadující zvláštní péče, dne 26. listopadu 1952. Ředitelství národní školy ve Vraňanech. Collection ONV Kralupy nad Vlt., box No. 485. SOkA Mělník.

actual needs across different regions of the country.[23] Some children were unable to commute to more distant schools due to their age or intellectual disability.[24]

That is why the dissatisfaction expressed by the Mělník special school over the lack of a dormitory, mentioned in the introduction, is of crucial importance: the headmaster pointed out a systemic problem. And he was not alone. Similar voices were heard from elsewhere, for example from Kralupy nad Vltavou, where in 1954 the local special school could be attended "only by children from Kralupy nad Vltavou and the immediate surroundings who are able to get to school every day, as a dormitory (special children's home) could not be set up for the children to be permanently cared for in all respects. The parents of the pupils from further away generally agree to have their children transfer to a special school provided that they are cared for in a dormitory."[25] However, the parents refused "to send their children to the special school even from places relatively close to Kralupy […], because they were afraid that the child would be injured while getting there."[26]

A frequent solution to the commuting issue was keeping the children in their current schools, which essentially resulted in nothing but problems for both pupils and teachers, including the much-criticized increase in the percentage of school failures,[27] or staying home, some-

23 Evidence mládeže vyžadující zvláštní péče získané soupisem v prosinci v roce 1950. Collection KNV Liberec, box No. 404. SOA Litoměřice.

24 Zápis o schůzi odborné komise pro vřadění dětí do zvláštních škol (tříd) v Kralupech nad Vltavou dne 29. června 1951. Collection ONV Kralupy nad Vlt., box No. 482. SOkA Mělník.

25 Zvláštní škola, Pro radu ONV 4. 2. 1954. Collection ONV Kralupy nad Vlt., box No. 482. SOkA Mělník.

26 Zpráva k Vašemu vyrozumění zn IV/2-315. 2-11/2-1954-Ši., dne 24. 11. 1954, Zvláštní škola. Collection ONV Kralupy nad Vlt., box No. 482, SOkA Mělník.

27 "There would be almost no failing pupils at all in the standard national schools if it were not for the presence of moronic pupils, of which there are 23 in the district. They make class work very difficult, and eventually they advance to the next grade because of their higher age, as they are often a moral menace to those around them. Despite all efforts, it has not yet been possible to establish a special school with a dormitory for them." Souhrnná inspekční zpráva za školní rok 1948/49, Žac-

times in an unsuitable environment. As the Regional National Committee in Liberec reported to the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare in Prague in March 1951: "Almost all the young people selected for placement in a special school dormitory stayed home, often in a very uncomfortable environment […]."[28]

Things to Think about

In the preceding paragraphs, I have outlined the ambiguous situation of special school pupils and candidates. Not every child eventually managed to enter a special school. Although this text has taken into account a limited number of local voices, it offers some insights for further elaboration.

The psychological-pedagogical complex in Czechoslovakia after the February 1948 communist takeover rejected bourgeois biological determinism, thereby enhancing the role of decision-making bodies and institutions caring for children and youth in need of special care. Building on the foundations of Soviet science, post-February psychology and pedagogy liberated people, including the mentally weak but educationally capable children from the fate of their genes. This also brought them into state custody, which was in some cases lacking in practice as the network of special schools and dormitories was inadequate and left many children beyond the reach of the emancipatory potential of schools for youth in need of special care.

Local sources show that the pressure to make the special school network denser and establish dormitories often came from the bottom, from local institutions and schools. This means that, firstly, the need to enrol youngsters in special schools was not necessarily formulated in the centre, and secondly, that local actors might have adopted different versions of the emancipatory rhetoric (the degree of difference could be the object of further study). The open concept of educational care, along

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tvo. Jilemnice – Stav školství v prvním roce jednotné školy. Collection KNV Liberec, box No. 404. SOA Litoměřice.

28 Evidence mládeže vyžadující zvláštní péče získané soupisem v prosinci v roce 1950. Collection KNV Liberec, box No. 404. SOA Litoměřice.

with the socialist vocabulary of engagement, allowed local representatives to make legitimate demands directed to higher instances, even within a supposedly totalitarian and centralised state. This is apparent in the negotiation of the survival of the special school in Jablonné v Podještědí, North Bohemia, in May 1949, in which the school argued that the standard of living of the state and the nation would be increased "not only through better economic conditions, but also through the education of the people, especially the broad masses. […] We do not wish, especially in a growing socialist society, to see pariahs growing up before our eyes, whom we could not responsibly integrate into industrial and economic life".[29] In Litoměřice, where conditions in which the special school was operating in the early 1950s were unsuitable, the teaching staff resorted to go even further: it illegally occupied one of the suitable and at the time vacant buildings, subsequently asking "the relevant people's authorities to support our efforts. The teachers' justification was that they had done and [were] doing so only for the benefit of children coming from the weakest families, who had suffered the most oppression in the capitalist past".[30] However, both the local and district national committees assigned the building to a kindergarten to help working mothers.[31]

In spite of the rhetoric of departure from biological and genetic determination, making the pupils of special schools responsible for their own existence, there was still control, including in the form of predestination to life roles, as shown by the quote from the Chronicle of the Mělník Special School given in the introduction, which can be supplemented by another quote, the goal as expressed by its headmaster, namely that the school would aim for its pupils to become "skilled,

29 Organisaci KSČ v Markvarticích, p. 2. Zvláštní škola. Collection MěNV Jablonné v Podještědí, inv. No. 308. SOkA Česká Lípa.

30 Souhrnné zprávy o školství v okrese, Memorandum o umístění zvláštní školy v Litoměřicích ze dne 21. ledna 1950, p. 2. Collection ONV Litoměřice 1949–1960, Školské záležitosti, inv. No. 370 –1, box No. 690. SOkA Litoměřice/Lovosice.

31 Souhrnné zprávy o školství v okrese, Umístění zvláštní školy v Litoměřicích. Collection ONV Litoměřice 1949–1960, Školské záležitosti, box No. 690, inv. No. 370–1. SOkA Litoměřice/Lovosice.

healthy general labourers", as it simply "want[ed] to teach more: to live joyfully and work well physically!"

Leaving aside speculations about intellectually weaker children as objects of state supervision vs. subjects co-shaping their own lives, we can for the moment stick to the vision of children for whom being drawn into the special school system was in many cases the proverbial step forward in that they at least obtained momentary security in life by being removed from an unsuitable family. This is where the socialist educational care provided by special schools might have had some real emancipatory potential.

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Education Trapped in the Communist Ideology and Collective Indoctrination

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Abstract Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) used to be perceived as a small Yugoslavia, because of its multi-ethnic nature and a model to follow in making a new Yugoslav identity. The new political regime was very much involved in all the sphere of people's life, including education. School programs and teachers' engagement were directed and controlled by the authority. The educational system was considered as the transformational force in building a new social order in which individual needs have become collective ones. The purpose of this work is to enlighten the subordinated position of the educational process within the school system in BiH. The examined sources from that period of time exposed that the state-defined ideology was deeply rooted in the school system and was promoted by the teachers who followed prescribed program. Education became a main source in the political struggle during the process of invention a new socialist society. Teachers who approved the regime and constructively obeyed the directives of political commissars were accepted and privileged. Everyone sincerely promoted the same goal in educating the new Yugoslav man in accordance with the acknowledged ideology of the Communist Party. Thus, education was subordinated to undemocratic ideological requests of a single-party state. Despite the public promotion of equal rights for all, the situation was different in practice.

Keywords Bosnia and Herzegovina, subordination, new regime, education, teachers

Introduction

After the World War II, Bosnia and Herzegovina became a part of a newly formed state of Yugoslavia which started to re-build its society on a new ground in a post-war situation. The communist government was confirmed in the elections and immediately began to deal with the forces it called "counter-revolutionary, reactionary, anti-state,

for example with the remnants of enemy military units, big landowners, the bourgeoisie and the church" (Duda, 2008, p. 70). The solution offered by the new state was "to learn from the Soviet Union means to win" (Martens, 2021, p. 207). Therefore, the new Communist regime followed the Soviet model of making policy in all spheres of life, until the split in 1948. "[…] Soviet influences were visible in every aspect of life, and particularly in a cultural and educational policy" (Erdei, 2006, p. 7). The Soviet Union was idealized by the Yugoslav communists, and Stalin himself ridiculed this intoxication. Vladimir Dedijer who was representative of Yugoslavia at the United Nations in the early postwar years noted in his book about Stalin: "He had a special term for that kind of people, he called us 'honest fools' ('česniji duraki'), as he had said to one of our partisan delegations one night in his dacha" (Dedijer, 1969, p. 124). Despite all that, Soviet authors were recommended and their books were imported and translated into a local language. Postwar Yugoslav pedagogical science was not developed and therefore it relied on translated books from Soviet pedagogy. "Such opportunities resulted in a rather superficial knowledge of pedagogy and an insufficiently broad and solid general culture of young teachers" (Franković, 1958, p. 452). The promotion of Marxist-Leninist perspective was evident and seen as the only correct approach in the science and practice of pedagogy. As Schmidt claimed (1946, p. 17): "We can gain a great deal from studying texts of Soviet pedagogy." Pedagogical texts were full of political proclamation, Marx, Lenin or Engels ideas, speeches of Tito and Stalin. The new political regime was extremely involved in all the sphere of people's life, especially education. Children were seen as important factor in building the new way of thinking. School programs and teachers' engagement were directed and controlled by the authority. In accordance to the Framework Plan for Political and Ideological Education of Educators[1] (1947, pp. 3–8) teachers had to follow the Five-year plan instructions as well as to study the history of the People's Liberation War that were full of numerous texts by leading

1 Okvirni plan za političko-ideološku izgradnju prosvetnih radnika.

Party ideologists and Tito's speeches. The intention of the state politics was to construct the new system of education which would be completely divided from previous ones without influence of any religious. Teachers who approved the regime and constructively obeyed the political directives were accepted and privileged. Those who followed "the models of a foreign, reactionary pedagogy" and practiced "old pedagogic principles in education" were not considered as teachers that would be able to contribute to the development of the new state policy (Tošić, 1946, pp. 1–5). In the Framework Plan for Political and Ideological Education of Educators (1947, p. 1) was stated that "[…] only those educators who possess a highly developed political and social awareness can build that awareness in the citizens". Unfortunately, as all other aspects of people's life, education was also subordinated to undemocratic ideological requests of a single-party state, due to the fact that "Socialist societies were built as a result of the planned and brutal destruction of previous communities and social structures. There was an effort to abolish classes in order to create a classless society. In essence, the entire social fabric was destroyed" (Legutko, 2019, p. 177).

At that time, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) used to be recognized as a small Yugoslavia, because of its multi-ethnic nature and an example to follow in making a new Yugoslav identity. Everyone sincerely promoted the same goal in creating and educating the new Yugoslav man in accordance with the acknowledged ideology of the Communist Party. Tito as 'the great son of peoples' was presented everywhere, in children books, in newspapers, in classrooms, in offices. His photo dominated in every working place even in people's homes. Ideological influences were constantly promoted, in every situation. For example, in the first beginner's book published in Livno, on December 1942, during the war, a portrait of Josip Broz Tito was on the frontpage. Through the letters, they wanted to instill partisan features in them. For example, the letter P, the picture shows a partisan with a rifle in his hand and a three-horned hat, and below the picture the text "We are small partisans, all honest and just people fight for our side" and so on with the other

letters. Everything was written about partisans, pioneers, NOB[2] and allies, Stalin (Praznik, 1983, pp. 11–19). The most numerous contributions were about pioneers and their relationship to NOB continued later, in the primers published after the war. "The content of these primers corresponded to the spirit of NOB. They were filled with the theme of the struggle of our peoples, with their content they had an educational effect on our youngest, they developed in them love for the people, the Party, Comrade Tito and the People's Revolution and hatred for the enemies of the people, occupiers and domestic traitors" (Franković, 1958, p. 384). Therefore, one of the crucial ideological tasks of the Communist Party was the ideological-political education of the children and youth. In order to achieve this, the Communist Party started working on the creation of a new "communist intelligentsia" (Dobrivojević, 2011, p. 12). Milovan Đilas who was an important person in Yugoslavia and Tito's trust person underlined the necessity of raising the youth in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and promoting the Yugoslav patriotism among the working classes (Radeka & Batinić, p. 56).

Pedagogy in the Frame of the New School System

The state ideology influenced the development of the school system inventing the socialist pedagogy, which was under the Soviet impact in the period immediately after the war, as it was previously mentioned. Soviet socialist pedagogy was simply accepted as ready-made project and leading Yugoslav pedagogical theorists were valued in accordance with their interpretation of this pedagogy. "Within the framework of the universal ideologization of society, pedagogy was transformed into a servant of the regime's ideology" (Radeka & Batinić, 2015, p. 53). Vladimir Schmidt, one of the Yugoslav theorists of pedagogy, recommended re-education and re-direction of current pedagogical thought claiming that "the struggle between the reactionary and progressive powers not waged only in the field of economy, politics and the military, but in culture and science as well, and thus also

2 NOB – National Liberation Struggle.

in the field of pedagogical theory and practice" (Schmidt, 1946, p. 17). After the 1950s the so called *third way* socialist self-managed pedagogy appeared. This pedagogy had an aim to take a critical distance from the bourgeois pedagogy but also recently glorified socialist pedagogy. "During the initial phase of establishing the third way pedagogy, two parallel processes of pedagogical development were in progress. On the one hand, this phase was marked by a distancing from the previously dominant Soviet-centered pedagogical texts and on the other hand, it was the start of a gradual critical evaluation of the pre-war pedagogical heritage" (Radeka & Batinić, 2015, p.46). It is obvious that the ideological pressure on pedagogy and education was very strong and being teacher or pedagogical scholar was not an attractive position in the period of sudden changes and political approaches. "In contrast to the plural development of pedagogical science, social education policy in the period 1945–90 was markedly monolithic. […] For the entire 50-year period it followed just two ideas: the introduction of a unified school and the development of self-management" (Medveš, 2015, p. 16). Medveš also emphasized that the term 'socialist pedagogy' linked to the development of Yugoslav pedagogy "was used to characterize both education policy and pedagogical science. Development has shown that this combining of education policy and pedagogical science under a single name is not correct" (Medveš, 2015, p. 15). After the World War II, Stjepan Pataki, well-known pedagogical theorist before the war, had to give up cultural pedagogy that was now considered a bourgeois and accept an ideologized socialist pedagogy (Radeka, 2011). "This kind of education, socialist in its essence and its goal, leads to the growth of a free and universally developed personality dedicated to the good and progress of entire society. The primary goal of our education is the formation of a socialist generation, of a socialist man" (Pataki, 1951, p. 57). The general ideologization, centralization and unification of education were differed from the situation in the pre-war period. Namely, the individual nations that made up the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom of Yugoslavia) that existed before the new Yugoslavia was established, had their own path of pedagogical development. Now in the new political circumstances, the

situation has changed significantly and consequently and "pedagogy in national communities that were part of Yugoslavia lost its specificities" (Radeka & Batinić, 2015, pp. 52–53). In these circumstances, post-war development of pedagogy in Yugoslavia was determined by extra-pedagogical social circumstances which have caused that "pedagogy is adapted to the ideological demands of society" (Radeka, 2011, p. 123).

School Subjects as Means of Promoting Ideology and Indoctrination

The frequently used slogans "make school accessible to everyone" actually had a political-ideological background because the task of the school was not only to provide general knowledge but also to create and educate "new people, citizens of a socialist society, citizens of a national state, […] good patriots, conscious workers and good and virtuous characters by raising children in the spirit of the National Liberation Movement, preserving the achievements of the National Liberation Struggle, the spirit of brotherhood and unity of all [our] peoples, developing in them a creative collective spirit, self-discipline, conscious discipline, persistence and enthusiasm for work in order to build [our] state union – a free, democratic and federative Yugoslavia".[3] Because of the desire to build a new socialist society and create a new 'socialistic' man with all characteristics mentioned above, those who resisted this policy had to be removed. Therefore, all those who were considered enemies of the regime were persecuted and portrayed as radical and backward (Šušnjara, 2021). "Thousands of political opponents were proclaimed 'enemies' and imprisoned in the Yugoslav version of the Soviet Gulag – a set of concentration camps – where they were tortured and many killed" (Marjanović-Shane, 2018, p. 67).

Along with the external reform of the school system, teaching plans were also under the pressure of changes and modifications in accordance to the ideological profiling of schools. Therefore, new subjects of

3 Privremene upute za rad narodnih škola prosvjetnog odjela Oblasnog narodnog odbora za Hercegovinu (the Provisional Instructions for the Work of National Schools), box 193, 15/45, p. 15. ABiH, MP NR BiH.

social and moral education were introduced in all Yugoslav schools in the academic year 1952/53. The main goal was "to teach culture to pupils and imbue them with socialist traits" (Teaching of social and moral education, 1952)[4]. Six years later, two new subjects appeared in the Teaching plan and program for elementary schools: Vocational and technical education and household management. In 1970s new subjects appeared: Agriculture and First aid and protection. Students in secondary schools attended subjects under the name Defense and protection and the Marxism and self-management. As regard the teaching of foreign languages, Russian was included in the curriculum as well. The basics of Marxism with the theory and practice of socialist self-government and General defense and social self-protection I and II were compulsory subjects in all faculties in BiH without exception. As future teachers or experts in any field, they had to take exams in these subjects. There was no alternative.

Evidently, ideology was promoted through all school subjects. An example from the math class will be presented here in order to point out the influence of ideology in everyday school tasks. The acquired knowledge about numbers and measures also needed to be connected "with life so that the tasks are taken from the immediate environment: measuring a classroom, an orchard, calculating the number of inhabitants in a village or town, the number of mobilized and volunteered in [our] the army, youth and pioneer work on gathering needs for the army […]".[5] Although the first calculations, according to the evaluations of the expert commissions, were satisfactory in terms of the methods of processing the material, their educational aspect was criticized because the tasks, according to the rulers, were too apolitical. Their role was to put the student "in a situation to get excited, to rejoice, to admire, to love the heroes of work, to hate pests, in a word, to take a definite and proper position," which was, according to them,

4 Nastava društvenog i moralnog odgoja.

5 Privremene upute za rad narodnih škola prosvjetnog odjela Oblasnog narodnog odbora za Hercegovinu (the Provisional Instructions for the Work of National Schools), box 193, 15/45, p. 17. ABiH, MP NR BiH.

the basic task of the school as an institution (Beus, 2016, p. 268). Therefore, only that knowledge that grows into the student's belief led to the set goal, which is to "build a conscious, free, combative and ideologically firm generation, armed with a scientific view of the world" (Koren, 2012, p. 120). Education as seen by those who created educational policy was considered as a training ground for the struggle to "change human consciousness" (Đilas, 1949, p. 7).

Despite the fact that the content of the tasks evoked images of the activity of workers, peasants, youth, achievements of the NOB and suffering at the hands of the enemy, however, according to the assessment of political experts, they were not ideologically correct. Communist activists "were sterilely mono-ideological, terrifyingly boring, stuck to one thing that they constantly emphasized in all contexts they were proud of their political successes because they took ideological power over institutions and the legislature and thus managed everything and had control over others" (Legutko, 2019, p. 183). For example, the illustration of a cobbler in one calculation, although conceptually acceptable, was deemed inappropriate since, according to the competent services, the cobbler was depicted as "the biggest wretch in the world, a simple beggar".[6] History lessons were approached in a similar way in order to change people's consciousness and form it suitable for the future builders of a socialist society. The role of the national liberation struggle, the importance of brotherhood and unity, and the glorification of Josip Broz Tito's role had to be constantly emphasized. Everything that happened earlier was considered backward. The terms backward, obstinate and rotten prevailed in marking earlier regimes and their actions, as well as individuals who did not accept the new system. Indoctrination was constantly promoted because "the party built its success on the combination of the supranational, national and social, on the principles of synthesis and utopia: a synthesis of the common

6 Elaborat o opštim prosvetnim prilikama u FNRJ (1945–1949), doc. No. 161, pp. 379–380.

interests of all Yugoslav peoples and an utopia of a society without the rich and the poor" (Duda, 2008, p. 70).

Socialism determined its followers what to do, how to think, how to express themselves, what to dream about, how to evaluate certain events and what language to speak (Legutko, 2019). "The communists must be admitted to be skilled in propaganda, and in particular they have perfected the war of semantics. Through persistent repetition, they managed to associate the most beautiful terms in the political vocabulary with their movement, and identify the enemies of the movement with the ugliest. When we listen to their speeches or read their literature, it seems to us that the words: freedom, libertarian, liberating, progress, advanced, democracy, democratic, patriotism, patriotic, people, national and many others, were coined precisely to describe communism and its goals" (Vujica, 1972, p. 13). On the other hand, they succeeded in imprinting in the consciousness and subconsciousness of many non-communists the belief that they are opponents of communism: reactionaries, fascists, imperialists, enemies of the people, chauvinists (Vujica, 1972). If an individual wanted to improve himself in a society set up like this, he had to renounce his earlier beliefs and agree to a completely new approach in relations with and towards others. Consequently, "teaching subjects and various forms of extracurricular activities were used as means of instilling desirable social and moral conduct, in keeping with the spirit of the dominant ideology" (Radeka & Batinić, 2015, p. 42).

The example of writer Ivo Andrić[7] whose books were required reading in primary and secondary schools clearly supports this thesis. From a former royal diplomat, he becomes Comrade Ivo, who visits construction sites giving speeches to workers, glorifying Tito and Stalin, and later becomes a member of the Communist Party. Martens remarked that „He is now, at least outwardly, no more a poet than 'an engineer of souls' (Martens, 2021, p. 207). Stalin used to say that "the production of souls

7 He won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1961. His novels and books were included in compulsory reading in primary and secondary schools.

is more important than the production of tanks […]". And according to him, writers are "engineers of human souls" (Bogišić, 2024, p. 27). The Czech writer and dissident, Josef Škvorecký detected and denounced an unnatural state of mind in his novel *Engineers of Human Souls*, portraying false communist idols and their followers, who became the dust of the world because of petty privileges and deviations from their own views (Bogišić, 2024). Unlike him, the writer Andrić actively collaborated with the new government. He visited with the French surrealist Louis Aragon the works on the construction of a new railway in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the slogan: "We build the railway, the railway builds us". Tens of thousands of young people worked unpaid for the glory of socialism, many of them voluntarily. Their work was presented to students as an example of loyalty to the state and self-sacrifice for the good of others. Many poems and stories have been written about young, unselfish men who work tirelessly for the good of their homeland. In his speech on the occasion of the election for the president of the Union of Writers of Yugoslavia, Andrić thanked "the national hero and teacher of our people, Marshal Tito" (Martens, 2021, p. 208). The same thing happened in schools where teachers taught students about devotion to the work and the figure of Tito. Andrić also had to adapt rhetorically to the new times, quoting Marx and adopting language patterns used by communist propaganda. Communist speech patterns were imposed and everyone used them on all occasions, even when there was no meaningful need for it (Martens, 2021).

In order to influence the students' emotional attitude towards the events that sought to change consciousness and build a new society, it was necessary to constantly emphasize the attachment to the liberators and encourage hatred of the enemies. Thus, one author asks "What is the use of those history classes, if they did not ignite in the students' hearts hatred for the attacker and the exploiting class and love for the working masses, admiration for their struggle, enthusiasm for their victory, a burning desire to preserve and consolidate their achievements those fights?" (Đurić, 1947, p. 12). To live in such a system meant to submit to it in order to become an exemplary member of a socialist society and thus become similar to thousands of others

(Legutko, 2019). "There is something paranoid about the mechanism of totalitarian government, they invent enemies that don't exist," commented Đilas, who was Tito's trusted man and later defected from him (Đorgović, 1989, p. 199). People were under constant surveillance and it provoked "the moral and mental contradiction in people's behavior, caused by the omnipresent fear of sanction and persecution, resulted in moral desolation: 'broken' and humiliated people suppressed their consciousness of guilt for conformism and justified their ambiguity by the necessity of survival, or material benefits" (Rajsky, 2023, p. 42).

Illiteracy

Already during the World War II, Communist party of Yugoslavia defined its thought about education and the purpose of teaching. Socialist ideas were introduced through the new curricula. After the war, there were major differences between regions that became parts of a new state related to the field of education, school networks, school responsibilities and literacy. As Steinman (1964, p. 16) stated Yugoslavia was among the culturally underdeveloped European countries because of the high illiteracy rate with the exception of Slovenia and slightly minor Croatia. The illiteracy courses were conceived and developed in the Education Department of ZAVNOH[8], and from this came their "ideological and political orientation" which was a "reflection of the character, goals and tasks of national education and enlightenment" (Ogrizović, 1985, p. 155). A special target group in this project was the rural population. The new regime attempted to integrate peasants into the existing social system through education and cultural transformation. One of the first steps was to reduce and combat illiteracy. Namely, in 1945, there were about 952,000 illiterate adults in Bosnia and Herzegovina, or 72%, of which about 250,000 were over the age limit of 45.[9] Therefore, a broad campaign of adult literacy started in all regions of BiH in

8 National Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Croatia.

9 Kulturno-prosvjetni rad u Bosni i Hercegovini od oslobođenja do danas, box 17, No. 611/51, p. 2. Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (ABiH), Savjet za prosvjetu, nauku i kulturu NR BiH (SPNK NRBiH).

1946. Professional management of illiterate courses was entrusted to teachers, but also to non-professional teachers, mostly party activists, who, before the literacy process, underwent a short course in literacy methodology. Courses were organized mainly in the winter period in the evenings. In order to connect literacy and broad education, general knowledge courses intended for youth over the age of 14 were organized. Such instructions were supposed to deepen and acquaint young people with the history of the national liberation struggle and its achievements (Beus, 2016). The political commissars who were appointed to supervise the work of the courses themselves were usually not literate. Younger people who could read and write were employed, so they fulfilled the administrative tasks, which were then sent to the central office, where the results were reviewed and the number of literates determined. The example from Vitez region clearly illuminates the situation on the ground. A young girl Anđa Jonjić (born 19. 5. 1931) who was 16 and worked four years as secretary used to read and write documents under the supervision of the three political commissars who dictated responses. She wrote their names under the text and they put finger instead signature. In the evenings, Anđa held literacy courses, more often in winter in private, empty houses where participants brought chairs for themselves. The course leaders usually had 4 grades in the school and ran courses all over the area. After 2–3 months, they went to Travnik to the Teacher's School by train to receive further instructions on how to proceed, using a reading and spelling book; course participants had write-and-erase tables (15–20 in a group), 4 years of the course were counted as 2 years of primary school.[10] However, according to the Statistic data from 1973, BiH had 672,000 (23.2%) illiterate population in the age of 10 and more. By comparison of this data with the number of inhabitants in BiH (3,746,000) it is evident that every sixth inhabitant was illiterate. Even Sarajevo as a capital city had 18,000 illiterate citizens (Nikić, 1973, p. 2).

10 Interview made with Anđa Jonjić by Snježana Šušnjara, November 2023.

Ideological Indoctrination and Selective Memory

In the newly formed country of Yugoslavia great care was taken to ensure that the topics related to the war are properly dealt in order to justify certain actions and to construct the past through the prism of shared historical memory and this was carried out systematically. The complexity of this process in a multi-ethnic community like the state of Yugoslavia was solved by selective remembering. The main goal was to forget and forbid undesirable elements. The socialist state applied numerous programs to change consciousness or 'raise' consciousness, as it was said at the time. It was necessary to eradicate bad habits of thought and thus to direct the human will towards the right goals (Legutko, 2019). Tito's instruction to educators clearly testifies to this: "There are great moments in the history of our nations, and everything that is positive in the past of our nations should be implanted in the souls of the young generations. On the other hand, it would be desirable, and we must achieve this, if all that is negative, that which our people cannot be proud of, be consigned to oblivion [...]" (Koren, 2012, p. 133). Following these principles, the central place in the teaching of history went to persons and events that represented the symbols of the rapprochement of the Yugoslav peoples, indicating the simultaneity of their historical development from immigration to the struggle for national liberation from foreign rule. Revival of common memory also meant renouncing national peculiarities, and then also national history. That term meant not the history of individual nations, but the history of the people of Yugoslavia (Beus, 2016). The Communist Party saw itself as the protector of brotherhood and unity, thus trying to avoid any intolerance between different peoples (Hopkens, 1997). Memories contrary to what was prescribed existed among the people, but they were not allowed to be presented publicly, and therefore there was a "conflict of memory" (Burke, 1989, pp. 97–113). Otherwise, there would be persecution, imprisonment and even liquidation. Especially in the years immediately after the war. Individual memories were therefore suppressed because they represented a danger, but also a certain political force (Higonnet, 1987).

In socialism, the publication of anything beyond censorship was dangerous for the individual and the possibility of losing freedom, job and being blacklisted. Efforts were also made to eradicate most of the social hierarchies based on customs, traditions and practices that preceded the emergence of the new system (Legutko, 2019). "To make themselves the master of memory and forgetfulness is one of the great preoccupations of the classes, groups, and individuals who have dominated and continue to dominate historical societies. The things forgotten or not mentioned by history reveal these mechanisms for the manipulation of collective memory" (Le Goff, 1992, p. 54). Through the teaching process, an effort was made to influence the shaping of the image of the past by giving it an integrative dimension, which in turn should serve to understand contemporary processes and build the future in accordance with the ideological settings of the ruling elite. The school, as an instrument of support and legitimization of the established post-war communist government, had a key role in the ideological formation of the future builders of Yugoslav society, and therefore teachers were very important, as was their political commitment. According to Lenin's interpretation, which became an integral part of the Yugoslav party program, the task of the new pedagogy was "to connect the work of the teacher with the tasks of the socialist organization of society" (Gončarov, 1948, p. 13). This meant that the teacher was responsible for proper preparation of the future active builders of the communist society as well as for upbringing and education "with the introduction of current socialist elements" (Đorgović, 1989, p. 202).

Abolition of Religious Education in Schools and Newly Established National Holidays

"Communist activists were recognizable for their dogmatism, predictability, simple mind and complete subordination of their opinions to the political program. This subjugation stood out with pride as an achievement of the new times. They showed a strong aversion to the Church, religion, people, classical metaphysics, moral conservatism, family. They showed extreme arrogance towards everything that was not ideologically approved. With their revolutionary intoxication, they tried to

remove such phenomena from society" (Legutko, 2019, p. 183). The limitation of the religious influence on education began with the abolition of private schools, among which those owned by the Church took the lead, through legal regulations on religious education as an optional subject, until its complete removal from state schools and the separation of theological faculties from universities (Beus, 2016). The role of the new school was presented in a different way, the one determined by the ruling party "[…] the attempt of this school is to create a new type of teachers for secondary schools. Progressive, constructive and full of excitement. This teacher would be a patriot who is tied up with his nation and his task is to educate youngsters and peoples in the spirit of the progress and love towards science, traditions of National Liberation Struggle, homeland and nation and its healthy historical and cultural traditions" (Šamić, 1946, p. 14). Bearing this in mind, it is not surprising that teachers were under constant surveillance both by the party and by relevant state authorities. Although the Ministries of Education in cooperation with local authorities paid great attention to the "political suitability" of teachers. If a teacher did not come to terms with the powerful revolutionary, progressive changes that have taken place, does not understand current social reality, he was not capable to be a teacher in the true sense of the word, nor a teacher and educator of the young generation (Beus, 2016, p. 273). Such teacher who did not perceive the establishment of the new regime as liberation was proclaimed as "bourgeois, reactionary and decadent" (Dobrivojević, 2011, p. 7). Even though the program of the Communist party spoke of tolerance of religion and the church in a new, socialist society, an atheistic view of the world was a prerequisite for Party membership, and also a precondition for desirable social behavior (Zrinščak, 1993).

A special role was intended for teachers of history and natural sciences, who were expected to contribute to the fight against the religious view of the world through scientific arguments, and their effect. According to the opinion of educational inspector Ivan Lerik, these efforts were considered successful "only if practical results are also shown, such as much less attendance at religious education classes" (Beus, 2016, p. 277). In order to set an example for other teachers on how to behave

in the new state, disobedient and unfit teachers, who persisted in the religious education of children, were dismissed. Thus, the teacher Alojzija Ulman was fired because "she did not adopt a materialistic understanding of the world". Hela Žnidarčić, a teacher in Bosanski Brod, was expelled from the teachers' association because of "her expressions of religious feelings" (Beus, 2016, p. 277). Unlike the previous regimes, in communism the cross became undesirable and the government made sure that its citizens did not have it on their necks. The same control was exercised over students. In such a community, all people were comrades, equal citizens united by a common concern for the survival of socialism. The communist party watched over all the processes (Legutko, 2019).

One of the forms of perseverance in that struggle was the new legal regulations on the celebration of religious holidays. The new government signaled to the lower authorities in a confidential notice that Christmas is no longer recognized as a school holiday, which was officially confirmed in 1949, when all religious holidays were removed from the list of school holidays. Religious customs were forbidden, church holidays and ceremonies such as Christmas have been abolished. At least until 1952, the sale of Christmas trees was prohibited (Boeckh, 2006). According to the Law on National Schools, which was adopted on November 26, 1951, the school received the status of a social institution whose employees became public social workers with the task of raising children in a socialist spirit, and already at the beginning of 1952, in accordance with Tito's theory about the consistent separation of the Church from the state, religious education was completely expelled from state schools. This decision was additionally accompanied by propaganda about the school as an educational institution that must rest on scientific foundations, while religiosity was interpreted as a personal matter of the individual, which could be violated by "social and educational workers" (Beus, 2016, p. 281). Communist authors often quoted Stalin and his view of science and its application in everyday work "but there is one discipline of science that must be obligatory for all Bolsheviks of any scientific discipline – it is the Marxist-Lenin science of society, social development, development of proletarian

revolution, socialism structuring development, victory of communism" (Begić, 1948, pp. 24–25). Politics within the Party was aimed at consolidating power and dominating society. Becoming a Party member already meant, if not direct privilege, then in any case the prospect of privilege (Đorgović, 1989, p. 196).

While earlier teachers organized the observance of religious holidays, now they were obliged to organize new national holidays that were mostly based on celebrating the days of the glorious past: Youth Day – Tito's birthday (May 25th) – youth saluted Tito at the stadium, Republic Day (November 29th) – ceremonial welcome to pioneers, Women's Day (March 8th) – events in honor of mothers (Batinić, Radeka & Šušnjara, 2016). Students participated at the competitions during the manifestation known as *Tito's revolutionary trails* showing the knowledge about heroic battles and important dates from Tito's past and League of Non-Aligned Nations. "Almost all official holidays were focused on the memory of World War II. The Communist party ordered what should be remembered and forgotten. Memories were continually being recreated" (Šušnjara, 1999, p. 146). Apart of the schools and other educational and cultural institutions, other factors of socialistic education needed to influence children free time, such as magazines, radio or TV (Šušnjara, 2021). "The intention was to create a uniform mass of people that moves like a herd under the direction of the conducting baton of the rulers" (Rajský, 2023, p. 56). Every year in honor of Comrade Tito's birthday, a baton-carrying event was organized throughout the country, and schools and labor organizations participated in it, thus showing devotion and loyalty to the president of the country. The relay's final destination was on May 25 at the stadium in Belgrade, where the chosen youth would read to Tito birthday specially prepared card and hand him the relay. Everything was broadcast by state television and it was a prime time and event that should not be missed. It was "communist mass youth events where hundreds of thousands of uniformed individuals in a monolithic collective identity created large mosaic figures, a kind of pathetic militant choreography, representing the titanic collective "new man". Young

people thus dissolved their individual identities in totalitarian uniformity" (Rajský, 2023, p. 56).

Elementary Schools and Working Class

New authority claimed that new elementary school needed to be under the influence of a new spirit. This meant an introduction of the new contents and instruction of a teacher on how to educate children properly. Teachers' activity was controlled and observed by the inspector for education who evaluated their work. When it comes to the development of the eight-year primary school, politics and pedagogical science were relatively in harmony until 1964, when there was an immediate conflict between educational policy and pedagogical science (Medveš, 2020). The policy makers set an account on dogmatization in science and pedagogy. They concluded that the aim of education was to form of an "universally educated free constructor of socialism, who is distanced from bureaucracy and narrow mindedness" (Subotić, 1984, p. 112). It was declared "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 individual should be formed according to the Marxist standard and its world view. The school has an irreplaceable role in the development of self-managed socialistic 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). However, the uniformity of the program and the rigid understanding of the uniformity of the curriculum did not meet the expectations of improving the conditions for the successful education of children from a lower social class. With the socialist school policy implemented in this way, the myth that a school is the basis of socialist pedagogy began to be dispelled. In 1966, Schmidt proved that a formally unified school for all cannot remove the injustices caused by differentiated school systems, and he showed through historical analysis that the 'unified school' is more a project of civil society than of socialist society (Medveš, 2020, p. 68). It is clear that the socialist school policy has identified the concept of a fair school with the

concept of a unified school. The value of justice is replaced by a collectivist organizational form of unity – justice is what is equal for all (Medveš, 2020, p. 71).

Similar can be seen in relation to the laborers position. Namely, despite to their successes the laborers' results were not always seen as the tool for better life. The current regime and its dogma could not feel the core of the society it aspired to transform because the consciousness of the society and the consciousness of the leaders differed significantly (Kamberović, 2000). In the 1960s there were appeals of the workers who found themselves betrayed by their leaders. They even dared to write letters to Tito claiming that their comrades who were on chief position showed characteristics strange to the working class. They drew expensive cars, had better salaries, luxury apartments while they worked hardly for minimum of salaries. "Communist equality was actually an illusion because the political system was a form of terror. Namely, there was no equality between party members and those who were not party members or who opposed it, between the political secretary and an ordinary worker. In such disintegrated societies, political power becomes the only regulating force, because all hierarchies, traditional ties and social differences were abolished, so that this force did not encounter any resistance" (Legutko, 2019). Therefore, it is clear that brotherhood and unity were not present correctly especially the same rights for all. Despite the public promotion of equal rights for all, the situation was different in practice as following examples illustrate.

One worker who wrote a letter to Tito noted. "The enterprise I work in is a large organization; workers are investing substantial resources in housing and apartments are being built, but for whom? As the proverb goes: 'Who comes to the fire first, he warms up the most'."[11] Another one clearly describe the situation on the terrain: "I do not have enough time now to describe everything I know that is going on within my work collective because I could be sacked or even locked out through a short

11 The application of Josip K. – a plea for housing intervention addressed to the Federal Executive Council and to the President of Yugoslavia, 6 August 1969, p. 1. box 401, case No. 1314. HDA-SSRH.

procedure because who has the money is the judge […]. Let a determined, and decent man examine pay lists of regular and extraordinary income and black funds, and it will be clear to him: workers do not manage the factories, there is no distribution according to work, worker's self-management is non-existent. Who has an apartment and how did he get it and how many apartments does he have in his family? How do direct producers live off their income and how big is their income compared to the non-producers? Behind the mask of self-management, the same people are managing the way they have wanted for years […]."[12]

The well-known Yugoslav dissident Đilas explained that after the war, the top management got villas and cars and there were no existential problems. He also explained, how the idea of self-government came about. That idea of self-governance, which was promoted at the Assembly in 1950, emerged from the belief that "[…] it is the final path to the death of the state and a classless society" (Đorgović, 1989, p. 148). And Tito enthusiastically clicked: "Well, that's Marx's thing – factories for workers!" (Đorgović, 1989, p. 148). Tornquist (1966) claimed that self-governance, admired by many in the West at the time, was actually just a circuitous and convoluted way the party used to implement its decisions. He believed that the party was an obstacle to the success of self-government. He noted that party members play a leading role in workers' councils, and in doing so must follow the instructions of the Central Committee, regardless of whether it was to the benefit or detriment of the enterprise they head. Managers were not elected by the workers but by the Party and they were almost always communists. He argued "I wonder why the army is divided into small garrisons and stationed in small towns. Are they not a warning to the population that the guns are in the hands of the state? If such a warning is needed, what kind of relationship must there be between the citizens and the government, to which the revolutionary slogan is 'Freedom to the People'" (Tornquist, 1966, p. 9). All of the above was obviously not depicted in practice in the way the workers expected. A kind of elitism

12 Transcript of an anonymous letter sent to Tito, 1 July 1968. Box 236. AJ-KPR.

reigned in the country, which is evident from the mentioned examples. "The growth of social inequalities between them and the higher social strata in the 1960s was particularly hard for workers because in official discourse the idea of social equality was one of the pillars of the ideology of socialist Yugoslavia" (Mihaljević, 2019, p. 42). Regardless of the egalitarian principles proclaimed in socialist Yugoslavia, social disproportions and class differences endured throughout the socialist period and were regularly increasing (Mihaljević, 2019). "Totalitarianism in power always replaces all first-class talents, regardless of their sympathies, with those freaks and fools whose lack of intelligence and creativity is still the best guarantee of their loyalty" (Arendt, 1973, p. 339).

Conclusion

The educators and cultural leaders were working hard to define a new Yugoslav communist ideology, that would still keep children's and youth's lives under their ideological control. Young generation was "seen as a critical pillar of the Yugoslav socialist project, the state invested in the youth both symbolic and economic capital with the hope that the sense of 'Yugoslav socialist patriotism' would supersede and replace narrower circles of belonging or ethnic and class divisions" (Spaskovska, 2017, p. 38). The children and youth in Yugoslavia were taught to believe in – equality, liberty, democracy, self-actualization and self-determination, honesty, responsibility, and other values imported by the new regime. Hence, not all Yugoslav children and youth had the same childhood despite the slogan *equality of all.* "In fact, Yugoslavia was far from being homogeneous in any way. Rather, the norm was in the diversity of people in every possible way and the tensions that accompanied these diversities: the circumstances and the localities of theirs lives (e.g., rural vs, urban), their multitude of ethnicities, their mutual political and ideological oppositions and enmities, etc." (Marjanović-Shane, 2018, p. 65). All these moves in the background were in the service of building an ideologically unified society that had the task of supporting the political system on which that same government laid (Beus, 2016). Education was of crucial importance for the politicians of the new age. The Communist Party observed and directed educational

processes. Teachers as the key persons were under the strict control of the new regime. Religious education was thrown out and new reality and single-mindedness were taught. Through various organizations, children and young people were indoctrinated to become loyal followers of the new state order. "The lives of children in Yugoslavia were almost entirely planned and designed by the Communist government, especially through its Yugoslav Pioneer Organization and Association of the youth of Yugoslavia. Although it was officially constituted in 1942 during the WWII" (Marjanović-Shane, 2018, p. 67). The language also acquired certain political connotations that were reflected in all areas. Children were perceived as future promoters of the new ideology. Their upbringing and education were carried out under the attentive eye of the communist party. Free time was also filled with certain activities that should serve to honor the citizen of the new society. This is visible through the activities that were carried out during the celebration of certain dates related to "the heroic past of our nations and nationalities". Even memory was directed and forbidden. It was determined what could be mentioned and what could not. Pedagogy in the frame of the new school system was socialistic one, first under the Soviet influence, and later on it started to move differently. The leading pedagogical theorists were valued in accordance with their interpretation of the socialist pedagogy. Despite the differences between pedagogical theorists who were educated before the war under the influence of different pedagogical currents that are in their habit essentially different from the post-war socialist pedagogy in Yugoslavia, they all developed socialist pedagogy after the war. Their differences were recognizable only in nuances and ultimately vague attitudes (Radeka, 2011). The ideological pressure on pedagogy and education was considerably stronger than in some other professional fields. Therefore "Totalitarianism must be remembered not only in order to be able to resist it; we have to remember it in order to know how to remember at all" (Dreher, 2022, p. 123).

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Reconstructing the Narrative: History of Education in Post-Soviet Space (Latvia, 1990–2004)

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Abstract The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 bridged a profound transformation across the Baltic states – Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia – as they emerged from authoritarian control into democratic governance. This "zero hour" offered both liberation and challenge. Historians of education confronted the task of dismantling Soviet-imposed narratives and constructing new national histories. These new narratives were intended to facilitate the reclamation of national identity, whilst incorporating knowledge from the files of archives and libraries that had previously been subject to communist censorship. Our study showcases the reshaping of historical narrative during the transition from an authoritarian to a democratic setting, focusing on two central components: plot/storyline and actors. Drawing upon a comprehensive content analysis of 8 monographs, 4 article collections, and 4 doctoral theses, all of which were authored in Latvia between 1990 and 2004, the study explores the evolution of narratives of the history of education. The findings indicate several developments pertaining to narrative plot and actors: (1) the liberation from a class-focused educational paradigm; (2) the introduction of actors who were banned, forgotten, and marginalised during the Soviet regime; (3) the liberation from trivialised Marxism in the methodology of history research. By unpacking evolving narratives, the article sheds light on the complexities of rewriting history of education in a post-authoritarian society and underscores the enduring interplay between history, politics, and identity in building democratic futures.

Keywords history of education, narrative, transformation, democratization, Post-Soviet historiography

Introduction

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, three Soviet republics – Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia – regained their statehood and became independent European countries for the second time after their independency in the inter-war period until 1940. Emerging from the authoritarian Soviet space into a democratic world brought a list of new rules for the development of political, socioeconomic, scientific, cultural – all areas of public life – at the Baltic region. This era of change was enchanting and challenging at the same time. For the academic community, including historians of education, "zero hour" meant breaking from Soviet-imposed ideologies, reintegration into global academic networks, as well as a critical review of existing research. Historians have been particularly busy by re-evaluating historical narratives in light of their newfound freedom.

The collapse of the old system left a vacuum that required immediate attention to ensure the construction of the new national narratives in a new political context, and there was no time for debate as the chaotic transition from Soviet rule to independence happened *here and now*. The sudden lack of the centralized Soviet control opened opportunity for history to be actively debated throughout society, and historical facts were used as arguments by both critics and defenders of the Soviet system. New national narratives were constructed to show the national unity and the triumph over Soviet dictatorship, marking a break from the past, and were formed and shared among the vast audiences at the time (see Ķestere, 2016).

This period of change in the history of education, not only in the Baltic States but throughout the former Soviet zone of influence, the so-called Eastern Europe, has not been widely discussed. Baltic, Czech, Polish, Hungarian and Slovak scholars have some respectable publications (e.g., Ķestere, 2016; Nobik, Ķestere & Gulczyńska, 2019; Ķestere, Stonkuviene & Varik, 2020; Kudláčová, 2016; Kudláčová, 2022, Kasper, 2022, Gulczyńska, Rébay & Kasperová, 2023), but their work does not analyse the new history narrative as a systemic entity. Therefore, the intention of our study is to use narrative theory to analyse the actors and plot of the story of the past.

According to the narrative studies, the interaction between actors, plot and language facilitates the development of narratives that are both individually significant and collectively meaningful (see White, 1973; Bruner, 1990). The application of narrative theory is particularly salient in this context, as it provides a framework for analyzing how meaning is not only represented but actively produced through storytelling. White (1973) asserts that historical narratives are not neutral recountings of events but rather epistemological constructs that impose coherence and causality on historical processes, thereby shaping collective memory and ideological frameworks. Building on this, Bruner (1990), drawing from cognitive psychology, similarly contends that narrative constitutes a fundamental mode of human understanding, mediating perception, structuring experience, and fostering cultural continuity. While traditional historiography of education has often been concerned with tracing institutional reforms, policy shifts, or pedagogical advancements in a linear manner, narrative theory allows for a more intricate examination of the ways in which educational histories are developed by narrative structures. White (1973) explains how historians, consciously or unconsciously, impose narrative forms onto historical accounts, thereby influencing how educational change is perceived and understood. Likewise, Bruner's (1990) insights into narrative cognition shows how history is not merely records of the past but cognitive constructions that reflect broader cultural, ideological, and psychological frameworks.

Three components – actors, plot and language – are not merely constituent elements; rather, they constitute the foundation upon which the history of education was redefined and through which it continues to be interpreted and conveyed in contemporary discourse (White, 1987; Grever & Van der Vlies, 2017). We will analyse two of the three components of narrative, as the third – language – requires a different and specific methodological approach and its use is beyond the scope of this article.

The objective of our study is to reveal how and what changed in the narratives of the history of education produced during the transition

from the authoritarian to the democratic regime by focusing on the two narrative components – plot and actors.

Our research sources are 8 monographs, 4 collections of articles and 4 PhD theses in the history of education written from 1990 to 2004 in Latvia. The selection process was guided by the relevance of works to the chronological framework of the article, their scholarly impact, and contribution to historiographical discourse. The limited scope of research on the history of education in Latvia must also be considered. Given the small "market" for such studies, we utilized almost all available sources produced by academically trained historians of education during the period under research. For the overview of the history of education in Soviet Latvia, the press was used as a source, as monographs and collections of articles were rare at the time.

The authors of our sources are either professionally trained historians or academics who received their doctorates in the history of education. Most of them started their research careers during the Soviet occupation and the change of political power required them to rethink both their ideological convictions and the content of their research "overnight". We will consider the impact of the Soviet past on the historical narrative of independent Latvia later in this text: in order to reveal the continuities and changes in the field, we will analyse the Soviet narrative in more detail in the second chapter of this article. The new generation of researchers in the history of education was represented by four defended dissertations during the period under research.

Given this complex historiographical landscape, a rigorous methodological approach is necessary to trace both the ruptures and continuities within educational narratives. To achieve this, the data analyses from the sources will follow Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis steps: (1) the data exploration and primary coding using two narrative components: plot and actors; (2) search for subthemes in the primary codes; (3) subtheme analysis; and (4) research review.

Context: the Narrative of History of Education at the Times of Change

The immediate aftermath of the Soviet collapse or "zero hour" was a period of the transition from Soviet dictatorship to democracy indicating a definitive break with the past in the Baltic region (Ķestere & Ozola, 2014). A new request was received from the public or from "below", namely there was a hunger in society to regain the national identity that had been suppressed under Soviet rule, which tried to fuse all the ethnicities of the Soviet republics into a single Soviet nation (Ķestere & Kaļķe, 2020). A new interpretation of history became an important instrument for rebuilding national self-confidence.

The absence of Moscow's leadership left Baltic scholars without clear guidance on research topics and methodologies, which had previously been strictly controlled (Ķestere, Rubene & Ozola, 2021). This shift from Soviet ideologized research space requested historians and educators to reassess the narratives and methodologies of their creation, moving toward an autonomous understanding of the national past. The history of education was a part of this identity recovery movement and scholars sought to explore local and national histories that had been systematically marginalized under Soviets. This period of change was a continuous process of intellectual liberation for historians of education in the Baltic states (Ķestere, 2016; Ķestere, 2014). Yet the emergence of these new narratives called for new information.

The Soviet regime maintained severe control over information: access to archives and library collections was strictly censored (Strods, 2010). The state sought to suppress dissenting narratives and maintain a monopoly on historical interpretation; the ideological campaigns against perceived "capitalist ideological subversives" exemplified this control (Zake, 2010, p. 6). The Soviet narrative was homogeneous with Russia and Soviet achievements in the center, marginalizing local perspectives. The historical narrative was designed to install loyalty to the Soviet state, legitimise its existence. History became a tool for ideological indoctrination and propaganda rather than critical inquiry (Wezel, 2016; Bērziņa et al., 2023). Consequently, this approach created

a historical framework disconnected from the realities of Latvian identity and heritage. As research on post-socialist transformations in educational historiography across Central and Eastern Europe has shown, similar challenges were encountered in other countries of the region, where scholars had to rebuild academic disciplines and redefine research priorities (Gulczyńska, Rébay, & Kasperová, 2023).

Thus, the democratisation of access to information, which was facilitated by the declassification of archives in the 1990s, was a crucial factor in enabling the re-evaluation of history. It was not solely academics who initiated the process of reclaiming the history from the shadow of Soviet propaganda; rather, it was a nationwide endeavour. (Fitzpatrick, 2015). In this context, as noted by Gurova (2017), historians of education focused on restoring the continuity of narratives that had been distorted or suppressed.

The role of the Latvian National Archives in the democratization of information was significant. Documents were digitized and collaboration with educational institutions was organized to promote awareness of the national cultural heritage. Initiatives of Archives not only facilitated academic research but also encouraged public engagement with history. The most important was the discovery of information hitherto available only to a small circle of Soviet historians, e.g., about Latvia's first period of independence often referred to as the "Promised Land" in Latvian collective memory (Ķestere, 2014) and, very importantly, information about Latvians in Western exile, where they had gone during World War II to escape the Soviets (see Daukste-Silasproģe, 2022). This new information aimed to acknowledge the complexities of Latvian history, including themes of victimhood and resilience, essential for fostering a sense of national pride and identity (Wezel, 2016; Ķešāne, 2023). With new sources, scholars were able to explore previously marginalized voices, as well as discover the long-standing connections between the Baltics and Europe (Ķestere et al., 2020).

As indicated previously, the methodology of historical research established by Soviet scholars also had to be liberated. The Soviet interpretation of the history of education was based on the ideological

underpinnings declared by the state, i.e. trivialised Marxism. This approach entailed an examination of the world from the positions of social order and struggle for dominion. As Berger (2015) explains: communist historians were instructed to develop new Marxist-Leninist historical national master narratives. They did so by merging the Marxist class paradigm with traditional forms of national history writing (Berger, 2015, p. 354): exploited *versus* exploiters, workers *versus* bourgeoisie, peasants *versus* kulaks, revolution *versus* counter-revolution, socialism *versus* capitalism, etc. This formula, which explained the world in a very simplistic way (Russel, 1932/1993), was extremely trivial and ideologised (Ķestere, 2014).

The departure from the "class approach" that typifies Soviet historiography engendered a shift towards more open-ended interpretative approaches in the study of the history of education. Gradually, historians of education in Latvia discovered the social science theories that had long been established and accepted in Western countries. The evolution of the history of education as a multidisciplinary field has enabled a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between education and society (Ķestere et al., 2020). In Hungary, for example, textbooks on the history of education since 1990 reflect a similar transition, demonstrating both the shift away from Soviet-style narratives and the challenges of integrating new historiographical perspectives (Nóbik, 2024).

However, the learning curve for the new research methodology was not fast. The dominance of descriptive narratives in historical research remained strong, as scholars continued to prioritize historical context over theoretical frameworks. The fact-based recounting of history soon became uninteresting to the public, particularly students, who craved deeper interpretation and connection of historical events with present-day issues in social spheres, including education (Ķestere & Vejins, 2021). History of education lost its place in university curricula and consequently the field of historical research suffered too. The slow integration of social science methodologies into educational research reflects a broader trend in the post-Soviet context, where scholars faced the challenge of researching new, rich historical

facts while at the same time learning to engage with current theories in the facts' interpretation that could contribute to understanding the histories of the newcomers in Europe (Parkin, 2021).

New Narrative on the History of Education

Brief Overview of the Soviet Narrative

The narrative on the history of education in Soviet Latvia, similarly to other republics of the USSR, was shaped by the studies produced in Moscow, published in Russian, and sometimes translated into national languages. Until the early 1990s, no general history of education was published in Latvian. The history of European and international education was the monopoly of scholars from the centre of the empire, Soviet Russia, while in the provinces or Soviet republics academics studied the development of education in the confines of their ethnicity, within the strict framework of Soviet methodology and ideology. The task of the researcher in the history of education was to demonstrate and relentlessly remind of class inequality in the field of education, from which the Baltic nations were saved by the Soviet power. This turned the history of education into a Soviet propaganda weapon (Tamm, 2016, p. 138), the aim of which was to denigrate the years of independence of the Baltic States as opposed to the "happy" but, in reality, violent absorption into the Soviet Union in 1940.

The narrative on the history of education in Soviet Latvia was set soon after World War II when in 1949, an article from the central Soviet newspaper *Teachers' Gazette* (Učitelskaja Gazeta) was reprinted in Latvian. The article had a telling title – "Against slavish kowtowing to bourgeois pedagogy" (Pret verdzisko..., 1949). The anonymous author criticised the dominant books on the history of education published so far in Moscow for not sufficiently displaying the "qualitatively new character" of Soviet pedagogy, and for devoting too much attention to "narrow-minded bourgeois pedagogy" as represented by Herbart, Dewey, and Spenser. The article tasked the history of education with further promoting the "progressive pedagogical experience of the Soviet school, which has not emerged from thin air, but rather embodies the

best of past pedagogical experience" (Pret verdzisko..., 1949). The ideological message of the article is explicitly clear: the history of education must attest that education in the Soviet Union is the triumph of the socialist economy and communist ideology over everything that has happened in the past and is happening now in other countries outside the USSR and its satellites. Thus, the function of history as a propaganda weapon was clearly announced in the academic landscape of Soviet Latvia. For Latvians, this Moscow setup meant also the disruption of research continuity as its historical narrative became isolated from the European context and artificially added to the Soviet narrative centred on the education in Russia.

The Russian education narrative became the model for national narratives. The story of Russian education history foregrounded and/or glossed over certain storylines and made certain actors "invisible". The narrative focused on people's education, meaning mainly the schooling of peasants' and workers' children, and thus, on what was, in fact, the basic level of education. On the other hand, secondary schools and universities, as institutions of education for the wealthy classes, were mentioned as schools beyond the reach of the people or as the exception, i.e. the educational achievement of certain children of the lower classes who had been industrious and determined enough to overcome the class barrier. By and large, the main actors of the narrative were men concerned with the education of the nation's lower social strata. As education of the people was an important part of Russian politics after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, communist politicians Lenin, Stalin, Lunacharsky, and others were hailed as prominent educators. Prior to 1917, the ideological foundations of Soviet education were set by Marx and Engels, and in Russia by Herzen, Tolstoy, and others. The analysis of the achievements of each actor in the history of educatio – politician, philosopher, teacher – emphasised their concern for "the people", i.e. the lower social strata, their leftist or "progressive" views, their struggle against traditional enemies of the communists, i.e. the rich, the bourgeois, the capitalists, and the like (see Ganelin & Golant, 1947).

The publications on the history of education in Soviet Latvia were modelled on those in Soviet Russia, weaving into their narrative long-standing links with Russian culture, as well as the joy of the sovietization of Latvia as a triumph of progress and enlightenment (Ozola, 2014). It was in this vein that one of the first collections of articles in the history of education, "People's Education in Latvia Then and Now" (Miķelsons, 1966) was prepared. The title of the collection already indicates that pertaining to the Soviet tradition the main storyline will be related to the schooling of the lower social classes. The two parts of the collection are given the laconic titles 'Education in Bourgeois Latvia' and 'Education in Soviet Latvia', thus revealing the black-and-white orientation of the collection's narrative. The collection demonstrates the clash of good and bad, since everything associated with the word "bourgeois" is bad, while everything associated with "Soviet" is decidedly good. The titles of the chapters in the collection are equally eloquent, e.g. "Education – the privilege of the wealthy", "The bourgeois school – the breeder of reactionary ideology", while the Soviet school is praised in the chapter "For the youth – for the future of our country". The content of the collection consists of biased selection of documents, which are given titles that indicate how the historical sources should be interpreted: for example, the discussion on the Law on Education of Independent Latvia of 1919 is given the title "Demagogic Promises of the Bourgeoisie" (Miķelsons, 1966, p. 14), while Soviet educational documents are placed under the titles that announce the growing number of schools and universities, scholarships for students, opportunities for workers to study, and the like.

Other collections in the history of education published in Soviet Latvia spin a similar story, although the tone of the language gradually becomes more academic, it is no longer so overtly didactic and attacking; for example, in the collection of 1969 the chapter titles are already quite neutral – "Development of Pedagogical Science in Latvia", "Development of Pedagogical Thought", etc. (Miķelsons, 1969). The narrative of the articles naturally remains the same: it emphasises "the anti-national educational policy of the Latvian nationalist bourgeoisie"

(Miķelsons, 1969, p. 50), which contrasts with the success of the Soviet authorities in educating the working class.

The main actors in the history of education in Soviet Latvia are also imported from Moscow: above all, the politician Lenin and his associate Nadezhda Krupskaya. According to Soviet etiquette, Lenin's opinion, regarded as that of a prominent educator, is sought and referenced at the beginning of any study on education and the history of education to establish its theoretical foundations, even if the work is devoted to family pedagogy (e.g., Zelmenis, 1981). Krupskaya's life and pedagogical views were regularly the subject of articles in the Soviet Latvian press: in the central newspaper for teachers, *Teachers' Gazette* (*Skolotāju Avīze)*, between 1948 and 1989, Krupskaya was the subject of 406 articles (Periodika.lv). The Soviet pedagogue Anton Makarenko was even more actively promoted in Soviet Latvia, being mentioned 690 times in *Teachers' Gazette* during the same period (Periodika.lv).

The choice of Latvian national educators for the narrative on the history of education was highly restricted: the educator had to conform to the image of a people's teacher and express political views that were left-wing and for which they had been persecuted in Russia during the tsarist period or in independent Latvia. The statistics on only three prominent educators who belonged to the left-leaning political camp during the interwar years show how inconvenient Latvian national educators were: Leons Paegle was mentioned 68 times in *Teachers' Gazette* between 1948 and 1989, Jānis Greste was mentioned 49 times and Kārlis Dēķens was mentioned 23 times (Periodika.lv). In 1975, a book about Kārlis Dēķens was published (Ūsiņš, 1975), and in 1983 – about Leons Paegle (Ūsiņš, 1983). Both books, to the extent possible, emphasised the "progressive" or leftist views of the educators, for example, in the preface Paegle is introduced as the founder of the Soviet Latvian school and an active propagandist of Soviet pedagogy (Ūsiņš, 1983, p. 4). Thus, the "correct" political position was an integral criterion in the choice of actors for the narrative on the history of Soviet education.

Alongside individual personalities, the communist children and youth organisations – the Young Pioneers and the Komsomol – also

functioned as actors in the history of education in Soviet Latvia. Their storyline covers semi-legal or illegal activities in independent Latvia, the "struggle against bourgeois rule" (Miķelsons, 1966, p. 109), the struggle against the Nazi occupiers during World War II, and the massive propaganda of the Soviet regime after World War II (Špona, 1969). The history of communist organisations featured a number of specific actors – children and young people who were proclaimed heroes. Russian pioneers and Komsomol members were, of course, central to this gallery, while national actors were assigned a more modest role (see Ķestere & Strazdiņš, 2023).

Consequently, the legacy that education historians received after Latvia's independence in 1991 was a Soviet narrative centred on people's education in Latvia between the wars and the Soviet period. The schools in "bourgeois" Latvia, with an emphasis on unequal access to education, and contrasted with democratic schooling for all the people in the Soviet Union, were presented in bleak and grim tones. The selection of subject matter and actors was strictly censored, resulting in the exclusion of facts and individuals deemed inconvenient for the Soviet authorities from the narrative. Thus, an array of hidden, marginalised, and forgotten voices was engendered in the history of education. Communist politicians and Russian pedagogues became the central actors, while the legacy of Latvian educators was subject to strict selection criteria, where a person's political views and actions were prioritised.

Storylines in the New Narrative on the History of Education

The plot or storyline in a historical narrative is a structuring element that organises events in a chronological and logical order, giving them meaning and interpreting their significance in the context of a particular era and society. White (1987) argues that the storyline is essential because it serves to bind seemingly disparate events into a cohesive narrative, thereby endowing facts of history with significance.

The construction of a new narrative following the restoration of Latvia's independence may be likened to the conception of a theatrical production. In this analogy, the establishment of the stage or the

creation of the historical context would be analogous to the initial steps in the formation of the new narrative. Considering the experience of the Soviet years, it is not surprising that historians of Latvian education have focused on two main chronological periods: the first period of Latvia's state independence (1918–1940) and the period of Soviet dictatorship (1940/1941, 1944/1945–1991). The interest in Latvia's first period of independence is rationalised by the historical context, as outlined previously, this period, akin to other historical periods preceding the annexation of the Baltic States into the Soviet Union, could be presented only from an overly disapproving vantage point under Soviet censorship. Whereas, in private, in the memories of living eyewitnesses, the first era of Latvia's independence was shrouded in the aura of romanticism. Thus, since one of the key tasks of historians is to "demythologise the past" (Depaepe, 2020, p. 241), the researchers in the history of education have turned to the stories that unfolded in independent Latvia and have tried to frame the first reflections on recent history – the Soviet past.

The analysis of our research sources reveals that the early 1990s were marked by the following 5 main storylines in the narrative on the history of education: (1) pedagogical ideas (4 monographs, 2 edited collections, 1 dissertation); (2) school history (4 monographs); (3) teacher education institutions – teachers' seminaries and institutes (3 monographs, 1 edited collection); (4) pedagogy/didactics – curriculum, teaching methods (3 monographs and 2 dissertations); (5) educational organisation, educational administration (4 monographs, 1 dissertation). It should be noted that the same source covers several storylines.

It is evident that the history of pedagogical ideas is the most prevalent storyline (e.g. Anspaks, 2003). This paradigm can be attributed to several factors: firstly, pedagogical ideas opened up the Western world to the Latvian audience and revealed that the field of education was not as limited to a monochrome spectrum as the Soviets claimed it to be. The liberation from Marxist dogmas allowed researchers to analyse the pedagogical ideas expressed by the actors of the past beyond the confines of the class struggle. However, it became apparent that there was as yet no other framework to replace Marxism. Therefore,

the presentation of pedagogical ideas in our sources is often descriptive or difficult for the reader to grasp due to a weak or largely missing framework for the analysis. Secondly, the analysis of pedagogical ideas allowed the audience to engage with the bearers of these ideas – oftentimes figures who were marginalised or banned during the years of Soviet censorship.

The school history storyline, conversely, is inherited from the Soviet-era historical scholarship. The persistence of this storyline in democratic Latvia is quite rational since key Latvian historians of education have continued to work on their research initiated during the Soviet years, for example on the development of different types of schools in Riga from the Middle Ages onwards (Staris, 2000). The process of identifying and analysing sources pertaining to the history of schools is a time-consuming endeavour, thus it is only logical that the research undertaken during the Soviet period was continued after the change in the political system and met its reader in a markedly different Latvia. The presentation of school history followed a chronological sequence, reminiscent of the Soviet period. However, it was devoid of the Soviet propaganda overlay and was characterised by a freely determined selection of facts. The references to historical revisionism, as consistent with the requirements of the new, democratic Latvia, were largely inconspicuous. One exception is the title of a chapter in a book on the history of schools in Riga: "Flourishing of People's Education in Riga during the First Free State" (Staris, 2000, p. 119). As this example demonstrates, the Soviet-period term "people's education" is retained, but the reader is immediately alerted to an important historical detail: namely, that education "flourished" in Latvia during the period of its first independence.

The storyline of teacher education is another legacy of the Soviet era. The story of the sons of Latvian peasants who, from the first half of the 19th century onwards, despite all the obstacles of social class, surmount adversity and become teachers of the children of the lower classes, peasants and craftsmen, was a great example of class inequality and struggle. This story, albeit tinged with a different, now national, ideology, persisted in the Latvian educational space – the image of the

national teacher is a testament to the Latvian yearning for education, the triumph overforeign (German and Russian) biases and the dawn of the Latvian intelligentsia (Šmite, 2001).

The research on the history of didactics has also changed little in terms of content. Didactics in the Soviet period was the least politicised branch of education science (unlike educational theory), hence studies in the history of didactics traditionally continued to deal with, for example, mathematics and physical education curriculum and methods, naturally discarding Marxist ideology and Soviet (especially Russian) didactic school propaganda. For example, Ilma Neimane (1993) in her dissertation focused on the curriculum and methodology of the subject of mathematics in the 1920s and 1930s.

The introduction of New School movement (*Reformpädagogik*), which was mentioned only in passing in the Soviet narrative, and even invisible in Latvia, is a novelty. At the end of the 1980s, Latvians were permitted to learn of the Montessori system, whilst Waldorfschools were given a more gradual and cautious introduction (Beļickis, 2001).

The research on the history of educational organisation and administration has not been extensive: one dissertation (Saleniece, 1994) was defended on the subject and subsequently published in a monograph (Saleniece, 2002). Other publications in this field focus mainly on two themes: language in education and women's schooling.

The references to schooling opportunities for the poor classes, which became the source of criticism of political systems other than the Soviet one and thus highly popular in the Soviet period, have almost disappeared from the new narrative. In the politics of educational language, however, scholars have taken the opportunity to dispel the Soviet myth that Latvian schools in the 1860s fell solely under the influence of Germanisation, openly addressing the severe consequences of the Russification of the 1880s. The use of Latvian in schools was completely forbidden, and in parts of Latvia even schoolbooks were printed in Latvian using Cyrillic characters (Staris, Ūsiņš & Žukovs, 2000). Since the Russification of Latvians in the late 19th and early 20th centuries could have been likened to the situation in the Soviet Union, this story was excluded from the history of education in Soviet Latvia.

The re-examination of the context and themes in the history of education led further to the evaluation of the past actors in the field of education.

Actors in the New Narrative on the History of Education

Tosh (2015) maintains that actors are central to narrative as they not only embody historical processes but also create interpretations of events and reveal their meaning. In this capacity, actors help researchers to reconstruct the layers of a narrative, showcasing diverse experiences and unveiling the societal values and ideals that characterised specific eras through the lens of the individual. In a manner akin to narrative storylines, actors contribute to the structuring of historical events, infusing them with meaning. The workings of actors in a storyline can be considered at three levels: primary, secondary, and tertiary. Actors interact with each other, sometimes acting on several levels simultaneously. We will employ this theoretical division to explain actor research in the history of Latvian education (Rüsen, 2004).

The term 'primary actors' is employed to denote individuals who exert a direct influence on the field of education. These are the education policy – or decision-makers. In the new narrative of Latvian education history, the primary actors are largely the ministers of education and members of parliament (Saeima) in inter-war Latvia. It is this group that Irēna Saleniece's dissertation and the subsequent monograph *School Politics in the Republic of Latvia 1918–1934* focus on. The author analyses the actors' motivations, the direct influence of political ideas and disagreements on the educational process but acknowledges that no actor could take decisions unilaterally during this period (Saleniece, 2002, p. 116), unlike in subsequent periods of authoritarian rule. The novelty of the study lies in the author's ambition to capture the subjective opinion of policy makers, "the very understanding of the meaning of historical events by the actors themselves" (Saleniece, 1994, p. 15). This approach would have been ill-advised in Soviet historical scholarship, where all historical events had to be viewed "objectively", from the outside, from the standpoint of the contemporary, which led to the "greatest sin of historians – presentism" (Depaepe, 2020, p. 241).

Although Saliniece as a researcher maintains the most neutral stance possible, the introduction to her dissertation compliments the politicians of the First Free Latvian State: "political leaders not only shaped school policies but also embodied democratic values that served as a source of inspiration for future reforms" (Saleniece, 1994, p. 14).

Other historians of education have focused on two of the most popular primary actors, namely the poet and presidential candidate Rainis and the teacher, writer, and victim of the Soviet regime Atis Ķeniņš (Staris, Ūsiņš & Žukovs, 2000; Anspaks, 2003). However, they are presented rather as secondary actors, i.e. as the exponents of pedagogical ideas.

The secondary actors in the history of education are individuals whose ideas and intellectual labour have influenced contemporary educational processes and have not been consigned to oblivion. Secondary actors are theorised to function as a conduit between the agenda of the ruling power and pedagogical practice. These actors fall into several groups in our selected sources: people active in Latvia, people in Western exile, and European and American educators. Researchers have undoubtedly shown a marked preference for teachers and university lecturers of Latvian origin (e.g. Anspaks, 2003). The "long-livers" of this group are the aforementioned social-democrat teacher Kārlis Dēķens and the poet Rainis, who have been the subject of numerous studies during the Soviet years and in independent Latvia (Ūsiņš, 1975; Ūsiņš, 1983; Anspaks, 2003). Both actors suited all political contexts, for who would dare to oppose their convictions, particularly their firm advocacy for educational equality.

The pedagogical thought of educators who worked in Latvia between the wars, many of whom emigrated to the West at the end of World War II for fear of the communists, and the educators who worked in Soviet Latvia after World War II, thus experiencing all the restrictions imposed by the Soviet authorities and the privileges granted to a loyal elite has been analysed in three special dedicated collections (Staris, 1994, 1998, 2004). These collections contain neutrally written biographies of the actors and excerpts from their works expressing their views on education.

The most innovative of the three collections is undoubtedly the one dedicated to Latvians in Western exile (Staris, 2004). While the Soviet period permitted the reference to one or other educator of the first Latvian state at least as a negative example of bourgeois pedagogy or a fighter against capitalism, Latvians living behind the Iron Curtain were a taboo subject. Their publications were destroyed or placed in classified archives and libraries. Consequently, the research into the life stories and pedagogical legacy of these actors in independent Latvia started from scratch and the collected papers themselves have become a bibliographical rarity in Latvia.

As mentioned above, another group of secondary actors comprises the exponents of pedagogical ideas beyond Latvia's borders, the "classics of education" whose names appear in education history books throughout Europe and are present in the Soviet narrative as well. The most popular among them are Locke, Rousseau, Comenius and Pestalozzi. In independent Latvia, this list has been complemented by Dewey, who was greatly disliked by the Soviet authorities. However also the Russian pedagogues Ushinsky and the writer Leo Tolstoy have retained their positions in the monographs (Anspaks, 2003; Staris, Ūsiņš & Žukovs, 2000).

The tertiary group of actors in the narrative on the history of education comprises teachers and pupils – the everyday doers of educational work, the representatives of school practice. These are the people Aldrich (2002) advocated bringing out of obscurity. This group is represented in the research period by Baiba Kaļķe's dissertation and subsequent monograph *Teachers – Writers in Pedagogy Theory and Practice in Latvia from 1900 to 1940*. In this study, the author describes the biographies of 28 teachers who were also well-known writers of their time and reveals their pedagogical views, such as their propositions for educational methods that were innovative for their time. Kaļķe's study, which could also be called the first prosopography in the history of Latvian education, treats all the protagonists of the narrative with equal favour and no criticism, creating a romanticised image of the teacher. Latvian teachers are described as the driving force of education, educators of society, bearers of the values of the era, maintainers

of national identity, and shapers of history (Kaļķe, 2002, p. 60). The role of the teacher is similarly treated in Irēna Upeniece's dissertation on the history of physical education: the teacher is portrayed as the developer of new methodological approaches that promote the all-round development of children (Upeniece, 1995).

The annual collection in the history of education, *Era and Personality*, which was launched in 2000 (Krūze, 2000), made a special contribution to the research on the tertiary group of actors, but in the first four years of its existence, the collection did not publish the research of professional historians of education, only the research of graduate students of education. The narrative portraits of educators published in this collection are an eloquent example of the romanticisation of the teaching profession (Nobik, Kestere & Gulzynska, 2019).

Actors of Latvian origin dominate at all three levels, and this is understandable, since historians of education were fulfilling the public commission to nurture national identity and thus to produce national heroes. Yet Latvia has always been a multinational country. The research on the educational heritage of actors of Baltic German, Jewish and Russian origin emerged only after 2004.

Conclusions

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the restoration of Latvia's independence, historians specialising in education embarked on a process of re-evaluation, challenging the prevailing narrative that had been shaped by communist ideology and constrained by a narrow methodological framework. This process was necessitated, on the one hand, by public demand for a new national historical narrative and heroes and, on the other, by the open access to archives and libraries after years of Soviet censorship, which revealed previously withheld information.

During the period of transition from authoritarianism to democracy, historians of education were compelled to discard the hegemonic historical narrative that had been promulgated in the Soviet Union, which placed undue emphasis on the educational achievements of Russia and the USSR, as well as on historical actors who were predicated on ideological considerations. During the Soviet regime, the main actors

of the narrative were members of the communist political elite, who were depicted as the primary agents responsible for the development of an education system that was egalitarian in nature and accessible to individuals across all social strata. Educators of Latvian origin were included in the narrative only if their stance could be "adjusted" to the needs of Soviet ideology.

The new narrative on the history of Latvian education required contextualisation and the inter-war period, when Latvia first declared its independence, gained the most attention. This period was portrayed as the romanticised flourishing of the Latvian nation. Likewise, the studies on the history of education contain the first reflections on the recent past under Soviet dictatorship.

The selected contexts were marked by four main storylines: pedagogical ideas, development of Latvian schools, education of Latvian teachers, history of didactics and educational organisation. These storylines featured three groups of actors: decision-makers in education, carriers of pedagogical ideas and actors in practice – teachers and pupils.

Since most of the researchers in the history of education were already active during the Soviet years, the new narrative of education did not differ much from the traditional narrative on the history of Soviet education in terms of its storylines and groups of actors. This is an obvious continuity between the Soviet and independent Latvian narratives. However, several new features emerged, including (1) a shift in focus from the emphasis on class struggle in the field of education, even though narratives on education history remained predominantly focused on the education of the lower classes (particularly the Latvian peasantry). (2) Furthermore, audiences were introduced to actors who had been banned, forgotten and marginalised under the Soviet regime, and who were now freed from staticism and depicted as flesh-and-blood human beings. Conversely, certain actors who were suitable for all political systems retained their position and continued their narrative in the history of education. (3) Finally, the research methodology in the field of history of education broke free from trivialised Marxism. Due to the isolation behind the Iron Curtain which prevented researchers in Latvia from experiencing the historical revisionism of the 1960s

and the inflow of new social science theories into the field of history, the dominant historical description was still that of "acts and facts", but these were pure facts, and their selection was not determined by communist ideological considerations.

Once the transit period was over, the subsequent decades of education history in Latvia brought along new storylines and new actors. Among these developments, the research on the history of higher education and education sciences in Latvia emerged as a prominent area of focus. Alongside Latvians, the educational narratives of other Latvian nations also made their presence felt in the field of education.

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Exploring Negotiations of Belonging. Social Positionings of Children Born of War in Family and Society

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Abstract Over the past two decades, the experiences of children born of war have been studied across various historical and geographical contexts. For many of these children, the question of belonging appears to be both challenging and significant. However, this topic has often been analysed implicitly rather than explicitly, and without a robust theoretical framework. The aim of this paper is to address this research gap in three steps: First, it will explore how the issue of belonging has been addressed in studies of children born of World War II in Europe, focusing on both public and political debates as well as individual experiences. Second, it will present theoretical perspectives on belonging that facilitate a deeper understanding of this complex phenomenon. Finally, the analysis of biographical interviews with Austrian children born of war will illustrate the negotiation of belonging as an ongoing process of positioning in relation to orders of belonging.

Keywords children born of war, politics of belonging, post-war Austria, biographical interviews

"I was born here, grew up here, but don't fully belong here."
"I don't know where I'm from and where I belong, I don't know my identity."
"*When I lived in China, Chinese people didn't trust me because I'm Japanese. After coming to Japan, Japanese people don't trust me because I'm Chinese. Now I feel that I'm sandwiched in between.* [...] *I'm an in-between person."*

Three individuals – so called *children born of war* – describe how they see themselves and their place in the world.[1] They grew up and lived in very different contexts, having been born in the 1940s as the child of a German *Wehrmacht* soldier to a Greek mother, as the child of a former Japanese soldier and a Chinese mother in the 1950ies and as a child born of conflict-related sexual violence within the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in Uganda around the year 2000, respectively. Across these geographical and historical differences, they share a specific aspect regarding their parental origin: all of them were fathered by foreign or enemy soldiers.

We must assume that during and after all wars and armed conflicts all forms of social – including romantic and intimate – contacts between the local population and foreign or enemy soldiers occur. Since about 20 years the term children born of war is used to describe children resulting from such intimate contacts. Usually, they are categorized into four different groups: (1) children of local women and enemy soldiers, (2) children of local women and occupational forces, (3) children of child soldiers and (4) children fathered by members of UN peacekeeping forces (Mochmann, 2008). By coining the term children born of war a new international research was constituted by uniting studies on different historical and geopolitical situations. During the past ten to 15 years the research on children born of war has increased and gotten more diverse and empirically richer, spanning more than a century from WW I up to recent and present armed conflicts in different regions around the globe. Overall, there seems to be a consensus that children fathered by enemy or foreign soldiers and born to local mothers might face significant and intersecting challenges, adversities and discrimination on an individual as well as a structural level during their childhood but also later in life (e.g. Mochmann et al., 2009; Stelzl-Marx & Satjukow, 2015; Kleinau & Mochmann, 2016; Lee, 2017).

1 The statements are from Muth, 2008, p. 76, Denov and Piolanti, 2021, pp. 1142, and Kuramitsu, 2021, pp. 181–182.

The quotes in the beginning draw attention to a specific challenge linked to their parental origin: For neither of the three belonging somewhere or to a certain group comes naturally or can be taken for granted. Apart from indicating that the desire to belong seems to be a relevant issue for children born of war across time and space these statements show some of the different dimensions and meanings of belonging. For example, the relation of a sense of belonging to a place, the link between knowing "where I am from" and one's self-concept, the social position that is not only formed by acts of self-identification but also by being identified by others. In the case of the third interviewee, having Chinese and Japanese origins did not lead to belonging to both places but rather to neither of them as the persons in the surrounding tended to emphasize the *other* part of the interviewee's origin instead of the one that they shared, leading to the feeling of being *in-between*. A sense of belonging is a complex and fundamentally social phenomenon depending on social relationships and practices, conventions, policies and discourses. In research on children born of war, reference is made to this in various forms, but an in-depth discussion that draws on more recent theoretical debates on belonging is still largely lacking.

Taking this as a starting point my goal is to show how belonging is discussed in this field of research and propose theoretical considerations suitable to enable a more in-depth understanding of the complex phenomenon of belonging. Based on my ongoing research on children fathered by occupation soldiers and born to Austrian mothers I will address the question how belonging is negotiated by this group of children born of war. My paper joins those projects of historical educational research that seek to find out more on the life courses of children and young people from marginalized population groups and their conditions of growing up (Tenorth, 2010, p. 174), and strives to counteract the adult- and institution-centeredness of history of education and to contribute to the recovery of marginalized histories (Aldrich, 2003, pp. 134–135). I start by discussing how the topic of belonging has been addressed in research on children who were born of World War II in Europe concerning public and political debates as well as their experiences. So far, in most cases these dimensions are discussed separately

and there are few references to theoretical explorations of the question of belonging, although in recent years such debates have been advanced for example in social and political sciences, educational science, gender studies or social geography. Taking up these debates I will then propose some theoretical considerations on researching belonging. After briefly outlining my research project and some methodological considerations I draw on two interviews to show how a son and a daughter of occupation soldiers negotiate belonging in relation to their family and the place and community they grew up in. I conclude with some remarks on possibilities to further advance this research.

Reflecting the Question of Belonging Concerning Children Born of World War II: Political and Public Debates

During the Second World War (1939–1945) and the subsequent occupation of Austria and Germany (1945–1955), probably one to one and a half million children fathered by members of the German Wehrmacht or the Allied troops were born in different parts of Europe. Already during the war, debates arose about these children in various regions. Drawing on examples from several European countries I will show how the problematizations, political interests, arguments and attitudes towards these children lead to different proposals on how to deal with them.

In the *German Reich*,[2] the political leadership was soon aware of sexual contacts between *Wehrmacht* soldiers and local women in the occupied territories. According to National Socialist racial ideology they were viewed differently depending on the context. Whereas children of German men and Norwegian, Dutch or Danish women were deemed desirable since they were thought to contributed to the "improvement of the 'Aryan' race" and were included in the *Aktion Lebensborn* (Olsen, 2005), the situation was different in the areas to the east of Germany: In general the Slavic population was regarded as 'non-Aryan' and thus

2 In no way do I suggest that the occupation during the German Reich's aggressive invasion of foreign territories is comparable to the occupation of Austria and Germany by the Allies after 1945. But during both periods political debates on children fathered by members of the occupation emerged.

inferior but a "German public interest" (Röger, 2017, p. 28) was articulated regarding those children who were considered as suitable to be 'Germanized'. By bringing them to Germany the low birth rates were to be compensated (Mühlhäuser, 2010, pp. 309–333) and probably around 50.000 children were abducted and fostered out, adopted or raised in care homes in the German Reich (Heinemann, 2022, p. 8).

In Norway, the 10,000–12,000 children of German soldiers also were the subject of debate during and after the war. Several parties denied that they were genuine Norwegians and called for them (as well as their mothers) to be stripped of their citizenship and deported to Germany, Sweden or even Australia. The justifications ranged from the allegation of psychiatric disorders, the fear that they would later develop National Socialist attitudes and thus destabilize Norwegian society, to the question of their financial provision and possible need for welfare support. In fact, in 1945 a law was passed according to which women who had married a German and their children lost their Norwegian citizenship, which led to severe legal disadvantages. However, deportations on the planned scale did not occur (Borgersrud, 2005). In the post-war era in the Netherlands precarious situations arose for children of *Wehrmacht* soldiers. The Dutch authorities considered them to be of German nationality but according to German law they were to receive the citizenship of their mother. These children therefore remained stateless until 1948, when the Supreme Court of the Netherlands granted them the right to citizenship (Diederichs, 2005, pp. 158–159). In France, on the other hand, in the post war years the official policy was that children of French soldiers were considered French citizens. In Germany's French occupation zone endeavours of 'repatriation' were undertaken: German children with French fathers had to be registered and their mothers were urged to give them up for adoption to France. Around 17,000 children were registered and around 1,500 of them were adopted by French families (Gries, 2015, pp. 382–391).

The citizenship of children born to Austrian mothers and fathered by members of the Allied forces was not debated. In Austria and Germany, political and professional debates regarding the belonging of children born of war unfolded mainly in relation to children whose origins

were visible. Relationships between Austrian and German women and Black and People of Color did not align with ideas of respectable femininity or were seen as "forbidden mingling" (Saurer, 2005) in the wake of the National Socialist racial ideology. The rejection and devaluation to which the women were subjected often was projected onto their children. In both countries youth welfare offices recommended adoptions to the USA and used social and financial pressure to obtain the mothers' consent. Allegedly, this was meant to be in the best interests of the children (Rohrbach, 2021, p. 52). However, these transnational adoptions can also be interpreted as an effort to maintain the ideal of a homogeneous, white society. In contrast to Austria, in the 1950s an alternative position emerged in pedagogical discourses in Germany demanding mainstream society to change their attitude and see Black children as an equal part of German society. Their successful social integration should prove that Germany had moved beyond its National Socialist past (Kleinau & Schmid, 2017).

These selected examples show that political, legal and public discourses surrounding the belonging of children born of the World War II put forth different arguments in order to include or exclude them in the community. Depending on the context, they referred to (sometimes racist or biologistic) ideas of nation, culture or people and drew on legal, economic, demographic, humanitarian or democratic reasons, among others. These considerations were part of a broader debate concerning the 'proper' place, home and belonging of individuals and populations: "In broad areas of Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, political decisions were made at the end of the war – supported by Britain and the US – to transfer, expel and generally 'unmix' ethnic populations in hopes of ensuring postwar security and stability" (Fehrenbach, 2022, p. 185). Two things are striking in this regard: First, the examples discussed above show how children born of war became objects of political interests and more often than not their best interests and wellbeing played a marginal role in decisions about them. Second the whole idea of 'unmixing' is rendered absurd by the mere existence of children born of war – or vice versa they were assigned an impossible position within the framework of such a policy.

Experiences and Sense of Belonging of Children Born of World War II

In the last two decades experiences of children born of war have been investigated by means of interviews and questionnaires. Although the sense of (un-)belonging has seldomly explicitly been at the centre of the analysis I would argue that it is expressed when interviewees report experiences of exclusion, ostracism, marginalization, and of being treated differently. Children born of the Second World War faced the risk of significant and intersecting challenges and discrimination on an individual as well as a structural level, many of them negatively impacting their sense of belonging. Like other illegitimate children, in many countries they were viewed as a deviation from bourgeois gender and family norms and faced legal disadvantages. Often being regarded as *children of the enemy* (Lee, 2012; Korhel, 2023), they were threatened by stigmatization and exclusion. Especially if their origin was visible, for example because their fathers were Moroccan or African-American soldiers, they were exposed to othering and racism.

Growing up without a (biological) father was not uncommon in the post-war period and contrary to widespread assumptions it cannot be regarded as a risk factor per se (Schmid, 2023, pp. 210–211). However, children born of war repeatedly experienced situations in which they were treated differently or marginalized because of their status as illegitimate child. In several accounts schools in particular appear to be a context in which children were confronted with normative notions regarding families, for example when family relationships were publicly interrogated by the teacher. Not having a father could be the cause of ridicule by teachers and a starting point for teasing by classmates (Guerrini, 2022, pp. 68–69) due to the important role of teachers as socializing agents and relationship models (Yoon & Bauman, 2014, pp. 309–310). Several studies on children born of the Second World War reveal similar findings. Not only were the "preconditions for a successful educational career for occupation children, especially for girls, anything but favorable" (Kleinau, 2015, p. 169), in addition, they often had "a precarious and marginal position in school" (Ericsson & Ellingsen,

2005, p. 96). This could cause feelings of not being like the others and not fitting in (Guerrini, 2022, p. 112).

The question "to belong or not to belong?" (Ericsson & Ellingsen, 2005, p. 96) arose for many children born of war also in relation to their social environment or even in their own family. Experiences like not being allowed to enter in certain houses (ibid.) and to participate in the local club life (Guerrini, 2023, p. 160) or being asked to go back where they came from (Bland, 2021, p. 69) could lead to feeling "exotic" or "always somehow different" (Guerrini, 2023, p. 161). Especially derogatory names referring to the paternal origins such as Moeffenkinder (Netherlands: children of German prostitutes), enfants maudits (France: cursed children), or Amibalg and Russenbastard (Germany and Austria: American brat, Russian bastard) conveyed the message that *you are not like us* and *you don't (really) belong here*. They are expressions of racist depreciation and create otherness.

Some children born of war experienced that their belonging was questioned even within the family. This was often closely linked to racist and nationalist attitudes within local communities, especially if children were visibly different from the majority population. In Germany, for example, children of Black GIs grew up in residential care homes or foster families and were given up for adoption significantly more often than those fathered by *white* members of the Allied forces (Malanda, 2024, p. 46). While many children born of war also report good experiences in their environment and family and that received love and care from their mother or other parental caregivers there remained the risk that this could suddenly be disrupted: "The sword of Damocles of stigmatization always hovered over an ordinary everyday life" (Satjukow, 2015, p. 152). For children born of war, belonging to family, community and nation was often not as taken for granted as it was for their peers.

Children born of war differ from other children growing up without their father in another aspect that is essential for a sense of belonging. Family belonging is also formed by being embedded in family narratives and family history. In their case, the (biological) father was often concealed or very little information was available about him. This can

pose challenges regarding self-concept and identity: One's own life story cannot be thought of independently from the family history that connects the past with the future. Since children usually learn building their life story by mutual remembering and storytelling with their parents or primary caregivers and build up a biographical memory in the process (Fivush & Hessel, 2010, pp. 47–49), the question of identity and family belonging may remain precarious if people know nothing or too little about their family's history. In several studies belonging is constricted to a question of identity, for example naming "loneliness and lack of belonging [a] paramount theme in identity descriptions" (Mitreuter et al., 2022) and thus suggesting that a sense of belonging is something one does or does not possess. Such a view does not adequately consider the social dimension of both identity and belonging as well as their processual character, contextuality and possible changes over a person's lifetime.

Belonging as a Complex Phenomenon: Theoretical Perspectives

In order to examine belonging theoretical perspectives able to examine the relationship between individuals and social contexts are necessary. Nira Yuval-Davis has proposed an analytical framework for the study of belonging in which a distinction is made between (the sense of) belonging and politics of belonging. On an individual level, belonging is described as an "emotional attachment", a sense of "feeling 'at home' and […] 'safe'" (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 197). Feeling at home refers not only to a specific place, but also to a symbolic space characterized by familiarity, security, safety and emotional connection (hooks, 2019, p. 213). Regarding children and young people, it has been noted that belonging is an existential personal as well as political matter (Johansson et al., 2024, pp. 4–5) and an important resource in navigating structural and institutional constraints and opportunities (Cuervo & Wyn, 2017, p. 221). From an early age on a sense of belonging arises in shared experiences that are actively co-created by children together with their peers but also with caring adults in family, community and educational institutions (Locchetta et al., 2025) thus emphasizing

the adults' responsibility in creating a surrounding for such practices. Often feelings of belonging remain unquestioned:

> "Belonging tends to be naturalized, and becomes articulated and politicized only when it is threatened in some way. The politics of belonging comprises specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging in particular ways to particular collectivities that are, at the same time, themselves being constructed by these projects in very particular ways."
> (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 197)

At the very core of the politics of belonging is the (discursive) construction of socio-spatial boundaries, along which distinctions are made between *us* and *the others* and participation and exclusion are negotiated. This can take place with reference to various, more or less formal criteria such as citizenship, family ancestry, place of birth, but also culture, religion, loyalty to a state and support of dominant values (Yuval-Davis, 2006, pp. 204–212). Thus, belonging should be analysed both on the level of the individual as well as in its social dimension. Focusing on just one of the dimensions – as has often been the case in research on children of war – does not allow to capture experiences and sense of belonging in all their complexity. It risks either individualizing belonging and viewing it as independent of the social conditions of its emergence. Or, by looking exclusively at the level of politics and society, it risks viewing belonging merely as a product of social relations and dominant discourses and thus disregarding the agency of individuals (Antonsich, 2010, p. 653).

To focus on belonging is interesting precisely because of the close interweaving of self-relations and social relations, when asking "under what social, political and societal conditions […] individuals can understand […] themselves as belonging to a context" (Mecheril & Hoffarth, 2006, p. 247). This takes into account that not all children and young people have equal access to surroundings that allow to nurture feelings of belonging, especially when they differ from their peers in some way (Johansson et al., 2024; Locchetta et al., 2025). Belonging can be

used as a heuristic concept for investigating acts of (self-)positioning in social contexts: experiences of belonging can be reconstructed in biographical narratives and analysed as positionings in orders of belonging (Schwendowius, 2015, p. 105). Orders of belonging refer to "powerful contexts that productively influence individuals through a complex form of enabling and regulating, symbolic, cultural, political and biographical inclusion and exclusion" (Geier & Mecheril, 2021, p. 191) and are produced and negotiated in legal, media, political, scientific, cultural and economic discourses (ibid., p. 175). Researching belonging based on these considerations sharpens the focus for the analysis of power relations in concrete social spaces and for their significance with regard to the positioning and self-understandings of subjects (Schwendowius, 2015, pp. 109–110). Specifically, the analysis of interviews can show how belonging is constructed in which situation, which notions of normality and differentiation are updated, expanded or questioned and what consequences this has for the subjects.

Negotiations of Belonging in Biographical Narratives of Children Born of War in Western Austria

In the aftermath of World War II Austria was occupied by the allied forces until 1955 and divided in the American, the British, the French and the Soviet occupation zones. Due to the high number of Allied soldiers in Austria, there were many opportunities for contacts in everyday life, some of which led to romantic relationships or sexual encounters and the birth of children. Current estimates range from 20,000 to 30,000 children of Allied soldiers born in Austria from 1945 to 1956 (Stelzl-Marx, 2009; Stelzl-Marx & Satjukow, 2015). For a long time, there was little scientific (and public) attention on this topic and in Western Austria (Tyrol and Vorarlberg – the French occupation zone) there was almost no academic debate on children born of war when I started working on my research project in 2018. Due to this situation in a first step my project aimed at reconstructing the history of this population group whose childhoods, living conditions and life stories had not been scientifically researched in Western Austria. I started

by posing the question how their situation can be described, which experiences they made and what significance they attributed to their origins. For most of the interviewees the question of belonging played an important role (Guerrini, 2022; Guerrini, 2023).

In two phases (2019 and 2023/24), I conducted autobiographical narrative interviews (Schütze, 1983; Schütze, 1984) with 14 daughters and sons of French, Moroccan, Algerian and US-American soldiers.[3] This interview form allows a "comprehensive and intrinsically structured access to the interviewees' world of experience" (Flick, 2014, p. 227). It offers openness for unexpected topics and makes non-explicable, latent knowledge accessible for reconstruction (Rosenthal, 2008). Remembering and narrating serves to classify and interpret past experiences in a current situation. Past events that are considered significant are brought to mind and reproduced as stories. This takes place in the context of the present cultural framework and is shaped by knowledge and values acquired after the occurrence of the narrated events. Through storytelling, people construct and express their identity as well as their relation to the world (Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann, 2004), two core aspects of a sense of belonging. This is why storytelling goes beyond the mere reproduction of past experiences and is a constructive act on several levels. For the interpretation of the interviews a combination of a Grounded Theory approach (Strauss, 1994) and positioning analysis (Bamberg, 2004; Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann, 2004; Jafke et al., 2022) enables to systematically analyse the different layers of a biographical narration and to reconstruct processes of positionings in orders of belonging. The focus of the following analysis lies on the aspect of the narrative negotiation of a sense belonging and

3 The interviewees were found through media reports, the organization *Coeurs sans Frontières – Herzen ohne Grenzen* (https://www.coeurssansfrontieres.com/) and through personal contacts. Various ethical questions arise in biographical research, particularly when it comes to potentially distressing experiences. In addition to the principles of informed consent, confidentiality and anonymization, a generally sensitive approach during data collection and analysis, which is based on the principle of avoiding harm, and critical self-reflection in all phases of the research process are important (Siouti, 2018) and were implemented.

the reconstruction of self-positionings as well as being positioned in relation to relevant dimensions of social order. The interviews with Peter Sanders and Agnes West[4] have been chosen from the sample as two very different examples for processes of exclusion and inclusion in family and community in order to show the complexity of processes of negotiating belonging.

Peter Sanders: "You Stay in the Last Row, So People Won't Think We Belong Together"

Peter Sanders was born in 1946 and grew up with his mother and stepfather in a village in rural Tyrol. Since his mother refused to talk about his (biological) father, only when he was a young adult Peter came to realize little by little that his father had been an American GI. When being asked to tell me about his life he begins the narration in the following way:

> "Yes, so (*pause*), as a child, when I was still very small, I (*gulps audibly*) (*pause*) simply noticed that something was not quite right."
>
> (Sanders, interview, 00:00–00:01)

Skipping the usual components of self-introduction that serve to descriptively present the biographical framework by clarifying and assessing the prerequisites of one's own life story (Schütze, 1984, p. 84) Peter Sanders initiates the biographical narrative by naming the central notion in relation to his childhood, followed by several episodes intending to illustrate his feeling that something was odd: Not being accompanied to the first day of primary school by his mother, recurrent visits from a youth welfare worker and his mother's warnings to be absolutely well-behaved, his attempt to run away from home as a four-year-old, but also inexplicably large Christmas presents like toys and English storybooks. According to the interviewee, he was

4 All names have been replaced by pseudonyms.

not in a precarious situation financially, "but more so emotionally" (00:02) recalling feelings of being alone and not wanting to be at home anymore. Already the lack of the usual self-introductory framing can indicate a precarious positioning of the self in a social place (Jafke et al., 2022, p. 135). This becomes visible in the biographical narrative when the interviewee speaks about the lack of shared everyday practices like socializing, playing, caring, and communicating (Cuervo & Wyn, 2017, p. 220) within his family and the wider social circle that would nurture belonging. The circumstances of Peter Sanders' childhood prevented the development of a stable sense of belonging related to a child's usual primary "objects of attachment" (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 199): one's home and primary care-givers.

Similar to other children born of war who do not know about their origins, Peter Sanders had the impression that something is strange, not quite right or "somehow obscure, blurred" (00:26), that experiences cannot be meaningfully interpreted and that the relationship with his mother is troubled and difficult to grasp. Then, at ten years old, there was one occasion – the wedding of his mother to his stepfather – when he was painfully assigned a social position in relation to his family:

> "Then they got married. I can only tell you about the wedding itself… (*long pause*) It still makes me feel sick. (*Pause*) […] When they went into the church they said to my aunt and me: 'You stay in the last row, so people won't think we belong together.' I have never forgotten that." (00:09–00:10)

During the couple's wedding, one of the celebrations that most formally show that "constructions of belonging have a performative dimension" (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 203), the boy was actively excluded. Physically Peter Sanders was assigned a place far away from the couple, symbolically he was positioned outside of the family. A wedding does not only represent a personal promise of belonging together between a couple, it always takes place within power relations of society. In order to claim her legitimate position within bourgeois and catholic norms of femininity and family the mother had to render her illegitimate son

from her former relationship to a foreign soldier invisible during this public ceremony.

Biographically this seems to be a turning point for Peter Sanders. Recalling his subsequent years in a renowned boarding school, he develops a narrative that appears to be a story of emancipation from his familial circumstances based on his academic success. In the interview he talks about having to cut emotional bonds, getting rid of expectations of affection from his mother and learning to break free. This is supported by drawing on ideas of masculine sovereignty as a "discursive resource" (Antonsich, 2010, p. 645) in order to enable biographical inclusion in relation to expectations of a successful male life course. Statements like "I thought to myself either you help yourself or nobody else will" (00:12), "at some point I decided that I wouldn't let anyone hurt me anymore" (00:29), and "I don't need to develop much gratitude either because I wouldn't know what for" (00:47) support this self-positioning. Nevertheless, it remains fragile as feelings of pain and grief and the "longing to belong" (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 202) keep shining through the narration.

Agnes West: "I Grew Up in an Environment Where I Was Simply Accepted"

Agnes West contacted me by sending an e-mail introducing herself as "a Black occupation child" (West, e-mail) and asking to be interviewed for my project. Her narrative begins with a detailed introduction of her father, including his name, year of birth, rank and role in the US military whereas her mother is merely introduced as a "very young beautiful blonde woman" (West, interview, 00:02). Both quickly took a liking to each other and the young woman got pregnant being only 18 years old. Agnes West's grandfather didn't react well at first but then changed his mind:

> "[I was] told that my grandfather got insanely angry that my mother was having a child by a Black soldier and apparently didn't talk to my mother at all throughout the pregnancy. […] [After the birth] my mother went home with me and from that

> moment on I was most precious to my grandfather. He protected me, […] I was his one and only, [to him] there was no one else like me." (00:04–00:05)

The detailed phase of self-introduction is concluded in minute ten with the coda "that's just how I was born…" (00:10) and a long, chronological narrative extending to the present unfolds. In Agnes West's narrative we see that "belonging as a personal, intimate, private sentiment of place attachment ('sense of belonging') […] is built up and grows out of everyday practices" (Antonsich, 2010, p. 645). In a very much taken for granted way she positions herself not only as a part of her family, but also as the centre of attention and affection, especially from her grandfather. This invoked feeling of being at home and rootedness (ibid., p. 646) is not reduced to her family but also to the wider social circle of local children and adults as well as place, sometimes specified as her village and sometimes as the entire valley. During the whole interview Agnes West doesn't make a single reference to the fact that she is the child of an African-American GI and that she grew up as the only Black child in a homogeneous, white environment. When asked directly towards the end of the interview whether she remembers any experiences of racism Agnes West answers:

> "No. I basically grew up in an environment, in a valley, where I was simply accepted. Perhaps people talked about me in some family circles, but to me or to my family? […] I'm not aware of anything." (01:54)

Regarding the question of belonging this leads to several considerations: For one thing, social differences do not always play the role that we as researchers would expect. There is no reason to assume that post-war society in rural Tyrol was not conservative and racist. However, such orders of difference can be contradicted by other relevant criteria of belonging. Especially in small-scale social contexts: for example, the social position of the family in the community might prove of greater influence. Agnes Wests grandmother was the owner of the village inn

and her grandfather, described as a "good" and "well-respected" man, was the president of the local tourism association. On the other hand, the lack of narrated experiences of racism in this interview could be reflected as a limit to what can be thought and said – both in relation to how the interviewee remembers, interprets and reflects on her experiences, but also in relation to her positioning in the interview situation itself (Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann, 2004, pp. 177–180). While Agnes West contacted me to tell me about her "life as a Black occupation child" in the interview this narrative is pushed back in favour of a narrative about a transgenerational story of successful entrepreneurship and social upward mobility.

Conclusion

Biographical interviews prove to be a rich source for researching a person's sense of belonging. Although belonging may be a common challenge for children born of war, it cannot be assumed that the same thing is meant by different people, or in different historical and geographical contexts. Peter Sanders' story, for example, contains some elements of the experiences that are often constructed as typical of so-called occupation children: for example, feelings of being alone and not belonging and the refusal to communicate about his father. However, this does not lead to a narrative that remains in the mode of suffering – but neither can his story be read without further ado as a successful 'liberation' from his circumstances of origin. Rather, the struggle with different interpretations and the fragility of positionings become visible, which must not be dissolved in favour of one narrative figure or even a conclusion considered clear and unambiguous. What is not found in the interview is a problematization of growing up without a father. Instead, the family (and village) in which he grows up is constructed as strange and 'not normal' in a way that is difficult to grasp, as an environment to which he does not want to belong and he distances himself from it and from the attitudes of his mother and stepfather. The interview with Agnes West, on the other hand, makes it clear that the circumstances under which people can perceive themselves as belonging

are not always organized along socially relevant and powerful lines of differentiation.

Thus, belonging should not be examined as a state that someone has or has not achieved, but as an ongoing, dynamic process. This not only focuses on the fundamental contextuality of belonging, but also makes it possible to analyse changes and development over a person's lifetime. It is important to reconstruct contemporary and current social and academic discourses, legal frameworks and social practices, which appear in the form of orders of belonging and difference, for example, but also dominant narrative patterns, in order to interpret the experiences recounted. By analysing biographical interviews, it is possible to ask which ones are addressed by the interviewees, how they position themselves in relation to them, to what extent they adopt attributions and classifications or distance themselves from them and develop alternative interpretations of their situation and life story.

> "Only by means of biographical narratives can the question be clarified as to how the discursively produced subject positions are not only filled discursively, but also felt and lived. I.e.: Biographical narratives reveal the individual productions and representations of meaning in the context of discursive regimes." (Tuider, 2007, par. 26).

Conversely, knowledge of relevant discourses, social structures or legal frameworks can "provide clues to the larger overall context of narratives that reveal the references and disruptions of individual positioning" (ibid.). In my opinion, how a sense of belonging and politics of belonging are related should be reconstructed on a case-by-case basis. Advancing theoretical considerations on belonging in the field of research on children born of war could contribute to a more precise understanding of the connection between their individual experiences and the social conditions and to opening up the reconstruction of their positioning as so-called 'occupation children' to an intersectional perspective and considering its interdependence with other social positionings.

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Education of Lithuanian Roma in the Context of Creating the New Soviet Man

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Abstract The Soviet Union's ideological objective of shaping the New Soviet Man profoundly influenced the education of ethnic minorities, including the Roma. This article investigates the education of Lithuanian Roma in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (LSSR) as a mechanism of social engineering and ideological assimilation within broader Soviet policies. The study focuses on the period from 1956 – marked by the decree on forced sedentarisation and the beginning of Roma integration into the education system – until 1985, the onset of Gorbachev's *perestroika*. The research addresses the question: How did Soviet education policy in the LSSR function as a means of ideological assimilation and social engineering for the Roma, and how do Roma individuals recall experiencing this process? It explores key dimensions of Roma education, including the construction of the New Soviet Man, the impact of forced sedentarisation, and the role of schooling in promoting linguistic assimilation, discipline, and social control. Furthermore, it examines how educational institutions were instrumental in advancing the Soviet visions of "socialist welfare", atheism, and "friendship between nations" through russification. Employing an oral history approach, the study incorporates testimonies of Roma who attended Soviet schools alongside document analysis. Findings reveal that while Soviet education policies sought to promote literacy, they simultaneously acted as instruments of cultural assimilation – reinforcing Soviet identity at the expense of ethnic distinctiveness. This research contributes to the broader discourse on education, ideology, and minority identity under Soviet rule, offering a nuanced perspective on Roma experiences in the LSSR.

Keywords Soviet education, New Soviet Man, Roma, Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, oral history

Introduction

The creation of the Soviet Union (hereafter USSR) in 1922 marked the beginning of a communist-based era. One of its main goals was to create New Soviet Man (Soboleva, 2017) and to create a completely new type of society in which the national, social, cultural, and other problems of the past humanity would supposedly be solved (Slezkine, 2017). The educational system was clearly used to achieve these goals. Following Lenin's statements, one of the main barriers to communist ideas obtaining support among the population was illiteracy. Its elimination (Russian: *likvidatsiya bezgramotnosti*) was used not only as a tool for overcoming "backwardness" but also as an element of political propaganda (Kenez, 1985). As a result of the national Leninist policy of the time, the so-called "*korenizatsiya*" (trans. "indigenisation" or "nativisation"), many small ethnic groups were able to learn their mother tongue[1] (Connor, 1984), while the Roma were recognised as a historically oppressed minority and the *korenizatsiya* was used to achieve equal rights for the Roma as full soviet citizens, which suggested a kind of emancipation of Roma (Selling, 2022). As a result of the above-mentioned *korenizatsiya*, Roma schools were established in the 1920s and 1930s, where teachers were specially trained (Marushiakova & Popov, 2017; Dunajeva, 2021b), considerable attention was paid to linguistic research, and textbooks for adults and children, methodological tools, magazines, publicist, and fictional texts were published (Demeter & Chernykh, 2018, p. 18). However, researchers suggest that some materials never reached their direct readers (Marushiakova & Popov, 2017, p. 50).

According to Dunajeva, who investigated the textbooks written in the Romani language in 1920–30, even the teaching of simple

1 In 1926, an attempt was made to introduce a written Romani language based on the Cyrillic dialect of *Ruska Roma* in Moscow (Wixman, 1984, p. 77), which, according to some authors, could be considered as another crime in violation of fundamental human rights, given the heterogeneity of the group speaking different dialects (Marushiakova & Popov, 2017, pp. 49–52).

grammatical rules was intended to transform their identities from "unsettled fortune-tellers" to the working Roma:

'The Roma way of life was equated with the oppression of old, pre-revolutionary times, while the new socialist life of which the Roma were to become part was characterised by equality and work. What was seen as the traditional Roma way of life was incompatible with the goals of the state, and schools were to "transform" Roma children into productive socialist workers. Socialism, therefore, was seen as the emancipation and empowerment the Roma needed in order to leave their "backwards" habits in the past (Dunajeva, 2021a, p. 65).

In 1938, soviet education policy changed radically: Roma schools were closed and Roma had to be integrated into general education schools without any elements of multilingualism (Marushiakova & Popov, 2017), where they had to be further "civilised" and "normalised" (Dunajeva, 2021b, pp. 66–67). The soviet authorities aimed to create a uniform socialist society with standardised norms for its citizens in which the Roma with their "deviant" lifestyles were perceived as a potential obstacle (Barany, 2002, p. 114). According to Stewart (1997, p. 5) the assimilation and complete "disappearance" of the Roma were supposed to be a kind of proof of the power of socialism and the effectiveness of the communist method, also author argues that the communist government set itself "the truly Herculean task" of cultural and social assimilation of millions of people. Thus, an almost identical policy of Roma assimilation was pursued throughout the countries of the socialist bloc (i.e., in the USSR itself, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, and partly in Yugoslavia), with a few exceptions, and continued until the collapse of the Soviet Union. In Lithuania, the process in question significantly accelerated following the reoccupation of the country in 1944 and its subsequent incorporation into the Soviet Union as the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic. According to statistical data[2] in 1959 there were 13,124 Roma living in the USSR (1,238

2 The reliability of Soviet statistics is a contentious issue among scholars, with many authors, such as Naum Jasny, arguing that these data often served as a tool for pro-

in the LSSR); in 1970 – 175,335 (1,880 in the LSSR); in 1979 – 209,159 (2,306 in the LSSR) (Goskomstat, 1988). In 1989 – 26,383.899 Roma lived in the USSR, of whom 2,718 lived in Lithuania, i.e., 1.03 % of the total population of Lithuania (Demeter & Chernykh, 2018, p. 119). It is true that in the soviet statistics, the Roma were referred to as *tsygane*. Under this generalised term, there were many groups that were different in language, culture and way of life (ibid., p. 18), whose list kept changing during the census years in the USSR: *Sinti, Bosha, Rom, Dom, Mugat* (Roma of Central Asia) (Wixman, 1984, p. 77), *Karachi, Mazang, Jugli, Lyuli, Gurbat* (Marushiakova & Popov, 2016, p. 32–33) and others. Currently, there are also several subgroups of Roma in Lithuania: *Litóvska, Lotfktka, Kalderash* or *Kotliar*, *Fliuki* (the latter are almost extinct) (Kozhanov, 2022) and *Polska Roma*, in the LSSR all of them were also most commonly called *čigõnai* (in Lithuanian) or *tsygane* (in Russian: цыгане)[3].

The Soviet policy aimed not only to standardize ethnonyms but also to homogenize the Roma population itself. This objective was pursued, in part, through the educational system. Ascertaining the practical implementation of this policy within the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (LSSR) educational context remains challenging due to the highly fragmented nature of scientific data concerning the education of Lithuanian Roma during the Soviet period. While the general history of Roma in Eastern Europe and Russia has received considerable

paganda rather than a factual representation. Consequently, researchers generally advise exercising considerable caution when utilizing Soviet statistical sources.

3 The widely used term *Roma* embraces a broad categorisation of different groups. Although some researchers (Lemon, 2000; Petrova, 2003; Edele, 2014; Marushiakova & Popov, 2016) have criticised it as insufficiently accurate or even historically misleading (Demeter & Chernykh, 2018), this article uses it as the main term (with exceptions when quoting informants, where their language remains unedited). This choice is based not only on its current perception as the most politically correct term in the Lithuanian context but also because the First World Romani Congress (1971) and the Council of Europe (2012) have reached a consensus on accepting and using this term. Moreover, it has been adopted in the EU as an anti-discrimination term (Cemlyn & Ryder, 2016, pp. 163–164).

attention from scholars such as Crowe (1994), Kenrick (2007), Demeter and Chernykh (2018), and the broader life of Roma in the USSR and its bloc countries has been examined by Konstantinova (2012), O'Keeffe (2013), Marushiakova and Popov (2016, 2017), and Dunajeva (2021a, b), specific information on the situation of Roma in the Baltic States, or Lithuania between 1940 and 1990, is limited. Simoniukštytė (2003, 2022) offers some insight, but without detailed discussion of education. Furthermore, studies concerning the formation of the New Soviet Man in the Soviet Union generally (Kogan, 2011; Kelly, 2013; Soboleva, 2017) and particularly within the LSSR (Svičiulienė, 2016; Kestere et al., 2020; Naudžiūnienė, 2021; Stonkuvienė, 2023, 2024; Stonkuvienė and Ivanavičė, 2024) have not, to date, included an examination of Roma education within this ideological framework.

This article analyzes aspects of the education of Roma as "new Soviet people" within schools in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic[4]. Given the absence of detailed academic research on this specific topic, this study addresses the gap by employing an oral history approach. This methodology facilitates the active participation of informants – both Roma individuals and their former classmates –in the co-construction of historical narratives, thereby generating a new and unique source of historical knowledge.

Methodology

Considering the general lack of data resulting from the scarce research on educational processes of the ethnic Roma group in Lithuania, this article uses data from two separate qualitative studies conducted at

4 The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (LSSR) functioned as a de facto constituent republic of the Soviet Union from 1940–1941 and again from 1944–1990. However, since no significant educational reforms were implemented during the initial Soviet occupation, this article focuses solely on the second occupation. Particular attention is given to the period from 1956, which marked the adoption of a decree on the compulsory settlement of Roma and the commencement of their integration into the educational system, through 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika reforms began.

different times. Both studies were conducted by using oral history as the main approach.

Firstly, this article is based on part of the research data collected during the project "Raising of the 'New Man' in Soviet Schools: The Case of Lithuania" (funded by the Research Council of Lithuania, No. S-LIP-19-68/ (1.78) SU-810) conducted over the period 2020–2022. A total of 34 individuals, comprising 20 women and 14 men, participated in the study. The main criterion for selection was their experience of attending a soviet-era school. Accordingly, the informants were aged 45–75 and had attended various types of educational institutions in Lithuania during the late soviet period. The analysis and evaluation of all the interview material gathered during this research has revealed that the project aims have been met with additional, unplanned and qualitatively unique information – the stories of Roma (4 in total) and those who studied with Roma (3) about their school experiences during the soviet era. The material from interviews provides not only a glimpse (even if fragmentary) of the unique school experiences of Roma during the soviet era but also compares them in the general context of learners of different nationalities in schools of the LSSR of that time.

Secondly, it is also based on the data collected during the dissertation research[5] *Challenges of Roma Education in Lithuania and Initiatives to Overcome Them: A Multi-perspective Historical (1956–2024) Narrative* conducted by I. Ivanavičė at Vilnius University in 2024. In the first study, the questions were divided into thematic blocks related to the school building and environment itself; curriculum; relationships with teachers and peers; parental involvement; celebrations; and memorable events. Meanwhile, in the second study, the informants were asked to describe the realities of their children's and grandchildren's education, comparing them with the past, i.e., their own memories of school. The informants were asked to share their earliest memories of school. The learning experiences of 9 Roma (7 woman, 2 men) who were educated

5 Approval from the Research Ethics Compliance Committee was obtained on 28 March 2024 (No. [1.13 E] 250000-KT-50).

in the soviet educational system before 1985 were selected for this article. The table provides data on the informants. In accordance with research ethics and given that the Roma ethnic group in Lithuania is not large, the names of the informants are not disclosed; instead, codes are used. The exact ages of the informants are also not specified; only their rounded years of birth are provided. In order to ensure maximum anonymity, places of birth are also not specified. It is also important to note that not all informants in the study started school at the typical school age of 7–8 years old; some started much later.

Table No. 1. *Data on the informants.*

Code	Gender	Date of birth	Place of birth	School education
IR-01	Female	~1950	Rural area	Can't remember (about four grades)
IR-02	Female	~1950	City	Completed 8th grade
IR-03	Female	The mid-1950s	District center	Completed 8th grade
IR-04	Female	The mid-1950s	District center	Completed 4th grade
IR-05	Female	The mid-1950s	Rural area	Can't remember (about four grades)
IR-06	Male	~1960	City	Completed 8th grade
IR-07	Male	~1960	City	Completed 8th grade
IR-08	Female	The mid-1960s	District center	Can't remember (about four grades)
IR-09	Female	~1970	District center	Completed 8th grade
NR-010	Male	1970	City	Completed 11th grade
NR-011	Female	1965	City	Completed 10th grade
NR-012	Male	1967	Rural area	Completed 11th grade

Most of the narratives in both studies were recorded with the consent of the informants. The transcription process de-personalised the informants' data. One aspect to note regarding the data collected during the

COVID-19 pandemic is that some of the data was collected remotely using video chat platforms (MS Teams, Zoom, Messenger), while others were collected in person. The recordings ranged in length from 20 minutes to almost 2 hours (average length approx. 40 minutes). Four narratives were handwritten after the informants refused to use audio recording. The interviews were conducted in Lithuanian and Russian. Data analysis was conducted using the principles of reflexive thematic analysis, as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2021). MAXQDA Analytic Pro 2022 facilitated the coding of the data. While the primary themes of this article emerged directly from the informants' narratives, these were analyzed within the broader framework of the project "New Man in Soviet Schools: The Case of Lithuania"[6]. Various Soviet documents, including state decrees and orders, served as additional sources of data.

Considering the chronological frame of the research, and the specificity of the ideology of that period, both studies were expected to encounter the issues already discussed in Lithuania (Pušinskytė, 2008; Švedas, 2010; Vinogradnaitė et al., 2018), the complex challenges inherent in the research of soviet-era oral history. They included stereotypes about the genre of conversation in the context of the period under discussion, prejudices, caution, and reluctance to speak on certain topics. However, for the Roma informants in the research, the narratives of the soviet era did not evoke such reactions. The negative aspects were not related to the soviet ideology or the period itself, but rather to personal life experiences. Even the direct object of this research – education itself as a phenomenon and its related aspects – became a sensitive issue when interviewing some of the informants, e.g. low-literate people, for example, admitting that if they did not learn to read at school, they only learned to do so in correctional facilities as adults. In line with the ethics of the research and the chosen oral history approach (Thompson, 2000; Ritchie 2015), the aim was to enable the informants to dominate and narrate their own lives without specific guidance or

6 The comprehensive results of this project are detailed in publications by Kestere et al. (2020), Kestere & Gonzalez-Fernandez (2021), Naudžiūnienė (2021), Stonkuvienė (2023, 2024), and Stonkuvienė & Ivanavičė (2024).

direction from the researcher (Hamilton & Shopes, 2008). While it is true that data collected in this way can be criticised for its lack of comprehensiveness and objectivity (Perks & Thomson, 2005), it also allows the voices of those (in this case, the Roma) who are not usually heard to be heard (Portelli, 2009).

In line with the ethical requirements of the research and taking into account that the ethnonym Roma may be too generalising, it should be specified that the empirical study analyses interviews with representatives of *Litovska Roma, Kotliars* and *one Polska Roma* self-identifier.

Formation of the New Soviet Roma in LSSR Schools

A propaganda report from 1960, eloquently titled " Not on the Parents' Path"[7], found in the *Lithuanian Central State Archives*, depicts two parallels in Roma life: the "old traditional" and the "new socialist". The "old" life depicts the life of Roma who "never learnt to work for centuries" and who "earned a living dishonestly" in tents and large families. At the same time, the moralistic question is asked: "What does the life of their parents in the camp hold for these children?". The answer is also not shy: poverty and dubious freedom. Meanwhile, the second part of the report introduces the "new soviet Roma": a fifth grader wearing a pioneer's[8] neckerchief, a 19-year-old girl working in a machine shop, a factory worker, a seamstress and her brother, an economist. The latter are described with the following eloquent epithets: "young people earning money honestly", "the new generation that has not followed the path of their parents", the generation "re-educated by our [soviet] reality". This report provides a good insight into the soviet

7 *Ne tėvų keliu* [Not on the Parents' Path. A Propaganda Report], 1960. LCVA, KX/1/0548-35, Lithuanian Central State Archives.

8 The Vladimir Lenin All-Union Pioneer Organization, commonly known as the Young Pioneers, was a state-sponsored youth organization in the Soviet Union. Established in 1922 and active until 1991, it enrolled children and adolescents between the ages of 9 and 14, serving as a preparatory stage for the Komsomol (*The All-Union Leninist Young Communist League*) and a key instrument of political socialization. Informants in the present study frequently referred to their past membership in this organization using the abbreviated term "pioneers".

government's attitude towards the Roma and calls for a closer look at the policy of Roma's education and the main institution of (re)education – the school.

Forced Sedentarisation and Education. Although the Soviet Union had been developing a communist society and shaping the New Man for nearly three decades, this process gained momentum in Lithuania only after the World War II. The inhabitants of Lithuania, including the Roma who lived or wandered there, *de jure* became part of the new soviet society. Perhaps because the experiments in social engineering aimed at creating the New Soviet Man reached Lithuania significantly later, aggressive measures were quickly implemented. These included a series of regime policies, repressions, and obligations imposed on all citizens of the Lithuanian SSR, some specifically targeting the Roma.

One of the aggressive measures of repressive policies directed at the Roma was the decree issued by the USSR Council of Ministers on 5 October 1956, Resolution No. 1373 (approved by the Lithuanian Council of Ministers on 17 November, Resolution No. 552 (ChR, 1956, 190), titled "On Reconciling Vagrant Gypsies to Labour". According to Edele, the soviet authorities saw the Roma only as nomads, which *a priori* did not fit the image of the "new man" and was automatically perceived as a problem to be "solved" (2014, p. 289). So the document in question became that solution. It is true that, due to the extremely difficult post-war situation, it is difficult to say how many Roma in Lithuania at the beginning of the soviet era were actually nomads and how many were sedentary, but according to the new decree, within the next three months after the announcement, the nomadic Roma living in the Allied republics had to be settled in permanent residences, registered and employed. Referring to oral history of the Roma, Demeter, Chernykh (2018, pp. 185–186) argues that it is the order of 1956 that many Roma groups today associate with the end of their families' nomadic life and the transition to a sedentary lifestyle (although some groups have managed to continue to live in the seasonal traditions of resettlement, and many more still do so in some forms today). From the perspective of the Communist Party, this resolution was part of the integration of the

Roma into socialist society, while after the collapse of the USSR it came to be seen as a violation of human rights (Petrova, 2003) or even the culmination of the repression of the Roma in the context of all the other resolutions (Crowe, 1994; Lemon, 2000; Barany, 2002; Dunajeva, 2021).

There is no doubt that this new regime profoundly altered the lives of Roma in Lithuania. Local authorities were required to organise cultural and housing provisions. If housing could not be provided, Roma individuals had to be granted funds for the construction of living space. It was also stipulated that arbitrarily changing or abandoning one's registered permanent residence, as well as refusing to perform public work, could result in search operation and criminal charges. In fact, most Roma were provided with housing, primarily barrack-type flats in district centres (Žilevičius, 2001, p. 10), while some were given plots of land (Bradaitytė, 1998). Simoniukštytė (2003, p. 888) argues that this forced sedentarisation had a profound impact on the Roma community as "the natural inheritance of many of the traditions was interrupted, and the observance of some of the norms of the customary law was weakened". According to Dunajeva (2021, p. 89), the order adopted in 1956 acknowledged the need to bring together Roma and non-Roma. However, the proposed solutions were based solely on complete assimilation and the abandonment of the traditional way of life of the former. It can be argued that, at least formally, the enforcement of this order of 1956 marked the moment when Roma in the Lithuanian SSR were forcibly assigned all the obligatory attributes of the New Soviet Man – USSR passports, *propiska* (registration with a permanent residence address), employment, and the phase of compulsory integration into the educational system. However, at the same time, there was a parallel effort to alienate the Roma and to weaken or eliminate any expression of individual or cultural distinctiveness.

Education as linguistic assimilation. Immediately after the occupation of the country, the educational system was restructured along Union-wide lines. It was intended that the educational process should introduce people to the Marxist view of the world and society, the doctrine and ideology of bolshevism, and communist values (Kašauskienė,

1993). After the war, the Soviet Union, and in particular the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, was used in the transformation of cultural life with the "experience and constant help" (Ministry of Education of the LSSR, 1967, pp. 9–22). The changes affected both the structure of schools and, obviously, the school curricula themselves and their content. The transition to general eight-year education began in the years 1959–60 and was completed in Lithuania in the period from 1962–63 (ibid., 1967, p. 22). Following the conversion of pro-gymnasiums and gymnasiums into secondary/unfinished secondary schools, compulsory, general ten-year education in the Soviet Union was supposedly achieved in 1975 (Zajda, 1979, p. 287). The 11-grade secondary school model was applied in schools with Lithuanian language of instruction. Thus, Roma in the soviet era could complete eight, ten, or eleven grades in the country, depending on the type of school (Lithuanian, Russian, Polish).

The informants' narratives and remembrances gathered during the empirical research show that Roma attended the schools closest to where they lived. When referring to themselves and their large families (e.g. one informant mentioned five brothers, another informant reported three sisters and two brothers), the informants stated that during the soviet era, Roma families "gave all their children" for education. Most of the relatives the Roma referred to had attended school and had completed eight grades (similar data is also provided by Žilevičius, (2001, p. 9–10), some had completed ten grades, or vice versa, just a few grades, but all of them had studied in a language other than the mother tongue. Unlike Lithuanians, Poles, and Russians, schoolchildren of the Roma ethnic group in the LSSR could not choose a school where their mother tongue (i.e. at least one dialect of the Romani language) was taught as a subject. The Roma did not comply with Stalin's criteria for a national minority status (which included common language, territory, economy and culture (Puxon, 1973, p. 13), and once they did not achieve this status there was no ideological justification for guaranteeing them what those who were recognised as *a national minority* in the Soviet Union could have expected (Barany, 2002). At the same

time, this is directly related to one of the discursive domains of the New Soviet Man – specifically, the spatial discourse of nationality. As noted by Kestere and Fernandez-Gonzalez (2020, p. 15), drawing on the Communist Party Programme of 1961, which called for the "eradication of national differences, especially language differences", this discourse is also interpreted as a form of colonial discourse.

Education as a disciplinary tool. The formation of the New Soviet Man was inseparable from early socialisation in schools, and the soviet school was inseparable from politicised moral-ideological upbringing. Early socialisation in schools, politicised education and compulsory school activities were supposed to ensure the education of committed proletarians (Dunajeva, 2021b, p. 93).

The Ministry of Education of the LSSR claimed that Young Pioneers and Komsomol organisations played a great role in improving upbringing work in schools. The efforts of these organisations were to be directed towards the struggle "against bourgeois-religious ideology", and they were also to "raise the communist consciousness of schoolchildren", etc. (1967, p. 27). Here is how this "raising of communist consciousness" is illustrated by one of the informants:

> "I used to be a Pioneer. I had a neckerchief. I used to wear it.[…] Everybody was wearing […] they used to check how you were learning, how you were doing on the curriculum. [if it was good], vsio – you were a pioneer! They also gave you a badge." (IR-07).

According to Naudžiūnienė, Young Pioneers and Komsomol at school were used "as a means of enabling the observance of collective rules […], while at the same time also prioritising collective activity over individual practices and private contacts outside the collective" (2021, p. 106). However, in order to evaluate how effective and efficient these practices were in the process of creating the New Man, it is worth asking how proactive the involvement of the schoolchildren in the activities of these organisations was and what did it mean in their everyday lives' (ibid., p. 106). To answer this question in the context of this article, some illustrative statements from the informants can be given:

> "I used to be a Pioneer and a komsomol. I didn't do so well there." (IR-02).

> "We had 9th of May, there was a parade then. We would not attend it. I was a Pioneer but we were laughed at by our fellow country people. You could not do that […]. When I was a pioneer, maybe in the seventh grade, that was when my fellow country people started to make fun of us because of those red neckerchiefs. There were still those pioneer camps in the summer, but we didn't go there." (IR-03)

Summarising the narratives of the Roma who participated in the study about their involvement in communist youth organisations and their activities, it is possible to state that the younger age group of Roma used to take part in them most of the time, while the older age group participated in them much less often, because of the need to perform other, mostly family-related activities, and sometimes also to avoid ridicule by their compatriots. Although the informants revealed a variety of experiences of Roma, both those who willingly participated and those who hardly participated at all in communist children's and youth organisations, this participation does not seem to have been of any great significance in the life of the Roma learner. Most of the informants mentioned that they could hardly remember participating in any additional activities of these organisations. Only one of the informants remembered that "I had to teach the Octobrists[9] there"(IR-03).Thus, to claim that through these activities Roma youth have learnt "class consciousness as well as discipline and loyalty to the regime" would not be accurate.

The analysis of the data collected during the informants shows that the Roma themselves were well aware of the realities of the soviet school, the prohibitions, the hidden content. All of them talked about

9 Little Octobrists was a youth organization for elementary school children in grades 1 through 3 in the Soviet Union.

the norms, rules, and rituals of the school at that time and aptly identified examples of (un)desirable behaviour, often using their own or a classmate's example. When describing what a "good school student" was in the soviet school, the Roma used epithets such as "smart school student", "one who had only fives", "obedient", "praised by the teachers", "the one whose picture was on the Wall of Fame", "wearing a neckerchief", "an activist", etc. When asked whether they themselves were good schoolchildren according to the perception of the time, the vast majority of Roma interviewed tended to view themselves critically:

> "On the opposite, I was on 'The Hedgehog'. I used to have some nice shoes like that and I was criticised for them. Well, if you dressed in a very fashionable way, or if you offended someone, then you got on 'The Hedgehog'. There was a certain wall there – 'The Hedgehog'." (IR-03)

> "We used to skip and miss a lot of lessons […]. They used to put us in 'the corner' at school. If you don't obey, they take you and keep you there for a couple of minutes." (IR-08)

> "I was a hooligan. Well, how? They would take me by the ear and put me in the corner. I attended [classes], but I also skipped them." (IR-07)

According to Nogee, "education involves considerably more than the developing of skills… it involves 'moulding the new soviet man' [and] pedagogic techniques are designed to foster discipline and respect for authority" (1972, p. 315). However, these techniques may have been poorly effective. In unfavourable circumstances, penitentiary institutions were involved in the disciplinary process. According to the informants' accounts, they could also have an educational function:

> "Then they put me in jail. I was sent to Pravieniškės [prison] for three years. There I learnt to read and write in Lithuanian. There

were classes in the prison where you could learn Russian and Lithuanian. I knew Russian, so I went to the Lithuanian class to learn it." (IR-01)

"Then they put her [the grandmother] in jail. She was very young. There she learnt to read and write. She was the most literate among us […]. Mother didn't learn to read or write. She doesn't know how to sign, she puts a cross. Now she's in prison. She hopes that maybe she will learn there. Like her mother (laughs)." (IR-09)

Education and "socialist welfare". As early as 1919, the communists proclaimed that all schoolchildren should be provided with food, clothing, footwear and learning materials at state expense (Mikėnas, 1960, p. 6). Later, the Ministry of Education of the LSSR continued this policy by announcing that "The funds for general education are formed from budgetary appropriations, as well as from the funds of collective farms, trade unions, cooperative organisations, and from the income of educational and experimental plots and workshops. These funds are used to provide assistance to children in need (free meals, clothing, textbooks, shoes, etc.)" (1967, p. 23). Similarly, the aforementioned "On Reconciling Vagrant Gypsies to Labour" (1956) obliged local authorities to organise cultural and housing provision specifically for the Roma, but further extracts from the informants raise critical questions about how this was done:

"I was admitted to the first grade… Some people came, some bosses. They inspected the families. They wanted me to enrol in school. I don't know how old I was. These people bought me 'a form' 10, a backpack. I had a pair of shoes with shoelaces. 'The form' was very long, 'for growing out of it'. I skipped, I skipped [the lessons], but I was forced to go. The school was

10 Author's note – a school uniform.

> good. In the morning they took me to the canteen, gave me porridge. Semolina porridge with jam. I stopped going to school when I outgrew the uniform. Maybe in the fourth grade." (IR-04)

> "The children say I'm the most literate in the family. I went to first grade, but it was a long way to school… through the forest. I still had to buy clothes. That's, uh. I didn't attend school because I didn't have shoes." (IR-01)

In these quotations, the slogan "the great concern of the Communist Party for the working people" (Ministry of Education of the LSSR, 1967, p. 39), according to the narratives of the informants, seems to have been less than great in reality. The lack of shoes as a reason for not attending school, or the joy of the simple porridge served at school, reveals the difficult socio-economic situation of families, or even poverty, which may have influenced the process of enrolment in the educational system.

Family responsibilities also played a role (especially for girls). One of the informants pointed out:

> "I didn't really go to school, to be honest. I had to look after the small children.[…] In winter I hardly went at all. Lots of snow, cold winters. The roads were snowed in. Because you had to walk, well, quite far. There was a road through the forest. They were afraid, they wouldn't let me. Wolves. […] I was hiding from the teachers then. I was at home. I was looking after the children. I tidied." (IR-04)

Education and atheisation. Religion became a particularly sensitive issue for the soviet authorities in the development of the new soviet people in the LSSR. As Vignieri observes "the communists, almost from the moment they occupied Lithuania, realised that because of education, influence, and prestige, the clergy –"'the servants of the cult' – were the most conspicuous soviet enemy" (1965, p. 219). The 1940

Constitution of the Lithuanian SSR established the complete separation of church and state, and of school and church. All positions of religious teachers in schools were abolished, and all clerical organisations were banned (Ministry of Education of the LSSR, 1967, pp. 12–13). The Communist party implemented a secularisation policy in public education, prohibiting religious instruction and the display of religious symbols. Local authorities intensified the surveillance of civil servants, particularly teachers, to ensure that they did not participate in religious activities or interact with religious leaders. Individuals observed attending religious services were often summoned to party offices for intimidation and threats. This is also reflected in the narratives of our research informants:

> "They didn't allow it earlier, but we still used to go there quietly. My father is deeply religious. Well, my mother's also very religious. We are Catholic. We used to go to church in X town. Of course, now all those priests have changed. At school we didn't say we were attending church. Oh, no, no. God forbid. It was communism then. They used to talk about it in the classroom, they used to discuss in public that this and that was in the church. They were strict about it […]. They didn't really let us go to church, but we would still go with my parents, especially if there was a holiday, especially Christmas, Easter. They [parents] wanted us to go to First Communion, but we couldn't." (IR-03)

This quote perfectly illustrates the reality of atheist education. It also becomes another example of resistance to the regime, where threat and prohibition were clearly understood, but ignored. Or, more precisely, it can be called an obvious subtle resistance of students and teachers to the creation of the New Soviet Man (Kestere & Fernandez-Gonzalez, 2021, p. 11). The authors describe this as, "slipping into the Grey Zone ('in-betweenness'), which is a symbolic place between the allowed and the forbidden, between two extremely different, anti-polar phenomena became yet another form of hidden resistance" (p. 27). It is worth

noting that atheist education did not succeed in definitively eliminating the religious attitudes not only of the Roma, but also of the Lithuanians, so this and similar responses from the informants are more likely to demonstrate the general tendencies of atheist education and resistance to atheisation in the LSSR (Streikus, 2003), rather than the patterns of resistance to the regime that are exclusively Roma-specific.

Education, friendship between nations and russification. Much work was also done in schools "to educate young people in the spirit of internationalism" (Ministry of Education of the LSSR [1967]). Although the concepts of internationalist education and friendship of nations are not identical (Stonkuvienė & Ivanavičė, 2024), the education of both in soviet schools took similar forms, e.g., encouraging children to engage in extracurricular activities with Russian children by taking part in hikes, creating joint exhibitions, attending soviet army events (Vaitiekūnas, 1965, p. 182), and to correspond with young people from other countries, that is, the "fraternal soviet republics and the countries of socialism" (p. 38). However, the narratives analysed in this article show that the Roma ethnic group was not involved in this kind of activity on a larger scale, i.e. memories of correspondence were not recorded. However, other manifestations of internationalist education emerged: participation in sporting competitions or "events of friendship between nations":

> "We used to do concerts. Our group of little gypsies, our compatriots, would gather. A few of them danced, I played. On the accordion. On New Year's Eve. We used to do a Roma concert at New Year. Some danced, others sang. The whole school cheered." (IR-03)

> "That friendship between nations was a very strange thing. It was not a matter of debate for anyone at all. There was a Roma boy in my sister's class. Everybody was friends with him, nobody cared, no problem. Then there was an Uzbek. It was a strange surname, but it wasn't that we noticed any national aspect or

> anything like that. Then the Turkmens, the Georgians would come. […] There was that friendship. At the music school, the children of officers from different countries would come. We loved them." (NR-010)

It is difficult to determine to what extent the principle of friendship between nations introduced by the USSR has been fully implemented in Lithuania, but Roma, Lithuanians (including exiles), Russians, Belarusians, Poles, Ukrainians, and other nationalities studying in Lithuania in the late soviet era, who participated in the survey, stated that their classrooms and schools were friendly in terms of nationality:

> "No, I never felt bad (author's note – at school)." (IR-02)

> "Our generation was very different. Well, softer. Everyone was very friendly. Not like young people now. […] I didn't feel different. No, no, never. Well, we were all equal. You can see this in the films. It was Russia, it was the Soviet Union, so everyone was equal. First of all, here I used to work as a taxi driver, as a driver. You would come to the workplace and they would just hire you and they would not ask you your nationality or anything. Do you understand? Not like that, when you go and, 'Oh, tzygane…' If something disappeared, he stole […]. People were all good. Well […]." (IR-07)

However, soviet research also reveals a darker side to the "friendship of nations". The reason why representatives of different nations and ethnic groups were able to communicate so easily with each other was perhaps the most important reason – a common language. The policy of socialist internationalism was very closely linked to language education and, in particular to the teaching of Russian. Therefore, it is not surprising that to promote the use of Russian in schools, joint festivals, gatherings and other events were organised. It can be stated that "internationalist upbringing served as a Trojan horse. […] the teaching of Russian was not only used to construct the soviet identity, but also

to heavily advocate the Russian culture" (Stonkuvienė & Ivanavičė, 2024, p. 17). The integration of ethnic minorities such as the Roma into the "new soviet society" was primarily understood through this linguistic assimilation. And although in Lithuania the russification of Roma culture and language may have been triggered by other aspects, such as the post-war gap between Lithuanian and Roma communities (due to collaboration, different treatment by the occupying army, the genocide being silenced) (Simoniukštytė, 2022, p. 65), the school became a particularly important tool in the implementation of the russification policy.

Conclusions and Discussion

Throughout their history, Roma have faced a range of injustices, including persecution, state-sanctioned oppression, discrimination, and racial violence. These experiences have often been compounded by various institutions employing surveillance and control mechanisms to monitor and regulate Roma communities. After the occupation of Lithuania by the USSR in 1940 and the reoccupation in 1944, the country's educational system was transformed on the USSR model, and Lithuanian Roma began to be educated as The New Soviet Man. A further step in the assimilation of the Roma was taken in 1956 with the adoption of the resolution "On Reconciling Vagrant Gypsies to Labour". On the one hand, this document obliged local authorities to provide Roma with housing or to allocate funds for the construction of housing space and to guarantee access to work and education, but on the other hand, it did not take into account, for example, the arbitrary change/abandonment of the place of residence where a person was registered and the refusal to work in public works, which could lead to a risk of being searched for or prosecuted. According to McGarry "it was expected that the discipline and collective spirit of state-sponsored work in the factory or in the field would encourage Roma to participate equally in social life – if Roma abandoned their cultural identity and traditions, the majority of society would accept Roma as part of the communist ideal" (2010, pp. 26–27). The law on forced sedentarisation, adopted in 1956, not only marked the beginning of Roma settlement policies

in the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic (LSSR), but also signaled the broader inclusion of Roma into the educational system. It may be assumed that this legal shift contributed to a more rapid and, in many cases, coercive integration of Roma children into schools. To sum up, after the entry into force of the resolution of 1956 and its rather rapid implementation, the issue of Roma education in the USSR, including the LSSR, was as it officially "solved and closed". Roma children, like other inhabitants of the LSSR, faced ideological pressure, linguistic assimilation, russification, and atheisation. These and other aspects of soviet schooling were also reflected in the memories of the informants.

A key inquiry was whether the memories of participants who identified as Roma differed significantly from those of other nationalities attending LSSR schools during the same period. In summary, no substantial differences were observed; however, the limited number of Roma participants in the study constrains the generalizability of these conclusions. Nevertheless, researchers noted that Roma participants were less inclined to discuss the curriculum, including school subjects, lesson topics, timetables, and didactic aspects of learning, as well as the physical environment of the school. This contrasts sharply with Lithuanian and Russian participants, who extensively detailed these aspects. Conversely, Roma participants tended to focus more on communication and cooperation, holidays, and memorable school events. Their recollections were particularly vivid regarding teachers and classmates, involvement or disinclination to participate in school activities or attend school altogether, prohibitions, and detailed accounts of family members and their activities. When analyzing solely the memories of Roma individuals within this article's framework, a compelling portrait emerges of a population frequently experiencing poverty, deprivation, and numerous social challenges. Aspects such as forced sedentarization, linguistic assimilation, Russification, and various prohibitions are illustrative of these experiences.

The participation of most Roma children in communist children's and youth organizations, while present, was generally not characterized by high levels of engagement. Similarly, their involvement in formal education was often reported as less than fully active. Informants

frequently indicated that Roma students were not consistently exemplary in their academic attendance or performance, with instances of truancy and eventual school dropout being noted. These educational disengagements were predominantly linked to the prevailing socio-economic conditions of their families. Despite official declarations of guaranteed "socialist welfare" for all Roma, a segment of the Roma population continued to experience relatively impoverished living conditions.

However, it should be noted that in the USSR, persons of Roma origin born between 1950 and 1975 are considered to be the most educated (Demeter & Chernykh, 2018, p. 124). A large number of Roma from the LSSR (including the informants of our study and their relatives) also graduated from schools (mostly eight-year schools) and acquired a profession: they used to work as drivers, locksmiths, and seamstresses (Žilevičius, 2001). Almost all Roma informants tended to romanticise the soviet era as one of the best periods, when there was no bullying or segregation in society, schools or work. These results are not surprising. Soviet nostalgia and romanticisation of childhood and youth are also characteristic of Latvian and Estonian Roma (Roth-Yilmaz, 2020, p. 98), as are, incidentally, a large number of people of other nationalities not only in the Soviet Union, but also in the countries of the post-socialist bloc (Stonkuvienė, 2023). Most of our research informants reiterated the soviet slogan of equality ("We were all equal"), even as they provided specific examples of inequality or discrimination during their interviews.[11] [12]

11 Limitations of the research. Although the oral history approach partially filled the gaps in the data on Roma education, the chosen method and the relatively small number of informants only reveal the experiences of individual participants rather than the experiences of all Roma in the soviet schools in the LSSR. This requires wider and more detailed studies.

12 Notes. The article can be used as part of the dissertation *The Challenges of Roma Education in Lithuania and Initiatives to Overcome Them: A Multi-perspective Historical (1956–2024) Narrative* (a provisional title) defended at Vilnius University.

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Examining the "Deprofessionalization" of Secondary Teacher Education in Hungary – A Systematic Literature Review[1]

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Abstract Highly trained professionals are essential for the functionality of a modern industrial society. This paper seeks to unveil the usage of the deprofessionalization notion in the international literature to offer an interpretative tool for research examining secondary teacher education in Hungary in the interwar period. In the investigation, a systematic literature review was employed based on the PRISMA protocol with an automatised screening in databases of ERIC and WoS. Three research questions are to be answered. First of all, how the notion of deprofessionalization emerged within the research of professionals. Secondly, to which direction of deprofessionalization research is heading? Lastly, how the notion is used as an interpretative frame in the trait and the critical approach of professionalization theories? The analysis has revealed that the notion is linked to both branches of professionalization theories, which had a consequence on its application forms. Papers within the trait approach emphasize the autonomy of professionals. Historical studies within this theory illustrate processes leading to deprofessionalization. In contrast, the critical approach considers deprofessionalization as a reversed professionalization process. Theoretical definitions enable the analysis across multiple levels of the deprofessionalization process of professional groups.

Keywords deprofessionalization, critical approach of professional theories, deprofessionalization of teacher professions, deprofessionalization as an interpretation framework

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1. Introduction

In the operation of modern societies, professionals play a vital role account for their expertise, which offers personalised services alleviating almost all aspects of life. Professional proficiency offers the certainty of overcoming everyday-life-connected challenges of clients Evetts, 2003, p. 397). Essentially, members of modern societies are dependent on professionals to such an extent that modern life cannot be conceived without them. As a result of the early recognition of this phenomenon, sociologists began investigating the role of professional groups in societies.

For a long time, the prevailing public perception of professions has highlighted their ongoing prosperous development, which had commenced with the liberal epoch of national development in the 19th century and continued in subsequent eras preserving their political and social roles. This depiction of professional groups, however, failed to recognise that the development of human societies is uneven. Consequently, unfavourable political and economic conditions have evolved several times in the history of humankind providing harsh circumstances for the operations of professionals.

This contribution aims to explore the application patterns of a theoretical component that seems crucial to planned research. In this investigation, the development of the secondary teacher profession in Hungary in the interwar period is examined through the investigation of the history of institutions connected to theoretical preparation (Hungarian Royal Secondary Teacher Training Institution of Budapest, STTI) and the certification of teachers (Hungarian Royal Secondary Teacher Examination Committee of Budapest, STEC). The initial point of the research presupposes that adverse political and social conditions evolved during the interwar period, affecting the operations of professional institutions (Garai, 2022a, 2022b, 2023).

To underpin this theoretical case in point, however, it is necessary to uncover how the professionalization theories and related notions, particularly deprofessionalization are evolved. The primary aim of this systematic literature review is to disclose how deprofessionalization emerged in connection with the two main professionalization

theories, namely the structuralist or "trait" approach and the critical or power concept of professionalization. Another objective is to identify the patterns in which authors use the notion as an interpretive framework within the two professionalization theories to determine, which patterns would fit the research into the history of secondary teacher education in Hungary.

In the first part of this paper, I present a brief historical overview of the emergence of the Hungarian secondary teacher training institutions and the abrupt halt of their continuous development in the 1920s, endeavours of which a theoretical interpretation is required. Therefore, not only the development of the professional institutions is presented but also the theoretical possibilities, by which this historical phenomenon could be interpreted. In the subsequent section, methodological considerations related to the systematic literature review are detailed. Then, a thematic analysis of the findings are to be elaborated under the results segment in three subchapters. Finally, the application possibilities of the results of the systematic literature overview in the investigation of secondary teacher education institutions are also touched upon briefly.

2. Historical and Theoretical Considerations

The emergence of modern secondary teacher education is traceable back to the period between 1849 and 1853 when university reforms based on the Humboldtian University training model of 1810 were implemented in Hungary. Similarly to the university model of Berlin, the philosophy faculty was transformed and elevated to the same rank as that of other faculties, whose main task was to train philologists and secondary teachers introduced along matching lines in the same epoch. Professors of the faculty were meant to form and scrutinize the theoretical knowledge deemed necessary for teachers to acquire. Their professional control was asserted through the examination and qualification processes of teacher candidates who could take the exams at STEC established in 1862. Comprised of full professors, the committee

exercised authority over candidates and determined who could embark on teaching careers (Garai, 2022a, pp. 52–56).

Teacher examinations rested on cooperation and consensus between the governments and professors. The STEC determined the teacher examination requirements, which in turn were recognised by the state authority in the form of a qualification enabling graduates to perform in secondary schools. To increase the corporate theoretical and practical knowledge of secondary teachers, further institutions were established in the 19th century.

The 1870-founded STTI was responsible for elevating the collective theoretical and practical preparedness of teachers (professionalism). This aim was achieved by offering further theoretical courses and practical preparation in the secondary practising school of the STTI, which formed the individual practical skills of teacher candidates along uniform protocols. The practical preparation contributed to the formation of their individual practical skills determining the way they performed in the classroom environment (professionality) (Garai, 2023, p. 494; Horn, 2016, p. 132; Evetts, 2003, p. 399).

The consequences of the Great War profoundly impacted the connections between the state and the professional groups including the institutions dedicated to secondary teacher education. Not only did their financial support become remarkably unpredictable but the government also recurringly intruded in their inner operation by appointing government-affiliated individuals into leading roles, unilaterally transforming the hierarchy of the institutions and thereby systematically depriving professionals from specifying the parameters of their operations (Garai, 2023, 2024). This type of transformation in the connections between professionals and state authorities was not unprecedented in the Central-Eastern European region (McClelland, 1991, pp. 175–177; Jarausch, 1990, pp. 13–14). Nevertheless, it seems necessary to reveal how the altered relationship could be interpreted theoretically. Professional theories seem apt to offer a theoretical interpretation possibility of the decay of professionals in the interwar period.

In the history of the examination of professional groups, the first to emerge was the structuralist approach, also referred to as the “trait

model" in the international literature. Talcott Parsons, a key theorist of the approach, believed that the most important development of the emergence of modern industrial societies is the rise of professional groups (Parsons, 1954, pp. 34–35).

In the early phase of this line of research, it was intended to grasp the social functions of professionals by investigating their deliberately created organisations. The exposure of the characterological aspects of these groups stood at the forefront of research endeavours. Autonomy based on professional competencies, and altruistic behaviour towards the society were the main characteristics identified by this approach. These characterological traits, however, were established by examining the ethical codes of professional groups that basically contained the self-descriptive characteristics of their services. Moreover, key importance attributed to physicians was ascribed in the identification of traits, as this occupation was perceived as the "prototype" of all professional groups. As a consequence, characterological aspects associated with doctors were generalised and applied to the description of other professional groups, assuming that professionalization followed roughly the same patterns in all modern industrial societies. Consequently their development resulted in similar characteristics (Johnson, 1972, pp. 10–11). Even though Parsons outlined in his early publications that there was a fine balance between social structures and professional groups, a claim which remained unreflected until the 1970s (Parsons, 1954, pp. 47–48).

In this period, general dissatisfaction and mistrust of professionals was to emerge resulting in changes in the examination of their social function and leading to the abandonment of uncritical perceptions. This development led to a shift from theoretical perspectives to at least two directions. The first could be registered in the emergence of the critical approach. Its initial assumption was based on attributing professions a monopolistic nature, by which solutions to the challenges were enforced upon clients through discretional specialisation. This claim is based on the investigation of the nature of work and working conditions of professionals instead of their organisational attributes that prevailed in the trait approach (Freidson, 1971, 2001). The specialised

theoretical and practical preparedness of professionals enables them to adjust their services to the needs of their clients. The satisfactory handling of requests posed by the public contributed to their endeavour to control the service market along a service ideology. The critical approach affiliated authors often associate professional groups with service ideologies, which enables them to gain control of the markets and thus render their services exclusive. The exclusivity of service offers is justified by the long preparation for the professional status in higher education institutes and the standardized offer of services, which conveys an image of merit-based selection and training process for potential consumers. Thus, the service ideology not only helps professionals to socially legitimize their services but also provides them with a powerful tool for establishing monopole positions against rival groups and marginalising the presence of competitors in the service domain (Larson, 2017; McClelland, 1991). Additionally, more emphasis was put on the role of state power in creating conditions for establishing a monopoly for professional groups and thus questioning whether professional development phases followed similar patterns in modern societies (Hesse, 1968; Johnson, 1972; Larson, 2017).

The second shift in the investigation of professionals involved taking issue with the unilateral development model of the trait approach. Certain social, economic and technical changes were to create severe conditions for the operations of professional groups. Their social privileges were threatened and, thereby, their professional authority was challenged. Furthermore, even clients gained access to the theoretical knowledge previously exclusive to professionals, enabling them to exert certain control over professionals (Haug, 1972, 1975).

In Hungarian sociological literature, the developments of the new approaches since the 1970s are not uncharted territories. Overviews related to the main branches of professionalization theories and the concepts of deprofessionalization are available, providing detailed explanations for their emergence. However, it is not discussed how these notions were linked to the main approaches of professional theories (See Kleisz, 2002, pp. 43–45; Pokol, 2004, pp. 146–149). Applying deprofessionalization as an interpretative frame could be registered

only in a few cases. Hand in hand with the investigation of physicians (Kapocsi, 2004), the deprofessionalization of solicitors (Navratil, 2014), tourism-related (Formádi, 2009) and kindergarten professionals (Szőke & Geambașu, 2023) was employed as a theoretical tool. Its incomplete utilization as an interpretative frame in historical research could be regarded as a hiatus in literature (See Garai, 2022a, 2022b, 2023). Therefore, this literature review aims to examine the emergence of deprofessionalization and offers perspectives on its workability in historical research by exploring patterns of how the trait and critical manner of professionalization theories utilise the notion.

3. Materials and Methods

Three research questions are derived from the research gaps and research aims identified as the result of the literature review:

— How does the notion of deprofessionalization emerge within the research of professions?

— Could deprofessionalization be connected to the trait or critical approach of professionalization theories?

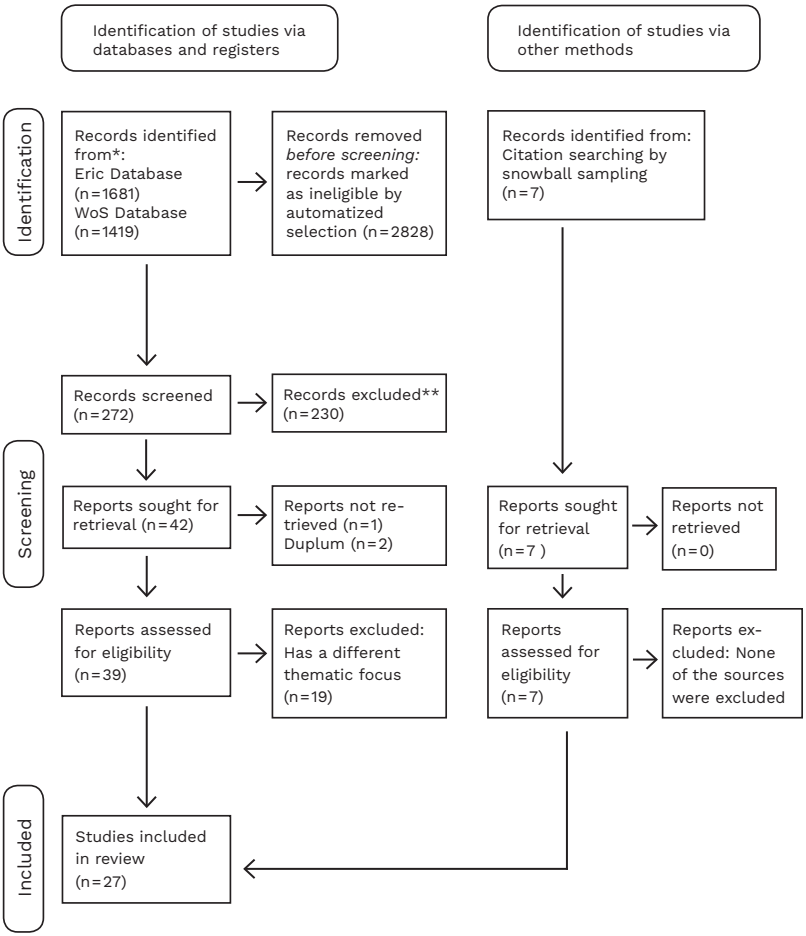
— How do authors of historical papers utilise deprofessionalization as an interpretative frame in the trait and the critical approach of professionalization theories?

To answer research questions, a systematic literature review following the PRISMA protocol was performed through automatised screening of the Education Resources Information Center (ERIC) and Web of Science (WoS) (Page at al., 2021). From a methodological point of view, the systematic literature review is a relatively often employed method in education sciences (See Szabó, Soós, & Schiller, 2025), while papers with a history of education scope still utilize it scarcely. Therefore, this research aligns with recent publications that advocate for the use of this methodology (See Akmal, 2022; Kearns-Sixsmiths, 2024). Search terms were as follows in both databases: “professionalization”, OR “professionalisation”, OR “deprofessionalization”, OR “deprofessionalisation”. During the search, it was a genre constraint that only papers published in peer-reviewed periodicals or edited volumes were included in the corpus. As a result of the application of search terms,

1681 in ERIC and 1419 matches in WoS were found (See the 'Identification' section of Figure A.1)

The list of results was further screened by the application of research in the abstracts of papers. Research terms were "history" OR "historical" OR "deprofessionalisation", OR "deprofessionalization". In ERIC, 118, while in WoS 154 results were found. This list of papers was further

Figure A.1. The flow diagram of the systematic literature review following PRISMA protocol (See Page et al., 2011).



narrowed by a manual selection of abstracts, which resulted in 31 articles in ERIC and 11 in WoS. During this filtering phase, the inclusion criteria were the application of deprofessionalization and the historical character of the papers. Constraints were not applied regarding the geographical and cultural aspects of the professional groups investigated. The 42 elements in the corpus were further narrowed by the selection of professional groups, which did not seem to be in line with the proposed research, since the aim was to find examples of interpreting the professionalization process of secondary teachers. Therefore, papers not connected with secondary education or tertiary education spheres were excluded from the further analysis. Due to the different focus, 14 contributions were excluded from the list of the ERIC and a further five from the WoS results. In the narrowed list, a duplicate copy occurred in both databases and a paper proved to be inaccessible. Thus, 20 papers were comprised in one part of the corpus (selection process is displayed in 'Screening' section of Figure A.1). The other part consists of seven volumes and papers representing the critical approach of professionalization theories (Abbott, 1988; Freidson, 2001; Larson, 2017) and inventories of the notions of deprofessionalization of professions (Freidson, 1984; Haug, 1972, 1975). These publications were identified and involved in the analysis by a snowball sampling of references (see under 'Identification of further studies via other methods' of Figure A.1) . Aligning with the research questions of the systematic literature review, the main approaches of professionalization theories and the application of deprofessionalization are detailed within these studies and volumes.

Consequently, 27 papers and volumes have been chosen for the analysis (see the 'Included' section of Figure A.1). After an overview, five thematic categories were set up for thematic analysis. During the creation of thematic categories, two main aspects were considered for forming thematic groups. First, literature was thematised as to whether it belonged to the realm of sociological theory, history or historical aspects were partly included in the focus. Papers and volumes belonging to sociology theory discuss solely the key definitions related to the emergence of professional groups which were relegated to the

first thematic group. Two more categories were created in the case of studies with a full historical scope or focus with a limited historical perspective. Studies were divided in terms of whether sociological definitions appeared reflected or unreflected as interpretation frames. By reflected employment, I understand the referred usage of sociological definitions to contain at least one reference to a theoretical work in sociology, whereby professionalization – and deprofessionalization –connected notions appeared in a definitive and reflected way throughout the papers. Studies of a contemporary and historical scope were distinguished as to whether the investigation of a historical process stands in the focal point of the paper or the historical perspective appears only and serves the purpose of getting a detailed understanding of the contemporary social relations in the preparation period of the paper.

Five thematic categories were created along the perspectives as detailed above:

— Theories on professionalization–deprofessionalization, the emergence of the critical approach to professionalization theories and their connection with the notion of deprofessionalization,
— Reflected usage of deprofessionalization and the profession theories in papers with a contemporary focus and limited historical perspective,
— Refleced usage of deprofessionalization and profession theories in papers with a full historical angle,
— Unreflected usage of deprofessionalization and profession theories for the analysis of contemporary social relations with a limited historical scope,
— Unreflected usage of deprofessionalization and profession theories for the analysis of historical processes.

These five thematic categories are relegated to three chapters discussed in the Results part, which also reflects the research questions. In the first part, the emergence of the deprofessionalization notion and its connection to the trait and critical approach of professionalization theories are discussed. In the second part, those papers are analysed, which could be associated with the trait approach of professionalization theories due to the undefined usage of deprofessionalization. The third part of the paper investigates the reflected usage

of deprofessionalization attached to the critical manner of professionalization theories. The final chapter of the paper briefly considers how the findings from the systematic literature review can be applied to investigating secondary teacher education in Hungary during the interwar period.

3.1. Characteristics of the Publications Included in the Analysis

Publications in the corpus can be described as based on five characteristics: the year of publication, the geographical areas investigated, their genres as scientific products, the types of data collection and analytical methods used, and their distribution among thematic categories.

Considering the year of publication, six items in the corpus were published before 1990, and eight were released between 1990 and 2010. The remaining 14 texts were issued after 2010, which also indicates that contemporary literature tended to employ the notion of deprofessionalization.

The geographical focus of the corpus is distributed across Asia, Europe, and North America (primarily the US, but also with an international outlook relegated to North America). The paper by Larsen (2010) does not fit neatly into any specific geographical area due to its international perspective. The international character of the corpus might help to reveal a cross-cultural differences in the usage of deprofessionalization.

As far as the data collection and employed methods are concerned, half of the corpus used archival and legislative sources, as well as secondary literature, parsed through document analysis. Eleven papers primarily based their analysis solely on secondary sources. Meanwhile, three contributions employed a mixed-method design, in which survey and interview data were analysed using both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Regarding the distribution of the publications between the thematic categories, the most numerous category proved to be the first, in which the emergence of the critical approach of professionalization theories was detailed (displayed as ‘first – emergence of the critical approach’ in Table 1). In the second category (reflected usage with

a contemporary focus), four articles were relegated (mentioned as 'second–reflected with contemporary focus' in Table 1), while seven were assigned to the third detailing the reflected employment of deprofessionalization with a full historical angle (appears as 'third–reflected deprofessionalization' in Table 1). The fourth and fifth thematic categories, which represent the unreflected usage of deprofessionalization in contemporary and historical analyses comprise six and three publications, respectively (occur as 'fourth–unreflected contemporary analysis' and 'five–unreflected historical analysis' in Table 1).

4. Results

4.1. Theories on Professionalization-deprofessionalization, the Emergence of the Critical Approach to Professionalization Theories and their Connection with the Notion of Deprofessionalization

The attitude of highly trained intellectuals towards democracies has always been ambiguous in Western societies, since their origins are traced back to epochs well before the appearance of democratic political structures. Thanks to their special expertise, professionals preserved some of their social privileges even in democratic circumstances (Larson, 2017, p. XIX).

This vague relationship was complicated even further by several independent circumstances, which strengthened each other in their effects. Among these elements, the war waged by the US in Vietnam, the revolt of university students which erupted in Europe in 1968 and permeated also US campuses, and the embroilment of professionals into criminal cases had a devastating effect on the reputation of highly trained intellectuals (Abbott, 1988, p. 28; Freidson, 1984, p. 3; Freidson, 1984, p. 3). However, in the form of the "new career" movement, professionals had to face a direct challenge. Individuals in this movement formerly belonged to the less affluent strata of society. Due to their employment with professionals, their desperate situation was to improve. Despite the improvement of their social status, they still preserved contact with the classes they were born in. Exploiting

Papers	Thematic group	Associated with the trait or critical professionalization theories	Analysed under the section of the Results part
Abbott, 1988	first–emergence of the critical approach	critical	first
Alvarez-Gonzalez, 2022	third–reflected deprofessionalization	critical	third
Bérbué & Ruth, 2016	fourth–unreflected contemporary analysis	trait	second
Bottery & Wright, 1997	second–reflected with contemporary focus	critical	third
Cornu, 2015	fourth–unreflecte d contemporary analysis	trait	second
Freidson, 1984	first–emergence of the critical approach	critical	first
Freidson, 2001	first–emergence of the critical approach	critical	first
Garai, 2023	third–reflected deprofessionalization	critical	third
Gillard, 2005	five–unreflected historical analysis	trait	second
Hamon & Lebeaume	five–unreflected historical analysis	trait	second
Haug, 1972	first–emergence of the critical approach	trait	first
Haug, 1975	first–emergence of the critical approach	trait	first
Horn, 2016	third–reflected deprofessionalization	critical	third
Jarausch, 2016	third–reflected deprofessionalization	critical	third
Lai, Du, & Li, 2014	fourth–unreflected contemporary analysis	trait	second
Lai & Lo, 2007	fourth–unreflected contemporary analysis	trait	second
Larsen, 2010	fourth–unreflected contemporary analysis	trait	second
Larsen, 2017	first–emergence of the critical approach	critical	first
Popkewitz, 1994	third–reflected deprofessionalization	critical	third
Scott, 2014	second–reflected with contemporary focus	critical	third
Simola, Kivinen & Rinne, 1997	third–reflected deprofessionalization	critical	third
Smaller, 2015	third–reflected deprofessionalization	critical	third
Stairs & Hatch	fourth–unreflected contemporary analysis	trait	second
Torren, 1975	first–emergence of the critical approach	trait	first
Tsang & Qin, 2020	second–reflected with contemporary focus	critical	third
Wähler & Hanke, 2020	five–unreflected historical analysis	trait	second
Wronowski & Urick, 2019	second–reflected with contemporary focus	critical	third

Table 1. Categorisation of the corpus of the systematic literature review.

the unfolding general mistrust towards professionals, they offered a new service ideal with personal orientation (Haug, 1972, p. 198).

The changing social perception of professions also affected sociological research. An investigation led by Robert K. Merton was initiated to reveal the social function of professionals, since the connection between society and professions was to change to such an extent that self-definitions of professionals used in the trait model no longer offered a valid depiction of experts. One of the results of this research was the "Profession of Medicine" by Eliot Freidson, in which it was revealed for the first time that physicians worked not only to cure their patients but also to attain the economic and social rewards for the maintenance of their status arising from their special preparedness (Larson, 2017, p. XXI).

This revelation inspired "The Rise of Professionalism" by Magali Sarfatti Larson originally published in 1977, which could be considered to be the volume laying the principles of the critical approach of professionalization theories. Investigating also the history of physicians, Larson concluded that professional groups formed monopolistic structures. Monopolies were created through their services based on their expertise, which were practised along the service ideology determined in ethical codes. State power also contributed to achieving domination in a market area by legislative measures, which helped the process of "market closure". Thereby, endeavours of professional groups were aimed at excluding rivals from the service area and, concomitantly, strengthening their distinctive position. The achievement of this unique position was also a result of their special relationships with universities, as special training facilities, higher education institutions guarded the theoretical and practical preparation of professional candidates. Furthermore, universities played a vital role in strengthening the social legitimacy of professionals by promoting the accessibility of professional knowledge, thereby facilitating upward social mobility (Larson, 2017, pp. 8–11, pp. 40–44, pp. 221–224).

The volume by Larson was to galvanise researchers who thought the trait model could be surpassed to apply the concept of monopoly in describing professional groups. As a result, even Eliot Freidson

referred to Larson recurringly in multiple papers (See Freidson, 1984, 1988). Instead of emphasizing the organisational peculiarities of professionals, he increasingly focused on the formation of their theoretical knowledge and its practical applications, which resulted in their monopoly. In a late volume by Freidson, professional work is understood as a discretional specialisation, which helped professionals to put to use their theoretical knowledge on a situative basis, following and satisfying the needs of their clients. Freidson attributed an exclusive role to universities in developing this special skill through theoretical and practical training and their state recognition in the form of certificates, which also functioned as an operating licence (Freidson, 2001, pp. 31–32, pp. 96–100).

While the critical approach depicted professionalization as a process of market control and an exclusion of rival groups from a service arena, another approach emerging in parallel questioned the axiom of constant and one-directional development of professionals. Under the influence of the social movements in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Marie R. Haug raised the prospect in a hypothetical paper that the autonomy and the service ideology of professionals might be challenged (Haug, 1972, p. 197).

Haug traced back the deprofessionalization of professional groups to three main reasons. First, members of the new career movement were able to perform certain aspects of the professional tasks without qualification since they had acquired knowledge and competence during practice. Secondly, the new service ideal of the movement raised the self-interest of clients and sparked an organised outrage against the practice of professionals, which culminated in the claim of exerting client-side control over professional work (Haug, 1972, pp. 204–206). Lastly, the spread of personal computers and their permeation through all sectors of the economy and society combined with the general increase of literacy of the population posed a threat to the knowledge monopoly of professionals. Computers could store the whole of theoretical knowledge of experts and provide accessibility for anyone at any time (Haug, 1972, pp. 200–201).

Nina Torren identified sources of deprofessionalization in professionalization itself. In her paper, a critique of the trait model appeared but the professionalization process was determined along the development of charactheristic attributes. Among these, service ideals and competence base were particularly vulnerable to professionalization. If the service ideal was applied in the form of routinised work, the number of situations needed to take a certain risk would be reduced leading to the disillusionment of professional work. When the competence-base came under assault by clients or government intrusions, the working autonomy of professionals became fragile (Torren, 1975, pp. 329–335). Contradictory effects of bureaucracies and the dynamic historical illustration of professionalization were also raised in the paper. Torren (1975, pp. 334–335) convincingly argued that professional groups could deteriorate into a previous stage of their development as a result of deprofessionalization, which provides a more accurate and dynamic historical analysis of professionals overall.

It was noticeable in the papers of Haug and Torren alike that, despite referring to Eliot Freidson, a key author in the emerging critical approach, and connecting deprofessionalization to the deterioration of working control, the notion of deprofessionalization was basically determined as either the disappearance or the reduction of characterological traits and the loss of working autonomy. These notions were to serve as key terms in the trait approach of professionalization theories.

In a paper published by Haug in 1975, the definition of deprofessionalization through trait-related notions got slightly altered. Theoretical parts of the papers were introduced by the criticism of the trait approach and an analysis was presented on the social stance of professionals in various cultures. In this overview, it was concluded that the main mark of professionals was their social position derived from their unique expertise. This special stance was threatened by social-technical developments in Western societies discussed in her previous paper. As a consequence, a status equalisation process had begun between professional groups and their clients in a way that made the latter more powerful. They turned out to be consumers of professional services, which reduced their vulnerability and even secured some scrutiny

over professional work (Haug, 1975, pp. 198–201, pp. 210–211; Torren, 1975, p. 332)

Abbott (1988) defined professions through jurisdiction and maintaining the clout of jurisdiction in the public sphere. In his volume, deprofessionalization was mentioned and used recurringly. It was defined after the analysis of literature as a reverse process of professionalization, but could be applied only to individual professionals not to a whole professional group (Abbott, 1988, p. 326). Having said that, there are parts in the volume where deprofessionalization of groups or deprofessionalization initiated by state intervention was mentioned (See Abbott, 1988, p. 55, p. 61, p. 98, p. 101, p. 186, p. 277). On the individual level, deprofessionalization was connected with the degradation of working conditions and the loss of professional status (Abbott, 1988, p. 128, p. 130).

Despite his previous reluctance (Freidson, 1984, pp. 7–8; 18), Freidson also attempted to define deprofessionalization and thereby incorporate it into the critical approach. Discretional specialisation could be acquired only by pursuing studies at universities. However, high-level training would have been insufficient to monopolise a field of interest. To achieve that, recognition of the state was also essential, which was incorporated into the training. The symbolic expression of the balance between professionals and the state is the qualifying exam and the state-recognised certificate. That is why governments supported the academisation of professional training. In special historical circumstances (revolutions or momentuous cultural transformations), professionals could suffer deprofessionalization along five dimensions. When 1) the state suspended the distinctive labour market position and thereby the social status of professionals, 2) paralysed the supplementation of experts, 3) restricted or demolished the validity of professional certificates, 4) unilaterally banned or modified the service ideology, or 5) abolished professional institutions, with the monopoly of professional groups over their field was shaken. Complete deprofessionalization, however, was not in the interest of even totalitarian regimes with a view to preserving the functionality the of society. Therefore, these systems handed over the direction of professional

groups to state-affiliated collaborators in a process which could result in deprofessionalization in the long term (Freidson, 2001, pp. 128–130).

It can be concluded that the critical approach and the notion of deprofessionalization emerged as the result of social movements affecting professionals. These concepts developed in parallel and influenced each other in certain ways. In the early phase of the research, deprofessionalization was rather well connected to the trait model and then linked to the critical approach through the specific definition of professionals and the nature of their work. Reflections of the critical approach-affiliated author were rather dismissive towards deprofessionalization in the 1970s and 1980s. Thanks to Freidson (2001), deprofessionalization was incorporated into the critical approach with an applicable typology in the historical examination. The claim of Torren who believed that the application of the notion provided a dynamic historical frame in which professionals could be examined more accurately also appears as key (Torren, 1975, p. 334).

4.2. Undefined Usage of Deprofessionalization Associated with the Structuralist Approach of Professionalization Theories

Popkewitz observed that notions connected to professionalization theories are hard-wired into British and US culture and were to become known in other parts of the world owing to globalisation (Popkewitz, 1994, pp. 1–2). Therefore, the authors did not explicitly define professionalism-related concepts, inadvertently aligning their research with the structuralist approach invented by Parsons due to its prominence in English-speaking countries. This claim is supported by the observation that deprofessionalization is defined as the decay or loss of autonomy in the papers within this chapter, which is a central concept of the structuralist-functionalist approach to professionalization (Parsons, 1954, p. 38).

Regarding the thematic scope of papers affiliated with the trait approach, the majority of the studies applied professionalization-related notions for the analysis of contemporary social relations with a limited historical scope (Lai & Lio, 2007; Lai, Du & Li, 2014; Stairs & Hatch, 2008; Larsen, 2010; Cornu, 2015; Bérbué & Ruth, 2016), while

some of the authors utilized these notions for investigating historical processes (Wähler & Hanke, 2020; Harmon & Lebeaume, 2016; Gillard, 2005). The two thematic groups differ from each other in the way historical perspectives are adopted. In the case of the contributions with a contemporary focus, historical aspects do not form the main logical framework but rather appear within the literature review or to provide a reader with a broader context to better understand contemporary relations under investigation. In contrast, papers with a historical scope prioritize the historical perspective and thus historical phenomena are discussed through the unreflected usage of professionalization-related notions.

Papers with a contemporary focus tend to treat academic institutions and professionals employed within them as autonomous and independent entities operating separately from government structures. Alterations in the cultural or social policy of governments that might have a consequence on the academic sphere and secondary teacher education within it ultimately influence the autonomy of professionals, which leads to its systematic erosion. Authors identified neoliberal-inspired education policy and accountability as key factors that breached the autonomy of professionals identified as deprofessionalization (Lai & Lo, 2007; Lai, Du & Li, 2014; Larsen, 2010). In these cases, the forms of the appearance of deprofessionalization are identical: professionals could not dedicate enough time to their teaching-related obligations and, consequently, to teacher education, which would fundamentally affect the theoretical and practical preparedness of future teachers. The unsatisfactory performances of teacher educators led to a further crisis of teacher education in the long term due to ensuing and expectable social dissatisfaction (Larsen, 2010, pp. 216–222).

A further form of deprofessionalization is diagnosed by Stairs and Hatch (2008) whose paper outlined that government measures aimed at deregulating the qualification requirements of teachers could also be identified as a form of deprofessionalization. In that case, the decrease in academic standards could be perceived as a sophisticated tool for preserving social inequalities (Stairs & Hatch, 2008, pp. 456–457).

Therefore, deprofessionalization affects not only professional groups but also individuals who rely on their services.

Government political changes could also deprofessionalize teacher education by ways of implementing institutional changes in the academic sector or fostering and maintaining the existential insecurity of professionals (Cornu, 2015; Bérbué & Ruth, 2016). Unifying various levels of teacher education in harmony with government expectations to establish a "common pedagogical culture" for both primary and secondary teachers raises the question of whether the theoretical and practical preparedness of secondary teachers could be guaranteed to reach the same level prior to the institutional changes (Cornu, 2015, pp. 295–301). Similarly, the financial vulnerability of professionals and its prolongation affects the quality of training since the most talented and qualified professionals would change their careers leaving teacher education with decaying quality standards (Bérbué & Ruth, 2016, pp. 215–216).

In a similar manner to papers with a contemporary focus, historical articles also find the main reasons for deprofessionalization through changes in government policies or in its direct intervention into the inner operation mechanisms of professionals, which breaches their autonomy (Harmon & Lebeaume, 2016; Wähler & Hanke, 2020). A further similarity can be identified in the perception of deprofessionalization, which appears as a condition of certain outcomes of historical processes (Gillard, 2005).

Employing the notion of deprofessionalization or implying the decay of professionals (Wähler & Hanke, 2020, p. 18) are not integrated into the interpretation of historical process but rather serve to identify those structural causes that lead to the condition identified as deprofessionalization. Consequently, the historical overview of the decreasing autonomy of teachers (Gillard, 2005, pp. 175–178), the alteration of teacher training requirements resulting in the disappearance of certain specializations (Harmon & Lebeaume, 2016, pp. 1267–1270) and the state-initiated and scrutinized teacher competitions designed to enhance the professional awareness of in-service teachers (Wähler & Hanke, 2020, pp. 1–9) aim to illustrate certain historical circumstances.

In these cases, the concept of deprofessionalization illustrates a condition that evolved as a result of historical developments. Hence, the concept is less of an analysis of historical processes but rather more of a depiction of a given condition through the lens of historical developments.

As a result of the undefined usage of deprofessionalization and the exacerbated focus on autonomy, two consequences can be drawn: first, the trait approach could identify various forms of deprofessionalization (government intrusions, and meddling deregulation, and existential uncertainties) on a system level but the detailed analysis of the professional institutions and professionals within them remains mainly uncharted. Secondly, this approach frames deprofessionalization as a static condition rather than a process. Even in historically focused papers, historical developments are presented as leading directly to this static condition of deprofessionalization as an inevitable outcome of processes. By portraying deprofessionalization as a fixed condition, its key components remained veiled and unidentified.

4.3. Defined Usage of Deprofessionalization Connected to the Critical Manner of Professionalization Theories

In papers where deprofessionalization is defined in association with the critical manner of professionalization theories, the service ideology of professional groups and their connections to the state are central to the investigation. Freidson (1971, 2001) and Popkewitz (1994) argue that through the investigation of the service ideology not only the collective level of professionals could be grasped but also other parts of their inner hierarchy. Additionally, the connections between governments and professionals are reconceptualized since societies with centralized bureaucracies are deemed as incorporating professionals within government spheres. This involved a sophisticated approach to the investigation of professionals and even to the introduction of new theoretical notions, by which their specific connections with government entities and hence also with the rest of the societal structures could be revealed (Freidson, 1971, pp. 473–474).

Papers with a contemporary focus but defined usage of professionalization tend to find the main cause of deprofessionalization in neoliberal government policies and its transformative consequences in the service ideology of teachers (Bottery & Wright, 1997; Wronowski & Ulrick, 2019; Tsang & Qin, 2020). As a result, instead of professionals, it was political technocrats who influenced decisions on the directions of professional services and, therefore, political objectives were to prevaile over professional considerations (Bottery & Wright, 1997, pp. 8–9; Scott, 2014, p. 19). This led to an increase in administrative tasks depriving teachers of their core mission of caring for students, which is a responsibility central to their service ideology (Wronowski & Ulrick, 2019, pp. 6–11). The uniliteral transformation of the service ideology is further interpreted theoretically through the introduction of "ideological" and "technical" disempowerment. These theoretical notions allow the analysis to reveal the permeation of government initiatives into professional brought pressure to bear on hierarchies of teacher educators and in-service teachers (Tsang & Qin, 2020, pp. 3–5). Since neoliberalism-driven government measures also intruded into the knowledge-construction processes of teachers, the ability to determine theoretical principles of operation has been compromised (Scott, 2014, pp. 28–29).

Even though most of the contemporarily focused papers view deprofessionalization as a condition, it cannot be considered static thanks to the systematic theoretical description of the processes that have culminated in deprofessionalization (Bottery & Wright, 1997; Scott, 2014; Tsang & Qin, 2020). Furthermore, by focusing on the alteration of the service ideology and its impacts on the professional hierarchies, a more nuanced understanding of deprofessionalization beyond the upper structural levels has been achieved.

The papers with a defined usage of deprofessionalization and a historical scope are also characterized by a detailed theoretical definition of deprofessionalization. These studies depict deprofessionalization as a reversed process of professionalization by providing a dynamic theoretical approach for the description of the alterations in the status or inner hierarchies of professionals and their training institutions

(Abbott, 1988; Torren, 1975). Popkewitz (1994) identified two types of deprofessionalization techniques of teacher professionals: one characterized by direct intervention and the other by a more subtle intrusion into the internal mechanisms of professional matters. Direct interventions are typically marked by structural and often institutional changes resulting from government decisions, whereas sophisticated forms of deprofessionalization manifest themselves through curricular changes or anomalies in the academisation of the theoretical knowledge of professionals. Popkewitz (1994, pp. 7–9) claims that historical processes progress from direct intrusions toward more sophisticated forms of intervention.

Konrad H. Jarausch (2012) investigated the operation of professionals including secondary teachers in the era of the Third Reich. For a more detailed analysis, a multiperspective scope is applied in examining and thus comparing numerous professional groups. Multiperspectivity in this case also meant examining the influence of the totalitarian regime on the internal hierarchy of the professionals (Jarausch, 2012, pp. 157–159). Despite the various forms of direct intervention secondary teachers were exposed to, their operation continued (Jarausch, 2012, pp. 160–165). Reasons for maintaining their services are traced back to the inherited weaknesses of professionalization manifesting in the endeavour of preserving their distinguished social status, putting organizational self-interest in the first place of their agenda and even over and above serving the public good. Ethical formalism enables professionals to follow their regulations without reservations even when prescriptions breach moral conventions (Jarausch, 2012, pp. 178–183).

Not only totalitarian regimes but authoritarian political systems are prone to also threaten professional development (Alvarez-Gonzalez, 2022; Garai, 2023). Those political systems whose stability tends to be reinforced by alignment with a given church, which is often expressed in its cultural ideology is also inclined to systematically intrude into the institutional developments (Alvarez-Gonzalez, 2022, pp. 38–39, p. 43). That is achieved through targeted personnel appointments, the politically motivated screening of teacher candidates and the transformation

of the whole teacher education system, which guarantees tight control over professionals (Garai, 2023).

Sophisticated forms of deprofessionalization, however, occur also in democratic circumstances. Since teacher professionals have also been under strict government scrutiny, their ability to detail activities from an intellectual point of view have gradually faded away, which is exemplified by the theoretical notion of de-skilling (Smaller, 2015, pp. 1–5). Supporting the academisation of certain teacher educator groups in exchange for their services risks creating an overly close relationship between professionals and state entities, which could lead to the complete subordination of the whole teacher education to state interests (Simola, Kivinnen & Rinne 1997, pp. 886–888). Horn (2016) also contemplated the professional character and academisation of the theoretical knowledge of teachers. By defining the professional qualities of their occupation, the prospect of deprofessionalization was raised in connection with the training of individual teacher candidates due to the lack of preparedness in theoretical aspects of education sciences. Their professionality was not formed by practical experience and its theoretical explanation but by the interpretations of the head teacher who elucidated certain situations that occurred during the practical teaching period (Horn, 2016, pp. 137–138).

4.4. Some Considerations on the Utilisation of Results Derived from the Systematic Literature Review

Since the altered relationship between professional institutions of secondary teacher education and the state entities is planned to be investigated from a historical perspective, maintaining the historical scope intertwined with the reflective usage of deprofessionalization appears apt to be followed. Theoretical definitions offered by the critical approach of professionalization provide a nuanced understanding of the consequences of the systematic state meddling with the operational mechanisms of the STEC and STTI.

The theoretical approach provides concepts for interpretations at both the level of the internal operational mechanisms of individual institutions and also for the analysis of the teacher education system

as a whole. As for the interpretation of their inner operation mechanisms, the multiperspective lens introduced by Jarausch (2012) offers the possibility of comparing and interpreting the career patterns of professionals within the STEC and STTI between the 19th century and the interwar period. Organisational self-interest and ethical formalism could also be applied to the institutional level to reveal the reasons for the continuous operations of institutions in the late 1930s and early 1940s. In this epoch, the discriminatory and repressive Hungarian legislative measures targeted the Jewry. Not only did this affect the supplementation of teacher candidates but some professionals of the STEC and STTI also were forced to abandon their careers and later were sent to concentration camps.[2]

Changes in the teacher education system could be interpreted by theoretical frames offered by Horn (2016) whose deprofessionalization concept is attached to the unsystematic practical preparation of candidates. In the case of the Hungarian developments, this approach helps identify one aspect of deprofessionalization connected to the 27th Act of 1924. This legislation was aimed at systematizing the practical preparedness of teacher candidates in the whole country along unified protocols. However, the necessary institutional capacities were unavailable in the interwar period resulting in the apparent abandonment of the unified practical training principles of candidates in 1942 (Garai, 2024).

The typology of Freidson (2001) reveals further two aspects of the deprofessionalization of teacher education. The first aspect is connected to the recurring state intrusion into the leadership of both institutions by appointing government flunkeys in key positions after 1920. This befuddled the ability of professional institutions to determine

2 Tv. 1931/1943–1944. Zsirai Miklós ügyvezető alelnök levele Szilágyi László belügyminiszteri osztálytanácsosnak [Letter of the vice-president of the STEC to László Szilágyi, the secretary of the Interior Ministry]. Budapest, June 1944. Unit 14/e, Box 7 (Documents of the Presidency of STEC, 1943). Archives of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

the parameters of their operations since the directorate of the STEC and STTI prioritized complying with the expectations of the government.[3]

The second perspective involves a sharp decrease in the recruitment of teacher candidates due to the low social status of secondary teachers upheld by the government during the interwar period. The extent of the paralysis of the supplementation of candidates could be depicted by the sharp decline in the number of first-year students. In the academic year of 1929/1930, 419 students began their studies in STTI (A Budapesti M. Kir. Középiskolai Tanárképző Intézet Évkönyve az 1929–30. tanévre, 1930, p. 56), which almost halved in the year 1937/1938 with 230 enrolled students (A Budapesti M. Kir. Középiskolai tanárképzőintézet Évkönyve az 1937–1938. tanévre, 1938, p. 49). By 1939/1940 their number was to drop even further to 197 and never returned to the levels seen before the Great Depression (A Budapesti M. Kir. Középiskolai tanárképzőintézet Évkönyve az 1939–1940. tanévre, 1940, p. 44).

5. Discussion

This paper examined the occurrence and application possibilities of deprofessionalization in the international literature with a view to find theoretical foundations for the investigation of the secondary teacher profession in Hungary in the interwar period. The systematic literature review was performed along three main research questions, with the involvement of 27 sources.

The first research question was aimed at revealing how the notions of deprofessionalization emerged in the historiography of professionalization literature. From the analysis of the theoretical literature, it could be concluded that deprofessionalization connected with the

3 Tk. 1562/1934–1935. Kornis Gyula a budapesti m. kir. középiskolai tanárképző intézet elnökének levele az intézet igazgatótanácsának kinevezése tárgyában [Letter of Gyula Kornis, the president of STEC to the directorate council of STEC about the appointment of the council]. Budapest, 17th June 1935. Fund K 636, Box 624 , title 13–6 (Documents of STEC and STTI between 1932 and 1936). National Archives of Hungary, Budapest.

trait approach in the early phase of the usage of the notion. However, the paper by Haug (1975) brought deprofessionalization closer to the critical approach, thus primarily determining status equalisation. In an attempt to define key notions of professionalization, Abbott (1988), a representative of the critical approach described professions by jurisdictional claims and conceived the application of deprofessionalization at an individual level. The typology of Freidson (2001) alludes to the fluctuation between prosperous and less favourable periods in the development of professions, resulting in a more accurate depiction of professionalization processes on the whole in the critical approach. This identification of the dynamism in the development of professionals also aligns with the endeavours of Torren (1975) who was to achieve a more balanced historical analysis of professionalization.

The second research perspective was concerned with whether deprofessionalization connects to the trait or the critical approach of professionalization theories. Due to the circumstances surrounding the emergence of deprofessionalization, it was initially associated with the trait model. Later, the critical approach utilised it for historical investigations as a result of finding and shaping the definitions of professions. This double binding might be the reason for its reflected and unreflected usage in literature involved in the research since the trait approach to professionalization was prevalent in English-speaking countries more due to its cultural origins than the critical one (Popkewitz, 1994). Consequently, when authors linked deprofessionalization to a lack of autonomy, their work was associated unconsciously with the attribute-list approach, invented by Parsons (1954).

The third research question was aimed at revealing how authors utilise the concept of deprofessionalization in the trait and the critical approach of professionalization theories. As a result of the literature review, it can be concluded that the trait approach reveals several forms of deprofessionalization on the level of the state authorities and professional groups. However, a further analysis at the institutional or individual level of professionals remains unexplored. Papers with a contemporary scope tend to view deprofessionalization as a static condition that emerged due to the diminishing autonomy of professionals.

Similarly, historical studies within this approach also treat deprofessionalization as a condition emanating from historical processes.

As with all research papers, findings of the inquiry could be interpreted by taking into account certain limitations. The systematic literature review presented in this paper is no exception since several factors influenced the outcomes reported in the results section. The first is a methodological constraint. After the automatised screening of databases, only one coder (the author) created the corpus along the aspects detailed in the methodological chapter. Involving a further coder in one part or for the whole process could have strengthened the validity of the outcomes even further.

The second limitation could be connected to the thematic scope of the review. Although all kinds of professional groups were involved in the early phase of screening of databases, at one point of the selection, papers connected to the secondary teacher profession and teacher training were preserved, since the literature review was connected to planned research, in which the secondary teacher training would be investigated in the interwar period. One exception was made with the paper of Freidson (1971) due to its conceptual importance. Using the Jarausch (2012) proposed multiperspective lens approach during the screening and thus involving the analyses of professionalization and deprofessionalization processes of multiple professional groups would have revealed other perspectives that could not appear in this investigation due to the constraints of limited scope.

As a third limitation, a narrow thematic perspective lies in revealing the international usage of the deprofessionalization term, particularly in its connections to the critical approach. Comparing and linking deprofessionalization to other theoretical concepts of professional theories might also uncover new perspectives and application potentialities.

Databases used to gather the corpus of the analysis limited the scope of the analysis from two perspectives. First, apart from one French paper, the search resulted in English-language studies potentially omitting relevant research findings, particularly German language essays, which had relevance for the Hungarian developments due to shared

historical experience. Secondly, the language of the studies influenced the geographical scope of the analysis, which focuses on the US and European countries. Even though Asia was also represented among the included studies, several other areas remained untouched in the paper, e.g. South-American countries, Australia and Africa.

Despite certain limitations, the systematic literature analysis provides a meta-analytical viewpoint on deprofessionalization applied within the trait and critical approach of professionalization theories. From this meta-aspect, two general conclusions could be drawn that might be utilised to further investigate the Hungarian developments in the interwar period. The first is the tendency of authors affiliated with the critical approach of professionalization theories to focus on the service ideology of professionals and its changes throughout time. Although papers with a contemporary focus perceive deprofessionalization as a condition, the theoretically grounded notions applied in the critical research inquiry enable a more detailed understanding that encompasses various levels of professions.

Secondly, papers with a historical focus perceive deprofessionalization as a reversed process of professionalization (Abbott, 1988), which offers the perspective to analyze historical processes in a dynamic theoretical framework. Popkewitz (1994) identified direct and sophisticated forms of intrusions into and meddling with the inner mechanism of professional matters, which could be applied to various historical epochs depending on the methods of state interventions.

In analyzing the Hungarian case represented in the operation of STEC and STTI in the interwar period, concepts by Jarausch (2012) of multiperspective perception, organisational self-interest and ethical formalism offer insights into the micro level of institutional dynamics. Additionally, the typology of Fredison (2001) and the approach of Horn (2016) on deprofessionalization also identify several structural factors contributing to the decay of teacher education institutions.[4]

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reviewers, whose recommendations contributed remarkably to improving and finalising my paper.

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The Evolution of Psychoanalytic Pedagogy in the Soviet Union in the First Half of the 20th Century

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Abstract This article examines the evolution of psychoanalytic pedagogical ideas in the Soviet Union during the first half of the 20th century, focusing on periods of support and repression related to psychoanalytic approaches in education. The paper highlights the phases during which Sigmund Freud's ideas initially gained the support of the Bolsheviks but were later subjected to severe criticism and rejection. It explores experiments in psychoanalytic education conducted at the "International Solidarity" orphanage and their subsequent prohibition due to political shifts. Particular attention is given to Joseph Stalin's influence and the closure of psychoanalytic institutions in the 1930s, which led to the marginalization of pedagogy as a field. The article emphasizes the processes of ideological control and the replacement of psychoanalytic theories with Marxist models of education, as well as the role of underground psychoanalytic practices in a context of prohibition.

Keywords psychoanalytic pedagogy, USSR, psychoanalysis, Freudianism, education, Soviet period, ideological control

Introduction

At the beginning of the 20th century, European philosophy of education was undergoing a profound transformation, shaped by social upheavals, modernist efforts to redefine human understanding, and growing criticism of traditional pedagogical models. In this intellectual climate, psychoanalysis – introduced by Sigmund Freud – gained

attention among educators as a method that could explore the inner world of the child, uncover unconscious motivations, and fundamentally rethink the nature of education. Viewed as both innovative and humanistic, psychoanalytic ideas sparked active discussions not only in Western academic circles but also in early Soviet educational contexts. In the 1920s, the Soviet Union presented a unique case in which psychoanalytic pedagogy, despite its ideological tensions with Marxism, received temporary institutional support as part of the broader project of shaping the "new man".

This article focuses on the development of psychoanalytic pedagogy in the Soviet Union during the first half of the 20th century. I aimed to demonstrate that attitudes toward psychoanalytic pedagogy in the USSR shifted depending on the evolution of party ideology. Within the framework of Marxism-Leninism, psychoanalysis had the potential to become a key method for shaping the "new human being", particularly evident during the collapse of the Russian Empire and subsequent debates between the left and right factions of the Bolsheviks. To provide a comprehensive understanding of the evolution of views on psychoanalytic pedagogy, the article examines its origins in the early 1900s and the transformations it underwent during the Stalinist repressions. Accordingly, the purpose of this article is to explore the characteristics of the development of psychoanalytic pedagogy in the USSR, analyze the impact of ideological shifts on its formation and transformation, and highlight the role of key figures who contributed to this pedagogical movement. Particular attention is given to individuals who supported psychoanalysis at the highest (party) level and facilitated the dissemination of psychoanalytic ideas in educational, scientific, and healthcare institutions.

To understand the evolution of the history of pedagogy in a particular country, it is essential to analyze the works published during different periods of its development. I fully agree with the Austrian psychoanalyst and educator Siegfried Bernfeld, who argued that the goal of educating the younger generation is determined not by philosophy or ethics but by the dominant socio-political classes, which act according

to their own intentions to consolidate and expand their power (Bernfeld, 1973). Pedagogy merely conceals this grim process of power retention, covering it with a web of new educational ideas tailored to political objectives. Thus, the education system becomes merely a tool of political struggle aimed at shaping citizens who align with the ideals and needs of the ruling class. In other words, education often serves as a means of controlling society. Moreover, educational ideas, even when proclaimed progressive, frequently act as a façade for reinforcing certain ideologies that serve the interests of the elite. Therefore, to fully understand the evolution of pedagogy, it is necessary to study not only educational theories themselves but also the context of their emergence, as well as the political and social factors that influenced their popularity and implementation.

To enhance the credibility of the results, I analyzed works on the history of education published in the USSR in 1947. Additionally, to strengthen the evidence base, I examined works on the history of education that were published in Ukraine in the early 21st century. Thus, this article draws on a wide range of sources that span different historical periods, political contexts, and ideological approaches. This allows for an understanding of how educational priorities in the USSR evolved, how pedagogical ideas were adapted, and how models of education were shaped in response to societal and political challenges.

The Preconditions for the Development of Education in the Russian Empire in the Early 20th Century

The first printed references to psychoanalysis in the Russian Empire appeared in 1904 (Ovcharenko & Gritsanov, 2010, p. 582). Subsequently, imperial decrees declared freedom of speech, press, assembly, and association (Levkivskyi, 1999, p. 243), which contributed to greater informational openness and the spread of foreign educational ideas. During this period, national liberation movements also developed within the Empire, having a significant impact on educational reforms. In particular, in Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, and Ukraine, primary school teachers began teaching lessons in the native language (Dadenkov,

1947, p. 277). Most of the new unions formed during the First Russian Revolution of 1905 called for the reorganization of popular education on the principles of freedom and democracy. These unions advocated for compulsory and free education in the native language, as well as the exclusion of religious law from the mandatory curriculum (Artemova, 2006, p. 216). Thus, at the beginning of the 20th century, there was a societal demand for the democratization of education in the Russian Empire, alongside a desire for cultural revival among various social strata, which laid the foundation for further educational reforms.

In the history of Soviet pedagogy, the period from the late 19th century until the 1917 revolution is characterized as a time of the spread of bourgeois pedagogy or pedagogy of imperialism. Analyzing textbooks on the history of pedagogy (1947) allowed me to identify the ideas that dominated education at the beginning of the 20th century from the perspective of well-known pedagogical scholars from Russia. One such researcher, in particular, was Evgenii Medynskii (1885–1957), a full member of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR and Doctor of Pedagogical Sciences. It is important to note that he was the first author of a textbook on the history of pedagogy in the RSFSR, which was published in three volumes under the title The History of Pedagogy in Connection with the Economic Development of Society (1925–1929). Medynskii's views on the development of education clearly reflected the views of the top party leadership, which constantly opposed the ideas of social education to the ideas of capitalism and child-centered pedagogy. In fact, E. Medynskii was the official "mouthpiece" of Moscow in interpreting the history of pedagogy and educational practices. Specifically, in the 1947 history of pedagogy textbook, which was notably published after World War II, E. Medynskii assessed the pedagogical ideas of both the countries that were allies of the USSR in the war and its military opponents. Not surprisingly, the development of education in the United Kingdom, France, and the United States was characterized by neutral assessments, albeit with certain emphasis on social inequality between the working (proletariat) and ruling (bourgeois) classes. In contrast, education in Germany was described as chauvinistic, monarchical, and militarized, as

its foundation was the education of unconditional obedience to the ideas of the monarchy and ruling elites (Medynskii, 1947, p. 260). Similar ideas were also present in the Ukrainian textbook on the history of pedagogy by Professor Mykola Dadenkov (1947). However, his views on education in European countries at the beginning of the 20th century were revealed not so much through the critique of established traditions, but more through the idea that the activity of the Paris Commune in France and the development of revolutionary Marxism in Germany through Clara Zetkin were examples of the construction of the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus enabling these countries to build education based on social equality (Dadenkov, 1947, p. 148).

Socio-political debates in Europe were the primary discourse, although not the only one, influencing the development of pedagogy in the early 20th century. Transformations in philosophy and culture also played a significant role. The revolution against the ideas of positivism prompted the search for a new philosophy of life (Exalto, 2024, p. 85). One of these defining philosophies was psychoanalysis. However, while the "philosophy of life" was based on the principles of human will and consciousness, psychoanalysis focused on the hidden aspects of the psyche – the unconscious. Thus, the representatives of this new philosophy placed will above reason, and in Sigmund Freud's ideas, humans were not free but governed by unconscious inner drives. Freud's ideas in the Russian Empire in the early 20th century were intriguing both to the ruling elites, who saw psychoanalysis as a tool for studying behavior and influencing public sentiment, and to the opposition, which viewed psychoanalysis as a means of liberating the proletariat from the influence of authorities and fighting ideological conformism.

The Emergence of Psychoanalysis and Psychoanalytic Pedagogy in the Russian Empire

As previously mentioned, the first references to psychoanalysis in Russia appeared in 1904. In that year, Freud's book The Interpretation of Dreams was first translated into Russian. It is not definitively known who was the first to present psychoanalytic ideas in scientific articles

in Russia at that time, but it is known that the initial references to psychoanalysis were primarily educational, and key promoters of Freud's ideas included Russian psychiatrists such as Nikolai Osipov, Nikolai Vyrubov, and the Odessa native Moisey Wulff. In 1908, Osipov published an overview article in the Journal of Neuropathology and Psychiatry named after S. S. Korsakov titled "Psychological and Psychopathological Views of Freud in the German Literature of 1907". Subsequently, articles by Oleg Feltzman ("On Psychoanalysis and Psychotherapy", 1909) and Nikolai Vyrubov ("Freud's Psychoanalytic Method and Its Therapeutic Significance", 1909) were published. During this time, N. Vyrubov also delivered several lectures on "The Psychoanalytic Method in the Study and Therapy of Psychoneuroses" as part of a psychiatry course for doctors in Moscow. Overall, the development of psychoanalysis in the Russian Empire was characterized by establishing connections with European psychoanalysts and creating the first organizations dedicated to the advancement of psychoanalytic ideas. For example, in Moscow, a journal titled *Psychotherapy: A Review of Issues in Mental Treatment and Applied Psychology* was published from 1910 to 1914, which aimed at promoting psychoanalysis (Ovcharenko & Gritsanov, 2010, p. 582). However, there was a certain contradiction in society between the ideas of Freudianism and the spiritual and religious atmosphere in the country. As a result, with the outbreak of World War I, the development of psychoanalysis in Russia came to a halt, and its revival coincided with the rise to power of the Bolsheviks. Before addressing the specifics of the development of Freudian ideas under Bolshevik rule, I will first outline the establishment of psychoanalytic pedagogy during the Russian Empire era.

The development of psychoanalytic pedagogy methods was one of the desired directions for psychoanalysis to break free from the confines of psychiatry and spread as a universal humanistic system. This was supported by the idea that it is more effective to educate children differently to prevent them from developing neurotic disorders in adulthood. Sandor Ferenczi, for example, stated at the First International Psychoanalytic Congress in Salzburg (1908) that the long-established system of education resembled a greenhouse for various neurotic disorders

and a source of severe mental illnesses. Even those fortunate enough not to grow ill still experienced constant pressure and suffering due to inappropriate educational theories and the flawed methods used to implement them (Ferenczi, 1949).

The beginning of the establishment of psychoanalytic pedagogy in the Russian Empire can be considered 1912. During this period, Wulff's pamphlet "Notes on Child Sexuality" was published in Odessa, and in Moscow, an article titled "Psychoanalysis and Education" by V. Rakhmanov appeared in the journal Russkaya shkola (Volume II, Nos. 7–8) (Nelin, 2019, p. 95). It is undisputed that Wulff was the first professional psychoanalyst in the Russian Empire (Ovcharenko, 2000, p. 47). He underwent personal psychoanalysis with Karl Abraham (1908), who introduced him to Freud (1909). Also, in 1908, Osipov visited Freud in Vienna and, upon his return to Moscow, actively began publishing psychoanalytic literature. Freud himself commented on the specifics of psychoanalysis› development in the Russian Empire, mentioning in a letter to Jung (1912) that a "local epidemic of psychoanalysis" had begun there. Later, in his work "Outline of the History of the Psychoanalytic Movement" (1914), Freud gave a more comprehensive assessment of psychoanalysis› development in Russia, stating the following: "In Russia, psychoanalysis is very generally known and widespread; almost all my writings as well as those of other advocates of analysis are translated into Russian. But a deeper grasp of the analytic teaching has not yet shown itself in Russia. The contributions written by Russian physicians and psychiatrists are not at present noteworthy. Only Odessa possesses a trained psychoanalyst in the person of M. Wulff" (Freud, 1914).

Despite the rapid development of psychoanalysis in Ukraine, particularly in Odessa and Kharkiv, M. Wulff moved to Moscow in 1914, which became the center of the development of psychoanalytic pedagogy in Russia. In 1913, Louis Waldstein's monograph The Subconscious "I" and Its Relation to Health and Education was translated into Russian in Moscow (Waldstein, 1913), and in the Journal of Education (1914, No. 4), M. Veisfeld's article Psychoanalysis and Its Use in Pedagogy

was published (Veisfeld, 1914). This article by M. Veisfeld was a review and did not present the scholar's own ideas; however, it outlined the ideas of S. Freud and his followers, as well as the possibilities of psychoanalysis for the formation of the "new person".

Overall, the development of psychoanalysis in the Russian Empire reflected some contradictory trends. On the one hand, the ideas of S. Freud generated interest among the intellectual elite, doctors, and educators who sought to apply new psychological approaches to solving educational and social issues. On the other hand, the political situation in the country, including ideological control and social inequalities, created barriers to the integration of psychoanalysis as a legitimate scientific discipline. With the onset of World War I, the development of psychoanalysis significantly slowed due to the crisis caused by military actions and political instability. However, after the 1917 Revolutions, the situation began to change. With the rise to power of the Bolsheviks, psychoanalysis received new momentum for development, as some prominent figures, including Lev Trotsky, actively supported the psychoanalytic movement. During this period, psychoanalysis began to be seen as a promising tool for the creation of the "new person" and a harmonious socialist society.

The Development of Psychoanalytic Pedagogy in the USSR (1922–1936)

The collapse of the Russian Empire and the establishment of Bolshevik power generally had a positive effect on the development of psychoanalysis in the country. Despite some psychoanalysts, such as N. Osipov, who moved to Prague and began working as an associate professor at Prague University (Fischer, 1975), leaving Russia after the October Revolution, psychoanalytic ideas were discussed at the Third All-Russian Congress on Child Health and the All-Russian Conference on Combating Childhood Defects, both held in 1921 (Stoyukhina & Loginovskikh, 2014, p. 69). It was indisputable that many children in society were classified as "unreliable". In this context, psychoanalysis was seen as a potential tool for understanding the psychological and social issues of children who had experienced the war, the

revolutions, and their aftermath. The Bolshevik ideology, aiming to create a "new person", was deeply interested in educational methods that could contribute to the construction of a new society (Artemova, 2006, p. 285). Given that the Bolsheviks rejected all forms of religiosity, spirituality, and the notion of humans as independent, self-aware beings (Kostkiewicz, 2024, p. 208), psychoanalysis, with its emphasis on the unconscious, appeared to be a suitable instrument for achieving these goals.

The large number of homeless individuals, the rise in juvenile delinquency, and the increasing alcoholism among the youth prompted the higher party leadership to make radical decisions in education. The party demanded that teachers, pedagogists, and psychoanalysts develop curricula and implement them to shape the new "Soviet" person. Ideologically, this aligned with the idea of building a socially homogeneous society, where individual aspirations were to be subordinated to the collective goals and needs of the state as a whole.

Since the 18th century, the traditional form of educating the younger generation in Russia was specialized boarding schools for children. In these homes, children received care, food, and basic education. Society viewed the child as a weak and defective being, requiring constant attention and upbringing. However, with the rise of the Bolsheviks, the practice of "contempt" shifted to the practice of studying and observing children's behavior (Paramonova, 2012, p. 62). In an effort to solve social problems such as homelessness, hunger, and illiteracy, various authorities contributed to the development of a network of specialized institutions. Specifically, under the People's Commissariat of Education (Narkompros), Anatoly Lunacharsky, Nadezhda Krupskaya, and Vera Schmidt were responsible for the operation of institutional-type establishments, while at the highest party leadership level, the main advocate for psychoanalysis was Lev Trotsky.

In the context of the growing democratization of education and the ideas of psychoanalysis as a revolutionary method of influencing the individual, the 1920s saw the widespread dissemination of ideas related to sexual and gender education. The theoretical foundation

for the experiments of progressive educators was based on two methodological approaches: the traditional and the psychoanalytic. The first approach, supported by P. Blonsky, regarded sexual education as a partial variant of moral education. In contrast, the second approach – psychoanalytic – was supported by specialists such as V. Schmidt and I. Ermakov, who viewed sexuality as a self-contained value and aimed to foster a positive societal attitude toward the issue of sexuality in general (Kravets, 2016, p. 259). Thus, by the early 1920s, the issue of educating the "new person" based on a combination of sexual education ideas, a collective approach, and the institutional form of education arose.

One institution that sought to raise a new type of person under the full-board regime was the experimental orphanage-laboratory "International Solidarity", which operated in Moscow from 1921 to 1925. To scientifically validate the effectiveness of the psychoanalytic method in pedagogy, the state publishing house translated G. Green's work "Psychoanalysis in the School" (1921). Furthermore, to legitimize the observation of preschool and younger school-age children, the State Psychoanalytic Institute was established in 1922 based at "International Solidarity", with the renowned Russian psychiatrist and public figure I. Ermakov as its director. The fact that a prominent psychiatrist headed the scientific institution corresponded to the key needs of the party, as the country was in urgent need of scientific argumentation and justification for the intended changes in pedagogy. Education and science had to align with the revolutionary views of the leaders of the proletariat, and in this context, psychoanalysis was regarded as the most revolutionary and progressive method of influencing people.

At this institute, psychoanalytic training was provided for scientific, medical, and educational personnel. In particular, educators were trained to observe children, analyze their sexual development, and creative self-realization. Formally, the State Psychoanalytic Institute was under the jurisdiction of the Main Directorate of Scientific, Scientific-Artistic, and Museum Institutions (Glavnauka), which operated under the People's Commissariat of Education (Narkompros). In 1923/24, over 20 courses and seminars were offered at the Institute, including "Introduction to Psychoanalysis" (M. Wulff), "General

Psychoanalysis Course" (I. Ermakov), "Pedagogy of Preschool Age" (V. Schmidt), "Child Psychoanalysis" (S. Spielrein), "Psychoanalytic Characterology" (B. Friedman), and others. The premises of the Institute also hosted meetings of the Russian Psychoanalytic Society (1922), which included figures such as P. Blonsky, A. Luria, S. Shatsky, and others.

In 1922, a psychoanalytic association was established in Kazan under the leadership of A. Luria. Meetings of the Kazan Psychoanalytic Association were held once or twice a month, with its clinical base being the psychiatric clinic of the Medical Faculty at Kazan University. However, the association's history was short-lived, as its members decided to relocate to Moscow after six months of activity to join the Russian Psychoanalytic Society. As a result, in 1923, the RPS split into two sections: medical and pedagogical (Miller, 1998). The pedagogical section focused on organizing experimental work at the "International Solidarity" children's home laboratory.

The primary goal of this children's home was to develop methods for researching and educating socially well-rounded children. Rooted in psychoanalysis as a method to overcome ingrained social constraints and enable psychological freedom, along with the principles of collective upbringing, psychoanalysts aimed to shape the new "Soviet" person from the earliest years of life. Among the children who lived and studied in this institution from its inception were the sons and daughters of the most influential Soviet figures, including Vasily, the son of Joseph Stalin; Artyom, the son of Fyodor Sergeyev (Comrade Artyom), who became Stalin›s adopted son in 1921; Vladimir, the son of renowned polar explorer and scientist Otto Schmidt; Tatyana, the daughter of Mikhail Frunze; as well as the children of other high-ranking government officials and prominent members of the Comintern (Nelin, 2019, p. 98).

The core principle of education was the rejection of traditional concepts of shame and punishment, including for physiological or social behaviors. Educators were expected to explain children's actions to them, avoiding shame and instead offering alternative solutions. Special attention was given to open discussions on topics related to the

body and gender differences, which sparked public outrage. A significant aspect of the approach was the prohibition of physical contact between adults and children, including hugs or kisses, due to concerns about unconscious eroticism and the risk of spreading infections. This approach often led to high levels of stress among educators, many of whom found it challenging to comply with these demands or adapt to the new pedagogical ideology. Teachers were also required to keep detailed daily records of the outcomes of their experimental work. Overall, the idea of raising "socially adequate" children permeated all activities of the "International Solidarity" institution, where the state's educational framework effectively replaced the traditional family support system. Educators were expected to take on the role of surrogate parents for children, whose biological parents were often engaged in forming the country's political and cultural elite.

Soviet pedagogy often exhibited a pattern where concepts with positive connotations were immediately countered by their negative counterparts. Negative labels such as "bourgeois" and "imperialist" (Sukhomlynska, 2014) were frequently employed to delegitimize ideas, including psychoanalysis. Despite its popularity as a revolutionary method for re-education, "International Solidarity" faced growing criticism for alleged permissiveness and perceived moral laxity. Eventually, following a commission's findings that instances of masturbation were more prevalent among long-term residents of the orphanage compared to newcomers, authorities decided in 1925 to close the State Psychoanalytic Institute and repurpose the experimental orphanage into a new type of kindergarten focused on collective upbringing and state-centered education.

After the closure of the Psychoanalytic Institute by a resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR on August 14, 1925, Narkompros sought to preserve psychoanalytic specialists and continue research efforts by proposing the establishment of a psychoanalysis department within the State Institute of Experimental Psychology. However, the leadership of this scientific institution opposed the idea. In a letter to the People's Commissar of Education, the director of the Institute, K. Kornilov, stated, "Recognizing psychoanalysis as

a comprehensive system and worldview in the field of psychology is unacceptable […]. The Collegium of the State Institute of Experimental Psychology believes that broad psychoanalytic objectives do not align with the mission of our institution, which aims to study human psychology based on Marxism and dialectical materialism" (Ovcharenko & Gritsanov, 2010, p. 585). As a result, the proposal to establish a psychoanalysis department at the State Institute of Experimental Psychology was rescinded. The idea of shaping a "new person" through psychoanalysis began to face increasing criticism and ultimately lost its institutional backing.

Ultimately, the experimental program of psychoanalytic education at the kindergarten "International Solidarity" was discontinued, and its administrative and teaching staff were dismissed. Since this kindergarten exclusively served the children of the party elite, it was not shut down but was instead transformed into a traditional educational institution. After Joseph Stalin's wife, Nadezhda Alliluyeva, assumed oversight of "International Solidarity" in 1925, the upbringing of children shifted to emphasize socialist values. Children were taught that wealth was undesirable as it conflicted with the principle of sharing with those in need. They were also instructed that everyone must work diligently without complaint, and that collective labor served the greater good of the community and the nation. This approach was deemed successful by the Bolsheviks because it aligned with their ideological goals and effectively instilled the desired social norms. Consequently, it was implemented in kindergartens nationwide. However, once most children of the ruling elite had transitioned to school, the institution was closed in 1931, and the building was repurposed for the creative activities of Maxim Gorky, a propagandist of socialist ideals.

The closure of the State Psychoanalytic Institute and the experimental psychoanalytic education program resulted from political shifts following the death of V. Lenin (1924), the rapid decline of L. Trotsky's influence, and J. Stalin's consolidation of power (1925). This period marked the beginning of the rollback of various democratic educational initiatives, which were denounced as bourgeois. One clear indicator of this trend was Mikhail Reisner's article, "Freudianism and Bourgeois

Ideology". In it, M. Reisner called for a reevaluation of Freud's theories, emphasizing the need to "separate the valuable kernels of Freudianism from their ideological husk" (Ovcharenko, 2000, p. 135). During this time, the Russian Psychoanalytic Society was the only remaining venue for psychoanalytic development in the USSR. However, it existed only nominally from 1925 and was officially disbanded on July 27, 1930 (Ovcharenko & Gritsanov, 2010, p. 705). Interestingly, even L. Trotsky, who had previously supported psychoanalysis in the USSR, began criticizing Freudianism in 1927 as part of his efforts to maintain political relevance. In his essay "Materialism, Marxism, and Freudianism", Trotsky argued that I. Pavlov's reflexology was more aligned with the principles of dialectical materialism, praising it as a meticulous and experimentally sound method. He stated: "The attempt to declare psychoanalysis incompatible with Marxism and to simply turn our backs on Freudianism is overly simplistic, or more accurately, oversimplified. But in no case should we adopt Freudianism" (Trotsky, 1927, p. 431). Thus, the period from 1925, when psychoanalytic institutions were closed, to 1930, when the Russian Psychoanalytic Society was dissolved, marked a time of rapid decline and formal rejection of psychoanalytic ideas in the USSR.

In 1931, the journal Proletarian Revolution published a letter by J. Stalin titled "On Certain Questions of the History of Bolshevism". In it, J. Stalin criticized attempts by some theorists to "introduce disguised pseudoscience" into academic literature (Leibin, 1991). That same year, the Communist Academy of Education held hearings aimed at condemning the "ideological errors" of L. Vygotsky, A. Zalkind, A. Luria, and others who had demonstrated insufficient vigilance toward psychoanalysis and Freudianism. Calls to renounce psychoanalysis as an ideologically incorrect theory and an anti-Marxist perspective incompatible with class-based education grew stronger over the years (Stoyukhina & Loginovskikh, 2014). Ultimately, amid the escalating campaign against "right and left opportunistic distortions", psychoanalysis in the USSR was labeled a bourgeois and Menshevik theory – a "left pseudoscientific theory" banned by the Bolsheviks (Nelin, 2019).

As L. Berezivska rightly noted, many specialists, due to persecution, were forced either to conform to Bolshevik policies or to emigrate to other countries (Berezivska, 2023, p. 232). In particular, many supporters of psychoanalysis who did not renounce the ideas of Sigmund Freud – as A. Luria did by adopting I. Pavlov's reflexology – faced repression. For instance, I. Yermakov, who died in a Saratov prison in 1942, was among those persecuted. Others emigrated from Russia, such as M. Wulff, who moved to Palestine (Israel). There, he became the founder of the Palestinian Psychoanalytic Society (renamed the Israeli Psychoanalytic Society in 1948) in 1934 and a co-founder of the Jerusalem Psychoanalytic Institute in 1947 (Ovcharenko, 2000, p. 48).

In 1935, the Central Institute for the Protection of Children's and Adolescents' Health published P. Blonsky's monograph "Essays on Child Sexuality". In the preface to the work, P. Blonsky stated that, "The study of childhood sexuality is caught between two opposing yet equally flawed myths – the myth of the sexually innocent child and the Freudian myth of the oversexualized child" (Blonsky, 1935). In the chapter On the Critique of the Freudian Theory of Childhood Sexuality, P. Blonsky noted that this theory enjoyed significant popularity, and even those who were not supporters of psychoanalysis often imitated Freud. P. Blonsky argued that Freud's method of observing children was far less effective than the method of retrospection, which gathers information about a child's sexual experiences from the case histories of adults. Thus, despite having been a co-founder of the Russian Psychoanalytic Society in 1922, P. Blonsky quickly abandoned Freudian ideas, criticizing them for their lack of a systematic approach and reliance on anecdotal evidence. In doing so, he contributed to the gradual expulsion of psychoanalysis from the Soviet Union.

A defining event in the history of Soviet pedagogy was the adoption of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) resolution On Pedological Distortions in the System of the People's Commissariat of Education on July 4, 1936. This resolution proclaimed the idea of "class struggle", emphasizing the intensification of class conflicts as a means of advancing socialism. The resolution denounced

pedology as a bourgeois discipline incompatible with the goals of socialist construction. Pedologists and psychoanalysts were accused of promoting "harmful" theories that diverted educators from the practical task of molding the ideal Soviet person. The development of psychoanalysis, which in the early 1920s had been regarded as a promising tool for working with children, came to a halt. Psychoanalytic experiments conducted in kindergartens and schools were cited as evidence of "moral corruption". Instead, Soviet pedagogy shifted its focus to the ideological education of children, rooted in collectivism, socialist values, and strict adherence to ideological and political directives. The dismantling of pedology and psychoanalysis led to the complete monopolization of pedagogical science under Bolshevik ideology. Scientific methodologies for studying child development were replaced by directive approaches aimed at cultivating the "ideal Soviet citizen". This shift significantly hindered the development of pedagogical science, particularly limiting the study of children's individual characteristics and psychological states.

Features of the Development of Psychoanalytic Pedagogy

After Its Prohibition The Stalinist decree of 1936 aimed to redirect attention from individual child development to collective upbringing. It is important to note that, to ensure the successful implementation of the idea of collective education, party censorship explicitly forbade any reference to psychoanalytic pedagogy or Freudianism. Instead, the primary focus of criticism from party-affiliated scholars was directed at pedology. In textbooks on the history of pedagogy, the necessity of adopting Stalin's decree was explained as follows: "Since pedology aimed, on the one hand, to preserve the dominance of the exploiting classes as "superior races", and on the other, to reinforce the alleged physical and spiritual subjugation of the working classes, the Central Committee demanded the complete restoration of pedagogy and educators to their rightful place" (Dadenkov, 1947, p. 316). From that point onward, pedology was described as a conglomerate of deliberately biased bourgeois concepts designed to "prove" the supposed superior giftedness

of bourgeois children compared to those of the working class (Medynskii, 1947, p. 568). Overall, to emphasize the exceptionalism of Soviet pedagogy, party-affiliated scholars criticized bourgeois theories using pedology as an example while systematically suppressing any discussion of psychoanalysis, aiming to eliminate it entirely from both pedagogical and medical discourse.

Let us briefly outline the specifics of the development of psychoanalytic pedagogy in the 1940s. The events of World War II in Europe acted as a catalyst for the mass migration of psychoanalysts from Austria and Germany to the United Kingdom and the United States, driven by the need to escape Nazi persecution. In the Soviet Union, however, psychoanalysis, despite being officially banned, was clandestinely practiced by S. Spielrein in Rostov-on-Don. In Odesa, it was carried out by J. Kogan, while a group of doctors, including M. Ivanov and I. Sumbaev, pursued similar activities in Irkutsk. In Leningrad, the Military Medical Academy became a focal point for clandestine psychoanalytic activity (Ovcharenko, 1996, p. 149). Nevertheless, psychoanalysis remained a prohibited topic in scientific journals, under the strict ideological control of the state. For instance, D. Azbukin's article "Sexual Education of Children and Adolescents" (1941) made no mention of the contributions of Freud or other specialists. Instead, it emphasized that the USSR was the leading country in the world in terms of population growth, surpassing the rates of capitalist European countries (Azbukin, 1941, p. 39). Thus, psychoanalysis in the USSR persisted solely in a hidden form, without official recognition or support, and was largely confined to underground practices. Its development depended on the dedication of individual specialists who, despite prohibitions, sought to integrate Freudian ideas into medical and pedagogical practice.

Conclusions

Psychoanalytic pedagogy in the Soviet Union underwent a complex trajectory of development and decline, beginning in the 1920s when Freudian ideas initially received Bolshevik support but later became a target of severe criticism. Early experiments with psychoanalytic education in institutions like the "International Solidarity" kindergarten

reflected attempts to create the "new Soviet person" based on psychoanalytic principles. However, these efforts quickly clashed with the political realities of the time. With Joseph Stalin's rise to power and the subsequent rollback of democratic initiatives, psychoanalytic pedagogy was condemned as a vehicle for bourgeois ideology and subjected to harsh criticism. Psychoanalytic institutions were closed, and those researchers who refused to renounce Freudianism faced persecution or were forced to emigrate. Simultaneously, the USSR began to institutionalize ideologically driven models of collective education, which became the cornerstone of Soviet pedagogy. Psychoanalytic theories were replaced by Marxist concepts of upbringing, emphasizing collectivism, class struggle, and socialist values. A 1936 decree by the Central Committee of the Communist Party formally denounced pedology and psychoanalysis as bourgeois trends incompatible with the objectives of socialist construction. While some psychoanalysts continued their work clandestinely, their contributions to medical and educational practices remained limited. After World War II, psychoanalysis persisted in the USSR only through the efforts of individual practitioners and scholars, but it remained officially banned. Ultimately, psychoanalysis was excluded from Soviet pedagogical and medical practice, as the development of education became entirely focused on ideologically controlled models that prioritized collectivist principles.

Given the rich history of psychoanalytic pedagogy in the Soviet Union during the first half of the 20th century, future research could explore the evolution of psychoanalytic discourse during periods of political transformation, such as Khrushchev's Thaw and Brezhnev's Stagnation, as well as after the dissolution of the USSR into independent states. In this context, particular attention could be devoted to a comparative analysis of the development of Freudianism in Russia and Ukraine.

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Native Language Instruction Reflected in Composition Writing by Visually Impaired Students in the Historical Context of Czechoslovakia/ Czech Republic in the Period of 1968–2000

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Abstract This study presents an overview of the development of composition writing at a specific Czech (Czechoslovak/Czech Republic) grammar school for students with visual impairments (historical term). The study focuses on the period from the reintroduction of grammar schools in 1968, or more precisely in 1972, until 2010, when a major reorganization of the structure of the Czech language and literature graduation exam. Grammar schools for students with visual impairments were selected because, during the studied period, special language instruction for these students took place exclusively within the system of special schools, which were organised outside the mainstream educational system designed for students without such a handicap. A historical analysis of written graduation compositions produced by visually impaired students provides an opportunity to trace the evolution of didactic approaches, the ideological framework of education, and the ways in which writing was used as a tool for assessment, reflection, and social adaptation. The insights gained may enrich our understanding of current inclusive practices and inform the development of suitable didactic strategies for students with special educational needs. Moreover, the topic of the history of written graduation compositions by students with visual impairments has not been examined in academic research yet.

Keywords native language instruction, historical development, students with visual impairments, Czech language written graduation exam, grammar schools

Introduction

There are not many scientific papers addressing the key subject of Czech language instruction in schools for visually impaired students. For example, it is discussed in the authoritative *Comprehensive History of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Čornejová et al., 2020, p. 245, 247, 248, 477, 480, and others). With the exception of the late 1960s, strict ideological indoctrination was commonplace, even for students with visual impairments.

Care for individuals with visual impairments was initially provided in welfare institutions, primarily established to offer humane care for the blind (a contemporary term). Their upbringing and, at first, very rudimentary education were predominantly organised by nuns. The first such institution in the Czech lands, the *Private Institute for the Education and Treatment of Poor Blind Children and the Ocularly Ill*, was founded in 1807 in Hradčany, Prague. Language instruction there developed only very gradually (described in detail in Eliášková, 2018). Initially, Czech language instruction of the visually impaired was unsystematic, limited to the elementary school level, and always conducted separately from non-disabled students. The first unified Czech language curriculum for visually impaired students at the elementary school level was not published until 1928. Even then, no civic school (*měšťanská škola*) was established for these students (discussed in more detail in Eliášková, 2020).

Secondary education for students with visual impairments began taking shape in the former Czechoslovakia in 1946, when the first-ever secondary (vocational, i.e. without the licence to conduct graduation exams) school for students with visual impairments was established in Levoča, Slovakia.

After the nationalisation of church-run education for the blind (more details in Eliášková, 2019) and the adoption of Act No. 95/1948 Coll. on the Unified School System, secondary education for visually impaired students made significant progress, although it remained separate from the mainstream educational system (Eliášková, 2020, p. 32). As part of the new organisation and restructuring of education for the blind, the first vocational schools for students with visual defects

(a contemporary term) were established. These included the Vocational School for the Blind in Levoča, the Vocational School for the Blind in Prague XIV-Krč, and the Deyl Institute for the Blind in Prague II (see also Čornejová et al., 2020, p. 248), which specialised in training music teachers, piano tuners, and accordion tuners. In the curricula and syllabi developed for these schools, native language instruction was reorganised and adapted to align as closely as possible with the educational programmes of mainstream secondary schools and vocational specialisations.

The establishment of the only and historically first grammar school for students with visual impairments began in 1955 with the creation of an eleven-year secondary school for the blind and partially sighted, serving students at the national level. Following amendments to the Education Act, it was restructured in 1961 into a three-year General Secondary School for Youth with Visual Impairments. When grammar schools, abolished in 1953, were reinstated in 1968, two humanities-oriented classes were introduced in the same building under the newly renamed Grammar School for Youth with Visual Impairments. Initially, the grammar school was intended for blind youth and youth with residual vision, but later, partially sighted students were also admitted.

While special primary schools were profiled according to the type of visual impairment – namely for the blind, for pupils with residual vision, for the partially sighted, and for those with binocular vision impairments – and modified methods of language instruction were developed within the framework of differentiated teaching, special secondary schools, by contrast, were designed to accommodate all pupils with VI, without further specialisation based on the type of visual impairment. In the 1988/89 academic year, there were 21 schools for students with visual impairments in Czechoslovakia (17 in Czechia and 4 in Slovakia), including five preschools, nine primary schools, five secondary schools offering graduation exams, and two secondary vocational schools (Ibid., p. 34). Since the 1990s, the number of special primary and secondary schools in the Czech Republic has been

declining and students are increasingly integrated into mainstream educational institutions.

This article examines the history of native language instruction in special secondary schools for students with visual impairments, both in the former Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the shared state of Czechs and Slovaks, and in the Czech Republic following the dissolution of this union. The primary focus of our article is the historical development of the written graduation exam, an exam format that has historically been used to conclude secondary education in the studied region. The written graduation examination has historically been an exceptionally important pedagogical phenomenon, fulfilling numerous functions. Primarily, it reflected the subject curriculum, but it also served an external didactic function by mirroring significant events in the outside world, and it also provided insight into the linguistic and stylistic proficiency of students.

Current State of Knowledge

The topic of the historical development of the written graduation exam in the instructional language (in our case, Czech) for students with visual impairments at the upper secondary school level has not yet been comprehensively addressed in neither Czech nor international academic research on language didactics. It is also important to note that the issue of the written graduation exam in the native language should not be approached solely through the lens of language didactics, but must also be examined within the broader context of special education.

In the Czech context of language didactics, there are only a few key scholarly works in which the authors have thoroughly analysed the conceptual development of the written graduation exam in the native language (notably, Morkes examined the period from 1849 to 1990; Morkes, 2003) or have touched upon the topic in specific thematic or historical contexts (e.g. Váňová, 2000, pp. 101–114; Šmejkalová, 2010; Čechová, 1978; Čornejová et al., 2020). It is therefore evident that the availability of secondary literature on this particular topic is limited. Some university theses on the subject can also be found (e.g. Tvrzníková, 2013). However, it is essential to note that these investigations have

only addressed the historical development in relation to non-disabled students. To date, there is only one work in Czech academic literature on language didactics that at least partially reflects the implications of the historical development of the written graduation exam's content specifically for students with visual impairments in certain historical periods (Eliášková, 2020).

In the international literature, we can draw on a similar work (French, 2008) that discusses the political and, to some extent, educational practices related to the education of students with visual impairments in combination with learning difficulties between 1900 and 1970. Although it does not address the issue of the written graduation exam in the native language, based on the study of primary and secondary sources, it shows that, if visually impaired children received education at all (especially at the beginning of the 20th century), their needs were often unmet, and they were frequently subjected to oppressive and abusive institutional environments. Even these phenomena have been reflected in some of the conclusions of our research.

In both Czech and international literature, the issue of the written graduation exam or other qualification exams is typically addressed through the experiences of students with visual impairments and their teachers (e.g. Hewett, Keil & Douglas, 2015) or through practical-methodological studies that focus primarily on the formal adaptations to exam documentation or the procedures for conducting the written graduation exam (e.g. Cobb & Webb, 2010). However, the substantive aspects directly related to critical areas of language instruction are rarely addressed. On the other hand, we must note that in international literature, the research on foreign language acquisition by students with visual impairments has been gaining increasing attention in many countries for some time (e.g. González, 2011; Susanto & Nanda, 2018; Tran & Pho, 2020; Aamir, 2020; Maharjan, 2022) However, from our perspective, a shortcoming lies in the fact that the research focus of these studies diverges from ours, which is unfortunate, as it concerns an extremely important and relatively large group of students present in every country.

Information about the written graduation exam in the instructional language for students with visual impairments is therefore rather scarce (Eliášková, 2020) and is preserved in primary sources (such as class registers, teachers' thematic plans, curricula, textbooks, legislative regulations, and academic journals from the relevant periods), as well as in secondary sources (subject didactics and methodological guides, etc.), all of which we have analysed from a historical perspective in our research.

Methodology and Objective

This study adopts a theoretical and research-oriented approach. The historical research was conducted through content analysis of both primary and secondary sources. The methodology was further enriched by interviews with eight teachers and twenty-four graduates of the special grammar school for students with visual impairments. These individuals were selected based on their direct involvement with the school during the period under review and on their availability, given the advanced age of some respondents. Their testimonies are included in the article as illustrative quotations.

A total of 405 students graduated from the analysed grammar school during the studied period. All available graduation compositions, together with accompanying documentation, were subjected to primary source analysis. One of the article's authors has been teaching Czech at such a school since 2000, which allows for an insider perspective on the development and implementation of the written graduation exam in recent years.

To trace historical developments, we analysed the process of assigning written graduation compositions in Czech language and literature at this special grammar school from 1968, or more precisely 1972 (the year of the first graduation exams after the full four-year study cycle), until 2010.

The time frame of the study is defined by two major legislative milestones. The first is the adoption of Act No. 168/68 Coll.[1], which reinstated four-year grammar schools in 1968 and introduced a mandatory written graduation exam in the instructional language (Czech). The second is the reform of the graduation exam system in 2010/2011 under Act No. 561/2004 Coll., which replaced the school-based model with a centrally administered exam consisting of a didactic test, a written essay, and an oral examination. The implementation and evaluation of the exam were overseen by the national authority CERMAT.

Our research follows the subsequent central question: *How did the form and function of Czech graduation compositions for visually impaired students evolve between 1968 and 2010, and what does this development reveal about the ideological and didactic framework of native language instruction in special education*?

To address this question, we formulated two specific research objectives:

(a) to identify the topics and writing forms offered to students for their graduation compositions, and to analyse how educational policy was reflected in these topics;

(b) to explore the process of taking the Czech language graduation exam as experienced by students with visual impairments.

These two sub-questions were selected to capture both the content and the structure of the written graduation exam as well as the experience of taking it. The first question focuses on the topics and writing forms, which serve as a direct reflection of the didactic goals, curricular priorities, and ideological influences of each era. Analysing the assigned topics allows us to trace how political and educational discourses were translated into concrete writing tasks for students. The second question explores the actual implementation of the exam, including its organisation, format, and impact on students with visual impairments. This perspective highlights the practical and emotional

1 Act No. 168/1968 Coll., the Act on Grammar Schools, dated 19 December, 1968, effective from 22 December, 1968, until 1 September, 1978. Available at: https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1968-168.

dimensions of the exam process, including issues of accessibility, support, and adaptation to students' specific needs.

On the Historical Development of the Graduation Composition

As already mentioned (Eliášková, 2020), the graduation exam has been a traditional and common method of concluding secondary education in the Czech lands for nearly 200 years. Graduation exams were legally established in 1849 (Ibid., p. 9) and became a necessary requirement for university admission, which is why they were exceptionally demanding (Ibid., p. 10). Although the format of the exam has been subject to discussion over the years, the core principle of a multi-hour written composition has largely remained unchanged (initially offering a selection of six topics, later reduced to four), alongside an oral part of the exam (which we will not address here). Thematically, the compositions can be categorized (as detailed further) into topics related to the student's personal life (such as autobiographies), subjects covered in the curriculum, student interests, literary analysis, as well as topics outside the curriculum, including political issues. It can be observed that every shift in domestic or international circumstances was immediately reflected in the topics of written graduation compositions – as we will illustrate later, one of the composition topics from the late 1940s to early 1950s was based on a quote from the Czechoslovak totalitarian communist leader Klement Gottwald, under whose regime numerous show trials leading to executions took place.

The difficulty of the graduation exam gradually decreased from its original exclusivity (as the sole requirement for university admission) to the socialist-democratic effort to make the graduation exam accessible to all "workers"[2]. Naturally, this led to a lowering of the exam's standards.

2 In communist 'newspeak', the noun 'workers' became one of the fundamental cornerstones of totalitarian vocabulary (see Fidelius, 1998, Řeč komunistické moci [The Language of Communist Power]), for a detailed analysis of such ideological language structures.

A Brief Historical Overview of Teaching Practices for Students with Visual Impairments[3]

Teachers systematically prepared their students to master composition writing in the Czech language. It is therefore important to briefly outline how composition writing was taught, in order to later comment on the scope of topics offered for the exam compositions.

The instruction of composition writing at the grammar school for visually impaired students was significantly narrowed during the observed period, in contrast to the broader curriculum requirements, which also included grammar and literature as part of the Czech language subject. The teaching of composition writing focused primarily on practical applications, with theoretical explanations introduced only occasionally[4]. These theoretical elements provided basic guidance for specific composition tasks, and students were required to complete two assessed compositions per year. Through these assignments, the teachers evaluated not only the students' composition skills but also their knowledge of grammar and spelling, which they regarded as an integrated aspect of both components of the subject. "Written compositions, where students were required to produce coherent pieces of text, were the best way to assess how well they managed grammar, structured their thoughts, styled their writing, and showcased their skills and knowledge. That is no longer the case with the new unified graduation exams."[5] We complement the teacher's perspective with that of a student: "At grammar school, great emphasis was placed on mastering the language in all its aspects. I remember writing many dictations with L. Š.[6], covering the basic writing forms, and at the end of each term, we would write a composition. With H. K., we also practised rhetorical exercises, which proved very useful later in life. R. K. prepared us very rigorously, yet also systematically and carefully, for

3 This topic is explored in detail in Klára Eliášková's monograph (Eliášková, 2020); here, we present selected excerpts.

4 Entries from class registers at the Grammar School for the Visually Impaired.

5 From an interview with R. K., a teacher at the Grammar school.

6 Teachers' names have been anonymised by using their initials.

the written graduation exam, which back then consisted solely of composition writing, as no didactic test existed at the time. The student was expected to demonstrate their mastery of the language in this written exam. I remember writing areflect ion on the environment. At that time, thinking was allowed only along certain lines and my teacher, knowing about my Christian beliefs, personally warned me before the exam not to try to think beyond the permitted boundaries. She was being cautious and meant well."[7] The emphasis on the practical aspect of language education was consistently reinforced through rhetorical and stylistic exercises, which formed an indispensable component of Czech language lessons for students with visual impairments throughout the entire historical development of special language education (cf. Eliášková, 2018).

The teaching of composition writing was structured around specific types of written forms rather than a functional approach[8], which might have been expected for visually impaired students. In schools for the visually impaired, significant consideration was given to the individual needs of the students when selecting composition topics. Topics were chosen that allowed students to draw on their own life experiences or personal knowledge, as well as topics that did not rely on visual information. This primarily applied (and still applies) to descriptive compositions, which aim to provide an accurate portrayal of a specific object. Despite the obvious challenges of the didactic approach, descriptive writing was not excluded from the curriculum, and specific didactic methods were developed to overcome the objective limitations in teaching (Eliášková, 2020, p. 142).

We can illustrate the didactic method with a specific exercise for fourth-grade primary school students, where the task was to describe

7 From written recollections of PhDr. Zbyněk Galvas (grad. 1973); Eliášková, 2020, pp. 141–142.

8 The functional approach to linguistics means that the primary criterion for evaluating language is its function. The Prague Linguistic Circle introduced the functional-structural approach into both Czech and international linguistics in the 1920s and 1930s.

a jug or another object. The starting point for this composition exercise was the real comparison of two jugs that differed in tactile properties and had distinct visual features. Based on tactile comparison (or visual comparison in the case of students with low or residual vision), students assigned various adjectives, nouns, or verbs that corresponded to their sensory experiences. The students were then divided into groups according to their visual impairments (with at least one student in each group being able to perceive colour contours to some extent) and, using the language material they had developed, they produced descriptions of the object.[9]

Given the complexity and breadth of topics typical for secondary school education (e.g., the description of Kipp's apparatus (Svoboda, 1964, p. 175) or the National Memorial on Žižkov Hill [Vítkov[10]]), teachers could not adopt the same approach. Therefore, during descriptive writing activities, the focus was primarily on practising characterisation, which could be drawn from the students' own reading or from read-aloud texts, with an emphasis on internal character traits. Today, we can incorporate modern, specially designed didactic tools into teaching (for details, see e.g. Eliášková, 2017). Unlike at lower educational levels, composition writing instruction at the secondary school level was methodologically based on imitating both literary and non-literary text examples (e.g., characterising the grandmother in Božena

9 Collective of authors, *Metodický průvodce k učebnicím* Český *jazyk pro 2.–5. ročník ZDŠ pro nevidomé a ZDŠ pro děti se zbytky zraku* [Methodological Guide to the Czech Language Textbooks for Grades 2–5 of Special Elementary Schools for the Blind and Elementary Schools for Children with Residual Vision]. Prague: SPN, 1969, p. 54; Eliášková, 2020, p. 142.

10 *Podněty pro výchovné využití slohových prací* v *roce 60. výročí KSČ na gymnáziích a středních odborných* školách [Suggestions for the Educational Use of Composition Essays in the Year of the 60th Anniversary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia at Grammar Schools and Secondary Vocational Schools]. Prague: Pedagogical Institute of the Capital City of Prague – Department of Czech Language and Literature, p. 3. Žižkov Hill (Vítkov) is an iconic Prague hill where important historical battles took place (1420).

Němcová's[11] *Babička* [The Grandmother] led students to produce a characterisation of their own grandmother).[12] Significant attention was also given to narrative, exposition, and especially reflection. In these forms, students were not limited in any way.

"The aim of writing instruction aligns with the aim of language; writing instruction prepares young people for life and work in a socialist and communist society by teaching them the conscious mastery of standard language. It teaches them to use standard language both consciously and practically as a tool for thought and communication, enabling them to participate in our political and cultural life."[13]

As previously noted by Eliášková (2020), the teaching was directed by a highly ideologically driven methodological material titled *Podněty pro výchovná využití slohových prací* v *roce 60. výročí KSČ na gymnáziích a středních odborných* školách [Suggestions for the Educational Use of Written Compositions in Grammar Schools and Secondary Vocational Schools in the Year of the 60th Anniversary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia], which was frequently used by secondary school teachers in their preparations in the CSSR. However, a detailed analysis of the preserved documentation reveals that teachers generally sought to mitigate the influence of contemporary state politics within composition writing instruction. For example, in the recommended methodological guidelines discussed during a subject committee meeting, the teachers rejected (crossed out) the methodological suggestion that "students may characterise a single person or group of people (with the possibility of comparison) from a work environment (workshop), a youth organisation, or their surroundings," and instead referred to another methodological guideline, where they underlined the passage

11 *Babička* [The Grandmother] is a significant literary work by the renowned Czech author Božena Němcová (1820–1862), focusing on the rural life of her grandmother and her family. It is traditionally part of the school literary canon.

12 From an interview with R. K., a teacher at the Grammar School.

13 From the minutes of the subject committee meeting at the Grammar School for Visually Impaired in Prague 2, Kopernikova 12, August 1980, undated, personal archive of teacher M. K.

stating, "it is generally easier for a student to characterise a person from their immediate environment, i.e., a person they know well and can assess, with the help of the teacher if necessary (productive characterisation)" (Eliášková, 2020, p. 226). Thus, by emphasizing the special individual needs of visually impaired students, whose needs were better met by this particular framework, the teachers used it as a means to reject the added ideological overtones recommended in the methodological directive issued on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. We support this claim with an authentic recollection from a graduate of the grammar school in the early 1970s. "At the time of my arrival at the grammar school, the policy of *normalisation*[14] was firmly in place, but our teachers (not only in Czech language) did not pay much attention to it and did not succumb to fear (which is to their lasting credit). […] All our teachers loved poetry. H. K. also introduced us more thoroughly to Russian authors (L. Andreyev, F. M. Dostoevsky, I. Bunin), and read us stories by Franz Kafka[15] (abridged by the authors). In our final year, R. K. boldly read to us from Catholic literature (edited and abridged by the authors) and other sources."[16]

Data Interpretation

As mentioned above (see Methodology), our research aimed to determine:

(a) to identify the topics and writing forms offered to students for their graduation compositions, and to analyse how educational policy was reflected in these topics;

(b) to explore the process of taking the Czech language graduation exam as experienced by students with visual impairments.

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14 The term *normalisation* primarily refers to the period of the 1970s, following the suppression of the reform efforts known as the Prague Spring (see above). Many people were persecuted as a result of *normalisation*.

15 World-renowned German-speaking writer from Prague (1883–1924).

16 A written recollection by one of the grammar school graduates, PhDr. Zbyněk Galvas (clinical psychologist).

(A) To identify the Topics and Writing Forms Offered to Students for Their Graduation Compositions, and to Analyse How Educational Policy was Reflected in These Topics

As noted earlier, the school practice during the observed period implemented stylistic instruction through specific writing forms derived from functional styles: colloquial (e.g., notices), scientific (e.g., exposition, report, reflection), journalistic (e.g., articles, feuilletons), and artistic (e.g., narrative, characterisation). The administrative style was partially subsumed under the scientific style.

From the 1970s onward, compositions based on the scientific style predominated, particularly exposition, report, and reflection. These forms allowed students to demonstrate logical argumentation and subject knowledge, while also offering space for ideologically aligned interpretations. For example, a topic from 1974/75 read: "Isn't it indeed a fascinating question why a passionate admirer and the best interpreter of our historical and cultural traditions becomes a close ally of the workers' movement...?" (Exposition on Zdeněk Nejedlý).[17]

Although ideological and aesthetic analysis as an independent genre disappeared after the mid-1970s, ideological content continued to appear in many graduation composition topics. For example, a topic from the 1979/80 academic year prompted students to reflect on the statement: "Europe has lived 35 years without war. Such a prolonged period of peace is a rare phenomenon in its history" (from a lecture on Czechoslovak Radio – Reflection on the peace efforts of socialist countries). The topic clearly encouraged students to celebrate the peace-promoting policies of socialist states.

Narrative writing, although common in contemporary classrooms, was rare in the observed period. It was offered briefly in 1984/85 ("The joys and challenges of my sporting life"), and then not again until 2002/03. Similarly, genres like feuilletons, letters, and press surveys were introduced experimentally but only sporadically selected. For

17 For the detrimental influence of Communist President Klement Gottwald, see above.

example, in 1996/97, a letter titled "Dear Mr President…" prompted students to write to Václav Havel[18] – four of the ten graduates did so.

In the 2000s, new forms such as depiction ("Places I like to return to") or literary review ("Reading a good book is like a dialogue") appeared. However, most students continued to favour reflection and exposition. Artistic or imaginative tasks – like "We wandered the streets of an abandoned metropolis…" – were rarely chosen, often due to students' discomfort with visual description.

A content analysis of all graduation topics revealed several thematic categories. Ideological themes clearly dominated (37%), especially in the 1970s and 1980s. For example, in 1978/79, a typical assignment read: "Young people are aware of the need to fight for world peace" (Article for a Socialist Youth Union[19] magazine).

Other categories included: literary themes without ideology (3%), World War II (4%), reading experience (12%), personal development (19%), and topics on ecology, science, and media (21%). The remaining 4% were miscellaneous.

This thematic imbalance is reflected in the topics assigned in the 1980/81 school year:

– "Klement Gottwald on Zdeněk Nejedlý" (Exposition)
– "Let us fight against indifference" (Article for a youth magazine)
– "Even my city – my town – my region is changing" (Report on the economic and social development of the city, town, or region where I live)
– "We want the lives of young people to be rich and happy. While there should be plenty of room for entertainment, their lives must also be filled with actions that serve the cause of socialism." – from a speech by G. Husák (Reflection)
– "When striving for peace, we do not only have in mind the people living today, our children and grandchildren. We also keep in mind

18 The first "dissident" president of Czechoslovakia after the Velvet Revolution (1989).
19 Socialist Youth Union – a centrally organised youth organisation shaped by ideological influence.

dozens of future generations" – from a speech by L. I. Brezhnev[20] at the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Reflection).

The dominance of ideological content began to diminish after 1989. In the 1990s and 2000s, themes became more varied and personal, reflecting contemporary social concerns and allowing students greater freedom of expression. For example, the theme of generational relationships was presented in 1978/79 as "We should always make time for our children… for the needs of socialist society" and reappeared in 1999/2000 as "The apple doesn't fall far from the tree" (Free-form composition).

(B) To explore the Process of Taking the Czech Language Graduation Exam as Experienced by Students with Visual Impairments

A centralised approach was applied in assigning topics for composition writing. In the early 1970s, topics were delivered to schools in sealed envelopes and were assigned simultaneously to all schools, both for full-time students and those studying while employed, across the entire Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. This rather demanding procedure was simplified by announcing the topics via radio. Teachers were required to tune in to the radio at 7:50 a.m., write down the topics, and transcribe them into formats such as Braille or large print (i.e., standard print in an enlarged form). They then assigned the topics to students at the set time as in all other schools in the Czechoslovakia licensed to administer graduation exams. It is therefore clear that the topics were not modified in content for students with visual impairments; however, they still allowed for a wide range of suitable choices.

By the late 1980s, the centralised announcement of topics came to an end, and later, each school – or more specifically, the teachers of Czech language and literature at the respective school – announced their own topics. As a result, the selection of topics narrowed to three or four, often referring to topics covered in classes, which allowed for

20 Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev – Leader of the Soviet Union.

better accommodation of the individual needs of students with visual impairments. For example, a popular topic was: "Characterisation of a literary figure or writer" (most often Karel Čapek[21] or Božena Němcová), and contemporary class records show that this topic was frequently discussed in lessons. The return of thematic content related to the life and work of Karel Čapek also reflects the political liberalisation of the time, as this world-renowned writer had been removed from the curriculum by the communist regime during the period of *normalisation*.

Based on interviews with respondents, we documented the direct influence of the political situation on the topics of graduation compositions. For instance, one teacher discouraged students from expressing religious ideas (as recalled by graduate Z. G.). At the grammar school under study, it is evident that topics based on works by authors not aligned with the regime (e.g., Karel Čapek, Catholic authors, etc.) were also assigned. Also, another teacher at the same school assigned politically engaged topics during preparation for the written component of the graduation exam. This demonstrates that, on the one hand, the selection of topics was closely influenced by the personality of the teacher. On the other hand, this example highlights a degree of autonomy and relative independence of the grammar school from the official educational doctrine.

When it comes to topics related to the personal reading of students with visual impairments, a brief explanation is necessary. Their personal reading choices were significantly influenced by the severity of their visual impairment. Blind students could read books in Braille; however, the selection of titles was limited. As a result, students often listened to books read on the radio or, if their visual impairment allowed, read certain titles with the help of optical aids. Otherwise, books were read aloud to visually impaired students, even during lessons. Therefore, when it came to graduation topics related to personal reading, students often referred to titles that had been read aloud to them, most often works of classic Czech literature (e.g., Božena Němcová's

21 Internationally renowned Czech writer and playwright (1890–1938).

The Grandmother). Today, of course, this limitation has been overcome, and students can read books on specially adapted computers with voice output or with the help of other technologies.

The written graduation exam lasted five hours and was always held in April. Students with visual impairments could write using a Picht machine, a typewriter, or special writing tools. By the early 2000s, they could also use computers, with the help of compensatory or optical aids. In this regard, the principles of specialised work were consistently adhered to. When evaluating and grading the graduation exam, the following factors were to be considered:
1) how well the student's work addressed the assigned topic (correct understanding of the topic, factual accuracy, independence and maturity of judgement, and richness of ideas);
2) the structuring of the composition, taking into account whether the individual parts were appropriately proportioned for the task;
3) how well the composition met the requirements of the assigned writing form;
4) the quality of the work in terms of stylistic skill, linguistic accuracy, and overall presentation.

Grammatical errors were assessed based on the overall grammatical quality of the written composition.[22] From this, it follows that there was no need for any additional specific adjustments to the examination process for students with visual impairments. Since teachers knew their students, as well as their specific visual impairments and how these manifested in written work, the same standards were applied to visually impaired students as to their non-disabled peers, though any issues related to their visual impairment were taking into account during the evaluation.

We can conclude that for students with visual impairments who were educated outside the mainstream system in separate specialised institutions, both their visual impairment and educational needs were

22 Annex to Ref. No. 12 173/79-210 – Guidelines for the correction and evaluation of written assignments, Section a) Czech language.

taken into account, albeit unintentionally. Although it is unlikely that this was an intentional practice during the centralised topic assignments of the 1970s and 1980s, this conclusion is further supported by the fact that descriptive writing was absent from the list of available topics. From the perspective of special linguistic didactics, none of the offered topics can be considered entirely exclusionary for students with visual impairments. The aforementioned (omitted) descriptive writing is particularly challenging for students with visual impairments, as it relies on direct observation of an object's features – a skill that is significantly diminished in students with low vision or residual sight and entirely inaccessible to blind students. Once the responsibility for assigning graduation composition topics was fully transferred to schools, it became possible to fully accommodate the specific needs of students with visual impairments. It is paradoxical that after 2010, when the assignment of topics was once again centrally coordinated by CERMAT, topics such as the description of an image frequently appeared among the options. This practice was gradually abandoned following feedback from educators in the field.

An important aspect of teaching visually impaired students is that it takes place in smaller groups compared to schools for non-disabled students. Therefore, in Table 1, we present a breakdown of the number of students who graduated in each academic year, with their graduation compositions forming the primary research sample for our study.

Decade	Graduation years	Total graduates	Notes
1970s	1971/72–1979/80	100	Missing data for 1970/71
1980s	1980/81–1989/90	125	Peak in 1987/88 (25 graduates)
1990s	1990/91–1999/00	98	Missing data for 1999/00
2000s	2000/01–2009/10	82	Lowest yearly numbers overall
Total	1971/72–2009/10	405	As cited in methodology

Table 1. Number of graduates by academic year.

Between the academic years 1971/72 and 2009/10, a total of 405 students graduated from the grammar school. The number of graduates varied by decade, with the highest average in the 1980s (12.5 students per year), including a peak of 25 students in 1987/88. In contrast, the lowest annual numbers were recorded in the 2000s, averaging only about 8 students per year.

In the final research question, we examined the proportional representation of writing forms chosen by the students. In Table 2, we present the writing forms most frequently selected by the students.

Writing form	1972–80	1981–90	1991–2000	2001–10	Total selections
Reflection	26	42	29	18	115
Report	6	17	9	2	34
Free-form composition	–	26	37	27	90
Contemplation	–	28	10	1	39
Exposition	4	3	6	–	13
Characterisation	6	–	–	–	6
Magazine article	4	7	–	–	11
Speech	–	2	–	–	2
Feuilleton	–	–	5	3	8
Letter	–	–	4	–	4
Narrative	–	–	–	14	14
Depiction / Literary review / Description	–	–	–	4	4
Others / Unused (e.g., ideological analysis)	–	–	–	–	–

Table 2. Number of selections.

The most frequently selected forms across the entire period were reflection (115 selections), free-form composition (90), contemplation (39), and report (34). While scientific prose genres dominated in the 1970s and 1980s (e.g., report, exposition, reflection), the 1990s and 2000s saw an increased preference for more subjective or open forms such as free-form writing and narrative. Less frequently chosen forms included feuilletons, letters, and artistic descriptions, often due to students' reservations or lack of preparation for those formats.

Conclusions and Discussion

The aim of this article was to contribute to the systematisation of the history of special didactics of the Czech language and to lay the groundwork for further linguistic-didactic research in this field. Our focus was on students with visual impairments attending specialised secondary schools. Specifically, we examined how the form and function of Czech graduation compositions evolved between 1968 and 2010, and what these changes reveal about the ideological and didactic framework of native language instruction in special education.

To answer this central research question, we pursued two key objectives:

(a) to identify the topics and writing forms offered to students for their graduation compositions and to analyse how educational policy was reflected in these topics;

(b) to explore the process of taking the Czech language graduation exam as experienced by students with visual impairments.

The analysis was carried out using both historical method (content analysis of 405 written graduation compositions and school documentation) and qualitative research (interviews with teachers and graduates). These data enabled us to assess both the thematic content of the graduation assignments and the structural and organisational aspects of the examination process.

We found that special language education was often tailored to the needs of visually impaired students, especially at the grammar school level, where adapted teaching methods and compensatory aids (e.g. Braille materials, large print, extended time) were regularly used.

Even though these students were educated in a segregated system, their instruction in Czech language and literature can be considered full-fledged and – in terms of structure and expectations – comparable to that of mainstream schools.

Our findings show that students most frequently chose written forms belonging to the functional style of scientific prose, especially reflective essays and later free-form writing, which allowed for a more conceptual and argumentative expression of ideas. These forms proved advantageous in mitigating some of the constraints posed by visual impairment – especially in contrast to narrative or descriptive forms, which require greater visual-spatial orientation.

Moreover, an analysis of the topics assigned over time reveals how political ideology –particularly socialist and communist propaganda – shaped the educational experience of these students. Graduation compositions often reflected ideological expectations, especially during the period of normalization. As late as eight years before the Velvet Revolution, students were offered a distinctly tendentious topic for their composition: "We want the lives of young people to be rich and happy. While there should be plenty of room for entertainment, their lives must also be filled with actions that serve the cause of socialism" (From a speech by Gustáv Husák at the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia – *Reflections on the life of youth in socialist Czechoslovakia, with consideration of one's own life*). Fortunately, this forced ideologization gradually disappeared from the curriculum in response to political changes.

Although the centrally administered graduation exam introduced in 2010 did not fully account for the individual needs of students with disabilities, the earlier school-based system allowed for more flexible adaptation, which was often handled sensitively and competently by experienced teachers.

In conclusion, the historical development of Czech language graduation exams for visually impaired students reflects broader ideological, curricular, and pedagogical shifts, and offers valuable lessons for today's inclusive education efforts – not only in the Czech Republic (e.g. Zulch Knouwds, 2010) but internationally. Historical experience

shows that even under ideologically burdened conditions, meaningful and adaptive teaching was possible – especially when handled by committed educators who understood the needs of their students.

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