


Literature Builds Children, Children Build Literature: Literary Education in Socialist Yugoslavia and Children's Literary Agency

Katja Kobolt

Research Centre of Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Slovenia
katja.kobolt@zrc-sazu.si

 © 2024 Katja Kobolt

Abstract. Based on ethnographic work with producers for children in the literary sector in socialist Yugoslavia (1945–1991), this paper turns to the literary education of the time. It reflects discourses, modes and (infra)structures – specialised children's magazines, literary circles and festivals, particularly – that facilitated early and continuous literary and aesthetic education and promoted children's participation in cultural life. The paper argues that the active forms of literary education, even if they were ideologically framed beyond utilitarian and functionalist conceptualisations, nevertheless contributed to the remarkable development of smaller and underdeveloped literary systems, which in some Yugoslav spaces (here mainly in Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina) started more or less from scratch. By reflecting on the past modes of literary education in reference to 'cultural agency', denoting 'a range of social contributions through creative practices' (Sommer 2006, 1), fostering agency also in other fields, the paper proposes their conceptualisation within so-called *literary agency* and frames the latter as a generative and reproductive tool of literary systems, and by extension also of other cultural and social fields as well as of subjectivation.

Key Words: literary education, literary agency, socialist Yugoslavia, Šimo Ešić, Xhevat Sylja, Dije (Qibrije) Demiri-Frangu, festival Kurirček

S književnostjo otroci rastejo, književnost raste z otroki: literarna vzgoja v socialistični Jugoslaviji in literarno delovanje otrok

Povzetek. Na podlagi etnografskega dela z ustvarjalkami/-ci za otroke znotraj otroške književnosti v času socialistične Jugoslavije (1945–1991) se s člankom posvetim takratni literarni vzgoji. Posebej se osredotočam na diskurze, načine in (infra)strukture – otroške revije, literarne krožke in festivale –, ki so omogočali zgodnjo in kontinuirano literarno

ter estetsko vzgojo in spodbujali sodelovanje otrok v kulturnem življenju. Četudi je bila takratna literarna vzgoja večinoma razumljena onkraj utilitarističnih in funkcionalističnih konceptualizacij, skušam razumeti posebej njene aktivne oblike kot vzvode takratnega izjemnega razvoja zlasti manjših in manj razvitih literarnih sistemov, ki so se v nekaterih takratnih jugoslovanskih prostorih (predvsem na Kosovu ter v Bosni in Hercegovini) šele vzpostavljali. Z razmislekom o preteklih načinih literarne vzgoje v povezavi s »kulturnim delovanjem«, ki označuje »vrsto družbenih prispevkov preko ustvarjalnih praks«, ki spodbujajo delovanje tudi na drugih področjih (Sommer 2006), v članku predlagam njihovo konceptualizacijo znotraj t. i. »literarnega delovanja« kot generativnega in reproduktivnega vzvoda za razvoj ter prenovno literarnih sistemov kakor tudi za subjektivacijo in delovanje, ki presega samo polje književnosti.

Ključne besede: literarna vzgoja, literarno delovanje, socialistična Jugoslavija, Šimo Ešić, Xhevat Syla, Dije (Qibrije) Demiri-Frangu, festival Kurirček

Introduction: 'Children Are No Spectators, Children Are Players' (Milarić 1960, 14)

In addition to many catchphrases of our time, this one is also known: 'We live in the century of the child.' Children were given significant freedoms and many [adults] shook their heads, because supposedly children's freedom manifests itself mainly in its flip side: in anarchy and oblomovism.^[1] Cocteau expressed the opinion that young people are unhappy because they do not have the opportunity not to listen. That is completely excessive, taken to the point of absurdity. Children have not yet received elementary freedoms: to be honest, to be direct, to be children. They are in a situation to simulate prematurity, to express themselves with a gesture, instead of an act. [Milarić 1960, 6; translated by Katja Kobolt]

With these introductory words on 'Children's Literary Creativity' to a plenum at the 3rd edition of children's festival Zmajeve dečje igre (1960), Vlatko Milarić – a teacher at the elementary school Vladimir Nazor in Petrovaradin (Serbia) – invoked not only the famous book title by the Swedish feminist pedagogue Ellen Key, *The Century of the Child* (1900)

¹ After Ivan Alexandrovich Goncharov's 1847 novel *Oblomov* about an eponymous anti-hero, 'oblomovism' became synonymous with a dreamy, idle and aimless life and devotion to destiny.

– he also anticipated with his introduction contemporary scholarly and professional discourses on literary education and production for children derived from childism. Initially, the notion of childism was coined to denote prejudices against children, constructing not only children as an inferior social group, but more or less everything that is connected to children, and thus also artistic production *for* and *by* children, as subsidiary. However, in recent international children's literature studies the term has experienced an affirmative re-articulation, as 'a productive starting point for further openings in children's literature and culture studies and childhood studies if it becomes a plural and messy notion that questions the discourse of hope for a better future as defining children's lives' (Deszcz-Tryhubczak and García-González 2022, 1037).

The teacher Vlatko Milarić, who later became one of the leading editors and anthologists of children's literature of his generation in Serbia, and the festival for children Zmajevе dečje igre (Novi Sad, since the year 1957) have belonged to numerous practitioners and (infra)structures of the literary system and of aesthetic education for children in socialist Yugoslavia (1945–1991). The sole fact of the existence of such organisations as Zmajevе dečje igre, as well as the above-named presentation of Milarić to a plenum of children's authors, editors and decision makers in cultural and educational policy, testify to the endeavours socialist Yugoslavia invested in the project of modernisation and humanisation of social relations of the previously underdeveloped and war-torn country through participatory aesthetic and, here particularly, literary education, primarily of children but also other social groups.

The socialist foregrounding of children has, in the post-socialist decades, often been studied through the prism of totalitarianism and authoritarianism, presenting the socialist politics of childhood and its many infrastructures, including literary production for children, mostly as a tool of moulding children into ideal socialist citizens, on the way to establishing the new social order (Vučetić 2001, 251; Erdei 2004, 156). This paper, however, follows more recent research in regard to socialist cultural and childhood politics as well as children's literature scholarship and, along with that, also the suggestion by the above-quoted Vlatko Milarić (1960, 12): to consider production *by* children as a method of literary education. In his – in parts harsh – critical talk, Milarić first condemned various approaches of traditional literary education, which in his eyes often reduced children to passive imitators of given interpretations, forms and ideas, emphasising rational approaches and practical language (Milarić

1960, 8–9). He talked instead in favour of literary education raising affective relations towards literature and underlined that this can be realised only if children are free to write the way they want to and in their ‘authentic children’s language,’ not following the guidelines and adults’ ideas of what literary language *is* (pp. 8–9). Milarić (p. 12) saw the immanence of the active method *off/in* writing by children as twofold:

1. Children’s writing constitutes on the one hand a so-called literary child;
2. and on the other it constitutes a literary author.

In other words, the active method adds to and co-defines the image of children and ideas of childhood *in* literature. In addition, through the experience of writing, the active method promotes understanding of literary works as specific expressions of an artist about life and as such also promotes self-awareness and autonomy in children, something which corresponds with intergenerational and relational conceptualisations in contemporary children’s literature scholarship, anchored predominantly in childism (Deszcz-Tryhubczak and Jaques 2021; Deszcz-Tryhubczak and García-González 2022).²

Reading historical discourses on literary and aesthetic education of the time and drawing on interviews³ with children’s authors – Šimo Ešić

² Both aspects of participatory literary education addressed by Milarić in the year 1960 have also marked more recent international scholarship on children’s literature, especially since the influential *The Case of Peter Pan, or the Impossibility of Children’s Fiction* by Jacqueline Rose (1984), as well as Peter Hunt’s *Criticism, Theory, and Children’s Literature* (1991), which both foregrounded the need for an active status and participation of children in children’s literature. While Rose’s main critical claim was that literature for children, and by extension scholarship on it, mainly reflected an imaginary of ideal children produced by adults in order to mould real children after the images presented, Hunt stood up for ‘rereading of texts from [...] a childist point of view’ (Hunt 1991, 143). Along with other influential scholars and works, that followed their proposals, both authors problematised on the one hand the *image of children in literature*, as suggested by children’s narrators, figures and implied readers, and on the other also critically addressed *the status of children as readers, critics and by extension as writers*.

³ The present paper is based on a larger study on socialist Yugoslav children’s literature and its multi-layered and changing ideological, (infra)structural, participatory, iconographic and stylistic characteristics. In its ethnographic part, the paper presents selected authors from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, who were available for interviews and willing to share their documentary material. All of those included were born in the 1950s and participated in literary education activities mostly from the mid-1960s on, when they also gradually started their professional engagement with production for children in socialist Yugoslavia, which they have actively co-shaped since the 1970s.

(b. 1954, Bosnia and Herzegovina),⁴ Dije (Qibrije) Demiri-Frangu (b. 1957, Kosovo) and Xhevat Sylja (b. 1956, Kosovo),⁵ as well as in reference to yet another cross-sectoral event of literary and aesthetic education of the time, the festival Kurirček, based in Maribor, Slovenia, which operated across Yugoslavia between the years 1963 and 1992 – the paper unfolds past participatory modes of literary education and its infrastructures. The paper argues that the participatory forms of literary education, even if they were ideologically framed beyond utilitarian and functionalist conceptualisations, nevertheless contributed to the remarkable development of smaller and underdeveloped literary systems, especially in some Yugoslav spaces (North Macedonia, Monte Negro, Kosovo, and Bosnia and Herzegovina); however, all of the production contexts experienced immense growth of the sector (Kobolt 2022; 2023a). The different socialist Yugoslav production contexts of children's literature were fragmented nationally and also language-wise;⁶ however, they were also ideologically and structurally connected, thus the following findings are also applicable to other Yugoslav production contexts of the time. By reflecting on the past modes of literary education in reference to 'cultural agency,' as a term denoting a 'range of social contributions through creative practices' (Sommer 2006, 1), the paper proposes their conceptualisation within *literary agency* and frames the latter as a generative and reproductive tool of development and renewal of literary systems and by extension also of other cultural and social fields.

Literary Education as Participation in Culture

The centrality of culture in the Yugoslav project of social emancipation – in terms of class, gender, ethnicity and generation – has been emphasised by many scholars and also practitioners of the time.⁷ In line with

⁴ Interview conducted by the researcher in Tuzla in 2023.

⁵ Interviews conducted by the researcher in Pristina in 2022.

⁶ Writers in the so-called smaller languages like Slovenian, Macedonian, Albanian and also in minority languages, and by extension also illustrators that were equipping their publications with illustrations, depended much more on translation practices and networks, whereas writers in Serbo-Croatian, as it was called at the time, potentially addressed a much larger readership, because the different national variants of the Serbo-Croatian standard were largely understood in Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina even if written in different script (Latin or Cyrillic).

⁷ Within the past socialist Yugoslav research on cultural policy, the term 'culture' was used as an umbrella term and suggested different modes of participation. For the Slavacist and

the idea of enlightened rational subjectivity as the product of a human's own work, characteristic also of other socialist emancipatory projects of the time,⁸ the core Yugoslav socialist idea of freeing people from alienated work and working towards (more) self-determined work and relations in production and thus life, was, especially since the introduction of self-management from the 1950s on, based on the project of 'humanizing' social relations mainly through education and cultural activity (Alečković 1954, 366; Kocijan 1970a; 1970b; Moder 1974; 1981; Žnideršič 1972; 1977).⁹ Thus, the cultural policy of the time was directed towards the cultural participation of different social groups,¹⁰ and was, in the course

later literary historian Gregor Kocijan (1970 and 1970b), who in the 1960s and 1970s, commissioned by the Association of Unions of Slovenia (Zveza sindikatov Slovenije) and the Cultural Community of Slovenia (Kulturna skupnost Slovenije), paid attention to worker's culture and cultural policy and its implementation, the term 'culture' thus covered the 'cultural-artistic field, forms, content and organisation, which concern cultural-artistic production and its circulation among people' and phenomena such as 'cultural life', 'satisfaction of cultural needs', 'cultural activity', 'cultural values' and 'cultural goods', etc. (Kocijan 1970a, 425).

⁸ Cf. the paper by the theatre researcher Wolfgang Wöhlert from East Berlin, who presented at the UNESCO symposium at the 19th Jugoslovenski festival djeteta – Šibenik in the year 1979: 'Marx's fundamental thought that people in the practical life process develop as creative personalities and, as subjects of history, understand and act, applies to children as well as to adults. Therefore, in socialist countries, the youth is a partner of adults in the social development process, it is the subject of education, which co-shapes and educates' (p. 1). At the same symposium, the children's author Pero Zubac (1945–) made a similar claim, proposing that children, as they influence adults, have by that influence also the potential to change the world (Zubac 1979, 3). The relation between adults and children (and by extension also between other living beings (Deszcz-Tryhubczak and García-González 2022) has built the core of the recent conceptualisations of childism.

⁹ Active participation was a common *topos* in discourses on cultural policy and aesthetic education of the time, cf. the programmatic speech on production for children's literature by an influential children's poet, editor, and decision-maker Mira Alečković (1955) in front of the 4th Congress of the Yugoslav Writers' Union in Ohrid, Macedonia, 1955 (Kobolt 2022). Franček Bohanec (1958, 5), a writer, editor and director of the children's public library in Ljubljana (Pionirska knjižnica), where aesthetic education was promoted by involving artists in workshops with children, wrote in his compendium on literary education: 'By active aesthetic education I mean that education which encourages children to be creative themselves.' The studies by the Institute for statistics of SR Slovenia and Cultural Community of Slovenia provide information on the cultural participation of workers and other groups provide (Moder 1974; 1981). Valuable insights into cultural participation of households/families, and thus also into children's reading culture, are offered also by the study by a researcher of publishing and a manager in publishing, Martin Žnideršič (1972; 1977).

¹⁰ Next to national languages of individual socialist republics and autonomous regions, writing and publications in minority languages like Hungarian, Slovak, Turkish and

of its relatively short though diverse historical development, subject to change (Gabrič 1991; Praznik 2021; Kobolt 2022; 2023a; forthcoming). Within the self-management of the 1970s, the cultural policy was based on different laws¹¹ promoting participation of different social groups, among which children and youth were the principal group. The period since the late 1970s has even been denoted as a ‘society of culture’ (slov. *družba kulture*) (Korda 2008, 291). Proposed by sociologist, cultural practitioner and artist Neven Korda, ‘society of culture’ refers particularly to the ‘global shift from industrial society’ to the so-called ‘alternative cultures’ or ‘subcultures,’ creating intersections of art, culture, and entertainment (p. 283). While Korda, when forging the term, probably did not particularly have in mind children’s culture, especially as children’s culture has been much more entangled with different state apparatuses (institutions of care, school, and of out-of-school education as well as with different state and ‘civil society’¹² organisations), I propose to consider children’s culture also as a part of the larger context of the ‘society of culture.’

Rusyn were also promoted. A volume edited by Tropin and Barač (2019) also offers insights into different Yugoslav periodicals for children in minority languages.

¹¹ The cultural policy of participation was implemented through the so-called cultural communities (slov. *kulturne skupnosti*) as hubs of differently organised cultural organisations and associations, operating in a cross-sectoral manner with the so-called organisations of associated work (slov. *organizacije združenega dela*) (Moder 1981). The policy was based on different laws on associated work, defining social economic relations and self-managed organisation of work among workers in organisations of associated work; the so-called Law on Common Grounds of Free Work Exchange (Zakon o skupnih osnovah svobode menjave), which anticipated ‘the realisation of free exchange of work in order to fulfil personal and common needs as well as interests in culture, upbringing and education, science, health and other social activities and some other activities of material production, by the ways of free exchange and integration of work by workers in organisations of associated work in the field’ (p. 12). Thus the General Directions of Cultural Development in Slovenia in the Period 1981–1985 (*Splošne usmeritve kulturnega razvoja v Sloveniji v obdobju 1981–1985*) particularly stressed the ‘enforcement of social relations, in which culture will not be conceived as part of consumption, but as an essential component of the overall material and spiritual reproduction of society, whose role will be defined by its contribution to the satisfaction of common needs and the development of society as a whole’ (p. 75; emphasis added). The Directions particularly promoted the ‘development of artistic creativity’ and ‘accessibility to culture, cultural education, amateurism [slov. *ljubiteljske dejavnosti*]’ and, departing from economic and social inequalities, stood for the closing of material, human and organisational resources gaps in regard to cultural development by different actions, like stipends and subsidies for associations (pp. 75, 77). Among the latter were also youth’s and pioneer’s (children’s) sections in local communities (slov. *krajevne skupnosti*).

¹² Tomaž Mastnak (2023) offers a historic overview of civil society and elaborates on the development of it in the Yugoslav context of the so-called alternatives of the 1980s.

Even if contemporary scholarship only gradually starts paying attention to the multiple past structures and modes of aesthetic education in socialist Yugoslavia – musicologists especially have a leading role here (Duraković 2017; Vesić 2023; Hofman forthcoming) – the broader field of inquiries into cultural production and also childhood politics and ideology has provided valuable insights into different segments, interfaces and manifestations of participation in the cultural production of the time. Anthropologist and ethnomusicologist Ana Hofman, who is also present with a contribution in the current *Anthropos* issue, particularly addresses amateur cultural activities in her work, especially in relation to the historical antifascist struggle within the people's liberation front (NOB, 1941–1945), as well as contemporary antifascist protests and leisure activities. Researcher of music pedagogy Lada Duraković (2023) pays attention not only to in-school music education but also to different out-of-school structures of the time.

Research in other fields also offers valuable considerations on participation in the cultural production of the time. Participation in culture and arts of the time has also been questioned, particularly in recent art history: if Bojana Videkanić (2019) explored how cultural workers participated and collaborated within the non-aligned movement and its cultural policy in order to create global counter-hegemonic artistic and cultural networks and proposed a term of 'non-aligned modernism,' Petja Grafe-nauer and Daša Tepina (2024) have observed the lack of participation, or rather ignorance of the local (Ljubljana) artistic scene towards the presentations of their colleagues from the non-aligned countries (in the framework of the Ljubljana Biennale of Graphic Arts). When exploring different aspects of production of monuments in regard to the commemoration and celebration of the NOB and the revolution, Sanja Horvatinčić and Beti Žerovc (2023) observed a decrease in participation throughout the Yugoslav temporality. While in the first decade and a half after WWII, local communities also participated in the production of monuments, later on monuments became huge and elitist memorial centre projects, evoking participation mostly as rejection of too-inaccessible stylistic formations. Researcher of theatre and performance arts Branislav Jakovljević (2016) observed performing practices in the political economy of self-management. Following the relation between state (performances), performing practices and conservative reforms in parallel to the global, especially post-1968, neoliberal renewal of capitalism, Jakovljević showed how artistic and state performances revealed ruptures in self-management and

its participation practices. In regard to childhood politics and ideology, the historian Igor Duda (2015) researched the Yugoslav and Croatian Pioneer organisation, respectively, and even if he pointed to the centrality of children's participation, he also reflected the relational aspects and within those the persistence of romanticised conceptions of childhood, positioning children many times as still subordinated. Anthropologist of childhood Barbara Turk Niskač (2023) analysed the ideology and experiences of play/work by children within structures of self-management. She observed an amalgamate of the above-mentioned Marxist ideology of self-determined work and of the 'ethos of the agricultural society's domestic economy' (Turk Niskač 2023, 462). The historian Ljubica Spaskovka (2017) researched youth politics and youth activism in regard to participation in articulation, questioning and rethinking Yugoslav socialism and Yugoslavism. What do these scattered fields of research have in common besides all of them referring to cultural production in socialist Yugoslavia? They all reflect different (infra)structures and modes of participation culture (or the lack of it) and their impact (or the lack of it) on the 'society of culture.'

Literary Agency

Children's active participation in the literary education of the time has been mostly denoted as 'literary creativity' (serb.-cro. *literarno stvaralaštvo*) (Filipović 1968; Nola 1972; Tasić 1972). Danica Nola, one of the key figures in the post-WWII education system in Croatia referred to it also as 'common, especially social creativity' (1972, 9), while the researcher of aesthetic and literary education Zdenka Gudelj-Velaga (1990) proposed the term 'creative literacy.'¹³

¹³ Important insights into the state of research and reflection on children's participation in culture and literature of the time are given, in particular, in the research activities by the Zagreb-based Centar za vanškolski odgoj Saveza društava »Naša djeca« (Centre for out-of-school education of the Association of Societies 'Our Children'). At the time, the Centre conducted noted research on children's free-time activities (cf. Jerbić 1970; 1973; Mesec et al. 1974; Posilović and Višnjić 1969; Bročić and Dizdarević 1972) as well as acted as publisher of the specialised journal *serb.-cro. Umjetnost i dijete* (Art and Child, 1969–1997) and of other publications related to aesthetic education. The Centre also organised events where practitioners, researchers and policy makers met to discuss topics related to aesthetic education. In the year 1971, thirty-four actors in aesthetic education from all over Yugoslavia gathered at the Festival Djeteta in Šibenik to exchange from different angles on the topic of creativity of youngsters and free time (Bročić and Dizdarević 1972). The common thread of the presented papers – creativity of children – was

In contemporary international scholarship we find again different proposals and terms in relation to children's participation in culture and principally in literature. The proposals are coming especially from scholars working with childist criticism, with the aim of 'appreciating children as creators of children's culture and of including texts produced by them into the remit of children's literature studies' (Deszcz-Tryhubczak and García-González 2022, 1040–1041). Researchers of children's literature Justyna Deszcz-Tryhubczak and Macarena García-González, who in their research practice even include children as co-researchers, have been exploring practical and theoretical possibilities of children's participation based on critical reflections as well as possibilities of childism in children's culture studies. Following feminist new materialism, Deszcz-Tryhubczak and García-González (2022, 1038) proposed to extend childism, particularly in its interrelational aspects towards 'more-than-human relationalities that produce childhood and adulthood.' Departing from the critique of the 'generational gap' in criticism and scholarship of children's literature, which has almost exclusively dealt with production for children *by adults* and as a rule excluded the production *by children*, researcher of children's literature David Rudd (2005, 19) proposed the term 'constructive child,' directed towards affirmation of children's creativity and writing. Researcher of literary and cultural aspects of childhood Clémentine Beauvais (2015) wrote of the 'mighty child' along similar lines of childhood as already proposed by revolutionary pedagogy, picturing children as the bringers of the new social order (Balina and Oushakine 2021). Sebastien Chapleau (2009, 79, 83), a teacher, activist and community organiser, devoted his thesis to childhood cultures in which he proposed to consider childism alongside other emancipatory theoretical-political-social projects like Marxist, feminist, LGBTQ+ and antiracist movements.

Acknowledging the past and present terms, proposals and conceptualisations in regard to participation in culture and particularly children's participation in literature, with the following paper I propose to observe the literary education of the time particularly through the aspects of agency. In reference to the concept of 'cultural agency' introduced by the philologist of Romance languages, writer and cultural activist Doris Sommer (2006), I propose the observation of the past participatory modes of the literary education through *literary agency*.¹⁴

thus considered in its social, institutional, inter-relational, personal, and political as well as economic and ideological, aspects.

¹⁴ The term 'literary agency' has been introduced also by Maya Nitis (2023) in her doctoral

Researching cultural policy and activities within Latin American left-ist movements, Sommer (2006, 2, 6) coined the term ‘cultural agency’ in reference to Gramscian ‘passive revolution’ and ‘consensual hegemony [... which] requires compromise and a new culture that counts everyone in.’ With ‘cultural agency,’ Sommer and her colleagues pointed to policies and practices as a ‘wedge to open up the civil conditions necessary for decent politics and economic growth [in order to] move toward the goal of emancipation’ (p. 2). Observing the past modes of cultural participation and, here particularly, of children’s literary education through the concept of cultural agency, enables highlighting the common foundations of the herein discussed past modes and conceptualisations of literary education with other participatory aspects of cultural policy of the time as well as with the recent conceptualisations derived from child-ism. Focusing on agency within the past modes of literary education discloses their methodological, structural, systemic and relational dimensions which gave rise to it, and thus underlines its role in the past development of literary systems and, by extension, of the broader cultural as well as social system in the region.

Literary System(s) of Children’s Literature in Socialist Yugoslavia and Children’s Literary Agency: The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo

The post wwII (re-)establishing and development of children’s literatures in individual Yugoslav national languages has been embedded in different Yugoslav temporalities stemming from different *longue durée* constellations of individual nations: hence the proposal by the sociologist, curator and publisher Sezgin Boynik (2023) to regard Yugoslavia as ‘an uneven and combined development.’¹⁵ The ex-Yugoslav literary systems were re-

thesis ‘Minoritized Knowledges: Agency, Literature, Temporalities,’ in which she defines it as a decolonial intervention by ‘minoritized literary practice where the transformative relation between literature and knowledge comes to the fore’ (p. 33). Nitis situates it in the ‘transdisciplinary context that underscores the interrelation of literary genres with one another, as well as with other theoretical discourses and practical social contexts’ where ‘literary agency intervenes in the historical present as a mode of counter-melancholy’ (pp. 7–8).

¹⁵ Imperial legacies of Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian times including, since the mid-19th century, rising nationalisms (on practically all sides), the pre-wwI imperial tensions as well the foundation of new states, the post-wwI territorial changes, the political and economic constellations of the mid-war Yugoslav monarchy, different positions in the wwII and post-wwII federal, republic and global political and economic streams as well as its social implications and, last but not least, the intensity and duration of the post-Yugoslav

lated in the federal framework due to cultural political, ideological, institutional, structural, productional and market aspects – and all these also affected canonisation processes and discourses framing the production, as well as the level, of literary contacts. The vivid and structurally supported past translation practices had a particularly important role,¹⁶ as well as the different structures of literary education, which will be discussed in the continuation and which supported children in their literary agency.

Magazines

Children's periodicals played a particularly important role in the development of children's literary agency in the post-war period. In the post-war material shortages and the lack of books¹⁷ in the national languages, periodicals were sometimes even used instead of textbooks.¹⁸ A comparative view of children's periodicals in Yugoslavia discloses familiar editorial structures, based primarily on literary and artistic experience as well as technical and political education, among which sections for children's contributions were a constant.¹⁹ The post-war establishment, development, editorial structures and role of children's periodicals in individual national languages as a tool of literary education were discussed at the

works (1991–2000), which, next to the profound systemic changes, concluded the process of the disintegration of socialist Yugoslavia.

¹⁶ At the time, inter-Yugoslav co-productions between different Yugoslav publishers specialising in children's literature were common, thus, selected titles came out simultaneously in different national and minority languages. Translated works featured originally produced illustrations or often also illustrations produced by locally engaged artists in order that the illustrations captured the visual dimension of the context into which the work was translated.

¹⁷ The post-war lack of books had different reasons: pre-war and wartime Fascist and Nazi oppression had included redundancies, persecution, imprisonment, internment, murder and the burning of books in South-Slavic languages. The NOB had instituted cultural silence in some regions (slov. *kulturni molk*) as a resistance strategy, and the post-war period featured the prohibition of private publishers as well as changes in selection processes (Svetina). Finally, there was a lack of material (paper, inks, printing machines, etc.). For the post-war re-establishing of publishing for children, cf. Kobolt (forthcoming).

¹⁸ The magazine *Ciciban*, published in the Slovene language since 1945 and targeted towards children of the first three school grades, had from 1945 and its first issue a remarkable print run of 82,000 copies, whereas today's average print run of *Ciciban* is 12,000 copies.

¹⁹ A comparative view on editorial policies of children's sections in children's magazines would be a research desideratum, which would, however, go beyond the scope of the present paper.

symposium at the 15th Festival Kurirček (xv. *Festival Kurirček* 1977). Rifat Kukaj (1938–2005), a poet, writer, and editor for children in Kosovo, reported there in regard to the role of the Kosovo Albanian children's magazine *Pionieri* in literary education:

Pionieri [...] has been a literary journal for 30 years. Old people say that a wise man sees life with three eyes. With the first eye he sees the past. Our newspaper has done so with hundreds of poems and stories suitable for children. It was necessary to show historical reality from the experience of adults. At the same time, with the second and third eye, the journal sees the present, our everyday life, full of flight and zeal for work, school knowledge and other goods, and the future – a vision of an even more beautiful and happier life. A society that cares for the lives and education of children shows its maturity and humanism, while at the same time it ensures its own future and perspective. [...] The circle of readers is growing and the print run has risen to 50,000 copies [...]. *The Journal made a significant contribution to the development of Albanian children's literature in Yugoslavia. Many writers have made a name for themselves in the newspaper, and many of its first readers are today its best colleagues.* Today, over twenty-five authors of Albanian nationality writing for children are members of the Writers' Association. The magazine has cultivated poetry and prose, drama and original comics, and has always been open to exploring the literary heritage of other peoples of Yugoslavia. Thus, the most important and most renowned writers of Yugoslav nations and nationalities 'sang' in Albanian and enriched the spiritual life of young readers. It can be said that the exchange of literary material between newspapers in Yugoslavia built bridges of fraternity and understanding between creators and readers. [...] Special attention has also been paid to the illustrations and furnishings in the sheets. [...] A large number of excellent illustrators have contributed to the design and growth of the original illustrations. [Kukaj 1978, 52; translated and emphasis added by Katja Kobolt]

Despite the particular temporality of Kosovo within the Yugoslav framework, which, as my interlocutors in the preparation of the paper reported,²⁰ resulted in a belated and interrupted development of the

²⁰ The interview was conducted by the researcher in Pristina, Kosovo (2022) with the writer and former editor of the *Zëri i rinisë* youth magazine, Ibrahim Kadriu, poet for children

Kosovo Albanian literary system,²¹ the Kosovo Albanian children's literature²² experienced an immense development in this period. Different (infra)structures of literary education promoting literary agency also added to this development.

The (infra)structures that supported the development of literary and artistic production for children were manifold: from the specialised publishers for children, that were established in all national production contexts immediately after the war (Kobolt forthcoming); through introduction of structurally secured access to daycare centres, mass curricular and extracurricular education, where publications for children become an important educational and interaction tool; to structurally implemented access to cultural and artistic production (Hofman forthcoming; Praznik 2021, 61; Videkanić 2019, 51, 232) and diverse professional and academic institutions as well as amateur networks. Particularly in the contexts which experienced a rapid re-establishment and development of publishing for children, like Slovenia and Serbia, but also in other contexts where publishing for children was re-established gradually, like Croatia, or established from scratch, most rapidly in Macedonia, and gradually also in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and Montenegro (Alečković 1954), the introduced structures of the literary system provided an important platform for the inclusion of a broad network of cultural workers, and thus supported social and political homogenisation of the producers – cultural workers – as well as of their public – children

and editor of text books Xhevat Sylja, poet for children and researcher of children's literature Dije Demiri-Frangu, and illustrator and visual editor of the *Pionieri* magazine Demush R. Avdimetaj.

²¹ Due to political reasons, after the 1948 Yugoslav informbiro break with Stalin and by that also with Albania ruled by Enver Hodxa, cultural and academic production in Kosovo proliferated only from the mid-1960s on. The structural changes introduced in the course of the 1974 constitution substantially supported the development of Kosovo Albanian culture and thus also literature. The development was gradually hindered in the course of the post-1981 protests repercussions, which got especially intensified towards the end of socialist Yugoslavia and after its dissolution in 1990s (Malcolm 1998).

²² The main publisher of children's literature in the Albanian language was the Pristina-based publishing house Rilindja (1945–1999), which brought out the magazines *Pionieri* (1947–) for children of the first school grades, and a weekly children's supplement titled *Rilindja për fëmijë* to the daily *Rilindja* (1945–1990/1999–2002) and the youth magazine *Zëri i rinisë* (1968–1991), as well as children's books programme. Also, the Macedonian publisher Nova Makedonija/Detska radost brought out children's magazines in Albanian – *Fatosi: reviste e vocërrakëve* (1955–2005) and *Gëzimi: revistë e përdyjavshme e ilustruar për shkollarë* (1951–2005) as well as a children's books programme.

(Kobolt forthcoming). However, children were also active producers and were as such supported by different participatory modes and infrastructures of literary education.

Literary Circles

In the semi-structured interview conducted by the researcher in Tuzla in the year 2023, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian poet, editor and publisher for children Šimo Ešić (b. 1954, Breze by Tuzla, БИХ), reported that for him, as one of eight children of an illiterate miner and a housewife, the activities offered at school were very important in his literary education. Ešić started writing poems as early as in the third grade of elementary school in the framework of the literary circle offered at school. A similar report is given by the Kosovo poets for children Dije Demiri-Frangu (b. 1957) and Xhevat Sylja (b. 1956), who both started writing and publishing at a young age and with whom the researcher talked twice in the year 2022. At first the educators at schools, who ran literary circles, responded to the open calls of children's magazines to submit children's works for publishing; later on, children sent in their works on their own (Sylja 2022; Demiri-Frangu 2022; Ešić 2023). My interviewees also report on vivid teachers' and editors' feedback that substantially supported them in their literary development.

Students engaged in literary circles also collaborated with school magazines, which in most schools were produced under the mentorship of teachers.²³

Literary circles also operated out of school:²⁴ Olivera Tasić (1972; 1980),

²³ Pedagogue Nikola Filipović (1968), who acted first as a headteacher, then later as a university professor and influential Bosnian-Herzegovinian politician, accomplished with his doctoral thesis a quantitative and qualitative research of the 'educational value of literary creativity,' focusing on selected literary circles and school magazines in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia. There were at the time 250 school magazines published, written and edited by children (Filipović 1968, 78). Filipović analysed the content of the magazines and concluded that children 'write about all issues from the life and work of the school, about various ideological-political, cultural, sports, scientific and economic-technical events in the country and abroad' (p. 79). Filipović evaluated published prose and poetic works to 'have an elementary literary-artistic value' and underlined that the editorial inclusivity dedicated to publishing works of students of different grades had 'a positive effect on establishing a closer relationship between the paper and readers of all grades' (p. 79).

²⁴ In the year 1978 there were in Slovenia, which had a bit less than 1,853,000 inhabitants at the time (SiStat), 192 children's and youth's literary groups gathering 2,411 youngsters

a pedagogue at the Belgrade library of Dom pionira (House of Pioneers), where extracurricular literary education was offered to children with an aim of 'systematic development of creative activities of pioneers, who have an affinity for literature and literary creativity' (Tasić 1972, 262; translated by Katja Kobolt), particularly underlined the importance of activities fostering interrelations between reading and writing (capturing impressions, reading logs), usage of different media (music-poetic events and performative adaptations of literary works) and mostly between children themselves, pedagogues and authors (discussions on the read works as well as discussions with authors, visits to literary events). 'A child in the position of a creator will be able to better understand the creative process and effort of writers, will be able to feel the beauty of the language and style, the message of the work, will be able to experience the book in its totality' (p. 263; translated by Katja Kobolt). Tasić therefore developed different games 'to support finding appropriate epithets that best characterise a word, to find vivid comparisons for given words, to metaphorically express the properties of certain phenomena, objects in relation to concepts, to discover all the meanings of a word, to derive new words from the root or from a letter of a given word' (Tasić 1972, 264; 1980; translated by Katja Kobolt).

Libraries

Specialised children's libraries at schools or out-of-school pioneer libraries should also be named as an important infrastructure for the promotion of literary agency. In the school year 1956/7 in Slovenia, from 1,793 schools 1,575 libraries with 578,247 children's books were recorded (Šljapah 1963, 15). Specialised out-of-school children's libraries were founded usually within or back-to-back with public libraries and/or the 'Homes of the Pioneers' or 'Towns of the Pioneers' as cultural centres for children were called. In 1949, the Pioneer Library was founded in Ljubljana, which also promoted other forms of cultural education in addition to literary education (Šircelj 1963, 29). In 1947, the youth work brigades built the Town of the Pioneers in Belgrade, one year later the construction of the Town of the Pioneers in Zagreb began, and in 1961 and 1963, respectively, The Homes of the Pioneers in Pristina and Ljubljana were opened.

(whereas 691 adults gathered in 56 literary groups) and 106 fine arts groups, which gathered 1,543 youngsters (Moder 1981, 124).

The Reading Badge

In Slovenia, the reading competition *Bralna značka* (The Reading Badge) was introduced in 1960, allegedly based on the Czech model. The annual reading programme has been implemented for children of varying school grades and has included discussions on the read works. The participating children who read the included works were awarded a badge at ceremonies. The initiative was spearheaded by two pedagogues: the director of an elementary school in Prevalje, Carinthia, the writer for children Leopold Suhodolčan (1928–1980), and a teacher of Slovene Stanko Kotnik (1928–2004). After a decade, in 1970, has become a structurally implemented programme for the promotion of reading culture, including all primary schools in Slovenia (Letonja 2015). Participation in the reading badge was additionally rewarded, as successful participation in all school years also facilitated the acquisition of scholarships. The reading badge has also been introduced in some other Yugoslav contexts, such as Serbia, but on a much smaller scale and without curricular adaptation.

Paratextual Elements

As a tool of literary education, different paratextual and sometimes also metafictional²⁵ elements should also be mentioned. Prefaces were a constant element of children's books; they were especially never missing in the titles included in compulsory reading, where extensive book discussions and notes on authors were also included, and often also secondary literature. Whether written by editors or by the commissioned literary critics and literary scholars, the prefaces were directed to children and, in the case of publications for smaller children, to adults as well.

Festivals

The Festival *Kurirček*, which my interlocutors in the research often highlight, also belonged to the manifold cross-sectoral (infra)structures of literary education of the time (Syla 2022; Ešić 2023). Organised between 1963–1992 in Maribor, Slovenia and also in other Yugoslav cities (e.g. Kragujevac, Sarajevo, Varaždin, etc.) the festival *Kurirček* carried out ac-

²⁵ *Magarac* (Donkey) by Zvonimir Balog, published with illustrations by Nives Kavurić-Kurtović (1973) at Mladost, Zagreb in 1973, includes an address by the implied author and narrator to the implied readers; the narration is interrupted by proposals of the narrator for readers to take breaks while reading: 'Take a rest,' 'Stretch your legs,' 'How about a little lemonade?,' 'Take a deep breath,' 'Have a look outside the window,' and suchlike.

tivities with different organisations from the political, security, social and economic sectors²⁶ and featured an important platform for work *with* and *for children* as well as *by children*.

The festival organised events for children, mainly in the Army Halls (Dom JNA), where children's authors, some of them ex-NOB fighters, in the company of officers of the Yugoslav army (JNA, Yugoslav national army) read and talked to children (Filo 1966). In addition, with its activities the festival also importantly supported theoretical reflection on children's literature by the practitioners themselves as well as also gradually by scholars. As with the children's festivals in Novi Sad and Šibenik, the festival Kurirček also organised a yearly conference on specific topics related predominantly to the questions of the representation of the NOB in the production for children and later on, more general topics connected to literary and aesthetic education.²⁷ Keeping and shaping the memory of the NOB and of the revolution through the Yugoslav temporality was one of the main objectives of the festival Kurirček, which since its foundation addressed children, who did not experience NOB and the revolution themselves. If and how would the generations growing up from the 1950s on remember the events of NOB and the revolution depended on communicative memory and media (Assmann 1999). The strengthening of the memory of the NOB and the revolution was embedded in the Yugoslav politics of peace and was the core aim of the Kurirček festival (Kobolt 2023b).²⁸

In the annual reports of the Festival, we can follow not only the activities, collaborations and plans of the festival but also its financial structure

²⁶ The founders of the Festival Kurirček were Zveza združenja borcev Narodno osvobodilne vojne (Federation of Associations of Combatants of the National Liberation Army), Komisija za vzdrževanje tradicij NOB (Commission for the Values of the National Liberation Movement) and Jugoslovanska ljudska armada (Yugoslav People's Army). The named organisations were also the main financers of the festival.

²⁷ The festival also initiated the journal for studies of children's literature *Otrok in knjiga* (Child and Book), which has since 1972 continued to be the only journal in Slovenia dedicated to children's literature and aesthetic education.

²⁸ 'The young generations coming after the war are embracing this great heritage as the tradition of their parents, as a guide for their young lives. The world we live in is different from what it was a quarter of a century ago; generations are growing up in a free homeland who know persecution and violence only from books or from the stories of their elders, generations who, in a free homeland, are called to build a new world, a world without hatred, a world of peaceful coexistence' (iv. *Festival Kurirček* 1966; translated by Katja Kobolt).

to which, according to the self-managed cultural policy, many organisations from security, education, and the economy, as well as the social and cultural sphere, contributed.²⁹ Already, by its third year of existence, in 1965, the festival reached out and included 250 writers and poets for children (practically all authors for children, members of the Yugoslav Association of Writers at the time) and addressed 50,000 children from all over Yugoslavia (Filo 1966).

Many of my interlocutors in the research, including Šimo Ešić, Xhevat Sylja and Dije Demiri-Frangu, underlined the importance of the events with children's authors, as well as the open calls by the festivals and magazines, which, in their eyes, have importantly supported them in their decision to engage with literary production from a young age and to continue with it in one way or another later on in their lives. Like Šimo Ešić, Xhevat Sylja continued to write for children when he worked as an editor at the Office for textbooks in Pristina, and as a member of many committees he also shaped cultural policy and children's literary education in Kosovo. Dije Demiri-Frangu, who still writes for children, worked as a professor and researcher of Albanian literature at the Pristina University, where, among other subjects, she researched children's literature.

Back to the festival Kurirček: next to the public programmes for children the festival initiated open calls on specific themes. The open calls were anonymous and were addressed to authors and composers as well as to children. The calls were promoted in children's magazines all over Yugoslavia, as well as through the Association of Yugoslav writers. Submitted works were evaluated by a jury composed of different professionals in children's literature. Authors and composers whose works were awarded, received financial prizes and in some years, these works were published as individual publications in the programmes of collaborating children's publishers. Selected works submitted by children were presented at public readings and in exhibitions, and were credited in the annual reports of the festival. All the submitted works were sent to children's periodicals across Yugoslavia to be, in the case of editorial interest, eventually published.

Next to the open calls by the Festival Kurirček, practically all children's magazines and festivals from all over Yugoslavia organised individual

²⁹ In the year 1977 the festival had an overall budget of 508,504 Yugoslav dinars or a bit more than 27,500 USD, which would, taking inflation into account, today be more than 142,500 USD (Filo 1977, 102).

open calls for writers, illustrators and children.³⁰ Selected submissions – written and visual – enjoyed printed presentations in magazines as well as in exhibitions. Many times, not only adult authors got cash prizes, but children, in addition to material awards – Ešić (2023) remembers getting a watch as an award for one of his public presentations of his poems – were sometimes even paid fees for their contributions, which were usually provided by economic organisations. Ešić (2023), who would send poems not only to Bosnian-Herzegovinian children's magazines but also to journals in Croatia and Serbia, reports that he started earning with his writing when he was fifteen years old.

A similar report is given by the Kosovo children's poet Xhevat Syla, whose first illustrated collection of poems for children *Syri i pranverës* (The Eye of Spring) came out with Rilindja in 1976 when he was 20 years old. At this age Syla already had a decade-long experience of publishing poems in children's magazines, for which, as he reported, he got editor's feedback, especially when meeting the editors at yearly literary meetings where child authors, along with adult authors, presented their works for other children and practitioners in children's publishing (Syla 2022).

In the year 1972, when he was 18 years old, Šimo Ešić, who was a regular guest at different public presentations all over Yugoslavia, where he met different authors for children, approached Samoupravna interesna zajednica kulture Tuzla (Self-managed interest community of culture Tuzla) and proposed to organise a literary event with prominent Yugoslav authors for children in his native Tuzla. The interest community gave him the opportunity and the funds, thus the event Oktobarska poetska drugovanja (October poetic friendships) continued to exist for the next twenty years till the outbreak of the war in BiH.

Conclusion

The presented discourses on the literary education of the time, its modes and infrastructures, as well as the testimonies of the authors included in the research bespeak active participation of children in literary production – what I propose to call *literary agency*. The manifold structures of literary education, embedded within literary systems and their cross-sectoral cooperation with institutions of care work and education

³⁰ Cf. a historical overview of participatory aesthetic education in children's publishing in the Slovenian-speaking context by the scholar of children's literature and librarian Martina Šircelj (1977).

(kindergartens, schools, organisations of out-of-school education and amateur structures) and with organisations from cultural, political, social, economic and security life, enabled promotion of literary agency and with that also an influx of trained writers, editors and other profiles back to the literary system, and thus added to the development of literary systems.

The systemic changes and the post-Yugoslav wars affected, in (cultural-)political, structural, institutional and economic terms, all ex-Yugoslav literary systems, and especially profoundly the literary systems in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo and North Macedonia. The dismantling of infrastructures of literary education like the Kurirček festival or their peripheralisation (the festivals Zmajeva dečje igre, Novi Sad and Festival djeteta, Šibenik are nowadays addressed as a rule only to professionals and children in Serbia and Croatia, respectively) added to the peripheralisation of the literary systems of children's literature.³¹ Whereas in the socialist context, literary systems and the broader cultural field, particularly in the above-named countries, experienced a remarkable development (Alečković 1954; Praznik 2021, 61), today these very same literary systems face mitigation of new original production – in word and picture – and depend widely on translation or import from other languages and fight stagnation of original production. Šimo Ešić (2023), who still runs a publishing house and a festival for children in Tuzla as well as organising the Little Prince (Mali princ) award, the only cross-border prize for literary works for children in Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian-Montenegrin or the 'common language',³² lamented the generational gap in children's literature: without the manifold past infrastructures of literary education and with the productional scarcity there is a reduction of literary agency; in

³¹ Even if today the literary systems as well as broader cultural fields in question still maintain contacts and partly share institutional similarities (e.g. pluralisation of publishers on the one hand and the centralisation of the public subsidising mechanisms on the other), the dissolution of the federal framework and the post-Yugoslav wars reduced the links between the ex-Yugoslav literary systems mainly to translation and sometimes institutional, but mostly personal, contacts.

³² Since the year 2016, almost 10,000 people working in science, culture and other spheres of society have supported the Declaration on a Common Language ('Deklaracija o zajedničkom jeziku'), which treats the languages spoken in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia and Serbia as a so-called polycentric literary language – a language spoken by several peoples in several countries, with distinctive varieties, which is a common phenomenon in Europe as well as in the rest of the world. More at 'Deklaracija o zajedničkom jeziku' (n.d.).

the above-named production contexts there are only a few writers and illustrators for children of younger generations producing new original works.³³

The reasons for the lessening of literary agency are surely to be found in the global digital shift as well. However, next to the global media development in which electronic media took over, the post-socialist changes of ideological, productional and infrastructural organisation of literary education also affected the literary systems in question and added to their peripheralisation.

The past promotion and strengthening of literary agency in vernaculars of the region populated by diverse ethnicities and nationalities added not only to the development of literary systems, but also to the cultural agency of different social groups, and thus also of children. As such, literary agency is to be considered as an aspect of cultural agency and as a tool in the past processes of modernisation and social homogenisation beyond ethnic-religious identities and thus also of peace in the second half of the twentieth century in the region.³⁴ In the light of these considerations, literary education promoting literary agency does not appear only as an activity useful in education processes or in spare time, but as one of the vital aspects of literary systems and also of other cultural and

³³ Cf. the generations of the prize winners, <https://maliprinc.ba/>.

³⁴ See figure 1, the publication of the 'Kad bi' (If Only) by Šimo Ešić, at the time pupil at an elementary school, in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian magazine *Porodica i dijete* (Family and Child) which reflects the politics of peace and solidarity:

If all the people in the world would
give each other their hands,
they could easily encircle the entire planet.
If only, if only ...

If white people would be willing to
reach out hand to black, red and yellow,
and to say to each other from the bottom of their hearts:
comrade, the whole world would live in peace and song ...
Eh – if only. If only ...

If those who have much
would give to those who have little,
even the sun would shine more cheerfully on us
and everyone could live full and happy.
Eh – if only. If only ...

Šimo Ešić, elementary school 2. October, Kiseljak near Tuzla
Translated by Katja Kobolt.



Figure 1 Poem 'Kad bi' (If Only) by Šimo Ešić published in the magazine *Porodica i dijete* (Family and Child), probably published in the year 1969 (courtesy of Šimo Ešić)

artistic production fields and thus also for broader cultural and social development and cohesion.

Acknowledgment

This article is part of a project funded by the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement 101024090 – SOC-ILL. The article reflects the views only of the author, and EC REA cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained herein.

References

- iv. *Festival Kurirček*. 1966. Maribor: Festival Kurirček.
- xv. *Festival Kurirček*. 1977. Maribor: Festival Kurirček.
- Alečković, Mira 1955. 'Deset godina razvoka jugoslovenske literature za decu' *Letopis Matice srpske* 131 (376/4): 364–386.
- Assmann, Jan. 1999. *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*. Munich: Beck.
- Balina, Marina, and Serguei A. Oushakine. 2021. 'Primers in Soviet Modernity: Depicting Communism for Children in Early Soviet Russia.' In *The Pedagogy of Images*, edited by Marina Balina and Serguei A. Oushakine, 3–48. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Beauvais, Clémentine. 2015. *The Mighty Child: Time and Power in Children's Literature*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bohanec, Franček. 1958. *Knjižne police za otroke*. Ljubljana: Zveza prijateljev mladine Slovenije.
- Boynik, Sezgin. 2023. 'Yugoslavia as Uneven and Combined Development.' In absentia read paper at a panel Introducing New Yugoslav Studies at the 55th ASEES Annual Convention, Philadelphia, PA, 1 December 1.

- Bročić, Manojlo, and Ismet Dizdarević, eds. 1972. *Kreativnost mladih i slobodno vrijeme: stručni i znanstveni radovi treći kolokvij Šibenik 1971*. Zagreb: Centar za vanškolski odgoj Saveza društava »Naša djeca« SR Hrvatske; Belgrade: Savet za vaspitanje i zaštitu dece Jugoslavije.
- ‘Deklaracija o zajedničkom jeziku.’ N.d. Jezici i nacionalizmi. <https://jezicinacionalizmi.com>.
- Deszcz-Tryhubczak, Justyna, and Macarena García-González. 2023. ‘Thinking and Doing with Childism in Children’s Literature Studies.’ *Children & Society* 37 (4): 1037–1051.
- Deszcz-Tryhubczak, Justyna, and Zoe Jaques, eds. 2021. *Intergenerational Solidarity in Children’s Literature and Film*. Jackson, MI: University Press of Mississippi.
- Duda, Igor. 2015. *Danas kada postajem pionir: djetinjstvo i ideologija jugoslovenskog socijalizma*. Pula: Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile.
- Duraković, Lada. 2017. “Educate for Music, Educate by Virtue of Music”. Music Education in Primary Schools in Early Socialism – the Case of Croatia.’ *Südost-Forschungen* 76 (1): 24–42.
- . 2023. ‘Entuzijizam kao pokretač rada na glazbenom prosvjećivanju: pulski ogranak Muzičke omladine (1963–1973).’ Paper presented at 6th International Conference Socialism on the Bench, Pula, 29 September.
- Erdei, Ildiko. 2004. “The Happy Child” As an Icon of Socialist Transformation: Yugoslavia’s Pioneer Organization.’ In *Ideologies and National Identities*, edited by John Lampe and Mark Mazower, 154–178. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- Filipović, Nikola. 1968. *Vaspitna vrijednost literarnog stvaralaštva*. Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika.
- Filo, Jože. 1966. ‘Festival »Kurirček« v letu 1966.’ In *Festival Kurirček 1966: letno poročilo*, 6–18. Maribor: Festival Kurirček.
- . 1977. ‘Festival »Kurirček« v letu 1977.’ In *Festival Kurirček 1977: letno poročilo*, 91–110. Maribor: Festival Kurirček.
- Gabrič, Aleš. 1991. *Slovenska agitpropovska kulturna politika: 1945–1952*. Ljubljana: Mladika.
- Grafenauer, Petja, and Daša Tepina. 2024. ‘Cuban Representation at the Bienial of Graphic Arts and Non-Aligned Cultural Policy.’ *The International Journal of Cultural Policy* 30 (2): 207–219.
- Gudelj-Velaga, Zdenka. 1990. *Nastava stvaralačke pismenosti: (metodičke osnove)*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.
- Hofman, Ana. Forthcoming. *Socialism, Now! Music and Singing Activism after Yugoslavia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Horvatinčić, Sanja, and Beti Žerovc, eds. 2023. *Shaping Revolutionary Memory: The Production of Monuments in Socialist Yugoslavia*. Ljubljana: Igor Zabel Association for Culture and Theory; Berlin: Archive Books.
- Hunt, Peter. 1991. *Criticism, Theory, and Children’s Literature*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Jakovljević, Branislav. 2016. *Alienation Effects: Performance and Self-Management in Yugoslavia, 1945–91*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

- Jerbić, Velibor. 1970. *Analiza načina života i korištenja slobodnog vremena djece i omladine u Zagrebu u 1968. godini*. Zagreb: Centar za vanškolski odgoj Saveza društava »Naša djeca« SR Hrvatske.
- . 1973. *Analiza funkcija slobodnog vremena djece i omladine*. Zagreb: Centar za vanškolski odgoj, Savez društava »Naša djeca« SR Hrvatske.
- Kobolt, Katja. 2022. 'Negotiating the Impact of Literature for Children in Early Socialist Yugoslavia.' In *Social Impact in Arts and Culture: The Diverse Lives of a Concept*, edited by Iva Kosmos and Martin Pogačar, 338–359 Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, Založba ZRC.
- . 2023a. 'Artistic Work for Children between Productive and Social Reproductive Work.' *Libri et liberi: časopis za istraživanje dječje književnosti i kulture* 12 (2): 253–274.
- . 2023b. 'Pictures of War, Pictures of Peace: Children as the Harbingers of Tomorrow.' In *Unconditional Peace: Politics, Histories, Memories, Futures; Abstracts, Atrij ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana, Slovenia*, 22.–23. 11. 2023, 20–21. Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU.
- . Forthcoming. 'Confronting (Post)-War Precariousness and Precarity: Yugoslav Socialist Publishing for Children.' *International Research in Children's Literature*.
- Kocijan, Gregor. 1970a. 'Delavci, delovne skupnosti in kultura.' *Dialogi* 7: 425–439.
- . 1970b. 'Delavci, delovne skupnosti in kultura.' *Dialogi* 8–9: 505–515.
- Korda, Neven. 2008. 'Alternative Dawns.' In *Alternative Scene of the Eighties*, edited by Breda Škrjanc, 29–100, 281–343. Ljubljana: Mednarodni grafični likovni center.
- Kukaj, Rifat 1978. 'Periodika za otroke v Socialistični avtonomni pokrajini Kosovo.' *Otrok in knjiga* 7:52–53.
- Letonja, Petra. 2015. 'Gibanje za spodbujanje branja: Bralna značka in njenih 55 let delovanja.' Master's thesis, University of Maribor.
- Mesec, Blaž, et al., eds. 1974. *Socijalizacija i društveni oblici života mladih u slobodnom vremenu: stručni i znanstveno-istraživački radovi na četvrtom kolokviju u Šibeniku, 1972*. Kolikvij o slobodnom vremenu mladih 4. Belgrade: Centar za vanškolski odgoj Saveza društava »Naša djeca«.
- Malcolm, Noel. 1998. *Kosovo: A Short History*. London: Macmillan.
- Mastnak, Tomaž. 2023. *Civilna družba*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC.
- Milarić, Vlatko. 1960. 'Dečje literarno stvaralaštvo.' In *Dečje literarno stvaralaštvo*, 6–20. Novi Sad: Zmajeve dečje igre.
- Moder, Gregor. 1974. *Kulturno umetniška in prosvetna dejavnost 1972–73*. Ljubljana: Zavod SR Slovenije za statistiko.
- . 1981. *Plan kulturne skupnosti Slovenije za obdobje 1981–1985*. Ljubljana: Kulturna skupnost Slovenije.
- Nitis, Maya. 2023. 'Minoritized Knowledges: Agency, Literature, Temporalities.' PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University.
- Nola, Danica. 1972. 'Za daljnji korak u rješavanju problema dječje knjige.' In *Slikovnica prva knjiga djeteta: radovi sa simpozija održanog 6. i 7. prosinca 1971*, edited by Joža Skok, 119–122. Zagreb: s.n.

- Petrović Todosijević, Sanja. 2018. *Otećemo svetlost bučnom vodopadu: reforma osnovnoškolskog istema u Srbiji 1944–1955*. Belgrade: Institut za novu istoriju Srbije Biblioteka.
- Posilović, Antonija, and Anđelija Višnjić. 1969. *Slobodno vrijeme i mladi: bibliografska građa za period od 1950. do 1967*. Zagreb: Centar za vanškolski odgoj saveza društava Naša djeca SR Hrvatske.
- Praznik, Katja. 2021. *Art Work: Invisible Labour and the Legacy of Yugoslav Socialism*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Rudd, David. 2005. 'Theorising and Theories: How Does Children's Literature Exist?' In *Understanding Children's Literature*, edited by Peter Hunt, 15–29. Oxfordshire: Routledge.
- Šircelj, Martina. 1963. 'Pionirska knjižnica v Ljubljani in mladinsko knjižničarstvo v Sloveniji.' *Knjižnica* 7 (1/2): 29–33.
- . 1977. *O knjigah in knjižnicah za mladino*. Ljubljana: Mladinska knjiga.
- Šljapah, Mara. 1963. 'Šolske knjižnice v Sloveniji.' *Knjižnica* 7 (1/2): 15–29.
- Sommer, Doris, ed. 2006. *Cultural Agency in the Americas*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Spaskovska, Ljubica. 2017. *The Last Yugoslav Generation: The Rethinking of Youth Politics and Cultures in Late Socialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Tasić, Olivera. 1972. 'Razvijanje literarne kreativnosti dece.' In *Kreativnost mladih i slobodno vrijeme: stručni i znanstveni radovi treći kolokvij Šibenik 1971*, edited by Manojlo Bročić and Ismet Dizdarević, 262–267. Zagreb: Centar za vanškolski odgoj Saveza društava »Naša djeca« SR Hrvatske; Belgrade: Savet za vaspitanje i zaštitu dece Jugoslavije.
- . 1980. 'Literarne igre i stvaralaštvo.' *Umjetnost i dijete: dvomjesečnik za estetski odgoj, dječje stvaralaštvo i društvene probleme mladih* 11 (66/67): 50–58.
- Tropin, Tijana, and Stanislava Barač, eds. 2019. *Časopisi za decu: jugoslovensko nasleđe (1918–1991)*. Belgrade: Institut za književnost i umetnost.
- Turk Niskač, Barbara. 2023. 'The Ambiguous Nature of Children's Work in Socialist Yugoslavia: An Analysis Based on Children's Magazine Pionirski list.' *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 16 (3): 456–476.
- Vesić, Ivana, ed. 2023. *Umetnost za pionire, mlade radnike i brigadire: o aktivnostima Muzičke omladine Jugoslavije (1954–1991)*. Belgrade: Muzikološki institut SANU; Ljubljana: University of Ljubljana Press.
- Videkanić, Bojana. 2019. *Nonaligned Modernism: Socialist Postcolonial Aesthetics in Yugoslavia, 1945–1985*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Vučetić, Radina. 2001. 'ABC Textbooks and Ideological Indoctrination of Children: "Socialism Tailor-Made for Man" or "Child Tailor-Made for Socialism"?' In *Childhood in South East Europe: Historical Perspectives on Growing Up in the 19th and 20th Century*, edited by Slobodan Naumović and Miroslav Jovanović, 249–256. Udruženje za društvenu istoriju, Ideje 2. Belgrade: Udruženje za društvenu istoriju; Graz: Institut für Geschichte der Universität.
- Wöhlert, Wolfgang. 1979. 'Umjetnost spona prijateljstva medju djecom svijeta.'

In *Umjetnost spona prijateljstva medju djecom svijeta. Jugoslavenski festival djeteta 19, Šibenik*, 1–8. Šibenik: Jugoslavenski festival djeteta.

Žnideršič, Martin. 1972. *Ekonomski problemi slovenske knjige*. Maribor: Obzorja.

———. 1977. *Knjiga in založništvo*. Ljubljana: Državna založba Slovenije.

Zubac, Pero. 1979. 'Dali djeca mogu izmeniti svet?' In *Umjetnost spona prijateljstva medju djecom svijeta. Jugoslavenski festival djeteta 19, Šibenik*, 1–4. Šibenik: Jugoslavenski festival djeteta.