

## *New Trends in the History of Childhood, Education and School Institutions in Post-Communist Russia (1986-2012)*

### *Nuevos desarrollos en la historia de la infancia, de la educación y de las instituciones educativas en la Rusia post-comunista (1986-2012)*

**Dorena Caroli**

e-mail: [dorena.caroli@unimc.it](mailto:dorena.caroli@unimc.it)

*University of Macerata. Italy*

**ABSTRACT:** The aim of this article is to present the main research trends in the history of childhood, education and school institutions, published in Russia from the middle of the 1980s to the present. Recent works on these topics adopt new theories and methodologies, which entail new delimitations of disciplinary borders and new ways of defining the objects of research. First of all, the history of pedagogical thought and educational institutions is marked by the abandonment of Marxist theory and by the elaboration of a new conception called «pedagogical anthropology», enabling a thorough examination of the complexity of personality and educational practices. Secondly, scholars have recently revived Russian and Soviet School history, by investigating its different role under the Tsarist autocracy and the Soviet regime. According to new research, the Soviet reforms were conceived in order to teach citizens new values – not only to build social classes and workers for the development of the planned economy, as pointed out by Socialist historiography. Thirdly, the history of childhood has been re-written on the basis of the history of everyday life and of interdisciplinary approaches. This has made it possible to examine not only the «discovery» of childhood in Russia, but also to understand the ambiguous use of representations of childhood in Soviet propaganda under Stalin, which concealed the tragedy of homeless children and their presence in the Gulags. Finally, the history of social pedagogy contributes to the revision of the pedagogical theory of the most famous Soviet pedagogue – A.S. Makarenko (1888-1939) – in the social rehabilitation of juvenile offenders. The history of youth movements also represents a new trend aiming at analysing the continuity between the Scouts and the Communist Pioneers as well as its very important role in the political socialization and active participation in the defence of the Fatherland during WWII.

**Key words:** History of Education; History of Childhood; Historiography; XIX-XX centuries; Russia; Soviet Union.

**RESUMEN:** El propósito de este artículo es presentar las principales tendencias de la investigación en la historia de la infancia, de la educación y de las instituciones educativas, en las obras publicadas en Rusia a partir de mediados de los años ochenta hasta la actualidad. Los estudios más recientes sobre estos temas han adoptado diferentes teorías y metodologías que implican nuevas delimitaciones de las lindes disciplinarias para definir los objetos de investigación. En primer lugar, la historia del pensamiento pedagógico y de las instituciones educativas está marcada por el abandono de la teoría marxista y por la elaboración de un concepto llamado «antropología pedagógica» que permite un examen minu-

cioso de la complejidad de la personalidad y de las prácticas educativas. En segundo lugar, los estudiosos han contribuido recientemente a revivir la historia de la escuela rusa y soviética y han investigado las diferentes funciones de ésta durante la autocracia zarista y el régimen soviético. Según las últimas investigaciones, las reformas soviéticas se han concebido con el fin de enseñar a los ciudadanos valores que variaban en función de la ideología – por tanto, no sólo para construir las clases sociales y formar a los trabajadores para el desarrollo de la economía planificada, como se ha señalado desde la historiografía socialista. En tercer lugar, la historia de la infancia se ha reescrito desde un enfoque interdisciplinar y basado en la historia de la vida cotidiana. Esto nos ha permitido examinar no sólo el «descubrimiento» de la infancia en Rusia, sino también comprender el uso ambiguo de las representaciones de la infancia en la propaganda soviética bajo el régimen de Stalin que ocultaba la tragedia de los niños sin hogar y su presencia en los Gulag. Por último, la historia de la pedagogía social contribuye a la revisión del concepto de educación del pedagogo soviético más famoso – A.S. Makarenko (1888-1939) – en relación con la reintegración social de los menores de edad que han cometido delitos. También la historia de los movimientos juveniles es una de las tendencias que han surgido en los últimos años y tiene como objetivo analizar la continuidad entre los Scouts y los pioneros comunistas, al igual que su importante papel en la socialización política y en la participación activa en la defensa de la patria durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial.

**Palabras clave:** Historia de la Educación; Historia de la infancia; Historiografía; siglos XIX-XX; Rusia; Unión Soviética.

Recibido / Received: 16/05/2014

Aceptado / Accepted: 20/06/2014

## Introduction

The aim of this article is to present the main research trends in the history of childhood, education and school institutions in Russia from the middle of the 1980s to 2012 – a period marked by deep political and social changes, which led to the fall of Communism and to the democratisation of the Russian Society<sup>1</sup>.

These changes have given scholars the chance to tackle scientific issues forbidden during the Socialist regime thanks to the opening up of the State Archives and of frontiers, which have made it possible to gain access to previously undisclosed documents and to develop scientific exchanges with foreign scholars. This move toward new scientific horizons and new methodologies could be defined as an internationalization movement of the sciences of education, which have viewed the history of education from a different perspective compared to the past.

This article does not deal with the reception of some conceptions, for example those of the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau on the circulation of educational models at the different levels of the educational system<sup>2</sup>, as it was pos-

<sup>1</sup> This article is a revised and updated version of the essay published as: Caroli, D. (2007). Nuove tendenze nella storia dell'infanzia, dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche nella Russia post-comunista (1990-2006). *History of Education and Children's Literature*, II(1), pp. 377-392 and Caroli, D. (2011). Néés taseis sten Istoria tes Paidikes Elikias, tes Ekpaideuses kai ton Scholikon Fesmon ste meta-kommounistiké Rosia (1986-2008). In Bouzakis, S. (Ed.), *Panorama istorias tis Ekpaideysis. Opseis kai Apopseis. Tom A. Istoriografika Teumata – Makres Periodikoi Ekpaideusektos Sunoron. Topike Istoria* (pp. 139-162). Athens: Gutenberg.

<sup>2</sup> Slatopolskaia, A. A. (Ed.). (2005). *Zh. Zh. Russo: pro et contra. Idei Zhan-Zhaka Russo v vospriatii i otsenke russkikh myslitelei i issledovatelei (1752-1917). Antologiya [Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Jean-Jacques*

sible to analyse these during the XVIII-XIX centuries. Instead, it focuses on some new investigative trends in the history of education over the last twenty years, during which the educational system also underwent profound reforms after the collapse of the communist régime. The main trends which will be analysed in the present article are: 1) the abandonment of the history of Marxist pedagogy and the birth of the anthropology of education; 2) the history of schooling during the Tsarist Era and during Communism; 3) the history of childhood in Russia and in the Soviet Union; 4) the history of Anton S. Makarenko's (1888-1939) social pedagogy; 5) the history of Russian and Soviet Youth Movements (Scouts and Pioneers).

In the space of twenty years, a gradual process of rejection of Marxism has been clearly visible. This has led to the adoption of new research methodologies peculiar to social sciences, derived from anthropology and from «cultural studies», which have contributed to a profound renewal in educational sciences. Scholars have, on the one hand, elaborated new theories concerning the education of personality and, on the other, new analyses of Tsarist and Soviet schooling. This has highlighted not only the continuity between the two systems – both aimed at building a Russian identity and fighting illiteracy – but also the post-1917 policies of Communist and Bolshevik schools. These included the spread of ideology through literacy; the tragic phenomenon of abandoned children during the 1920s and 1930s; Makarenko's social pedagogy and his role in the rehabilitation of orphans; and the similarities between the Scout movement and the Communist organisation known as «Lenin All-Union Pioneer Organization» (*Vesoiuznaia Pionerskaia organizaciia «V.I. Lenin»*).

This research has emphasised on the one hand the wide-reaching educational project of political indoctrination typical of totalitarian systems aimed at building «the new man» – a citizen suitable for a collective life and with new cultural values; and on the other, the limits of a totalitarian school system, which progressively subjugated individuals to the planned economy's goals, without responding to social and generational changes.

The historical perspective has also made it possible to re-examine the Post-Soviet reforms of the educational institutions, which had to guarantee a democratic education to the new generations as well as the progressive decentralisation of the educational system's finances, and which dealt with the education of a particular category of abandoned children, commonly defined as «social orphans»

---

*Rousseau's ideas in the perception and in the appraisal of Russian thinkers and scholars. Anthology*]. Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatel'stvo Russkoi Khrist'ianskoi gumanitarnoi akademii. See also Caroli, D. (2012). Educational institutions, curricula and cultural models in the higher education of the nobility and intelligentsia at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Russia. *History of Education and Children's Literature*, VII(1), pp. 341-388.

– children who had lost their parents due to the social changes caused by the introduction of the market economy in Russia<sup>3</sup>.

## 1. From Marxist Pedagogy to the Anthropology of Education

In the process of renewal in the history of educational sciences, a fundamental role was played by the Soviet Union's Academy of Educational Sciences, also thanks to the establishment of its Scientific Council for School and Pedagogy<sup>4</sup>, which marked the resumption of an intense period of study of the educational sciences as a whole.

The research carried out from the middle of the 1980s until 2012 can be divided into two phases. During the first phase (1985-1995), research revealed both the wish to reintroduce conceptions which had been discredited by the Regime as well as an attempt to retrieve the pre-revolutionary scientific heritage – as if the 1917 October Revolution and the Socialist period had been a sort of interlude in the history of social sciences. In contrast, during the second phase (1996-2012), scholars gradually abandoned Marxist methodology thanks to the assimilation of new historical research methodologies, which allowed the educational sciences to open new epistemological perspectives.

One of the first articles which revealed this great change was *The History of Pedagogy and the Actuality*, by Z.I. Ravkin, President of the Scientific Council, which announced, albeit timidly, the need to re-write the history of Soviet pedagogy<sup>5</sup>. Ravkin's article is very interesting in that it strove, first of all, to reintroduce paedology (in Russian *pedologiya*), i.e. the study of children's behaviour developed by G. Stanley Hall and repressed by the Communist Party Decree of July 4<sup>th</sup> 1936, which interrupted one of the most prolific periods of contemporary

---

<sup>3</sup> See the First International Forum on the social problem of abandoned children: Centr Konsul'tatsionnykh programm 'Pokolenie - XXI vek' (2002). *Pervyj mezhdunarodnyj forum 'Vzroslye – detiam'. Shchastlivye deti-dostoinstvo strany. Po problemam besprizornosti i beznadzornosti nesovershennoletnikh [The First International Forum – «Adults for children». Happy Children Merit of the Country. About the Problems of Orphans and Abandoned Children]*. Moskva: Centr Konsul'tatsionnykh programm 'Pokolenie - XXI vek' (Kreml'). On the condition of the life of children see: Gosudarstvennyj doklad (2003). *O polozhenii detei v Rossijskoj Federatsii. Gosudarstvennyj doklad [On the Condition of Children in the Russian Federation. State Report]*, Moskva: Ministerstvo Truda i Sotsial'nogo Razvitiia Rossijskoj Federatsii; Unesco Final Report (2004). *The Support of the Infant and Preschool Childhood In Azerbaijan, Armenia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Moldavia, and Russian Federation*. Moscow: Polygraph Service.

<sup>4</sup> Plokhova, M. (1988). IV Sessia nauchnogo soveta po problemam istorii shkoly i pedagogiki [IV Session of the Scientific Council on the Problems of the History of Schooling and Pedagogy]. *Sovetskaja Pedagogika*, 7, pp. 109-114.

<sup>5</sup> See also: Korolev, F. F., Korneichik, T. D., Ravkin, Z. I. (1961). *Ocherki po istorii sovetskoj pedagogiki (1921-1931) [Review on the History of the Soviet Pedagogy, 1921-1931]*. Moskva: Izdanie Akademiia Pedagogicheskikh Nauk RSFSR.

psycho-pedagogy. Although before this year, famous psychologists such as L.S. Vygotskii and A.R. Lurii had eschewed political involvement thanks to their research respectively on blind children and on the language of abandoned children, this Decree caused the «expulsion» of psycho-pedagogues active in educational institutions and the censorship of their work. It also made specialists desist from tackling the delicate issues of child development and education in relation to the influence of the surrounding social environment<sup>6</sup>.

Although Ravkin analysed the political factors which had made paedology fall into disrepute, without reconstructing the different positions of the psycho-pedagogical movement<sup>7</sup>, his article confirmed the end of an age: Ravkin ascertained that the history of Soviet pedagogy had turned into the mere publication of classical *opera omnia* of Marxist and Socialist pedagogy or of school legislation collections<sup>8</sup>.

Among the new trends whose introduction has been met with increasing interest, we should mention the anthropology of education, which refers back to the thought of two prominent Russian pedagogues: K.D. Ushchinskii, the author of the unfinished work, *Man as Object of Education. The Pedagogical Anthropology* (1867) and G. Troshin, author of *The Anthropological Foundations of Education. Comparative Psychology between Normal and Abnormal Children* (1915). These works made a major contribution to the birth of experimental psychology in Russia thanks to A.P. Nechaev, who in turn boosted the development of Soviet paedology until 1936<sup>9</sup>.

The main theorist of the anthropology of education is Boris M. Bim-Bad, who overcame the Marxist conception of the formation of personality<sup>10</sup> and

---

<sup>6</sup> Ravkin, Z. I. (1988). *Istoriia pedagogiki i sovremennost'* [*History of Pedagogy and Contemporaneity*]. *Sovetskaia Pedagogika*, 7, pp. 102-108.

<sup>7</sup> According to recent research, paedology earned the merit of saving abandoned and deviant children from medical experiments, in contrast to the situation under the Nazi regime. For a detailed reconstruction of the theories on the rehabilitation of blind and deaf-mute children, see Caroli, D. (2012). *Deti invalidy v dorevoliutsionnoi i sovetskoi Rossii* [*Handicapped children in pre-revolutionary and soviet Russia*]. In Balina, M. R., Bezrogov, V. G. (eds.), *Maloletnie poddannye Bol'shoi Imperii. Philippe Ariès i istoriia detstva v Rossii (XVIII-nachalo XX veka)* [*Little subjects of the Big Empire. Philippe Ariès and the history of Childhood in Russia*] (pp. 138-198). Moskva: Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi gumanitarnyi universitet.

<sup>8</sup> See for example: Abakumov, A. A. (Ed.). (1974). *Narodnoe obrazovanie v SSSR. Obshcheobrazovatel'naia shkola. Sbornik dokumentov 1917-1973 gg.* [*Popular Education in Soviet Union. Compulsory School. Collection of Documents 1917-1973*]. Moskva: Pedagogika; Nenarokov, A. P. (Ed.). (1989). *Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo v SSSR, 1917-1927. Razrabotka edinoin gosudarstvennoi politiki v oblasti kul'tury. Dokumenty i materialy* [*Cultural Construction in Soviet Union, 1917-1927. Elaboration of a Unitary State Politic in the Sphere of Culture. Documents and Materials*], Moskva: Nauka.

<sup>9</sup> See also Ushchinskii, D. K. (2005). *Izbrannye trudy v 4-kh tomakh* [*Selected Works in 4-volumes*]. Moskva: Drofa.

<sup>10</sup> Bim-Bad, B. M. (1984), *K voprosu o genezise marksistkoi kontseptsii formirovaniia lichnosti* [*About the Question of the Genesis of the Marxist Conception of the Formation of the Personality*]. *Sovetskaia*

wrote the article *On the Perspectives of a Renewed Interest of the Anthropology of Education* (1988)<sup>11</sup>, which laid the basis for a very complex theory of education. According to Bim-Bad – also founder of a Chair of Educational Anthropology at the University of the Russian Academy of Education – this new science was based on a global approach of *the person who grows up*, which combined a host of aspects (practical and theoretical on the one hand, educational and therapeutic on the other). It is, indeed, an interdisciplinary science, based on childhood psychology, psychoanalysis and psychiatry<sup>12</sup>. Furthermore, although its application to empirical research is complex, this science has the merit of re-discovering the people to whom education is directed, previously absent from the Marxist language, which instead declined a polytechnic and patriotic education aimed at forming a proletarian class precociously integrated in work contexts and at guaranteeing an apparent social mobility<sup>13</sup>.

One of the most interesting domains of study developed by the Chair of Educational Anthropology is the investigation of personality formation from childhood onwards, mainly through the analysis of personal documents, in particular autobiographical ones. Among these works it is worth mentioning: *The Nature of the Child in the Mirror of Autobiography* edited by Boris M. Bim-Bad and Olga E. Kosheleva, and *Childhood in Ancient Rus' and in Russia in the Period of Enlightenment (Centuries XVI-XVIII)* by Kosheleva, who gathers together very important documents for the analysis of the subjective aspects of the history of Russian childhood<sup>14</sup>. In this perspective, further methodological studies have been promoted in order to gather autobiographies, such as *The Anthropology of Education: the Phenomenon of Childhood in Memoirs*, which attempt to compare «the personal childhood with the remembrances of childhood of other persons»

---

*pedagogika*, 7, pp. 85-90.

<sup>11</sup> Bim-Bad, B. M. (1988). O perspektivakh vozrozhdeniia pedagogicheskoi antropologii [*On the Perspectives of Renewal of Pedagogical Anthropology*]. *Sovetskaia pedagogika*, 11, pp. 38-43; *idem* (1990). Idei «pedagogicheskoi antropologii» v Rossii [*Ideas of Pedagogical Anthropology in Russia*]. *Sovetskaia pedagogika*, 9, pp. 102-108.

<sup>12</sup> Bim-Bad, B. M. (1998). *Pedagogicheskaiia antropologiia. Uchebnoe posobie* [*Pedagogical Anthropology. School Handbook*] (pp. 13-44). Moskva: URAO.

<sup>13</sup> See also Kornetov, G. B. (2002). Antropologicheskii kontekst interpretatsii istoriko-pedagogicheskogo protsessa [*The Anthropological Context of the Interpretation of the Historical-Pedagogical Process*]. *Vestnik Universiteta Rossiiskoi Akademii Obrazovaniia*, 3(17), pp. 67-79; Daniliuk, A. Ia. (2002). Razvitie pedagogicheskoi antropologii v kontekste russkoi kul'turnoi traditsii [*The Development of Pedagogical Anthropology in the Context of the Russian Cultural Tradition*]. *Pedagogika*, 6, pp. 82-88.

<sup>14</sup> Bim-Bad, B. M., Kosheleva, O. E. (Eds.). (1998). *Priroda rebenka v zerkale avtobiografii. Uchebnoe posobie po pedagogicheskoi antropologii* [*The Nature of the Child mirrored in Autobiography. Handbook on Pedagogical Anthropology*]. Moskva, URAO; Kosheleva, O.E. (2000). «*Svoe detstvo*» v drevnei Rusi i v Rossii epokhi Prosveshcheniia (XVI-XVIII vv.). *Uchebnoe posobie po pedagogicheskoi antropologii i istorii detstva* [*«Personal Childhood» in Ancient Russia and in the Renaissance Period (XVI-XVIII centuries). Handbook on Pedagogical Anthropology and on the History of Childhood*]. Moskva, URAO.

in order to attain better educational skills<sup>15</sup>. Vitalii G. Bezrogov's works on the education of religious tolerance in schools also belong to this group: *Recollections about childhood as a source for the history of the religious socialisation in the Christian culture (XVII-XX centuries)* and *Freedom of Religion: Religious Education and the Problems of Tolerance in inter-generational Relations*<sup>16</sup>.

In order to present a state of the art of these studies, some important conferences were organised in Stavropol' (*Problems of the childhood anthropology*, November 20–21 2002) and Moscow (*Anthropology of Education: Conceptual Basis and Interdisciplinary Context*, September 30 – October 2 2002). During the first one, the main topic and perspectives of the Russian educational system during the transition were presented over eight sessions: the philosophy of the contemporary education, training of the educational staff for children, the social rehabilitation of children, children psychology, education to ecology and values of children and adolescents, medical and pedagogical assistance for child development, problems of children development and the tendencies and problems of the regional development of the educational systems<sup>17</sup>. The second conference gathered major Russian and Western specialists in the field, including those working on the history of childhood. Furthermore, a series of conferences in Russian pedagogical institutes has met the need to develop historical and pedagogical perspectives of this discipline in the domain of educational sciences. During this conference, several new tendencies of the history of education were for the first time highlighted from a theoretical and institutional perspective<sup>18</sup>.

---

<sup>15</sup> Bezrogov, V. G., Kosheleva, O. E., Meshcherkina, E. Iu., Nurkova, V. V. (2001). *Pedagogicheskaiia antropologiia: fenomen detstva v vospominaniiakh. Uchebno-metodicheskoe posobie [Pedagogical Anthropology: the Phenomenon of Childhood in the Remembrances. Methodological Handbook]*, Moskva, URAO.

<sup>16</sup> Bezrogov, V. G. (2002). *Vospominaniia o detstve kak istochnik po istorii religioznoi sotsializatsii v khristianskoi kul'ture (XVII-XX vv.)*. Vestnik Universiteta Rossiiskoi Akademii obrazovaniia, 3(17), pp. 93-125; Idem (2003). *Pravo na veru: religioznoe vospitanie i problemy tolerantnosti v mezhpokolennykh otnosheniakh. Uchebnoe posobie dlia studentov pedagogicheskikh universitetov i metodicheskoe rukovodstvo dlia rabotnikov obrazovaniia [Freedom of Religion: Religious Education and the Problems of Tolerance in inter-generational Relations. Handbook for Students of the Pedagogical Universities and Methodological Guide for the Workers of Education]*. Moskva-Taganrog, Pamiatniki Istoricheskoi Mysli.

<sup>17</sup> Red'ko, L. L., Kharchenko, L. N., Borisova, T. G. (Eds.). (2001). *Problemy detskoj antropologii. Materialy Vserossiiskoi nauchnoi konferentsii (20-21 noiabria 2001)[Problems of children anthropology. Materials from the All-Russian conference (20-21 November 2001)]*. Stavropol', Stavropol'skii regional'nyj gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskii institut detstva [*The Stavropol State Pedagogical Institute for Childhood*]. Another conference was organized on October 19<sup>th</sup> 2006.

<sup>18</sup> The collected papers appeared in *Pedagogicheskaiia antropologiia: kontseptual'nye osnovaniia i mezhdistsiplinarnyj kontekst. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii, Moskva, 30 sentiabria-2 oktobria 2002 goda [Pedagogical Anthropology: Conceptual Basis and Interdisciplinary Context. Proceeding of the International Scientific Conference (Moscow, September 30 - October 2 2002)]*. Moskva: URAO, 2002.

This perspective was continued by the Seminars on the methodology of education and by the Scientific Council on the problems of the history of education and pedagogical science. The former produced a collection of articles about methods of pedagogical research, entitled *Methods of pedagogical research. State of the art, problems, perspectives. Materials from the V session of the All-Russian seminar on the methodology of pedagogy*. This volume includes a section dealing with the history of pedagogy<sup>19</sup>. The latter, *Continuities and innovations in the development of the main directions of the national pedagogical science*, covers the principal strands of research conducted by international specialists in the history of education and the history of pedagogy<sup>20</sup>.

Additionally, the volume *Vocabulary of the Russian school jargon of the XIX century* represents an original study of the *shkoliarizmy*, i.e. of all lexical and phraseological models of the discourse of the pupils and students of the different educational institutions existing during the century, characterized by poems influenced by Pushkin but also marked by irony, humour and trivialities aimed at teachers and professors<sup>21</sup>.

In the field of the history of education philosophy, many interesting works have been published, including *Lev Tolstoy and Pedagogical Anarchism* on Lev N. Tolstoy's libertarian pedagogy, a book which aroused much controversy after the Revolution, in spite of the great influence which it had had on Russian pedagogy at the beginning of the XX Century<sup>22</sup>. In this perspective, the two important Russian philosophers V.V. Zenkovskii and S.I. Gessen aroused lively interest in

<sup>19</sup> Polonskoj, V. M. (Ed.). (2006). *Metody pedagogicheskikh issledovani. Sostoianie, problemy, perspektivy. Materialy V sessii Vserossiiskogo seminara po metodologii pedagogiki [Methods of pedagogical research. State of the art, problems, perspectives. Materials from the V session of the All-Russian seminar on the methodology of pedagogy]*, Moskva, Institut teorii i istorii pedagogiki/Tsentr obshchei i normativnoi metodologii. The section contains contributions by N. B. Barannikova, A. V. Ovchinnikov, N. P. Iudina, I. Z. Skovorodkina, A. P. Belikova, O. E. Kosheleva, V. G. Bezrogov, M. A. Lukatskii, I. D. Led'chitskii on aspects including pupil and teacher education, regional research and intercultural aspects.

<sup>20</sup> The rich variety of topics includes the methods of investigation adopted by dissertations in recent years (N. B. Barannikova), the history of school legislation (A. V. Ovchinnikov), the research of macro-objects of the history of pedagogy (N. P. Iudina), the choice of methodology in historical and pedagogical research (I. Z. Skovorodkina), regional topics in the history of education (A. P. Belikova), the pedagogical ideals of education in the light of the current situation (O. E. Kosheleva), the State and pedagogical ideals in a multicultural society (V. G. Bezrogov), the role and concept of the «ideal teacher» (M. A. Lukatskii and I. D. Led'chitskii) and finally the paradigm of pupils within the history of pedagogy (V. I. Bezrogov), see Boguslavskii, M. V. (Ed.). (2007), *Preemstvennost' i novatorstvo v razviti. Osnovnykh napravlenii otechestvennoi pedagogicheskoi nauki [Continuities and innovations in the development of the main directions of the national pedagogical science]*. Moskva-Tver': Molodaia Bukva, ITIP RAO.

<sup>21</sup> Mokienko, V. M. (2007). *Shkoliary i shkoliarizmy v slovarnom osveshcheni [Schoolboys and their behaviour in a lexical interpretation]*. In Anishchenko, A. O., *Slovar' russkogo shkol'nogo zhargona XIX veka [Vocabulary of the Russian school jargon]* (pp. 5-13). Moskva: Izdatel'stvo, Elspis.

<sup>22</sup> Shatalov, A. A. (1993). *Lev Tolstoy i pedagogicheskii anarchizm [Lev Tolstoy and Pedagogical Anarchism]*. *Pedagogika*, 5, pp. 92-95.



that they emigrated to Europe after the Revolution because of their educational theory based on the relation between pedagogy and philosophy, which did not combine with the political education permitted under the Communist regime<sup>23</sup>.

## 2. New Sources for the History of Russian Schooling under the Tsarist Autocracy and the Communist Regime

A series of studies have dealt with the history of Russian schooling from the period of the great reforms of 1864 until the eve of the October Revolution, as well as the history of the school reform introduced by the Bolsheviks after the Revolution and during the Communist Period.

Among the former group of studies, the collection of papers edited by A.M. Tsirul'nikov analysed the evolution of elementary schooling between 1890 and 1917, offering a complete and detailed picture of the different kinds of schools existing at the end of XIX century. The Ministry of Education managed 39.1%, and 46.06% were organized by the more important Synod; for the remaining schools (14,3%) other Governmental and Military institutions were in charge<sup>24</sup>. M.A. Kondrat'eva has studied the history of classical education (mainly the *Gymnasium schools*), which was developed after 1864 until the beginning of XX century<sup>25</sup>. In this context, a very original angle of research was adopted by M.V. Briantsev in *The Culture of Russian Traders (Education and Training)*. This work tackles the question of the education of traders' family children as well as the creation of the first commercial schools in the Tsarist capital, adopting Ju.M. Lotman's semiotics, which approaches the history of education from the point of view of the creation of a culture with a very heterogeneous social class<sup>26</sup>.

As for the study of educational institutions for non-Russian nationals, N.E. Vashkau has described the creation of the parish schools (*tserkovno-prikhodskaia shkola*) in the German colonies along the Volga river, established to educate the protestant clergy, although it later admitted other German children as well. This kind of school underwent profound changes after the great reforms of 1864,

<sup>23</sup> Gololobova, T. A., Emel'ianov, B. V., Naumov, N. D. (1999). *Russkaia filosofii kak pedagogika (vtoraia polovina XIX – nachalo XX veka), Uchebnoe posobie [The Russian Philosophy as Pedagogy (Second Half of XIX Century and Beginning of the XX Century). Handbook]* (p. 61). Ekaterinburg: UrGU.

<sup>24</sup> Tsirul'nikov, A. M. (Ed.). (1993). *Organizatsiia obrazovaniia v sel'skoi mestnosti Rossii (istoricheskii ocherk): kollektivnaia monografiia [Organisation of the Education in the Rural Places of Russia (Historical Essay): Collective Monograph]*. Moskva: RAO, p. 36.

<sup>25</sup> Kondrat'eva, M. A. (1997). *Razvitie otechestvennoi gimnazii v sisteme klassicheskogo obrazovaniia (vtoraia polovina XIX-nachalo XX veka) [Development of the National Gymnasiums in the Classical Education System (Second Half of the XIX Century and Beginning of the XX Century)]*. Moskva: Izdatelstvo Urao.

<sup>26</sup> Briantsev, M. V. (1999). *Kul'tura russkogo kupechestva (Vospitanie i obrazovanie) [Culture of the Russian Merchants (Education and Instruction)]*. Briansk: Kursiv, p. 7.

which aimed at educating the *intelligentsia* necessary for the administration of the State, industry and trade. However, the real change occurred after 1881, when the parish schools were transferred under the direction of the Russian Ministry of Education, which imposed the adoption of the Russian language. Indeed, until that time, the Volga Germans had not undergone a total Russification, as had happened to the Baltic Germans and the Poles, because the trainee clergy could continue to use German during school lessons<sup>27</sup>.

The historiography of the Soviet school produced during the Socialist period strove to analyse the school as an institution in charge of the Communist political education. It highlighted the role played by the Communist Party – in particular by Stalin – in the introduction of Marxism-Leninism in the curriculum and in text books, which lead to a re-organisation of school subjects<sup>28</sup>. Among the most famous historians of the Socialist period, E.N. Medynskii – who had reconstructed the history of Soviet reforms – showed the great success of the Soviet education system as far as literacy was concerned: according to the population census of 1897, 1926, and 1939, the percentage of the population (aged 9-50) which was literate was 24.0%, 51.1% and 81.2% respectively<sup>29</sup>. Other studies analysed instead the principles of patriotism<sup>30</sup> or the «conscious discipline» of students in order to prevent early school-leaving<sup>31</sup>.

As for the reform of the Soviet school, Evgenii Mikhailovich Balashov and Elena Alekseevna Ialovina published two very innovative analyses, dealing with the Soviet reform of the '20s and adopting very different methodologies. These texts analysed, at central and local level, the main characteristics of the Soviet reforms of September 30<sup>th</sup> 1918 – which created the «United Labour School» (*Edinaia trudovaia shkola*). It was intended to guarantee a free, polytechnic and compulsory education for children of both genders under the age of 17, although it later proved itself little more than a utopic ideal because of the social and economic conditions in the Soviet Union.

---

<sup>27</sup> Vashkau, N. E. (1998). *Shkola v nemetskiikh koloniakh Povolzh'ia [Schooling in the German Colonies of the Volga]*. Volgograd: Izdatel'stvo Volgogradskogo Universiteta.

<sup>28</sup> Among these, see for example: Konstantinov, V. A., Medynskii, E. N. (1948). *Ocherki po istorii sovetskoi shkoly RSFSR za 30 let [Essays on the History of the Soviet School in Russia over 30 Years]*. Moskva: Izdanie APN.

<sup>29</sup> Medynskii, E. N. (1952). *Narodnoe obrazovanie v SSSR [National Education in the Soviet Union]* (pp. 24-25). Moskva: Izdanie Akademiia Pedagogicheskikh Nauk RSFSR.

<sup>30</sup> Makarevich, V. A. (1985). *Patrioticheskoe i internatsional'noe vospitanie studentov [Patriotic and International Education of Students]*. Minsk: Vysshiaia Shkola.

<sup>31</sup> Belkin, A. S., Semenov, V. D. (Eds.). (1987). *Vospitanie soznatel'noi distsipliny i preduprezhdenie pedagogicheskoi zapushchennosti uchashchikhsia [Education of the Conscious Discipline and Prevention of the Students' Pedagogical Negligence]*. Sverdlovsk: Sverdl. Ped. Institut.

Balashov studied the role of the Soviet school in the education of the «New Man», in the sense of «the formation of the new citizen's personality». The author argued that «the analysis of the means and the methods of the political-ideological and ethical action of society in the formation of the personality of the child, of the role of the state school, of the social environment and of the family are very meaningful». Furthermore Balashov highlighted how the evaluation of the former life and the development of new social representations take place in the child's conscience (*detskoe soznanie*). In this perspective, his aim is to investigate the metamorphosis of a child's psyche under the effect of school education on the one hand and social environment – the family and Youth organisations – on the other, with particular attention to the sociological dimension of the social experiences that children experienced and perceived<sup>32</sup>. The research carried out by E.A. Ialozina resorted to a very different methodology: it described the implementation process of the Soviet reform in the Don region, paying particular attention to the problem of finance and to the content of the different school reforms introduced in the first decade after the Revolution. The research sheds new light on the relation between the centre and the regions in the transformation of the Soviet school: the results of the process by which schools were transformed depended on the degree of reception and adaptation, and on the practices used in implementing the Soviet school in the regions<sup>33</sup>.

In this phase of renewal of the sources, access to the Archives represented an important factor for the analysis of series of documents – such as school exercise books, diaries and «children's writings». In particular, the collection published by Elena-Florens Vadimovna Vasiutinskaia – *The World and the Images of Childhood* (in the Russia of the XVIII-XX centuries) – is based on the images and the graphic works present in the Archives<sup>34</sup>. The author argued that «children's education laid the basis for the future civilisation, which had always been family, religion and school»<sup>35</sup>. Of particular interest is also the article by A.I. Shcherbin, who used new sources – text books, primers, dictionaries and school calendars – to study how children assimilated the new political language during Russian language

<sup>32</sup> Balashov, E. M. (2003). *Shkola v Rossiiskom obshchestve 1917-1927gg. Stanovlenie «novogo cheloveka» [School in the Russian Society 1917-1927. Formation of the «New Man»]* (pp. 3-4). Sankt-Peterburg: Dmitrii Bulanin.

<sup>33</sup> Ialozina, E. A. (2006). *Pervaia sovetskaia reforma shkoly 1917-1931 gg. Problemy, resheniia, opyt [First Soviet Reform of the School 1917-1931. Problems, Decisions and Experience]*. Rostov-na-Donu: Izdatel'stvo Rostovskogo Universiteta.

<sup>34</sup> This kind of sources was analyzed also by Ariès, P. (1973). *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*. Paris: Éd. du Seuil.

<sup>35</sup> Vasiutinskaia, E.-F. V. (Ed.). (2006). *Dva veka russkogo detstva. Portrety, bytove stseny, kostium, mebel', risunki, uchebnye tetradi. Pisma, knigi, igrushki XVIII-nachalo XX veka [Two Centuries of Soviet Childhood. Portraits, Scenes of Everyday life, Clothing, Drawings, School Exercise Books. Letters, Books, Little Toys XVIII – Beginning of the XX Century]*. Moskva: Indrik.

and literature lessons between the 1920s and 1950s<sup>36</sup>. In this perspective, the methodology of analysis of children's literature has been enriched by new perspectives of analysis studying the relation with popular culture and folklore (F. I. Setin)<sup>37</sup> and the new Communist values (O. Ronen)<sup>38</sup>.

The history of the school reform in the second Post-war period has been presented by Lada V. Silina, who studied the «mood» (i.e. the state of mind) of Soviet students from the Post-war period until the Fall of Khrushchev. Lada Silina investigated the opinions and behaviour of the different clandestine student groups, focusing on the way in which the Communist party labelled the «deviance» of the youth culture<sup>39</sup>.

Finally, the main phases of the history of Tsarist, Soviet and Post-Soviet reforms have been described by Eduard D. Dneprov – Professor at the Academy of Education and coordinator of the group charged to develop the 1988 education reforms and later Minister of Education. His analysis, *The Fourth Reform of the School in Russia* (1994), described the four main reforms of 1804, 1864, 1918 and 1992. This analysis made it possible to understand the school politics of the first phase of the transition in the different regions of Russia, but also the need to democratise the schools of the former Socialist republics, besides the educational needs of the new generation<sup>40</sup>.

Indeed, the current school reforms have also produced a greater interest in the history of school subjects, which abandoned Marxist methodology. Particularly innovative are also the new studies on the teaching of history in post-Soviet Russia, which, thanks to the analysis of the programs and teaching materials, have intensified several aspects of the research begun at the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences by L.P. Bushchik on the teaching of history in the 1960s<sup>41</sup>.

The most important project has been the All-Russian History Research Competition. *Man in History. Russia – 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (1999-2003), published in

<sup>36</sup> Shcherbin, A. I. (2000). «Ja russkii by vyuchil tol'ko za to...» Izuchenie iazyka kak sredstvo konstruirovaniia kartiny totalitarnogo mira v soznanii sovetskikh shkol'nikov [*I've learnt Russian just because...*] *Learning Language as a Means to create the picture of the Totalitarian World in the Consciousness of Soviet pupils*. *Polis*, 1, pp. 124-141.

<sup>37</sup> Setin, F. I. (1990). *Istoriia russkoi detskoj literatury* [*History of the Russian Children Literature*]. Moskva: Prosveshchenie.

<sup>38</sup> Ronen, O. (2000). *Detskaia literatura i sotsialisticheskii realizm* [*Children Literature and Socialist Realism*]. In Günther, H., Dobrenko, E. (Eds.), *Sotsrealisticheskii kanon* [*Socialist Rules*] (pp. 969-979). Sankt Peterburg: Gumanitarnoe Agentsvo/Akademicheskii proekt.

<sup>39</sup> Silina, L. V. (2004). *Natroeniia sovetskogo studenchestva, 1945-1964* [*Soviet Students' Moods, 1945-1964*]. Moskva: Russkii Mir.

<sup>40</sup> Dneprov, E. D. (1994). *Chevertaia shkol'naia reforma v Rossii. Posobie dlia prepodavatelei* [*The Fourth School Reforms in Russia. Aids for Teachers*]. Moskva: Interpraks.

<sup>41</sup> Bushchik, L. P. (1961). *Ocherk razvitiia shkol'nogo i istoricheskogo obrazovaniia v SSSR* [*Essay on the Development of School and Historical Education in Soviet Union*]. Moskva: Izdanie APN.

three volumes, contains the winning historical research works of the All-Russian Historical Research Competition *Man in History. Russia – 20<sup>th</sup> Century (Chelovek v istorii: Rossiia – XX vek)*, for students in the final years of high school, held in 1999/2000, 2001/2002 and 2002/2003. These competitions tried to respond to the crisis in history teaching and historical research that originated after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. On the one hand, these competitions have shown the evolution of post-Soviet historiography which – after dropping the Marxist interpretation – started to focus on the everyday life of society. On the other hand, they have shed light on the different phases of the renewal of history teaching, which have taken place in Russian schools in the last decade. This has involved the drawing up of new programs, history curricula, and the publication of new materials and of intense debates on the new conception of history teaching in the magazine *Teaching history at school (Prepodavanie istorii v shkole)*. Pupils have therefore stopped studying historical facts from the perspective of class struggle – as was the case during the Soviet era – and have started to carry out research into the history of the everyday life of their families or regions<sup>42</sup>. These three volumes not only show the suffering caused by violence and by the lack of fairness in a totalitarian system, but also some lesser-known aspects of World War II which testify the price paid by the population for the great patriotic victory of the Soviet era. Although these volumes deal with similar topics, year after year more attention is paid to the complexity of oral history which plays a crucial role not only for the historical knowledge of the most important events of the XX century but also for «remembrance education», which represents one of the facets of historical education in the new post-Soviet generation.

Finally, some recent publications document the initial results of an ambitious project, which intended to create an electronic bibliography and library of primers published in Russia from the XIX century to the beginning of the 1920s. This project is being developed at the «K.D. Ushchinskii» Scientific Pedagogical Library in Moscow (<http://www.gpbu.ru>), where a digital library for the «History of primers in Russia» is being created in collaboration with the international scientific seminar «Culture of childhood: Norms, values and practices». In addition, a system of research and bibliographical indicators for the history of primers is being devised, starting with Russian literature textbooks

---

<sup>42</sup> Bek, T. A., Ščerbakova, I.L. (Eds.). (2001). *Chelovek v istorii. Rossiia – XX vek. Sbornik rabot pobeditelei (Vserossiiskii Konkurs istoricheskikh issledovatel'skikh rabot starsheklassnikov)*. Moskva: Obshchestvo «Memorial» – Izdatel'stvo «Zven'ia», Vyp. 1; Shcherbakova, I. L. (Ed.). (2003). *Chelovek v istorii. Rossiia – XX vek. Sbornik rabot pobeditelei (Tretii Vserossiiskii Konkurs istoricheskikh issledovatel'skikh rabot starsheklassnikov)*. Moskva: Obshchestvo «Memorial» – Izdatel'stvo «Zven'ia», 2003, Vyp. 3; Roginskii, B. A., Shcherbakova, I. L. (Eds.). (2004). *Chelovek v istorii. Rossiia – XX vek. Sbornik rabot pobeditelei (Vserossiiskii konkurs istoricheskikh issledovatel'skikh rabot staršeklassnikov IV Konkurs 2002/2003)*. Moskva: Mezhdunarodnoe obshchestvo «Memorial» – Izdatel'stvo «Zven'ia», Vyp. 4.

for primary school (*slovesnosti*) from the time of their appearance in Russia until the present day. The project also reveals how innovation in this area of research can come from one of the best-stocked Libraries on the history of pedagogy and education in the former Soviet Union, i.e. exploiting the primary sources themselves and the place where they are held, and not necessarily being conducted in the Universities<sup>43</sup>. Some other recent investigations have focused on primers and reading books as important literacy tools in the Soviet Union<sup>44</sup>.

Among the new tendencies, the history of high educational institutions and Universities can also be mentioned. A.D. Egorov, a distinguished Russian specialist, drew up a monumental work of five volumes which centred on the statutes, the programmes, the subjects taught in these institutions and information about teachers at the most important Russian lyceums. According to his investigations, during the XIX century several establishments of this type were founded: the Richelieu lyceum in Odessa in 1803 (transformed into University of Novorossiisk in 1865), the Lyceum of Prince Bezborodko of Nezhina (created in 1805 and transformed in 1875 into the «Prince Bezborodko Institute of history and philosophy»), the Lyceum in Orsha (1833) and the Imperial Katkov Lyceum founded in honour of the Tsarevich Nikolai (1868) in Katkov (Moscow)<sup>45</sup>. In

<sup>43</sup> Markarova, T. S., Makarevich, G. V., Tendriakova, M. V., Bezrogov, V. G. (Eds.). (2009). *Rebenok XVIII-XX stoletii v mire slov: istoriia rossiiskogo bukvaria, knigi dlya chteniia i uchebnoi khrestomatii. Sbornik bibliograficheskikh materialov k Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii «Istoriia detstva kak predmet issledovaniia: nasledie Filippa Ar'esa v Evrope i Rossii»*. Moskva: RGGU, 1-2 oktiabria 2009 g. [*The child of the XVII-XX centuries in the world of words: history of Russian primers, reading books and learning. Anthologies of bibliographical material for the International scientific Conference History of childhood as object of research: Philippe Ariès's legacy in Europe and in Russia*]. Moskva-Tver': Nauchnaia kniga; Aver'ianova, L. N., Barannikova N. B. et. al. (Eds.). (2010). «Pora chitat'». *Bukvari i knigi dlia chteniia v predrevoliutsionnoi Rossii 1900-1917gg. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov i materialov [It's time to read. Primers and reading books in the prerevolutionary Russia 1900-1917. Collection of scientific works and materials]*. Moskva: Iazyki slavianskoi kul'tury; Balina, M. R., Barannikova, N. B., Bezrogov, V. G., Galliullina, D. M., Legotina, E. A., Kondatov, I. V., Makarevich, V. G., Sal'nikova, A. A., Sen'kina, A. A. (Eds.). (2010). *I sprosila krokha... Obraz rebenka i sem'i v pedagogike postsovetsovoi Rossii: uchebniki po slovesnosti dlia nachal'noi shkoly 1985-2006gg. [She asked for a crumb... The image of the child and family in post-Soviet Russian pedagogy: Russian literature textbooks for the primary school 1985-2006]*. Moskva-Tver': Nauchnaia kniga.

<sup>44</sup> Markarova, T.S., Bezrogov, V. G. (Eds.). (2011). «Bukvar' - eto molot»: *ucebnyk dlia nachal'noi shkoly na zare sovetsoi vlasti, 1917-1932 gg. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov i materialov. Trudy seminarov «Kul'tura detstva: normy, tsennosti, praktiki»*. Vyp. 12 [*The Primer is a hammer: the textbook for the primary school at the dawn of the soviet government, 1917-1932. Collection of scientific works and materials. Works of the seminar «Culture of childhood: norms, values and practices. Vol. 12*]. Moskva: NPB im. K.D. Ushchinskogo, Azimut, Trovant.

<sup>45</sup> Egorov, A. D. (1993-1995). *Litsei Rossii. Opyt istoricheskoi khronologii v 5 knigakh. Kniga 1. Rishel'evskii Litsei; Kniga 2. Litsei kniazia Bezborodko [Le lyceums of Russia. Attempt of a historical chronology in 5 books. Book 1. The Rishelievskii Lyceum, 1993; Book 2. Le lyceum of the prince Bezborodko]; Kniga 3. Demidovskii Iuridicheskii Litsei'. Chast' 1-3, 1994 [Book 3. The juridical Lyceum Demidov Parts 1-3, 1994]; Kniga 4. Litsei v pamiat' tsarevicha Nikolaia. Chast' 1-2, 1995 [Book 4. The Lyceum in memory of tsarevich Nikolai, 1995]; Kniga 5. Imperatorskii Aleksandrovskii (byushii Tsarskosel'skii) Litsei. Chast' 1-3 [Book 5. The Lyceum Aleksandrovo (former Tsarskosel'skii), 1995]. Ivanovo: Ivanovskii Inzhenerno-stroitel'nyj Institut.*

2009, A.Iu. Andreev and A.D. Doronin edited a collection about the history of Universities in Central and Eastern Europe with the aim of analysing the historical roots of the Russian Universities, focusing on the debate surrounding the standard curriculum for university education in Russia. The merit of this collection is to present the way in which Universities opened up to the circulation of European culture and models for the transmission of knowledge (from the German school which influences the studies of the Slavic culture until the creation of the Moscow school of historians and of the German school of Jurists)<sup>46</sup>.

### 3. The Social History of Russian and Soviet Childhood

Starting from the end of the 1980s, the history of childhood became a topic of interest firstly for ethnographers, and secondly for historians, who investigated the history of non-Russian childhood, gender aspects and the verbal culture of childhood. Indeed, after the repression of paedology in 1936, childhood had disappeared from the topics investigated by historians and had been assimilated into the field of social pedagogy (from which it was later dissociated thanks to the prestigious tradition of Russian ethnological studies). All of this happened before complex methodologies of social history «imported» to Russia contributed to produce what A.P. Repina has defined «the change of orientation of knowledge and the metamorphosis of social history»<sup>47</sup>.

The ethnographic studies on childhood in Siberia and Asia – mostly Muslim peoples – were initiated by Igor S. Kon, a famous specialist in the different forms of childhood socialisation of some Soviet ethnic groups<sup>48</sup>. Igor Kon shared in the discovery of the «feeling of childhood» of non-Russian populations, particularly impervious to the Sovietisation of their culture by the regime. Of note are the collections of essays on early childhood produced by the Siberian people, which describe the ritual of birth, weaning, relations between mother and child and other family members, as well as other interesting aspects related to the children's material culture, such as clothes, toys and the literacy process<sup>49</sup>. Some

<sup>46</sup> Andreev, A. Iu., Doronin, A. V. (Eds.). (2009). *Byt' russkim po dukhu i evropeitseem po obrazovaniiu. Universitety Rossiiskoi imperii v obrazovatel'nom prostranstve Central'noi i Vostochnoi Evropy XVIII-nachala XX v. [Being Russian in spirit and European in education. Universities of the Russian Empire in the educational space of the Central and Eastern Europe of the XVIII-beginning of the XX centuries]*. Moskva: Rosspen.

<sup>47</sup> Repina, A. P. (1998). *Smena poznavatel'nykh orientatsii i metamorfozy sotsial'noi istorii [The change of orientation of knowledge and the metamorphosis of social history]*, *Sotsial'naiia Istoriia. Ezhegodnik 1997*, pp. 11-68.

<sup>48</sup> Kon, I. S. (1988). *Rebënok i obshchestvo: istoriko-etnograficheskaia perspektiva [Children and Society: a Historical-Ethnographical Perspective]*. Moskva: Nauka.

<sup>49</sup> Kon, I. S., Reshetov, A. M., Serebriakova, M. N. (Eds.). (1983). *Etnografiia detstva. Traditsionnye*

other research has analysed the ritual of birth and pre-school education of other ethnic groups, including the Turkmen people (where the continuity between pre-Muslim traditions of the Tadzhiks, Uzbeks and Kyrgyz are also mentioned<sup>50</sup>), and the Mordvins of Saransk<sup>51</sup>, where particular attention is also paid to the methods of physical and moral education, and to the formation of children's mental and labour capabilities during the XIX-XX centuries. The study by Ju.G. Kuskova on the educational system of Chakasis – a Turkish population native to southern Siberia – described the educational practices of early childhood and scrupulously illustrated the rite of passage from childhood to adolescence<sup>52</sup>. This research is interesting not only to learn «the usages and customs» of pre-school education, but also to study the words of childhood, since these ethnographers were particularly sensitive to the Soviet populations' languages.

The anthropological analysis of this research has represented a valid starting point also for those who had set about to re-write the history of childhood in the context of the «new Russian social history». This trend developed after the first European Conference on social history (Leeuwenhorst/Leiden, May 9-11<sup>th</sup> 1996), organized by the International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam), in which 500 specialists from 30 different countries participated, with the chance to engage in rich debate with the Russian scholars<sup>53</sup>.

The new Russian journal *Social History* (*Sotsial'naia istoriia*), created by the International Institute of Social History in collaboration with the Institute of World History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, started to publish several collections of essays, thus demonstrating how the fundamental works for historical research have been received in Russia. However, historians have preferred those on the everyday life history theorised by the German specialist Alf Lüdtke<sup>54</sup>, scholar at the Max-Planck Institute of History in Göttingen and founder of the Chair of Historical Anthropology at the University of Erfurt.

---

*formy vospitaniia detei i podrostkov u narodov Perednei i Iuzhnoi Azii [Ethnography of Childhood: Traditional Methods of Education of Children and Adolescents in the Populations of Middle and South Asia]*. Moskva: Nauka; Kon, I. S., Taksami, Ch. M. (Eds.). (1988). *Traditsionnoe vospitanie detei u narodov Sibiri. Sbornik statei [Traditional Education of Children of the People of Siberia. Collection of essays]*. Leningrad: Nauka, 1988.

<sup>50</sup> Soiunova, A. (1993). *Rozhdenie i vospitanie detei u turkmen-gorozhan [Birth and Education of Children of Turkmen Population]*. Pod red. G.P. Vasil'eva (p. 123). Ashgabat: Ylym.

<sup>51</sup> Beliaeva, N. F. (2001). *Traditsionnoe vospitanie detei u Mordvy [Traditional Education of Children in Mordvia]*. Pod red. V.I. Kozlova, Saransk: Mord. Gos. Ped. Institut.

<sup>52</sup> Kustova, Iu. G. (2000). *Rebënok i detstvo v traditsionnoi kul'ture khakasov [Child and Childhood in the Traditional Culture of Chakaz]*. Sankt Petersburg: Petersburskoe Vostokovedenie.

<sup>53</sup> Novichenko, I. Iu. (1998). Pervaia Obsheevropeiskaia konferentsiia po sotsial'noi istorii [*First All-European Conference on Social History*], *Sotsial'naia Istoriia. Ezhegodnik 1997*, pp. 355-360.

<sup>54</sup> Read the article translated into Russian entitled: Lüdtke, A. (1999). *Chto takoe istoriia povsednevnosti? Ee dostizheniia i perspektivy v Germanii [What is the History of Everyday Life? Achievements and Perspectives in Germany]*. *Sotsial'naia Istoriia. Ezhegodnik 1998/99*, pp. 77-100.



Among the first contributions published by this journal, Olga E. Kosheleva tackled the juridical question of the child's right to inheritance from the middle ages until modern times, showing how this aspect has influenced both children's education and their relations with other family members. From the analysis of Russian juridical texts – on which Byzantine law had a different impact – the author analysed what this right really meant within the family, with particular attention to gender difference (sons and daughters), status (legitimate, illegitimate or orphan children) and class (nobles or serfs). A long-lasting «custom» derived from the old tradition passed on by the *Russkaia Pravda*, has been remarked upon: according to this custom, the younger son had the right to inherit the whole estate with the house because he was often meant to provide for his widowed mother<sup>55</sup>.

In this perspective, the study by Natal'ia L. Pushkareva is interesting in order to understand the history of relations between mothers and children in the XVIII-XIX centuries. By contributing to the discovery of the «feeling of childhood» in the different social classes (the Tsar's, noble and serf families), Pushkareva embraced an interdisciplinary methodology, describing the ritual of birth and weaning, as well as the role played by grandfathers in children's education<sup>56</sup>.

Furthermore, in the issue of *Social history* dedicated to the history of women, two studies exploring childhood from the point of view of the history of family and of gender identity are worthy of attention. O.A. Kis' analysed the history of motherhood and early childhood in Ukraine in the XIX century, trying to contextualize the mother's role in the education and socialization of children within a nuclear family structure. The originality of this contribution lies in the use of ethnographic sources and in particular of lullabies. These documents convey the perception of disabled children (also explaining the phenomenon of infanticide) as well as the problems related to fostering and to the so-called popular pedagogy<sup>57</sup>. Alla A. Sal'nikova reconstructed the evolution of ideals and values, besides the perception of revolutionary events, in the minds of children during the 1920s. Her study takes into consideration the so-called «children's writings» (neglected until then by historiography), school chronicles and

---

<sup>55</sup> Kosheleva, O. E. (1999). *Deti kak nasledniki v russkom prave s drevneishikh vremen do petrovskogo vremeni [Children as Inheritors in Russian Law from the Ancient Times until the Age of Peter]. Social'naia Istorii. Ezhegodnik 1998/99*, pp. 177-202.

<sup>56</sup> Pushkareva, N. L. (1998). *Mat' i ditiia v russkoi sem'e XVIII-nachala XIX veka [Mother and Child in the Russian Family. XVIII – Beginning of the XIX Century]. Sotsial'naia Istorii. Ezhegodnik 1997*, pp. 226-246.

<sup>57</sup> Kis', O. A. (2003). *Materinstvo i detstvo v ukrainskoi traditsii: dekonstruktsiia mifa [Motherhood and Childhood in the Ukrainian Tradition: Deconstruction of a Myth]. Social'naia Istorii. Ezhegodnik 2003*, pp. 156-172. See also Sangina, I.I. (2000). *Russkie deti i ikh igry [Russians children and their toys]. Santk-Peterburg: Isskusstvo-SPB*.

children's albums, and wisely highlights the dissemination of an androgynous model at the level of childhood representation – i.e. an education which aimed at establishing new relations between boys and girls but instead led to a loss of gender identity for girls<sup>58</sup>. Sal'nikova has studied in depth the issue of the verbal culture of different Soviet generations, and has analysed both the assimilation process of new values by the first Soviet generation and the research of a new cultural identity by the last Soviet generation<sup>59</sup> – starting from Richard Coe's interesting hypothesis – and developed the history of the childhood mythology in Russia<sup>60</sup>.

The history and the originality of this research should be seen in relation to the fact that the 1918 reform of the Soviet school introduced co-education into schools. At the beginning of the 1940s, mixed classes were abolished, probably in order to organise school activities more effectively in relation to the defence of the country: the boys took part in fire-prevention activities, in the collection of raw materials and in mail distribution, while girls assisted the wounded in the hospitals and sewed clothes for soldiers<sup>61</sup>.

Among the most interesting tendencies, the history of everyday life is one of the more widespread. A. Ju. Rozhkov and N. Petrova deal with the impact of WWII on children's lives, collecting also children's letters containing late reminiscences of their wartime childhood<sup>62</sup>. In particular, Nina Petrova has found inspiration from a well known book about children's wartime reminiscences and its tragic experiences<sup>63</sup>. Although the study of the everyday life of children during WWII in the USSR showed the tragic aspects of children's participation in the war, the life of children during the 1920s and 1930s was no less dramatic due to the phenomenon of abandonment, which played an unprecedented role in

---

<sup>58</sup> Sal'nikova, A. A. (2003). Transformatsiia idealov i zhiznennykh tsennostei russkoi devochki/devushki v pervoe posleoktiabr'skoe desiatiletie [*Transformation of the Ideals and Life Values of the Russian Girl in the first ten Years after the Revolution*], *Sotsial'naiia Istoriiia. Ezhegodnik 2003*, pp. 411-435.

<sup>59</sup> Sal'nikova, A. A. (2007). *Rossiiskoe detstvo v XX veke. Istoriiia, teoriia, praktika issledovaniia* [Russian Childhood in the XX Century. History, Theory and Research Practice]. Kazan': Kazanskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet.

<sup>60</sup> Coe, R. N. (1984). *Reminiscences of Childhood: An Approach to a Comparative Mythology*. Leeds: Leeds Philosophical and literary Society.

<sup>61</sup> Dunstan, J. (1997). *Soviet Schooling in the Second World War*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd.

<sup>62</sup> Rozhkov, A. Iu. (Ed.). (2010). *Vtoraia mirovaia voina v detskikh «ramkakh pamiati». Sbornik nauchnykh statei* [The Second World War in the children's «frame of remembrance». Collection of scientific works]. Krasnodar: Ekoinvest (Krasnodarskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet Kul'tury i iskusstv) Rossiiskii gumanitarnyi nauchnyi Fond; N. K. Petrova (Ed.). (2011). *Voina glazami detei. Svidetel'stva očevidtsev* [War through children's eyes. Witnesses' evidences]. Moskva: Veče.

<sup>63</sup> Grudzinska-Gross, I., Gross, Jan T. (1981). *War Through Children's Eyes. The Soviet Occupation of Poland and the Deportations, 1939-1941*. Foreword by B. Bettelheim. Transl. by R. Strom, D. Rivers. Stanford: Stanford University, Hoover Institution Press.

European societies<sup>64</sup>. Thanks to a pioneering study by S.V. Zhuravlev and A.K. Sokolov – *Happy Childhood* – childhood passed progressively from the history of social pedagogy to the history of everyday life<sup>65</sup>. The title of the study, drawn from the expression inculcated in Soviet children's minds «Thank you, comrade Stalin, for our happy childhood!», evokes instead how uncertain children's lives were in the 1930s, a period marked by a second terrible famine in Ukraine (Summer, 1932). On the basis of the analysis of the review *Children of the kolkhoz* and of archival documents, Zhuravlev and Sokolov showed that children suffered from hunger even in the Soviet collective farms (*kolkhozy*) and that children's institutions and organisations had become places of deviance and violence while children and adolescents needed to be protected by the State<sup>66</sup>. *Children of the Gulag (1918-1956)* is another collection of different archival documents – decrees, instructions, secret orders, letters and memories – showing how the problem of abandoned children had resulted both as a result of the short-sighted economic reforms of the planned economy and from the «Great Terror»: in both cases Soviet children were deprived of their parents and consequently transferred to the Soviet labour camps<sup>67</sup>.

The analysis of children's everyday lives certainly represents one of the most interesting techniques for studying children, their culture and the society's attitude, although the surrounding socio-institutional and ideological context should not be excluded if the phenomenology of educational practices is to be interpreted correctly. A series of «Children's studies» has been developed by the Seminar «Culture of childhood: norms, values and practices» held in Moscow from 2007 at the Russian State Humanities University (RGGU) thanks to Galina Mararevich and Vitalii G. Bezrogov, resulting in regular publications<sup>68</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> See Caroli, D. (2004). *L'enfance abandonnée et délinquante dans la Russie Soviétique (1917-1937)*. préf. de J. Scherrer, Paris: L'Harmattan.

<sup>65</sup> One of the first Russian historian to adopt the methodology of microhistory was Zhuravlev, S. V. (2000). «*Malen'kie liudy 'i 'bol'shaia istoriia*»: inostrantsy moskovskogo Elektrozavoda v sovetskom obshchestve 1920- h i 1930-h gg. [*Little People and Big History: the Foreign People of the Moscow Elektrozavod in the Soviet Society 1920-1930*]. Moskva: Rosspen.

<sup>66</sup> Zhuravlev, S. V., Sokolov, A. K. (1998). *Shchastlivoe detstvo [Happy Childhood]*. *Sotsial'naia Istoriia. Ezhгодnik 1997*, pp. 159-202.

<sup>67</sup> Vilenskii, S. S., Kokurin, A. I., Atmashkina, G. V., Novichenko, I. Iu. (Eds.). (2002). *Deti gulaga 1918-1956. Sbornik dokumentov [Children of the Gulag 1918-1956. Collection of Documents]*. Pod. red. A.N. Iakovleva. Moskva: Mezhdunarodnyi Fond 'Demokratiia'.

<sup>68</sup> Obukhov, A., Tendryakova, M. (Eds.). (2010). *Rebenok v istorii i kul'ture. Sbornik statei. Trudy seminarov «Kul'tura detstva: normy, tsennosti, praktiki»*, Vypusk, 4 [*Child in the history and culture. Collection of articles. Works of the seminar «Culture of childhood: norms, values and practices. Vol. 4*]. Moskva: Azimut; Tendriakova, M. V., Bezrogov, V. G. (Eds.). (2011). «*Na fone Pushkina vospitannoe detstvo: pedagogika vizual'nogo v uchebnike i na kartine. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov i materialov. Trudy Mezhdunarodnogo nauchnogo seminarov «Kul'tura detstva: normy, tsennosti, praktiki»*», Vyp. 8 [*On Pushkin background educated childhood: visual pedagogy in the textbook and on the picture. Collection of scientific works and materials. Works of the international research seminar «Childhood culture: Norms, Values and Practices. Vol. 8*]. Moskva: Azimut.

Of particular note, the collection *Shaping childhood* presents seven sections: children's literature, schoolbooks and texts for children, problems of translation, models of childhood in literature and cinema, children and power, children in the adult space and the context of childhood through an interdisciplinary methodology: philological, historical and anthropological<sup>69</sup>. Furthermore, using Philippe Ariès's history of childhood as starting point, Olga Kosheleva underlines that since 2007 the history of childhood has developed in Russia, initiating different directions: the feeling of childhood, the school life and the family<sup>70</sup>.

#### 4. The History of A.S. Makarenko's Social Pedagogy

Soviet social pedagogy met with great success mostly in the 1920s because of the serious problem of homeless children. It was indeed a research field ripe for experimentation. Unlimited faith in Communist education meant that not only was there the political goodwill to train new educationalists in contexts close to the homeless children's culture, but the social project to rehabilitate a generation of abandoned and deviant youth was also a pressing need. These children had lived on the streets in complete social anomie and had been stigmatised by the street's sub-culture. For this reason, social pedagogy was involved – in addition to the educational theories relative to abandoned children – in the socialisation strategies adopted by youth organisations, which represented important prevention strategies to dissuade children from street risks.

The study of the history of social pedagogy is very complex. In this case too, the 1936 repression of paedology damaged the nature of a fundamental science for the Soviet society, affected by the social and cultural changes of the new Communist regime, because it concealed the passage of the problem of abandoned children from the sphere of social pedagogy to that of political and criminal repression.

The new generation of young Russian historians has analysed social pedagogy mainly from the point of view of the history of education, which aimed to integrate the different social and ethnic categories. An example is provided by those studies, which re-discovered the social pedagogy for disabled children

<sup>69</sup> Balina, M. R., Bezrogov, V.G., Maslinskaia, S.G., Maslinskoi, K.A., Tendriakova, M.V., Sheridan, S. (Eds.). (2011). *Konstruiruya detstvae. Filologiya. Istoriya. Antropologiya. Kollektivnaya monografiya. Trudy seminarov «Kul'tura detstva: normy, tsennosti, praktiki. Vyp. 9 [Shaping childhood. Philology. History. Anthropology. Collective Monograph. Works of the seminar «Culture of childhood: norms, values and practices». Vol. 9].* Moskva: Spb, Azmut, Nestor-Istoriya.

<sup>70</sup> Kosheleva, O. E. (2012). *Istoriya detstva. Filipp Ar'ès i Rossiya.* In Balina, M. R., Bezrogov, V.G. (Eds.), *Maloletnie poddannye Bol'shoi Imperii. Philippe Ariès i istoriya detstva v Rossii (XVIII-nachalo XX veka) [Little subjects in a big Empire: Philippe Ariès and the history of Childhood in Russia]* (pp. 9-18). Moskva: Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyj gumanitarnyj universitet.

(deaf, dumb and blind) in pre-revolutionary Russia and introduced the term «re-education» (*perevospitanie*), thus abandoning the Soviet term *defektologiya*, which aimed at educating children affected by physical and mental handicaps<sup>71</sup>.

The second fast-growing trend is represented by the specialists of the «social work» of the State Technical University in Saratov – focused instead on the history of the social pedagogy of abandoned children and juvenile delinquency in relation to the history of social work<sup>72</sup>. Although interesting, this perspective overlooks the psycho-pedagogical dimension of the reform of Soviet orphanages of the 1920s, which opened a very complex debate between pedologists and criminologists on the psychophysiology of abandoned children and which entailed very different forms of rehabilitation – orphanages, labour communities and juvenile reformatories<sup>73</sup>. Research on abandoned children has highlighted the social problem that emerged. Precisely because of the fragility of the reforms, orphanages were unable to prevent children from running away; and as a consequence, local authorities sanctioned ever-stronger intervention by the Political Police in the social control of children living on the streets (in Samara, Iaroslavl, Ivanovo-Vosnecensk and Krasnodar on the Don)<sup>74</sup>.

Svetlana Gadysh has analysed the progressive transformation of social pedagogy into a sort of «police rehabilitation system». *Children of a Big Tragedy* primarily studied how the role of the Political Police intensified, in particular in the organisation of a famous colony near Moscow (*Bol'shevo*)<sup>75</sup>, which was a model of the «proletarian pedagogy» of the 1930s. Indeed, delinquent girls were also admitted and this led to the creation of new youth families who worked for most of their life in self-financed companies<sup>76</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> Beliaeva, L. I. (2002). Zarozhdenie i razvitie otechestvennoi shkoly perevospitaniia neblagopoluchnikov detei [*Birth and Development of the National School for the Rehabilitation of disadvantaged Children*]. *Pedagogika*, 6, pp. 78-84.

<sup>72</sup> Chentsova, T., Karelova, I. (2005). Praktika resheniia problem besprizornosti i beznadzornosti detei v Rossii (konets XIX–20–30-e gody XX veka) [*Practice of Decisions of the Problem of Orphans and Abandoned Children in Russia (End of the XIX – 20-30 Years of the XX century)*]. In Romanova, P. V., Iarskoi-Smirnovaja, E. R., *Nuzhda i poriadok: istoriia sotsial'noi raboty v Rossii, XX v. Sbornik nauchnykh statei [Poverty and Order: History of Social Works in Russia, XX century. Collection of Scientific Articles]* (pp. 128-145). Saratov: Nauchnaya kniga.

<sup>73</sup> Caroli, D. (2004). *L'enfance abandonnée et délinquante* (pp. 188-198).

<sup>74</sup> Recent research includes: Pushkina, E. V. (1996). *Deiatel'nost' organov gosudarstvennoi vlasti po okazaniiu pomoshchi det'iam v detskikh domakh i besprizornym v Samarskoi gubernii v 20-e gody [The Activity of the State Governmental Bodies in relation to Children Assistance in the Children Orphanages and to Abandoned Children in the Samara Province]*. Samara: Izdatel'stvo Gosudarstvennogo Pedagogicheskogo Instituta, Vyp. 3; Rozhkov, A. Iu. (1997). Besprizorniki [*Abandoned Children*]. *Rodina*, 9, pp. 70-76; Riabinina, N. V. (1999). *Detskaia besprizornost' i prestupnost' v 1920-e gody (Po materialam gubernii Verhnego Povolzh'ia). Uchebnoe posobie [Children Abandonment and Delinquency in the 1920s (Materials from the Province of the North Volga). Educational Handbook]*. Iaroslavl': Iaroslavskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet «P.G. Demidova».

<sup>75</sup> Gadysh, S. (2004). *Deti Bol'shoi bedy [Children of the Big Tragedy]*, Moskva, Zvonitsa.

<sup>76</sup> Hillig, G. (2003). «Koloniia im. Gor'kogo» - tvorcheskaia laboratoriiia Makarenko [*The «Gor'kii»*

The history of this colony is crucial to understanding Anton Semenovich Makarenko's (1888-1939) success in the rehabilitation of street children<sup>77</sup>. Most research on this famous pedagogue has been carried out by a team at the University of Marburg coordinated by Götz Hillig<sup>78</sup>, former head of the Makarenko department. They organized an international conference in 1989<sup>79</sup> because, before the Fall of the Soviet regime, the history of Makarenko's pedagogy had always represented one of the few areas of tolerance where Russian and Western scholars could freely meet<sup>80</sup>.

Among the most recent studies by B.I. Beliaev, *A.M. Makarenko's Pedagogy: Traditions and Innovation* is an original contribution from the point of view of the methodology adopted. It inserts Makarenko's thought within the more general context of the pedagogical experimentation of the «new schools» at the start of the XXI century and in the development of educational methods growing out of education practices and not from theories. Makarenko's social pedagogy – enforced in the famous Ukrainian colonies «Gor'kii» and «Dzerzhinskii» – was founded on the principles of self-management, the collective for children, management by a sole individual assisted by the collective of educators, individual work and approach. It can be resumed as follows: «[Makarenko] saw in the unity of education and life organised on the basis of self-management, of the collective labour and of creativity, the achievement of a two-fold result: the acquisition of life experience and the assimilation of the educational influence from pupils»<sup>81</sup>.

Makarenko's model, in spite of its evolution, was considered particularly effective for the rehabilitation of deviant youth, because of the importance,

---

*Community – a Creative Workshop for Makarenko*]. *Pedagogika*, 3, pp. 78-87.

<sup>77</sup> Getmanets, M. F. (1978). *Makarenko i konceptsiia novogo cheloveka v sovetskoj literature 20-30 godov* [Makarenko and the Conception of the New Man in the Soviet Literature of the '20s-'30s]. Khar'kov: Visha Shkola; Malinin, V. I. (1994). K diskussii o nasledii A.S. Makarenko [On the Discussion about A.S. Makarenko's Heritage]. *Pedagogika*, 2, pp. 86-92.

<sup>78</sup> Among the more interesting studies: Hillig, G., Nevskaia, S. (Eds.). (1995). «Makarenko ist Pädagoge und nicht schrifsteller!». *A.S. Makarenko Briefwechstel mit zwei Leserinnen seiner Werke (1938-1939)*. Marburg: Makarenko Referat (bilingual version); Hillig, G. (1998). *Makarenko im Jahr des «Grossen Terrors»* (Opuscula Makarenkiana N. 21). Marburg: Makarenko Referat (bilingual version).

<sup>79</sup> Conference documents edited by Hillig, G., Weitz, S. C. (1994). *Stand und Perspektiven der Makarenko-Forschung. Materialien des 6. internationalen Symposions (28 April-2 Mai 1989)*. München: Minerva Publikation.

<sup>80</sup> More recent results were presented during the international conference «A.S. Makarenko and World Pedagogy» (Poltava/Ukraine, April 8-10, 2002), organized by the State Pedagogical University «V.G. Makarenko», and by the Institute of Pedagogical Education «M.V. Ostrogradskii» in Poltava in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Research (Poltava) and with the International and Ukrainian Associations of Makarenko: <<http://antonmakarenko.narod.ru>>.

<sup>81</sup> Beliaev, B. I. (2000). *Pedagogika A.S. Makarenko: Traditsii i novatorstvo* [A.S. Makarenko's Pedagogy: Traditions and Innovation], Moskva, MNEPU, p. 98. A very interesting analysis of Makarenko's pedagogy has been carried out by Kobelt, K. (1996). *Anton Makarenko – Ein stalinistischer Pädagoge. Interpretationen auf dem Hintergrund der russisch-sowjetischen Bildungspolitik*. Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang.

which was given to individual initiative in the development of labour and social activities, fundamental for the shaping of the «new man»<sup>82</sup>.

## 5. The history of Youth Movements: the Russian Scouts and the Soviet Pioneers

The active pedagogy of the «new schools» also had considerable influence on the social pedagogy of youth movements, which were to be built on the participation of adolescents in recreational activities. Soviet historiography on youth movements has long been characterized by celebratory works on the movement of the Pioneers – «V.I. Lenin» All-Union Pioneer Organization (*Vsesoiuznaia Pionerskaia organizaciia «V.I. Lenin»*) and of the «Communist Union of Youth» (*Kommunisticheskii Soiuz Molodezhi*)<sup>83</sup>. However, the dissolution of the Soviet youth organisations after the fall of Communism particularly boosted the study of the history of these movements, which constituted – albeit ambiguously – a very important opportunity for aggregation and socialization for several generations of Soviet adolescents.

In general, Marxist historiography has neglected pre-Revolutionary youth associations. Irina A. Alekseeva has recently studied the Orthodox group of the Christian Youth Union (*Khristiianskii Soiuz molodykh liudei, CChSML*) – the Russian section of the *Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA)* – which was active from 1900 until 1917 with the aim to provide young immigrants to the Tsarist capital with a religious, physical and moral education<sup>84</sup>.

New research has underlined the fundamental role of the Scouts for the development of the Pioneer movement in post-revolutionary Russia, thus shedding new light on the way youth organisations were formed after the 1917 Revolution. The Scout movement had been founded before WWI in Russia, and resumed its activities after 1917, thus contributing to the development of the Pioneer organisation until 1924, when the Scouts took a very different path. Some of them – those who were arrested or deported – were rehabilitated in 1991 according to the law on the rehabilitation of the victims of political repression; others emigrated to France or to the United States; others, still alive, witnessed the Scouts Revival Congress in 1990<sup>85</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> See also the publication edited in collaboration with the «Makarenko Pedagogical Museum» in Moskau (<http://makarenko-museum.narod.ru>), *Narodnoe obrazovanie. Shkol'nye tekhnologii [Popular education. School technologies, 2008-2012]* and *Almanakh Makarenko [Almanac Makarenko, 2008-2012]*.

<sup>83</sup> Alekseev, A. A. (ed.). (2003). *Stroka v biografii. Sekretari i chleny Biuro Tsentral'nogo komiteta komsomola, vozvzaki pionerii, predsedateli KMO SSSR, pervye sekretari TsK VLKSM soiuznykh respublik [A line in the Biography. Secretaries and Members of the Central Bureau of the Committee of the Komsomol, Pioneers leaders, President of KMO of the Soviet Union, first Secretaries of CK LKSM of the Union Republics]*. Moskva: Orgkomitet «Komsomolu – 85 let».

<sup>84</sup> Alekseeva, I. A., *Istoriia vsemirnogo khristianskogo molodezhnogo dvizheniia v Rossii [History of the World Young Men's Christian Association in Russia]*. Moskva: «Airo – XXI», 2007.

<sup>85</sup> Kuchin, V. L., Nesevrya, V. I. (Eds.). (1998). *Skauly Rossii. Sbornik istoricheskikh ocherkov osnovatelei*

Other historians have reconstructed the history of the Scouts, who became «red» after the October Revolution. Among the most famous are Innokentii N. Zhukov (1875-1948) – a teacher of history and geography, as well as a sculptor of international fame – and Valentin G. Iakovlev (1904-1981), who was professor at the University of Kostroma from 1968 until 1974 and was engaged in the relaunch of the Pioneers' organisation in the 1970s<sup>86</sup>.

Other researchers have faced up one of the most dramatic aspects of the history of youth movements: the biographies of the so-called «Pioneer-heroes», who were sacrificed in the name of Communism during different phases of Soviet history. The most famous among them is Pavlik Morozov, who reported his father for having corned wheat destined for requisitions; for this reason, on September 3<sup>rd</sup> 1932, he was killed by his fellow peasants<sup>87</sup>. His history is legendary, as is that of the «Pioneer-heroes» who sacrificed themselves during WWII. Their biographies have been repeatedly published in order to educate the new generations about the sacrifice and the loyalty to the Fatherland<sup>88</sup>. Also among the «Pioneer-heroes» were those belonging to the famous group of the Communist «Youth Guard» (*Molodaia Gvardiia*), active in Krasnodon (Ukraine) during WWII, whose documents have recently been discovered by I.A. Ioffe and N.K. Petrova<sup>89</sup>.

Although the «V.I. Lenin» Pioneer organisation represented the most numerous mass movement after WWII (with 23 million Pioneers enrolled in 1973), its history has not yet been dealt with in a systematic way by Russian historians<sup>90</sup>. Most of the commemorative publications have been promoted by the former Palace of Pioneers (Moscow). This is now the seat of the new

---

*skautskogo dvizheniia i uchastnikov sobytii [Scouts in Russia. Collection of Historical Documents of the Founders of the Scout Movement and of the Participants to the Events].* Moskva: Izdanie Federacii Skautov Rossii.

<sup>86</sup> Savel'ev, P. (2003). *Valentin Grigor'evikh Iakovlev-pervyj «pionerskii» istorik.* In Aleksandrova, A. N., Mukhanov, V. M., Piatnov, A. P. (Eds.), *Pervye otkrytye istoricheskie chetniia «Molodaia Nauka». Sbornik statei [Valentin Grigorevich Iakovlev – First Pioneer Historian in First Open Readings «Young Science». Collection of Documents]* (pp. 174-177). Moskva: Mgdd(iu)t.

<sup>87</sup> Druzhnikov, I.I. (2006). *Donoshchik 001, ili Voznesenie Pavlika Morozova [Informer 001. The Myth of Pavlik Morozov].* Moskva: Russkii Put'.

<sup>88</sup> Korcharenko, I. K., Makhlin, N. B. (Eds.). (1984). *Deti-geroi [Children – Heros].* Kiev: Radianskaia Shkola.

<sup>89</sup> This group of about 100 adolescents and youths carried out very important sabotage activity against the Germans from August 1942 until February 1943. While some were shot, most of them were thrown down mine shafts – only eleven were spared. Thanks to the disposition of the Central Committee of the Communist Young Organisation of August 5<sup>th</sup>, 1943, five of them received the title of Heroes, while the others received different recognitions; see Ioffe, I. A., Petrova, N.K. (Eds.). (2003). *«Molodaia Gvardiia» (g. Krasnodon). Khudozhestvennyj obraz i istoricheskaia real'nost'. Sbornik dokumentov [The Youth Guard (Krasnodon). Literary Representation and Historical Reality. Collection of Documents]* (pp. 75-78). Moskva: Veche, 2003.

<sup>90</sup> See Caroli, D. (2006). *Ideali, ideologie, modelli formativi. Il movimento dei Pionieri in Urss (1922-1939).* Milano: Unicopli.



Organisation of Pioneers, revived in March 1992<sup>91</sup>, since the after-school activities of Pioneers are now recognized by the official teaching programs as a complementary to school education.

Finally, despite her proposal to combine the historical perspective with the problems of current social pedagogy, Liudmila V. Alieva is among the most important specialists of youth movements. She is studying children's movements as a subject of education in a new social, cultural and economic context, elaborating a very complex conceptual system in order to analyse the relation «childhood-adult» in the different «educational environments». Alieva retrieves the historical dimension in order to grasp the characteristics of the socialization mechanisms of the different youth organisations in relation to the present – to satisfy the needs of a new post-Soviet educational project<sup>92</sup>.

In conclusion, the outcomes of the research carried out by the new generation of Russian historians are significant in terms of the importance of the issues addressed as well as for the methodologies adopted. However, the analysis of aspects of children's everyday lives, which help to recover a sense of reality, is not enough in itself. It is also important to study the history of Russian and Soviet pedagogical thought. This combines pedagogical theories and educational institutions with the genealogy of educational ideas in the context of the European pedagogical thought. And it is also important not to overlook the complexity of the political debate – in relation to the dynamics of the Communist ideology – and the heterogeneity of the different generations to whom the education is directed.

Although many aspects of the Soviet reforms have been analysed by Western scholars from different points of view<sup>93</sup>, it will be necessary to analyse many other fundamental issues for the history of the Socialist educational system: literacy and the functioning of schools in rural areas; technical and professional education; the evolution of teaching methods; the history of children's literature; the very unusual organisation of education centred on transport; distance teaching, apparently particularly advanced in the Soviet Union; the training of teachers and more in general the reforms of the Russian academies and universities.

Finally, it will be interesting to study the educational reforms introduced after WWII until *Perestroika* in order to establish whether or not they guaranteed

---

<sup>91</sup> Truchacheva, T. V., Kirpichin, A. G. (2005). *Detskoe Dvizhenie. Slovar' - spravocnik [The Children Movement. Dictionary – Handbook]*. Moskva: Assotsiatsiia issledovatelei detskogo dvizheniia.

<sup>92</sup> Alieva, L. V. (2002). *Detskoe dvizhenie – sub'ekt vospitaniia. Teoriia, istoriia, praktika [The Children's Movement as an Object of Education. Theory, History, Practice]*. Moskva: MAKSPress.

<sup>93</sup> For an analysis on the Western historiography, see Caroli, D. (2008). Russian and Soviet Schooling: Educational Legacies, Institutional Reforms and National Identities. *History of Education and Children's Literature*, III(1), pp. 283-304.

the integration and the mobility of the new generations and also if they were part of the expansion of the education typical of European *welfare states* in the post-war period. All of these are crucial aspects useful to continue and deepen the analysis of the biggest school system of the XX century.

## Bibliography

- Abakumov, A. A. (Ed.). (1974). *Narodnoe obrazovanie v SSSR. Obshcheobrazovatel'naia shkola. Sbornik dokumentov 1917-1973 gg.* [Popular Education in Soviet Union. Compulsory School. Collection of Documents 1917-1973]. Moskva: Pedagogika.
- Alekseev, A. A. (2003). *Stroka v biografii. Sekretari i chleny Biuro Tsentral'nogo komiteta komsomola, vozhaki pionerii, predsedateli KMO SSSR, pervye sekretari TsK VLKSM soiuznykh respublik* [A line in the Biography. Secretaries and Members of the Central Bureau of the Committee of the Komsomol, Pioneers leaders, President of KMO of the Soviet Union, first Secretaries of CKVLKSM of the Union Republics]. Moskva: Orgkomitet «Komsomolu – 85 let».
- Alekseeva, I. A. (2007). *Istoriia vsemirnogo khristianskogo molodezhnogo dvizheniia v Rossii* [History of the World Young Men's Christian Association in Russia]. Moskva: «Airo – XXI».
- Alieva, L. V. (2002). *Detskoe dvizhenie – sub'ekt vospitaniia. Teoriia, istoriia, praktika* [The Children's Movement as an Object of Education. Theory, History, Practice]. Moskva: MAKSS Press.
- Andreev, A. Ju., Doronin, A. V. (Eds.). (2009). *Byt' russkim po dukhu i evropeitseem po obrazovaniuu. Universitety Rossiiskoi imperii v obrazovatel'nom prostranstve Central'noi i Vostochnoi Evropy XVIII-nachala XX v.* [Being Russian in spirit and European in education. Universities of the Russian Empire in the educational space of the Central and Eastern Europe of the XVIII-beginning of the XX centuries]. Moskva: Rosspen.
- Ariès, P. (1973). *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*. Paris: Éd. du Seuil.
- Aver'ianova, L. N., Barannikova, N. B. (et. al.) (2010). «Pora chitat'». *Bukvari i knigi dlia chteniia v predrevoliutsionnoi Rossii 1900-1917gg. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov i materialov* [It's time to read. Primers and reading books in the prerevolutionary Russia 1900-1917. Collection of scientific works and materials]. Moskva: Iazyki slavianskoi kul'tury.
- Balashov, E. M. (2003). *Shkola v Rossiiskom obshchestve 1917-1927gg. Stanovlenie «novogo cheloveka»* [School in the Russian Society 1917-1927. Formation of the «New Man»] (pp. 3-4). Sankt-Peterburg: Dmitrii Bulanin.

- Balina, M. R., Barannikova, N. B., Bezrogov, V. G., Galliullina, D. M., Legotina, E. A., Kondatov, I. V., Makarevich, V. G., Saĭnikova, A. A., Sen'kina, A. A. (Eds.). (2010). *I sprosilâ krokha... Obraz rebenka i sem'i v pedagogike post-sovetskoi Rossii: uchebniki po slovesnosti dlia nachal'noi shkoly 1985-2006gg.* [She asked for a crumb... The image of the child and family in post-Soviet Russian pedagogy: Russian literature textbooks for the primary school 1985-2006]. Moskva-Tver': Nauchnaia kniga.
- Balina, M. R., Bezrogov, V. G., Maslinskaia, S. G., Maslinskoj, K. A., Tendriakova, M. V., Sheridan, S. (Eds.). (2011). *Konstruiruya detstko. Filologiiâ. Istoriiâ. Antropologiiâ. Kollektivnaia monografiâ. Trudy seminara «Kul'tura detstva: normy, tsennosti, praktiki. Vyp. 9* [Shaping childhood. Philology. History. Anthropology. Collective Monograph. Works of the seminar «Culture of childhood: norms, values and practices». Vol. 9]. Moskva-Spb: Azmut, Nestor-Istoriiâ.
- Bek, T. A., Shcherbakova, I. L. (Eds.). (2001). *Chelovek v istorii. Rossiia – XX vek. Sbornik rabot pobeditelei (Vserossiiskii Konkurs istoricheskikh issledovatel'skikh rabot starsheklassnikov).* Moskva: Obshchestvo «Memorial» – Izdatelstvo «Zven'ia», Vyp. 1.
- Beliaev, B. I. (2000). *Pedagogika A.S. Makarenko: Traditsii i novatorstvo* [A.S. Makarenko's Pedagogy: Traditions and Innovation] (p. 98). Moskva, MNEPU.
- Beliaeva, L. I. (2002). Zarozhdenie i razvitie otechestvennoi shkoly perevospitaniia neblagopoluchnykh detei [Birth and Development of the National School for the Rehabilitation of disadvantaged Children]. *Pedagogika*, 6, pp. 78-84.
- Beliaeva, N. F. (2001). *Traditsionnoe vospitanie detei u Mordvy* [Traditional Education of Children in Mordvia]. Pod red. V.I. Kozlova, Saransk: Mord. Gos. Ped. Institut.
- Belkin, A. S., Semenov, V. D. (Eds.). (1987). *Vospitanie soznatel'noi distsipliny i preduprezhdenie pedagogicheskoi zapushchennosti uchashchikhsia* [Education of the Conscious Discipline and Prevention of the Students' Pedagogical Negligence]. Sverdlovsk: Sverdl. Ped. Institut.
- Bezrogov, V. G. (2002). *Vospominaniia o detstve kak istochnik po istorii religioznoi sotsializatsii v khristianskoi kul'ture (XVII-XX vv.).* Vestnik Universiteta Rossiiskoi Akademii obrazovaniia, 3(17). pp. 93-125.
- Bezrogov, V. G. (2003). *Pravo na veru: religioznoe vospitanie i problemy tolerantnosti v mezhpokolennykh otnosheniiax. Uchebnoe posobie dlia studentov pedagogicheskikh universitetov i metodicheskoe rukovodstvo dlia rabotnikov obrazovaniia* [Freedom of Religion: Religious Education and the Problems of Tolerance in inter-generational Relations. Handbook for Students of the Pedagogical Universities and Methodological Guide for the Workers of Education]. Moskva-Taganrog, Pamiatniki Istoricheskoi Mysli.

- Bezrogov, V. G., Kosheleva, O. E., Meshcherkina, E. Iu., Nurkova, V. V. (2001). *Pedagogicheskaiia antropologiia: fenomen detstva v vospominaniiaakh. Uchebno-metodicheskoe posobie [Pedagogical Anthropology: the Phenomenon of Childhood in the Remembrances. Methodological Handbook]*. Moskva, URAO.
- Bim-Bad, B. M. (1984). K voprosu o genezise marksistkoi kontseptsii formirovaniia lichnosti [About the Question of the Genesis of the Marxist Conception of the Formation of the Personality]. *Sovetskaia pedagogika*, 7, pp. 85-90.
- Bim-Bad, B. M. (1988). O perspektivakh vrozhdeniia pedagogicheskoi antropologii [On the Perspectives of Renewal of Pedagogical Anthropology]. *Sovetskaia pedagogika*, 11, pp. 38-43.
- Bim-Bad, B. M. (1990). Idei «pedagogicheskoi antropologii» v Rossii [Ideas of Pedagogical Anthropology in Russia]. *Sovetskaia pedagogika*, 9, pp. 102-108.
- Bim-Bad, B. M., (1998). *Pedagogicheskaiia antropologiia. Uchebnoe posobie [Pedagogical Anthropology. School Handbook]* (pp. 13-44). Moskva: URAO.
- Bim-Bad, B. M., Kosheleva, O.E. (Eds.). (1998). *Priroda rebenka v zerkale avtobiografii. Uchebnoe posobie po pedagogicheskoi antropologii [The Nature of the Child mirrored in Autobiography. Handbook on Pedagogical Anthropology]*. Moskva, URAO.
- Boguslavskii, M. V. (Ed.). (2007). *Preemstvennost' i novatorstvo v razvitiu osnovnykh napravlenii otechestvennoi pedagogicheskoi nauki [Continuities and innovations in the development of the main directions of the national pedagogical science]*. Moskva-Tver': Molodaia Bukva, ITIP RAO.
- Briantsev, M. V. (1999). *Kul'tura russkogo kupechestva (Vospitanie i obrazovanie) [Culture of the Russian Merchants (Education and Instruction)]* (p. 7). Briansk: Kursiv.
- Bushchik, L. P. (1961). *Ocherk razvitiia shkol'nogo i istoricheskogo obrazovaniia v SSSR [Essay on the Development of School and Historical Education in Soviet Union]*. Moskva: Izdanie APN.
- Caroli D. (2007). Nuove tendenze nella storia dell'infanzia, dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche nella Russia post-comunista (1990-2006). *History of Education and Children's Literature*, II(1), pp. 377-392.
- Caroli, D. (2004). *L'enfance abandonnée et délinquante dans la Russie Soviétique (1917-1937)*. Préf. de J. Scherrer, Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Caroli, D. (2006). *Ideali, ideologie, modelli formativi. Il movimento dei Pionieri in Urss (1922-1939)*. Milano: Unicopli.
- Caroli, D. (2008). Russian and Soviet Schooling: Educational Legacies, Institutional Reforms and National Identities. *History of Education and Children's Literature*, III(1), pp. 283-304.

- Caroli, D. (2011). Néees taseis sten Istoría tes Paidíkes Elikias, tes Ekpaideuses kai ton Scholikón Fesmon ste meta-kommounistiké Rosía (1986-2008). In Bouzakis S. (Ed.). *Panorama istorias tis Ekpaideusis. Opseis kai Apopseis. Tom A. Istoriografika Teumata - Makres Periodikoi Ekpaideusektos Sunoron. Topike Istoría* (pp. 139-162). Athens: Gutenberg.
- Caroli, D. (2012). *Deti invalidy v dorevoliutsionnoi i sovetskoí Rossii [Handicapped children in pre-revolutionary and soviet Russia]*. In Balina, M.R., Bezrogov, V.G. (Eds.). *Maloletnie poddannye Bol'shoi Imperii. Philippe Ariès i istoriia detstva v Rossii (XVIII-nachalo XX veka) [Little subjects of the Big Empire. Philippe Ariès and the history of Childhood in Russia]* (pp. 138-198). Moskva: Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyj gumanitarnyj universitet.
- Caroli, D. (2012). Educational institutions, curricula and cultural models in the higher education of the nobility and intelligentsia at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Russia. *History of Education and Children's Literature*, VII(1), pp. 341-388.
- Centr Konsul'tatsionnykh programm 'Pokolenie - XXI vek' (2002). *Pervyj mezhdunarodnyj fórum 'Vzroslye – det'iam'. Shchastlivye deti-dostoinstvo strany. Po problemam besprizornosti i beznadzornosti nesovershennoletnikh [The First International Forum – «Adults for children». Happy Children Merit of the Country. About the Problems of Orphans and Abandoned Children]*. Moskva: Centr Konsul'tatsionnykh programm 'Pokolenie - XXI vek' (Kreml').
- Chentsova, T., Karelova, I. (2005). *Praktika resheniia problem besprizornosti i beznadzornosti detei v Rossii (konets XIX–20–30-e gody XX veka) [Practice of Decisions of the Problem of Orphans and Abandoned Children in Russia (End of the XIX – 20-30 Years of the XX century)]*. In Romanova, P. V., Iarskoi-Smirnovoi, E. R. (Eds.). *Nuzhda i poriadok: istoriia sotsial'noi raboty v Rossii, XX v. Sbornik nauchnykh statei [Poverty and Order: History of Social Works in Russia, XX century. Collection of Scientific Articles]* (pp.128-145). Saratov: Nauchnaka kniga.
- Coe, R. N. (1984). *Reminiscences of Childhood: An Approach to a Comparative Mythology*. Leeds: Leeds Philosophical and literary Society.
- Daniliuk, A. Ia. (2002). *Razvitie pedagogicheskoi antropologii v kontekste russkoi kul'turnoi traditsii [The Development of Pedagogical Anthropology in the Context of the Russian Cultural Tradition]*. *Pedagogika*, 6, pp. 82-88.
- Dneprov, E. D. (1994). *Chetvertaia shkol'naia reforma v Rossii. Posobie dlia prepodavatelei [The Fourth School Reforms in Russia. Aids for Teachers]*. Moskva: Interpraks.
- Druzhnikov, I. I. (2006). *Donoshchik 001, ili Voznesenie Pavlika Morozova [Informer 001. The Myth of Pavlik Morozov]*. Moskva: Russkii Put'.

- Dunstan, J. (1997). *Soviet Schooling in the Second World War*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Egorov, A. D. (1993-1995). *Litsei Rossii. Opyt istoricheskoi khronologii v 5 knigakh. Kniga 1. Rishel'evskii Litsei; Kniga 2. Litsei kniazia Bezborodko [The lyceums of Russia. Attempt of a historical chronology in 5 books. Book 1. The Rishel'evskii Lyceum, 1993; Book 2. The lyceum of the prince Bezborodko]; Kniga 3. Demidovskii Iuridicheskii Litsei'. Chast' 1-3, 1994 [Book 3. The juridical Lyceum Demidov Parts 1-3, 1994]; Kniga 4. Litsei v pamiat' tsarevicha Nikolaia. Chast' 1-2, 1995 [Book 4. The Lyceum in memory of tsarevich Nikolai, 1995]; Kniga 5. Imperatorskii Aleksandrovskii (byvshii Tsarskosel'skii) Litsei. Chast' 1-3 [Book 5. The Lyceum Aleksandrovo (former Tsarskosel'skii), 1995]*. Ivanovo: Ivanovskii Inzhenerno-stroitel'nyj Institut.
- Gadysh, S. (2004). *Deti Bol'shoi bedy [Children of the Big Tragedy]*. Moskva, Zvonnicia.
- Getmanets, M. F. (1978). *Makarenko i konceptsiia novogo cheloveka v sovetskoi literature 20-30 godov [Makarenko and the Conception of the New Man in the Soviet Literature of the '20s-'30s]*. Khar'kov: Visha Shkola.
- Gololobova, T. A., Emel'ianov, B.V., Naumov, N.D. (1999). *Russkaia filosofia kak pedagogika (vtoraia polovina XIX – nachalo XX veka). Uchebnoe posobie [The Russian Philosophy as Pedagogy (Second Half of XIX Century and Beginning of the XX Century). Handbook]* (p. 61). Ekaterinburg: UrGU.
- Gosudarstvennyj doklad (2003). *O polozhenii detei v Rossiiskoi Federatsii. Gosudarstvennyj doklad [On the Condition of Children in the Russian Federation. State Report]*, Moskva: Ministerstvo Truda i Sotsial'nogo Razvitiia Rossiiskoi Federatsii.
- Grudzinska-Gross, I., Gross, Jan T. (1981). *War Through Children's Eyes. The Soviet Occupation of Poland and the Deportations, 1939-1941*. Foreword by B. Bettelheim. Transl. by R. Strom, D. Rivers. Standford: Stanford University, Hoover Institution Press.
- Hillig, G. (2003). «Koloniia im. Gor'kogo» – tvorcheskaia laboratoriiia Makarenko [The «Gor'kii» Community – a Creative Workshop for Makarenko]. *Pedagogika*, 3, pp. 78-87.
- Hillig, G. (1998). *Makarenko im Jahr des «Grossen Terrors» (Opuscula Makarenkiana N. 21)*. Marburg: Makarenko Referat (bilingual version).
- Hillig, G., Nevskaia S. (Eds.). (1995). «Makarenko ist Pädagoge und nicht schriftsteller!». *A.S. Makarenko Briefwechstel mit zwei Leserinnen seiner Werke (1938-1939)*. Marburg: Makarenko Referat (bilingual version).

- Hillig, G., Weitz, S. C. (Eds.). (1994). *Stand und Perspektiven der Makarenko-Forschung. Materialien des 6. internationalen Symposions (28 April-2 Mai 1989)*. München: Minerva Publikation.
- Ialozina, E. A. (2006). *Pervaia sovetskaia reforma shkoly 1917-1931 gg. Problemy, resheniia, opyt [First Soviet Reform of the School 1917-1931. Problems, Decisions and Experience]*. Rostov-na-Donu: Izdatel'stvo Rostovskogo Universiteta.
- Ioffe, I. A., Petrova, N.K. (Eds.). (2003). «*Molodaia Gvardiia*» (g. Krasnodon). *Khudozhestvennyj obraz i istoricheskaia real'nost'. Sbornik dokumentov [The Youth Guard (Krasnodon). Literary Representation and Historical Reality. Collection of Documents]* (pp. 75-78). Moskva: Veche.
- Kis', O. A. (2003). Materinstvo i detstvo v ukrainskoi traditsii: dekonstruktsiia mifa [*Motherhood and Childhood in the Ukrainian Tradition: Deconstruction of a Myth*]. *Social'naia Istoriia. Ezhgodnik 2003*, pp. 156-172.
- Kobelt, K. (1996). *Anton Makarenko – Ein stalinistischer Pädagoge. Interpretationen auf dem Hintergrund der russisch-sowjetischen Bildungspolitik*. Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang.
- Kon, I. S. (1988). *Rebënok i obshchestvo: istoriko-etnograficheskaia perspektiva [Children and Society: a Historical-Ethnographical Perspective]*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Kon, I. S., Reshetov A. M., Serebriakova M. N. (Eds.). (1983). *Etnografiia detstva. Traditsionnye formy vospitaniia detei i podrostkov u narodov Perednei i Iuzhnoi Azii [Ethnography of Childhood: Traditional Methods of Education of Children and Adolescents in the Populations of Middle and South Asia]*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Kon, I. S., Taksami, Ch. M. (Eds.). (1988). *Traditsionnoe vospitanie detei u narodov Sibiri. Sbornik statei [Traditional Education of Children of the People of Siberia. Collection of essays]*. Leningrad: Nauka.
- Kondrat'eva, M. A. (1997). *Razvitie otechestvennoi gimnazii v sisteme klassicheskogo obrazovaniia (vtoraia polovina XIX-nachalo XX veka) [Development of the National Gymnasiums in the Classical Education System (Second Half of the XIX Century and Beginning of the XX Century)]*. Moskva: Izdatelstvo Urao.
- Konstantinov, V. A., Medynskii, E. N. (1948). *Ocherki po istorii sovetskoï shkoly RSFSR za 30 let [Essays on the History of the Soviet School in Russia over 30 Years]*. Moskva: Izdanie APN.
- Korcharenko, I. K., Makhlin, N. B. (Eds.). (1984). *Deti-geroi [Children – Heros]*. Kiev: Radianskaia Shkola.

- Kornetov, G. B. (2002). Antropologicheskii kontekst interpretatsii istoriko-pedagogicheskogo protsessa [*The Anthropological Context of the Interpretation of the Historical-Pedagogical Process*]. *Vestnik Universiteta Rossiiskoi Akademii Obrazovaniia*, 3(17), pp. 67-79.
- Korolev, F. F., Korneichik, Z. I. Ravkin Z. I. (1961). *Ocherki po istorii sovetskoï pedagogiki (1921-1931)* [Review on the History of the Soviet Pedagogy, 1921-1931]. Moskva: Izdanie Akademiia Pedagogicheskikh Nauk RSFSR.
- Kosheleva, O. E. (1999). Deti kak nasledniki v russkom prave s drevneishikh vremen do petrovskogo vremeni [*Children as Inheritors in Russian Law from the Ancient Times until the Age of Peter*]. *Social'naia Istoriia. Ezhegodnik 1998/99*, pp. 177-202.
- Kosheleva, O. E. (2000). «Svoe detstvo» v drevnei Rusi i v Rossii epokhi Prosveshcheniia (XVI-XVIII vv.). *Uchebnoe posobie po pedagogicheskoi antropologii i istorii detstva* [«Personal Childhood» in Ancient Russia and in the Renaissance Period (XVI-XVIII centuries). *Handbook on Pedagogical Anthropology and on the History of Childhood*]. Moskva, URAO.
- Kosheleva, O. E. (2012). *Istoriia detstva. Filipp Ar'ès i Rossiia*. In Balina, M.R., Bezrogov, V. G. (Eds.). *Maloletnie poddannye Bol'shoi Imperii. Philippe Ariès i istoriia detstva v Rossii (XVIII-nachalo XX veka)* [Little subjects in a big Empire: Philippe Ariès and the history of Childhood in Russia] (pp. 9-18). Moskva: Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi gumanitarnyi universitet.
- Kuchin, V. L., Nesevrya, V. I. (Eds.). (1998). *Skauty Rossii. Sbornik istoricheskikh ocherkov osnovatelei skautskogo dvizheniia i uchastnikov sobytii* [Scouts in Russia. Collection of Historical Documents of the Founders of the Scout Movement and of the Participants to the Events]. Moskva: Izdanie Federacii Skautov Rossii.
- Kustova, Iu. G. (2000). *Rebënok i detstvo v traditsionnoi kul'ture khakasov* [Child and Childhood in the Traditional Culture of Chakaz]. Sankt Petersburg: Peterburskoe Vostokovedenie.
- Lüdtke, A. (1999). Chto takoe istoriia povsednevnosti? Ee dostizheniia i perspektivy v Germanii [*What is the History of Everyday Life? Achievements and Perspectives in Germany*]. *Sotsial'naia Istoriia. Ezhegodnik 1998/99*, pp. 77-100.
- Makarevich, V. A. (1985). *Patrioticheskoe i internatsional'noe vospitanie studentov* [Patriotic and International Education of Students]. Minsk: Vysshiaia Shkola.
- Markarova, T. S., Bezrogov, V. G. (Eds.). (2011). «Bukvar'- eto molot»: *uchebnik dlia nachal'noi shkoly na zare sovetskoï vlasti, 1917-1932 gg.*. *Sbornik nauchnikh trudov i materialov. Trudy seminara «Kul'tura detstva: normy, tsennosti, praktiki*». Vyp. 12 [«The Primer is a hammer»: the textbook for the primary school at the dawn of the soviet government, 1917-1932. Collection of scientific works



- and materials. Works of the seminar «Culture of childhood: norms, values and practices. Vol. 12]. Moskva: NPB im. K.D. Ushchinskogo, Azimut, Trovant.
- Markarova, T. S., Makarevich, G. V., Tendriakova, M. V., Bezrogov, V. G. (Eds.). (2009). *Rebenok XVIII-XX stoletii v mire slov: istoriia rossiiskogo bukvaria, knigi dlya chteniia i uchebnoi khrestomatii. Sbornik bibliograficheskikh materialov k Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii «Istoriia detstva kak predmet issledovaniia: nasledie Filippa Ar'esa v Evrope i Rossii»*. Moskva: RGGU, 1-2 oktiabria 2009 g. [*The child of the XVII-XX centuries in the world of words: history of Russian primers, reading books and learning. Anthologies of bibliographical material for the International scientific Conference History of childhood as object of research: Philippe Ariès's legacy in Europe and in Russia*]. Moskva-Tver': Nauchnaia kniga.
- Medynskii, E. N. (1952). *Narodnoe obrazovanie v SSSR [National Education in the Soviet Union]* (pp. 24-25). Moskva: Izdanie Akademiia Pedagogicheskikh Nauk RSFSR.
- Mokienko, V. M. (2007). *Shkoliari i shkoliarizmy v slovarnom osveshcheni [Schoolboys and their behaviour in a lexical interpretation]*. In Anishchenko A.O., *Slovar' russkogo shkol'nogo zhargona XIX veka [Vocabulary of the Russian school jargon]* (pp. 5-13). Moskva: Izdatel'stvo, Elspis.
- Nenarokov, A. P. (Ed.). (1989). *Kul'turnoe stroitel'stvo v SSSR, 1917-1927. Razrabotka edinoi gosudarstvennoi politiki v oblasti kul'tury. Dokumenty i materialy [Cultural Construction in Soviet Union, 1917-1927. Elaboration of a Unitary State Politic in the Sphere of Culture. Documents and Materials]*, Moskva: Nauka.
- Novichenko, I. Iu. (1998). Pervaia Obshcheevropeiskaia konferentsiia po sotsial'noi istorii [*First All-European Conference on Social History*], *Sotsial'naia Istoriia. Ezhegodnik 1997*, pp. 355-360.
- Obukhov, A., Tendryakova, M. V. (Eds.). (2010). *Rebenok v istorii i kul'ture. Sbornik statei. Trudy seminarina «Kul'tura detstva: normy, tsennosti, praktiki»*. Vypusk, 4 [*Child in the history and culture. Collection of articles. Works of the seminar «Culture of childhood: norms, values and practices. Vol. 4*]. Moskva: Azimut.
- Plokhova, M. (1988). IV Sessii nauchnogo soveta po problemam istorii shkoly i pedagogiki [*IV Session of the Scientific Council on the Problems of the History of Schooling and Pedagogy*]. *Sovetskaia Pedagogika*, 7, pp. 109-114.
- Petrova, N. K. (Ed.). (2011). *Voina glazami detei. Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev [War through children's eyes. Witnesses' evidences]*. Moskva: Veče.
- Polonskij, V. M. (Ed.). (2006). *Metody pedagogicheskikh issledovani. Sostoianie, problemy, perspektivy. Materialy V sessii Vserossiiskogo seminarina po metodologii*

- pedagogiki [Methods of pedagogical research. State of the art, problems, perspectives. Materials from the V session of the All-Russian seminar on the methodology of pedagogy].* Moskva, Institut teorii i istorii pedagogiki/Tsentr obshchei i normativnoi metodologii.
- Pushkareva, N. L. (1998). Mat' i ditiia v russkoi sem'e XVIII-nachala XIX veka [*Mother and Child in the Russian Family. XVIII – Beginning of the XIX Century*]. *Sotsial'naia Istoriia. Ezhegodnik 1997*, pp. 226-246.
- Pushkina, E. V. (1996). *Deiatel'nost' organov gosudarstvennoi vlasti po okazaniiu pomoshchi det'iam v detskikh domakh i besprizornym v Samarskoi gubernii v 20-e gody [The Activity of the State Governmental Bodies in relation to Children Assistance in the Children Orphanages and to Abandoned Children in the Samara Province]*. Samara: Izdatel'stvo Gosudarstvennogo Pedagogicheskogo Instituta, Vyp. 3.
- Ravkin, Z. I. (1988). Istoriia pedagogiki i sovremennost' [*History of Pedagogy and Contemporaneity*]. *Sovetskaia Pedagogika*, 7, pp. 102-108.
- Red'ko, L. L., Kharchenko, L. N., Borisova, T. G. (Eds.). (2001). *Problemy detskoj antropologii. Materialy Vserossiiskoi nauchnoi konferentsii (20-21 noiabria 2001)[Problems of children anthropology. Materials from the All-Russian conference (20-21 November 2001)]*. Stavropol', Stavropol'skii regional'nyj gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskii institut detstva.
- Repina, A. P. (1998). *Smena poznavatel'nykh orientatsii i metamorfozy sotsial'noi istorii [The change of orientation of knowledge and the metamorphosis of social history]*, *Sotsial'naia Istoriia. Ezhegodnik 1997*, pp. 11-68.
- Riabinina, N. V. (1999). *Detskaia besprizornost' i prestupnost' v 1920-e gody (Po materialam gubernii Verhnego Povolzh'ia). Uchebnoe posobie [Children Abandonment and Delinquency in the 1920s (Materials from the Province of the North Volga). Educational Handbook]*. Iaroslavl': Iaroslavskii Gosudarstvennyj Universitet «P.G. Demidova».
- Roginskii, B. A., Shcherbakova, I.L. (Eds.). (2004). *Chelovek v istorii. Rossiia – XX vek. Sbornik rabot pobeditelei (Vserossiiskii konkurs istoricheskikh issledovatel'skikh rabot staršeklassnikov IV Konkurs 2002/2003)*. Moskva: Mezhdunarodnoe obshchestvo «Memorial» – Izdatel'stvo «Zven'ia», Vyp. 4.
- Ronen, O. (2000). *Detskaia literatura i sotsialisticheskii realizm [Children Literature and Socialist Realism]*. In Günther, H, Dobrenko, E. (Eds.). *Sotsrealisticheskii kanon [Socialist Rules]* (pp. 969-979). Sankt Peterburg: Gumanitarnoe Agentsvo/Akademicheskii proekt.
- Rozhkov, A. Iu. (1997). *Besprizorniki [Abandoned Children]*. *Rodina*, 9, pp. 70-76.
- Rozhkov, A. Iu. (Ed.). (2010). *Vtoraia mirovaia voina v detskikh «ramkakh pam'ati». Sbornik nauchnykh statei [The Second World War in the children's]*

- «frame of remembrance». *Collection of scientific works*]. Krasnodar: Ekoinvest (Krasnodarskii Gosudarstvennyj Universitet Kul'tury i iskusstv) Rossiiskii gumanitarnyj nauchnyj Fond.
- Sal'nikova, A. (2007). *Rossiiskoe detstvo v XX veke. Istoriia, teoriia, praktika issledovaniia* [*Russian Childhood in the XX Century. History, Theory and Research Practice*]. Kazan': Kazanskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet.
- Sal'nikova, A. A. (2003). Transformatsiia idealov i zhiznennykh tsennosti russkoi devochki/devushki v pervoe posleoktiabr'skoe desiatiletie [*Transformation of the Ideals and Life Values of the Russian Girl in the first ten Years after the Revolution*]. *Sotsial'naiia Istoriia. Ezhegodnik 2003*, pp. 411-435.
- Sangina, I. I. (2000). *Russkie deti i ikh igry* [*Russians children and their toys*]. Sankt-Peterburg: Isskusstvo-SPB.
- Savel'ev, P. (2003). *Valentin Grigor'evikh Iakovlev-pervyj «pionerskii» istorik*. In Aleksandrova, A. N., Mukhanov, V. M., Piatnov A. P. (Eds.). *Pervye otkrytye istoricheskie chetniiia «Molodaia Nauka». Sbornik statei* [*Valentin Grigorevich Iakovlev – First Pioneer Historian in First Open Readings «Young Science». Collection of Documents*] (pp. 174-177). Moskva: Mgdd(iu)t.
- Setin, F. I. (1990). *Istoriia russkoi detskoj literatury* [*History of the Russian Children Literature*]. Moskva: Prosveshchenie.
- Shatalov, A. A. (1993). Lev Tolstoi i pedagogicheskii anarchism [*Lev Tolstoy and Pedagogical Anarchism*]. *Pedagogika*, 5, pp. 92-95.
- Shcherbakova, I. L. (Ed.). (2003). *Chelovek v istorii. Rossiia – XX vek. Sbornik rabot pobeditelei (Tretii Vserossiiskii Konkurs istoricheskikh issledovatel'skikh rabot starsheklassnikov)*. Moskva: Obshchestvo «Memorial» – Izdatelstvo «Zven'ia», Vyp. 3.
- Shcherbin, A. I. (2000). «Ia russkii by vyuchil tol'ko za to...» Izuchenie iazyka kak sredstvo konstruirovaniia kartiny totalitarnogo mira v soznanii sovetskikh shkol'nikov [*I've learnt Russian just because...» Learning Language as a Means to create the picture of the Totalitarian World in the Consciousness of Soviet pupils*]. *Polis*, 1, pp. 124-141.
- Silina, L. V. (2004). *Natroeniia sovetskogo studenchestva, 1945-1964* [*Soviet Students' Moods, 1945-1964*]. Moskva: Russkii Mir.
- Slatopol'skaia, A. A (Ed.). (2005). *Zh.Zh. Russo: pro et contra. Idei Zhan-Zhaka Russo v vospriiatii i otsenke russkikh myslitelei i issledovatelei (1752-1917). Antologiiiia* [*Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's ideas in the perception and in the appraisal of Russian thinkers and scholars. Anthology*]. Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatel'stvo Russkoi Khrist'ianskoi gumanitarnoi akademii.

- Soiunova, A. (1993). *Rozhdenie i vospitanie detei u turkmen-gorozhan [Birth and Education of Children of Turkmen Population]*. Pod red. G.P. Vasil'eva, Ashgabat: Ylym, p. 123.
- Tendriakova, M. V, Bezrogov, V. G. (Eds.). (2011). «*Na fone Pushkina vospitannoe detstvo: pedagogika vizual'nogo v uchebnike i na kartine. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov i materialov. Trudy Mezhdunarodnogo nauchnogo seminarra «Kul'tura detstva: normy, tsennosti, praktiki»*, Vyp. 8 [On Pushkin background educated childhood: visual pedagogy in the textbook and on the picture. Collection of scientific works and materials. Works of the international research seminar «Childhood culture: Norms, Values and Practices. Vol. 8]. Moskva: Azimut.
- Truchacheva, T. V., Kirpichin, A.G. (2005). *Detskoe Dvizhenie. Slovar' – spravochnik [The Children Movement. Dictionary – Handbook]*. Moskva: Assotsiatsiia issledovatelei detskogo dvizheniia.
- Tsirul'nikov, A. M. (Ed.). (1993). *Organizatsiia obrazovaniia v sel'skoi mestnosti Rossii (istoricheskii ocherk): kollektivnaia monografiia [Organisation of the Education in the Rural Places of Russia (Historical Essay): Collective Monograph]* (p. 36). Moskva: RAO.
- Unesco Final Report (2004). *The Support of the Infant and Preschool Childhood In Azerbaijan, Armenia, Byelorussia, Georgia, Moldavia, and Russian Federation*. Moscow: Polygraph Service.
- Ushchinskii, K. D. (2005). *Izbrannye trudy v 4-kh tomakh [Selected Works in 4-volumes]*. Moskva: Drofa.
- Vashkau, N. E. (1998). *Shkola v nemetskiikh koloniakh Povolzh'ia [Schooling in the German Colonies of the Volga]*. Volgograd: Izdatel'stvo Volgogardskogo Universiteta.
- Vasiutinskaia, E.-F. V. (Ed.). (2006). *Dva veka russkogo detstva. Portrety, bytovye stseny, kostium, mebel', risunki, uchebnye tetradi. Pis'ma, knigi, igrushki XVIII-nachalo XX veka [Two Centuries of Soviet Childhood. Portraits, Scenes of Everyday life, Clothing, Drawings, School Exercise Books. Letters, Books, Little Toys XVIII – Beginning of the XX Century]*. Moskva: Indrik.
- Vilenskii, S. S., Kokurin, A.I., Atmashkina, G.V., Novichenko, I.Iu. (Eds.). (2002). *Deti gulaga 1918-1956. Sbornik dokumentov [Children of the Gulag 1918-1956. Collection of Documents]*. Pod. red. A. N. Iakovleva. Moskva: Mezhdunarodnyj Fond 'Demokratiia'.
- VV. AA. (2002). *Pedagogicheskaiia antropologiia: kontseptual'nye osnovaniia i mezhdistsiplinarnyj kontekst. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii, Moskva, 30 sentiabria-2 oktobria 2002 goda [Pedagogical Anthropology: Conceptual Basis and Interdisciplinary Context. Proceeding of the International Scientific Conference (Moscow, September 30 - October 2 2002)]*. Moskva: URAO, 2002.

- Zhuravlev, S. V. (2000). «*Malen'kie liudy 'i 'bol'shaia istoriia*»: *inostrantsy moskovskogo Elektrozavoda v sovetskom obshchestve 1920- h i 1930-h gg.* [*Little People and Big History: the Foreign People of the Moscow Elektrozavod in the Soviet Society 1920-1930*]. Moskva: Rosspen.
- Zhuravlev, S. V., Sokolov, A. K. (1998). Shchastlivoe detstvo [*Happy Childhood*]. *Sotsial'naiia Istoriiia. Ezhegodnik 1997*, pp. 159-202.

*página intencionadamente en blanco*