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The position of teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy

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ABSTRACT: When Bosnia and Herzegovina became a part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, its population was almost completely illiterate. Therefore, the new authority started to open elementary schools gradually, because of the problems with local population of different religious. The lack of teachers was evident. Seven schools for teacher's education were opened in Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luka and other places in BiH in this period of time (1878-1918). First teachers were officers, then teachers from the Monarchy and later on local people who finished schools in Zagreb, Belgrade, Wien, Graz, Prague and Pesta. Position of teachers during the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was not encouraging. Teachers were supposed to be experts in many fields and had so many obligations and duties, but still they were not considered as the state employees. They asked to be equal with them, but the authority denied their requests. Therefore, material position of teachers was not very good. They had low salaries and were sent to distant villages to be teachers there. They needed to have knowledge related to agriculture in order to support peasants and to modernize their work. Female teachers were in a worse position because of the legal regulation that prohibited their rights to get married. They could be married only to their colleagues, but their salaries would be smaller. This was relevant to all parts of the Monarchy. Nevertheless, teachers succeeded in their human task educating children and fighting for the better future. Schools that were built and functioned in this period proved their strength and stubbornness. Teachers were those who founded teachers' associations in order to improve their own position. They also edited magazines writing down about their professional position and asking for their rights and better working conditions.

EET/TEE KEYWORDS: Teacher Education; Training Centre; Teacher Role; Social Perception; Women's Work; Bosnia; XIX-XX Centuries.

This study presents the principal modification of the educational policy and school system in Bosnia and Herzegovina. After the long domination of the Ottoman Empire, Bosnia and Herzegovina faced a new Empire, the Habsburg

one. Gaining Bosnia and Herzegovina as a new territory of the Habsburg Monarchy was ratified on June 28, 1878 at the Berlin Congress which obliged the new authority to implement a new model of governing within a modern administrative system which had to be slowly applied to the local setting.

The fact that after the historical rearrangement and change of government, a new style of governing appeared in Bosnia and Herzegovina indicating the elemental demand on the complete change of the peoples usual behaviour and way of life. In contradiction to the practice of the Ottoman Empire that did not care for education and where schools functioned without any laws or regulations, on a voluntarily basis, new education policies appeared which disturbed the local population. The reason for this was in the new authority's brave plan concerning the complete reorganization of economic, political, and educational situation in the country¹.

During the Ottoman Empire, Bosnia and Herzegovina was a backward agrarian country. The majority of the population lived in villages in a very primitive way. Rare schools that existed at that period of time were not systematically organized. These schools were of a confessional character, built near churches, monasteries or mosques. The Ottoman Empire tolerated the work of these schools and only occasionally referred to their work, but without any intention to open state schools in order to educate the local population. The population of Bosnia and Herzegovina lived in a spirit of mutual suspicion and distrust at that time. This did not change with the new authority, the opposite occurred.

In the field of education and schooling, the new authority had to deal with an extremely high degree of illiteracy (97%), a poorly organized network of divided confessional schools and the lack of educated teachers. Furthermore, teacher education had not yet been organised. All the efforts of the new authority were concentrated on the transformation of the existing confessional schools, where they were forced to reach a compromise establishing a system of teacher education under state control. Their first intention was not really welcomed by the local population. Firstly, the teachers were officers, then teachers from the Monarchy and later on local people who finished schools in Zagreb, Belgrade, Wien, Graz, Prague and Pesta².

The intention of the legislation in connection with the modification of the school policy was followed by intensive efforts which included the idea of public schools set apart from the confessional ones. The Austro-Hungarian authority

¹ V. Bogicevic, *Istorija razvitka osnovnih škola u Bosni i Hercegovini* [History of elementary school development in Bosnia and Herzegovina], Sarajevo, Institute for school publishing BiH, 1965, pp. 54-55.

² E. Protner, Z. Medves, S. Batinic, S. Miovska Spaseva, I. Radeka, V. Spasenovic, S. Susnjara, V. Zoric, N. Vujisic Zivkovic, *The Development of Teacher Training in the States of Former Yugoslavia*, in H. Nemeth, E. Skiera, *Lehrerbildung in Europa. Geschichte, Struktur und Reform*, Frankfurt am Main [etc.], Peter Lang, 2012, pp. 239-265.

promoted the strict control of schools. The new authority considered that it had exclusive rights to observe, control and implement curriculum, books, and especially concerning the observation of teachers and their influence within the local population. This requirement of strict governmental control was not welcomed by the local population, especially the Muslim one. They looked at the new authority without trust. In order to avoid misunderstandings, the authority made some exceptions and the Muslim confessional schools continued to work and even new schools for the Muslim population were opened such as the Sibjan-Mektebi (a sort of a Muslim elementary school). There were 1,233 Sibjan-Mektebs with 53.069 students in 1915³.

The first elementary public schools

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy attempted to organize schools following the pattern that prevailed in the whole Monarchy. With the Regulation from June 6th 1879, which especially emphasized that elementary school education was under the state control, the main effort and push occurred in the organization of primary school and teacher training. The regulation had the purpose to create a basis for further educational prosperity. In order to solve educational issues, the reform of the complete schools system was necessary, but the lack of professional teachers was a substantial problem. Therefore, the new authority decided to open new schools wherever this was possible not taking into consideration the religious orientation of children⁴.

However, in Bosnia and Herzegovina there were confessional schools in towns which were fairly well organized. It was not possible for the new authority to organize schools that would reach the quality of existing confessional school where educated teachers worked. For this reason, new schools were opened in the areas without schools, mostly in rural regions where officers were appointed as teachers. In the towns, public state schools were organized in the similar way as the confessional ones. Therefore, the elementary school system was not unified, but the opposite it was more as a dual elementary system with town's schools and schools in villages⁵.

The opening of the first elementary public schools was very slow. The first schools were opened in the place of the previous confessional schools or some

³ M. Bevanda, *Pedagoska misao u Bosni i Hercegovini, 1918-1941* [Pedagogical Thought in Bosnia and Herzegovina], Sarajevo, Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Sarajevu, 2001, pp. 42-43.

⁴ A. Jovanovic, *Prvi jubilej bosanskoga školstva* [First Jubilee of Bosnian Schooling], «*Skolski Vjesnik*», n. 6, 1904, p. 321.

⁵ M. Papic, *Školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austrougarske okupacije (1878-1918)* [Schooling in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian Occupation (1878-1918)], Sarajevo, Veselin Maslesa, 1972, pp. 45-53.

other rooms were adapted for this purpose. Statistics show that 143 schools were built in the period from 1882-1891. In average, five schools were built per year which was not enough according to the number of children⁶. Later on, new schools were opened in the region where there were conditions for this step (enough number of pupils, appropriate buildings and teachers). School buildings mostly consisted of the main elements of a water pump, apartments for teachers and a garden for practical teaching⁷.

In the beginning of organized elementary teaching in distanced areas, it was regulated that the teaching process would last only 2-3 hours per day. All these facts influenced the quality of education and social attitudes towards it⁸. Teaching was organized in the simplest way with the aim to achieve success in elementary literacy. In the schools organized in the rural regions, children were taught how to read, write and calculate and the first teachers were officers from the Monarchy. This uncovered a new problem, the lack of educated local teachers⁹.

The first elementary schools which were opened in the villages were poorly equipped with unclearly formulated tasks and goals for elementary schools, and did not accomplish the basic needed function or organization. From 1881 onwards after the era where officers taught in these schools because they had some sort of teacher's education or had completed some year of teacher's school, a big change in teaching staff appeared. Only officers who had adequate teacher's education were kept on this position while the rest of military staff was replaced by qualified teachers¹⁰.

Sarajevo as the capital city had male and female elementary public schools in 1880/81. Male school counted 125 pupils and female 75 pupils. If we compare this number with the number of inhabitants, the contrast is obvious. According to the Census, Sarajevo had 14,848 Muslim inhabitants, 3,474 Orthodox and 698 Catholics, total 19,293 in 1879. This only proved the previously mentioned distrust of the population and suspicious towards education¹¹.

Only Sarajevo, Travnik, Banja Luka and Bihać established elementary schools with common four grades¹².

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Jovanovic, *Prvi jubilej bosanskoga školstva* [First Jubilee of Bosnian Schooling], cit., p. 321.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ N.N., *Promjene u organizaciji školstva u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Changes in School Organization in Bosnia and Herzegovina], «Skolski Vjesnik», n. 1-4, 1909, p. 1.

¹¹ Jovanovic, *Prvi jubilej bosanskoga školstva* [First Jubilee of Bosnian Schooling], cit.

¹² N.N., *Promjene u organizaciji školstva u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Changes in School Organization in Bosnia and Herzegovina], cit.

The financing of schools

Schools were financed by the municipality and the government. The law of founding, maintaining and observing educational institutions and children's education was brought forth in 1913. The law declared that: «Every rural and urban municipality is due to found and keep public schools on their own account. Municipalities which are not able to found and maintain schools on their territory will get support from state sources»¹³.

At the beginning, municipalities were small territorial and administrative units and they usually co-operated together in such a way that children from two schools went to one school building in order to minimize costs. This was the first step in creating schools in municipalities. The law of public education declared the establishment of a School Board. Therefore, the School Board in town schools consisted of honourable citizens such as the mayor, four literate citizens chosen by the municipal commission, the school principal, the priest and the school doctor. The importance of this Board in the villages proved the fact that this Board was made up of the prince of the village, three literate persons (if possible), and principal of the school. The Common School Board was made up with the princes (*muktari*) and one person from each municipality. This Board controlled the registration of children in the school, their attendance and issues related to school maintenance¹⁴.

Teaching programs

The first schools opened by Austria-Hungary were adapted to the needs of the Bosnian and Herzegovian population. This meant that children were taught to read and write in the Latin and Cyrillic alphabet. They also learnt the German language. Sunday and Friday were in general the school holidays. Students were also free of school during the determined holidays related to their religion. School started on September 1st and finished on June 30th. The Authorities undertook the effort to ensure conditions for every child in order to get a proper education no matter what their religion was. Elementary schools were firstly opened for children from the age of 6 to 12, but exceptions were more or less tolerated. The continuation of education depended on the political structures and their further arrangement of the school system. The regulation

¹³ *Journal of Laws and Commands for Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Sarajevo, State printing house, 1913, p. 83.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

from 1879 clearly demonstrated the will of the Austro-Hungarian authority for further modernization of educational work as well as realization of giving the opportunity for achieving qualitative education¹⁵.

In the four elementary public schools with the same four grades which were opened in 1880 in Sarajevo, Travnik, Bihac and Banja Luka qualified teachers worked. The curriculum of these schools differed from the curriculum of schools where officers taught. The reason for this was the presence of confessional schools in towns which followed the advanced curriculum and the Authority wanted these public schools to be at least equal to them if not better. Subjects in these schools were: Bosnian-state language, religion, mathematics, geography, history, natural sciences, geometry, music, physical training, agriculture, nice writing, economy, female hand-work. In the 3rd and the 4th grade pupils had the German language¹⁶.

Finally, the Government proclaimed the Act of determining the organization of public elementary schools in 1909. This Act predicted the program of school work which clearly emphasized the goals of the teaching process and contents in accordance with the subjects taught.

The language of teaching was also a sensitive matter that needed to be taken into serious consideration. In connection with the three main different ethnic groups that lived in this region, the issue of education was accompanied by the suppressed and badly managed national problems. These unsolved ethnic problems made the situation more complex. Therefore, the name of language was an issue of distrust and confusion. At first, the language was named as Croatian (1879), later on the name was state language and then Bosnian. The government excluded the use of Croatian and Serbian as the name for the language in order to suppress any national awareness. However, in 1907, after a series of correspondence and objections from the local population and intellectuals, it was finally agreed that the language would be named as Serbo-Croatian. Cyrillic and Latin alphabets were compulsory in schools from 1880. In the schools with pupils who came from Muslim and Catholic families, the Latin alphabet was learnt first while in schools with an Orthodox majority the situation was the opposite¹⁷. Furthermore, the new authority attempted to avoid this misunderstanding promoting an attitude of tolerance as a pedagogical measure within public schools. They wanted to create a new non-national

¹⁵ V. Bogicevic, *Istorija razvitka osnovnih skola u Bosni i Hercegovini* [History of elementary school development in Bosnia and Herzegovina], Sarajevo, Institute for school publishing BiH, 1965, pp. 157-158.

¹⁶ M. Papic, *Skolstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austrougarske okupacije (1878-1918)* [Schooling in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian Occupation (1878-1918)], Sarajevo, Veselin Maslesa, 1972, p. 43.

¹⁷ Papic, *Skolstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austrougarske okupacije (1878-1918)* [Schooling in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian Occupation (1878-1918)], cit., pp. 55-58.

spirit amongst children and the local population implementing the Bosnian language and Bosnian nation, but this only provoked a negative reaction and disagreement¹⁸. By taking the above mentioned factors into consideration, we can come to the conclusion that the educational policies and new government together with teachers placed in this context faced fundamental social and national problems. This did not ease the teachers' professional work. On the contrary, this resulted in different internal structural solutions in elementary schools.

School organization and functioning

According to official plans, it was expected that public elementary schools would admit the largest number of children possible but this was not the case. A number of children still went to confessional schools and a significant number of the older children did not attend school at all. As Bogicevic claimed, the reasons differed, from religious to political¹⁹. Furthermore, people did not understand the purpose of education. There was still not any law for education which could force parents to send their children to schools.

As already emphasized, schools were organized and functioned following the example of schools in the Monarchy. However, the region of Bosnia and Herzegovina was a specific one and a new school system had to be adapted to ensure situation and material conditions which were not the most beneficial. Thus, the Government declared Basic regulations related to the organization of public schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1879. There was also an idea concerning male and female pupils, suggesting that male teachers should teach male pupils and the opposite. This was done because of the Muslim female population and their entering into schools. Naturally, this request was rejected. The lack of teachers was evident and it was claimed that such practice did not exist in the entire Monarchy²⁰. However, Bosnia and Herzegovina was a completely different part of Monarchy and this had to be taken into consideration.

In accordance to the specific situation in the country, the Government attempted to, if the economic situation allowed, set up independent elementary public schools for girls or separated classes within mixed schools. This was explained with practical reasons, such as domestic subjects only for girls, or

¹⁸ Bogicevic, *Historija razvitka osnovnih skola u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1463-1918* [History of Elementary School Development in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1463-1918], cit., pp. 168-169.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

²⁰ Papić, *Skolstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austrougarske okupacije (1878-1918)* [Schooling in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian Occupation (1878-1918)], cit., p. 61.

handy work. This would also be a great opportunity for Muslim girls to come to school freely. It was also guaranteed that girls would be seated in the front seats. Teachers got instructions to be polite and observe «in order to prevent any event that could hurt the natural modesty and vulnerability of female children»²¹.

Schools were classified as one or more classes. The term class introduced a room where a group of pupils were sitting but not only one grade. Teaching for smaller number of pupils was organized in a way that four grades were sitting together in one classroom and therefore, this school was titled as one class school. In the situation when pupils were taught in two rooms that school was called a two class school²².

Schools were properly equipped. From 1879, every primary school had a map of Bosnia and Herzegovina accustomed for classroom use. Later on, schools got a map of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The big table dominated in the classroom. Pictures on the walls were helpful tools to teachers while teaching the flora and fauna. For teaching Chemistry or Physics, teachers were ensured reliable equipment. Drawing books and notebooks were given to pupils free of charge. Furthermore, every pupil had his/her own stone table for writing and sweeping. The teacher's association attempted to remove these stone tables from school practice, but unsuccessfully. This equipment was in use even in the period after the Austrian-Hungary stopped ruling Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Some schools had libraries with books recommended by the Government. Furthermore, the Government declared an Act in 1902 defining which books and magazines were allowed for use in schools as well as which book should be awarded to pupils.

Pupils who completed four grades school received a diploma from the elementary public school, after the exam held in front of an official commission. Pupils from lower grades only received a certificate with the total score of their exam results.

Physical punishment was exercised in the schools. Beatings with whips or straps used as a form of punishment for pupils were present everyday with parental blessing. The fighting against this form of punishment declared by European pedagogues did not find fertile soil in Bosnia and Herzegovina even though articles related against this practice were published in the local pedagogical magazine²³.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-63.

²² Bogicevic, *Historija razvitka osnovnih skola u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1463-1918* [History of Elementary School Development in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1463-1918], cit., p. 158.

²³ Papić, *Skolstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austrougarske okupacije (1878-1918)* [Schooling in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian occupation (1878-1918)], cit., pp. 63-65.

Bogicevic claimed that there were 216 public elementary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 10 years after the arrival of Austro-Hungarian Empire, in 1889. At the end of 1913, the number of schools increased to 568 elementary schools (public, private and confessional)²⁴.

Teacher training schools

The first official information regarding a reference who can be evaluated as a teacher was published in the Regulation related to the organization of elementary schools in the towns. This was: «Teacher service is accessible to all members of Bosnia and Herzegovina, no matter of their religion, as well as to all citizens of the Monarchy. They need to be capable to work as teachers and to possess a good moral and political character»²⁵.

The first state three year teacher training school was brought in under the rule of the new regime in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1882. This school was developed into a four year teacher training school for men in 1886, which followed the prescribed programme for the teacher school that prevailed in the entire Monarchy. The level and duration of the fields of teacher's training were mainly similar in the countries of the Monarchy. This training occurred in local elementary schools where observed lessons and practice lessons for the student's teachers took place²⁶.

Apart from pedagogy, students had the following subjects: catechism, the Bosnian-state language, German language, mathematic and geometry, history and geography, biology, economy, drawing, writing, singing, piano, organ and violin lessons, gymnastic exercises²⁷.

In this respect the favourable tendency demonstrated with the change and real option of achieving a quality level of education could be observed. Another factor was the lack of satisfactory conditions for elementary education. The increase of the tasks of the teaching stuff and the present decrease of teachers did not make teachers' work easier. However, the authority continued their action in creating conditions for opening more state schools that could compete with confessional ones.

²⁴ V. Bogicevic, *Pismenost u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Literacy in Bosnia and Herzegovina], Sarajevo, Veselin Maslesa, 1975, pp. 284-286.

²⁵ Patic, *Skolstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austrougarske okupacije (1878-1918)* [Schooling in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian occupation (1878-1918)], cit., p. 73.

²⁶ Protner, Medves, Batinic, Miovska Spaseva, Radeka, Spasenovic, Susnjara, Zoric, Vujisic Zivkovic, *The Development of Teacher Training in the States of Former Yugoslavia*, cit.

²⁷ *First Annual Report of Teacher School in Sarajevo*, Sarajevo, State printing house, 1889, pp. 5-6.

After the establishment of the teacher training school, the government realized that students were coming from rather poor families and were not able to ensure adequate accommodation for them. One teacher commented that the teacher profession was not popular at all and teachers were very poorly paid. «As it is case everywhere, it is the case here as well, who else would sacrifice life and being tied up to the teacher vocation but poor people!»²⁸.

In order to improve the teachers' position, to make it more attractive, the authority offered scholarship for future teachers but this was insufficient. The students still had inappropriate accommodations and their medical status was not promising. Thus, the authority decided to build a dormitory near the river Miljacka in Sarajevo for 50 students, which was opened in 1886²⁹. Apart from the scholarship guaranteed by the government, National Cultural and Educational Associations Napredak, Prosvjeta and Gajret, they also provided scholarships for students. Thanks to these associations, many intellectuals and teachers of that period of time succeeded in completing their schooling³⁰.

Other teacher training schools

In 1884, The Catholic Congregation *Daughters of God's Love* got permission to open a private three year female teacher training school in the Institution of St. Joseph. The school was open for all female students regardless of their confession. Three year teacher training school changed the duration several times. Four year training was formalized very soon and last until 1899, but after 1900 it was transformed to five years school. This was the first complete teacher training school which followed the teacher training program from the Monarchy. In order to enter into this school, students had to have a degree from a higher school for girls. School staff consisted of 11 female teachers and one priest. This school was appreciated by the authorities because their female teachers were educated abroad and were competent and professional.

In 1884/85, the course for female Muslim teacher's training was opened in Sarajevo. Students who finished higher school for girls were able to attend this course³¹.

In the beginning of 1886, the Training for assistant teachers was transformed into the first regular teacher's school. This presented the end of one period and

²⁸ *First Annual Report of Teacher School in Sarajevo*, Sarajevo, State printing house, 1910, pp. 7-9.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Bevanda, *Pedagoska misao u Bosni i Hercegovini, 1918-1941* [Pedagogical Thought in Bosnia and Herzegovina], cit., pp. 46-47.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

beginning of the new period, the one where local teachers entered the scene³². Students who finished this school worked as assistant teachers and after two years on this position they needed to pass exam tests in front of the Educational Board. This was the first phase of institutionalized education of teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina. These two schools mentioned above presented the beginning of a systematic, organized education and training of future teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina³³.

The management and teaching process in this Teacher Training School was given to experienced teachers who worked in elementary schools and later on in higher schools. Thanks to their rich pedagogical experience, it was considered that these teachers would improve the education of future teachers, their work with children and school work. The complete teaching process of the school was under the constant control of the State government.

A large amount of attention was given to agricultural and domestic education. To get knowledge from this field, students spent some time in the school garden where they got basics related to fruit production, beekeeping, gardening and other branches of agriculture. The aim of this program was to encourage the village population to cultivate new cultures, with teachers as assistants and advisers.

During their studies, candidates led by subject teacher performed their own lessons in elementary school while in the other semester, in the last third grade; they were obliged to teach independently in every grade of elementary school in the duration of one week. Daily excursions prescribed by the curriculum were often practiced. Therefore, students went on excursions 15 times a year. At the end of every school year, candidates had final exams, written and oral. A Commission was advocated by the State government. The school subjects studied in the year were a part of the exam. At the end of the third year the exam consisted of subjects from all three grades³⁴.

In 1887, the Government introduced a regulation related to the official teacher exam which was called the «definitive exam». The commission and the program for the exam were appointed by the given regulation. For the written exam candidates needed to show knowledge of their maternal language, mathematic and other subjects. Knowledge of teaching material for elementary school was practically presented during the oral exam. Candidates also needed to present practical work in the classroom³⁵.

³² Bogicevic, *Historija razvitka osnovnih skola u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1463-1918* [History of Elementary School Development in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1463-1918], cit., p. 161.

³³ *First Annual Report of Teacher School Sarajevo*, Sarajevo, State printing house, 1889, p. 6.

³⁴ Papić, *Skolstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austrougarske okupacije (1878-1918)* [Schooling in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian Occupation (1878-1918)], cit., p. 91.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

Candidates from private teacher schools also had to take that exam together with candidates from the male teacher training school³⁶.

It is important to mention that at the end of school year 1888/89, the four year Teacher training school in Sarajevo had 12 lecturers. They were either permanent or part-time teachers in the Teacher training school and in the elementary schools. At that time it was declared: «To become a regular teacher in the teacher training school a candidate needs to have a minimum of formal teacher training skills for working in public schools and required practice in an elementary school»³⁷.

As Bosnia and Herzegovina needed highly educated local teachers who would work in an official position in educational management and would lead other colleagues through educational process, the State government decided to send a certain number of teachers to the Pedagogical Institute in Wien in 1890. Thanks to this decision, Bosnia and Herzegovina then had several experts capable to promote and modernize the local school system³⁸.

The state female teacher training school in Sarajevo was opened in 1911. This school followed the same curriculum as the male teacher training school, with the exception of practical subjects introduced only for girls. There were 84 students in this school (42 Serbo-Orthodox, 36 Catholics, 4 Jewish and 2 from an Evangelic religion)³⁹.

The second teacher training school was opened in Mostar in 1913/14 but this school was transferred to Derventa together with the school in Sarajevo because of the war. The school functioned as mixed school until 1926 when it was closed⁴⁰.

Great emphasis was laid on pedagogical contents in all these schools as well as methodises of classroom work. All schools in the Monarchy followed this logic. Pedagogy was studied in every grade and the number of these lectures was maximized in the higher grade. Special methodical and practical classroom work were the subjects of third and fourth grade. The student's duty was to promote compulsory classroom work in one school per month⁴¹.

³⁶ *Fifth Annual Report of Teacher School in Sarajevo*, cit., p. 27.

³⁷ *Eighteen Annual Report of Teacher School in Sarajevo*, Sarajevo, State printing house, 1910, pp. 4-5.

³⁸ M. Papic, *Tragom kulturnog nasljedja* [Following the Cultural Heritage], Sarajevo, Svjetlost, 1976, p. 78.

³⁹ Papic, *Skolstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austrougarske okupacije (1878-1918)* [Schooling in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian Occupation (1878-1918)], cit., pp. 98-99.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁴¹ Bevanda, *Pedagoska misao u Bosni i Hercegovini, 1918-1941* [Pedagogical Thought in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1918-1941], cit., p. 45.

New regulation

The next phase for teachers began in 1889, when a new regulation regarding teacher's exams was brought for. The regulation required that teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina had to fulfil various requirements, in contrast with the teachers in other parts of the Monarchy who only needed to prove their theoretical and practical readiness for the teacher's profession. Contrary to this, exams for teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina contained all subjects exercised in the Teacher training school. Thus, the candidate's duty was to show that he did not forget the contents he was taught and that he did some individual research regarding pedagogy. This kind of examination was made for one reason. There was a presumption that young teachers would forget much of their studies, especially because of the fact that curriculum had to be adapted to those students who did not have quality pre-knowledge. Special attention was given to pedagogical and national literature. However, these sorts of literature were rarity at that time and it was very difficult mission to get some of them in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Therefore, opportunities to get better understanding or to deepen professional knowledge were hardly approachable⁴².

After two years of working in the school, assistant teachers acquired the opportunity to apply for exams in order to become permanent teachers. The program of this exam was much rigorous than the programs for practical exams. Assistant teachers impatiently expected to pass this exam which would permit them to go about doing class work individually. The Decision of State government from 1885 proclaimed that assistant teachers were able to work only under the supervision of permanent teachers. However, the situation in education was still very poor, the lack of teacher still present and occasionally the authority approved individual work for assistant teachers, but only in the rural regions. They were controlled and supervised all the time by the state referees⁴³.

Different actions and activities required and expected from teachers

After more than two decades of the implementation of the institutionalized educational system in Bosnia and Herzegovina, teaching was promoted in schools by qualified lecturers who also then in turn became very good pedagogues. Experienced teachers had been introducing classroom work to students. Libraries within the schools had a satisfactory amount of pedagogical text-

⁴² N.N., *Promjene u organizaciji školstva u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Changes in Schooling Organization in Bosnia and Herzegovina], «Skolski Vjesnik», n. 1-4, 1909, p. 3.

⁴³ Papic, *Tragom kulturnog nasljedja* [Following the cultural heritage], cit., p. 81.

books. The Austro-Hungarian authority was aware of how influential education was. Because of this, the tasks assigned to teachers who dealt with the rural and urban population were considered to be very important. Therefore, there was a regular control of these schools and especially the teachers' promotion of prescribed curriculum which cleared up national histories, literature, geography and all facts which could provoke national feelings of young people.

Teachers were initiators and founders of several educational and other magazines. They established libraries, reading rooms in schools, villages and towns. The first educational magazine in Bosnia and Herzegovina was *Skolski vjesnik* (1894-1909). This magazine had an official appendix which published legal regulations of the school authorities and government related documents concerning education. The editor was well-known pedagogue and counsellor appointed by the government Ljuboje Dlustus who came to Bosnia and Herzegovina from Croatia. He knew from his own experience about the teachers' position because he used to work as a teacher.

Teachers too established teacher's associations which were publishers of the magazine «*Uciteljska zora*» (*The dawn of teachers*) in 1905. From 1910, this magazine became the magazine of the Alliance of all teachers' associations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The initiator was Ante Jukic, a teacher and writer from Mostar. This magazine introduced publicly pedagogical and cultural needs of teachers. The first professors of the Teacher training schools and gymnasiums participated in much of the work of the mentioned educational magazines⁴⁴.

The Authority attempted to promote its political influences through education creating suitable state awareness. This was proved with the use of the curriculum that was legally grounded in the entire Monarchy. The style of the educational process was following European, Herbartian standards⁴⁵. This meant that theory included the basis for conventional, formalistic and mechanical teaching. Still, this insufficiency were fully apparent, because of the state's tendencies for complete control of school functioning and teachers' work in the public education system⁴⁶.

Teachers were not supposed to be politically active in any manner or to publically reflect their nationality. The regime considered them as the closest to the people because of their work and this was explained as the reason for constant and rigid control of their behaviour and activities. And for this reason, every teacher had to present a *Certificate on civilian behaviour* during

⁴⁴ Bevanda, *Pedagoska misao u Bosni i Hercegovini, 1918-1941* [Pedagogical Thought in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1918-1941], cit., p. 57.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁴⁶ E. Protner, *Herbartistica pedagogika na Slovenskem (1869-1914)* [Herbart's Pedagogy in Slovenia (1869-1914)], Maribor, Slavisticko drustvo Maribor, 2001.

the procedure of his/her employment or promotion. This certificate proved the national and political orientation of teachers. Naturally, this document was accepted readily by the teachers or the Bosnian Parliament⁴⁷.

The Law of Education (1911)

The law of compulsory education was declared in 1911 in the Bosnian Parliament. However, this law referred neither to children from confessional schools nor to female Muslim children. Children with physical or psychological disabilities were excluded from this law as well⁴⁸.

The new educational law emphasized the role and importance of the systematic education which controlled and led by the teachers who were loyal to the authority. The level of the attendance of the elementary and secondary schools was better than in the previous situation. Concerning the elementary level of schooling, two tendencies were present, inclusion of all children in the educational process and the education of new generations who were educated to be loyal to the regime.

Together with the overall legal regulation of education system and the reformation of the structure of school system on various scales, significant changes were made in connection with the methods and means of the regulation concerning the content of school activity. The main point of this approach was the increase of direct government influence and the reduction of the schools and teacher's rights. As emphasized above, the process of educational control and administration reflected political interests.

Social position of teachers

Nevertheless, the purpose of this work is to introduce the position of teachers. We will present the everyday concerns and problems that teachers faced in their social and private life. We have already analysed legal regulations and state acts which dictated the rules of behaviour and lives of teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As pointed out, conditions of their professional work were complicated; the teacher's profession was neglected and ignored. Despite the fact that the period of Austro-Hungarian domination in Bosnia and

⁴⁷ Papic, *Skolstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme Austrougarske okupacije (1878-1918)* [Schooling in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hugarian occupation (1878-1918)], cit., p. 77.

⁴⁸ *The Law of Compulsory Education*, «Skolski glasnik» n. 7, 1911, p. 162.

Herzegovina was a period of educational and cultural prosperity and in spite of the development of school system, the function and importance of teachers was disregarded. There are many examples from their everyday lives which proved that their task was not simple at all. The following examples showed clearly that authority forgot and dismissed the teachers' role more frequently. Furthermore, constant inequity and different treatment among male and female teachers additionally complicated this problem. Namely, the position and work of female teachers was considered less worthy during the period of Austria-Hungary. Regardless of these concepts, teachers continued to be the main promoters of cultural and educational progress and they had a large and multiple responsibilities in the society, not only for pupils but for all inhabitants of the area where they used to work:

A good teacher is the one who educates pupils in a proper way, giving them the opportunity to work and harmonize their body and spirit. School will never reach its task if the teacher does not have the characteristics which one teacher-educator needs to have⁴⁹.

The active role of the teacher in the social community was of the great importance. The teacher kept getting more obligations in order to modernize life in their region and improve the position of inhabitants. The authority became aware of the importance of teachers who worked among the people. Their influence was of great value. Therefore teachers were supposed to know issues related to politics, medicine, and economy; and were expected to response to these challenges. The teacher had to put great effort in preparation for schoolwork. His duty was to treat all students equally, regardless of their social status. Teachers were always obliged to evaluate the student's knowledge objectively. Despite of all these efforts, teachers were not recognized in the community in the proper manner.

Their legal and social status was not of a high level and was not recognized to the proper extent by the Government. All obligations and duties that made the teachers' position universal, did not improve their position within society. They were always put in a second place, as they claimed⁵⁰.

Teachers protested against their mistreatment. They formed teachers' associations and published their own magazine *The Dawn of Teachers* in which they were writing about their position. They also publicly protested, writing a petition to the Ministry of Finance in 1905, asking that they be treated as equally as state employees. The representative of the government concerning the educational issues, Ljubomir Dlustus also wrote to the Ministry pointing out carefully and clearly:

⁴⁹ N.U., *Uciteljev ugled i autoritet u skoli* [Teacher's Reputation and His Authority in the School], «Uciteljska Zora», n. 9-10, 1914, p. 258.

⁵⁰ A. Prelodin, *Pravni položaj učitelja i skola* [Legal Status of School and Teachers], «Uciteljska Zora», vol. 4, n. 5-6, 1912, p. 166.

In general, teachers were in the state of depression and tiredness. Teachers' disappointment and disillusion were probably caused also by the fact that the official promises in connection with teachers' better position turned out to empty words and were not really kept. Teachers continued to live together with their families in insecure and miserable conditions, financially unsafe. It is really strange that they are still capable to fulfil their duties [...]⁵¹.

After such letters and petitions, the Government reacted with a gradual increase of teachers' salaries in 1906 and 1908. They equalized teachers with state employees of XI and XII pay-ranks. These were the lowest levels of employee's ranks⁵².

The teachers' position was a topic of the Bosnian Parliament as well. Namely, teachers sent their petition to the Parliament in 1910, asking for protection and support. The Parliament supported the petition analysing and comparing position of teachers with position of other state employees. Thanks to this, the position of teachers was slightly improved.

Concerning the social position of teachers, the State Government declared a recommendation for this issue, in late 1855. The political authorities were obliged to invite teachers to various manifestations and social events in order to pay special attention because of their educational activity in a particular social setting⁵³.

Twenty years later, this recommendation was repeated because of the unequal treating of all state employees. This time it was announced:

The reason why teachers of elementary public schools are not integrated into the category of state employees does not lay in the fact that their profession is less worthy or because of their social status but exclusively and only because of the fact that public elementary schools in which they are engaged are not in a position of the category of State institutions where teachers used to have a character of state employees⁵⁴.

In order to protect themselves in any way possible, teachers gathered in various association or class unions as Papić commented. The first such union was a Foundation for Teachers' Orphans from 1901, and was popular all over Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the same year, The Teachers' Association for Elementary Public schools for the Mostar region was constituted. Nevertheless, the Government was against such gatherings and did not support this project, explaining that it was forbidden to constitute associations for the wider region.

⁵¹ Bogicević, *Istorija razvitka osnovnih skola u BiH* [History of Elementary School Development in BiH], cit., p. 165.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Papić, *Skolstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini u vrijeme Austrougarske okupacije (1878-1918)* [Schooling in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian Occupation (1878-1918)], cit., p. 76.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

Teachers were persistent in their requests and the Government approved this society after three years of negotiation. Later on, The Alliance of Teachers' Associations of Bosnia and Herzegovina was also established⁵⁵.

Legal regulations for elementary school teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina

In order to be better informed regarding the social positions of teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian Empire, I will present the legal basis from 1906 which regulated the legal position of teachers in public education. There were 40 articles with clearly defined the position of male and female teachers, their obligations, limitations and duties in their teaching profession. The main directions considering this issue will be defined here.

This law consisted of general directions that obliged all teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Only a teacher who passed the exam of maturity was able to be appointed as a teacher employed on a temporary basis while a teacher from public elementary school was able to work independently. The exam was held before the exam commission appointed by the State Government. Teachers had to work at least one year at school practicing in public, confessional or private elementary school which had the right to function. To become a teacher at a higher public school (town schools) or training school, a person had to attend a special exam to prove his capabilities under the condition that the candidate had a minimal of three years spent working in a public elementary school. Female persons were able to get a teaching position only if they were single or widowed, or to be married to a teacher⁵⁶.

If teacher candidates did not have the chance to work for five years after passing their exams (being capable to work as teachers), they had to pass the exam again. Exceptions were made only under determination of the Government. The Government defined public school teachers as public employees. The levels of teacher profession depended of their qualifications and years spent in school services. These levels determined teacher salaries, awards, promotions and later pensions. Included here were teachers of elementary and higher public schools and training courses, teachers of theology, principals and other employees in educational services. Assistant teachers only received monthly awards.

The Government ensured apartments to teachers if they served far from their places of residence. They had the school's gardens, land for agriculture and other economic buildings that belonged to the school. For the transport

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁵⁶ *Legal Basis on the Position of Elementary Public School Teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, «Uciteljska Zora», n. 7-8, 1912, p. 201.

of teachers from one place to another, they used to receive reimbursement for travel costs. If there was a case of a married couple who were both teachers, the travel costs were given to the person who was transferred for official reasons.

Teachers whose behaviour within or out of the school damaged the profession's image, would be punished or moved from the service. Female teachers who got married to persons who were not teachers also lost their position and it was considered that they voluntarily resigned⁵⁷.

Therefore, the social position of teachers was defined in accordance to the mentioned regulations. It was proclaimed that their position was the same as the position of state employees, but this was not true in reality. In consideration of previously mentioned facts a conclusion may be drawn, that the teacher's inequity in regard with state employees was evident and they were not respected in a way as to be expected in accordance to their position.

The Control of Teachers

Teachers were controlled by the state authority and their political orientation was always under question. Namely, each urban and rural area had its professional supervisor who controlled the work of teachers and the functioning of the school. Supervisors were loyal to the state and their task was to make reports on the teachers' everyday activities.

They also checked the teacher's loyalty to the state and their teaching concerning national subjects. Those supervisors were persons who were not competent to deal with educational work and to evaluate the teacher's work, as it was the case with the expert in other state institutions. They wanted teachers to follow their instructions how to work, even though they did not possess pedagogical knowledge⁵⁸.

Teachers were humiliated by the fact that they were judged by people who were not qualified to do this.

They provoked teachers putting them in a contradictory position in front of the pupils and giving their own instructions for 'better' teaching. «The teacher becomes nervous and depressed because of the behaviour of supervisor. He feels as if he needs to learn and pass exams again»⁵⁹.

Supervisors were ignorant and rigid. They accused teachers of working in their own way not respecting their advices, but also humiliated those who listen to them and followed their instructions⁶⁰.

⁵⁷ *Legal Basis on the Position of Elementary Public School Teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, cit.

⁵⁸ Prelodin, *Pravni položaj škole i učitelja* [Legal status of school and teachers], cit.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ N.N., *Starjesine i podređeni* [Commanders and Subordinated], «Učiteljska Zora», n. 2,

If teachers wanted to get a position as supervisor, they were obliged to pass the exam test. This was absurd that the political authority requested the experienced teachers to do this, while in a same time, non-professionals were posted to these places without passing the exam. This selection and exclusion additionally humiliated teachers. Their disagreement and revolt was published in the magazine «The Dawn of Teachers» in 1912⁶¹. This was the teachers' way of attracting attention to their position.

The society of that time consisted of civil servants, who did not accept teachers as their equals, but only as unpleasant companions. The first reason was the bad material position of teachers, which often provoked pity or sympathy in the bureaucratic society. In their everyday life, teachers faced managers, bureaucrats school clerks and other employees who had authority and more rights than teachers ever dreamed of. Teachers who worked in villages were paid for their work, but were not refunded for fuel and flat rent, while those who worked in towns were paid more. Schools which were financed by the municipality gave smaller salaries to teachers. Female teachers were in a worse position regarding payments. If they were married, they did not get additional payments such as rent, fuel or travelling and moving costs, and they were paid 50% less⁶².

The Position of Female Teachers

The legal regulation from 1906 clearly emphasised that female teachers were allowed to work only if they were single or widowed, or married related to a teacher (article 2) This decision was unfavourable to the position of female teachers who were limited in choosing their future husbands. They were allowed to be married only to a teacher. If a female teacher excluded from consideration a colleague teacher as her husband and got married to a trade-man, for example, it would be considered as her release from the service. She would never be allowed to work as a teacher any more (article 28.). The practice of being unjust and unfair towards female teachers reflected also in their salaries. Even in a situation when they married teachers, their salary would be reduced for 50%. This decision had the aim to prevent a better financial position of teacher population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, humiliating female teachers by considering their work less worthy then their husbands. It was not a rare case that the authority transferred and removed married teachers to the small and

1913, p. 41.

⁶¹ Prelodin, *Pravni položaj škole i učitelja* [Legal status of school and teachers], cit., p. 166.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 95.

back-warded villages where living conditions were more difficult, especially if they had children. During their transfer, the cost payment was ensured only to a teacher who was officially transferred (Article 27)⁶³.

There were numerous examples which clearly disclosed the unenviable position of female teachers in that period of time. Namely, it was considered that female teachers would fulfil their duties to a greater degree if they were not married. There was a presumption that married female teachers would neglect their pupils and take care only for their own children. The reaction of the teachers was not in concordance with the regulation. Teachers viewed themselves as free persons with basic right to get marry. Each law concerning different regulation had harmful and discriminative effects. Their explanation started with the fact that the married teacher was favourable for a school in contrast with a non-married teacher could be good lecturer and could dedicate herself fully to her pupils reaching excellent results, but that love was never as strong as it was love of teacher who was a mother at the same time:

A teacher who is a mother understands the soul of a child. She lives with its life. She can read from its eye weather it does something bad or good. She can heal, support and calm them down. When a child is restless she does not use a rope. Quite the opposite, she questions the conditions, society and family. She sympathizes with her pupils in every aspect of the child's life⁶⁴.

Pointing out the favours of being mother and a teacher in the same time, female teachers attempted to fight the official prejudice that the best teacher was an unmarried teacher. On the other hand, there were some rumours that pregnant teacher would confuse pupils and put them in an unpleasant situation. This presumption was inadequate and inappropriate. These pupils mostly came from the multiple families⁶⁵.

The appointed legal regulations met numerous objections from single teachers but also married teachers who spent 5, 10 or 15 years in a teacher's position. Before this regulation, they used to have the same salaries as male or single teachers. Now, their income was significantly decreased. Those who lived with their husbands lost flat rent. Teachers who lived and worked in villages were in a worse position than those in towns who got bigger amount of money for their costs. Their children were also in a better position having the opportunity to attend town's school⁶⁶.

⁶³ *Legal Basis Related to Teachers of Elementary Public Schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, cit.

⁶⁴ N.N., *Dvije, tri za udaju uciteljica* [Two or three female teachers], «Skolski Vjesnik», n. 4, 1907, p. 271.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 273.

⁶⁶ D. Janjic, *Nasi pravedni zahtjevi* [Our Rationalized Requests], Mostar, «Uciteljska Zora», n. 4, 1910, p. 103.

All these facts reflected on how badly teachers were treated and how silent their words were. It seems that the authority made so many efforts in order to make the teacher's life more difficult.

Conclusion

The period of the 40 years of Austro-Hungarian government in Bosnia and Herzegovina was very short in comparison with the 400 years of the Ottoman period of government. Therefore, it requires a great effort to comprehend the achievements of the new educational policy brought by the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. It seems that the obvious contradictions related to positive or negative judgment appeared because of national issue.

However, this period was regarded as a period of prosperity at the field of education, especially considering that the Austro-Hungarian monarchy realized the importance of education and faced the challenge to do something in order to make literate 97% of the illiterate population.

The relation between government and teachers had its negative and positive moments; in short it was a very controversial issue. Teachers were fighting for their rights all the time and against their exclusion from the level of state employees.

During the period 1878-1918 numerous schools were built and teachers got the opportunity to discover their own talents and to improve their profession. The Authority was against any kind of outer or inner ambitions of national activities. This could be a reason for the suppression of teachers as they had been seen as national tribunes. It was not something that teachers asked for. They were put in this situation by the interest of the regime. They were servants and opponents at the same time. If they wanted to work as teachers they had to take an oath of allegiance promising the loyalty to their sovereign.

The modification of legal regulation in Bosnia and Herzegovina offered some option to teachers that were not really welcomed by the teacher community. The educational authorities made a great effort to restrict teachers dealing in every field of public life in which teachers took part. However, teachers kept asking for their rights and their associations did a lot in improving their insignificant position. Nevertheless, their profession was evidently not financially safe or secure but it was full of controversy and always measured by double standards. They were state employee but without privileges.

Even though the period of Austro-Hungarian governing in Bosnia and Herzegovina determined a turn in educational policy, the promotion of elementary schools and larger number of educated teachers did not correspond with a degree of literacy in the people which still left very high.