

# Management and Supervision in Croatian School Education in the Historical Context and Continuity

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## Abstract

*The authors examined the phenomenon of management and supervision in Croatian public school education between the enactment of the General School Order in 1774 and the beginning of the Second World War. The research possesses all the characteristics of longitudinal research, since it analyses the phenomenon of management and supervision in Croatian school education in the period of nearly two centuries (171 years). The research is based on archival and published material; school acts and subacts; official textbooks of pedagogy and relevant literature. School management and supervision were analysed in different territorial-political-social circumstances within the Austrian Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. External and internal forms of management have been identified: administrative bodies, administrative school bodies and administrative bodies in schools. Administrative bodies have been hierarchically organized from state (country) to municipal or school bodies. School supervision has also been organized on a territorial-hierarchical principle from state to school supervision. According to the content/area, administrative-financial-material, professional-pedagogical and religious forms of supervision have been determined. The greatest interest in school practice was aroused by municipal school boards and local school supervisors. School management has all the characteristics of a collegial body, and school supervision of an individual independent body. In school research projects, the area of school management and supervision has not been particularly frequent. At the same time, school has been in constant modernization and innovation. Modern research also indicates that school management and supervision are a significant development factor in school transformation and modernization. Contemporary research rarely relies on historical experiences in this area, nor is there a critical analysis of the stated phenomenon. In*

*order to more easily understand the present and trace the future, it is necessary to know the past with all the desirable and undesirable (limiting) characteristics.*

**Key words:** *external and internal management; external and internal supervision; professional-pedagogical administrative-material and religious supervision.*

## Introduction

School education is socially conditioned and socially determined. At a certain moment of social development, the necessary and needed preconditions for the organization of public school education were created. The most significant prerequisite for organizing public schooling was the invention of writing. The invention of the script opened up the possibility of organizing public vocational education for the needs of a particular society. School education is not only socially conditioned but also socially determined. Every society opens those schools that will meet the specific needs of a particular society (Munjiza, 2007).

It is possible to talk about the first forms of education in Croatia from the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The first schools in Croatia were connected with the church orders, primarily with the Benedictine church order. Several authors (Srkulj, 1911; Salzer, 1958; Franković, 1958; Kujundžić, 1996; Munjiza, 2006; 2007) connect the beginning of church education in Croatia with Prince Trpimir (850 – 864), his grant from 852 and Gottschalk Sakcinski.

In addition to the internal character with the aim of preparing the future priestly staff, these schools also had an external character and were therefore public. Apart from the new priestly staff, they also trained civil servants. Although church schools also had an external character, in the new economic circumstances they could not prepare staff for the needs of the new civil society. For this reason, the new civil society (craftsmen, merchants) established a new system of city schools (often private) for their needs.

In the newly established city schools, in addition to humanistic education, education from the real area was also introduced. According to Kirin (1925), public city schools can be traced back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. There are reliable data on a city public school that was operating in Dubrovnik since the 14<sup>th</sup> century (1333) (Adamović, 1885). Both of these types of schools, church and city, did not take on a more massive character or obligation, and were accessible to privileged social strata. The common characteristic of the first church and city schools was their distinct difference. They did not have a single curriculum, nor external and internal organizations. Each generally worked according to its own organizational model, experiential didactic-methodological organization and with extremely different teaching contents. Just as an illustration, we state that the Franciscans in Brod on Sava in their monastery taught people without a prescribed curriculum, but according to their own knowledge and instincts in reading, writing, arithmetic, prayers and partly Latin (Cuvaj, 1910a)<sup>1</sup>

It was not possible to talk about the elements of general organized management and supervision in the described conditions. In a way it is possible to talk about certain

<sup>1</sup> The first year indicates the year of publication, the second number the issue number, and the third if there is a page number of the citation.

elements of management and supervision through the institutions of monastery guardians and secular administrators for each individual school.

It was possible to talk about compulsory and thus mass education only when the state took over the organization of state public school education, which in the conditions of Croatia can be traced to the enlightenment ideas of the Empress Maria Theresa (1740–1780). Maria Theresa encouraged the opening of state public schools and in 1764 issued an order to open a public elementary school at the seat of each parish or company<sup>2</sup>. In the mentioned order, she also stated the reasons for opening schools “for the repair of that still cruel Krajina regiment and for the education of non-commissioned officers for military service” (Martinović, 1912, p. 81). From the above, it is evident that schools were opened for the common people as well and that they had a mass and semi-compulsory character<sup>3</sup>. After the aforementioned order of Empress Maria Theresa, the process of opening trivial schools began<sup>4</sup>. Although these schools were opened by the state, municipalities also participated in their subsistence and teachers’ salaries. The state usually provided teachers with an annual salary, and the municipality provided material needs: an apartment, firewood and a garden (Munjiza, 1985). In parallel with the opening of public schools, the state sought to provide a *management and supervisory apparatus*.

As school education was in its infancy, there were not enough professional teachers or institutions for their professional training<sup>5</sup>. For the teacher profession, it was enough to know how to read, write, and to know elementary arithmetic. Trivial schools were mostly one-grade, which means that only one teacher worked in them. For the above reasons, even in these initial conditions of public education, it was not possible to talk about more serious and systematic management and supervision (Munjiza, 2002a).

The first function of school management and supervision of the work of teachers and schools was performed by local priests, who at that time were much more educated than teachers. Priests had school coffers at their disposition from which they paid teachers and maintained schools. There were a lot of teachers who were not thrilled with this function, since it was an extra job that took them a lot of time. Priests were also entrusted with the professional supervision of the work of teachers. They had the task of controlling the work of teachers and informing the company or higher administration about their findings. Such is an illustrative observation of the local priest Ivo Radinović (1761– 1788) from Velika Kopanica about the work of the local teacher Francisko Kluch (1764– 1775). It is in fact a lawsuit filed by the said priest about the negligent work of the local teacher addressed to the general administration of the Brod Regiment. It reads in the official form:

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<sup>2</sup> In the territorial organization, the Military frontier was divided into regiments and companies. The companies often coincided territorially with the church parishes.

<sup>3</sup> These schools were in German, so they could only be attended by those who knew German and were therefore not fully compulsory.

<sup>4</sup> Trivial schools were primary, elementary. As a rule, they lasted for two years. They taught reading, writing, arithmetic and religion.

<sup>5</sup> The first teachers were mostly foreigners, senior officers and non-commissioned officers. The first local teachers were trained through imitation. They observed the work of more experienced teachers and later imitated them.

I have warned and rebuked him many times, that he teaches children in Cristian doctrine, as in books, and he teaches them more in his own line than according to the books, they have to keep his garden, geese, ducks, chickens and turkeys, and so on, they linger more on the said work than they learn, he finds himself subordinates (Martinović, 1912, pp. 86-87).

It is evident from the said lawsuit that:

1. the local priest supervised the work of the teacher;
2. the supervision was continuous (*I have warned and rebuked him many times*),
3. the supervision was unannounced (*I come secretly*);
4. the pupils regularly performed work for the teachers (*finds himself subordinates*),
5. there were textbooks in those primary schools as well (*don't teach them from books*);
6. the priest, after successive admonitions of the supervised teacher, sued the teacher with the regimental administration.

This official lawsuit is a significant document on the initial supervision of teachers by priests on the method of the supervision and measures taken (Grginčević, 1885; Martinović, 1912). Systematic school management and supervision of teachers can be monitored continuously since the introduction of the comprehensive school system throughout the Austrian Empire, developed and made public by Ivan Ignjat Felbiger (1724–1788) in 1774, known as the *General School Order*<sup>6</sup>. According to him, all schools in the Austrian Empire were divided into: trivial, main and normal<sup>7</sup>. The formation of a comprehensive state school system, i.e. the introduction of schools with more teachers created the preconditions for the introduction of systematic supervision and management of the work of schools and teachers (Cuvaj, 1910).

Given the different territorial-political-social circumstances, the issue of management and supervision of the work of the school system and schools is presented within the following periods:

1. Management and supervision of school education and schools during the Austrian Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, from the General School Order in 1774 until the end of the First World War and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy;
2. Management and supervision of school education and schools between the two world wars in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

*Management* is defined as running a business, giving direction, referring, and leading towards a specific goal with predetermined and set expectations. Management is usually

<sup>6</sup> The full original title reads *Allgemeine Schulordnung für die deutschen Normal-Haupt- und Trivialschulen in sämmtlichen kais. Königl Erbländeren*.

<sup>7</sup> Trivial schools were elementary and typically two-grade schools with one teacher. Main schools were three-grade schools, had three teachers and were located in the cities. Normal schools were four-grade schools. They were located in the headquarters of regiments. Four teachers worked in them and new teachers were trained in them. In all schools, in addition to teachers, religion teachers worked as well. Cuvaj (2010) also mentions city schools.

associated with a collegial body, and can be realized as administrative, professional-pedagogic and religious management.

*Supervision* is defined as careful control of someone or something, in order to offer better solutions based on insights (possible limitations). If supervision or control is not in the service of progress, then it is unnecessary and undesirable and as such loses its meaning (Anić, 1998; Encyclopedic dictionary of pedagogy, 1963; Pedagogical encyclopedia, 1989). According to the essential characteristics, supervision is individual and is linked to individuals. As for the character, it may also be external and internal; administrative-financial, professional-pedagogical and religious.

After the Second World War, pedagogues and school practice made a turn in relation to the achieved state and sought new solutions within self-governing socialism. Self-management solutions were also being sought in the area of school management, leadership and supervision. Special emphasis was placed on the area of *pupil self-government*, which was not the case in the previous period. In the democratic Republic of Croatia, the system of management and supervision has certain similarities with that before the Second World War. A county system with local administration was introduced, from which the appropriate administrative bodies were formed, as well as school administration and supervision bodies.

Even in modern conditions, the school practice before the Second World War, its achievements and limitations are not questioned. In rare papers, the discussion comes down to the relationship of school boards and the election of principals and the authority of principals in new social relationships. Sometimes the overall debate seems to boil down to the formation of such school boards that would ensure the election of designated principals. At the same time, school education is in permanent change; therefore, we should know the past in order to better understand the present and plan for the future, and not to make the same mistake repeatedly, nor introduce as new what has long been known and recognized.

## **Methods**

### ***Research problem and research questions***

This research is from the field of national history and school education, and the narrower subject of the research is the management and supervision in Croatian school education and in Croatian school in the historical context and continuity. The forms and contents of school management and school supervision from the establishment of public state education to the beginning of the Second World War are investigated. If we connect the establishment of the state public education with the General School Order from 1774, then it is a period of almost two centuries (171 years).

In this period, Croatia was in various state-political associations and state-social systems. Within different socio-political associations, different approaches to the phenomena of school management are expected. The following research questions are in line with this framework:

1. Is there and what is the connection between the territorial-political structure and organizational forms of school management and supervision?
2. What external and internal forms of school management and supervision can be observed in the analysed period?
3. In what way was content/thematic management and supervision organized in Croatian school education?
4. Can we talk about the progress of Croatian school education as a consequence of school management and supervision?

### **Sources, methods, procedures and instruments**

This research is based solely on the analysis of pedagogical documentation. The complete used and analysed pedagogical documentation can be classified as: original archival material, published documents, official pedagogy textbooks and other references.

Elementary school *Ivan Filipović* from Velika Kapanica (Brod-Posavina County) was founded in 1764 during the reign of Empress Maria Theresa. Part of the documentation was found in the school archives, and part in the Historical Archives in Slavonski Brod, where its documentation is also stored.

Between 1910 and 1913, Cuvaj published *The material for the history of education in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia from the earliest times to the present day* in 11 volumes (second amended and modified edition). In addition to a series of entries on school management and supervision, the Material contains a large number of original documents.

*The material for the history of Dubrovnik pedagogy*, with elements of the history of school education, was published by Adamović in 1885, in which data on the beginning of the work of city schools were found.

Martinović's (1912) *Historical sketches on the education of Brod Regiment and Brod surroundings* also include elements of the published material. Similarly to Cuvaj (1910), Martinović (1912) analyses and describes the school education of that time, but he also encloses a number of original documents.

In the *Official gazette*, which began publishing in 1883, official implementing documents were published, such as: orders, circulars, disciplinary orders, statutes, regulations, instructions, ordinances, appointments, dismissals, as well as statistical yearbooks, and as such, represent a valuable source of data.

In this research, published school acts also have the character of published material. Acts of school education regulate the general work of school system and schools, and thus the area of school management and supervision, to which they usually dedicate one or more chapters. For this paper, the following were analysed: *General School Order 1774*, five regulations published in school education in the *Collection of laws and orders for the Military Frontier Area from 1871*<sup>8</sup>. For the territory of civil Croatia, in 1874, the

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<sup>8</sup> In the *Collection of Acts and Orders*, the following school regulations with the force of law were published: Regulation on teaching in public classrooms of the Military Frontier; Regulation on the education of teachers for public classrooms of the Military Frontier; Regulation on the structure of legal relations of teachers in public classrooms of the Military Frontier; Regulations on the supervision of classrooms of the Military Frontier, and the Learning basis of general public classrooms.

*Act on the Organization of Public Schools and Preparations for Public Teachers in the Triune Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia* came into force.

After the Military Frontier was integrated into the territorial county system of Croatia in 1886, a new unified school act was passed, the *Act on the Regulation of Public Teaching and Teacher Education in the Triune Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia*. In 1929, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia passed the school *Act on Public Schools in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia*.

The first teacher training school in Croatia started operating in 1849 and since then it has been possible to monitor and analyse published pedagogy textbooks (Munjiza, 2002b). For this paper, the following nine pedagogy textbooks were analysed (\*): *Znanost othranjivanja* (1849); *Obuka malenih ili katechetika* (1850); *Gojitba i obća učba* (1867); *Pedagogija-Uzgojoslovje* (1882); *Pedagogika ili uzgojoslovje* (1889); *Nauka o gojencu i odgoji* (1906); *Povijest pedagogije* (1884); *Povijest pedagogike* (1893) and *Povijest uzgoja i nauka o uzgoju* (1904). Only in the *History of Pedagogy* (Štiglic, 1893) did we find certain data on school supervision.

Abundant relevant literature in this field was also analysed, especially the papers published in the then pedagogical periodicals<sup>9</sup> (Munjiza, 1982; 2002a; 2003). The data collected by the descriptive method were analysed, explained, described and classified according to their characteristics into certain content categories. The non-experimental causal method established the connection between the territorial-political-social structure and the form and content of school management and supervision.

As school education and school are in permanent transformation, it is desirable to know past practices and experiences, in order to better understand the present and plan for the future, so as not to make the same or similar mistakes and omissions, i.e. to learn from history.

## **Management and supervision in Croatian school education in the historical context and continuity**

### ***Management and supervision in Croatian education in the Austrian Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy***

#### **Management and supervision in Croatian school education from the General School Order in 1774 to the introduction of compulsory schooling in 1874 (1871)**

With the initiative and commitment of Empress Maria Theresa, schools were opened in the area of the great Austrian Empire, which were diverse according to their essential characteristics: duration, curricula, didactic-methodological orientation. For these reasons, Empress Maria Theresa, as part of her enlightenment rule, took the necessary measures to implement a comprehensive school reform.

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The acts on political and legal structure were also published in the same Collection: Order for cities in c. kr. Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier and the Order for municipalities c. kr. Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier.

<sup>9</sup> The largest number of articles was found in Napredak. Napredak is our oldest pedagogical journal, which has been published continuously since 1859. Full bibliographic data can be found at the end of References section.

The new school reform was prepared by Ivan Ignjat Felbiger, who announced it publicly in 1774 under the title *General School Order*. According to the said *General School Order*, the new school system consisted of: trivial, main and normal schools (the differences between them were described in the previous text). Special curricula were prescribed for each of these schools. The mentioned school system as well as their curricula were valid on the territory of the entire Austrian Empire, thus fulfilling the requirement of unification of the school system.

In addition to the above *General School Order*, Felbiger also issued *Methodenbuch*. This manual listed the didactic-methodical teaching methods, the disciplinary order for students, and also prescribed the forms and contents of school management and supervision.

Main and normal schools were given the position of principal<sup>10</sup>. The principal was elected from among the teachers. He normally worked in the classroom, but on top of that, he still managed the schools and supervised the work of other teachers. As trivial schools had grown over time into two-grade, three-grade and four-grade<sup>11</sup> schools, the position of school principal with the same rights and obligations opens up in them as well.

School education had two forms of supervision: *external* and *internal*. External supervision was performed by school senior teachers of main and normal schools as school supervisors. In addition to the service of teachers in their schools, they supervised the work of all schools in their area in the professional-didactic field, earning an extra award. In order to make the evaluation of schools as high quality and as uniform as possible, *observation protocols* were listed in the *Methodenbuch*. According to these protocols, each supervisory review was to include:

1. The condition of the school building and equipment;
  2. Whether the prescribed teaching material was taught, and whether the prescribed textbooks were used;
  3. Whether young people attended school diligently, whether there was a problem with that and what its nature was;
  4. Whether the teachers were diligently preparing for classes and whether they were performing their other duties properly
- (Cuvaj, 1910, pp. 513-515).

The supervisors wrote their observations about the school inspection in the form of a yearbook, writing them in special books according to the school years, such as the *Book of Observed Defects and Deficiencies of a Pedagogical-Didactic Nature*. They also submitted their observations in the form of reports to the administrative authorities (Sačer, 1901).

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<sup>10</sup> As a rule, three teachers worked in the main schools, and four teachers in the normal schools.

<sup>11</sup> In a one-grade school, one teacher worked with all the pupils, in a two-grade school there were two teachers, and in a three-grade and four-grade schools there were three or four teachers.



School supervisors were required to attend annual school exams. Upon the completion of the exam, school supervisors were able to nominate the school, teachers and pupils for awards and recognitions. The concept of *honorary* and *shameful* desks is also connected with the supervision of schools. Honorary desks were in the first row in the classroom and the best pupils sat at them. The shameful desks<sup>12</sup> were in the last row and the worst pupils sat at them.

Administrative and economic supervision over the work of schools was carried out by administrative officers and non-commissioned officers. Religious supervision was exercised by priests selected by the ordinariate (Grginčević, 1885). Internal supervision in their school was performed by principals who could also take disciplinary action in accordance with the regulations of the time.

School management had a collegial character. It was entrusted to the school committees, which were mostly located in the regimental headquarters and the seats of parishes. *School committees* usually consisted of:

- 2-3 representatives of the competent political authority,
- a representative of the ordinariate of a certain religious community<sup>13</sup>,
- the principal of a main or normal school,
- notary.

It is evident from the structure that there were representatives of the authorities, the church and the school in the school committees. The school commissions/committees were responsible for the following tasks:

1. issuing decrees on the appointment and transfer of teachers,
2. reviewing the reports of school supervisors and taking appropriate measures,
3. appointment of school supervisors,
4. management of school foundations and management of school order.

The school principals managed the school internally within the prescribed conditions: they took care of the appearance of the school building, teaching materials, furniture, and textbooks. It is evident from the above that the state provided for the new school system external and internal forms of management and supervision in the professional-pedagogical, administrative and religious field (Grginčević, 1885).

The mentioned school system did not provide either mass or compulsory school education. A new quality in Croatian school education occurred with the opening of public elementary schools in 1830. *Public elementary schools* were opened in all settlements and this became mass, which was the penultimate step in the introduction of compulsory school education. With the introduction of public elementary schools, the school system in Croatia became dual. On the one hand, there were *state schools*, and on the other hand, *municipal schools*, which would be reflected in the field of school management and supervision.

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<sup>12</sup> At the time of my primary schooling, these desks were still called *donkey desks*.

<sup>13</sup> Public elementary schools were municipal in terms of their foundation, Croatian was the language of instruction, and they were two-grade schools in terms of duration.

The administration of schools was vertically hierarchically organised through: the State School Commission, regimental (county) school commissions, municipal commands, i.e. councils. The following areas were under the jurisdiction of school commissions.

The State School Commission adopted curricula, their amendments, taking into account comments from the practice through the institutions of school supervisors. The regimental and county school commissions, among other things, organized permanent forms of professional development of teachers and in that way heard the voice of school practice (Munjiza, 2005). The same organizational model was valid when publishing school textbooks. The State School Commission published a public call, and county and regimental commissions operationalized it and invited teachers from their area to submit manuscripts. It was not uncommon for teacher practitioners to hand in their manuscripts.

The State School Commission took care of the material and financial condition of school education, and the county and regimental commissions operationalized it. The primary material and financial care of the elementary public schools was taken over by the respective municipalities and thus the management and supervision function. The status of principal as a manager did not undergo significant changes.

The position of a municipal or local supervisor was introduced into school supervision, which would provoke a great deal of discussion among school practitioners (which will be written about later)<sup>14</sup>.

## **Management and supervision in Croatian school education after the introduction of compulsory schooling**

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, significant political-territorial changes took place in the Austrian Empire. The vast Austrian Empire was reorganized into the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy by an Austro-Hungarian settlement. According to the settlement, Croatia and Slavonia came under Hungarian jurisdiction. Dalmatia and Istria remained under the direct rule of Austria, separate from Croatia. In 1868, Croatia concluded a special agreement with Hungary, according to which it gained independence in the judiciary, administration and education, which created the preconditions for the independent organization of school education (Franković, 1958).

Almost at the same time, from 1871, the process of demilitarization of the Military Frontier began, which was completed in 1886, when the area of Military Frontier integrated into Croatian county system. In the process of demilitarization of the Military Frontier, in 1871, a number of school regulations were passed with the force of law introducing compulsory schooling, regulating school education and even the area of management and supervision. Administrative and supervisory structure of school education in the area of Military Frontier is shown in Figure 1.

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<sup>14</sup> Martinović (1912) states that there were 45 local school supervisors in the Brod Regiment, i.e. district. They were all military men from a freighter to an administrative lieutenant, except for one merchant.

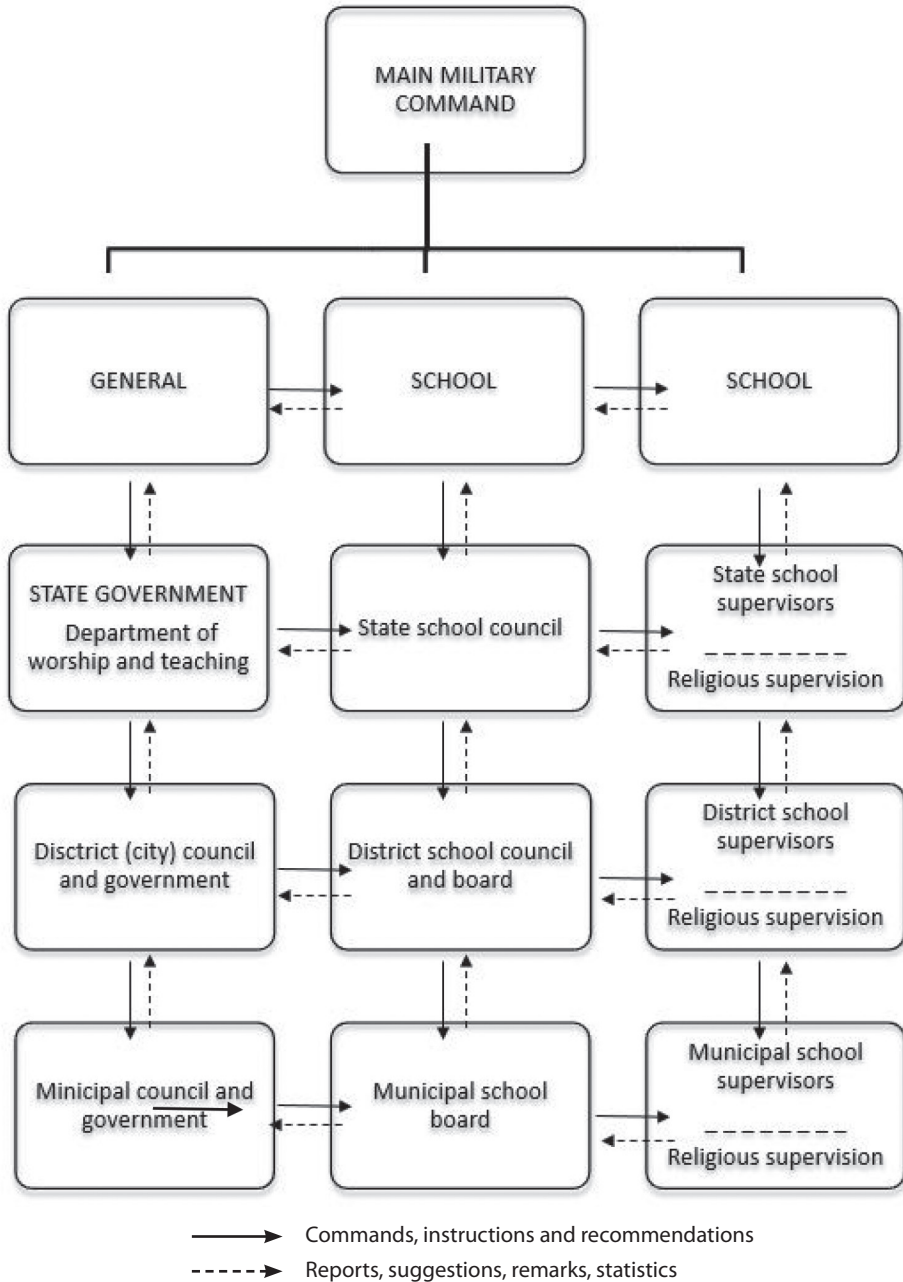


Figure 1. Management and supervision in the education of the Military Frontier in 1871

The supreme administration and supervision of school education in the Military Frontier area was performed by the Main Military Command in Zagreb. Administration and supervision were vertically hierarchically organized from state (country) to municipal school councils. *The State School Council appointed the main command and consisted of:*

- a representative of the office for administration, teaching and worship,
- a representative of the state school supervisors,
- representatives of the existing religious communities,
- one to three teachers, representatives of city, secondary and public schools.

It is evident from the composition of the State School Council that it included representatives of the political administration, religious communities, school theorists, but also representatives of school practice, which ensured its legality and legitimacy (*Zbirka zakonah i naredbah...*, 1871). The State School Council took care of the overall state of education. It supervised the work of the lower school governing bodies. It received reports, suggestions and remarks from them. The State School Council also received direct information on the state of school education from the state school supervisors. It submitted the adopted and synthesized reports to the Main Military Command for consideration, after which it would adopt the final curricula, prescribe the necessary textbooks, prescribe implementing regulations all in order to improve the situation in school education. The management system set up in this way ensured fast and efficient two-way communication, which was a basic precondition for fast and efficient activity.

In the headquarters of the districts (and in cities that were not districts), there were district (city) school councils. *District school councils consisted of:*

- a representative of the city (regimental) administration,
- the supervisor of district schools,
- a representative of religious communities, possibly minorities,
- two teachers elected at the district teachers' assembly,
- four to six representatives of the city (regiment),
- principals of all other schools (they could attend the sessions, but without the right to vote).

The composition of the county school councils was the same as that of the State School Council and provided administrative, professional and religious administration and supervision in its area (*Zbirka zakonah i naredbah...*, 1871). *The County School Council* took overall care of the state of school education in its area, and in particular, of the state of school buildings, teaching materials, furniture and text books. Also, care was taken of regular pupil attendance and taking appropriate measures; interpersonal relations between teachers, pupils and parents and, if necessary, taking appropriate measures: participation in the process of admission and promotion of teachers; convening district teachers' assemblies; supervising the work of local school councils and regularly reporting to the State School Council on the state of school education in its area. Municipalities elected their own school councils. *Municipal school councils* consisted of:

- a representative of the political-administrative authority, as a rule the mayor, local/parish catechist,

- one or two teachers,
- two members of the municipal council,
- patron of the school, if the school had one.

The structure of the local school council was analogous to the previous ones. The local school council managed the schools in its jurisdiction and took overall care of the material and financial operations of the school, participated in the process of teacher selection, discussed the situation in schools and interpersonal relations, sent reports to the county school councils. The term of all members of school councils was three years and was renewable. Refusal to take over the function of a member of school councils was punishable by fine (*Zbirka zakonah i naredbah...*, 1871).

School supervisors were appointed according to the same hierarchical principle. The State School Council appointed the provincial and district school supervisors, as a rule, the most professional and eminent teachers in its area. Municipal supervisors were appointed by the local school council, which was often a major source of problems due to their incompetence.

Ordinarily, *school supervisors* performed professional and pedagogical supervision. State school supervisors toured schools according to an annual schedule or by invitation. District school supervisors were required to visit each school at least once during the school year. Local school supervisors visited the school frequently, sometimes without notice, creating strained relationships between local school supervisors and teachers. District school supervisors were required to attend the final annual exams and had the opportunity to nominate and reward schools, teachers and pupils.

After the inspection, the district and state school supervisors wrote a report on the inspection, the situation, the observed shortcomings and the proposal of measures that they submitted to the school and the administrative authorities in charge. The district administrative body in charge synthesized the reports of the supervisors from its area and sent them to the State School Council.

The school regulations from 1871 abolished all previous types of schools in the area of the Military Frontier and formed a single four-grade general elementary public school<sup>15</sup>. Several administrative and school regulations provided for an administrative and supervisory system vertically organized from the state to the municipal, and in terms of content, from administrative, professional-pedagogic to religious. School supervision, especially in the institution of state and district school supervisors, became fully professional, organized, systematic and in many elements efficient, with the exception of local school supervisors.

The School Act of 1874 introduced a compulsory four-grade elementary school in civil Croatia and Slavonia<sup>16</sup>. As the demilitarization of the Military Frontier was

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<sup>15</sup> The four-grade elementary school in practice could last six years. The act provided for the possibility of a preparatory grade and two years of fourth grade.

<sup>16</sup> This school act also abolished all previous types of schools and introduced a single general elementary school. It could last five years in practice because the law allowed two years of fourth grade.

completed in 1886 and its territory included in the county system of Croatia, there were two school acts in the same area. Therefore, in 1888, a single school act was passed for the entire territory of Croatia. The two mentioned school acts from 1874 and 1888 are in many ways similar so their analysis in the field of school management and supervision will be conducted in a unique way. Only the specifics will be singled out and emphasized. Management and supervision in school education according to these school acts is shown in Figure 2.

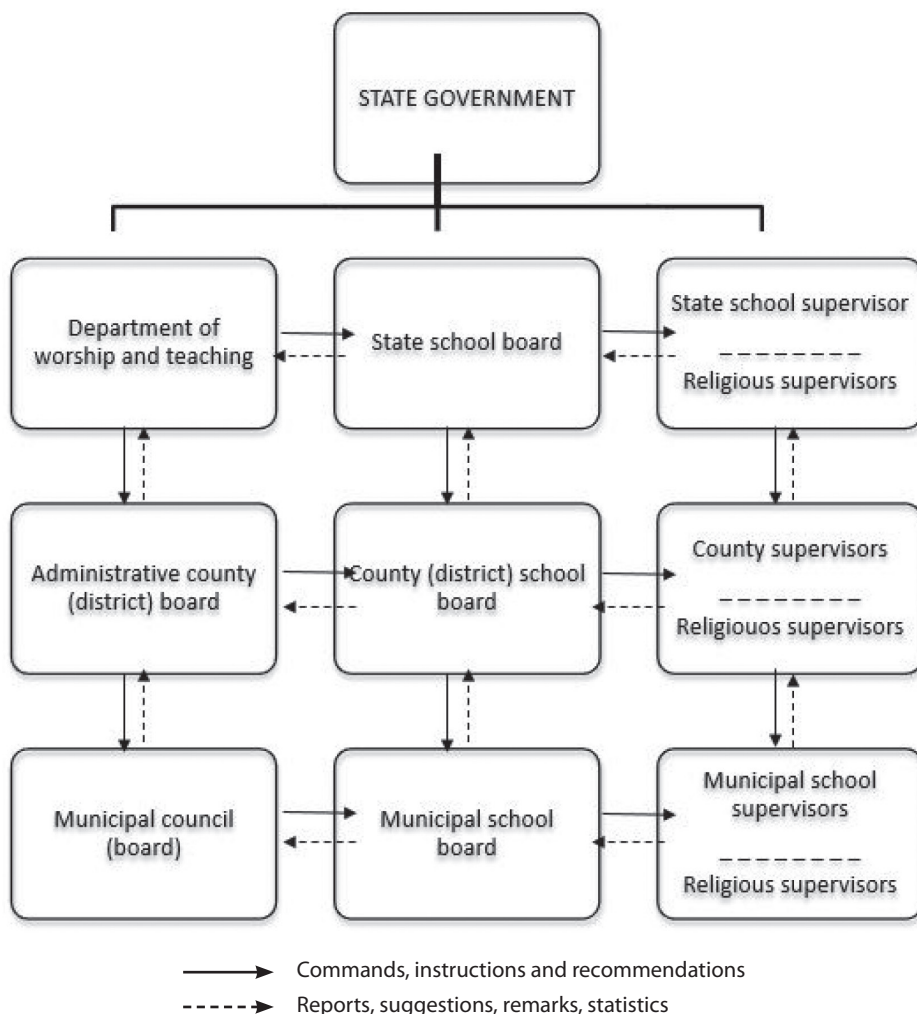


Figure 2. School management and supervision according to school acts from 1874 and 1888

Management and supervision of schools was organized on the principle of territorial-political structure of the state. In the territorial organization, there were the following areas: state, county, district (city) and municipality. Each of these organizational units

had an organized general administration and a school administration separately. Administrations of different levels appointed school supervisors. In the vertical-hierarchical organization, there were three levels of school boards: *state, county* and *municipal*. The *State School Board* consisted of:

- professional government bodies,
- one representative of each recognized religion,
- six elementary teachers and other school experts appointed by the State government.

According to the Act from 1874 and 1888, the state school administration was performed by the State government, i.e. by its expert constituent, the Department of Worship and Teaching. The mandate of the members of the State School Board lasted for three years and was renewable.

The State government, i.e. the Department of Worship and Teaching, took care of the overall state and progress of school education in the country, and in particular of:

- publishing scientific foundations, their amendments,
- prescribing and printing school textbooks and other additional literature,
- final appointment and dismissal of teachers,
- conducting supreme supervision over the work of all schools,
- resolving all cases in administrative procedures,
- preparation and publication of statistical yearbooks on school education.

It received information on the state of school education from the lower county school boards and supervisors (School Education Act, 1874; 1888). Each county had its own county school board that took care of the school education in its area, managed and supervised it. The members of the County School Board (Act, 1874) were:

- county school supervisor,
- representatives of different religions who met the prescribed conditions,
- two teachers elected at the county teachers' assembly,
- six member of the county government.

The Act of 1888 supplemented the structure of the county school board with a grand prefect or his deputy as president, a competent physician and an engineer<sup>17</sup> (Act, 1888). According to their composition, the county school boards provided professional-pedagogical, administrative, religious and healthcare authority. Cities that were not county centres could appoint a city (county) school board according to the same criteria, which was responsible for its area in all matters.

County and city (district) school boards took overall material and financial care for the school education in their area: construction of new school space, adaptation and expansion of the existing ones, procurement of school supplies and furniture, as well

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<sup>17</sup> A physician was introduced to county school boards due to the medical care of the pupils' health and the hygienic conditions of school premises. An engineer was introduced due to the construction and extension of school space.

as the necessary textbooks and supporting literature for pupils. They discussed the orderly departure of pupils to school and took the necessary measures.

County school board reviewed financial plans and reports of the municipal school boards and finally adopted or approved them. In disciplinary procedures, it acted as a second instance body. It submitted regular reports to the county administration and the State School Board. It organized professional development of teachers through county and district teachers' assemblies (Munjiza, 1982; 2004a; 2005). All proposals and remarks of a professional, administrative or material nature were forwarded to the county administration and the State Government, i.e. the Department of Worship and Teaching (Act, 1874; 1888). Each municipality had its own municipal school board. The members of the *municipal school board* were:

- a representative of the municipality, the mayor or his deputy,
- pastor of the majority religion, may also have been of the minority if he had at least 20 pupils of the respective religion,
- two to five members of the municipal council, preferably from all places in the school area, if there were some,
- principal teacher,
- *patron of the school, if the school had one.*

The Act from 1888 also introduced a physician to the municipal school boards, if the municipality could provide one, and a representative of the parents, which gave it additional transparency and quality. The authority of the municipal school board was similar to the previous ones, but it was limited to its area. Municipal school boards were first-instance bodies in the administrative, material, financial and personnel areas. In all the mentioned school boards, the mandate lasted for three years and was renewable. The mayor, the pastor, the teacher and the physician were virile members, and the others were elective. If the elected member unreasonably renounced the service, he paid a fine (Act, 1874; 1888).

Supervision of school work was also organized vertically-hierarchically and was performed by the state, county and municipal (local) school supervisors. State and county school supervisors were appointed by the State Government Department of Worship and Teaching, two state school supervisors for secondary and elementary schools and, as a rule, one for each county<sup>18</sup>. Both school acts also prescribed conditions for school supervisors, among other things: to excel in professional-pedagogical work, to have at least ten years of experience in the profession and, if possible, to have published professional papers. The authority of school supervisors as professionals included:

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<sup>18</sup> According to the School Education Act from 1874, the first appointed county school supervisors were: Franjo Lugařoŝ, Ivan Filipović, Franjo Dür, Dimitrij Vurelja, Marijan Vuković, Stjepan Grotić, Petar Maričić and Đuro Balog (Cuvaj, 1911, pp. 7, 9). The first state school supervisors for secondary school were: dr Franjo Maiksner and Martin Jelovšek, and for primary schools Josip Stipetić and Antun Cuvaj (Cuvaj, 1911, pp. 7, 381).



- supervising all public and private schools in their area,
- advising and instructing teachers in the professional-pedagogical sense,
- writing official reports after school inspections and submitting them to the competent services,
- participation as rapporteurs in county school boards,
- chairing county and district teachers' assemblies.

*Municipal school supervisors* caused the most controversy. They were appointed by the municipal school board. They were not pedagogical experts, and yet they could professionally and pedagogically supervise the work of teachers. As the status of city (county) school supervisors was not resolved, and this function could be performed by any member of the county school boards, it was proposed to introduce professional city (county) school supervisors (Act, 1874; 1888).

*Church supervision* was separated from secular supervision by these acts. The church independently prescribed curricula, textbooks and appointed/selected religion teachers. Depending on the size of the school, religion teachers could be professionals or priests who taught religion for a special fee.

These two school education acts further systematized school administration and school supervision, significantly raised expertise and competence, and separated secular and religious supervision. In both school education acts, one whole chapter was devoted to school administration and supervision. In the school education act from 1874, out of a total of 195 articles, 47 articles (24%) were dedicated to school administration and supervision, and in the school education act from 1888, out of 215 articles, 39 articles (18%) were dedicated to school management and supervision, which indicated exceptional attention to these areas.

Democracy and transparency are also evident through the institution of employing teachers. Public calls were announced by school boards in public media (*Official Gazette*)<sup>19</sup>, which contained all the necessary conditions, but also all guaranteed rights. The conditions prescribed by law for admission to the teaching service were as follows: *completed teacher training, certificate of impunity and moral conduct*. The Municipal School Board proposed three candidates (if there had been at least as many) to the County School Board. The County School Board selected one candidate who was finally confirmed by the State Government Department of Worship and Teaching<sup>20</sup>. In case of extreme necessity and the need for a teacher's assistant, the county school supervisor might have been temporarily appointed without a tender procedure. Dissatisfied candidates had the right to appeal within the legal framework (Act, 1874; 1888).

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<sup>19</sup> As an illustration, we cite a tender text: *At the two-grade boys' primary school in Sunja... another teacher's position is to be filled. Combined with this place is a salary of 350 forints per year, the rent in the amount of Kao forints per year, 20 cubic meters of firewood, and they were entitled to a salary supplement of 10% every five years and the right to a pension (Official Gazette, 1883, p. 153).*

<sup>20</sup> As a confirmation of the above procedure, we state the appointment of a teacher: The State government, the Department of Worship and Teaching, appointed the trainee teacher Josip Vidaković as a temporary teacher at the elementary school in Novi Grad (*Official Gazette, 1883, p. 290*).

From all the above, it is evident that the selection of teachers had all the elements of publicity and democracy: announcing a public call with certain conditions and rights, triple selection and the right to appeal.

The *school principal* was appointed from among the existing teachers by the county authorities in charge, and he retained the right to manage and supervise the school. The mandate of the principal was not limited, since we found examples of principals who performed this service for over 30 years (Archives of the Elementary School "Ivan Filipović" Velika Kopanica, hereinafter School Archives...). The principal had the right to impose a disciplinary reprimand on negligent teachers and to report it to the municipal or county school board in case of further and more difficult proceedings.

School education acts passed in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (1871; 1874; 1888) aroused significant interest in school practice, i.e. teachers. After the implementation of the mentioned school acts, a number of questions, ambiguities, unnecessariness and their questioning were opened. There was a particularly significant interest in the field of school management, and especially school supervision. As management and supervision were vertically-hierarchically organized, so was the interest specific. The higher/more vertically positioned the management and the supervisory body was, the less interest it aroused among teachers, and the expertise of the supervisor was a possible additional reason. The greatest interest in school practice was aroused by municipal (local) school boards and especially by municipal (local) school supervisors. The discussion can be followed by an analysis of the then pedagogical periodicals, especially *Napredak* (Munjiza, 2003).

The structure, expertise, competence and enforceability of the school board were controversial. Half of the school board was appointed according to their position (principal, pastor, physician and patron, if any). The other half were elected from the ranks of the municipal council according to the criteria of intelligent, respectable and interested people, no matter what that meant. In such a constituted school board, the teacher mostly remained alone, his isolated voice was the voice of one crying in the desert (Vrbanović, 1879). Although broad education of pastors and physicians cannot be disputed, it was still no guarantee of their interest in the progress of the school. They would usually remain a minority on the school board even when they were interested. The relationship between the administration of the municipal council and the government and the school board was particularly problematic. Municipal school boards did not have executive powers. They proposed a budget and current needs for the school year. However, it was discussed by the municipal government and the council, which, as a rule, only partially accepted it. Thus stripped in the general municipal budget, it was referred to the higher district administration for adoption (School Archives..., Sačer, 1888).

In most cases, the school budget was too much of a burden for the municipal council and the government. They tried to reduce it as much as possible, and in such conditions, it was difficult to talk about the progress of the school. There was a

noticeable difference between legal intent and actual school practice. According to the school intention, school boards had elements of publicity and local interests, and they protected the interests of teachers, pupils and parents. But the reality was quite the opposite. In it, the teachers remained lonely, isolated, without understanding, begging for a teacher's basic salary (Klobučar, 1879; Vrbanović, 1879).

The situation with municipal school supervisors was even more difficult. That legal solution was so bad that its abolition was demanded in unison. What were the main reasons for the unique teacher dissatisfaction with the institution of municipal supervisors? The root cause of the dissatisfaction was their *incompetence* and *excessive powers*.

The municipal school supervisor did not have to have any professional training. It was sufficient that he could read and write, that in the opinion of the municipal schoolboard, he was intelligent, honest and a friend of the youth (N., 1875). Teachers as professional persons (completed teacher training, before that a small grammar school or high school, completed internship and passed the professional exam) were supervised by a completely non-professional person (Biljan, 1901). In no profession had there been a practice of a non-expert supervising an expert. Here is the position of the then famous Croatian teacher and pedagogue Jure Turić (1898):

Local school supervisors reduce teacher's work to a simple wage labour, deny the teacher any moral force, humiliate any professional supervision, and turn it into a simple police service, inducing teachers into non-pedagogical work and obstructing any rational school work. (p. 357).

The teacher was in an extremely unfavourable position in this area because his professional work was supervised by an unprofessional person. This issue is further aggravated by the broad authority of the municipal school supervisor. The overall competence of the municipal school supervisor can be shown within the following areas.

1 *He supervises the work of teachers in the material-administrative area.* He monitors the material condition of the school building, equipment and teaching aids. He also oversees how a teacher implements administrative measures, approves the absence of teachers and, most importantly, assesses whether a teacher should receive his five-year allowance<sup>21</sup>. Teacher's income depended directly on the incompetent municipal school superintendent (Napredak, 1875; Trstenjak, 1879).

2 *The municipal school supervisor, as an unprofessional person, also evaluates the teaching work of teachers.* He attends annual exams and has the right to ask exam questions, although he has little to do with the curriculum. He often asks questions outside the curriculum and in front of the children complains and humiliates the teacher for the pupils' ignorance. Some even dare to give direct instructions "This is how you teach

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<sup>21</sup> As a rule, teachers were entitled to a salary increase (five-year allowance) every five years, but if their work was positively assessed by the municipal school supervisors, along with the lowest grade of good for the school garden.

young people; pupils who do not know how to calculate like this do not deserve progress” (School Archives..., N., 1875, p. 201).

3 *Municipal school supervisors monitor the moral and ethical behaviour of teachers, both in and out of school.* They pay special attention to whether teachers are engaged in some secondary jobs that are incompatible with the teaching service (Biljan, 1901).

Teachers were united in the mandatory abolition of the institution of municipal school supervisors for the aforementioned reasons. But they were not unanimous in who should replace them (Katić, 1906).

Dominiković (1902) believes that this duty would be performed very successfully by principals in their schools. They were professionals/teachers by vocation. They were elected by the authorities as the most prominent, and each of them was professionally trained to manage their school and supervise the work of teachers in it. Principals by position had to know school laws and regulations and put them into practice. They were professionally, pedagogically and didactically trained, and there was no obstacle to successfully manage the school in this area and supervise the work of teachers, which was their duty after all. In addition, principals were supposed to have some specific personality traits: “A principal should work, direct, manage and make order, not command... The best is the principal who has penetrated deeply into the subjects, who has pedagogical tact and love for the school, teachers and pupils” (Školnik, 1898; Dominiković, 1902, p. 417).

There was a lively debate among school practitioners about the introduction of county school supervisors. Lavoger was an advocate of introducing the institution of county school supervisors. The district school board, like the municipal school board, consisted of virile members (mayor, priest, teachers, physician) and elected members of the city council. According to the valid law, all members of the district school board had the right to school supervision, regardless of their profession and expertise. Instead of the described situation, Lavoger suggested that among the teachers who were the members of the district school board, one of the most professional teachers should have been chosen as the district school supervisor (Lavoger, 1906; Lončar, 1907). Rečanović (1906) did not support that idea. He believed that this would be an additional administering towards the school and teachers and an additional burden. There were also views that the function of municipal school supervisors should have been performed by county school supervisors, but on the condition that they had increased in number so that they could have stayed in each school a sufficient number of times and enough time (Pleše, 1901). According to him, they were the greatest experts. They wrote professional papers, textbooks, teaching methodologies and were the most competent for the function of professional school supervisors. Along with the expertise, he was also expected to take a humane approach “to repair, guide, advise, approve and encourage” (Pleše, 1901, p. 347).

The “control book”, the “book of didactic flaws and mistakes”, also produced a wave of dissatisfaction among teachers. According to Sačer (1901), it was humiliating

for teachers. Instead of writing only critical observations, Sačer proposed a unique methodology for keeping these books. As far as he was concerned, these books should have included: the date and time of the examination, the grade (undivided or divided school)<sup>22</sup>, the name of the supervised teacher, and a synthetic descriptive assessment of the learning condition (Sačer, 1901).

Such and similar discussions were held at the district and county teachers' assemblies. Resolutions and conclusions were sent to the Department of Worship and Teaching from the abovementioned assemblies to the State Government, in order to review and change the system of supervision over schools and teachers on the basis of them.

### ***Management and supervision in Croatian school education in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia***

At the end of the First World War, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed and disintegrated. Our peoples who lived as part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy temporarily created the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. However, due to unfavourable external conditions, it joined the enlarged Kingdom of Serbia (Montenegro and Vojvodina had previously joined) and created the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which would change into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in early 1929.

Different nations would introduce different school systems into the newly created Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and they would work according to them until the adoption of a single Act in 1929. The mentioned school education act envisaged and eight-year public school.<sup>23</sup>

The new school education act was based on a new territorial-political organization: banovinas, districts (*srezovi*) and administrative municipalities. As previously, the school acts, school management and supervision would be based on a new territorial-political structure, but this time with a distinctly solid characteristic of centralism. The organizational model of school management and supervision is shown in Figure 3.

The firm political centralism was also felt in the field of school education. A great concentration of power was in the Ministry of Education and in the authority of the Minister of Education. The seat of the Ministry of Education and its expert body of the Main Education Council was located in Belgrade. The Minister of Education appointed school principals throughout the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, who were responsible and loyal to him. Also, the Minister (with the prescribed formal conditions) appointed ban and district school supervisors who were also expected to be loyal.

The Ministry of Education and the Minister also had a decisive influence on the ban, district and municipal school boards, as one half of all members were appointed by position. The authority of school administration was similar to that in previous acts

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<sup>22</sup> Those schools in which several classes were taught by one teacher were undivided. There were divided ones in which each teacher taught one class.

<sup>23</sup> The act provided for a four-year lower primary school and a four-year upper primary school. Upper primary school remained an unfulfilled ideal, so compulsory school would continue to last for four years in practice.

on managing the overall care of the state of school education in their area. However, depending on the size of the municipality, there could be other solutions, that one large municipality had more municipal school boards or that several smaller municipalities had one municipal school board. For the construction of new schools or for significant adaptations that exceeded the capabilities of an administrative municipality, the state jumped in to help through the State School Fund for School Construction. The structure of municipal and county school boards was formed according to the same principles: a representative of the authorities (municipal, city), school managers, a local physician (virile persons) and five eminent persons, preferably parents. According to

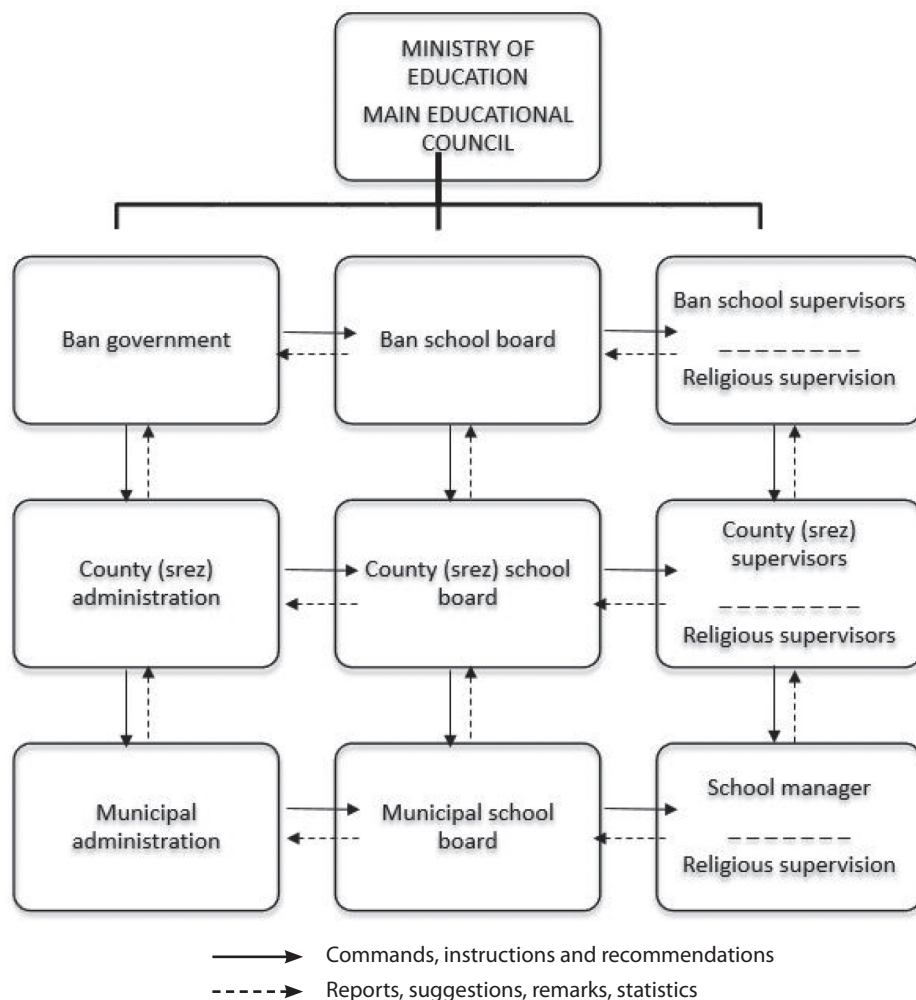


Figure 3. Management and supervision in Croatian education according to the act from 1929

this school education act, the role of parents in the school administration body was more emphasized.

But in personnel policy, local school authorities lost some of their authority. Admission to teaching service, as well as transfers in the final instance, were the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and the Minister. At the end of each school year, data were collected on the condition of the teaching staff, so that public calls could be announced on time and transfers could be made. Based on the collected data, the Minister of Education, based on the ban proposal, first determined the transfer of teachers according to the following criteria:

- a beginner teacher was usually placed in rural schools,
- a teacher with five years of service could come to a small town,
- a teacher with eight years of service could come to a town,
- a teacher with ten years of service could come to a town that had full high school education,
- a person who had 12 years of service could come to a town that had a faculty education.

At the first employment, the following conditions were evaluated: success in *school, additional work in public education and family circumstances*.

However, despite the above, at first glance clear criteria, the total staffing in the entire Kingdom of Yugoslavia was in the power of the Minister of Education. All the above-mentioned school administration and supervisory bodies had the right to initiate disciplinary procedures against teachers and impose measures: reprimand by the school principal, reprimand and warning by the district governor, the loss of part of salary by the ban, and dismissal by the Minister (Act on Public Schools, 1929, hereinafter Act..., 1929).

School supervisors, from ban to district, with the fulfilment of the minimum of the prescribed conditions were finally confirmed by the Minister of Education. A person who met the following conditions could be appointed as the ban school supervisor: graduated from the faculty, passed the professor's professional exam, passed the pedagogical group of subjects and had at least 15 years of service.

Ban school supervisors inspected a number of schools in their *banovina* each year. They determined the existing situation and proposed the opening of new school buildings and classes. They also reviewed the work of the district school supervisors, suggested the necessary teaching positions and their filling. They kept the complete school statistics and submitted all that in the form of a report to the Ministry, i.e. the Minister. It is evident from the above that the role of ban school supervisors was mainly professional-advisory: they proposed, and decisions were made in the Ministry of Education.

A person might be appointed as a district school supervisor: with a university degree (exceptionally without it), having passed exams from the philosophical-pedagogical group of subjects and with at least ten years of work in school education. District

school supervisors were appointed for 50 to 150 teachers, so it might have happened that there were two school supervisors in a district, but also that one school supervisor had jurisdiction over two districts (Act..., 1929). The district school supervisors were responsible for: reviewing and proposing annual plans to the administrative authorities, reviewing each school at least twice a year, taking care of professional development of teachers, convening county teacher assemblies where he held demonstration lectures, participating in disciplinary procedures, taking care of the behaviour and character of teachers in school and out of school, keeping statistics and writing reports to administrative and higher school authorities, keeping record of vacancies for teachers and the need to relocate (School Archives).

The school principal managed the school and oversaw the work of his teachers. He introduced trainee teachers, convened and managed the work of teaching staff, approved official absences of teachers and organized replacements for them and took care of regular school attendance and responded appropriately. Besides, he took complete care of material and financial operations of the school, cooperated with senior administrative and school authorities and regularly informed them of the situation.

The 1929 Act anticipated the assessment of teachers. After the inspections, the teacher was evaluated by the district school supervisor, and if visited, also by a ban school supervisor. The principal continuously entered all relevant data, including his/her observations, in the existing evaluation list. Based on the assessment list, the final grade of the teacher's work was made, which could be: *excellent* (5), *very good* (4), *good* (3), *insufficient* (2) and *bad* (1). Insufficient and bad grades were unsatisfactory. A teacher had the right to appeal for the grades good, insufficient and bad. If the grade of the district and ban school supervisors differed, the grade of the ban supervisors was relevant. Teacher assessment was in the function of promotion and obtaining a more favourable teaching position (School Archives..., Act..., 1929).

In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, school administration and supervision were also organized based on the territorial-political structure. From the territorial organization followed the administrative structure, and from it the school administration and supervision. According to the structure, school administrations were more professional, with significantly higher representation of parents, which was desirable. The supervision took on professional characteristics, the prescribed conditions for district and ban school supervisors were quite rigorous. Municipal school supervisors were abolished, and this supervision was taken over by school principals, as professionals.

However, at the same time, the whole system was set up in a distinctly hierarchical-centralist way. The Minister of Education conducted the overall personnel policy: ultimately decided on the appointment and transfer of teachers, appointed principals, district and ban school supervisors and school principals.

## Concluding remarks

Territorial-political structure (military provinces, regiments, companies; counties, districts, administrative municipalities) directly determined the general administration



and, in turn, the school administration. Thus, it is possible to talk about the state, county (regimental), district and municipal administration, as well as about exactly the same organization of school administration and school supervision.

Just as the territorial-political structure conditioned general and school administration and supervision, so did the social organization condition the character of school administration and supervision. In the Military Frontier, it had all the characteristics of a military administration. The regimental and company school administration and supervision were performed by officers and non-commissioned officers, and there was also the title of administrative officer.

Social circumstances and the achieved development conditioned that the initial administration and supervision of schools were performed by the competent priests in its fullness: material-financial, professional-pedagogical and religious. Social development led to the gradual secularization of society and education. The process of secularization in school education was completed with the enactment of the school education act in 1874. The mentioned act introduced a professional service of school supervisors and the appointment of the first state and county school supervisors for secondary and primary schools. Priests were left with teaching religion and some elements of concern for the morality of teachers.

External and internal forms of school management were identified. The management had the character of a collegial (collective) body, and the supervision of an individual, sometimes independent body. School management was organized vertically, i.e. hierarchically from the state to the municipality by various different terms such as school committees, school commissions, school councils and school boards.

All governing school bodies were constituted according to the same principles by representatives of government, church and profession (appointed-virile members) and elected members from among prominent citizens and teacher practitioners. The ratio was equal, but due to the position, the appointed members were dominant. Under the 1888 School Education Act, school boards were expanded to include physicians, engineers and parent representatives. The share of parents in school boards received a significant number in 1929 School Education Act. With these changes, school boards gained in authority.

The jurisdiction of the school administration was hierarchically organized. The State School Council was responsible for adopting curricula, as well as their amendments, approving and printing of school textbooks and other supporting literature, supervising all lower school administrators, appointing and positioning school supervisors and, in some cases, teachers.

Lower administrative bodies (count, district, municipal) took overall care of school education in their area: material-financial-administrative, of personnel and their permanent professional development. They also took care of the regular departure of pupils to school and taking appropriate measures if necessary. In relation to the lower school bodies, they were superior, and in relation to the higher ones, they were

subordinate. Most controversy over school practice was caused by the municipal school administration due to excessive frugality, and frugality and school progress do not go together. School administrations also had certain internal powers in school management.

School supervision was also hierarchically organized, from the state to the municipal. School supervisors were professionals appointed with the fundamental task of supervising and improving school practice. In the analysed period, the expertise of school supervisors (except municipal ones) significantly improved. In the beginning, they were people who could only read and write, and at the end of the period, they were university educated people, prominent practitioners and authors of textbooks, manuals and professional papers.

School supervisors were responsible for reviewing all schools in their area according to a pre-established plan, methodology and prepared protocols. They left their observations in the form of minutes to the inspected school and submitted them to the administrative and school bodies in charge. After the inspection, they had the right to propose: schools, teachers and pupils for praise, reward and promotion. School supervisors organized permanent professional development through county and district teachers' assemblies. They often gave exemplary practical lectures themselves. The adopted conclusions and resolutions were forwarded to the competent administrative school bodies. The weakest link of school supervision were municipal school supervisors because of their incompetence until their abolition under the 1929 School Education Act. According to the Act, school principals took over professional and pedagogical supervision in their schools. Together with external supervisors, school principals participated in teacher evaluation, which was the basis for their promotion, rewarding and transfer.

According to the content (areas), school supervision was threefold: material-financial, professional-pedagogical and religious. In the initial form of school supervision, all three forms were performed by the competent priests. Over time, school supervision was personally differentiated: material and financial supervision was performed by administrative authorities, professional and pedagogical by school supervisors, and religious by priests.

The first professional and pedagogical supervisors were senior teachers. These were teachers who worked in main or normal schools. In addition to working in their school, they supervised the work of other schools in their area with an extra award. By professionalizing the service of school supervisors, they took over the overall supervision of the work of teachers, apart from religion.

In the analysed time period, teaching underwent major changes, both in terms of expertise and their recruitment. From the initial semi-literate teachers, there were professionally trained teachers with secured forms of permanent professional development. Teachers were initially appointed (sometimes against their will) to gain admission through public calls and prescribed and clear procedure. However, a step backwards was made by the Act from 1929, according to which the Minister of Education ultimately decided on the admission and transfer of teachers.

In the analysed time period, the school system was permanently transformed and improved. From a different school system, according to all important determinants, a unique four-grade elementary school was created with realistic predispositions for growing into an eight-year school. From individual schools for the privileged, there was a mass schooling for all, even the introduction of general compulsory schooling. The number of individual schools decreased throughout the period so that, at the end of the period, they were only an exception.

Teacher expertise improved significantly. From trained teachers to high school professional teachers, on rare occasions to higher education teachers. Various forms of permanent professional development were introduced, primarily through county and district teachers' assemblies. Teachers-practitioners had the opportunity to present their pedagogical views and ideas in pedagogical periodicals. Teachers' expertise and their professional development contributed to the didactic-methodological innovation of teaching.

Also, the professional supervision was significantly improved, which received many elements of publicity and transparency. School administration and supervision were in a distinct function of school progress. This is exactly why they were founded. If they did not fulfil that task, then they were unnecessary. The then school administration and supervision were extremely well connected horizontally and vertically. That allowed central school administration and supervision bodies to take timely and prompt action to improve school practice, which could only be achieved based on: care, understanding, helping, advising, tolerance, counselling approving, proposing, mild warnings and a general human approach.

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\* For this paper, the following nine (9) pedagogy textbooks were analysed, but only in the *Povijest pedagogije (History of Pedagogy)* (Štiglić, 1893) did we find certain data on school supervision.

*Znanost othranjivanja 1849*

*Obuka malenih ili katehetika 1850*

*Gojitba i obća učba 1867*

*Pedagogija-Uzgojoslovje 1882*

*Pedagogika ili uzgojoslovje 1889*

*Nauka o gojencu i odgoji 1906*

*Povijest pedagogije 1884*

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# Upravljanje i nadzor u hrvatskom školstvu u povijesnom kontekstu i kontinuitetu

## Sažetak

*Autori su istražili fenomen upravljanja i nadzora u hrvatskom javnom školstvu između donošenja Općeg školskog reda 1774. godine i početka Drugog svjetskog rata. Istraživanje ima sve oznake longitudinalnoga istraživanja jer analizira fenomen upravljanja i nadzora u hrvatskom školstvu u razdoblju od blizu dva stoljeća (171 godina). Istraživanje se temelji na arhivskoj i objavljenoj građi, školskim zakonima i podzakonskim aktima, službenim udžbenicima pedagogije i relevantnoj literaturi. Školsko upravljanje i nadzor analiziran je u različitim teritorijalno-političko-društvenim prilikama u okviru Austrijskog Carstva, Austro-Ugarske Monarhije i Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, kasnije Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Utvrđeni su eksterni i interni oblici upravljanja: upravi organi, upravni školski organi i upravni organi u školama. Upravni organi su hijerarhijski organizirani od zemaljskih (državnih) do općinskih odnosno školskih. Školski nadzor također je organiziran na teritorijalno-hijerarhijskom načelu od zemaljskoga (državnog) do školskoga. Prema sadržaju/području utvrđeni su upravno-financijsko-materijalni, stručno-pedagoški i vjerski oblici nadzora. Najveći interes školske prakse izazvali su općinski školski odbori i mjesni školski nadzornici. Školsko upravljanje ima sve oznake kolegijalnoga organa, a školski nadzor individualnoga inokosnog organa. U školskim istraživačkim projektima područje školskoga upravljanja i nadzora nije posebno frekventno. Istovremeno škole su u permanentnom osuvremenjivanju i inoviranju. I suvremena istraživanja ukazuju da je u školskoj transformaciji i modernizaciji značajan faktor razvitka školsko upravljanje i nadzor. Suvremena istraživanja rijetko se oslanjaju na povijesna iskustva iz ovoga područja, nema u njima ni kritičke analize navedenoga fenomena. Kako bi lakše razumjeli sadašnjost i trasirali budućnost, nužno je poznavati prošlost sa svim poželjnim i nepoželjnim (ograničavajućim) karakteristikama.*

**Ključne riječi:** eksterni i interni nadzor; eksterno i interno upravljanje; stručno-pedagoški upravo-materijalni i vjerski nadzor.

## Uvod

Školstvo je društveno uvjetovano i društveno određeno. U određenom trenutku društvenoga razvoja stvoreni su nužni i potrebni preduvjeti za organiziranjem javnoga

škولstva. Najznačajniji preduvjet za organiziranje javnoga školstva je pronalazak pisma. Pronalazak pisma otvorio je mogućnost organiziranja javnoga profesionalnog školstva za potrebe određenoga društva. Školstvo ne samo što je društveno uvjetovano, nego je i društveno određeno. Svako društvo otvara one škole koje će zadovoljiti specifične potrebe određenoga društva (Munjiza, 2007).

O prvim oblicima školstva u Hrvatskoj moguće je govoriti od IX. stoljeća. Prve škole u Hrvatskoj vezane su uz crkvene redove, u prvom redu uz crkveni red benediktinaca. Više autora (Srkulj, 1911; Salzer, 1958; Franković, 1958; Kujundžić, 1986; Munjiza, 2006; 2007) početak crkvenoga školstva u Hrvatskoj vežu uz kneza Trpimira (850. – 864.), njegovu darovnicu iz 852. godine i Gottschalka Sakcinskog.

Uz interni karakter u svrhu pripremanja budućega svećeničkoga kadra, ove su škole imale i eksterni karakter pa su zbog toga bile i javne. Pored novoga svećeničkog kadra u njima se pripremao i službenički državni kadar. Iako su crkvene škole imale i eksterni karakter, one u novim gospodarskim prilikama nisu mogle pripremati kadar za potrebe novoga građanskog društva. Iz navedenoga razloga novo građansko društvo (obrtnici, trgovci) za svoje potrebe osnivaju novi sustav gradskih škola (često i privatnoga karaktera).

U novoosnovanim gradskim školama uz humanističko obrazovanje uvodi se i obrazovanje iz realnoga područja. Prema Kirinu (1925.) javne gradske škole moguće je pratiti od X. stoljeća. Postoje sigurni podatci da je gradska javna škola djelovala u Dubrovniku od XIV. stoljeća (1333.) (Adamović, 1885). Obje navedene vrste škola, crkvene i gradske, nisu poprimile masovniji karakter ni obveznost, a bile su dostupne privilegiranim društvenim slojevima. Zajednička karakteristika prvih crkvenih i gradskih škola bila je njihova izrazita različitost. U njima nema jedinstvenoga nastavnog plana i programa, kao ni vanjske i unutarnje organizacije. Svaka škola uglavnom radi prema vlastitom organizacijskom modelu, iskustvenoj didaktičko-metodičkoj organizaciji i s izrazito različitim sadržajima poučavanja. Samo kao ilustraciju navodimo kako su franjevci u Brodu na Savi u svojem samostanu poučavali mladež bez propisanoga nastavnog plana i programa, već prema vlastitome znanju i nahodjenju u čitanju, pisanju, računu, molitvama i djelomično latinskome jeziku (Cuvaj, 1910, str. 1)<sup>1</sup>

U opisanim uvjetima nije moguće govoriti o elementima opće organiziranoga upravljanja i nadzora. Eventualno je moguće govoriti o određenim elementima upravljanja i nadzora kroz institucije samostanskih gvardijana i svjetovnih upravitelja za svaku pojedinu školu.

O obveznom pa time i masovnom školstvu moguće je govoriti tek onda kada država preuzme organizaciju državnoga javnoga školstva, što je u uvjetima Hrvatske moguće pratiti od prosvjetiteljskih ideja carice Marije Terezije (1740. – 1780.). Marija Terezija potiče otvaranje državnih javnih škola i 1764. godine donosi naredbu da se u sjedištu

<sup>1</sup> Prva godina označava godinu izdanja, druga brojka broj sveska, a treća, ako je ima, broj stranice ako se radi o citatu)



svake župe ili satnije<sup>2</sup> otvori javna elementarna škola. Ona u navedenoj naredbi navodi i razloge za otvaranje škola „za popravak tog još uvijek surovog krajiškog puka i za odgajanje podčasnika za vojnu službu” (Martinović, 1912, 81). Iz navedenoga je vidljivo da se škole otvaraju i za običan puk i da imaju masovni i polu-obavezni karakter<sup>3</sup>. Nakon navedene naredbe carice Marije Terezije počinje proces otvaranja trivijalnih škola<sup>4</sup>. Premda je navedene škole otvarala država o njihovom održavanju i plaćama učitelja sudjelovale su i općine. Država je obično učitelju osiguravala godišnju plaću, a općina davanja u naravi: stan, ogrjev i vrt (Munjiza, 1985). Paralelno s otvaranjem državnih škola, država nastoji osigurati *upravljački i nadzornički aparat*.

Kako je školstvo bilo u povojima, nije bilo dovoljno stručnih učitelja ni institucija za njihovo stručno osposobljavanje<sup>5</sup>. Za zvanje učitelja bilo je dovoljno znati čitati, pisati i elementarni račun. Trivijalne škole bile su uglavnom jednorazredne, što znači da je u njima radio samo jedan učitelj. Iz gore navedenih razloga ni u ovim početnim uvjetima državnoga školstva nije moguće govoriti o ozbiljnijem i sustavnijem školskom upravljanju i nadzoru (Munjiza, 2002a).

Prvu funkciju školskoga upravljanja i nadzora nad radom učitelja i škola vršili su *mjesni svećenici* koji su u to vrijeme bili znatno obrazovaniji od učitelja. Svećenici su raspolagali školskim blagajnama iz kojih su plaćali učitelje i održavali škole. Bilo je dosta učitelja koji nisu bili oduševljeni ovom funkcijom jer im je to bio dodatni posao koji im je oduzimao dosta vremena. Svećenicima je povjeren i stručni nadzor nad radom učitelja. Imali su zadatak da kontroliraju rad učitelja i o svojim nalazima obavijeste satnijsku ili višu upravu. Ilustrativno je takvo zapažanje mjesnoga svećenika Ive Radinovića (1761. – 1788.) iz Velike Kopanice o radu mjesnoga učitelja Franciska Klucha (1764. – 1775.). Radi se zapravo o tužbi navedenoga svećenika o nemarnom radu mjesnoga učitelja upućenoj općoj upravi Brodske pukovnije. Ona u službenom obliku glasi:

„Ja sam ga dosta puta opominao i karao, da dicu uči tako u krstjanskom nauku, kako u knjgi, a on njih više na svoj posao natiruje, nego na nauk, oni mu bašću, guske, patke, piliće i puriće čuvati moraju, i ovako se više zadržavaju na rečenom poslu, nego uče, sebi nadinje ordinante.”

(Martinović, 1912, str. 86-87)

Iz navedene tužbe razvidno je :

1. da je mjesni svećenik nadzirao rad učitelja
2. da je nadzor bio kontinuiran (*dosta sam ga puta opominjao i karao*)

<sup>2</sup> Vojna krajina se u teritorijalnoj organizaciji dijelila na pukovnije i satnije. Satnije su se često teritorijalno poklapala s crkvenim župama.

<sup>3</sup> Navedene škole bile su na njemačkom jeziku, tako da su ih mogli pohađati samo oni koji su znali njemački jezik i time nisu bile u potpunosti obavezne.

<sup>4</sup> Trivijalne škole su početne, elementarne. U pravilu traju dvije godine. U njima se uči čitati, pisati, računati i vjeronauk.

<sup>5</sup> Prvi su učitelji uglavnom bili stranci, isluženi časnici i dočasnici. Prvi domaći učitelji osposobljavali su se imitacijom. Promatrali su rad iskusnijih učitelja i kasnije ih oponašali.

3. da je pregled bio nenajavljen (*ja dođem potajno*)
4. da su učenici redovito obavljali poslove za učitelje (*osigurao ordinante*)
5. da su i u tim početnim školama postojali udžbenici (*ne uči ih iz njih*)
6. da je svećenik nakon uzastopnih opominjanja nadziranoga učitelja tužio pukovnijskoj upravi.

Ova službena tužba značajan je dokument o početnom nadziranju učitelja od strane svećenika o načinu nadzora i poduzetim mjerama (Grginčević, 1885; Martinović, 1912). Sustavno upravljanje školom i nadzor nad radom učitelja moguće je pratiti u kontinuitetu od uvođenja jedinstvenoga školskoga sustava na području cijeloga Austrijskog Carstva, koji je izradio i javno obznanio Ivan Ignjat Felbiger (1724. – 1788.) 1774. godine poznat kao *Opći školski red*<sup>6</sup>. Prema njemu sve škole u Austrijskom Carstvu dijelile su se na: trivijalne, glavne i normalne<sup>7</sup>. Formiranjem jedinstvenoga državnog školskog sustava, uvođenje škola s više učitelja stvoreni su preduvjeti za uvođenjem sustavnoga nadzora i upravljanja nad radom škola i učitelja (Cuvaj, 1910).

S obzirom na različite teritorijalno-političko-društvene prilike problematika upravljanja i nadzora nad radom školstva i škola prikazana je unutar sljedećih razdoblja:

1. Upravljanje i nadzor nad školstvom i školama u vrijeme Austrijskog Carstva i Austro-Ugarske Monarhije, od Općeg školskog reda 1774. godine do završetka Prvog svjetskog rata i propasti Austro-Ugarske Monarhije.
2. Upravljanje i nadzor nad školstvom i školama između dvaju svjetskih ratova u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, odnosno Kraljevini Jugoslaviji.

*Upravljanje* se određuje kao vođenje poslova, davanje smjera, upućivanje, vođenje prema određenom cilju s unaprijed određenim i zadanim očekivanjima. Upravljanje se obično veže uz kolegijalni organ, a može se realizirati kao upravni, stručno-pedagoški i vjerski.

*Nadzor* se definira kao pažljiva kontrola koga ili čega, kako bi se na temelju uvida (mogućih ograničenja) ponudila bolja rješenja. Ako nadzor ili kontrola nije u službi napretka, tada je nepotreban i nepoželjan i kao takav gubi smisao (Anić, 1998; Enciklopedijski rječnik pedagogije 1963; Pedagoška enciklopedije, 1989). Nadzor je prema bitnim oznakama individualan i veže se uz inokosne pojedince. Prema karakteru također može biti eksteran i interan, upravno-financijski, stručno-pedagoški i vjerski.

Poslije *Drugog svjetskog rata* pedagozi i školska praksa prave zaokret u odnosu na dostignuto stanje i traže nova rješenja unutar samoupravnoga socijalizma. I u području školskoga upravljanja, rukovođenja i nadzora traže se samoupravna rješenja. Poseban je naglasak stavljen na područje *učeničkoga samoupravljanja* čega u ranijem razdoblju uopće nije bilo. U demokratskoj Republici Hrvatskoj sustav upravljanja i nadzora ima

<sup>6</sup> Puni originalan naziv glasi *Allgemeine Schulordnung für die deutschen Normal-Haupt-und Trivialschulen in sämmlentlichen kais. Königl Erbländeren*.

<sup>7</sup> Trivijalne škole bile su elementarne i u pravilu dvogodišnje s jednim učiteljem. Glavne škole bile su trogodišnje u njima su radila tri učitelja i nalazile su se u gradovima. Normalne škole bile su četverogodišnje. One su se nalazile u sjedištima pukovnija. U njima su radila četiri učitelja i u njima se osposobljavao novi učiteljski kadar. U svim školama uz učitelje radili su i vjeroučitelji. Cuvaj (2010) uz njih navodi i gradske škole.

određenih sličnosti s onim prije Drugog svjetskog rata. Uveden je županijski sustav s lokalnom upravom iz čega su formirani i odgovarajući upravni organi, kao i organi školske uprave i nadzora.

Ni u suvremenim uvjetima ne propitkuje se školska praksa prije Drugog svjetskog rata, njegova ostvarenja i ograničenja. U rijetkim radovima rasprava se svodi na odnos školskih odbora i izbora ravnatelja i ovlasti ravnatelja u novim društvenim odnosima. Ponekad se čini da se ukupna rasprava svodi na formiranje takvih školskih odbora koji će osigurati izbor predodređenih ravnatelja. Istovremeno školstvo je u permanentnim promjena pa bi iz tog razloga trebalo poznavati prošlost kako bismo bolje razumjeli sadašnjost i planirali budućnost, i kako ne bismo više puta pravili iste greške, uvodili kao novo ono što je odavno poznato i bilo priznato.

## Metode

### ***Istraživački problem i istraživačka pitanja***

Ovo je istraživanje iz područja nacionalne povijesti školstva, a uži predmet istraživanja je upravljanje i nadzor u hrvatskom školstvu i u hrvatskim školama u povijesnom kontekstu i kontinuitetu. Istražuju se oblici i sadržaji školskoga upravljanja i školskoga nadzora od utemeljenja javnoga državnog školstva do početka Drugog svjetskog rata. Ako utemeljenje državnoga javnog školstva vežemo uz Opći školski red iz 1774. godine, tada se radi o razdoblju od gotovo dva stoljeća (171 godina).

U navedenom razdoblju Hrvatska se nalazila u različitim državno-političkim asocijacijama i državno-društvenim uređenjima. Unutar različitih društveno-političkih asocijacija očekuju se i različiti pristupi fenomenima školskoga upravljanja i školskoga nadzora. Iz navedenoga okvira slijede *istraživačka pitanja*:

1. *Postoji li i kakva je veza između teritorijalno-političkoga ustrojstva i organizacijskih oblika školskoga upravljanja i nadzora?*
2. *Koji se eksterni i interni oblici školskoga upravljanja i nadzora mogu uočiti u analiziranom razdoblju?*
3. *Kako je organizirano sadržajno/tematsko upravljanje i nadzor u hrvatskom školstvu?*
4. *Može li se govoriti o napretku hrvatskoga školstva, kao posljedici školskoga upravljanja i nadzora?*

### ***Izvori, metode, postupci i instrumenti***

Ovo istraživanje temelji se isključivo na analizi pedagoške dokumentacije. Ukupno korištenu i analiziranu pedagošku dokumentaciju moguće je klasificirati kao: *izvornu arhivsku građu, objavljene dokumente, službene udžbenike pedagogije i ostalu referentnu literaturu.*

Osnovna škola „Ivan Filipović” iz Velike Kopanice (Brodsko-posavska županija) utemeljena je 1764. godine u vrijeme vladanja carice Marije Terezije. Dio dokumentacije pronađen je u arhivi škole, a dio u Povijesnom arhivu Slavenskog Broda u kojemu je pohranjena i njezina dokumentacija.

Cuvaj je između 1910. i 1913. objavio *Građu za povijest školstva u Kraljevini Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji od najstarijih vremena do danas*, u 11 svezaka (drugo dopunjeno i izmijenjeno izdanje). Pored niza natuknica o školskom upravljanju i nadzoru u navedenoj se Građi nalazi i veliki broj originalnih dokumenata.

*Građu za istoriju dubrovačke pedagogije* s elementima povijesti školstva objavio je Adamović 1885. godine, u kojoj su pronađeni podatci o početku rada gradskih škola.

Elemente objavljene građe imaju i Martinovićeve (1912) *Povjesne crtice o školstvu brodske pukovnije i brodskog okružja*. Martinović (1912) slično kao i Cuvaj (1910) analizira i opisuje tadašnje školstvo, ali pri tome prilaže i niz originalnih dokumenata.

U *Službenom glasniku* koji je počeo izlaziti 1883. godine, objavljuvani su službeni provedbeni dokumenti kao: naredbe, okružnice, disciplinski redovi, statuti, propisi, upute, pravilnici, imenovanja, razrješenja, kao i statistički godišnjaci i kao takvi predstavljaju vrijedan izvor podataka.

U ovom istraživanju i objavljeni školski zakoni imaju karakter objavljene građe. Zakoni o školstvu reguliraju opći rad školstva i škola pa tako i područje školskoga upravljanja i nadzora, kojem obično posvećuju jedno ili više poglavlja. Za ovaj rad analizirani su: *Opći školski red 1774.*, pet propisa objavljenim o školstvu u *Zbirci zakonah i naredbah za područje Vojne krajine iz 1871. godine*<sup>8</sup>. Za područje civilne Hrvatske 1874. godine donesen je *Zakon ob ustrojstvu pučkih škola i preparandija za pučko učiteljstvo u trojednoj kraljevini Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*.

Nakon što je Vojna krajina 1886. godine integrirana u teritorijalno županijski sustav Hrvatske donesen je novi jedinstveni školski zakon, *Zakon ob uređenju pučke nastave i obrazovanja učitelja u trojednoj kraljevini Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*. Kraljevina Jugoslavija 1929. godine donosi školski *Zakon o narodnim školama u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji*.

Prva učiteljska škola u Hrvatskoj počela je s radom 1849. godine i od tada je moguće pratiti i analizirati izdane udžbenike pedagogije (Munjiza, 2002b). Za ovaj rad analizirano je sljedećih devet (9) udžbenika pedagogije (\*): *Znanost odhranjivanja 1849; Obuka malenih ili katehetika 1850; Gojitba i obća učba 1867; Pedagogija-Uzgojoslovje 1882; Pedagogika ili uzgojoslovje 1889; Nauka o gojencu i odgoji 1906; Povijest pedagogije 1884; Povijest pedagogike 1893. i Povijest uzgoja i nauka o uzgoju 1904.* godine. Samo smo u *Povijesti pedagogike* (Štiglic, 1893) našli određenih podataka o školskom nadzoru.

Također je analizirana i brojna relevantna literatura iz ovoga područja, a posebno članci objavljeni u tadašnjoj pedagoškoj periodici<sup>9</sup> (Munjiza, 1982, 2002a, 2003). Deskriptivnom metodom prikupljeni podatci su analizirani, objašnjeni opisani i prema njihovim karakteristikama klasificirani u određene sadržajne kategorije.

<sup>8</sup> U *Zbirci Zakonah i naredbah* objavljeni u sljedeći školski propisi sa snagom zakona: Propis o nastavi u pučkih učionah vojne Krajine; Propis o obrazovanju učiteljah i učiteljicah za pučke učione u vojnoj Krajini; Propis o uređenju pravnih odnošajah učiteljstva na pučkih učionah u vojnoj Krajini; Propis o nadzoru učionah u vojnoj Krajini i Učevnu osnovu za obće pučke učionice.

Uistoj Zbirci objavljeni su i zakoni o političko-pravnom ustrojstvu: Red za gradove u c. kr. hrvatsko-slavonskoj vojnoj Krajini i Red za obćine u c. kr. hrvatsko-slavonskoj vojnoj Krajini.

<sup>9</sup> Najveći broj članaka nađen je u *Napretku*. *Napredak* je naš najstariji pedagoški časopis koji kontinuirano izlazi od 1859. godine. Puni bibliografski podatci nalaze se na kraju rada u Bibliografiji.

Neeksperimentalnom kauzalnom metodom utvrđena je veza između teritorijalno-političko-društvenoga ustrojstva i oblika i sadržaja školskoga upravljanja i nadzora.

Kako je školstvo i škola u permanentnoj transformaciji, poželjno je poznavati prošlu praksu i iskustva radi boljšega razumijevanja sadašnjosti i planiranja budućnosti, kako se ne bi pravile iste ili slične greške i propusti, kako bi se iz povijesti učilo.

## Upravljanje i nadzor u hrvatskom školstvu u povijesnom kontekstu i kontinuitetu

### *Upravljanje i nadzor u hrvatskom školstvu u Austrijskom Carstvu i Austro-Ugarskoj Monarhiji*

Upravljanje i nadzor u hrvatskom školstvu od *Općeg školskog reda* 1774. godine do uvođenja školske obveznosti 1874. (1871.) godine

Inicijativom i zalaganjem carice Marije Terezije na području velikoga Austrijskog Carstva otvaraju se škole koje su prema bitnim karakteristikama različite: dužini trajanja, nastavnim planovima i programima, didaktičko-metodičkoj orijentaciji. Iz navedenih razloga carica Marija Terezija u sklopu svojeg prosvjetiteljskoga vladanja poduzima potrebne mjere za provođenje cjelovite školske reforme.

Novu školsku reformu priredio je Ivan Ignjat Felbiger koju je javno obznanio 1774. godine pod nazivom *Opći školski red*. Prema navedenom *Općem školskom redu*, novi školski sustav sastojao se od: trivijalnih, glavnih i normalnih škola (razlike među njima opisane su u prethodnom tekstu). Za svaku od navedenih škola propisani su posebni nastavni planovi i programi. Navedeni školski sustav kao i njihovi planovi i programi vrijedili su na području cijeloga Austrijskog Carstva, čime je ispunjen zahtjev ujednačavanja školskoga sustava.

Uz navedeni *Opći školski red*, Felbiger je izdao i *Methodenbuch*. U tom priručniku navedene su didaktičko-metodičke metode poučavanja, disciplinski red za učenike, a uz to propisani su oblici i sadržaji školskoga upravljanja i nadzora.

*Glavne i normalne škole* dobile su funkciju ravnatelja<sup>10</sup>. Ravnatelj je biran iz redova učitelja. Normalno je radio u razredu, ali je povrh toga još upravljao školom i nadzirao rad ostalih učitelja. Kako su i trivijalne škole tijekom vremena prerastale u dvorazredne, trirazredne i četverorazredne<sup>11</sup>, to se i u njima otvara mjesto ravnatelja škola s istim pravima i obvezama.

Školstvo je imalo dva oblika nadzora *eksterni i interni*. Eksterni nadzor vršili su školski nadučitelji<sup>12</sup> glavnih i normalnih škola kao školski nadzornici. Oni uz službu učitelja u svojim školama uz posebnu nagradu nadziru rad svih škola na svojem području u stručno-didaktičkom području. Kako bi pregled škola bio što kvalitetniji i ujednačeniji,

<sup>10</sup> U *glavnim školama* u pravilu su radila tri učitelja, a u *normalnim školama* četiri učitelja.

<sup>11</sup> U *jednorazrednoj školi* radi jedan učitelj sa svim učenicima, u *dvorazrednoj školi* rade dva učitelja, a u *trirazrednoj i četverorazrednoj školi* rade tri odnosno četiri učitelja.

<sup>12</sup> Učitelji u glavnim i normalnim školama.

u *Methodenbuchu* navedeni su *protokoli promatranja*. Prema tim protokolima svaki nadzornički pregled trebao je obuhvatiti:

1. stanje školske zgrade i opreme,
  2. da li se poučava propisano nastavno gradivo, i da li se koriste propisani udžbenici?
  3. da li mladež marljivo pohađa nastavu, ima li oko tog problema i koje su naravi?
  4. da li se učitelj marljivo priprema za nastavu i da li uredno vrši svoje ostale dužnosti?
- (Cuvaj, 1910, 513-515)

Svoja zapažanja o pregledu škole nadzornici su pisali u obliku ljetopisa, prema školskim godinama upisujući u posebne knjige kao što je bila *Knjiga opaženih mana i nedostataka pedagoško-didaktične naravi*. Isto tako svoja su zapažanja u obliku izvještaja dostavljali upravnim vlastima (Sačer, 1901).

Školski nadzornici obvezno su bili prisutni godišnjim ispitima u školama. Po završetku ispita školski nadzornici mogli su predložiti školu, učitelje i učenike za nagrade i priznanja. Uz nadzor škola vezan je i pojam *počasnih i sramotnih klupa*. Počasne klupe bile su prve u učionici i u njima su sjedili najbolji učenici. Sramotne klupe<sup>13</sup> bile su zadnje i u njima su sjedili najlošiji učenici.

Upravno-gospodarski nadzor nad radom škola provodili su upravni časnici i dočasnici. Vjerski nadzor vršili su od ordinarijata odabrani svećenici (Grginčević, 1885.) Interni nadzor u svojoj školi vršili su ravnatelji koji su u skladu s tadašnjim propisima također mogli poduzimati disciplinske mjere.

Upravljanje školama ima kolegijalni karakter. Ono je povjereno školskim povjerenstvima, koja su se uglavnom nalazila u štopskim mjestima<sup>14</sup> i sjedištima župa. Školska povjerenstva u pravilu sastojala su se od:

- 2-3 predstavnika nadležne političke vlasti
- predstavnika ordinarijata određene vjerske zajednice<sup>15</sup>
- ravnatelja glavne ili normalne škole
- zapisničara

Iz strukture vidljivo je da su se u školskim komisijama nalazili *predstavnici vlasti, crkve i škole*. U nadležnosti školskih komisija/povjerenstava bili su sljedeći poslovi:

1. izdavanje dekreta o imenovanjima i premještanjima učitelja
2. razmatranje izvještava školskih nadzornika i poduzimanje odgovarajućih mjera
3. imenovanje školskih nadzornika
4. upravljanje školskim zakladama i rukovođenje školskim redom.

Ravnatelji škola su unutar propisanih uvjeta interno upravljali školom: vodili računa o izgledu školske zgrade, učilima, namještaju, udžbenicima. Iz do sada navedenoga vidljivo

<sup>13</sup> U vrijeme mojega osnovnog školovanja te su klupe još nazivane „magarećim klupama“.

<sup>14</sup> Štopsko mjesto predstavljalo je grad u kojemu je bilo sjedište pukovnije.

<sup>15</sup> Narodne elementarne škole po osnivanju bile su općinske, po nastavnom jeziku hrvatske, a po dužini trajanja elementarne-dvogodišnje.

je da je za novi školski sustav država osigurala eksterne i interne oblike upravljanja i nadzora u stručno-pedagoškom, upravnom i vjerskom području (Grginčević, 1885).

Navedeni školski sustav nije osiguravao ni masovno ni obvezno školstvo. Nova kvaliteta u hrvatskom školstvu događa se otvaranjem narodnih elementarnih škola 1830. godine. *Narodne elementarne škole* otvaraju se u svim naseljima i time postaju masovne, što je pretposljednji korak u uvođenju školske obveznosti. Uvođenjem narodnih elementarnih škola, školski sustav u Hrvatskoj postaje dualan. S jedne strane postoje *državne škole*, a s druge strane *općinske škole*, što će se odraziti i u području školskoga upravljanja i nadzora.

Uprava nad školama bila je vertikalno hijerarhijski organizirana kroz: Zemaljsku školsku komisiju, pukovnijske (županijske) školske komisije, općinska zapovjedništva, odnosno vijeća. U nadležnosti školskih komisija nalazila su se sljedeća područja:

*Zemaljska školska komisija* donosila je nastavne planove i programe, njihove izmjene i dopune uvažavajući primjedbe s terene kroz institucije školskih nadzornika. Pukovnijske i županijske školske komisije su, pored ostaloga, organizirale permanentne oblike stručnoga usavršavanja učitelja i na taj način čuli i glas školske prakse (Munjiza, 2005). Isti organizacijski model vrijedio je i pri izdavanju školskih udžbenika. Zemaljska školska komisija objavljivala je javni poziv, a županijske i pukovnijske komisije su ga operacionalizirale i pozivale učitelje sa svojega područja da prijave rukopise. Nisu bili rijetki primjeri da su učiteljima praktičarima odobravani rukopisi.

O materijalno-financijskom stanju školstva Zemaljska školska komisija vodila je načelnu brigu, a županijske, odnosno pukovnijske su je operacionalizirale. O elementarnim narodnim školama ukupno materijalno-financijsku brigu preuzele su dotične općine pa time i funkciju upravljanja i nadzora. Status ravnatelja kao upravitelja nije doživio značajnijih izmjena.

U školski nadzor uvodi se funkcija *općinskog, odnosno mjesnog školskog nadzornika* koji će izazvati veliku raspravu školskih praktičara (o čemu će se pisati kasnije)<sup>16</sup>.

### ***Upravljanje i nadzor u hrvatskom školstvu nakon uvođenja školske obveznosti***

U drugoj polovini XIX. stoljeća u Austrijskom Carstvu događaju se značajne političko-teritorijalne promjene. Glomazno Austrijsko Carstvo preustrojeno je Austro-ugarskom nagodbom u Austro-Ugarsku Monarhiju. Prema toj nagodbi Hrvatska i Slavonija dolaze po jurisdikciju Ugarske. Dalmacija i Istra i dalje ostaju odvojene od Hrvatske pod direktnom upravom Austrije. Hrvatska je s Ugarskom 1868. sklopila posebnu nagodbu prema kojoj je dobila samostalnost u sudstvu, upravi i školstvu, čime su stvorene preduvjeti za samostalnim organiziranjem školstva (Franković, 1958).

Gotovo u isto vrijeme, od 1871. godine, počinje proces razvojačenja Vojne krajine koji je dovršen 1886. kada se područje Vojne krajine integriralo u županijski sustav

<sup>16</sup> Martinović (1912) navodi da su u Brodskoj pukovniji, odnosno okrugu, bila 45 mjesna školska nadzornika. Svi su oni bili vojna lica od frajta do upravnoga poručnika, osim jednoga trgovca.

Hrvatske. U procesu razvojačenja Vojne krajine, 1871. godine, donosi se niz školskih propisa sa snagom zakona kojim se uvodi školska obveznost, uređuje školstvo pa i područje upravljanja i nadzora. Upravna i nadzorna organizacija školstva na području Vojne krajine prikazana je na Slici 1.

Slika 1.

Vrhovnu upravu i nadzor nad školstvom na području Vojne krajine vršilo je Glavno vojno zapovjedništvo u Zagrebu. Uprava i nadzor bili su vertikalno hijerarhijski organizirani od zemaljskih (državnih) do općinskih školskih vijeća. *Zemaljsko školsko vijeće* imenovalo je glavno zapovjedništvo i sastojalo se od:

- *predstavnik ureda za upravu, nastavu i bogoslužje*
- *predstavnik zemaljskih školskih nadzornika*
- *predstavnik postojećih vjerskih zajednica*
- *jednog do tri učitelja, predstavnika gradskih, srednjih i pučkih škola.*

Iz sastava Zemaljskog školskog vijeća vidljivo je da su u njemu bili zastupljeni predstavnici političke uprave, vjerskih zajednica, školski teoretičari, ali i predstavnici školske prakse čime mu je osiguran legalitet i legitimitet (*Zbirka zakonah i naredbah...*, 1871). Zemaljsko školsko vijeće brinulo se o ukupnom stanju školstva. Nadziralo je rad nižih školskih upravnih organa. Od njih je dobivalo izvještaje, prijedloge i primjedbe. Zemaljsko školsko vijeće dobivalo je direktne informacije o stanju školstva i od zemaljskih školskih nadzornika. Usvojene i sintetizirane izvještaje dostavljalo je na razmatranje Glavnom vojnom zapovjedništvu nakon čega bi donosilo konačne nastavne planove i programe, propisivalo potrebne udžbenike, propisivalo provedbene propise sve u cilju unapređivanja stanja u školstvu. Ovako postavljen sustav upravljanja osiguravao je brzu i efikasnu dvosmjernu komunikaciju, što je bio osnovni preduvjet za brzo i efikasno djelovanje.

U sjedištima kotara (i u gradovima koji nisu bili kotari) nalazila su se kotarska (gradska) školska vijeća. *Kotarska školska vijeća* činili su:

- *predstavnik gradske (pukovnijske) uprave*
- *nadzornik kotarskih škola*
- *predstavnik vjerskih zajednica, moguće je i manjinske*
- *dva učitelja birana na kotarskoj učiteljskoj skupštini*
- *četiri do šest predstavnika grada (pukovnije)*
- *ravnatelji svih ostalih škola mogli su prisustvovati sjednicama, ali bez prava glasa.*

Sastav kotarskih školskih vijeća bio je isti kao i Zemaljskog školskog vijeća i osiguravao je upravnu, stručnu i vjersku upravu i nadzor na svom području (*Zbirka zakonah i naredbah...*, 1871). *Kotarsko školsko vijeće* vodi ukupnu brigu o stanju školstva na svojem području, a posebno o stanju školskih zgrada, učila, namještaja i udžbenika. Također, vodila se briga o redovitom učeničkom pohađanju nastave i poduzimanju odgovarajućih mjera, međuljudskim odnosima između učitelja, učenika i roditelja i



prema potrebi poduzimanju odgovarajućih mjera: sudjelovanje u postupku primanja i napredovanja učitelja, sazivanje kotarskih učiteljskih skupština; nadziranje rada mjesnih školskih vijeća i redovito izvještavanje Zemaljskog školskog vijeća o stanju školstva na svojem području. Općine biraju svoja školska vijeća. *Općinska školska vijeća* sastoje se od:

- *predstavnik političko-upravne vlasti u pravilu načelnika općine*
- *mjesnog/župnog katahete*
- *jednog ili dva učitelja*
- *dva člana općinskog vijeća*
- *patrona škole, ako ga škola ima.*

Sastav mjesnoga školskog vijeća je analogan prethodnim. Mjesno školsko vijeće upravlja nadležnim školama i vodi ukupnu brigu o materijalno-financijskom poslovanju škole, sudjeluje u postupku izbora učitelja, raspravlja o stanju u školama i međuljudskim odnosima, šalje izvještaje kotarskim školskim vijećima. Mandat svim članovima školskih vijeća traje tri godine i obnovljiv je. Odbijanje preuzimanja funkcije člana školskih vijeća novčano je kažnjivo (*Zbirka zakona i naredbi...*, 1871).

Prema istom hijerarhijskom načelu postavljani su školski nadzornici. Zemaljsko školsko vijeće imenovalo je zemaljske i kotarske školske nadzornike u pravilu najstručnije i najuglednije učitelje u svojoj sredini. Općinske školske nadzornike imenovalo je mjesno školsko vijeće, što je često bio veliki izvor problema zbog njihove nestručnosti.

Školski nadzornici u pravilu su vršili stručno-pedagoški nadzor. Zemaljski školski nadzornici obilazili su škole prema godišnjem rasporedu ili prema pozivu. Kotarski školski nadzornici morali su svaku školu u tijeku školske godine posjetiti barem jednom. Mjesni školski nadzornici često su posjećivali školu, ponekad i bez najave, što je stvaralo napete odnose između mjesnih školskih nadzornika i učitelja. Kotarski školski nadzornici obvezno su prisustvovali završnim godišnjim ispitima i imali su mogućnost predlaganja i nagrađivanja škola, učitelja i učenika.

Nakon pregleda kotarski i zemaljski školski nadzornici pisali su izvještaj o pregledu, stanju, uočenim manama i prijedlogu mjera koje su dostavljali školi i upravnom nadležnom organu. Nadležni kotarski upravni organ sintetizira izvještaje nadzornika sa svojeg područja i šalje ga Zemaljskom školskom vijeću.

Školskim propisima iz 1871. godine na području Vojne krajine ukinute su sve dotadašnje vrste škola i formirana je jedinstvena četverorazredna opća pučka škola<sup>17</sup>. Više upravnih i školskih propisa osigurali su upravni i nadzorni sustav vertikalno organiziran od zemaljskoga (državnog) do općinskoga, a sadržajno od upravnoga, stručno-pedagoškoga do vjerskoga. Školski nadzor posebno u instituciji zemaljskih i kotarskih školskih nadzornika postaje u potpunosti stručan, organiziran, sustavan i u mnogim elementima efikasan s izuzetkom mjesnih školskih nadzornika.

<sup>17</sup> Četverorazredna opća pučka škola u praksi je mogla trajati šest godina. Zakon je predviđao kao mogućnost pripremnoga razreda i dva godišta četvrtoga razreda.

Školskim zakonom iz 1874. godine uvedena je obvezna četverorazredna opća pučka škola u civilnu Hrvatsku i Slavoniju.<sup>18</sup> Kako je razvojačenje Vojne krajine dovršeno 1886. godine i njezin teritorij uključen u županijski sustav Hrvatske to su na istom području postojala dva školska zakona. Zbog toga je 1888. godine donesen jedinstveni školski zakon za cijelo područje Hrvatske. Dva navedena školska zakona iz 1874. i 1888. godine su u mnogome slični pa će njihova analiza u području školskoga upravljanja i nadzora analizirati jedinstveno. Jedino će se posebno izdvojiti i naglasiti specifičnosti. Upravljanje i nadzor u školstvu prema ovim školskim zakonima prikazan je na Slici 2.

Slika 2.

Upravljanje i nadzor nad školama organiziran je na načelu teritorijalno-političkoga ustrojstva države. U teritorijalnom ustrojstvu postoje područja: država, županija, kotar (grad) i općina. Svaka od navedenih ustrojbenih jedinica ima organiziranu opću upravu i posebno školsku upravu. Uprave različitih razina imenuju/postavljaju školske nadzornike. U vertikalno-hijerarhijskoj organizaciji postoje tri razine školskih odbora: *zemaljski, županijski i općinski*. *Zemaljski školski odbor* sastoji se od:

- *stručnih organa vlade*
- *po jedan zastupnik svake priznate vjeroispovijesti*
- *šest od Zemaljske vlade imenovanih pučkih učitelja i drugih školskih stručnjaka.*

Prema zakonu iz 1874. i 1888. godine zemaljsku školsku upravu vrši Zemaljska vlada, odnosno njezin stručni dio, Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu. Mandat članova Zemaljskog školskog odbora traje tri godine i obnovljiv je.

Zemaljska vlada, odnosno Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu brine o ukupnom stanju i napretku školstva u državi, a posebno o:

- izdavanju naučne osnove, njihove izmjene i dopune
- propisivanju i tiskanju školske udžbenike i ostale pomoćne literature
- konačno imenovanje i otpuštanje učitelje
- vođenje vrhovnog nadzora nad radom svih škola
- rješavanje svih predmeta u upravnim postupcima
- izrađivanju i javnom objavljivanju statističkih godišnjaka o školstvu.

Informacije o stanju u školstvu prima od nižih županijskih školskih odbora i nadzornika (Zakon o školstvu 1874; 1888). Svaka županija ima svoj županijski školski odbor koji vodi ukupnu brigu o školstvu na svojem području, njime upravlja i njega nadzire. Članovi županijskoga školskog odbora (Zakon, 1874) su:

- *županijski školski nadzornik*
- *predstavnici različitih vjera koji ispunjavaju propisane uvjete*
- *dva učitelja koji se biraju na županijskoj učiteljskoj skupštini*
- *šest članova županijske vlasti.*

<sup>18</sup> I ovaj je školski zakon ukinuo sve dotadašnje vrste škola i uveo jedinstvenu opću pučku školu. Ona je u praksi mogla trajati pet godina jer je zakon dopuštao dva godišta četvrtoga razreda.

Zakon iz 1888. godine dopunio je sastav županijskoga školskog odbora s velikim županom ili njegovim zamjenikom kao predsjednikom, nadležnim liječnikom i inženjerom<sup>19</sup> (Zakon, 1888). Prema svojem sastavu županijski školski odbori osiguravali su stručno-pedagošku, upravnu, vjersku i zdravstvenu kompetentnost. Gradovi koji nisu bili županijski centri mogli su prema istim kriterijima imenovati gradski (kotarski) školski odbor koji je u svim poslovima bio nadležan za svoje područje.

Županijski i gradski (kotarski) školski odbori vode ukupno materijalno-financijsku brigu o školstvu svojeg područja: gradnji novoga školskog prostora, adaptaciji i proširenju postojećega, nabavci učila i namještaja, kao i potrebnih udžbenika i pomoćne literature za učenike. Raspravljaju o urednom učeničkom polasku škole i poduzimaju potrebne mjere.

Županijski školski odbor pregledava financijske planove i izvještaje općinskih školskih odbora i konačno ih usvaja, odnosno odobrava. U disciplinskim postupcima djeluje kao drugostupanjski organ. Podnosi redovite izvještaje županijskoj upravi i Zemaljskom školskom odboru. Organizira stručno usavršavanje učitelja kroz županijske i kotarske učiteljske skupštine (Munjiza, 1982, 2004a, 2005). Sve prijedloge i primjedbe stručne, upravne ili materijalne naravi prosljeđuje županijskoj upravi i Zemaljskoj vladi odnosno Odjelu za bogoštovlje i nastavu (Zakoni 1874; 1888). Svaka općina ima svoj općinski školski odbor. Članovi *općinskog školskog odbora su:*

- predstavnik općine, načelnik ili njegov zamjenik
- župnik većinske vjere, može i manjinske ako ima najmanje 20<sup>20</sup> učenike dotične vjere
- dva do pet članova općinskog vijeća, po mogućnosti iz svim mjesta školskog područja, ako ih ima
- ravnajući učitelj
- patron škole, ako ga škola ima.

Zakon iz 1888. godine i u općinske školske odbore uveo je liječnika, ako ga općina može osigurati i predstavnika roditelja čime je dodatno dobio na transparentnosti i kvaliteti. Nadležnost općinskoga školskog odbora slična je kao i kod prethodnih, ali je ograničena na svoje područje. Općinski školski odbori su u upravnom, materijalnom, financijskom i kadrovskom području prvostupanjski organi. U svim navedenim školskim odborima mandat traje tri godine i obnovljiv je. Načelnik, župnik, učitelj i liječnik su virilni članovi, a ostali izborni. Ako se izabrani član bezrazložno odrekne službe, plaća novčanu kaznu (Zakoni, 1874; 1888).

Nadzor nad radom škola je isto tako organiziran vertikalno hijerarhijski i obavljaju ga zemaljski, županijski i općinski (mjesni) školski nadzornici. Zemaljske i županijske školske nadzornike postavlja Zemaljska vlada Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu, po dva zemaljska školska nadzornika za srednje i pučke škole i u pravilu po jednog za svaku

<sup>19</sup> Liječnik se uvodi u županijski školski odbor zbog liječničke skrbi o zdravlju učenika i higijenskih uvjeta školskoga prostora. Inženjer se uvodi zbog izgradnje i dogradnje školskoga prostora.

<sup>20</sup> Zakon iz 1888. godine smanjio je taj broj na 10 učenika.

županiji<sup>21</sup>. Oba školska zakona propisuju i uvjete za školske nadzornike, između ostaloga, da se ističu u stručno-pedagoškom radu, da imaju najmanje deset godina rada u struci i po mogućnosti da su objavili i stručne radove. Nadležnost školskih nadzornika kao stručnih osoba:

- nadziru sve javne i privatne škole na svom području
- u stručno-pedagoškom smislu savjetuju i upućuju učitelje
- pišu službene izvještaje nakon pregleda škola i dostavljaju ih nadležnim službama
- sudjeluju kao članovi izvjestitelji na županijskim školskim odborima
- predsjedavaju županijskim i kotarskim učiteljskim skupštinama.

Općinski školski nadzornici izazivali su najviše prijevora. Njih je imenovao općinski školski odbor. Nisu bili pedagoški stručnjaci, a mogli su stručno-pedagoški nadzirati rad učitelja. Kako ni status gradskih (kotarskih) školskih nadzornika nije bio riješen, i tu je funkciju mogao vršiti svaki član kotarskoga školskog odbora, to se predlagalo uvođenje stručnih gradskih (kotarskih) školskih nadzornika (Zakon 1874; 1888).

Crkveni nadzor navedenim je zakonima odvojen od svjetovnog. Crkva samostalno propisuje nastavne programe, udžbenike i određuje/postavlja vjeroučitelje. Ovisno o veličini škole vjeroučitelji mogu biti profesionalci ili svećenik koji predaje vjeronauk uz posebnu naknadu.

Ova dva školska zakona dodatno su usustavila školsku upravu i školski nadzor, znatno podigli stručnost i kompetentnost i odvojila svjetovni i vjerski nadzor. U oba školska zakona po jedno cijelo poglavlje posvećeno je upravi i nadzoru škole. U školskom zakonu iz 1874. godine od ukupno 195 članaka upravi i nadzoru škole posvećeno je 47 članaka (24 %), a u školskom zakonu iz 1888. godine od 215 članaka upravi i nadzoru škola posvećeno je 39 članaka (18 %), što ukazuje na izuzetnu pažnju ovim područjima.

Demokratičnost i transparentnost vidljiva je i kroz instituciju primanja učitelja u učiteljsku službu. Natječaji su raspisivali školski odbori u javnim glasilima (*Službeni glasnik*)<sup>22</sup> koji sadrže potrebne uvjete, ali i sva zagwarantirana prava. Zakonom propisani uvjeti za prijem u učiteljsku službu su sljedeći: *završena učiteljska škola, potvrda o nekažnjavanju i ćudorednom vladanju*. Općinski školski odbor predlaže tri kandidata (ako ih ima najmanje toliko) županijskom školskom odboru. Županijski školski odbor bira jednog kandidata kojeg konačno potvrđuje Zemaljska vlada Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu<sup>23</sup>. U slučaju krajnje nužde i potrebe učiteljskoga pomoćnika

<sup>21</sup> Prema školskom zakonu iz 1874. godine prvo imenovani županijski školski nadzornici bili su: Franjo Lugarož, Ivan Filipović, Franjo Dür, Dimitrij Vurelja, Marijan Vuković, Stjepan Grotić, Petar Maričić i Đuro Balog (Cuvaj, 1911, str. 7, 9). Prvi zemaljski školski nadzornici za srednje škole bili su: dr. Franjo Maiksner i Martin Jelovšek, a za pučke škole Josip Stipetić i Antun Cuvaj (Cuvaj, 1911, str. 7, 381).

<sup>22</sup> Kao ilustraciju navodimo jedan tekst natječaja: *Na dvorazrednoj dječjačkoj obćoj pučkoj školi u Sunji, ...ima se popuniti drugo učiteljsko mjesto. S ovim mjestom spojena je plaća od 350 forinti na godinu, stanarina u iznosu od 100 forinti, 20 kubika drva za ogrjev, pripada im i pravo svake pete godine dodatak na plaću u iznosu od 10 %. i pravo na mirovinu (Službeni glasnik, 1883, str. 153).*

<sup>23</sup> Kao potvrdu navedene procedure navodimo imenovanje jednog učitelja: Kr. Zemaljska vlada Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu imenovao je učiteljskog pripravnika Josipa Vidakovića privremenim učiteljem obće pučke škole u Novom gradu (*Službeni glasnik, 1883, str. 290*).

može privremeno imenovati i bez natječajnoga postupka županijski školski nadzornik. Nezadovoljni kandidati imaju pravo u zakonskim okvirima na žalbu (Zakoni 1874; 1888).

Iz svega navedenoga vidljivo je da je izbor učitelja imao sve elemente javnosti i demokratičnosti: raspisivanje javnoga natječaja s određenim uvjetima i pravima, trostruki izbor i pravo na žalbu.

*Ravnatelj škole* između postojećih učitelja imenovala su nadležna županijska tijela i on je u svojoj školi zadržao pravo upravljanja i nadzora. Mandat ravnatelja nije bio ograničen jer smo našli na primjere ravnatelja koji su tu službu obavljali i preko 30 godina (Arhiv Osnovne škole „Ivan Filipović“ Velika Kapanica, u daljnjem tekstu Arhiv škole...). Ravnatelj škole imao je pravo nemarnim učiteljima izreći disciplinsku mjeru opomene, a za daljnje i teže postupke prijaviti ga općinskom ili županijskom školskom odboru.

Školski zakoni doneseni u drugoj polovini XIX. stoljeća (1871; 1874; 1888) izazvali su značajan interes školske prakse, odnosno učitelja. Nakon primjene navedenih školskih zakona u školskoj praksi otvara se niz pitanja, nejasnoća, nepotrebnosti i njihova propitivanja. Posebno je značajan interes bio u području školskoga upravljanja, a posebno školskoga nadzora. Kako je upravljanje i nadzor bio verikalno-hijerarhijski organiziran tako je i interes bio specifičan. Što je organ upravljanja i nadzora vertikalno bio viši/udaljeniji to je kod učitelja izazivao manji interes, a kao mogući dodatni razlog je i stručnost nadzornika. Najveći interes u školskoj praksi izazvali su općinski (mjesni) školski odbori i naročito općinski (mjesni) školski nadzornici. Raspravu je moguće pratiti analizom tadašnje pedagoške periodike, posebno *Napretka* (Munjiza, 2003).

Sporan je sastav, stručnost, kompetentnost i izvršnost školskoga odbora. Polovina školskoga odbora postavlja se prema položaju (načelnik, župnik, liječnik i patron ako ga ima). Druga polovina bira se iz redova općinskoga vijeća prema kriteriju inteligentnih, uglednih i zainteresiranih ljudi ma što to značilo. U tako konstituiranom školskom odboru učitelj uglavnom ostaje usamljen, izolirani njegov glas je glas vapijućega u pustinji (Vrbanović, 1879). Premda se župnicima i liječnicima ne može osporiti široko obrazovanje, to još uvijek nije garancija njihove zainteresiranosti za napredak škole. Ako su i zainteresirani, obično ostaju manjina u školskom odboru. Posebno je problematičan odnos između općinske uprave općinskoga vijeća i poglavarstva i školskoga odbora. Općinski školski odbori nemaju izvršne ovlasti. Oni predlažu proračun i tekuće potrebe za školsku godinu. No o njemu raspravlja općinsko poglavarstvo i vijeće koja ga u pravilu samo djelomično prihvaća. Tako ogoljeloga u sastavu općega općinskog proračuna upućuje ga na usvajanje višoj kotarskoj upravi (Arhiv škole..., Sačec, 1888).

U većini slučajeva za općinsko vijeće i poglavarstvo školski proračun je preveliki teret, nastoje ga maksimalno smanjiti i reducirati, a u takvim uvjetima teško je govoriti o napretku škole. Primjetljiva je razlika između zakonske intencije i stvarne školske prakse. Prema školskoj intenciji školski odbori imaju elemente javnosti, lokalne interese i štite interese učitelja, učenika i roditelja. No stvarnost je potpuno suprotna. U njoj

učitelji ostaju osamljeni, izolirani, bez razumijevanja, molitelji za osnovnu plaću učitelja (Klobučar, 1879; Vrbanović, 1879).

Još je znatno teža situacija bila s općinskim školskim nadzornicima. To zakonsko rješenje bilo je toliko loše da se unisono tražilo njegovo ukidanje. Koji su glavni razlozi jedinstvenoga učiteljskog nezadovoljstva institucijom općinskih školskih nadzornika? Temeljni razlog nezadovoljstva bila je njihova *nestručnost i prevelike ovlasti*.

Općinski školski nadzornik nije morao imati nikakve stručne naobrazbe. Dovoljno je bilo da zna čitati i pisati, da je po procjeni općinskoga školskog odbora inteligentan, pošten i prijatelj mladeži (N., 1875). Učitelje kao stručne osobe (završena učiteljska škola, prije toga mala gimnazija ili realka, odrađen pripravnički staž i položen stručni ispit) nadzire potpuno nestručna osoba (Biljan, 1901). Ni u jednom zanimanju ne postoji praksa da nestručnjak nadzire stručnjak. Navodimo stav tadašnjega poznatog hrvatskoga učitelja i pedagoga dr. Jure Turića:

„Mjesni školski nadzornici snizuju učiteljski rad na prosti nadničarski rad, poriču učitelju svaku moralnu silu, ponizuju svaki strukovni nadzor, te ga pretvara u prostu policijsku službu, navodi učitelja na nepedagoški rad i priječi svaki racionalni školski rad.”

(Turić, 1898, 357)

Učitelj je u ovom području u izrazito nepovoljnom položaju jer njegov stručni rad nadzire nestručna osoba. Ovu problematiku dodatno otežava široka ovlast općinskoga školskog nadzornika. Ukupnu nadležnost općinskoga školskog nadzornika moguće je prikazati unutar sljedećih područja:

1. *Nadzire rad učitelja u materijalno-administrativnom području*. Nadzire materijalno stanje školske zgrade, opreme i učila. Isto tako nadzire kako učitelj provodi administrativne mjere. Odobrava izbivanje učitelja i što je posebno značajno procjenjuje treba li učitelj dobiti petogodišnji dodatak<sup>24</sup>. Primanja učitelja direktno su ovisila od nestručnoga općinskog školskog nadzornika (Napredak, 1875; Trstenjak, 1879).

2. *Općinski školski nadzornik kao nestručna osoba ocjenjuje i nastavni rad učitelja*. Prisutan je na godišnjim ispitima i ima pravo postavljati ispitna pitanja premda nema blage veze o nastavnom planu i programu. Često postavlja pitanja izvan nastavnoga programa i pred djecom prigovara i ponižava učitelja za učeničko neznanje. Neki se usuđuju i davati direktne upute „Ovako podučavajte mladež; učenici koji ne znaju ovako računati, ne zaslužuju napredak” (Arhiv škole..., N., 1875, 201).

3. *Općinski školski nadzornici nadgledavaju moralno-čudoredno ponašanje učitelja, kako u školi tako i izvan škole*. Posebno paze bave li se učitelji nekim sporednim poslovima koji su nespojivi s učiteljskom službom (Biljan, 1901).

Učitelji su bili jedinstveni u tome da se obavezno ukine institucija općinskih školskih nadzornika iz ranije navedenih razloga. No nisu bili jedinstveni tko bi ih trebao zamijeniti (Katić, 1906).

<sup>24</sup> Učitelji su u pravilu svake pete godine imali pravo na uvećanje plaće (petogodišnji dodatak), ali ako je njihov rad bio pozitivno ocijenjen i od općinskoga školskog nadzornika, pri čemu je školski vrt morao dobiti najmanju ocjenu dobar.

Dominiković (1902) smatra da bi tu dužnost vrlo uspješno obavljali ravnatelji u svojim školama. Oni su po zvanju stručni/učitelji. Birani su od vlasti kao najistaknutiji i svaki od njih je stručno osposobljen da upravlja svojom školom i nadzire rad učitelja u njoj. Ravnatelji po položaju moraju poznavati školske zakone i propise i provoditi ih u djelo. Stručno pedagoško-didaktički su osposobljeni i nema zapreke da i u tom području uspješno upravljaju školom i nadziru rad učitelja, to im je uostalom i dužnost. Uz navedeno ravnatelji bi trebali imati i neke specifične osobine ličnosti.

„Ravnatelj treba da radi, ravna, upravlja i uređuje, a ne da komandira.... Najbolji je onaj ravnatelj, koji je duboko prodro u obučne predmete, koji ima pedagojskog takta i ljubavi za školu, učitelje i učenike.”  
(Školnik, 1898; Dominiković, 1902, 417)

Među školskim praktičarima razvila se živa rasprava oko uvođenja kotarskih školskih nadzornika. Lavoger je zagovornik uvođenja institucije kotarskih školskih nadzornika. Kotarska školska uprava slično kao i općinski školski odbor sastoji se od virilnih članova (gradonačelnik, svećenik, učitelji, liječnik) i biranih članova gradskoga zastupstva. Prema važećem zakonu svi članovi kotarskoga školskog odbora imaju pravo na školski nadzor bez obzira na struku i stručnost. Umjesto opisanoga stanja Lavoger predlaže da se između učitelja članova kotarskoga školskog odbora jedan najstručniji učitelj izabere za kotarskoga školskog nadzornika (Lavoger, 1906; Lončar, 1907). Rečanović (1906) ne podržava tu ideju. Smatra da bi to bilo dodatno administriranje prema školi i učiteljima i dodatni teret. Bilo je i stajališta da bi funkciju općinskih školskih nadzornika trebali obavljati županijski školski nadzornici, ali uz uvjet da se brojčano povećaju kako bi u svakoj školi mogli boraviti dovoljan broj puta i dovoljno vremena (Pleše, 1901). Prema njemu oni su najveći stručnjaci. Oni pišu stručne članke, udžbenike, metodike, priručnike i najpozvaniji su za funkciju stručnih školskih nadzornika. Uz stručnost i od njega se očekuje humani pristup „da popravlja, upućuje, savjetuje, odobrava i sokoli.” (Pleše, 1901, 347).

Val nezadovoljstva među učiteljima proizvela je i „kontrolna knjiga”, „knjiga didaktičkih mana i pogrešaka”. Prema Sačeru (1901) one su ponižavajuće za učitelje. Umjesto da se u njih upisuju samo kritičke opservacije, Sačer predlaže jedinstvenu metodologiju vođenja tih knjiga. Prema njemu u te bi se knjige trebalo upisivati: datum i vrijeme pregleda, razred (nepodijeljena ili podijeljene škola),<sup>25</sup> ime nadziranoga učitelja, sintetička opisna ocjena učenoga stanja (Sačer, 1901).

Ovakva i slična rasprava vodila se i na kotarskim i županijskim učiteljskim skupštinama. S navedenih skupština Zemaljskoj vladi Odjelu za bogoštovlje i nastavu slale su se rezolucije i zaključci kako bi se na temelju njih preispitao i promijenio sustav nadzora nad školama i učiteljima.

<sup>25</sup> Nepodijeljene su one škole u kojim više razreda obučava jedan učitelj. Podijeljene su one u kojima svaki učitelj obučava jedan razred.

## **Upravljanje i nadzor u hrvatskom školstvu u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji**

Završetkom Prvog svjetskog rata propala je i raspala se Austro-Ugarska Monarhija. Naši narodi koji su živjeli u sastavu Austro-Ugarske Monarhije privremeno stvaraju Državu Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba. No zbog nepovoljnih vanjskih prilika ona se pridružuje u sastav proširene Kraljevine Srbije (ranije su se uključile Crna Gora i Vojvodina) i stvaraju Kraljevinu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, koja će se početkom 1929. godine promijeniti u Kraljevinu Jugoslaviju.

U novostvorenu Kraljevinu Srba Hrvata i Slovenaca različiti narodi unijet će različite školske sustave i prema njima će raditi do donošenja jedinstvenoga školskog zakona 1929. godine. Navedenim školskim zakonom predviđena je narodna osmogodišnja škola.<sup>26</sup>

Novi školski zakon temelji se na novoj teritorijalno-političkoj organizaciji: banovine, srezovi (u daljnjem tekstu kotari) i upravne općine. Kao i u prethodnim školskim zakonima školsko upravljanje i nadzor temeljit će se na novom teritorijalno-političkom ustroju, ali ovaj put s izrazitom čvrstim karakteristikama centralizma. Organizacijski model školskoga upravljanja i nadzora prikazan je na Slici 3.

Slika 3.

Čvrsti politički centralizam osjetio se i u području školstva. Velika koncentracija moći nalazila se u Ministarstvu prosvjete i u ovlastima ministra prosvjete. Sjedište Ministarstva prosvjete i njegova stručnog tijela Glavnog prosvjetnog savjeta nalazilo se u Beogradu. Ministar prosvjete na cijelom području Kraljevine Jugoslavije postavljao je upravitelje škola, koji su mu bili odgovorni i lojalni. Isto tako ministar je (uz propisane formalne uvjete) postavljao banske i kotarske školske nadzornike od kojih se također očekivala lojalnost.

Ministarstvo prosvjete i ministar isto tako imali su presudni utjecaj na banske, kotarske i općinske školske odbore jer je jedna polovina svih članova postavljana po položaju. Nadležnost školskih uprava bila je slična kao i u prethodnim zakonima o vođenju ukupne brige o stanju školstva na svojem području. U pravilu jedna upravna općina ima jedan općinski školski odbor. No ovisno o veličini općine moglo je biti i drugih rješenja, da jedna velika općina ima više općinskih školskih odbora ili da više manjih općina imaju jedan općinski školski odbor. Za gradnju novih škola ili za značajnije adaptacije koje premašuju mogućnosti jedne upravne općine država uskače u pomoć kroz Državni školski fond za gradnju škola. Sastavi općinskih i kotarskih školskih odbora formirani su prema istim načelima: predstavnik vlasti (općinski, gradski), upravitelji škola, mjesni nadležni liječnik (virilna lica) i pet uglednih lica po mogućnosti roditelja. Prema ovom školskom zakonu naglašenija je uloga roditelja u školskom organu uprave.

<sup>26</sup> Navedeni zakon predviđao je četverogodišnju nižu osnovnu školu i četverogodišnju višu osnovnu školu. Viša osnovna škola ostala je neostvareni ideal, tako da će obavezna škola i dalje u praksi trajati četiri godine.



No, u kadrovskoj politici lokalni školski organi izgubili su dio ovlasti. Primanje u učiteljsku službu, kao i premještanje u krajnjoj instanci bili su u ovlasti Ministarstva prosvjete i ministra. Na kraju svake školske godine prikupljali su se podatci o stanju učiteljskoga kadra kako bi se na vrijeme mogli raspisivati natječaji i obaviti premještanje. Na temelju prikupljenih podataka ministar prosvjete na temelju banskih prijedloga najprije određuje premještanje učitelja prema sljedećim kriterijima:

- učitelj početak u pravilu postavlja se u seoske škole
- u varošicu može doći učitelj s pet godina službe
- u varoš može doći učitelj s osam godina službe
- u varoš koja ima punu srednju školu može doći učitelj s deset godina službe
- u varoš koja ima fakultet može doći osoba koja ima 12 godina službe

Pri prvom zapošljavanju vrednovani su sljedeći uvjeti: *uspjeh u školi, dodatni rad u narodnom prosvjećivanju i obiteljske prilike.*

No i pored navedenih, na prvi pogled jasnih kriterija, ukupno kadrovanje na području cijele Kraljevine Jugoslavije bilo je u ovlasti ministra prosvjete. Svi navedeni organi školske uprave i nadzora imali su pravo pokretati disciplinske postupke protiv učitelja i izricati mjere: upravitelj škole opomenu, kotarski načelnik opomenu i ukor, ban gubitak dijela plaće i ministar otpust iz službe (*Zakon o narodnim školama, 1929, u daljnjem tekstu Zakon..., 1929*).

Školske nadzornike od banskih do kotarskih uz ispunjavanje minimalno propisanih uvjeta u konačnici potvrđuje ministar prosvjete. Za banskoga školskog nadzornika mogla je biti imenovana osoba koja je imala sljedeće uvjete: završeni fakultet, položeni profesorski stručni ispit, položenu pedagošku skupinu predmeta i najmanje 15 godina službe.

Banski školski nadzornici svake godine pregledavali su određeni broj škola u svojoj banovini. Utvrđivali su postojeće stanje, predlagali otvaranje novih školskih zgrada i odjeljenja. Isto tako pregledavali su rad kotarskih školskih nadzornika, predlagali su potrebna učiteljska mjesta i njihovo popunjavanje. Vodili su ukupnu školsku statistiku i sve to u formi izvještaja dostavljali Ministarstvu, odnosno ministru. Iz navedenoga vidljivo je da je uloga banskih školskih nadzornika uglavnom bila stručno-savjetodavna, oni su predlagali, a odluke su se donosile u Ministarstvu prosvjete.

Za kotarskoga školskog nadzornika može biti imenovana osoba: sa završenim fakultetom (iznimno i bez njega), položenim ispitima iz filozofsko-pedagoške skupine predmeta i da ima najmanje deset godina rada u školstvu. Kotarski školski nadzornici postavljaju se na 50 do 150 učitelja, tako da se može dogoditi da u jednom kotaru postoje dva školska nadzornika, ali i da jedan školski nadzornik ima nadležnost za dva kotara (*Zakon..., 1929*). U nadležnosti kotarskih školskih nadzornika bili su sljedeći poslovi: pregledava i predlaže godišnje planove škola upravnim vlastima, svaku školu pregledava najmanje dva puta godišnje, brine se o stručnom usavršavanju učitelja, saziva kotarske učiteljske konferencije na kojima održava ogleđna predavanja, sudjeluje u disciplinskim

postupcima, vodi brigu o ponašanju i liku učitelja u školi i izvan škole, vodi školsku statistiku i piše izvještaje prema upravnim i višim školskim vlastima, vodi evidenciju o slobodnim učiteljskim radnim mjestima i o potrebi premještanja (Arhiv škole...).

Upravitelj škole upravlja svojom školom i nadzire rad svojih učitelja. Uvodi u rad učitelje pripravnike, saziva i rukovodi radom učiteljskoga zbora, odobrava službene izostanke učitelja i organizira zamjenu za njih, vodi brigu o redovitom učeničkom polasku škole i poduzima odgovarajuće mjere, vodi kompletnu brigu o materijalno-financijskim poslovanju škole, surađuje s višim upravnim i školskim vlastima i redovito ih obavještava o stanju.

Zakon iz 1929. godine predviđao je ocjenjivanje učitelja. Nakon pregleda učitelja ocjenjuje kotarski školski nadzornik, a ako ga posjeti, i banski školski nadzornik. U predviđenu listu ocjenjivanja ravnatelj kontinuirano unosi sve relevantne podatke, uključujući i svoja zapažanja. Na temelju ocjenjivačke liste donosi se konačna *ocjena za rad učitelja* koja može biti: *odličan (5), vrlo dobar (4), dobar (3), nedovoljan (2) i rđav (1)*. Nedovoljna i rđava ocjena su nezadovoljavajuće. Na ocjenu dobar, nedovoljan i rđav učitelj ima pravo žalbe. Ako se ocjena kotarskoga i banskoga školskog nadzornika razlikuje, mjerodavna je ocjena banskoga školskog nadzornika. Ocjenjivanje učitelja bilo je u funkciji napredovanja i dobivanja povoljnijega učiteljskog mjesta (Arhiv škole..., Zakon..., 1929).

Školska uprava i nadzor bili su i u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji organizirani na teritorijalno-političkom ustrojstvu. Iz teritorijalnoga ustrojstva slijedilo je upravno ustrojstvo, a iz njega školska uprava i nadzor. Prema sastavu, školski upravni organi bili su stručniji sa znatno većom zastupljenosti roditelja, što je poželjno. Nadzor je poprimio stručne karakteristike, propisani uvjeti za kotarske i banske školske nadzornike bili su dosta rigorozni. Općinski školski nadzornici su ukinuti, a taj nadzor preuzimaju upravitelji škola, kao stručne osobe.

No, istovremeno cijeli sustav postavljen je izrazito hijerarhijsko-centralistički. Ministar prosvjete vodi ukupnu kadrovsku politiku: u konačnici odlučuje o imenovanju i premještanju učitelja, imenuje upravitelje, kotarske i banske školske nadzornike i upravitelje škola.

## Zaključna razmatranja

Teritorijalno-političko ustrojstvo (vojne pokrajine, pukovnije, satnije; okružja, kotari, upravne općine; županije, kotari, upravne općine) direktno su određivale opću upravu, a ona je pak određivala školsku upravu. Tako je moguće govoriti o zemaljskoj, županijskoj (pukovnijskoj), kotarskoj i općinskoj upravi kao i o potpuno istoj organizaciji školske uprave i školskoga nadzora.

Kao što je teritorijalno-političko ustrojstvo uvjetovalo opću i školsku upravu i nadzor, isto tako je društveno uređenje uvjetovalo karakter školske uprave i nadzora. U Vojnoj krajini ono je imalo sva obilježja vojničke uprave. Pukovnijsku i satnijsku školsku upravu i nadzor obavljali su časnici i dočasnici, postojalo je i zvanje upravnoga časnika.

Društvene prilike i dosegnuti razvoj uvjetovale su da su početnu upravu i nadzor nad školama obavljali nadležni svećenici u njegovoj punini: materijalno-financijskom, stručno-pedagoškom i vjerskom. Društveni razvoj doveo je do postupne sekularizacije društva i školstva. Proces sekularizacije u školstvu dovršen je donošenjem školskoga zakona 1874. godine. Navedenim zakonom uvedena je profesionalna stručna služba školskih nadzornika i imenovanjem prvih zemaljskih i županijskih školskih nadzornika za srednje i osnovne škole. Svećenicima ostaje nastava vjeronauka i neki elementi brige o moralnosti učitelja.

Identificirani su eksterni i interni oblici školskoga upravljanja i nadzora. Upravljanje ima karakter kolegijalnoga (kolektivnog) organa, a nadzor individualnoga, ponekad i inokosnoga. Školsko upravljanje organizirano je vertikalno-hijerarhijski od zemaljskoga do općinskoga imenovanim različitim terminima kao: školska povjerenstva, školske komisije, školska vijeća, školski odbori.

Sva upravna školska tijela konstituirana su prema istim načelima od predstavnika vlasti, crkve i struke (imenovani-virilni članovi) i biranih članove između viđenijih građana i učitelja praktičara. Odnos je bio podjednak, ali su zbog položaja imenovani članovi bili dominantni. Prema školskom zakonu iz 1888. godine školski su odbori prošireni s liječnicima, inženjerima i predstavnicima roditelja. Udio roditelja u školskim odborima dobio je značajniji broj u školskom zakonu iz 1929. godine. Ovim izmjenama školski odbori dobili su na autoritetu.

Nadležnost školske uprave bila je hijerarhijski organizirana. Zemaljsko školsko vijeće bilo je nadležno za donošenje nastavnih planova i programa, kao i njihovim izmjenama i dopunama, odobravanje tiskanja školskih udžbenika i ostale pomoćne literature, nadzora nad svim nižim školskim organima uprave, imenovanje i postavljanje školskih nadzornika, upravitelja škola, pa u nekim slučajevima i učitelja.

Niži upravni organi (županijski, kotarski, općinski) vodili su ukupnu brigu o školstvu na svojem području: materijalno-financijsko-administrativnom, kadrovskom i oblicima njihovoga permanentnog stručnog usavršavanja. Također, vodili su računa i o redovitom polasku učenika i poduzimanju ako je potrebno odgovarajućih mjera. Prema nižim školskim organima bili su nadređene, a prema višim podređeni. Najviše prijepora školske prakse izazvala je općinska školska uprava zbog pretjerane štedljivosti, a štedljivost i školski napredak ne idu zajedno. Određene interne ovlasti u školskom upravljanju imali su i upravitelji škola.

Školski nadzor isto tako hijerarhijski je organiziran od zemaljskih do općinskih. Školski nadzornici su stručne osobe, postavljeni s temeljnim zadatkom nadzora i unapređivanja školske prakse. U analiziranom razdoblju stručnost školskih nadzornika (osim općinskih) izrazito je napredovala. U početku su to bile osobe koje su znale samo čitati i pisati, a na kraju razdoblja to su fakultetski obrazovane osobe, istaknuti praktičari i pisci udžbenika, priručnika i stručnih članaka.

Školski nadzornici bili su nadležni za pregled svih škola na svojem području prema unaprijed utvrđenom planu, metodologiji i pripremljenim protokolima. Svoja zapažanja

u obliku zapisnika ostavljali su pregledanoj školi i dostavljali nadležnim upravnim i školskim organima. Imali su pravo nakon pregleda predlagati: škole, učitelja i učenike za pohvaljivanje, nagrađivanje i napredovanje. Školski nadzornici organizirali su permanentno stručno usavršavanje kroz županijske i kotarske učiteljske skupštine. Često su i sami održavali ogledna praktična predavanja. Usvojene zaključke i rezolucije prosljeđivali su prema nadležnim upravnim i školskim tijelima. Rak-rana školskoga nadzora bili su općinski školski nadzornici zbog njihove nestručnosti do njihova ukidanja prema školskom zakonu iz 1929. godine. Po navedenom zakonu upravitelji škola preuzimaju stručno-pedagoški nadzor u svojim školama. Zajedno s eksternim nadzornicima upravitelji škola sudjeluju u ocjenjivanju učitelja što je osnovica za njihovo napredovanje, nagrađivanje i premještanje.

Prema sadržaju (područjima) školski nadzor bio je trojak: materijalno-financijski, stručno-pedagoški i vjerski. U početnom obliku školskoga nadzora sva tri oblika vršili su nadležni svećenici. Tijekom vremena školski nadzor se personalno diferencira: materijalno-financijski nadzor vrše upravne vlasti, stručno-pedagoški školski nadzornici, a vjerski svećenici.

Prvi stručno-pedagoški nadzornici bili su nadučitelji. To su učitelji koji su radili u glavnim ili normalnim školama. Oni su uz rad u svojoj školi uz posebnu nagradu nadzirali i rad drugih škola na svojem području. Profesionalizacijom službe školskih nadzornika oni preuzimaju ukupan nadzor nad radom učitelja osim nastave vjeronauka.

U analiziranom vremenu učiteljstvo je doživjelo velike promjene kako prema stručnosti, tako i prema njihovom prijemu u službu. Od početnih polupismenih učitelja došlo se do stručno osposobljenih učitelja s osiguranim oblicima permanentnoga stručnog usavršavanja. Učitelji su u početku bili postavljeni (ponekad i preko svoje volje) da bi se došlo do primanja putem raspisivanja javnih natječaja i propisane i jasne procedure. Doduše korak unazad napravljen je zakonom iz 1929. godine prema koje je u konačnici o prijemu i premještanju učitelja odlučivao ministar prosvjete.

U analiziranom vremenu školski sustav se permanentno transformirao i unaprjeđivao. Od školstva različitoga prema svim bitnim odrednicama, stvorena je jedinstvene četverorazredna pučka škola, s realnim predispozicijama za prerastanje u osmogodišnju. Od pojedinačnih škola za povlaštene, došlo se do masovnoga školstva za sve pa i uvođenja opće školske obveznosti. Tijekom čitavoga razdoblja smanjivao se broj nepodijeljenih škola, tako da su na kraju razdoblja bile samo izuzetak.

Stručnost učitelja znatno se poboljšala. Od priučenih učitelja došlo se do srednjoškolskih stručnih učitelja, u rijetkim prilikama i visokoškolskih. Uvedeni su različiti oblici permanentnoga stručnog usavršavanja, prvenstveno kroz županijske i kotarske učiteljske skupštine. Učitelji praktičari imaju mogućnost iznositi svoje pedagoške poglede i ideje u pedagoškoj periodici. Stručnost učitelja i njihovo stručno usavršavanje doprinijeli su didaktičko-metodičkoj inovaciji nastave.

Isto tako, znatno je poboljšan stručni nadzor koji je dobio i mnoge elemente javnosti i transparentnosti. Školska uprava i nadzor u izrazitoj su funkciji školskoga napretka.

Oni se upravo zbog toga i osnivaju. Ako ne ispunjavaju taj zadatak, onda su nepotrebni. Tadašnja školska uprava i nadzor bili su izuzetno dobro horizontalno i vertikalno povezani. To je omogućavalo središnjim organima školske uprave i nadzora da povlače blagovremene i brze mjere u cilju poboljšanja školske prakse. Samo su u funkciji unaprjeđivanja školske prakse ona školska uprava i nadzor koji svoj rad temelje na brizi, razumijevanju, pomaganju, upućivanju, toleranciji, savjetovanju, odobravanju, predlaganju, blagim opomena i općim ljudskim pristupom.