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Education laboratories in 'education for all' in Russia: from Lenin to Putin

*Laboratorios educativos en la «educación
para todos» en Rusia: de Lenin a Putin*

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Abstract

In Russia, the formation of this agenda was rooted in strong Soviet ideological doctrine, based on egalitarian values and hegemony of proletarian humanism. Ideological response to the needs of industrialization in its primary policy agenda reforms, performed strong structural barriers to the basic right to education for children with disabilities in the public schooling system. The undertaken research appeals to the history of formation of education for all, dealing with social education legalization with two time frames: Soviet and Post-Soviet; methodology of the research has qualitative approach, aiming to make text analysis (as a primary source) of the main state policy documents, concerning social justice and equity, educational laws, governmental orders and other documents, regulating education for children with disabilities retrospectively and contemporary. Secondary data, such as statistics, case data, etc., will be collected from the historic and current sources, such as peer reviewed publications, governmental statistics, state archives, etc. The research questions of the study are: what are the main features of the policy agenda for children with disabilities as a nexus of reforms of 'education for all' retrospectively and contemporary? What structural challenges occurred and what curriculum was created and implemented cross the time? What science perspective/s in special pedagogy emerged and transited? Research findings are combined in two big themes: 'Desired contours of the future and a state order for experimentation' and 'Unfinished experimentation: disrupting the pattern. The themes are supported by the sub-themes'. Both of the themes are discussed for the understanding of special education inputs in education for all.

Keywords: children with disabilities; education for all, hegemonic ideology; policy analysis; policy agenda; political conditions; qualitative research

Resumen

El desarrollo de la educación para todos es un nexo /eslabón simbólico entre las reformas de política educativa para el acceso a la educación de cada miembro de la sociedad rusa. En Rusia, la formación de esta agenda de reformas estuvo fuertemente arraigada en la doctrina de la ideología soviética, basada en los valores igualitarios y en la hegemonía del humanismo proletario. Al responder ideológicamente a las necesidades de la industrialización, esta agenda de políticas primarias obstaculizó fuertemente en el sistema escolar público el derecho básico a la educación de los niños con discapacidad. Esta investigación trata la historia de la formación de la educación para todos, abordando la legalización de la educación social con dos marcos temporales: el soviético y el postsoviético. A partir de un enfoque metodológico cualitativo, esta investigación está basada en un análisis de texto de las siguientes fuentes primarias retrospectivas y contemporáneas: los principales documentos de política estatal, en materia de justicia social y equidad, las leyes educativas, las órdenes gubernamentales y otros documentos reguladores de la educación de niños con discapacidad. Este estudio incluye también el análisis de los siguientes datos secundarios a saber: estadísticas, datos de casos, etc., recogidos en fuentes históricas y actuales. así publicaciones revisadas por pares, estadísticas gubernamentales, archivos estatales, etc. Las preguntas de investigación del estudio son: ¿Cuáles son las características principales de la agenda política retrospectiva y contemporánea concerniente a los niños con discapacidad? ¿Qué desafíos estructurales tuvieron lugar y qué plan de estudios se creó e implementó a lo largo del tiempo? ¿Qué perspectiva científica surgió y transitó en la pedagogía especial? En esta investigación se combina dos grandes temas: «Contornos deseados del futuro y un orden estatal para la experimentación» y «Experimentación inconclusa: interrumpir el patrón». Ambos temas están organizados en subtemas y se los discuten para comprender los aportes de la educación especial a la educación para todos.

Palabras clave: niños con discapacidad; educación para todos; ideología hegemónica; análisis de políticas; agenda de políticas; condiciones políticas; investigación cualitativa

1. Introduction

A prominent aspect of Education for All (EFA) introduces an ambition to the rights to education against discrimination internationally and interrelates with educational culture and policy of any state working towards good governance, development of democracy and human rights. The global political movement of the EFA began in 1990, being initiated by highly acknowledged leading intergovernmental organizations as a Consultative Forum (UNDP, UNISCO, UNISEF, UN & World Bank) for expending and renewing commitment by national governments and the international community to fulfilling the EFA goals (United Nations [UN], 1990; Buchert, 1995). The formation of EFA has gone through three World conferences: Jomtein (Thailand) in 1990, Dakar (Senegal) in 2000 and Incheon (South Korea) in 2015 (UNESCO, 2015). On November 2015, in Paris, the EFA statements as a significant part of the Education 2030 Frame for Action for Sustainable Development Goals [SDGs] (UN, 2015), declaring: ‘Ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all... No education target should be considered met unless met by all’ in the SDG 4 in Education (UN, 2015, p. 7). SDGs were adopted by 184 out of 195 Member States UNESCO (UNESCO, 2015). A significant number of countries joining the EFA movement, World Conferences on EFA in Dakar and Incheon, emphasized, that since the 1990s, policy consultative provision from the organizations, leading the EFA movement globally, was based upon so called Western discourse in education in a top-down manner (Jones, 2007; Mundy, 2007; UNESCO, 2015). For the full achievement of EFA goals on global level, more attention should be paid to the multilateral aspect in respect of the social-cultural roots of the national social and educational policy against inequality, in recognition of conventional and contextual agendas identified as ‘education for all’. EFA as a political movement for the civil rights of discriminated societal groups is also deeply embedded in national educational theories, methodologies and practices, provided and experienced by research and education communities.

The Russian Federation (RF) with its historical past and present, is actively committed to the international movement of EFA, sharing a socio-cultural version of its performance through large-scale efforts of the Soviet (1917-1991: Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic [RSFSR]) and Post-Soviet (since 1991: Russian Federation [RF]) provision of education and by that, considerably contributing to the EFA globally. During these two periods, Russian education for all was permanently processed as one of the *alternative experiments* among other original worldwide ‘projects’ of building equality in education, and is acknowledged as the most massive social experiment for targeting industrialization, urbanization and cultural revolution in the history of modernization (Anaikina, 2001; Kozlovskaya, 2003). Building education for all over the two historical Soviet/Post Soviet periods, its accomplishment was shaped by constantly shifting balances of power on the scales of educational reforms/anti-reforms inside the country and its closedness/openness internationally, continuously awaking multifarious theoretical and practical experimentation in pedagogy with the reference to the “humanistic nature” of education for all (Naumov, 2005).

The narrative of this research pays its attention to the history of the formation of education for all, focusing on education for children with disabilities between 1917-2012. The retrospective idea of this research is motivated by three main features. The *first* one, emphasizing that the Soviet educational reforms [1917-1991], being built upon highly

centralized, specialized and standardized schools and agencies (Mazurek & Winzer, 1994; Hopper, 1977), developed an educational system for children with disabilities, legitimized inside general educational laws (Zamsky, 1974; Malofeev, 2000; Nazarova, 2000). This pattern was kept in the educational laws, following the 1991 Post-Soviet educational laws (Zakon, 1992; Zakon, 2012). The attempt to create a special educational law, was undertaken in the form of a proposal of a Federal Law: 'Education for individuals with disabilities (special education)' in 1995 (Proekt, 1995). From unknown reasons this proposal was never discussed publicly and not realised. The question, which is raised out of this feature is: *How was the legalization of special education issues formulated and implemented across these two periods?*

The *second* feature has its roots in the state policy provision of the ideological frame for Soviet sciences, in general, and educational science, in particular. Soon, after the revolution of 1917, the need of new power in new 'sciences that reflected the new image of socialist man' (Popkewitz, 1984, p. 112) looked for new paradigmatic assumptions in education that would convey this socialist commitment. Marxism-Leninism was employed as an ideology of power for building a progressive society and science was to serve these goals: "...Marxist sciences had to be modified and adapted to orient practice towards social goals" (Popkewitz, 1984, p. 111). Soviet educational science got its philosophical and methodological transformation. Dialectical materialism established philosophical foundations and ground-rules for guiding research in educational science: "...the problem of science became programmatic" (Popkewitz, 1984, p. 111). The other question, addressed to this research is: *What scientific perspective/s challenged educational and pedagogical issues in regard to children with disabilities during these two periods?*

The *third* feature of this research is directed to the justification of a school curriculum for children with disabilities. Since 1917 education for these children was organized in existing pre-revolutionary special schools and in the hastily established children's homes as a result of caring for street and homeless children because of the civil war (Diyachkov, 1958). Ascent of the political and economic life of the country has been outlined since 1924 and the course against philanthropic approach in education to realize the materialistic special pedagogy was taken. An intensive process of searching for new scientific ideas how to upbringing and educate children with disabilities was combined with people's enthusiasm of the successful realization of the first years of the plan to industrialization in general and the beginning of the new course to cultural revolution, targeting 'a fight against illiteracy'. Strong beliefs of professional and research communities that by literacy force, new methodology and pedagogical methods, children with disabilities would become useful societal members as other children, contributed to the loss of the 'specificity' of the special school (Zamsky, 1974). In 1931 schools for deaf, blind and mentally retarded children got state order to teach children employing a mass school curriculum (ibid). The research question out of this feature became: *What special education curriculum was created and what it was resulting in within Soviet and Post Soviet time?*

2. Methodology

The research appeals to the history of formation of education for all, dealing with special education legalization for children with disabilities, science provision and school curriculum during the RF state history: Soviet (1917-1991) and Post-Soviet (1991-2012). Even though, both of these 'time frames' are designated as the most radical and fundamental

in their educational reforms, they are part of the continuity of the contemporary enactments in the field (Anaikina, 2001; Kozlovskaya, 2003). For better understanding the process of legalization of special education for these children, some emphasis is needed. The first one interplays with the concrete historical contexts. The general line of the development of education for all in RF has been rooted in the political structure of the Soviet power, where from 1917 leading political positions, regulating and controlling a broad spectrum of economic, social, and cultural issues on all levels, belonged to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) till 1991, - the year of the Soviet Union dissolution and the following transition towards liberalization and marketization. 2012 is a year of the adoption of the latest law of education in RF. Viewing the historical past is a sign of any transitional epoch. That means, the history of special education formation could be understood in relation to the Soviet power structure as a symbolic “hegemonic moment” and fundamental challenges transferring policy reforms in education for all. The next signifier emphasizes the role of special education origins in making “education for all” possible. Referring to Richardson and Powell (2011), special education within the periods of fundamental challenges, so called, ‘moments in time’, re-originating its organizational designs, pedagogical foci, and instructional practices (Richardson & Powell, 2011, p. 25). Debating special educational needs at ‘the moments in time’, special education repeatedly reactivates its origins towards solutions, responding to deviations ‘from explicit or implicit norms in ever- more standardized, age-graded educational curricula and pathways’ (Richardson & Powell, 2011, p. 25). Special education passing the difficult paths of its formation is a multidirectional process, consisting of interconnected ‘moments in time’ of its history in a wider political context, progressively contributing to education for all.

This study is based mainly on Russian sources, relating to policy documents in general and compulsory education within the relevant political and scientific framework. Historical documents are represented by Constitutions of the RSFSR (Konstitutsiya, 1918; 1925); Constitutions of the USSR (Konstitutsiya, 1936;1977); Educational Laws of the USSR (1958; 1973); Educational Laws of the RF (1992; 2012) and a chronological collection of the state decrees, orders, government letters, reports and regulations of education for children with intellectual disabilities. Scientific sources are based on authoritative monographs in the history of Soviet education and special education such as Vygotsky, Zamsky, Malofeev, Anaikina, Kozlovskaya, Naumov; defectological vocabularies (Kratkiy, 1964; Defectologicheskii, 1970) issued by the Research Institute of Defectology (RID) of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR (APS). Data from the research texts were collected as a peer review resources through the Russian State Library (journals: *Special School [Spetsialnaya Shkola]*; *Defectology [Defektologiya]*); electronic international data bases Discovery, Google scholar; the electronic platform of the research Institute of Correctional Pedagogy (ICP) of the APS of the RF (journal: *Almanac of the Institute of Correctional Pedagogy*). Of particular interest was a number of articles by professor Dyachkov, the director of the Scientific Research Institute of Defectology, written during 1961-1967 in the journal of “Special School”; several articles by this author are covering the Soviet history of the formation of special education and the provision of tasks for the defectology as a science in the period 1917-1967 were selected for subsequent analysis.

The data analysis was based on an overall hermeneutic approach to data collection. The descriptions were collected and then interpreted by historical and phenomenological

inquiries. The comprehension of former and present documents was inspired by Engelhart (1972, p. 8). The main task of the perusal of documents and research texts was to detect and utilize certain formulations relating to understanding disability issues, rights to education and its realization, the scientific perspectives challenged educational and pedagogical (curriculum) issues for children with disabilities across Soviet and Post-Soviet educational reforms. The content analysis was proceeded through the idea to 'make a symbolic reading of the text in question' (May, 2001, p. 232) for further 'uncovering meaning, develop(ing) understanding, and discover(ing) insights relevant to the research problem' (Merriam, 1888, p. 118). Units of analysis of the findings were identified as 'themes' perspective, where significance of the words and phrases, expressions and frequency of certain words was noted. The main findings were divided into two big themes: *Desired contours of the future and a state order for experiment* (sub-themes: Randomizing the sample and the dynamics of change: from the 'street' to the 'laboratory'; Experimenting, implementing and disseminating a new structure of laboratories: education through differentiation and adaptation of the curriculum; Scientific platform for experimentation) and *Unfinished experimentation: disrupting the pattern*.

3. Findings

3.1. Desired contours of the future and a state order for experiment

3.1.1. Randomizing the sample and the dynamics of change: from the 'street' to the 'laboratory'

Ideological statements were formulated in the first Constitutions of RSFSR of 1918/1925 (Konstitutsiya, 1918, art. 3, 17, 18; Konstitutsiya, 1925, art. 1, 8), playing a crucial role in defining structural formation of- and the right to- education, including children with disabilities. The power of proletarian dictatorship stressed priority of education for workers and peasants, proclaiming formation of *non-class society* and *builder of socialism/productive worker* as a new cultural model, value and *norm* of citizenship. The all-encompassing pressure of non-class ideology resulted in a dynamic challenge to the restriction of rights to education for different groups of children, those who were identified as being not fitting the new *non-class norm of citizenship*. School was seen as an ideological tool for upbringing and formatting this new mankind as a man *of fully developed personality, collectivist upbringing, the proper molding of the perfect and productive worker* (Kalinnikova & Trygged, 2014, p. 239).

Later, at the beginning of the 1930s, a new concept came into use in Stalin's ideological discourse: '*proletarian humanism*'/'*socialist humanism*'. The authorship of the primary meaning of this concept was Maxim Gorkii, the Soviet writer: 'only the true humanism could be - is the proletarian humanism' with its 'inextinguishable hatred to the bourgeoisie', 'to bourgeois humanism' and 'to the rule of capitalism' (Sherrer, 2020). 'Socialist humanism' was integrated in the new discipline of 'Ethics of Marxism-Leninism' in 1959 and got its scientific definition in the Malaya [Short] Soviet Encyclopedia: *socialist humanism- is a feature of the revolutionary ideology and practice of the proletariat, which is fighting for the liberation of workers from economic oppression, for the building of a communist society, which creates real conditions for the full development of all people, for true individual freedom* (Humanism: 1959, p. 227). Further this concept was

integrated in the last Soviet Constitution of 1977 (Konstitutsiya, 1977). Until the dissolution of the USSR, ‘socialist humanism’ kept its Soviet version, nothing in common with universalism.

Giving short reference to the restrictions of rights to education for children, emphasizing that in the middle of 1920s till the end of 1930s ideological statements became a symbolic social marker, recognizing, categorizing and alienating those who were identified as abnormal on the scale of normality/abnormality. Among these ‘socially abnormal’ were children, categorized on the scale of *friends-foes*: children of people’s enemies (‘bad’ social background), children of ethnic settlers, etc. (Korobkova, 2011). A big group of homeless, neglected, orphans, physically and mentally retarded children, etc. got their categorization on the scale of *defectiveness* (Diyachkov, 1967a).

The discourse of ‘defectiveness’ had its pre-revolutionary initial introduction by child psychiatrist Kashenko (1912), where he defined: ‘physical defectiveness’ (with organic impairments); ‘mental defectiveness’ (mentally retarded) and ‘moral defectiveness’ (socially neglected and maladapted). This discourse got its continuation after the revolution in a new ideological context of beliefs that these children by newly developed pedagogy, newly established state care and educational system would grow into new Soviet children. Lunacharsky, the first People’s Commissar of Education of the RSFSR, in 1924, in his speech at the second congress of social and legal protection of minors, defined children with defectiveness as ‘... subjects, who differ from the norm... it is necessary to make such children healthy... defectiveness in the proper sense of the word goes hand in hand not so much with bad heredity, as it depends on the environment’ (Diyachkov, 1967b, p. 5),- expressing hope that these children could become full members of the new society. In the emerging discourse of the science of defectology ‘child defectiveness’ was turned to the discourse of ‘difficult child’, clearly formulated by Vygotsky (1993): ‘... We selected the following varieties and types of difficult childhood as the foundation for the research: troubled children in a mass schools; children difficult for train in the proper sense of the word (homeless, delinquent or pedagogically neglected), psycho- and neuropathic children, mentally retarded, blind, deaf-mute, logopathics, and the mentally and physically ill’ (p. 188). The signs from the science didn’t meet the feature of the ideological proclamation of the new society.

In 1936, the new (Stalin’s) constitution consolidated the victory of the proletarian dictatorship, legally secured the victory of socialism and proclaimed liquidation of antagonistic societal classes (Konstitutsiya, 1936; Konstitutsiya, 1959, 1160-1161). The fact of the existence of abnormal children completely contradicted the claims of an ideal and happy Soviet childhood: ‘... it is enough to leave only a certain number of schools ‘for children-disorganizers, psychoneurotics and idiots. We have no other categories...’ – the bolshevik party ideologist A. Zhdanov asserted in August 1936 (Rodin, 1998). ‘Difficult’ children became invisible. During the 1930s, the structure of learning conditions for all these children was defined by state profiling commissions, regulating a process of selection and restriction for education, in more regulated and isolated placements (Galmarini, 2012). Educational conditions for ‘morally defective’ children got its repressive resolutions in colonies for young criminals under the People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR. ‘Physically’ (deaf, blind, crippled) and ‘mentally’ (oligophrenic) defective children were segregated in special schools under the People’s Commissariat of Education (PCE). Since the 1920s the group of children, recognized as ‘non-educable’ (feeble-minded, idiots) were transferred to the jurisdiction of the People’s Commissariats of Social Welfare and only the satisfaction

of the basic needs of these children was steadily considered as prioritized (Zamsky, 1974; Kalinnikova & Trygged, 2014). The ideological pressure on the formation of the educational system during 1930s, was manifested in the prevalence of political homogeneity, severely marginalizing the right to education of 'difficult' children.

During the post-revolution period and till the early 1950's, the understanding of the nature of child 'defectiveness' got its pure materialistic interpretation, based on Marxist-Leninist philosophical propositions: theory of development, theory of knowledge and the principle of determinism of phenomena in relation to various anomalies (Vlasova, 1971). Since the middle of the 1950's 'defective' children began to be called *abnormal*, which meant '... children with significant deviations from normal physical or mental development... 1) hearing impairments (deaf, low hearing abilities, late deaf); 2) visual impairments' (blind, low visual abilities); 3) deaf-blind; 4) mentally retarded; 5) severe speech disorders.' The term of the *defect* became synonymous to the term *anomalos* meaning *incorrect, wrong* (Anomalnie deti, 1964, p.12-13). This materialistic understanding of the defect formed the basis of the methodology for recognition of the child 'defect' for further differentiation and correction of the *abnormality* in an appropriate educational institution.

Political rehabilitation, initiated after 1953, Stalin's death, for children of people's enemies and of ethnic settlers, deserves a separate narration. Being socialized under the oppression of the label *political*, experiencing long term fears and neglect, most of these grown up children were never liberated from barriers and restrictions to full citizenship till the end of the Soviet era. The repressive discourse regarding 'morally defective' children was softened, but kept, slowly opening changes towards counter discourse of *psychological trauma* and *social disadaptation*, leading to the development of therapeutic intervention and medicalization (Galmarini, 2012). Experimentation, scientific work of education of *non-educable* children started at the end of the 1960's, but the recognition of their rights to education would be formulated through the concept 'from equal rights to equal possibilities' just in the Law of Education of RF in 1992 (Ob institute, 2021).

3.1.2. Experimenting and disseminating a new structure of laboratories: achievements through differentiation and adaptation of the curriculum

Initially, class theory and incorporation of ideological doctrines for creating a new educational system, have pushed experimentation, challenging 'people's education' on all its structural levels. Since 1918 responsibilities for 'defective children were divided, inter-related and periodically transferred between three commissariats: education, health and social affairs (Zankov, 1974). In the State Decree of 1926, the initial institutional structure for children with 'physical' (deaf and blind) and 'mental' (oligophrenic) defects was placed under the Council of People's Commissars of Education: homes for preschool children; schools and school-internats; schools and school-internats for professional-technical education; mixed age schools and school-internats; special [*vspomogatelnie*] groups for mentally retarded children in regular schools (Diyachkov, 1967b).

Taking in account the fact, that there was no separate Law of special education in RSFSR, the structural formation of education for these children was experienced and legalized through a number of State Decrees, Orders, Letters, Instructions, etc., directed to the reforms in general and compulsory education. In the instructional guide for the directors of special schools this regulation was explained as follows: ...*Both, tasks and principles of*

education for children with mental and physical defects (nedostatkami) of development and tasks of their communist education are common with the mass school, but the structure, regime, methods of education have particularities (Sbornik, 1982).

The structural changes of educational institutions for children with physical and mental defects [*nedostatkami*], became more dynamic after World War II. The main reason for that was not only the growing up of a number of physically war wounded children and a poliomyelitis epidemia in the middle of 1950s, but also the scientific achievements in deeper understanding the nature of different ‘defects’. Defectological research issues were included in the scientific plan of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR at the end of the 1930’s and resulted in the process of slowly increasing differentiation among children with defects [*nedostatkami*] (Diyachkov, 1967c; Vlasova, 1971; Zamsky, 1974). In the Educational Law of 1958 (art. 5), the format of school-internats and daycare groups were expanded in order to strengthen the role of society in helping families in raising children. Free provision of basic needs for children with physical and mental ‘defects’ [*nedostatkami*] such as food, clothes, leisure activities, treatment, etc., especially for special schools-internats had a positive impact on this structural challenge (Sbornik, 1982, p. 148-153). Since 1972 the nomenclature of five special preschool institutions/groups in regular kindergartens was legalized: for children with hearing, speech, visual, mental and motor impairments (Sbornik, 1982, p. 59).

Figure 1 is introducing the tendencies in the development of special education schools discussed above. Despite that the collected data operationalize only by general statistics of students’ number in these schools, the evidence of structural changes is obvious, except one reference, worth considering. The expansion of the enrollment of students clearly demonstrated on the Figure 1, in 1958-59 was lower than the number of students, enrolled in special schools in 1927-28 (Kasin & Chekharin, 1970). This fact has its explanation, which mostly connects to the ideological statement, mentioned and discussed previously. Having a format of radical governmental response on the usage of IQ tests by the pedologists, (which resulted in increasing by 50% of special schools during 1925-1926 (Zamsky, 1974), this response proclaimed: there is ‘...enough to leave only a certain number of schools... for children-disorganizers, psychoneurotics and idiots...’ (Rodin, 1998). After the 1960’s the process of differentiation led to diversification of educational placements for children with physical and mental defects [*nedostatkami*]. As an example: types of impairment became more specified within each group: deaf / hearing impaired, blind / visually impaired, mentally retarded, with speech impairments. At the end of the 1960’s –beginning 1970’s, three new types of special educational settings were established: for deaf-blind (school-internat, the only one in Moscow), for motor-disordered (special school internat) and for developmental delay [*zaderzhka psichicheskogo razvitiya*] children (special classes in mass schools, special schools) (Table 1; Diyachkov, 1967c; Vlasova, 1971; Kisova, 2017). Within the same period, the first educational curriculum was addressed to the still existing ‘non-educable’ group of children in experimental settings (Dulnev, 1960; Vatazhina 1971; Tsikoto 1979).

For the first Educational Law, where the confirmation of the existence of the ‘special educational institution’ was formally legalized was the Educational Law of the USSR of 1973. In the article 26, under the heading: *Certain types of general education schools. Schools-internats, internats at schools. Children homes*, was clearly formulated: *For children and teens with defects [nedostatkami] in physical and mental development, which are the reason of difficulties in learning at the regular school and are in need*

in particular conditions of upbringing, special regular schools and schools-internats should be organized and provide education, upbringing, medication and preparation (these students) to the socially useful work (Zakon, 1973). The structural differentiation in special education was continually processed and coordinated with the 'types' of child 'defect' [*nedostatkami*] cross 1970-90s.

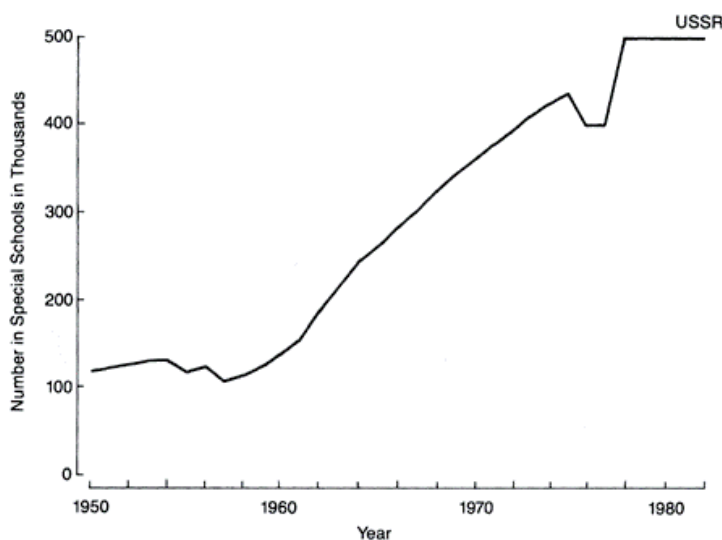
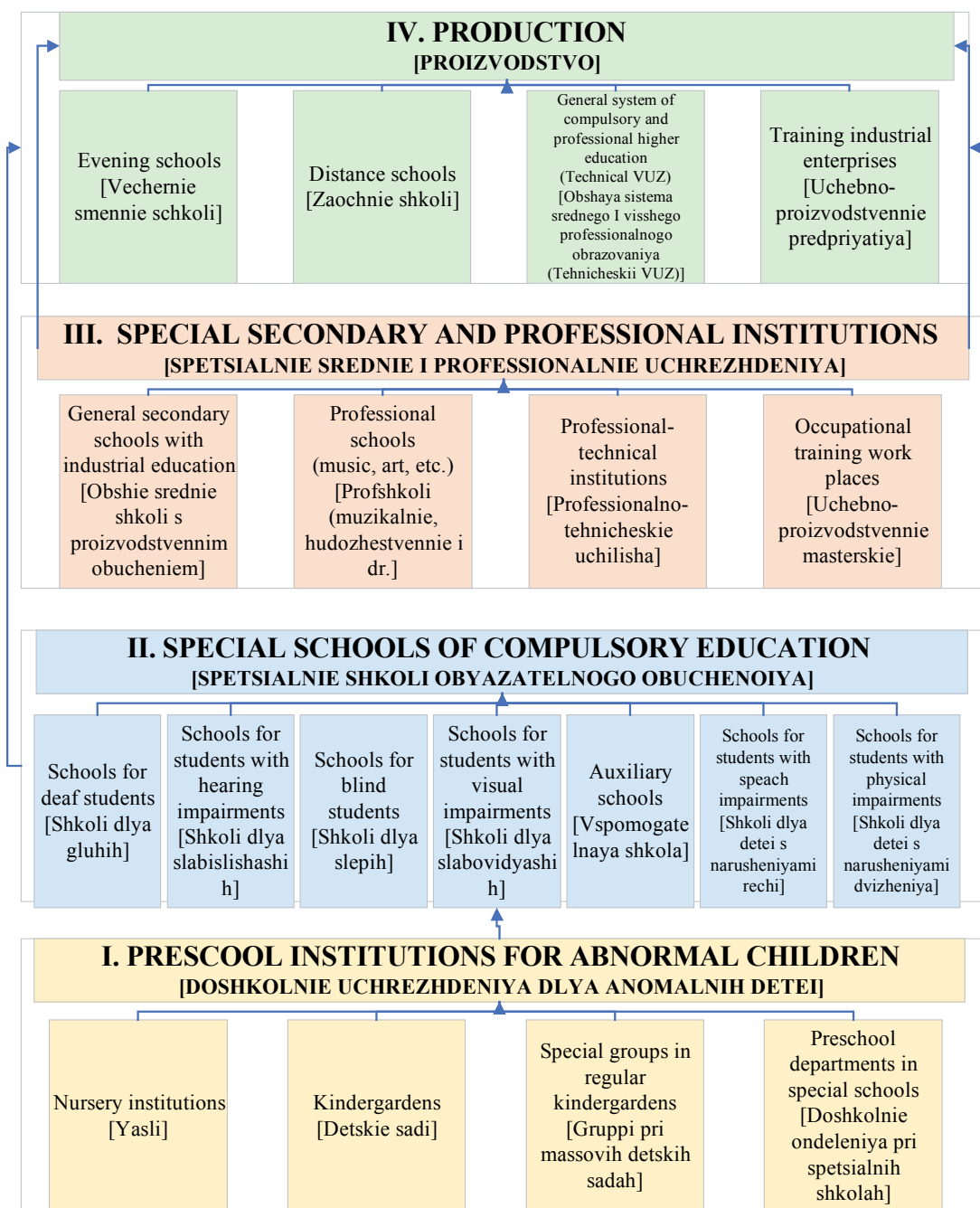


Figure 1: Number of Children in Schools for the Physically or Mentally Handicapped: USSR, 1950-19. Source: Anderson, B., Silver, B. & Velkoff, A. (1987). Education of the Handicapped in the USSR: exploration of the Statistics Picture, *Soviet Studies*, v. XXXIX (3, July): 468-488

The educational curriculum by the Decree of 1930's 'On universal compulsory primary education', (Postanovlenie, 1930) got its qualificative nature, and normative principles of education for all students were equalized. As an example, the structure of a school curriculum for children with mental 'defect' [*nedostatkami*] was based on two stages. The curriculum of the first one (five years) was fully corresponding to the first stage of four years regular school curriculum. The second stage: sixth and seventh school years provided basic theoretical education in algebra, physics, chemistry and trigonometry. This polytechnic education was considered to prepare these students to enter the next stage of education in factory schools. State order took over, special education became an important resource and service for the state industrialization needs addressed to educators and scientists as an 'over task' (Malofeev, 2000). On all stages of improvement of Soviet compulsory education for all (Zakon, 1930: seven years; Zakon, 1958: eight years; Kotsitutsiya, 1977: ten years; Postanovlenie, 1984 – eleven years) special education curriculum was required to be adapted to mass education. To make students' achievements realized, special educational institutions got structural regulations: less number of students in the learning settings, longer period of compulsory education, full time control from the school staff, free basic needs provision (special education schooling was mainly organized and provided through school-internats). Since the 1920s a new teacher education specialty was created: defectologist. Special education curriculum was responding to the state reforms in labour education and preparatory students to everyday life. Development of special pedagogy and didactics for purposes of the state got its formation from intensive practical and scientific inputs (Dulnev, 1955; Diyachkov, 1957; Diyachkov, 1968).

Table 1.
The network of educational institutions, (Diyachkov, 1967c)



Network of the educational institutions:

- I. Preschool institutions;
- II. Special schools;
- III. Secondary general and professional education;
- IV. Employment, secondary general professional and higher education

Reference to the table: Diachkov, A. (1967). Osnovnie etapi razvitiya sovetskoi sistemi vospitaniya i obcheniya anomalnih detei [Main stages of the development of the Soviet system of upbringing and educating of abnormal children]. *Spetsialnaya shkola*, n5 (125), s.5.

The intellectual platform of special education created by defectologists, theoretical and methodological developments contributed to the further typification of special educational structure, creating a symbolic Soviet pattern, expanding it over the whole USSR. Figure 2 draws the line of this expansion between 1950-80s, witnessing the regional inequality of development of the net of special educational institutions for the whole USSR. A similar picture of regional inequality was inside the Soviet Russia. Special educational institutions, were located extremely unevenly across the country, mainly in the European part (Malofeev, 2000). The only solution for education for these children was a state response to the establishment of special school-internats over the RSFSR, where children lived, learned and socialized, being far away from their homes under conditions of multiple deprivation.

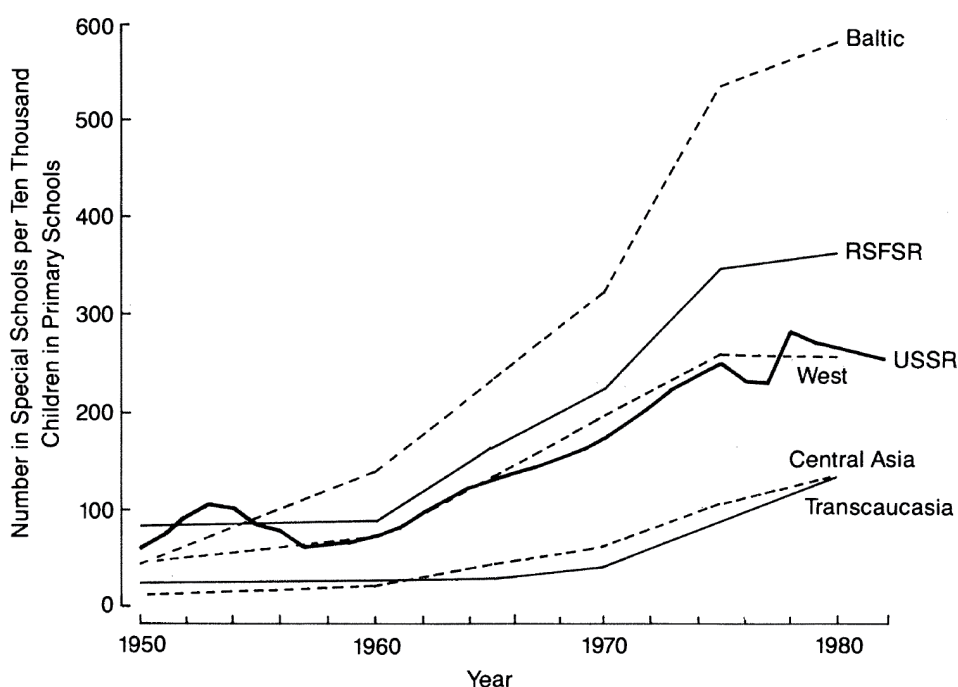


Figure 2: Number of Children in Schools for the Physically or Mentally Handicapped per 10,000 Children Enrolled in Classes I-IV: USSR and Regions, 1950-1982. Source: Anderson, B., Silver, B. & Velkoff, A. (1987). Education of the Handicapped in the USSR: exploration of the Statistics Picture, *Soviet Studies*, v. XXXIX (3, July): 468-488.

Thanks to the efforts of the community of educators and scientists, at the end of 1990's there was found structural, didactical and methodological solutions for adaptation of the special school curriculum to the one required by the state order towards further general and professional education of students. The structure of special educational institutions as a system was basically formed, but not finalized. The special educational infrastructure was still fragmented on the regional level (horizontally) and on the scale of life long-learning (vertically), missing forms and programs for an early age support for children (Malofeev, 2000).

3.1.3. Scientific platform for experimentation

The formation of the pedagogical science for children with disabilities in Russia was an integral part of the post-revolutionary structural challenges in special education since 1918. The vision of a new science for these children was experienced through general political debates around desired contours of the future, which were seen through social-cultural class based societal transformation, new progressive school and pedagogy promoting the development of educational models for upbringing a new generation of ‘mass mankind’. The Marxist-Leninist frame of the state policy took an ideological control looking for paradigmatic assumptions that would convey this socialist commitment through education. Responsible governmental leaders, involving intelligentsia and political activists, organized several important events for that purpose. Between 1919-1924 the issues of a primary pedagogical agenda, were addressed to the solutions of the disaster around child defectiveness, homelessness, orphanage, etc. Central outlines of these events raised the necessity of a deep analysis of the situation in understanding the causality of defectiveness; to define the structure of special institutions for different groups of children; to determine the ways of training new pedagogical staff –defectologists, etc. (Zamsky, 1974; Diyachkov, 1958). In the scientific discourse of the response to the child defectiveness two significant disciplines emerged: pedology and defectology. Both of these sciences had their roots in the pre-revolutionary reformistic movement in pedagogy on the border between the XIXth and XXth centuries.

Pedology in its methodology, was a scientific phenomenon, originated in the USA by G. Stanly Hall. It got its intensive implementation in Russia during the first decade after the revolution. Pedology offered a holistic pedo-centric approach to child development in the interaction/interrelationship of all mental and physical manifestations under the influence of biological and social factors. Pedologists themselves realized the complication of the purposes they applied and experienced difficulties to define the subject of their science (Zamsky, 1974). The most clear definition was given by the professor Blonsky, the founder of the Soviet pedology: “Pedology studies symptom-complexes of different epochs, phases and stages of childhood in its temporal sequence and its dependence on different conditions” (Blonsky, 1925, p. 8). Pedology was interested in defining the psychological, physical and social content of child development within the child age, looking for the interconnectedness between these characteristics and coordinating them with the biological and social factors. In that way, pedologists aimed to create an organic synthesis between different child development data and saw dialectics in this approach. During the 1920’s pedological movement got wide support and permission by the People’s Commissariat of Education to deal with the issues of child development and improvement of the organizational process in labour, political and moral education of students (Vygotsky, 1993; Zamsky, 1974). Pedological institutes, experimental laboratories, staff of pedologists in schools – were established through the country. In practice principles of synthesis and dialectics were implemented controversially and, finally, failed. IQ tests became the dominant method in pedological studies and the number of children, identified as retarded, as well the number of special schools for mentally defective children, grew. In 1936, by the State Decree ‘About Pedological perversions in the system of the People’s Commissariat for Education’ Pedology was accused being pseudoscience, and that theory and practice of this science stood on anti-Marxists statements (Postanovlenie, 1936; Pedology, 1959, p. 1266). “It became clear that pedology failed to satisfy Party expectations for improving the situation of children.” (Sirotkina & Smith 2012, p. 425).

After the ban of pedology, tests as a method were no longer in use. The division between educable/non-educable children was developed in defectology by the use of different psychological, pedagogical and medical methods in more qualitatively performed procedures (Pevzner, 1966; Dulnev & Luriya, 1973; Lubovsky, 1989). The data, collected by pedological experimentation and observation about children's life in such a complicated political period, represent a unique and very original social-cultural heritage, which was left behind for taking care of by the next generations of scientists.

Defectology as an emerging theory and practice, addressed to children with physical and mental 'defects', at the beginning of the XXth century, had a much smaller scale of its distribution on the territory of Russia, in comparison with the emergence of pedology. The term defectology has German origins and was imported from Germany (Knox & Stevens, 1993). The history of theorization in defectology closely connects to private initiatives of doctor-teachers to educate children with '...neuropathic, hysterical, mentally retarded, spoiled by improper upbringing in the family, prone to vagrancy and with other developmental disabilities' (Kashenko, 1912) makes a reference, to a scientific philanthropy with its much longer tradition to take care of 'defective' children ('feeble minded', 'idiotiki') in Russia (Kalinnikova & Trygged, 2014, p. 231). The emergence of the defectology as a science after the Revolution is considered as a state request to strengthen a slow growing net of special schools, responding to the state needs in over-taking the control of child defectiveness.

The theory formation of the Soviet defectology began, as historians in the field of special education agree, in the 1924, at the second Congress of social and legal protection of minors, where Lev Vygotsky, working at that time as a state servant of the department of social and legal protection of minors, took on of the leading part in its preparation (Zamsky, 1974). Here Vygotsky, symbolically saying, introduced himself to the research community, it was a year when he entered the door to the social and psychological sciences, keeping his loyalty to the defectology till the end of his life in 1934. At the Congress and in his following scientific texts, he formulated the basic provisions for understanding the essence of abnormal development, based on the social-cultural theory of the development of higher mental functions and substantiated general statements for all sections of defectology (surdo-, typhlo-, etc.) (Vygotsky, 1924). The scientific institutionalization of the defectology started in the 1920's from the establishment of small representative departments in the Psychoneurological academy in Leningrad and in the Second state university in Moscow (Zamsky, 1974). In 1929, the People's Commissariat for Education of the RSFSR transformed the existing departments into a single structure - the Experimental Defectological Institute. During Soviet time, since 1943, the Research Institute of Defectology (RID) was embedded in the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR, and worked with the issues to fulfill the state order of scientific support of the school education system for children with mental and physical disabilities (Ob institute, 2021).

Finally, defectology was formatted as an interdisciplinary science 'about laws of development, upbringing and educating children with physical and psychological disabilities (*nedostatkami*)' (Defectologiya, 1964). Interdisciplinarity of defectology was constituted out of special pedagogy and special psychology. Each of these sciences has its marker in the state Classifier of the sciences in both periods: Soviet and post-Soviet. Defectology never got its formal statement as a science in this Classifier; it was a study discipline for professional special teacher education curriculum and a branch of pedagogical science, but not a science in its own right (Nazarova, 2008).

3.1.4. Unfinished experimentation: a transition to a new experimentation

Researchers, focusing on issues of reforms in education for all after the dissolution of the USSR (1991), make a reference to variable aspects of complications of this process, emphasizing the evidence of the incompleteness of the historical action challenging the transition from a totalitarian/authoritative regime to liberalization in education (Dneprov, 2011). The incompleteness of the developmental process in special education after 1991 is seen as a multifaceted force to re-orient experimentation by changing a research focus and research questions towards new principles how to respond to the educational needs of children with disabilities (Malofeev, 2000), when the previous system didn't finalize its formation in both directions: vertically (life-long learning perspective) and horizontally (unevenness of special education infrastructure across the country). Special educational resources were predominantly concentrated in the European part of Soviet Russia and other big cities (ibid). Consequently, inequality within the delivering/receiving special educational resources was rather high. At the beginning of the 1990s, about 1.5% of the total number of school-age children in Russia received special education support (ibid, 112). The existing special educational resources met no more than 15% of the identified needs (Nazarova, 2020), witnessing the lack, and unequal distribution across the country of special teachers, special education training and special education institutions (Nazarova, 2020).

Incompleteness of the special education formation in the 1990's and liberal reforms in education in 1992, launched opposite tendencies, challenging epistemological tensions and needs to unite educational and research communities internationally. During this time, the right to education for children with disabilities, was influenced by international documents including the World Declaration on Education for All (in Jomtien, 1990; Dakar, 2000) and The Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994). In 1993,- the new Constitution of the Russian Federation, declared equality as a foundational platform for each (Kontstitutsiya, 1993). Article 43 recognized every individual's right to free and accessible education. It took about 20 years more before inclusive settings, provision of accessible and quality of education for students with disabilities, adapting to individual needs, were formally legalized in the Federal Law of Education (The Law of Education, 2012). Students with disabilities were considered inside the larger group of students: "students with limited health conditions", (The Law of Education, 2012, art. 79). The new Educational Law had its federal nature of the Russian State and so delegated executive actions of its implementation to the regions, where in a number of them the inequality in education among children with disabilities was rather steady (Kulagina, 2012).

Making reference to defectology, in the 1990s, the defectological approach to child disability research and practice transformed itself into 'correctional pedagogy' as a 'new' science concerning these children. The subject of defectology was moved from identifying 'defect' to the action of corrective pedagogy or correction of the defect (Nazarova, 2008). The Research Institute of Defectology took full responsibility for this renaming, while neglecting to consider contrary opinions from the contemporary Russian research community. This demonstrated the power of the RID and its continuing 'non-conventional' hegemony in Russian science (Nazarova, 2008; Kalinnikova Magnusson & Walton, 2021).

4. Discussion and conclusions

The undertaken research paid its attention to the history of the formation of education for all within two periods of fundamental societal changes, focusing on educational reforms for children with disabilities, science provision and school curriculum during the Soviet (1917-1991) and Post-Soviet periods (1991-2012). The main assumption was based on the debates that special education, within the periods of fundamental challenges, re-activates its origins, interconnects wider political context towards solutions for making education for all possible. Research questions were addressed to the three main features: legislation, science and school curriculum. All three - interplay with each other, contributing to a deeper understanding of special education formation within a provision of education for all. Examining the results of the study, it was found that revolutionary formation of special education emerged from the discourse of child defectiveness and class radicalism discourse, addressed to the formation of a new school as a place for social engineering of a new mankind. In practice, class radicalism stratified and institutionalized inequality in education by recognizing, categorizing/randomizing and alienating those who didn't fit *desirable contours of the future*. Educational reforms were regulated by the State, requiring similar achievements from all students, those who couldn't follow were marginalized. Even though, later the discourse of child defectiveness became more differentiated and the class radicalism discourse was softened by the Soviet origins of the 'socialist humanism' (Sherrer, 2020). Special education was ordered to educate 'educable', those who would be productive workers. Those who couldn't – were 'non-educable' and by that were deprived their rights on education till the end of the Soviet era. A full recognition of rights of these children to education was formulated in the educational law of 2012, but its implementation still needs further monitoring and analysis.

Analyzing a school curriculum issues, this research was interested in what the special education curriculum was creating and in what it was resulting? School curriculum is a state order in the form of educational standards. Special schools were instructed by the formal regulations how to adapt a curriculum and were extra resourced for that purpose: less number of students in the classroom, providing longer period of compulsory education, full time control from the school staff, free basic needs satisfaction, etc. Since late 1930s adaptation of the curriculum gradually raised differentiation among students, diversified typological variations of special schools and further individualization of a learning instruction. The growing educational diversification unfolded in segregated contexts, where children with disabilities experienced learning and socialization. The science perspective of challenging special education was originated by pedology and defectology. Pedology failed. This science controversially applied its methods in practice, mostly developing test approach to understanding child development and by that contradicted dialectics. Defectology took over the special educational issues and developed itself in a program science, serving a state order for further formation of special education, manifesting its scientific hegemony across the Soviet space. RID monopolised the right to deconstruct defectology into correctional pedagogy, setting the track and keeping control for the future development in the field.

5. References

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