

**SYPOMSIUM: *Classifying children to the national body.***

Co-organizers:

Antonio Fco. Canales (Universidad de La Laguna, Spain) and Simonetta Polenghi (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Italy)

The objective of this symposium is to gather a group of specialists on the classification of children in schools and other educational institutions through testing and measurements of intelligence, capabilities and skills, behaviors and attitudes from a historical perspective. It aims to analyze the theoretical, ideological and political assumptions that underlay these procedures, their relationship with the different concepts and models of education in debate and its role in the organization of education systems in expansion, usually related with the aspiration to the correct functioning of the social or/and national body.

The symposium offers a wide overview of the topic around the word. It includes the cases of five countries in Europe (Denmark, Belgium, Hungary, Italy and Spain), two of North America (USA and Canada), two of Latin America (Argentina and Brazil), one of Asia (Japan) and one of Africa (the Congo). The inclusion of these last countries of Asia and Africa and those of Southern and Eastern Europe and Latin America underlies the will of offering a polyhedral vision away from the traditional approach obtained from Western countries.

The rank of issues is also wide and shows the plurality of dimensions from which the general subject can be approached. Some of the contributions focus on psychological tests, others on special education and its diagnostic and a third group on the ideological and religious background of measurements and their use.

To summarize, the symposium is conceived as a forum where scholars from so different countries can interchange ideas and experiences not only about the past experiences of their cases study, but also about the challenges present education faces on, since historical analyses is without doubt a good guide to approach nowadays problems.

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| Paolo Bianchini  |  Università degli Studi di Torino (Italy)paolo.bianchini@unito.it | The Medical-Pedagogical Institutes in Italy and the origins of the “Amendative” Pedagogy. The case of the Marro Institute of Turin (1900-1974) |
| Mette Buchardt | Aalborg University (Denmark)mb@learning.aau.dk | Testing children of labour migrants in Danish comprehensive schooling |
| Antonio Fco. Canales | Universidad de La Laguna (Spain)acanales@ull.edu.es | The Soul against Matter. Rejection of tests and classifications by Spanish Francoist pedagogues (1936-1945) |
| Marc Depaepe | Leuven University (Belgium)marc.depaepe@kuleuven-kulak.be | Testing in Belgium and the Congo during the 20th Century |
| José Antonio Gómez Di Vincenzo | Universidad Nacional de San Martín (Argentina)jagdivincenzo@gmail.com | Biotypology , psychotechnics and education in speech of the Argentine Association of Biotipology, Eugenics and Social Medicine (1930 – 1943) |
| Amparo Gómez Rodríguez | Universidad de La Laguna (Spain)agomez@ull.es | Curing the national body: Children classifications and measurements at the service of Francoist Spain after the Civil War |
| Bjørn HamreKaren E. AndreasenChristian Ydesen | University of AarhusAalborg University Aalborg University(Denmark)bjha@edu.au.dkkarena@learning.aau.dkcy@learning.aau.dk | The Rise of a Paradigmatic Shift in the Human Intelligence Body of Knowledge -Ruptures in Danish Intelligence Testing in the Public School System, 1930-1943 |
| Akihiko Hashimoto | National Institute for Educational Policy Research (Japan)soubun@white.plala.or.jp | Why Samurai had to endure hardships of the pre-modern examination |
| Patrice Milewski | Laurentian University (Canada)pmilewski@laurentian.ca | Science, psychology and the making of kinds in Ontario |
| Simonetta Polenghi & Anna Debè | Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore (Italy)simonetta.polenghi@unicatt.itanna.debe@unicatt.it | Agostino Gemelli (1878-1959) and the mental disability. Science, faith and education in the view of an Italian scientist and friar |
| Bela Pukanszky; Adél Magyar;Domonkos Magyar | University of Szeged University of Szeged Eötvös Lóránd University (Hungary)bela@pukanszky.humagyarad@t-online.hudomimagyar@gmail.com | The history of the diagnostics in the special education in Hungary. |
| Heloísa Helena Pimenta Rocha; Henrique Mendonça da Silva | University of Campinas, Brasilheloisah@unicamp.brenriquesh@msn.com | The student’s body as a measure-object |
| Ann Marie Ryan | Loyola University Chicago (USA)aryan3@luc.edu | Measuring Catholic Minds, Bodies, and Souls: Testing and Catholic Schools in the First Half of 20th Century in the United States |

Paolo Bianchini (Università degli Studi di Torino*) The Medical-Pedagogical Institutes in Italy and the origins of the “Amendative” Pedagogy. The case of the Marro Institute of Turin (1900-1974)*

In the early years of the twentieth century, some Italians psychiatrists were convinced of the usefulness of medicine and education to work together for the treatment of children with disabilities, at that time commonly defined "idiots" or "imbeciles". For this purpose they promoted the opening of the Medical-Pedagogical Institutes, a kind of schools equipped with medical and psychological staff, reserved for children with moderate and severe disabilities. These institutions should serve, on the one hand, to remove children from mental hospitals, where they lived situations of serious promiscuity with adults, on the other hand, to enable them to be educated and to improve their psycho-physical attitudes.

The Medical-Pedagogical Institutes were reserved for boys and girls "amendable" or "educable", that is able to improve their behavior and learning through the education and the therapies received. Although the children were submitted to an extensive series of psychological tests and bio-medical evaluations, as well as of long periods of observation, once inserted in the institute not always they showed any benefit. In that case, they were brought back in the mental hospital or in their families, for the lucky ones, where the parents paid.

After World War II, the Medical-Pedagogical Institutes were incorporated by law into the Special Schools, reserved for children with cognitive delays of varying severity, with the dual effect of becoming less selective, but also to segregate all the weaker students with no distinction, putting often together the disabled pupils with the poorest and the less socially integrated ones.

The case of the Marro Institute of Turin will be used to illustrate the parable of the Medical-Pedagogical Institutes and the evolution of the “Amendative” Pedagogy in Italy, developed at the crossroads of the psychological and anthropometric measurements and the desire to find a didactics that could help the “bottom of the class”. 302 words

Mette Buchardt (Department of Learning & Philosophy, Aalborg University, Denmark) *Testing children of labour migrants in Danish comprehensive schooling*

Testing of labour migrant children in Danish comprehensive schooling became common during the 1970s, and included language - as well as intelligence testing.

In 1970 the first official formulation regarding so-called foreign children appeared in a departmental circular from the Ministry of Education in Denmark. It stipulated that children residing more than six months in the country were to be covered by the law of compulsory education. In the wake of this, Danish educational politics discovered children of labor migrants from the global South as an object of and a specific problem to schooling, describing these children through their parents; more specifically what was perceived as their special behavior and mentality, increasingly during the 1970s formulated as their “culture”.

As a pedagogic tool testing aims at selecting and differentiating. The question of how and who to test is thus connected to questions concerning how ‘all pupils’ in the spirit of comprehensive schooling can be taught in the same school, but as different pupils and in different ways. A case from Aarhus municipality from the end of the 1970s is one of the examples of how the school system was challenged, when attempting to practice the obligation to offer instruction to the children of labour migrants.

Methodologically the paper is situated in curriculum history; partly with a social history orientation (Lundgren, Goodson), partly drawing on historical social epistemology and entangled history (Popkewitz, Sobe). Based on a source material consisting of documents related to state bureaucracy, municipal authorities and professional debate (for instance in professional and academic journals), it will be explored how classification by means of a pedagogized concept of culture developed in relation to for instance the use of testing. (280 words)

Antonio Fco. Canales Serrano (Universidad de La Laguna) *The Soul against Matter. Rejection of tests and classifications by Spanish Francoist pedagogues (1936-1945)*.

This paper aims to study the position before the tests and classifications in the school of the pedagogues who supported the Franco Regime between the Spanish Civil War and the end of the Second World War (1936-1945). These authors, mainly school inspectors, made of the rejection of tests and classifications a key feature of the new Francoist pedagogy, which intended to substitute the traditional liberal-progressive Spanish pedagogy defeated in the Civil War. The main criticism was that this kind of scientific approach to education implied a materialistic reduction of the child which did not consider his peculiarities and individuality, but especially his spirit and soul. This defense of spirituality had different versions depending on the ideological position of the authors. Spiritualism was understood in the traditional religious way by Catholics as Agustin Serrano de Haro, Josefina Cuesta and Alfonso Iniesta. However, Falangist educators as Adolfo Maíllo or Antonio Onieva approached the soul from an irrational vitalism of clear Fascist inspiration. In all cases there were an open rejection of the idea of ​​an educational practice founded on scientific bases and especially an opposition to modern trends of Western pedagogy, which they included in the evils of mankind originated in Geneva. 200 words

Marc Depaepe (Leuven University) *Testing in Belgium and the Congo during the 20th Century*

As evidenced by our research into the history of experimental pedagogy, Belgium - with figures such as Ioteyko and Schuyten - played a leading role at the beginning of the twentieth century within the context of what was at the time known as paedology (Depaepe, 1993). This movement, which was by most followers considered the ‘pure science of the child’, had a complement in the field of applied psychology, “paedotechnics”, a discipline where testing was a key factor. Following the First World War, Decroly and Buyse even undertook a journey to the United States to conduct research in the field (Depaepe & D’hulst, 2011). They returned with the message that the principle of having ‘the right man in the right place’ had not only proven beneficial with regard to the victory over the Germans, but above all was an essential aspect of every modern society. Despite the fact that meritocratic notions have also been a determining factor in our country with regard to the development of the modern school system, the testing movement did not garner immediate success in Belgium (Samyn, 1990). There was actually an ‘intelligence scale’ established in 1931 (by Deman and De Saeger), but its influence remained, all things considered, limited (Vanden Avenne, 2002). Of course, this does not mean that the underlying assumptions of the testing movement met with general acceptance. In that regard, the question also arises of how the ‘intellectual’ capacities of the indigenous population were assessed when, as from the 1950s, secondary and higher education was being developed for the benefit of the African population of Congo (at that time a Belgian colony) (see, e.g. Depaepe, 2009). Were there any specific tests in this context? And what would have been the assumptions behind any assessment methods that might have been used? Within the framework of this contribution we wish to more closely examine a number of the questions and paradoxes raised by this topic. 321 words

José Antonio Gómez Di Vincenzo Biotipología (Universidad Nacional de San Martín, Escuela de Humanidades, Centro de investigación sobre Historia de la Ciencia y la Tecnología José Babini) *Biotypology, psychotechnics and education in speech of the Argentine Association of Biotipology, Eugenics and Social Medicine (1930 – 1943)*

The eugenics program of the Argentina Association of Biotypology, Eugenics and Social Medicine, one of the most important Argentine eugenic institutions, including a number of social technologies applied in different areas. Biotypological record was the main instrument to prescribe not only an education according to the skills relieved from examination but also to define the future job performance and / or future profession.

Since its founding, the association promoted the application of the biotipological record to optimize the formation of workers needed for economic development. And so settle the tension given by the need for cultural homogenization of the population, supported by arguments brought from philosophy, politics and education, through the implementation of the Education Act 1420 enacted in 1884, and the need for training and diversification of workers given the requirement of the capitalist economy.

Thus, in tandem with biotypology psychotechnics they are constituted in the main scientific and technological discourse from which to implement eugenic practices, prescribe roles and legitimize inequality from diversity.

Biotypological school record became, from theory, one of the tools that allow to implement the goals set since the founding of the association: "projecting structural architecture of a national work of practical and scientific eugenics" to " prevent existing evils, avoiding the disastrous consequences for society and for the species "and" reforming the fundamentals of our society in its first embryonic face of cultural evolution".

We will reflect on the close links between biotypology, eugenics and education during looking to go beyond the moral to try to understand how it was possible that a permeable field such speeches and the complex interrelationships between science, technology and social historical context constituted. 275 words

Amparo Gómez Rodríguez (Universidad de La Laguna) *Curing the national body: Children classifications and measurements at the service of Francoist Spain after the Civil War.*

Immediately after the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) specialists of the field of pedagogy, psychology and law faced the task of cure, re-educate and reintegrate a large mass of children without families, who had been brought up and educated in republican Spain, and who had lived through first a revolution, then a war. These children were taken in shelter institutions run by the Church and the Fascist Party.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the research on these state-custodied children conducted by José Piquer i Jover and his team at the Barcelona Child Protection Board, during the forties. The measurements and classifications of children will be analyzed, with the intention of showing how, despite the more or less scientific approach, their objectives were explicitly ideological and political. Through these procedures it was pretended to confer the rank of scientific "normality" to the ideological principles of the victors in the Spanish Civil War and to turn into pathology the whole liberal, democratic and progressive ideological tradition of the losers. The ultimate goal was to “cure” these children contaminated by this tradition, to “re-educate” them under the new narrow National-Catholic principles and to “normalize” them according to the requirements which demanded the building of the new Fascist Spain. 207 words

Bjørn Hamre (University of Aarhus), Karen E. Andreasen (Aalborg University) and Christian Ydesen (Aalborg University) *The Rise of a Paradigmatic Shift in the Human Intelligence Body of Knowledge* - *Ruptures in Danish Intelligence Testing in the Public School System, 1930-1943*

Since 1930, when intelligence testing was first formally introduced in the Danish public school system, it gradually came to function as the key technology for a streaming practice of determining which children should stay in the ‘normal school’ [*normalskolen*] and which children should be transferred to ‘remedial education’ [*værneskolen*]. In other words, IQ testing served as a key marker for understanding disability and for regulating problematized bodies in the Danish public school system.

In the 1940s Danish educational psychologists began to change their concept of intelligence from being seen as something innate and fixed to a concept of intelligence that stipulated intelligence development as something dynamic and subject to environmental factors. This development can be traced when comparing the revision of the Danish Binet-Simon intelligence test published in 1943 with the original test published and standardised in 1930. This change had significant impact on the development of intelligence testing practices in Denmark and it raises critical awareness that any testing practice rests on certain preconditions and understandings that are subject to historical change.

The paper throws light on the national and international spaces of the leading agents, the historical context characterised by the struggle between fascist and democratic ideas and the German occupation of Denmark in 1940 as well as the relevant knowledge regimes revealing a slide from a positivistic to a constructivist paradigm. Thus, the research questions treated can be summed up as how the change in the concept of intelligence between the publication of the first Danish standardisation of the Binet-Simon intelligence test in 1930 and the revision in 1943 can be adequately understood? How did it influence the understanding of the children’s disabilities? And what experiences can be drawn from this development with contemporary relevance for the on-going debates about the role of science in education?

This paper draws on historical documents and publications, unpublished sources from the city archives of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg and existing research in the field. 323 words

Akihiko Hashimoto (National Institute for Educational Policy Research, Japan) *Why Samurai had to endure hardships of the pre-modern examination*

 Before Japan’s so called “modernization”, beginning in the late 19th century, examination was merely conducted in a very few portion of Samurai class’ education. Traditionally, the ideal form of learning in Japan was to pursue well balanced competency including moral and arts. However, a few percent of the Samurai class males became to suffer from examination. But why “suffer”?

Using various old documents, this presentation will depict the stress or hardships of the examination in Samurai’s life. How hard they had to prepare, how unusually they acted, and how they were praised or damaged. On the other hand, contexts and reasons for the Samurai’s study or hardships will be explained. The largest point is that those preparing for the exam were mostly male adults that have the “duty” to serve for their feudal lords. To study was to fulfill their obligations. To examine was to check who were loyal or diligent. Treats or rewards could be granted as a result of the testing. Correct measurement of intelligence was not the point at all.

Japanese started their modern educational system and examination system, probably upon these basements of embodiment of pre-modern testing. Many unique factors should be taken into consideration when we try to understand the nature of examination in Japanese society. 211 words

Patrice Milewski (Faculty of Education/Faculté d’éducation Laurentian University, Canada) *Science, psychology and the making of kinds in Ontario.*

This presentation identifies the epistemological transformations in science that created the conditions for the emergence of psychology as the science of education in early twentieth century Ontario. The emergence of objectivity as a scientific ideal in the mid nineteenth century (Daston & Galison, 2010) included changes in scientific practices and techniques, the invention of new instruments and the emergence of new ‘scientific selves’. An ethos of measuring and counting resulted in the mapping of the bodies of school children that subsequently mutated into a physiological psychology that sought to know (and colonize) the mental life of the school child. Using the example of Ontario this presentation discusses how psychology was put into operation through a series of political choices, institutional practices that were the result of professional alliances between psychologists and an emerging cadre of professional educational administrators in the early twentieth century. The establishment of psychology as a domain of knowledge resulted in the creation of new institutional entities and subject positions providing an example of what Hacking (1995) termed as ‘the looping effect of human kinds’. The aims to which the practices of educational psychology were harnessed varied according to the social purposes that education served. One such purpose was linked to the process of educational rationalization that adapted education to the changing social order of corporate industrialism (Danziger, 1990). 222 words

Simonetta Polenghi and Anna Debè (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Italy) *Agostino Gemelli (1878-1959) and the mental disability. Science, faith and education in the view of an Italian scientist and friar*

In the first decades of the 20th Century the question of mental disabilities was widely discussed in Italy, while the first special schools for the intellectually impaired were set up. An important role was played by the Franciscan friar Agostino Gemelli (1878-1959), physician, renowned psychologist, and founder in 1921 of the Catholic University of Milan.

Gemelli promoted relevant psychological researches on intellectual disabilities, based on empirical and measurable processes. He considered only scientific studies, to investigate the etiology and classification of mental deficit, necessary to develop appropriate educational actions. Gemelli founded an ambulatory (1913) and a laboratory (1914) in the catholic San Vincenzo Institute of Milan for abnormal pupils, for the visit and the analysis of children with mental disabilities. In this Institute Gemelli and his collaborators deepened from a biological point of view the classification elaborated by the famous psychiatrist Sante De Sanctis (1862-1935), also known for his intelligence tests (“reattivi”), quite different from Binet and Simon’ ones and more respectful of the whole of the personality and potentiality of the children.

Following De Sanctis’ views, in 1926 Gemelli also established the School for the special aids and assistants for disabled children, in the Catholic University of Milan. The School, one of the very first set up in Italy for special aid teacher training, aimed to make the “special” teachers confident with medical, psychological and pedagogical issues. This institution did not have a “catholic colour”: indeed, Gemelli called professors of great notoriety to teach in his School, not minding about their ideological thoughts, leaving to anthropology, philosophy and education the catholic stamp on the value of persons.

All his work was characterized by the cooperation between science and religion: experimental method in itself did not contrast with catholic values.

This paper is based on unpublished documents from different archives. 300 words

Dr. Bela Pukánszky, Adel Magyar and Domonkos Magyar (University of Szeged, Szeged and Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary) *Special education diagnostics in system-based special education in Hungary. A XX. century creator: Flora Kozmutza.*

At the turn of the 19th and 20th century disabled people have not only been recognized by people who defended and supported them out of philanthropic curiosity but a paradigm shift also began which filled the process of rehabilitation with pedagogical content and set a goal for the scientific recognition, improvement, and uplifting of disabled people.

Until the next paradigm shift at the beginning of the 21st century that followed the WHO’s 2001 model of disability, system-based approach – meaning the conscious applications of knowledge provided by different fields of co- and frontier sciences – and the emergence of a unified special education system characterized the historical value of the Hungarian special education.

The pedagogical activity-focused, system-based special education combined the diagnostic and special education discipline at an early time. In Hungary the development of experimental psychology in connection with special education psychology began with the work of Paul Ranschburg and the attention- and intelligent testing and drawing inquiry of disabled children at the end of the 19th century.

In the 1950’s psychological studies began aiming to explore the psychology of the disabled people, interpret the summaries of previous research results, and assess the cognitive and communication characteristics of various disability groups (concerning vision, hearing, mental ability, and mobility). The psycho-diagnostic methods, primarily the processing of the results of intelligence tests moved to the forefront.

This work was performed under the leadership of psychologist-special education teacher Flora Kozmutza in the Psychological Laboratory in close vicinity to the College of Special Education Teachers. The book “Special Education Psychology” was published in 1968, in which with co-authors she summarized the research results concerning the psychology of disabled people, special education psychology, special education diagnostics, and the “work psychology” of disabled people for the audience of all professions involved (teachers, special education teachers, psychologists, and doctors). 301 words

Heloísa Helena Pimenta Rocha (University of Campinas, Brasil) and Henrique Mendonça da Silva (University of Campinas, Brasil). *The student’s body as a measure-object*

The spread of hygienism, international movement articulated in the second half of the nineteenth century due to concerns about individuals’ mental and physical health, along with a set of social changes, resulted in a number of initiatives, such as the creation of scientific societies, books and journals publication, the organization of congresses and the institutionalization of school medical inspection services. Among the duties of these services, which in the end of the XIX century started to present itself as the central point of doctors’ agenda, was the examination and registration of children’s individual characteristics through a group of operations aimed at the child body. These operations would lead to the production of a set of data which were gradually configured as normality and abnormality standards.

These issues were in the agenda of Brazilian physicians, many of them trained in Europe, readers of medical journals and attendees of international conferences. The school medical inspection services were created in Brazil from the 1910s on, including, already in its first years of operation, practices of examination and recording of individual characteristics, which were gradually accompanied by guidelines related to the classification of children. In this sense, this study examines documents produced by the school medical inspection services of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, two states that had a pioneering role in the deployment of such services. It discusses, more specifically, the place given to the examination of children’s bodies, types of registration of the data produced through these transactions, the resulting typologies of the research and recommendations regarding the organization of the school public. It seeks to pay attention, in addition, to the references and assumptions which the typologies that guided the actions of these services were based on. 287 words

Ann Marie Ryan (Loyola University Chicago, USA) *Measuring Catholic Minds*, *Bodies, and Souls: Testing and Catholic Schools in the First Half of 20th Century in the United States*

Public schooling in the first half of the 20th century in the United States saw the rise of social efficiency and educational measurement take hold as the driving force behind school organization and curriculum management. During this same time Catholic schools grew in number and became increasingly regulated by state departments of education. This led to the increased influence of public school reform movements on Catholic schools, which Catholic educators questioned them more heavily and were slower to accept these reforms and the consequences they might have for their students.

Catholic educators focused on the theological, philosophical and educational arguments, as well as the resistance to state intervention. Catholics argued against IQ testing as a denial of free will and limiting children’s potential, Catholics saw how the testing movement aimed at categorizing and thwarting the advancement of immigrants in the United States.

This paper examines how Catholic educators rigorously debated the introduction and use of IQ and standardized testing during this era. It follows this debate into the mid-20th century and the shift to greater acceptance of these tests, as Catholics became more assimilated and more accountable to state educational authorities. 191 words