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Challenges and Achievements in the Care and Education of Children with Sensory Disabilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (from the Late 19th Century to 1941)***

IZVLEČEK

IZZIVI IN DOSEŽKI PRI VZGOJI IN VARSTVU OTROK S SENZORIČNIMI OKVARAMI V BOSNI IN HERCEGOVINI (OD KONCA 19. STOLETJA DO LETA 1941)

Začetki državne institucionalne vzgoje in varstva otrok s senzoričnimi okvarami v Bosni in Hercegovini (BiH) segajo v čas po drugi svetovni vojni. V obdobju od konca 19. stoletja do leta 1941, obravnavanem v tem članku, se je postopoma uveljavilo zavedanje, kako pomembno je skrbeti za to populacijo in jo podpirati. Čeprav je Oddelek za varstvo otrok in mladine na Ministrstvu za socialno politiko razpravljal o vprašanjih, povezanih z vzgojo in varstvom otrok s posebnimi potrebami, so socialne, gospodarske in politične razmere ter kulturni in družbeni odnos do invalidnosti ovirali pomemben napredek pri reševanju teh izzivov. V Kraljevini SHS/Jugoslaviji so obstajali uradni zakonodajni ukrepi, ki so urejali socialno podporo za te otroke in njihovo izobraževanje ter so veljali tudi za BiH, vendar se tam niso ustrezno izvajali. Zato so nekatere otroke s senzoričnimi okvarami iz BiH pošiljali v specializirane ustanove za slepe in gluhe otroke v Zagrebu, Zemunu in Beogradu.

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*** The article was created as part of the project J6-S0189 *Systems of Care and Education for Children with Sensory Disabilities in the First and Second Yugoslav State*, funded by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS).

Ker je primanjkovalo prostora in vsi otroci niso bili uradno registrirani, so za mnoge morali skrbeti starši, zlasti matere, pogosto pa so jih zdravili tudi alternativni zdravilci. Šele v času socialistične Jugoslavije je bil dosežen pomemben napredek, vključno z vzpostavitvijo ustanov, namenjenih otrokom s senzoričnimi okvarami.

Ključne besede: Kraljevina SHS/Jugoslavija, Bosna in Hercegovina, zgodovina invalidnosti, študije invalidnosti, otroci s senzoričnimi okvarami

ABSTRACT

The beginning of state institutional care and education for children with sensory disabilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) dates back to the time immediately after World War II. From the late 19th century until 1941, the period covered in this article, an awareness of the importance of caring for and supporting this population gradually developed. Although the issues related to the care and education of children with disabilities became a topic of discussion at the Department for the Protection of Children and Youth of the Ministry of Social Policy, the social, economic, and political circumstances, as well as the cultural and societal attitudes towards disability hindered any significant progress in addressing these challenges. In the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia, certain official legislative measures existed intended to regulate social support and education for these children. These also applied to BiH but were not adequately implemented there. Consequently, some children with sensory disabilities from BiH were sent to specialised institutions for blind and deaf children in Zagreb, Zemun, and Belgrade. However, due to the lack of space and the fact that not all children were officially registered, many remained in the care of their parents, especially mothers, and were often treated by alternative medical practitioners. It was only during the socialist Yugoslavia that significant advancements were made, including the establishment of institutions dedicated to children with sensory disabilities.

Keywords: Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, history of disability, disability studies, children with sensory disabilities

Introduction

Until now, the expert and scientific publications on the history of disability in BiH have focused on the period after World War II – for a good reason, as until that time, the system of organised institutional state care for children with sensory disabilities had not yet been implemented there. The research into the archival records related to the care for children and youth in BiH during the interwar period, the local

newspapers, and the relevant professional literature has revealed that although a state-level care and education system for children with sensory disabilities had not yet been developed at the time, the first steps toward raising awareness and providing assistance to this population had nevertheless started to take shape.

Combined with the lack of professional understanding of disability and unfavourable economic conditions, the dominant cultural and societal frameworks of health and illness, on which the understanding of this phenomenon was based, significantly contributed to the absence of formal institutions that would provide systematic care and education for people with disabilities. Consequently, the care for children with sensory disabilities was often left to alternative and ad hoc practices and was primarily the responsibility of family members, especially women. Nevertheless, during the interwar period, the first steps were taken towards institutional recognition of the challenges faced by these children. These steps were reflected in their official systematisation, discussions on this topic at the meetings of the Department for the Protection of Children and Youth, and initiatives such as the establishment of foundations and the initiation of humanitarian actions aimed at assisting them. From today's perspective, the formal care and education for children with sensory disabilities were insufficient and limited. However, during this period, the foundation was nevertheless established for the further development of institutional support and education for these children in BiH.

After BiH had been incorporated into the Kingdom of SCS in 1918, it joined a state characterised by diverse social, cultural, and economic legacies. The differing levels of development in healthcare, social support, education, and the legal system, both during that time and later in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, hindered the creation of a unified social policy, making it more challenging to establish a systematic framework for the care and education of children with sensory disabilities.¹ Social and health issues such as war invalids, widows and their children, the significant number of orphans caused by World War I, and widespread poverty overshadowed their needs.² Despite the existence of legal frameworks and individual initiatives such as teacher training programmes or maintaining records of children with sensory disabilities, their implementation was limited. Due to the lack of specialised institutions in BiH, some of these

1 Vlatka Dugački and Krešimir Regan, "Socijalne i zdravstvene prilike u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji za Štamparove profesure i dekanata na Medicinskom fakultetu (s naglaskom na Banovinu Hrvatsku)," *Studia lexicographica: časopis za leksikografiju i enciklopedistiku* 10, No. 1 (2016): 37–63. Grujica Žarković, "Skupe greške zdravstvene politike u zemljama bivše Jugoslavije u XX vijeku," *Dijalog-Časopis za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju* 01+02 (2003): 236–52. Bojan Stojnić, "Organizacija zdravstvene i socijalno-higijenske službe u Vrbaskoj banovini (1929–1941)," *Tokovi istorije* 1 (2019): 11–37. Vladimir Abramović, "Život na gradskoj margini: Zdravstveni, socijalni i prehrambeni aspekti življenja u Beogradu 1919–1941," *Acta historiae medicinae, stomatologiae, pharmaciae, medicinae veterinariae* 33 (2014): 162–73. Dunja Dobaja, "Socialna in zdravstvena zaščita mater in otrok v letih 1919–1939 na območju Dravske banovine," *Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino* 50, No. 3 (2010): 7–26.

2 Mislav Gabelica and Ljiljana Dobrovičak, "Vojno-veteranska društva na prostoru bivše banske Hrvatske 1919.–1941. godine," *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 55, No. 2 (2023): 239–62. Sanela Bašić, "(Re)Interpretacija historije dječije zaštite u Bosni i Hercegovini između dva svjetska rata," *Sarajevski žurnal za društvena pitanja* 3, No. 1–2 (2014): 83–96. Stjepan Matković and Edi Miloš, "Spašavanje gladne djece iz Bosne i Hercegovine tijekom Prvoga svjetskog rata: primjer suradnje s Kraljevinom Hrvatskom i Slavonijom," *Historijska misao* 3, No. 3 (2017): 123–57.

children were placed in institutions in the other parts of the Kingdom, such as Zagreb, Zemun, or Belgrade, which further isolated them from their families and communities.

In contrast to Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia, where institutions for children with sensory disabilities had already been founded at the beginning of the 20th century, BiH developed its specialised care and education system for them at a significantly slower pace. This delay highlights the disparities in the development of support structures for children with disabilities across the former Yugoslav territories. During the inter-war period, the foundations were established to recognise the importance of helping children with sensory disabilities. However, the lack of financial resources and the social and political instability of the time hindered any tangible steps towards solutions.³ After World War II, however, conditions for progress finally emerged in socialist Yugoslavia.

Recognising the Needs of Children with Sensory Disabilities (the End of the 19th Century – 1918)

At the end of the 19th century, a traditional attitude towards the health and life of children prevailed in BiH, often expressed with the saying “God gives, God takes.” It was believed that life and death were entirely in God’s hands, and human efforts were seen as insignificant or insufficient. As a result, medical interventions, which could have been beneficial for treating diseases or disabilities, were rare or non-existent. Instead, people relied on alternative medical practices such as folk remedies and religious or spiritual rituals, believing they would aid healing.⁴ The care for children with disabilities was left entirely to family members, primarily mothers, while help was sought from village healers, quacks, or visits to pilgrimage sites.⁵ The approach to the care for individuals with disabilities in BiH reflected the deeply rooted cultural and societal attitudes towards those considered “different” or “special.” This approach represented a broader social dynamic that shaped the interpretation of disability and the needs of these individuals. The economic, political, cultural and social barriers hindered the development of institutional forms of care, directing assistance toward individual, often improvised initiatives.

Popular expressions such as “blind as a bat” or “deaf and mad” are clear indicators of the social discourse on disability at the time, as people with disabilities were often perceived as incapable of either domestic or social progress. This narrative contributed to their marginalisation, reinforcing the belief in their insignificance and further

3 Merima Čamo, “Društvena (re) distribucija ruralnih resursa između dva svjetska rata na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine i njena aktuelizacija,” *Godišnjak Bošnjačke zajednice kulture “Preporod”* 1 (2019): 17–30. Omer Hamzić, “Djelovanje ‘Gajreta’ u manjim mjestima i gradovima Bosne i Hercegovine u periodu između dva svjetska rata – slučaj Lukavca i Puračića,” *Historijska misao* 4, No. 4 (2018): 149–80.

4 Izet Masic, Nabil Naser, Aida Kapetanovic, Nizama Salihfendic, and Muharem Zildzic, “Traditional Healing in Treatment of Diseases in the Past in Bosnia and Herzegovina,” *Materia Socio-Medica* 34, No. 1 (2022): 70–79.

5 Izabela Pešalj, *Između virača i lekara: obeležje zdravstvene kulture* (Beograd: Biblioteka XX vek, 2010), 484.

supporting their social exclusion. At the end of the 19th century, the attitudes and beliefs about disability were based on prejudice stemming from ignorance and a lack of understanding of the phenomenon. Such thinking prevented the development of a systematic and organised approach to the care of children with developmental disabilities.⁶

During the Austro-Hungarian period in BiH (1878–1918), the formal healthcare system was still developing. Although the 1887 disability law was officially enacted and intended for implementation in Slavonia, Croatia, Slovenia, and BiH, historical sources suggest that its application remained largely nominal in BiH.⁷ Unlike other parts of the Empire, BiH lacked a structured framework for the care of children with sensory disabilities, and no specialised institutions were established to support them. The nearest institutions providing care and education for children with disabilities were located in Zagreb and Zemun. In Zagreb, the Institute for Deaf-Mute Children was founded in 1891;⁸ the Institute for the Education of Blind Children was established in 1895; while the Institute for Blind Children in Zemun was founded in 1919.⁹ During the late 19th century, throughout Europe, the increased number of children with disabilities prompted state-led initiatives and humanitarian actions for their protection and assistance. However, in BiH, these individuals were mostly seen through the prism of folk tales and songs, which interpreted their difficulties as signs of “clairvoyance” or something supernatural without genuinely understanding their problems and needs.¹⁰ The interpretation of disability through folk narratives unintentionally deepened the social distance between children with sensory impairments and the rest of society by placing them in frameworks that labelled them as “others” and putting them outside the community’s norms. However, it is essential to consider the limitations that existed at the time regarding medical and institutional resources and the political and social frameworks that shaped the attitudes towards this population.¹¹

In BiH at the time, adults with disabilities did receive some attention, as evidenced by the 1895 census of “persons with disabilities”, while these statistics and discussions overlooked children.¹² By 1902, when the Provincial Government decided to “first ascertain the total number of all the blind in the country as well as in individual districts, and, as much as possible, refer them to doctors for treatment”, the cases involving children with disabilities were handled in various improvised ways. An example of this

6 Gojko Zovko, “Invalidi i društvo,” *Revija za socijalnu politiku* 6, No. 1 (1999): 1–12.

7 Ljubomir Petrović, *Nevidljivi geto: invalidi u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji: 1918–1941* (Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2007), 41.

8 *Sarajevski list*, “Zavod gluhonijeme djece u Zagrebu,” 26 October 1888, 3.

9 Radoslav Laban, *Rukama do svetlosti: Sto godina rada škole za učenike oštećenog vida “Veljko Ramadanović” u Zemunu (1917–2017)* (Zemun: Škola za učenike oštećenog vida “Veljko Ramadanović,” 2017).

10 Lejla Hadzibegić, “The Education of d/Dhh Children in Bosnia and Herzegovina,” *Sign Language Studies* 19, No. 2 (2019): 198–204.

11 Petra Grebenac, “Književna reprezentacija invaliditeta kao identiteta u noveli ‘Buharina kći’ Ljudmile Ulicke,” *Književna smotra: časopis za svjetsku književnost* 204, No. 3 (2023): 85–94. Sara Baer Cleto, *Bodies of Stories: Disability and Folklore in Nineteenth-Century British Literature* (Columbus: The Ohio State University, 2018).

12 Zemaljska vlada za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, *Glavni rezultati popisa žiteljstva u Bosni i Hercegovini od 22. aprila 1895* (Sarajevo: Zemaljska vlada za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, 1896), XXIV–XXV.

is the visit of Vilma Kallay, the wife of the provincial governor, to the Sarajevo poor-house in 1895, where a single blind child resided in addition to forty-six elderly people. This example shows how children with disabilities were treated and placed together with adults in conditions that did not meet their specific needs.¹³ Accommodating children with disabilities together with adults indicated the lack of any awareness of their specific developmental and social needs and an institutional approach that failed to recognise them as a distinct and particularly vulnerable group. This approach was further shaped by the challenging economic conditions that impeded the development of adequate institutions and programmes tailored to their needs.¹⁴

Although superstitions, quackery, and ignorance were prevalent and even dominant in BiH, it was still recognised that certain childhood diseases could lead to disabilities. These included measles,¹⁵ scrofula,¹⁶ and trachoma,¹⁷ especially in unvaccinated children,¹⁸ as well as viruses present in newborns. Blindness was also associated with rabies,¹⁹ while marriage between close relatives was often mentioned as a cause of deaf-muteness,²⁰ as were chronic illnesses of the parents (tuberculosis, sexually transmitted diseases).²¹ Parental alcoholism was most often highlighted as a cause of childhood illnesses and their consequences, both during the Austro-Hungarian period and later. The rather modest literate population could read about these issues in popular scientific articles published in newspapers and serialised columns featuring medical news. Such texts were mostly sourced from abroad, though some were also written by local educators, primarily teachers, such as Nikola Maraković, who worked in trade schools in Bihać, Bijeljina, and Travnik.²² These contributions were published in the official teachers' journal, called *Školski vjesnik*.

The recognition of this issue in society, coupled with the failure of the institutional response, began within the Civil Servants' Association of BiH. In 1908, a resolution was passed to allocate a sum of 10,000 Austro-Hungarian Kronen from the 60th anniversary of the emperor and king's reign to establish a foundation aimed at treating and educating blind, deaf-mute, disabled, or otherwise severely handicapped orphans among its members.²³ According to the 1910 census, eighty-four children in BiH until the age of fourteen were blind, representing 0.56 % of the population, while deaf-mute children were neither registered nor mentioned.²⁴ Given the limitations of

13 *Sarajevski list*, "Njez. Preuzv. ggja pl. Kallaya," 14 June 1896, 2.

14 Marko Buljevac, "Institucionalizacija osoba s intelektualnim teškoćama: što nas je naučila povijest?" *Revija za socijalnu politiku* 19, No. 3 (2012): 255–72.

15 Ivan Klarić, "Iz Livna u Bihaćku krajinu," *Sarajevski list* 18, No. 136 (1895): 1.

16 Milan Jovanović-Batut, "Narodno zdravlje," *Sarajevski list* 33, No. 309 (1910): 1.

17 *Sarajevski list*, "Sljepoća u pojedinim državama," 15 March 1900, 2.

18 Kukrić, "Priljepive bolesti," *Sarajevski list*, 21 May 1918, 3.

19 *Sarajevski list*, "Strašna bolest," 30 March 1907, 3.

20 *Sarajevski list*, "Narodno zdravlje. Bolesni ljudi i brak," 16 November 1912, 4. "Ženski svijet. O udaji," 6 August 1918, 3.

21 *Sarajevski list*, "Opomena ženicama i udavačama," 27 November 1917, 3.

22 Nikola Maraković, "Čula u prvom duševnom radu," *Sarajevski list* 14, No. 101 (1891): 1–2, No. 102 (1891): 1–2.

Nikola Maraković, "Prvi plodovi duševnog rada," *Sarajevski list* 14, No. 124 (1891): 1–2, No. 125 (1891): 1–2.

Nikola Maraković, "Intelektualni osnovi u duši," *Sarajevski list* 15, No. 16 (1892): 1–2, No. 17 (1892): 1.

23 *Sarajevski list*, "Poziv na glavnu skupštinu Činovničkog društva za Bosnu i Hercegovinu," 25 April 1908, 3.

24 Josip Brodžanac, "Rezultati popisa žiteljstva u Bosni i Hercegovini od 10. okt 1910," *Sarajevski list* 35, No. 264 (1912): 2.

data collection methods at the time and the lack of comprehensive registration for certain groups, such as deaf-mute individuals, it is difficult to fully assess the reliability of these figures. Regardless of the accuracy or inaccuracy of the data, the previously mentioned humanitarian initiative was a significant step toward improving the quality of life for individuals with disabilities. It was, however, an indicator of the development of awareness about their challenges, marking a shift towards providing organised support, which, although still at a volunteer level, was aimed at the members of this marginalised group.

World War I in BiH, which caused significant casualties and physical injuries among both soldiers and civilians, highlighted the need for systematic care and support for those who suffered physical disabilities. This war catalysed a shift in how society and institutions perceived disability, drawing attention to the lasting impairments many endured and the broader social and economic challenges that arose as a result.²⁵ In response, the legal framework – previously focused on maintaining a strict distinction between persons with disabilities and those considered healthy – began to evolve, particularly with the increasing number of war veterans with disabilities.²⁶ For example, in Sarajevo, in 1918, under the patronage of Miss Bauer and Mrs Zahradka,²⁷ the Youth Fund for BiH War Blind collected donations to support individuals affected by war-time blindness.²⁸ Another example is the Johann Ritter von Schloissnigg Foundation, which provided support for “completely deaf-mute or blind sons and daughters of the royal imperial officers up to and including the rank of major, as well as other royal imperial military officials earning no more than 3,600 Yugoslav Kronen. Priority was given to orphans among these children.” However, it remains unclear whether children from BiH could receive support, given the required documentation (residence, proof of vaccination, etc.).²⁹

Towards the end of World War I, in the summer of 1918, the Provincial Institute for the Deaf and Dumb in Zagreb announced the continuation of regular classes and the reopening of the boarding school. On this occasion, it was emphasised that “female deaf-mute children cannot be admitted to the institution as internal students because there is still no boarding facility for female youth.”³⁰ This detail is important to mention because children with sensory disabilities from BiH were cared for in specialised institutions in Zagreb and Zemun until the end of World War II. Therefore, the issue of their care and education within the formal institutional frameworks should primarily be viewed in the context of the history of the institutionalisation of people with sensory disabilities in Croatia and Serbia. Despite World War I completely disrupting this institution’s work, the abovementioned quote opens up a new research niche that

25 Salkan Užičanin, “Staranje za bosanskohercegovačke ratne invalide tokom Prvog svjetskog rata (1914–1918),” *Historijska misao* 10, No. 10 (2024): 113–64.

26 Petrović, *Nevidljivi geto*, 33.

27 *Sarajevski list*, “Zaklada mladeži za ratne slijepce,” 12 February 1918, 3.

28 *Ibidem*.

29 *Sarajevski list*, “Prazna mjesta kod vojnih zaklada,” 21 April 1917, 4.

30 *Sarajevski list*, “Zemaljski zavod i internat za gluhoonijeme u Zagrebu,” 21 August 1918, 3.

calls for a special analysis. It addresses the issue of gender identity – specifically, the position of girls and women with sensory disabilities in the historical context and their dual marginalisation due to disability as well as gender.³¹

After the end of World War I, the Royal Provincial School for the Blind in Moslavina-Popovača accepted blind children, both boys and girls, aged six to sixteen. Since it specialised in teaching blind children, the school did not admit children with severe intellectual disabilities, deaf-muteness, or infectious diseases.³² It is also important to note that the building – the Baroque castle of the Erdody family, which housed the school at the time – was also a home for war veterans with physical disabilities from World War I.³³ In the Kingdom of SCS, which faced institutional deficits and disorganised social protection systems, difficulties arose in establishing specialised institutions capable of meeting the different needs of these two populations. Therefore, mixing war veterans and children with disabilities was not necessarily due to the indifference towards their specific needs but rather a reflection of the structural and institutional limitations leading to their placement in the same facilities due to the lack of adequate solutions.

Despite the previously mentioned factors, the early 20th century marked the first steps towards the institutional recognition of the challenges faced by individuals with disabilities in BiH. While formal care remained insufficient, these efforts laid the groundwork for future institutional support, which would systematically develop in socialist Yugoslavia after World War II.

Foundations for Formal Care and Education for Children with Sensory Disabilities (1918–1941)

Following its integration into the Kingdom SCS on 1 December 1918, BiH became part of a state composed of regions with diverse socio-economic, social, and cultural histories. These regions had achieved varying levels of development in areas such as hygiene, medicine, and education and featured distinct legal and judicial systems. Due to political conflicts, the unification of laws across the entire country progressed slowly, particularly regarding social policy, which also included the organisation of care for children. Given the legacy left by the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, BiH was, among other things, “waiting” for many issues to be addressed, including the situation of children with sensory disabilities.³⁴

31 Anita Silvers, “Double consciousness, triple difference: Disability, race, gender and the politics of recognition,” *Disability, Divers-ability and Legal Change* (Brill Nijhoff, 1999), 75–99. Rannveig Traustadottir, “Women with disabilities,” *The Double Discrimination. Center of Human Policy* (TASH, Newsletter, 1990).

32 *Narodno jedinstvo*, “Školske vijesti” (cyr.), 9 September 1922, 2.

33 Mario Stipančević, “Tkalcic, Godišnjak društva za povjesnicu Zagrebačke nadbiskupije 10 (2006),” *Arhivski vjesnik* 50, No. 1 (2007): 259, 260.

34 Almir Grabovica, “Sistem nacionalne sigurnosti Bosne i Hercegovine,” *Znakovi vremena-Časopis za filozofiju, religiju, znanost i društvenu praksu* 18, No. 60-69 (2015): 189–204. Mustafa Imamovic, “Faktori bosanskohercegovačke posebnosti u okviru Austrougarske monarhije,” *YBL Fac. Sarajevo* 24 (1976): 287.

A special burden for the state was represented by the large number of war invalids, whose issues were prioritised. When it came to children, the pressing issue was the care for a large number of orphans, while the basic infrastructure for systematic support did not exist. According to statistical data from 1921, there were more than one hundred thousand uncared-for children in BiH, including both war and other orphans. The state established the Regional Child and Youth Protection Service, which kept a record of more than fifty thousand children for whom it was legally responsible for care.³⁵ Given the state's material and financial weakness resulting from the war destruction and post-war economic turbulence, it was clear that it would not be able to meet the needs of children with sensory disabilities.

The state body responsible for caring for these children was the Ministry of Social Policy and Public Health, which faced numerous practical problems in organising the new management system. Within this Ministry, on 5 February 1919, a special Department for the Protection of Children and Youth was established, whose regulations included work "in the fight against alcoholism and venereal diseases as the main causes of degeneration and neglect of children and youth."³⁶ Five months later, on 19 July 1919, the Department for the Protection of Children and Youth was established in BiH, while less than a month after that, on 7 August 1919, the president of the Department officially promised "that a comprehensive report on the opening of institutions for the blind and deaf-mute will be proposed in due time." The report "concludes that the blind and deaf-mute children, who are already placed in such institutions in Croatia, will continue to be supported in those institutions, and that any new children, if accepted in Croatia, will be sent to those institutions, until such institutions are opened in our country."³⁷ This illustrates that after World War I, there was a gradual development of awareness regarding the importance of organising care for children with sensory disabilities at the state level in BiH. However, no initiative regarding their formal institutionalisation within specialised facilities materialised throughout the interwar period, remaining limited to official correspondence among department leaders. Consequently, the care for these children continued to be sought in institutions in Zagreb and Belgrade. Yet, as evident from the following case, this often proved too late, as there were regulations specifying the age limits for admission to such institutions. From the response of Josip Medved, the Director of the Institute for Deaf-Mute Children in Zagreb, dated 4 August 1919, to the Regional Committee for the Protection of Children in BiH in Sarajevo regarding the admission of a fourteen-year-old, it is clear that children aged seven to ten were admitted to the institute, as older children, according to his words, "are not suitable for the production of sounds". In his response, Medved instructed the Committee to inform the parents or guardians that it is best to "send the child to learn a trade." He emphasised that "the selected master should be a person of gentle nature, who is good and expected to treat the child with

35 *Narodno jedinstvo*, "Pomoć nezbrinutoj djeci" (cyr.), 22 April 1921, 3.

36 Josip Šilović, *Zaštita djece. Sadašnje stanje i pogled u budućnost* (Narodna zaštita, Zagreb, 1922), 52.

37 Povjerenstvo Ministarstva za socijalnu politiku za BiH, Oblasna državna zaštita dece i mladeži, 1919, 202–1600, box No. 1, Record, 7 August 1919, Ceremonial Hall of the Provincial Government in Sarajevo.

care and fatherly affection”, and that “for the first year, some payment will be required”. He further explained that “someone must always supervise how the master treats the child” because, as he said, “we, the hearing people, with our rough behaviour and bad actions, contribute most to making the deaf-mute distrustful and irritable towards us, so it should be the master’s primary concern to prevent anyone from teasing, insulting, or mistreating the deaf-mute child. When the child sees that the master protects them, they will become trustworthy, loyal, good, and obedient.”³⁸ This quote suggests that, at the time, there was an awareness among experts of the specific needs of children with hearing impairments, and the approach toward them was based on protection and care. Although it could be considered paternalistic, it actually reflects an attempt to understand and provide protection for children who were exposed to social exclusion and negative stereotypes due to their disability. The emphasis on protection from abuse, mockery, and humiliation implies a desire to create an environment where children could feel safe and trusted despite their vulnerability. The statement about ‘hearing people’ whose rough behaviour could make the deaf distrustful and irritable shows an awareness of how society, through unconscious and/or careless actions, can further isolate people with disabilities. This phenomenon, present over a century ago, is still discussed in contemporary disability studies. Such studies suggest that the social treatment of people with disabilities often arises from unconscious processes that involve not only societal norms and values but also deeply ingrained structural inequalities passed down through generations.³⁹ According to the medical criteria of the time, children with sensory disabilities were classified into categories that reflected the stigmatisation of the social attitudes towards disability rather than solely medical assessments. For example, a child with a speech impairment was classified as a “first-degree idiot”, while deaf-mute and blind children were classified as “second-degree idiots”.⁴⁰ Through these frameworks, we can better understand how disability and social exclusion are not only a result of physical differences but also a consequence of how society defines and interprets those differences and responds to them.⁴¹

The first organised action at the state level was prompted by the efforts of the American Relief Administration Children’s Work and the American Red Cross in 1920.⁴² As part of the international network, the local Red Cross informed the public that it provided financial and material support to humanitarian institutions that help with public health, such as the Maternal Association, the Orphanage, and the Deaf-Mute Home.⁴³ In the following year, 1921, the Committee for Social Policy – Regional State Protection of Children and Youth took a step further by issuing an

38 Povjerenstvo Ministarstva za socijalnu politiku za BiH, Oblasna državna zaštita dece i mladeži, 1919, 202–1600, box No. 1.

39 Richard Rieser, “Inclusive education or special educational needs: Meeting the challenge of disability discrimination in schools,” *Education, Equality and Human Rights* (Routledge, 2006), 175–97.

40 Petrović, *Nevidljivi geto*, 64

41 Alexandra Brewismand and Amber Wutich, *Lazy, Crazy, and Disgusting: Stigma and the Undoing of Global Health* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019).

42 *Narodno jedinstvo*, “Amerikanci za našu djecu” (cyr.), 14 February 1920, 1.

43 *Narodno jedinstvo*, “Proglas Društva Crvenog krsta Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca,” 18 October 1921, 3.

order that every Local Protection in BiH “should maintain a registry of deaf-mute, blind, epileptic, and crippled children, a registry of children with notorious alcoholic parents, and a registry of children without fathers or mothers.”⁴⁴

In 1922, a competition was announced for one-year studies in the Czech Republic for teachers in schools for deaf-mute children, aiming for specialised training and education for children with sensory disabilities. Considering the needs, sending five male and five female teachers was definitely insufficient,⁴⁵ but it was a concrete step in addressing this issue. The systematic training of staff specialised in helping blind, deaf-mute, and underdeveloped children was not provided for until the 1929 Teacher Training School Law.⁴⁶ Although the first steps towards institutional support for children with sensory disabilities were quite limited considering the actual needs, this initiative indicates that the significance of the relevant personnel’s specialised education was recognised.

The same principle guided the decision that the education of children with sensory impairments should be free of charge, which was confirmed by the Disability Law of 1925.⁴⁷ If they were victims of the war, children would, in the same manner, at least fall under the additional War Invalids Regulation from 1938 or under Article 4 and thus be provided with free support and training in special schools, where “general education and vocational training” was provided, along with appropriate devices (e.g., for the deaf).⁴⁸ This was a law implemented across the entire Kingdom of SCS. Although the legal framework that included BiH existed, its implementation was impeded by the absence of schools for children with disabilities during this period.

Data from 1921 and 1922 indicate that the situation in BiH was serious compared to the rest of the Kingdom of SCS. Of the total fifteen thousand blind individuals in the Kingdom, more than a third – specifically, five thousand five hundred – lived in BiH, which was a disproportionately high share.⁴⁹ The 1922 statistics further highlight the problem, recording a significant number of children with disabilities,⁵⁰ as shown in the table below. These data reflect the alarming social conditions and indicate that, at the time, BiH faced an urgent need for systematic solutions in the care of people with disabilities, particularly children.

44 Povjerenstvo Ministarstva za socijalnu politiku za BiH – Oblasna državna zaštita djece i mladeži, 1921., 1005–1999, 2; 1005–1999, box fonds 9.

45 *Narodno jedinstvo*, “Stečaj radi studija škola za gluvonemu decu,” 26, and 28 July 1922, 12.

46 *Narodno jedinstvo*, “Zakon o učiteljskim školama” (cyr.), 17 October 1929, 1.

47 *Narodno jedinstvo*, “Invalidski zakon” (cyr.), 19 December 1925, 2.

48 *Narodno jedinstvo*, “Uredba o ratnim invalidima i ostalim žrtvama rata,” 7 December 1938, 5.

49 *Narodno jedinstvo*, “Koliko ima slijepaca u našoj zemlji?,” 3 March 1922, 3.

50 Anto Barišić, “Dječija izložba u Beogradu,” *Narodno jedinstvo* 3, No. 110 (1922): 3.

Table 1: Number of Children with Disabilities in BiH in 1922

Category	Number
Blind	589
Deaf and hard of hearing	1868
Physically disabled	2637
Mentally disabled	1802

Between the two world wars, the care and education of children with sensory disabilities in BiH were primarily managed through the Institute for the Blind and Deaf-Mute Children in Zagreb and the Home for the Blind in Zemun.⁵¹ On the other hand, the Institute for Deaf-Mute and Blind Children in Ljubljana, while a vital resource, could not accommodate children from BiH due to its limited capacity.⁵² This system reflected the centralised approach to special education within the Kingdom of SCS. While the system provided some support, it often created challenges regarding accessibility and individualised care for children in BiH. The reliance on institutions located outside the region, which involved physical distance, led to a loss of contact between children and their families and loved ones, further increasing their segregation and isolation from the community. Contemporary disability studies emphasise that institutional living, combined with the dynamics of today's family life, can sometimes lead to irreversible ruptures in relationships between individuals with disabilities and their families, especially when they are placed in specialised and remote institutions.⁵³

Given the lack of specialised institutions for deaf-mute and blind children in BiH and the fact that not all of them could be sent to institutions in Zagreb or Belgrade, in some cases, attempts were made to place them in orphanages. The Orphanage in Reljevo, near Sarajevo, began accepting deaf-mute children in 1923, though it was not a specialised institution in the true sense of the word. By 1940, just before the war, it housed seventy children.⁵⁴ According to the data from 1921, "State and private orphanages accepted only complete orphans – children without both parents, without property and protection – and prioritised wartime children aged six to twelve, provided they had no defects and demonstrated good moral conduct. Children who were neglected, criminally inclined, or morally fallen, regardless of their orphan status, were sent to reformatory institutions in Croatia. It is noted that there was no specialised institution for defective children in this region."⁵⁵

51 *Narodno jedinstvo*, "Biblioteka za slijepe," 14 June 1921, 3.

52 *Narodno jedinstvo*, "Škola za gluhojeme u Ljubljani," 4 August 1921, 1; "Društvo slijepaca u Ljubljani," 22 March 1922, 1.

53 Ben Edwards, Daryl J. Higgins, and Norbert Zmijewski, "The Families Caring for a Person with a Disability Study and the social lives of carers," *Family Matters* 76 (2007): 8–17.

54 Sonja M. Dujmović, *Pod državnim okriljem. Istorija djetinjstva u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878–1941* (Sarajevo: Institut za historiju, 2021), 135.

55 Povjerenstvo Ministarstvs za socijalnu politiku za BiH – Oblasna državna zaštita djece i mladeži, 1921., 1005–1999, 2; 1005–1999, box fonds 9.

It is evident that at the state level in BiH during the 1920s, there was some awareness and a few initiatives related to the care of children with sensory disabilities. However, these measures were far from sufficient. As a result, charitable societies took on the responsibility of providing care for this population, attempting to fill the gaps in institutional support. For example, the Social Hygiene section of the Central Organisation of Charitable Societies in Croatia and Slavonia, under Dr Josip Šilović's leadership, also assisted the blind and deaf-mute.⁵⁶ Already during World War I, when this humanitarian society was first established, Dr Šilović organised initiatives to provide nutrition for children in BiH. In the new state framework, he would go on to become a significant figure in the organised efforts to ensure child welfare, including the care and support of children with sensory disabilities.⁵⁷ After World War I, voluntary work and donations continued to be the main foundations of social policy in BiH. Organising private initiatives to bring together the philanthropic activities of individuals and groups was a crucial, essential, and indispensable link in providing concrete and practical protection for children in general during that period.⁵⁸ At that time, similar humanitarian and philanthropic actions to help war victims, orphans, widows, families of deceased members, disabled soldiers, the sick, and refugees were organised in other parts of Europe as well. These actions were part of a broader practice that combined state aid and volunteerism. This "mixed economy of social welfare" involved both state intervention and the active role of civil society and volunteer organisations in assisting the most vulnerable, laying the foundation for the further development of social welfare.⁵⁹

The reasons why it was impossible to establish a systematic care system for children with sensory disabilities at the state level in BiH (such as training professional staff, opening specialised institutions for education and upbringing, etc.) included the bureaucratic obstacles hindering the implementation of ideas developed in the framework of the Kingdom of SCS's social and healthcare policies. For example, the Ministry of Social Policy Decision of 23 March 1928 stipulated that the Department for the Protection of Children and Youth in the Sarajevo Region would assume responsibility for all matters related to the general protection of children across BiH. This encompassed the care and education of "abnormal children" (the blind, deaf-mute, physically disabled, and mentally impaired), as well as their medical treatment.⁶⁰

56 Podpredsjednice ove organizacije bile su baronica Maja Turković i Marija Magdić. *Narodno jedinstvo*, "Savez dobrotvornih društava," 18 May 1920, 2.

57 Josip Šilović, *Zaštita djece*.

58 Emily Baughan, *Saving the Children: Humanitarianism, Internationalism, and Empire*, Vol. 19 (University of California Press, 2021). Katarzyna Gawliczm and Marcin Starnawski, "For child and social justice: radical approaches in education and care for young children in interwar Poland," *Early Years* 38, No. 2 (2018): 197–211.

59 Julia Moses, "Social Policy, Welfare, and Social Identities, 1900–1950," *The Oxford Handbook of European History, 1914–1945* (2014). Michele Mioni and Stefano Petrunaro, "The Social Marginals and the Mixed Economy of Welfare in Interwar Europe. A Reader of Primary Sources" (Cost Action, 2022). Jakub Rákosník, "Czech Children in Need and the Mixed Economy of Welfare in Interwar Czechoslovakia (1918–1939)," In Michele Mioni and Stefano Petrunaro, eds., *Caring for the Socially Marginalised in Interwar Europe, 1919–1939: The Mixed Economy of Welfare* (Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland, 2024), 97–118.

60 Sonja M. Dujmović, *Pod državnim okriljem*, 140.

However, based on the collected archival materials and expert literature, it is impossible to confirm that these activities were in fact implemented.

On the other hand, due to the changes in the organisation of regional committees in BiH, the state's responsibilities were "reduced" to the region and the local social care departments. Article 15 of the Decision stated that the region would be responsible for establishing institutions for the deaf-mute and blind children and their accommodation. Essentially, this meant shifting the burden from the state to smaller territorial units and communities without any real authority or sufficient financial resources. In one of them, in the Vrbas district of Banja Luka, the Department for "Abnormal" Children of the Ministry of Social Policy, led by the long-time director and founder of the Institute for the Blind, Deaf-Mute, and Disabled Children in Zemun, established its own committees for the social protection of individuals with disabilities. This Department was responsible for collecting and systematising statistical data on "abnormal" children in the Kingdom, supporting existing institutions in organising their work and professional staff, as well as initiating and leading actions to establish and develop new schools in the Kingdom wherever there was a need for them. However, as will become evident from the following analysis, the majority of the Department's activities in Banja Luka in 1938⁶¹ were focused on listing and categorising children with sensory disabilities, collecting data about them, composing applications for their placement in institutions outside of BiH, and sending these requests to the Ministry of Social Policy.⁶² This approach demonstrated a certain level of care for children with sensory disabilities. However, this practice revealed the marginalisation of children with disabilities, as their care was not a priority of the state policy. At the same time, reliance on institutions in other regions stemmed from the broader trend of economic centralisation and the consolidation of power, which also affected the social welfare system of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.⁶³

After the administrative changes brought about by the establishment of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929, the newly formed Banates included territorial areas that had previously belonged to different administrative units. Specifically, eastern Bosnia and western Serbia were merged into the Drina Banate, which had its seat in Sarajevo.⁶⁴ Due to this reorganisation, reports dealing with this territorial unit sometimes failed to clarify which part of the former administrative entity the data referred to. For instance, it was not easy to determine whether the specific data was

61 *Narodno jedinstvo*, "Uputstvo o radu i dužnostima sreskih sanitetskih referenata" (cyr.), 25. May 1938, 5.

62 Arhiv Republike Srpske, Veliki župan Vrbaske oblasti, (VŽVO), sign. 101, 1–17. The document states that there were "11,536 blind, 16,571 deaf-mute, 38,000 crippled, and 22,586 mentally handicapped children in the Kingdom. The total number of abnormal individuals in the country amounted to 88,893, while there were only 4 institutions for the deaf-mute, 2 for the blind, one for the crippled, and none for the mentally handicapped. Among all these institutions, the one in Zemun, where blind, deaf-mute, and crippled children are educated, was the largest and the only one of its kind in our country."

63 Mustafa Imamovic, "Normative Policies of the Sixth of January Dictatorship," *Zb. Prav. Fak. Sveuc. Rij.* 12 (1991): 55. Fabio Giomi and Stefano Petrunaro, "Voluntary associations, state and gender in interwar Yugoslavia. An introduction," *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* 26, No. 1 (2019): 1–18.

64 Husref Tahirović, "Medical Biography of Isak Samokovlija: The Famous Bosnian-Herzegovinian Writer," *Acta Medica Academica* 51, No. 2 (2022): 147.

related to the territory of BiH or Serbia, as the reports referred to the united area of the Drina Banate. This created difficulties in understanding the specific statistical data, as the boundaries between the two former units were no longer clearly defined.

For example, according to the 1935 records of the administration of the Drina Banate, one child from this administrative unit was placed in the King Alexander Blind Home in Belgrade, six were in the blind institution in Zemun, and twenty-six children were residing in the institutions for the deaf in Zemun, Belgrade, and Zagreb.⁶⁵ However, it is impossible to determine the exact number of children from BiH on this basis. The same applies to the data from 1937, which refers to thirty-one children in total.⁶⁶ The latest official data regarding the number of children with sensory disabilities indicate that in 1930, there were one hundred and ninety-four blind, six hundred and four deaf-mute, and nine hundred and eighty-nine physically disabled children of school age.⁶⁷ The petition from the Members of the Parliament to the ban of the Drina Banate indicates that there were as many as up to three thousand blind children of school age in BiH, of which only a small number were accommodated in the Invalids' Home in Zemun, while "the others were left to their tragic fate".⁶⁸ When comparing the figures from the abovementioned years, a significant disparity becomes apparent between the number of children with sensory disabilities in BiH and their access to care in specialised institutions. This suggests no placement was available for them, either within their home country or beyond. One of the official reports from 1930 also documents that while there were 1,500 children with sensory disabilities in the Drina Banate, only 370 of them attended school, which is merely one-third of the total. Inadequate infrastructure and institutional support for children with disabilities reflect the broader societal conditions that were not attuned to their needs. However, when evaluating this situation, it is crucial to consider the sociocultural, economic, and other limitations of the time, which influenced the approach to and the organisation of care for people with disabilities.

All the above – along with the fact that it was only in 1929 that the Law on Public Schools in BiH (which applied to the entire Kingdom) introduced the formal obligation to organise special education for children with sensory disabilities – highlights significant institutional and systemic delays. Although this law allocated funding for specialised institutions and announced the development of a specific work plan tailored to their needs, these measures were insufficient compared to the progress made in other states in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia).⁶⁹

The development of a systematic network of institutions for the education and care of children with sensory disabilities in BiH began after World War II, during the

65 *Narodno jedinstvo*, "Socijalna politika i zdravlje," 2 February 1935, 4.

66 *Narodno jedinstvo*, "Iz ekspozee načelnika Odeljenja za socijalnu politiku i nar. zdravlje" (cyr.), 3 March 1937, 3.

67 *Narodno jedinstvo*, "Izveštaj o radu Banskog vijeća Drinske banovine" (cyr.), 11 March 1931, 4.

68 From the report by Ante Tadić and Stjepan Maksimović, district councillors for the city and district of Tuzla. *Narodno jedinstvo*, "Report on the work of the district council of the Drina Banovina from 19 November to 18 December, 1930, regarding the proposal for the provincial budget for 1931/1932" (stenographic notes), 14 March 1931.

69 *Narodno jedinstvo*, "Zakon o narodnim školama" (cyr.), 14 December 1929, 1.

period of socialist Yugoslavia, despite the legislative framework of the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia, which had already addressed the care and education of such children, including those from BiH. Thus, it can be concluded that the interwar period marked an essential step in raising awareness of the need to care for this vulnerable social category. However, bureaucratic obstacles, limited economic resources, political instability, and the cultural and social circumstances of the time, coupled with the inevitable influence of the impending World War II, hindered the realisation of systematic and comprehensive support. Consequently, the interwar period was characterised by conceptual advancements but also a lack of concrete institutional solutions that would secure an appropriate place for children with sensory disabilities in the educational and social system of BiH.

Conclusion

The interwar period in BiH marks the beginning of recognising the needs of children with sensory disabilities despite the absence of a developed institutional framework for their care and education. In the context characterised by political instability, economic challenges, and cultural barriers to understanding disability, systematic support was virtually non-existent. However, the early initiatives and volunteer efforts that often relied on family support – particularly by women – set the stage for the eventual development of institutional care. Although the challenges were considerable, this period played a crucial role in establishing the foundations for the future growth of systems for protecting and educating children with sensory disabilities. Compared to other parts of the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia, where specialised institutions for children with disabilities had already been set up, BiH developed its system of care and education at a much slower pace. Nevertheless, after World War II, conditions were established for further progress, with the interwar period remaining a pivotal moment in the development of care systems for children with sensory disabilities in BiH.

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Jelena Seferović and Sonja Dujmović

IZZIVI IN DOSEŽKI PRI VARSTVU IN VZGOJI OTROK S SENZORIČNIMI OKVARAMI V BOSNI IN HERCEGOVINI (OD KONCA 19. STOLETJA DO LETA 1941)

POVZETEK

Članek obravnava prve poskuse vzpostavitve sistemov varstva in vzgoje otrok s senzoričnimi okvarami v BiH v medvojnem obdobju. Čeprav se je formalni institucionalni okvir za takšno oskrbo vzpostavil šele po drugi svetovni vojni, so se pobude za podporo tem otrokom pojavile že v dvajsetih in tridesetih letih 20. stoletja. Zaradi pomanjkanja strokovnega znanja in težavnih ekonomskih razmer so bile za oskrbo pogosto odgovorne družine, zlasti ženske, država pa jim je zagotavljala le omejeno podporo. Zaradi družbenih izzivov, vključno s splošno revščino in posledicami vojne, so bile potrebe invalidnih otrok še dodatno odrinjene na rob. Kljub tem težavam je bil v medvojnem obdobju dosežen določen napredek z uvedbo vladnih razprav in socialnih pobud, namenjenih reševanju tega vprašanja. Čeprav ta prizadevanja niso bila v celoti uresničena, so pomenila prve korake k institucionalizaciji podpore za otroke s senzoričnimi okvarami. Raziskava osvetljuje tudi regionalne razlike znotraj nekdanje Kraljevine SHS in ugotavlja, da je BiH pri ustanavljanju specializiranih ustanov zaostajala za drugimi regijami, kot sta Hrvaška in Srbija. Zato so bili številni otroci iz BiH nameščeni v ustanove v drugih delih kraljevine, kar jih je še bolj oddaljilo od njihovih skupnosti. Čeprav je bil obseg teh začetnih korakov omejen, so postavili temelje za prihodnji napredek na področju varstva in vzgoje otrok s senzoričnimi okvarami v BiH.