

**EDUCATIONAL TRANSFORMATION IN  
TRANSITIONAL CHINA AND RUSSIA:  
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF  
PRIVATE SCHOOLING IN BEIJING AND MOSCOW**

**IRINA VASILENKO**

BA and Teaching Diploma in Russian Language and Literature (Lugansk State University); BA in Asian Studies (Victoria University); Postgraduate Diploma in Chinese (Beijing Second Foreign Language University).

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Educational transformation  
in transitional China and  
Russia : a comparative

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis is a comparative study of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow. It studies the educational transformation in transitional China and Russia. This innovative study goes beyond the comparative social, economic and cultural measurement of selected private schools and analyses the role of globalisation in education in these societies, which resulted in the development of the system of private schools.

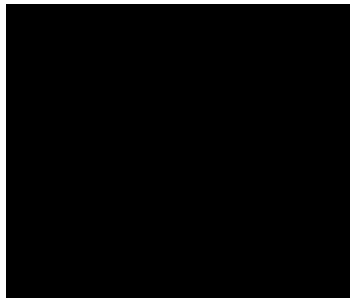
Although both China and Russia have experienced similar stages of educational transformation, they regard private schooling differently. In China the state guides the development of different categories of private schooling, which operates in the shadow of the state schooling system. In Russia the withdrawal of the state has assisted in the separation out of private schooling as a system for the elite.

The original data, collected in Beijing and Moscow between 1999 and 2004, has illustrated similarities and dissimilarities in the pattern of private schooling as regards the distribution, management, and learning facilities across different categories of private schools in these two important cities. The qualitative data, drawing on sources in Chinese, Russian and English, supplemented with the results of surveys, has been analysed in order to present the original cross-cultural classification of private schools.

This study will be a novel resource for international educators seeking to understand the present and immediate circumstances of private schooling in these significant cities.

## STUDENT DECLARATION

I, Irina Vasilenko, declare that the PhD thesis entitled “*Educational Transformation in Transitional China and Russia: A Comparative Analysis of Private Schooling in Beijing and Moscow*” is no more than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.



16.04.07



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## Glossary and Abbreviation

**Attestat zrelosti** – the state-issued standard certificate proving the completion of full secondary education in China.

**Chastnaja shkola** – literally in Russian “a private school” – a financially independent school in Russia that offers updated educational services reflecting the demands from local market and providing educational service under the contract system with parents (clients).

**CPC** – Communist Party of China

**Economic transition** – a set of economic techniques that need to exercise an economic pattern under the general rubric of industrial policy.

**Educational transformation** (sometimes the transformation in education) – a process of various changes that occurred in the system of education in different forms as a result of the internal evolution and external influence of the global market.

**Educational enterprises** (*obrazovatel'nyi complex*) – financially independent educational organisations that, according to particular demands of individuals, provide flexible educational service, ranging from pre-schooling to professional development, including the supplementary programs targeted entering tertiary levels locally or internationally.

**ELICOS** – English Language International Course Standard.

**Gaige kaifang zhengci** – literally in Chinese “open door policy program” – a name of the Open Door Economy Program that initiated the implementation of market economy elements in the state-controlled market.

**GCE** – General Certificate of Education – the state-issued standard certificate proving the completion of full secondary education in China (similar to the *Attestat zrelosti* in Russia)

**Gongli xuexiao** – literally in Chinese “state-run schools” – the system of schools relying on the government for infrastructure and administrative funding.

**Gongban minzhu** (Chinese) – a semi-private category of schools with the combination of private and government funding that is further supported by the government through the faculty, administration and infrastructure.

**Guanxi** (networking/personal connections) – a cultural phenomenon of establishing the mode of communication via networking between friends and associates.

**Haiwai xueshen** – literally from Chinese “a Chinese background student from overseas”.

**Hegede jiaoxue rencai** – literally from Chinese “qualified human teaching resources”.

**Hukou** is the system that is used to differentiate city, county and town identity in order to control free migration across different areas within a country.

**Jiang she you zhong guo tecede shehui zhu yi** – the concept of developing socialism with the specific Chinese characteristics of a market economy.

**Jiu Sili xuexiao** (Reverted private schools) – privatised government schools that have returned to the system of government schooling.

**Kanikuly** – literally from Russian “schools’ holidays” – 4 periods between four schooling terms: (1) Winter Holiday from 28 December to 16 January; (2) Spring Holiday from 1 April to 7 April; (3) Summer Holiday from 20 May to 31 August, and (4) Autumn Holiday from 1 November to 10 November. The teaching year in Russia runs from 1 September to 20 May.

**Minban xuexiao** – literally from Chinese “people-run schooling/schools”.

**Mu** – a traditional area measurement in Chinese that is equal to 155.52 sq. kilometres.

**Negosudarstvennoje obrazovatel’noje uchrezhdenije, (NGO)** – literally in Russian “a nongovernment educational organisation” – refers to privately run schools (overseas or locally) that are financially and administratively linked to the one owner (a group or an individual) with the culturally open curriculum aimed at specifically targeted students.

**Novyje Russkije (New Russian)** – a new socioeconomic phenomenon of wealthy Russians that has occurred in Russia from 1991.

**Nomenklatura** – high-ranked elite officials, enjoying privilege and priority for the distribution of social wealth during the Soviet era.

**Obrazovatel’nyi complex** – see **Educational enterprises**.

**Perestroika** – (1) a social concept of reaffirmation and reconsideration of the main ideals of the Soviet past and bringing a global thinking; (2) a process of political changes that aimed at ending the Cold War.

**Private school**, see *Chastnaja shkola*.

**Renminbi** – the name of Chinese national currency for use between foreigners and local Chinese (see *Yuan*).

**Roubles** – Russian national currency (in the year 2000, 2500 roubles = US\$100, in the year 2004, 1800 roubles= US\$ 100, in the year 2004, 1000 roubles=US\$100).

**Sili xuexiao** (Private schooling, privately-run school) - a system of schooling or a school where the ownership and the direct administrative control over the management are privately owned.

**(The) Socio-cultural discourse** – a set of social objectives in a transitional society that includes education, cultural values and beliefs.

***Shequ xuexiao*** (Schools in communities) – schools proposed and established by real estate companies on government-provided land on the outskirts of a city.

***Shidianxiao*** (Shadowed schools) – key schools where the principal functions as administrator for the institution and is free to rule on budgetary decisions.

**Special Economic Zones (SEZs)** – the area assigned by the Chinese government as a pilot project for targeting a high economic achievement.

**Special Education Zones (SEdZs)** – the regions allocated by the Chinese government for accumulating the human and financial resources in order to improve the standard of education.

***Te Se Xiao* (Schools' Specialisation)** – the specialisation in a particular subject among government schools which are permitted to deliver special programs in different subjects: Foreign Languages, Fine Arts, Mathematics, Chemistry, etc. under the user-pay principle.

**Transition Theory (TT)** – the socio-economic field of study that combines different views and opinions regarding why centralised economies have collapsed and how a transitional society should manage the process of socio-economic reconstruction from the centralised economy to the market.

**Transformation** – is a process that reflects the increasing acceptance of the role of social behaviour, social relations, customs and lifestyle as the cultural dimension of changes that includes the important domain of values in education.

***Yuan*** – another name for Chinese national currency for use between Chinese (see *Renminbi*)

***Zi Di Xiao* (Corporate Schooling)** – schools set up and managed by government owned corporations and organisations (*gouqi*) with tuition fees attached.

***Zhongdian Xuexiao* (Key School)** – a concept of a registered number of “elite” state-run schools that enjoy the best human teaching resources, facilities and social recognition that lead to entry to the nation's best 211 universities.

***Zhongdianxiao Fengxiao* (Shadowed school)** – schools that share the same infrastructure and property with the key school but function as subsidiaries of key schools, enjoying the financial freedom of charging tuition fees.

***Zhongdian Chuzhong Bu* (Elementary part of key school unit)** – a detached unit/section/level of the key school that has been placed in the care of a private investor.

## INTRODUCTION

This work is a comparative analysis of educational transformation in the People's Republic of China ('China') and the Russian Federation ('Russia') with a specific focus on private schooling in Beijing and Moscow. The purpose of the thesis is to develop our conceptual understanding of private schooling in a transitional society within specific socio-economic, political, and cross-cultural boundaries. In this work the term *transitional society* refers to a formerly centralised economy run by a political party on the road from a state-run economy to a market economy, undergoing significant political, economic and social changes, including education.<sup>1</sup>

This study investigates the development of private schooling in China and Russia and looks at the driving forces behind the rise of privately-run schools that became transparent after the implementation of economic reforms. In this work, *private schooling* refers to a system of privately-run schools from the primary to the senior secondary level characterised by mixed ownerships, alternative management and the implementation of educational programs reflecting social, economic and global demands alongside state prescription.

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<sup>1</sup> According to different schools, the term '*transitional society*' refers to (1) a society exhibiting particular political, economic, social and cultural changes that occur in the situation of a decentralised economy moving towards an open market system with a range of complicated processes of transition on the road from command economies to market (or mixed) economies (Kornai 1990) and (2) a society that has entered into a transitional period of the adjustment from a centrally-planned economy to a market society with different degrees of liberalization (Brabant 1987). This distinction will be discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

The thesis provides cross-cultural analyses of the contemporary forms of private schooling operating in Beijing and Moscow during the period 1999-2004. This comparative study of private schools discusses the various cultural, economic, social, and political developments in order to embrace the knowledge of private schooling within the frame of Transition Theory (TT)<sup>2</sup>. The cross-cultural knowledge about private schooling during a transition<sup>3</sup> is a tangible issue enlarging the theoretical framework of Transition studies<sup>4</sup>.

This work proposes the view of *educational transformation* and *economic transition* are separate aspects of Transition. The term *educational transformation* refers to the changes occurred in a regional system of education as a result of a reaction of the local economic marketisation, social inequality and education reforms pedagogy to globalization in education. The *economic transition* refers to the changes occurred on the road from the state-run economy to the market economy.

Going into a transitional period of political, social and economic adjustment, from a centrally-planned economy to a market society with different degrees of liberalisation, China and Russia opted to transform their centrally-planned economies towards market-oriented restructuring via radically different choices (Cheng 1994; Lynch 2005).

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<sup>2</sup> Transition Theory is a recent body of theory that has grown out of scholarly analysis of (a) the changes in the former Communist countries with the introduction of democracy and capitalism such as Russia, the People's Republic of China; and (b) economic liberalisation in Communist countries such as the People's Republic of China. The versions of Transition Theory will be a subject of further discussions presented in Chapter 2 "Transition and Transformation".

<sup>3</sup> Transition characterises (1) processes occurring on the road from a command economy - with a specific ideology, seeded strongly in the social and political life of Communism - to a society, characterised by liberalisation of the market and democracy in different aspects of the social and political life (Kornai 1990); (2) processes of economic, political and costal restructuring from a Communist society with the absolute domination of a state to a society characterised by market economy, democracy and civil rights of individuals (Linden and Prybyla, 1997).

<sup>4</sup> Transition Studies is a branch of social science concerning the processes of the how former communist countries with a command economy found their way to the social and economic liberation of democracy and market value in all spheres of life. According to the different schools, the answer to this question is varied. The detailed description and evaluation of each school is subject of discussion in Chapter 2.

Despite contrasting economic reforms and their outcomes (Nolan 1995), both societies had to face the challenge of responding to socio-economic transition (Gros and Steinherr, 2004) with their accompanying political and cultural changes (Dorn 1998). The systems of education in both countries also underwent substantial changes (Polizoy, Fullan, and Anchan, 2003). The financial shift from a state-run financial monopoly in education was noted in both countries (Bray and Borevskaya, 2001) along with consequential cultural changes and social stratification (Brown 1973; Buarque 1993). Changes occurred at all levels of the educational systems in China and Russia.<sup>5</sup>

In China, scholars (Hayhoe and Bastid, 1997) have noted the positive outcomes of economic reforms in the system of Chinese education. The monolithic mode of state-run education was shattered (Zhao 1994; Zhang 1996) and a new role of education<sup>6</sup> replaced the old one (Sautman 1995). The system of education became diversified at all levels.<sup>7</sup> The appearance of new forms of schooling (Cleverley 1991), including the rise of *minban xuexiao* (privately-run) schools, received close attention from many scholars (Boxian 1996; Hou 1993; Yimin 1996; World Bank Report 2002). At the same time, the contradictions and problems of private schooling in China became a major focus in a number of works (Deng 1997; Hu 1997; Kwong 1997; Lin 1999; Mok 1997a; Tsang 2001; Xu 2001).

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<sup>5</sup> Cherednichenko (2000), Cleverley (1991), Dneprov, Lasarev and Sobkin (1991), Dunstan (1992), Epstein (1991), Harrold and Lall (1993), Hayhoe (1996), Hayhoe (1992), Hayhoe (1989), Jones (1994), Lewin, Hui, Little and Jiwei (1994), and Pepper (1990).

<sup>6</sup> In contrast to the Mao era, when education had to play an ideological role, Chen (1995) sees the role of education during the transition in China as: 1) a national investment in economic modernisation; 2) the tool to control economy in order to educate people how to manage the high-tech technology; 3) the necessary condition for participation of the each individual in the nationwide scale of a program in economic modernisation.

<sup>7</sup> At the tertiary level, substantial changes can be identified that explained the development of new curricula in the 'key' Universities of China, and the decentralization of administration (Hayhoe and Bastid, 1997; Hayhoe 1992; Hayhoe 1989). These educational changes at the tertiary level have been recognised as the portent of a new type of education that appeared as one of the outcomes of economic reforms (Hayhoe 1984). However, Carnoy and Samoff (1990) see the restructuring of Higher Education in China as an extension of the responsibility system in education that was initiated in the agricultural sector.



By the end of 1999, according to statistics from the Education, Science, Culture and Health Committee (The Bulletin of Statistics on National Development, 1999), about 54,000 private schools had been established in China, with 6.93 million registered students.<sup>8</sup> The total enrolment in private schools was 5.73 million, accounting for 2.35% of the total number in the Chinese schools (Yang, D. 2000).

In Russia, the outcomes of economic reforms precipitated a profound crisis in spheres of economic (Gaddy and Isckes, 1998), social and political life (Major 1993) accompanied by excessive inflation (Bogomolov 1999). Overall, educational transformation in Russia was surrounded by a great deal of controversy and the changes in the system of Russian education were variously labelled as 'kaleidoscopic' (Rutkevich 1997) and 'chaotic' (Dunstan 1992).

At the time of the economic breakdown and political turmoil (Holmes, Read and Voskresenskaya, 1995), the shift from the old style of education was described in the literature and these modifications were seen as having potential for the further development in the system of education (Jones 1994). The state's withdrawal (Belilovskaja 1998) and a lack of financial support (Cherednichenko 2000) led to a failure to deliver educational reforms in the state-run system of education. The old

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<sup>8</sup> "According to statistics by Department of Development Planning of the Ministry of Education, the number of private schools approved by educational authorities (including education agencies without eligibility of conferring certificate or diploma from kindergarten to college but excluding agencies for vocational training) in 1999 is 45,000, accounting for 5.2% of the total. Total enrollment in these private schools is 5.73 million, accounting for 2.35% of the total. Number of private higher-education agencies surged to a historical record of 1,240 with an enrollment of 1.184 million students. Most private agencies engaged in higher education and senior-middle-schooling are located in provinces and municipalities with well-developed economy such as Beijing, Shanghai, Shaanxi, Zhejiang and Liaoning etc. while most of those engaged in compulsory education are doing their businesses in less developed and populous central and west China" (*China Youth Daily*, 15 May, 2000).

command system of education in Russia suffered from the serious impact of economic reforms (Eroshin 1996) and from political contest (Dneprov 1998b). With little help from the state to implement reforms in education (Eroshin 1996), most of the state-run schools were deserted (Pervova and Gordon 1997). Russian state-run schools faced a lack of entrepreneurial skills in the new environment of the market economy (Eroshin 1998) and were practically destroyed (Gregory and Stuart, 2000). As a result, the state-run system of education faced a stage of collapse (Gershunsky 1993); in addition, the country was wrestling with deep economic (Smith 1995) and national crises (World Bank Report 1992). The detailed analysis of these changes occurred in the state-run system of Russian education is presented in the chapter 6 “Educational Transformation in Russia and the Rise of Private Schooling in Moscow”.

Meanwhile, private schools quickly blossomed in the Russian system of education (Palianov, Turchenklo, and Kopytov, 2000). In a very short time, private schooling established itself with illusionary help from the state,<sup>9</sup> and became a respected part of the system of Russian education (Dneprov 1995).

Analysing educational changes in post-communist Russia, Farkas (1995) noted that Russian education had become totally polarised: on one side, education was playing the role as a tool for social differentiation between the *Novyj Russkij* and ordinary people; yet on the other side, education was being imposed to meet individual needs for everyone. The polarisation of Russian education divided this society into “winners and losers” (Silverman and Yanowitch, 1997) and changed the quality of education. Scholars expressed their concerns about the lowering quality of education in the state-

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<sup>9</sup> The assigned 1million rubles (around US \$35,000) by the state towards the establishment of the Department of private education cannot be taken as a serious help and assistance.

run schools (Dneprov, Lazarev, and Sobkin, 1991; Dneprov 1996); and, at the same time, the rising quality of education in the privately-run schools was recognised (Molodtsova 1998).

According to official statistics, by the end of the year 2002, Russia had 600 non-state privately-run education organisations offering flexible programs and attended by more than 50,000 students – including 244 non-state colleges and secondary schools – and 70 higher institutions officially accredited by the state. The enrolment of students in private schools was only 0.37 % of the total numbers of Russia's schools (Filippov 2001).

An analysis of the literature explaining the development of private schooling has revealed that – apart from a number of publications on economic transition (the detailed analysis of these studies is presented in Chapter 2) – there were few items that focused on a cross-cultural analysis of changes in the social sphere of transitional China and Russia, including education.<sup>10</sup> The literature concerning the development of private schooling in China and Russia failed to provide a cross-cultural analysis of private schools in these countries. Viewing the development of private schooling as a result of economic reform does not provide a sufficient answer as to why the failure of economic reforms in Russia played such a positive role towards the establishment of private schools and why the steady economic reforms in China inhibited the advancement of private schooling.

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<sup>10</sup> There are few works that have made an attempt to provide a comparative analysis on HDR in China and Russia (Niemi and Owens, 1994), democracy (Coughlin 1989), intellectual properties (Chang-kuo 1983) and economic reforms (Chen Shu-ching 1994; Deroek 1988; Linden and Prybyla, 1997). The paucity of works focusing on the comparative approach towards private schooling in China and Russia obscures the pattern of education. For example, the existing cross-cultural study of private schooling in China and Russia (Bray and Borevskaya, 2001) focuses on the comparative analysis of the financial sources of private schools, and left many social and cultural questions unanswered.

Any attempt to explain the development of private schooling as an outcome of state implemented reforms in education also reveals certain ambiguities. The firm control by the state of assets in education in China contrasts with the passive role of the Russian state. There is a reason to believe that inadequate legislation in Russia, bad management and a lack of administrative skills in the state-run educational system (Cheidvasser and Hugo, 2000) can explain a poor performance of state-run schools, to the extent of state-run Russian schooling having to be rescued (Webber 2000). Somehow, however, these factors did not affect private schooling.

An interesting attempt to analyse the role of the state within culturally specific boundaries was undertaken by Birzea (1994),<sup>11</sup> whose study contributed to our comprehension of cross-cultural analysis regarding private schooling as the fruitful way to analyse the educational transformation in any country-in-transition.

In brief, this analysis of the literature concerning private schooling and the outcomes of fieldwork reveals that:

- the dependence of educational development on economic reforms has been overemphasised;
- the systems of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow have not been a matter of comparative study and there is a gap in relation to understanding the development of Chinese and Russian private schooling in a comparative context;

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<sup>11</sup> This study (Birzea 1994) traces the changes in education as a result of the state's educational policy in different countries and presents a broad vista of the changes occurring in the educational systems in a number of countries, including China and Russia. This is one of very few works that does not assume educational changes are a direct result of economic reforms.

- the origin and forces driving private schooling in transitional societies have not been widely investigated due to a lack of attention towards the cultural element of private schooling and global influence.

To explain the similarities and dissimilarities characteristics of private schooling in China and Russia, a cross-cultural comparative approach was chosen. In order to establish the cross-cultural characteristics of the comparative framework, several fieldwork trips in Beijing and Moscow were undertaken during 1999–2004.

### **Purpose of the fieldwork**

The data was collected during several trips to Beijing and Moscow with the specific purpose of visiting private schools. The visits to private schools revealed that:

- there is a need to survey the nature and origins of recent educational innovations in the schooling systems of Beijing and Moscow;
- there is a need to establish the comparative classification in relation to schools established, organised and run variously by family, economic interest groups, cooperative groups (including international), and individuals outside state-run system of education.
- the existing classifications of private schools are debatable due to (a) a different✓ understanding of the cultural boundaries of ‘a private school’ by local scholars, administrators of the schools, and government officials, and (b) a cross-cultural mismatch between a local configuration of ‘being private’ and the international experience regarding this phenomenon, as expressed in the English-speaking literature.

The examination of the available literature concerning the development of private schools in China and Russia, together with results of fieldwork (Beijing, 1999–2002; Moscow, 2000–2004) has revealed that the existing format of viewing the development of private schooling under the economic reforms or the guidance of the state is too restrictive and does not reflect the full complexity of this phenomena. Hence, this thesis involves a far more extensive contribution to the field of the comparative study of private schooling in a transitional society than previously attempted. The study includes the comparative chronological discourse of the political, economic and cultural events that have influenced the establishment and development of private schooling in China and Russia. It also offers a cross-cultural classification of private schools, operating in Beijing (1999–2003) and Moscow (2000–2004).

### **Main aims**

The main aim of this thesis is to analyse private schooling in Beijing and Moscow under different cultural, economic, and political characteristics, in order to establish the driving forces behind private schooling and to provide a contemporary cross-cultural classification. The conceptual complexity of the main aim of the thesis has been subdivided into the following areas:

- investigating private schooling in Beijing and Moscow;
- analysing the specific and common characteristics of private schooling in both cities to establish a cross-cultural classification of private schools;
- examining the role of the economic reforms, and the role of the state, in the process of educational transformation from state-controlled to market-driven education;
- investigating the impact of global forces in education on private schooling;
- comparing and contrasting the driving forces behind the development of private schooling in order to gain a better comprehension of the structural connection

between economic reform and education within a theoretical framework of Transition Theory.

### **Contribution to knowledge**

The theoretical part of this thesis seeks to understand educational transformation as an important element of Transition Theory. The research fills the gap on emerging social inequalities due to globalisation by providing a balance study of private schooling in a transitional society. This comparative analysis of private schooling provides an evaluative framework in order to overcome both the overemphasis on economic factors, and the failure to appreciate the influence of cultural and social changes during transition in general, and the changes in education in particular.

There are many important reasons to comprehend the puzzling kaleidoscope of the development of private schooling as a part of educational transformation in a transitional society. Firstly, it challenges us to recognise the range of driving forces behind the phenomenon of transition, and secondly, it gives international educators and managers, the necessary knowledge to understand the connecting mechanism of the different forms of international education across the globe. ✓

### **Significance of the study**

In contrast to previous understandings of the development of private schooling in China or Russia, seeing then as the result of economic reform, this study offers a fresh comparison of private schools based on the analysis of the socio-economic, political, and cultural dimensions. The comparative scope of the thesis is intended to stimulate debates about the nature of private education and the relationship between the economy,

culture, and politics. A comparative study on private schooling in China and Russia shows that understanding the development of private education in countries where the state once controlled all assets of education is a significant step towards comprehension of the transition. It has crucial importance not only because it challenges us to comprehend the range of driving forces behind the curtain of transition, but it also gives international educators and managers an insight into the newly emerging markets of education in these cities.

### **Main outcomes of the thesis**

The outcomes of the comparative analysis of private schooling in China and Russia demonstrate that:

- The transformation of education is expected to be the first and foremost component of Transition and originated beyond the economic enclosure. Framed into culturally distinctive forms, education transformation liberates those new ideas that become, in the first instance, a substantial part of education transformation and then extend to those economic reforms that liberate the market. The culturally framed mode of education transformation could predict the approaches towards economic reforms.
- Transformation of education appeared outside of margins of the implemented economic reform. The development of a concept of private schooling stems from a resolution of the conflict between the old norms of the socio-cultural institutional structures fastened to a command economy and the appearance of private schools, coinciding with the establishment of a market economy.
- The dynamic character and the flexible nature of each country's socio-cultural substructure permitted new elements to be absorbed by means of adapting them to the cultural context of each country. This process sets up a particular cultural



environment for re-shaping economic reforms according to the social and cultural profiles of the country-in-transition. It provides the explanation for the existing dissimilarities between characteristics of private schools operating in Beijing and Moscow.

- Operating within cultural boundaries, the development of private schooling should be understood in the wider context of social, cultural and political events. Globalisation in education has an immense impact on the restructuring process of the system of secondary education and has promoted common stages in private schooling – Diversification, Decentralization, Privatisation and Marketisation – and common forms of social tasks for education, educational culture, school programs, and schools' structure, and a relationship between educational organisation and parents.

## **Conclusion**

This Introduction has provided a brief review of the literature concerning the development of private schooling in China and Russia in order to ground this study. The main aim of the study is to contribute significantly to our understanding of the process of Transition. Whilst there is a substantial body of literature examining the development of private schools in China and Russia separately, there is no work providing a theoretical framing of private schooling in relation to Transition. Closing the existing gap a cross-cultural analysis of private schooling in China and Russia formulated the main theme of this study. Based on this comparative analysis of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow, this work has three main goals: (1) to present the contemporary cross-cultural classification of private schools; 2) to investigate and compare the

development of private schooling in these transitional countries; and 3) to comprehend the educational transformation in the entire process of Transition in general.

A number of questions and issues arise in evaluating the contribution of the development of private schooling within the Transition process. What do we mean by a private school in a state-run system of education? What role does private schooling seek to play? Do private schools differ in both societies, both in terms of objectives and operationally, from those found in developed Western capitalist economies? How can the system of private schools be different? Do they assist state-run schooling? Or vice versa? Is the development of private schooling in periods of economic reforms intended to be only economically driven? Should these differences be regarded as essentially economic or political? Is it the duty of the state to assist in the development of education? Or could the withdrawal of the state accelerate the establishment of private schools?

This thesis seeks to answer these questions in order to provide insights into the development of private schooling in transitional China and Russia by implementing the cross-cultural comparative approach. This approach is thus exploratory and should be read as an attempt to comprehend how the system of private schools in different countries challenges to mould their educational institutions to fit the social, cultural and economic characteristics in the era of globalisation.

# **CHAPTER 1**

## **PRIVATE SCHOOLING**

### **IN CHINA AND RUSSIA: PROBLEMS AND ISSUES**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents a detailed analysis of a range of problems, topics and issues discussed in the literature concerning private schooling in China and Russia. Debates in the literature on private schools in China and Russia illustrate that private schooling in transitional China and Russia is a relatively new phenomenon and remains a controversial topic.

The literature is characterised by variations in the use of sources and discrepancies of facts. Perspectives from different sources (including locally and internationally published research, media, government documents, and reports) were compared against each other for a better understanding of the cultural nuances of private schools in the two countries. This analysis of literature reveals a lack of cross-cultural comparative studies of private schooling in these societies and shows that works focused on private schooling in each country, are freighted with ambiguity. The researcher's ability to write, read and fluently speak in Chinese and Russian helped to comprehend the cross-cultural analyses of the literature that, in turn, assisted in framing this cross-cultural investigation of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow during fieldwork conducted between 1999–2004.

#### **1.1 The sources concerning private schooling in China and Russia**

The comparative analysis of the literature demonstrates that the re-appearance of private schooling in both countries is a relatively recent issue that dates back no earlier than the

middle of the 1990s. An analysis of secondary sources on private schooling in China and Russia shows that there are four kinds of sources, each emphasising different aspects and points of view.

The local literature dealing with the issues of private schooling in China and Russia embraces a wide spectrum of problems, which are not much evident in the comparative literature on private schooling in Russia (Bray and Borevskaya, 2001). In China, these discussions range from tuition fees (Zhu Y. 1994), the administration and management structure (Xianmin 1997), responsibilities in relation to the state (Kaixuan 1996), to the politicisation of Chinese private schools (Zou 1997). Scholars express concerns about the “political correctness of private schools” (Tiehua 1997), or discuss the social characteristics of private schools (Yimin 1996; Xu Z. 2001) along with the development of private schooling (Wen and Liu 2001). The role of the state as a main source of the development of private schooling received a particular attention (Zhao 1994; He and Zhang, 1996).

It should be stressed that the studies on Chinese schooling are less critical than those in the Russian literature. Instead, these studies take a practical approach toward the discussions of fees, structure and managements as a part of advertising campaign (Xia X. 1996; Xu Y. 1996). They gloss over some of the controversial incidents taking place in the system of ‘nongovernmental schools’ (Li L. 1996; Ma 1998; Yang D. 2000). This literature also has a strong emphasis on state involvement (Deng 1997) and even demands firm regulations over private schooling development (Kaixuan 1996; Yang H. 2001).

At the same time, internationally published works and studies have been focused mainly on the social and political aspects of changes occurring in the system of Chinese education (Cleverly 1991; Epstein 1991) and how these changes reflect the social and political life (Sautman 1995). Special attentions have been given to the origin of private schooling (Deng 1997; Mok 2003; Tang and Xiaoyu, 2000) and it has been concluded that economic development is the major source of private education in China (Mok 1997b). Scholars discussed the differences between the social characteristics of state-run education (Marr and Stanley 1999) and the different forms of privately-run education (Lin 1999).

An analysis of the international works published concerning Russian private schooling reveals a very limited number of studies providing obsolescent information (Sutherland 1998). The tendencies was noted towards generalisation and a political interpretation of changes occurred in education (Jones 1994). In some cases, bias deriving from the Communistic threat from the past, appeared in discussions over Russian education (Dunstan 1987; Farkas 1995). Although the diversification of schooling along with the stratification of Russian society have been highlighted (Dunstan 1992), the overall tone of international works on Russian schooling can be characterised as an effort of Western observers to understand how Russians are attempting to mould educational institutions to fit the peculiarities that are present in the Russian economy and political system.

An analysis of local works concerning private schooling in Russia reveals the dynamic character of these issues. At the beginning of the 1990s, the most important issue was social recognition of private schools (Dneprov, Lazarev and Sobkin, 1991; Eklof and Dneprov 1993; Matlack 1995). By the mid 1990s, the relationship between the state

and private schools became the most keenly debated topic (Belilovskajja 1998; Bolotov 1997; Dneprov 1998b; Losevskaja 1998; Melnikova 1995; Pervova and Gordon 1997). And by the beginning of the millennium, the advanced quality of delivered by private schools became a central to public discussions (Lisovskaya and Karpov, 2001). The stratified character of education in Russia (Gerber 2000) raised some questions, dealing with social inequality in education (Molodtsova 1998; Popkov 1998). Scholars began to express their concern about the social marginalisation of students in private schools (Tarasov 2000) and the unequal distribution of private schools across the country (Kashin 2004; Kroshin 2003).

It is interesting to note that different types of sources expressed dissimilar, and, in many cases, conflicting points of view towards private schooling. The sources associated with the official administrative bodies, – such as the Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation and the Department of General and Supplementary Education, – have been inclined towards a view that supports the bureaucratic and administrative control of private schooling (Luzhkov 1996; Ruvinskij 1995; Tezulina 1995).

At the same time, the sources associated with private schooling, such as the magazines *Chastnaja Shkola* (“Private Education”) and *Moskovskaja Shkola* (“Moscow’s Schools”), are focused on the practical issues of how to protect private schools against the state control. For a number of reasons, the information about fees, management, and financial structure, was not publicly released. It would appear that *glasnost* towards

private schooling was postponed for several years due to the specific financial assets of Russian private schools.<sup>1</sup>

## **1.2 Ambiguous character of statistics on private education and private schooling**

A comparative analysis of the literature demonstrates that the statistics on private education generally – and private schooling in particular – in China and Russia are incomplete and ambiguous. In both countries, the numbers of schools vary dependson one's sources. In relation to Chinese private schooling, depending on the type of source – official, independent or media –, these data suggested different number of private schools in Beijing, and in China overall.

For example, according to the Ministry of Education, by May 2004 China had more than 70,000 private schools, ranging from preliminary to higher education, with a total of 14.16 million students (*China Daily*, 26 March, 2004). But the media source *Xinhua News Agency* (21 May, 2004) stated that China at the same year had 10 million students attending 60,000 non-state schools. The private sector of education is growing and currently accounts for about 25 percent of China's total economy (*Xinhua News*, 21 May, 2004).

The World Bank Report “Research on Private Education Development in China” revealed a quite spectacular scope of private education in 2001 with 9,220,000 students enrolled at 56,274 private schools (World Bank Report, 2002: 18). However, the

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<sup>1</sup> In November, 27, 2000, the Russian e-media site *Vremia Novostej* made a transparent comment on a link between the financial origins of some private schools and their developers, who have got wealthy and became rich, not always in accordance to the Law (*Vremia Novostej*, 27 November, 2000).

Education, Science, Culture and Health Committee of the National People’s Congress stated that in China by the end of 2000, 6.93 million registered students were enrolled in about 54,000 private schools (World Bank Report 2002).

According to a report published in *Zhonguo Xinwen She* (China News Service, 15 May, 2000), 3.1 million students (1.5 per cent of the total student population) were enrolled in 45,000 privately-run schools accredited by the state.<sup>2</sup> The table below illustrates the disagreement on the statistical data across different sources in relation to the private sector of education.

**Table 1.1 Varied Official Data on Private Sector of Education Provider:**  
**China, 1999 – 2001**

Source and Year	Preschool	Primary	Secondary	Vocational	Higher Institution	Total
(1)	44,317	4,341	3,316	999	43	54,298
(2)	45,663	2,000	2,000	300	37	50,000
(3)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	45,067

Note: n/a is not available

Sources: Combined by I. Vasilenko from: (1) *China Educational Daily* (12 May, 2001); (2) State Statistics Bureau of China (1999); and (3) *Guangming Daily* (1 February, 2001).

<sup>2</sup> The same figure appeared in *China Youth Daily* (15 May, 2000) that published the statistics of the Department of Development Planning of the Ministry of Education (1999), mentioning 45,000 private schools (including education agencies without eligibility of conferring certificate or diploma from kindergarten to college but excluding agencies for vocational training) were operating in different regions of China.



The discrepancies regarding private schooling numbers in China can be found in the official statistics, media, and academic research. The statistical data released in the year 1993 by the State Education Commission revealed that there were more than 30,000 non-governmental schools in the country, including 4,880 non-governmental schools at the elementary and middle school levels (Survey of the Current Situation of non-governmental Elementary and Middle Schools in Seven Provinces and Municipalities 1996). In 1996, Kaixian (1996) disclosed a figure of more than 20,000 different nongovernmental schools and kindergartens, and included in these figure were 700 middle schools, enrolling a total of 130,000 students and nearly 900 elementary schools with 50,000 students.

In June, 1994, the Chinese News Agency holding *Xinhua* reported that there were more than 40,000 private schools in China, including 16,990 kindergartens, 4,030 primary schools, 851 middle schools (*Xinhua News Agency*, 17 June, 1994) representing just less than four per cent of the 960,653 schools across the country.

The researchers revealed different data on private schools in 1996: 1,200 private schools (Ling 1996), 500 registered full-time private elementary/middle schools (Zhongkui 1996), over 30,000 private schools (Bi 1996), and 1,000 full-time private schools (He and Zhang, 1996). The ambiguous figures concerning private schools relate not only to the number of private schools in China,<sup>3</sup> but also to the number of private schools across Beijing.

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<sup>3</sup> As Kwong (1996) noted, "these schools are important not because of their numbers but because they represent a retreat from state monopoly of education. This new form of educational provision represents the educational counterpart to private ownership and free enterprise in the economy" (Kwong, 1996: 1).

A “Survey of the Current Situation of Nongovernmental Elementary and Middle Schools in Seven Provinces and Municipalities, and Suggestions for Countermeasures” (1996) has found that in the year 1993, there were 17 private schools operating in Beijing. In addition, a survey among parents of students in private schools conducted in the same year, 1993, found that around a dozen private schools operated in Beijing (Zhao 1994).

Within two years the number of these schools had begun to grow. By 1995, it was indeed, progressive: 25 (Xia 1996), or 21 private schools in Beijing and 200 in China (Lai 1996) or 500 schools (Zhu G. 1996). According to the *Xinhua News Agency* (16 March, 2004), in 1995 there were about 20 private schools in Beijing. By 1997 Beijing had 41 general secondary private schools with 16,410 enrolled students versus 735 government schools with 626,208 students (Tsang 2001).

How many private schools are currently operating in Beijing is still not clear. In 2004, media sources give conflicting figures, ranging from more than 1,000 private schools (*International Daily*, 5 November, 2004) to more than 2,000 - with over one million students (*Xinhua News Agency*, 16 March, 2004).

With regards to Russian private schooling, there is a noticeable deficiency in the data available, compared to the quantity of information on Chinese private schooling, due to the fact before 1995 no official information released on the number of Russian private schools (Dneprov 1995). The literature on private schooling in Russia is also compromised by the controversies that bedevil the non-government system of education

in that country. According to the official statistics,<sup>4</sup> there are 4,200 educational institutions in the Russian system of education representing all various types of education. In Moscow alone, there are more than 1,800 preschool institutions, 1,307 primary and secondary schools of various types, 211 vocational educational institutions, 183 supplementary tertiary institutions, 466 institutions of various profiles - providing pedagogical, psychological, social, and medical support for youngsters - more than 200 non-state educational institutions, and one pedagogical university. Russia has 570 tuition-charging private schools, comprising 0.8 per cent of general secondary education, with an enrolment of about 0.2 per cent of the total number of students, versus 64,000 state-run schools (Filippov 2000).

The diverse forms of state-run education have been systematically reported since 1991.<sup>5</sup> However, statistics on private schools began to be released much later. The main reasons for such silence on private schooling included its rapid growth, its comparative novelty, the hostility in public opinions, and the obstructionism of bureaucrats. According to Rutkevich (1997), in 1995/1996, 45,000 students (0.8 per cent) of non-government educational institutions chose fee-paid education in 525 non-state educational institutions making up 8.2 per cent of the total number of schools (Rutkevich 1997).

All sectors of education face the same ambiguities in their data. For example, in 1998 the tertiary sector of education, according to Cherednichenko (2000), comprised 388

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<sup>4</sup> Statistics facts and figures extracted from the Russian text by “*Narodnoie obrazovanie*”. (*Moskovskoje obrazovanie: tsifry i fakty*”, *Narodnoie obrazovanie*, 1997), a publication of the Russian Federation Ministry of Education and the Pedagogical Society of Russia.

<sup>5</sup> According to the former Minister of Russian Education, in 1991, there were only 100 gymnasia in Russia; in 1998, there were 1013. As for lycei, from 20 during the same period their number has increased by 550 (Filippov, 2000: 90).

non-state-run educational institutions across Russia.<sup>6</sup> However, the data on the private higher institutions in 1995 three years earlier released by Woodard (1995) estimated 400 private institutions. However, the data released by Matlack (1995) indicated that almost 300 new privately-run Russian educational organisations had been licensed to operate in 1995.

Just as the number of higher privately-run institutions in Russia is ambiguous, so the number of private schools is also unclear. Drawing upon official data, Filippov (2000), reported that 600 non-state schools were operating in Russia with a total attendance of more than 50,000 students. According to *Vremia Novostej* (17 November, 2000), there were 550 privately-run schools across Russia. This number was repeated by the radio station *Svoboda* (Radio Svoboda 2004) on 18 September, 2004. Table 1.2 presents the ambiguity of the varied data on private sector of education in Russia.

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<sup>6</sup> Ms. Galina Cherednichenko works at the Centre for Sociology of Education and Youth, at the Institute Sociology of Russian Academy of Science (ISRAS). Analysing the diverse forms of Russian education, Cherednichenko established that “by the 1997-1998 school year, there were 36,200 daytime secondary schools in operation, including 7,000 schools offering ‘intensive’ instruction, along with 657 lyceum (446,000 students), 1,034 gymnasiums (386,000 students) and 368 non-state-run educational institutions” (Cherednichenko, 2000:8).

**Table 1.2 Varied Data on Private Education: Russia, 1994- 2004**

Year	Secondary School numbers	Higher Institution Numbers	Total Number of students
1995/1996	525 (2)	400 (4) 300 (5)	45,000 (2)
1997	570 (1)	N/A	N/A
1997/1998	N/A	388 (3)	N/A
2000	600 (6) 700 (8)	N/A	50,000 (6)
2002	600 (6)	240 (9)	56,000 (9)
2004	550 (10)	N/A	N/A

Note: N/A – not available

*Sources:* Combined by I.Vasilenko from (1) “*Moskovskoje obrazovanie: tsifry I facty*”, *Narodnoie obrazovanie* (1997), a publication of the Russian Federation Ministry of Education and the Pedagogical society of Russia; (2) Rutkevich (1997); (3) Cherednichenko (2000); (4) Woodard (1995); (5) Matlack (1995); (6) Filippov (2001); (7) Derzhinskaja' and Poroshinskaja (1999); (8) *Vremia Novostej* (17 November, 2000); (9) *Radio Svoboda* (18 September, 2004); (10) *Vremia Novostej* (2 October, 2004).

How many private schools now operate in Moscow? The Department of General and Supplementary Education in Moscow (Derzhinskaja and Poroshinskaja 1999) stated that in 1999, in Moscow alone, already 240 private schools offered a fee-paying education for 16,000 students, and there were 5118 teachers in private schools. However,

according to the *Vremia Novostej* (News Time) by 18 December, 2000, only 97 non-government schools had received accreditation from the state.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, just like Chinese private schooling in Beijing, the literature on the Russian private schooling has failed to give a convincing answer to this question.<sup>8</sup> At present, many of these figures should probably be regarded as no more than approximation.

### 1.3 Location of private schools

This analysis of the literature on private schooling in China and Russia reveals that there are few works and studies that analyse the issue of the proportion of private schooling. In China, higher education and senior and middle schooling are located in provinces and municipalities with well-developed economies, such as Beijing, Shanghai, Shaanxi, Zhejiang and Liaoning (Wang and Zhou, 2002). While on the other hand, most of those engaged in compulsory education are doing their business in the less developed and populous central and west China (Wang D. 1997). However, a more recent investigation of private schools in underdeveloped economic areas (Tooley 2004) shows that there is a significant number of private schools, *minban xuexiao*, in the rural and remote provinces. At the same time, Tang X. and Xiaoyu W. (2000) indicated that the majority of private schools are located in the costal regions. Moreover, as Tsang (2000) noticed, that some neighbouring areas, such as Beijing and Tianjin, exhibit a different pattern of private schools.

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<sup>7</sup> According to Derzhinskaja' and Poroshinskaja (1999: 43), 94 secondary schools received the state's *akkreditatsia* (an official permission for educational activities), but according to the Ministry of Education (Fillipov 2000), 70 schools have an official permission for delivering secondary education given by the state.

<sup>8</sup> However, according to data released by A. Moiseev, Director of Non-government Association in Moscow, in the interview with *Radio Svoboda*, in the country currently there are around 550 non-government schools, and the half of them are located in Moscow alone and come to the figure of 240-250 schools *Radio Svoboda* (18 September, 2004).

The distribution of private schools in Russia is very uneven and most of Russian private schools are concentrated in Moscow. The growth of private schools in Moscow was reported by the former Minister of Education (Filippov 2000). The majority of private schools are mostly located in Moscow due to the purely market-oriented character of supplementary education<sup>9</sup> and represents the much higher quality of education compared to the state-run schools (Rutkevich 1997). These schools became famous as schools for a high standard and extremely luxurious facilities (Derzhinskaja and Poroshinskaja, 1999). At the same time, it was noted that in the provincial regions private schools suffer due to a shortage of the market's demands, and struggle to survive (Kashin 2004; Kroshin 2003). It was suggested, that differences in the population's income could be a reason behind this uneven distribution of private schools and regional differences (Darinskii 1998).

#### **1.4 Definition of private schooling**

Since the early 1980s, when a number of non-government educational institutions appeared in China, the confusion over the terminology 'private school' was the subject of debate and discussions among Chinese educators.<sup>10</sup> There are many synonyms for 'private schools', operating in the literature concerning private schooling in China:

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<sup>9</sup> "[C]onstituting a direct continuation of the private schools (representing the commercial sector in the system of education) are the "tuition slots" in state-run institutions of higher learning (8.2 percent of the enrolment in 1994; 27.6 percent in economic and juridical specialties) and the commercial institutions of higher learning. The location of the nonstate educational institutions is quite instructive. There are 240 of them in Moscow alone - that is, more than 45 percent of the total number - versus 53 in St.Petersbourg and 60 in Moscow Oblact; in twenty-five regions of the Russian Federation there is not a single one, and in 18 there are only one or two each. This uneven distribution of private schools is largely due to regional differences in the population's income." (Rutkevich, 1997: 16).

<sup>10</sup> As Lai (1996) points out, "the sponsors are sometimes called societal forces, popular forces, or private individuals. Correspondingly, the schools are called people-run schools, private schools or people-run private schools. A few call themselves public schools or tastelessly flaunt themselves as 'elite schools'. Some leave out the 'people-run' or 'private' in their name altogether. Sometimes the term 'people-run' appears in the title of the book, article, or document but not in the text; the schools examined conform more with the private school concept (Lai, 1996: 7-8).

*minban* (LaRocque and Jacobsen, 2000), “nongovernment schools” (Gao 1997; Kaixuan 1996), “public schools” (Guoyu 1996), “elite schools” (Hou 1993), “people-run schools” (Lin 1994; Qu Y. 2001; Wang C. 2002), “private individual-run schools” (Hu R. 1997), “private schools” (Hu Y. 1994; Lai 1996), “parents’ choice schools” (Tsang M. 2001,) and “schools established by societal forces” (Li W. 1996). As Kwong (1996) mentioned, “private schools in China are known by a variety of names – “people-run- schools”, “schools run by societal societies”, “private individual-run schools” or simply “private schools”.<sup>11</sup>

For instance, the analysis of the “List of People-Run Schools and Kindergartens in Beijing” (1993) demonstrated that eleven out of twenty one listed schools had the word ‘private’ in their names, such as *Beijing Znengze Private Secondary School* and *Beijing Huacheng Private Secondary School*. Only two schools had *minban* (people-run) in their names, namely, *Tongxian County Jingye Minban Secondary School* and *Beijing Qimeng Minban School*. The rest of the schools contain neither the word *minban* (people-run) nor ‘private’ and prefer the impartial *zhonxue xuexiao* (a secondary school). To elevate their status to imply a national level, some schools intentionally cap their name with such words as *Zhonghua* (China); others include words ‘province’, ‘city’, or ‘country’ to give people the impression that they are government-related schools.

The CPC officials make the attempt to regulate the mosaic of terms referring to private schooling. Zhu Kaixuan, Chairman of the State Education Commission, had stated that

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<sup>11</sup> “The use of these different terms in China reflects the confusion surrounding these schools. These labels apply not only to private schools as we know them in West, but traditionally they have been used for schools run by enterprises, factories, work brigades, and other social organization. What sets these schools apart from the public ones is that they are not run directly by educational department” (Kwong, 1996: 3).



besides schools run by the government, different parties, social groups, collectively owned organizations, and individual citizens have also begun to establish different types of schools. It was agreed that now all these schools will be called by the general term of nongovernmental (people-run) schools ( Zou 1997).

However, Lai (1996) suggests that all schools directly funded, maintained, and managed by state agencies (the government) (including schools established by the state and by local governments) should be called public schools. All schools financed by state-owned enterprises or undertakings owned by the whole people, or by collectively owned enterprises and undertakings (including rural and grassroots social organizations) with legal person status should be called 'people-run schools' (Lai 1996).

There are several reasons behind such varied understanding of the private schools definitions. The first reason has a political connotation that is associated with difficulties to adjust the 'capitalistic' phenomenon to the officially run political platform of CPC. The second reason has the social base of a sort of negative perception of any non-collective activities that were inherited from the Cultural Revolution. The third reason deals with the dynamic character of the private schools' development and its constantly changing forms. Finally, a cross-cultural translation *sili xuexiao*, *minban xuexiao*, *helide xuexiao*, *guoyi minban xuexiao* from Chinese into other languages can also mislead the definition<sup>12</sup>. This confusion reflects not only in describing this phenomenon but also reflects the confusion over the concept behind these schools. Hence, the clarification of the term 'private school' in the state-run system of education of a transitional society will be one of the purposes conducted by this study.

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<sup>12</sup> Depending on the context, *xuexiao* could be translated as (1) a school; (2) schooling and (3) an educational institution.

The analysis of the literature concerning Russian private schooling shows that although the concept of private education is understood as an alternative type of education to the state-run one (Round Table 2004), there are several ambiguous names for private schools. Whilst Western scholars employ “private school” ( Jones A. 1994) and only in few cases “alternative schools” (Kerr 1998), Russian educators use the varied definitions: *autorskaja skola* (school of new ideas) (Egorova 1995), *nekomercheskaja shkola* (non-commercial school) (*Chastnaja shkola*, 1995), *nezavisimaja shkola* (independent school) (Cheidvasser and Hugo, 2000), *negosudarstvennoje obrazovatelnoie uchrezhdenie* (non-government educational organization) (Derzhinskaja and Poroshinskaja, 1999), or *negosudarstvennaja shkola* (a non-government school) (Bella 2003). Furthermore, the parallel use of *chastnoje obrazovanie* (private education) (Matlack 1995) and *negosudarctvennoje obrazovanie* (non-government education) (Melnikov 1999) are the most popular definitions circulating in the Russian literature. This diversity reflects the difficulties of Russian society to adjust the concept of private education to the new social environment of free market education. But it is also possible that it is a way to follow the changing nature of private schooling. This study expects that the further examination of private schooling in Moscow will exhibit considerable variation in order to clarify the boundaries of social acceptance of this new type of schooling.

### **1.5 Social attitudes towards private schooling**

The analysis of the literature demonstrates that transitional China and Russia display an inadequate attitude towards private schooling and shows that these societies have mixed responses towards private schooling in Beijing and Moscow.

Despite the long history of private schooling since Confucius's 'three thousand disciples and seventy sages' written an illustrious page of Chinese cultural history<sup>13</sup>, the modern Chinese society expresses mixed responses towards the resurrection of private schooling after the Cultural Revolution. Looking at the current situation of private schools in China, scholars note a confusion among Chinese people, "both in thinking and in the system"(Gao, 1997: 59), and as Yimin (1996) noted, some "people are prejudiced against private schools , some praise them, some of them are advocating restriction or prohibition, some advocate encouragement and nurturing" (Yimin, 1996: 10).

A survey conducted in Beijing in 1993 shows that 89 per cent of parents were concerned about non-governmental schools; 69 per cent considered the development of such schools necessary; 62 per cent thought such schools should provide high quality education and possess unique features; and 18.7 per cent thought the people who ran the schools charged high rates for the purpose of making money and hence the government should forbid it; 26.7 per cent thought tuition should not be the main source to deal with the shortage of school funding; 88 per cent of the parents did not plan to send their kids to non-governmental schools (Yimin 1996). According to *China Education Daily* (5 November, 1999), 89.8 per cent of the 1,000 informants supported the development of minban schools at the compulsory education level, and 94.9 per cent of informants supported the development of other minban institutions.

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<sup>13</sup> As Xu Z. (2001) noted, the history of non-government education and private schooling in China has several thousand years and can be traced back to the Spring and Autumn Period. Private schools throughout the Tang, Song, Ming, and Qing dynasties became one of the most glorious chapters of the Chinese educational history and greatly contributed to Chinese education, culture, and philosophy. At the end of the Qing dynasty, when the imperial exam system was abolished and a growth of private schooling schools reached its great height, the dual sector of education was completed.

Some scholars (Boxian 1996; Yang H. 2001) believe that the rise of private schools in transitional China is a positive outcome and should be supported due to the significant impact on all spheres of the social and economic life.<sup>14</sup> Although the existence of private schools was broadly acknowledged in Chinese society, Zhongkui (1996) noted a cold attitude toward private schools. The varying degrees of prejudice, which are held against them, are a reason they fail to conduct their business.

Based on the analysis of the literature concerning the negative perception of private schools in China, the reasons behind negative opinions towards private schooling can be summarised into the following: (1) private schools are not paying enough attention to the lawful rights of clients (Wang J. 2001); 2) a failure to meet the basic requirements of education (Survey of the current situation of nongovernmental elementary and middle schools in seven provinces and municipalities, 1996); 3) making profit (Zhang Z. 1994); 4) a lack of qualified teachers and management structure (Zhu Y. 1994). In the absence of detailed regulation of charging fees in private schools, a high fee charged by the majority of private schools was the most debatable topic that disturbed the public (Bi 1996) .

In Russia, the rapid development of private schooling in the 1990s provoked debates on privatisation in education (Adamskij 1998; Dneprov 1998b) and legal contradictions of private schools' functioning (Lisovskaya and Karpov, 2001). It caught the Russians between two controversial attitudes: honouring private schooling (Kainova 2001; Round

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<sup>14</sup> "First, they mobilize different quarters to expand education. Second, they provide competition for public education, thereby pushing education forward. Third, they offer first-rate education and get top results, thus providing a realistic economic foundation for raising the country's educational level. Fourth, diversification in education turns out diverse types of talents" (Boxian, 1996:45).

Table 2004) and refusing to approve (Kostukov 1997). Apart of a small but financially influential group of Russians who support private schooling (Gerber 2000), according to Mihailov (1995), in 1995 the majority of the Russian population (78 per cent) disapproves of private education. Mikhailov (1995) explains the existing controversy in opinions by the opposition of a small percentage of rich Russians who can afford to pay for education versus the majority of the Russian population whose ability to pay for education is limited.<sup>15</sup>

One of the first surveys on Russian private education (Moscow Institute of Sociology 1992) established that the dynamics of public acceptance and an attitude towards private education are very complicated processes. Mikulsky (1996) in his work disclosed the results of a public survey conducted by the Moscow Institute of Sociology in 1992. This survey demonstrated that 15.8 per cent said 'yes' to privatisation in education, and 49.7 per cent welcomed partial privatisation in the form of additional paid services. Feeling against private education was 33.5 per cent and in the year of 1992 only one percent had difficulties in exposing their opinions on private schooling (Mikulsky 1996). However, a similar survey in 1994 reveals that the positive attitude towards private education decreased to 5.2 per cent. Only 46.7 per cent were agreed with fees-paid system in the schools.

At the same time, the percentage of the population opposing private education increased to 44.7 per cent, and 3.5 per cent indicated their confusion over the development of private schooling (Lapina 1995). Therefore, within two years, there were less supporters

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<sup>15</sup> There is very significant difference on opinion regarding private schooling in works published in English and in Russian. Source in English are positively open towards changes in education (Deroek 1988; Dunstan 1992; Farkas 1995) whilst the works published locally in Russian intent to resist the rapid changes (Konstantinovskii and Khokhlushkina, 2000; Krichevskii 1997; Litvinova 1995).

of private education and the nostalgia for free of charge education had certainly increased among the Russian population.

Thus, the analysis of the attitude and different opinions towards private schooling reflect ambiguity related to the recognition of private schooling in both societies. The dynamic character of the development of private schools requires the further exploration of this topic that will benefit a comprehension of private schools in Beijing and Moscow.

### **1.6 Relationship between private and state-run schools**

The literature on relationships between the state-run schools and private schooling in China and Russia shows a greater concern among Chinese scholars, who disclosed a range of opinions that can be summarised: as private schools 1) are in competition with the state-run schools (Tiehua 1996)<sup>16</sup>; 2) are playing the secondary role to the state-run schooling (Cheng K. 1993)<sup>17</sup>; 3) are sharing some of the state's tasks in basic education on the basic level (Survey of the current situation of nongovernmental elementary and

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<sup>16</sup> "The resurfacing and development of private schools provided competition and applied pressure to public schools, giving the latter a sense of crisis in their survival and development, thus motivating them to deepen reform, improve efficiency, and improve educational quality, making it possible to move from "uniformity" to "plurality" (Tiehua, 1996: 32).

<sup>17</sup> "Compared to public schools, their teaching content, curricula, teaching materials and methods are no different from the teaching outline announced by the State Education Commission. The evaluation and test standards of graduates and higher-level school entrance exams are also consistent with those of public schools. In such major matters as direction, policies, goals and educational principles, they are essentially the same as public schools. Administratively, they, too, accept the leadership and supervision of educational agencies at relevant levels. In short, private schools must also observe the laws, regulations and policies of socialist education. Strictly speaking, they should do so even more conscientiously and design education, teaching and scientific research plans and programs more realistically to meet the needs of social development. They should seek survival on the strength of quality and development through acquiring their own special characteristics, only so can they keep themselves in the competition" (Cheng K., 1993:38).

middle schools in seven provinces and municipalities 1996), and 4) are providing the example of advanced education for the state-run schools (Zhongkui 1996)<sup>18</sup>.

There was also concern about the elitist developments<sup>19</sup> in private schooling, occurring in Chinese education around the end of the 1990 (Kaixian 1996). The appearance of elite schools stirred up the Chinese society and disclosed controversial opinions, fluctuating from a criticism (Cheng K. 1994) to an enthusiastic welcome of elite schools (Xia 1996). The rise of elite schools was seen as the continuation of Chinese traditions in education (Qiu 1997),<sup>20</sup> but at the same time, it was considered as a great risk to the state-run schools (Guangyu 1997).<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> "Some of the operation modes of private schools have provided practical experience and models for the reform of existing public schools. The wellspring of private school existence and development is meeting the needs of members of society for education and the needs of enterprises for talented employees. This point has already become the common ground of private schools of all types and at all levels. They base their direction of development on social demand and make adjustments accordingly. They have shown unique flexibility in actively seeking social participation. By charging fees for education, private schools have established a barometer for compensated education by measuring how well society can bear and accept it financially and mentally. The biggest advantages of private schools are that such schools enjoy the status of independent legal persons and can set up a board of directors and a school affairs committee system, possess a high degree of autonomy in handling personnel and finances, implement their own faculty-hiring system and flexible wage system, and have close ties with society. Public school reform would do well to study and learn from all this" (Zhongkui, 1996: 45).

<sup>19</sup> "We are worried, however, whether such schools will be able to implement the state's educational policy in an overall way, whether this is a good way to educate children, and whether such a school environment and mode of education will help them grow up into successors to the cause of socialism. We feel that, no matter how superior the conditions or how much money people pay for it, the schools concerned must follow the socialist direction, implement the state's educational policy, and enable students to develop morally, intellectually, and physically in an all-round way. Any deviations should be corrected. This matter not only concerns the students and their parents but also our country's future. The State Education Commission is presently closely scrutinizing and studying this issue, and we hope that people of all circles will also pay attention to and treat this matter with the seriousness it deserves" (Kaixuan, 1996: 85-86).

<sup>20</sup> "There is no correlation between elitist schools and the generation of the idle rich. If the schools are run in compliance with the state's educational policy, a superior environment can only develop students' potential and produce top-notch people with all-around ability. Why shouldn't we have elite schools if they can follow in the footsteps of Cambridge and Oxford, Beida and Tsinghua, with their unique cultures and prestige" (Qiu, 1997: 20-23).

<sup>21</sup> "The fact that our country's current educational structure is uneven should be taken into account. In China, basic education is weak, while the present scale of higher education basically corresponds to economic development. Hence private higher education should not be vigorously developed at the present time similar attitude appears to wards the private tertiary schools" (Guangyu, 1997:52).

Kaixian (1996) indicated the official position of the state by clearly stating that the turning out of 'elitists' violated Chinese educational policy and was detrimental to the sound development of children and youths.

However, compared to China, Russian educators express their concerns regarding the elitist character of certain private schools (Bray and Borevskaya, 2001). However, the relationship between the state schools and private schooling disclosed an opposite tendency compared to China. Scholars note the independent character of the private schools (Nikiforova 2001) from the state and underline the minimum state involvement regarding curriculum (Savos'kin 1995). The relationship between the state and private schooling was analysed in terms of social demand for regulations (Melnikov 1999) and how private schools can assist in equilibrating the changing character of education (Lanzberg 1997). However, the role of the state in the process of the development of private schooling needs to be particularized.

### **1.7 Controversy on the types of private schools**

The analysis of the studies concerning the classification of private schooling in China and Russia indicates that both societies have difficulties in classifying private schools into the specific categories and struggle to find the optimal names for them. However, comparing the works concerning the classifications of private schools in China and Russia, it is necessary to note that the presented classifications in the Russian literature have more in common compared to the presented works on private schooling in China. In relation to private schools in China, there is no common ground for a classification.



The existing classifications in the Chinese literature are based on the different standards and use varied criteria that can be summarised in relation to: 1) the source of schools' funding; 2) the character of ownership; 3) the character of school management; and maintenance; 4) the character of social mobility, and 5) the status of the sponsors.

In Beijing, the "Regulation on Education Run by Social Forces" published in July 1987, justified two types of schools: (1) privately funded (or with the element of private financial resources) and (2) government funded. This document referred private schools to schools run by businesses and government organizations, social groups and other social organisations and individuals, using non-government educational financial resources. This classification was characterized as too general (Lai 1996).<sup>22</sup> Lai (1996) suggested three types of private schools but proposed to use different names: '*sili xuexiao*' (private schools), '*minban xuexiao*' (people-run schools), and others *xuexiao* (schools). However, Guangyu (1996) divided private schooling into (1) public, (2) nongovernmental [as in the original], and (3) strictly private categories because "it conforms [to] the Chinese realities and reflects better the characteristics of private schools" (Guangyu, 1996: 72). Some scholars proposed to consider the educational aims as the base for the classification (Ling 1996).

In regards to the diverse types of ownership, there are three major types of schools, namely, "public", "people-run", and "private" (Cleverley 1991). Kaixian (1996)

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<sup>22</sup> Jianhua Lai (1996) mentioned that some people want to divide into two categories: 'publicly run and privately run' or 'public and private' schools. Some advocated three categories: 'national, public, private' or 'state-run, publicly established', and 'people-run, or 'privately established' and 'people-run'. Lai (1996) wrote: "In our opinion, dividing into two is too general. In the first version of 'dividing into three', 'national' is a foreign import. In China, it is not appropriate with the difference between state and local government schools being negligible. The second version reflects China's realities better but still fails to differentiate between 'people-run' and 'private' or to reflect the particularity of 'private'". (Lai, 1996: 6-7).

identified three different models for the setting up of private schools: 1) schools set up privately with public assistance; 2) schools set up jointly by citizens; 3) and schools set up by individuals.<sup>23</sup>

According to the “Survey on the Current Situation of Non-governmental Elementary and Middle Schools in Seven Provinces and Municipalities” (1996), there are four main categories of private schools in China: 1. Private with public assistance; 2. Private with private enterprise assistance; 3. Established by the government but run by private citizens and 4. Privately run schools, or schools founded by one or more private citizens. The last category subdivided into a) schools established by one or more private citizens independently, b) schools owned by individual(s) but jointly operated by the individual(s) and another school or unit and c) schools jointly financed by a few shareholders or *elite* schools. This newly arrived type of *elite* schools stirred up the public debate and should be the subject of scrutiny and study, closely watched by the state (Ren 1996).

The position of *minban* schools in the system of Chinese schooling was also a subject of discussions (Deng 1997), but the characteristics of these government owned but people-run schools was still unclear (Tsang 2000).

Finally, by using the social mobility measurement, Lin (1999) recognises three major types of private schooling in China: elite private school, ordinary private schools and private universities. It was argued that each category can be divided into sub-categories based on students’ means of access, family background, curriculum, teaching methods

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<sup>23</sup> Zhu Kaixuan was the director of the State Education Commission in 1994, who presented the first systematic typology of private schools operating in China in his address to the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference in Beijing, in 1994.

and relation to the state and market. For instance, in connection to the state and market, there are 1) schools funded entirely by private funds, 2) private schools with public assistance, 3) government-run schools with private assistance, 4) state-owned but privately operated schools, 5) community schools, and 6) foreign-Chinese cooperative schools (Lin, 1999:11).

Therefore, the literature review disclosed that different scholars use different measurement and classification tools extracted from economic, social and cultural areas. Such diversity reflects the complexity of private schooling reality but does not provide a common ground for a classification. Moreover, the field study conducted in Beijing during 1999 and 2002 indicates that the range of schools in Beijing is more complicated. The new type of alternative schools involves semi-converted elements of the state-run, people-run and private-run schools, particularly effective in Beijing.<sup>24</sup>

Thus, the analysis of literature shows that it is quite difficult to distinguish between public and private property of private schools with their multiple channels of financing, management and official endorsement.

The classification of private schooling is also a subject of discussion dealing with a dynamic process of the educational transformation in Russia today, where the development of new alternative schools of different types, scope and orientation is less complex compared to China. Although the ambiguity in classification is still present, the literature on Russian private schooling in English presents fewer types of *negosudarstvennaja shkola* (non-government, private schooling) compared to the

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<sup>24</sup> Liang X. (2001) confirms the new tendency of expanding the diversification of finance and sources of schools and the appearance of a new type of converted schools.

Chinese system of private schooling. In fact, the state system of Russian schooling has two major elements: (1) a typical school, based on the old-fashioned model of education that was established under the state-control during the era of Communism; and (2) new types of schools, gymnasiums and lyceums, secondary schools with specialised classes (later they were re-named as colleges). These elements formed two interconnected subdivisions in the current state schools: general education and supplementary one (Filippov 2000).

Characterising supplementary education, Kerr (1995) differentiated<sup>25</sup> between *experimantal'naja shkola* (a specialized school), *litsei* (a lyceum) and *gimnazija* (an European gymnasium) as the main forms of new schooling.<sup>26</sup> Popkov (1998) recognised the following type of schools: "lyceum schools", "gymnasiums", and "colleges associated with higher educational institutions". To this list Cherednichenko (2000) added the "intensive instructions schools" (Cherednichenko, 2000: 8). These various labels denoting private schooling<sup>27</sup> reflect a personal preference between 'non-government' and 'private' and shows an attempt to be original on the market of private schooling rather than analysing characteristics of all type of schools. It seems that all

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<sup>25</sup> This differentiation is questionable due to the fact that the category of *experimantal'naja shkola* belongs to the state-run schooling system. These schools were established as the experimental schools in the end of the 1980s within the state-run system, the same as *litsei* (lyceum).

<sup>26</sup> "The ideas of differentiated instruction became widely appreciated and various types of educational institutions became widespread-lyceum schools, gymnasiums, colleges associated with higher education, intended for the purpose of forming a contingent of secondary schools graduates and future college students, preparing school students not only for their entrance examinations, but also for further education in an institution of higher learning, getting upper-grade students acquainted with the characteristics of future professions, and ultimately, launching the first stage of the formation of a future professional elite" (Kerr, 1995: 82-83)

<sup>27</sup> "*Autorskaja shkola*" (schools of the experimental curriculum) mentioned in Egorova (1995); traditional private forms of schooling, such as "*litsei*" (lyceum) referred in Ushakova (2000); and *gimnazija* in "*Moscowskoje obrazovanie: tsifry I facty*" (1997).

different types of private schools were embedded in the importance of supplementary education as an additional component to compulsory education (Filippov 2001).<sup>28</sup>

Thus, the literature review has disclosed that there is no common ground in any cross-cultural comparative analysis of private schooling in China and Russia. Whilst Chinese educators attempt to establish a classification of private schools based on various categories of economic, social or political boundaries, the Russian scholars focus on the type of curricula as the criterion for classifying of private schools. Therefore, the cross-cultural classification of private schools appears to be one of the major destinations of this research in order to establish both the common ground for the classification and categories of private schools in Beijing and Moscow. The cross-cultural classification of private schools in a transitional society is a major outcome of our investigation and will be discussed in Chapter 4.

### **1.8 Facilities, quality and cost of education in private schools**

The comparative literature review in relation to facilities, quality and cost of education of private schools in China and Russia disclosed that these topics were freely discussed in China, but only selected topics were in public view in Russia. Although the high standard of facilities and quality of education were highlighted in the Russian literature, information about the cost of education in Russian private schools was lacking.

Regarding the Chinese private schools, it was established that there is a great deal of opinion praising the excellent facilities in some private schools, such as in *Private Guangya Elementary School* in Dujiangyan (Sichuan), and *Jinghua* in Beijing (Yimin

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<sup>28</sup> Supplementary education refers to the flexible types of curriculum delivered by the non-government schools that gives to a student freedom of choosing the subjects (Filippov, 2001: 22).

1996)<sup>29</sup>, *Private Xinshiji Elementary School* and *Dalian Jicai School* (Xia 1996)<sup>30</sup>, *Jinghua Private Elementary School* and *Private Zhengze Middle School* in Beijing, *Guangya Private School* and *Bowen Elementary School* in Guangdong (Ling 1996)<sup>31</sup> to a concern about poor conditions of the majority of private schools (Xu Z. 2002).

However, it was noted that some ‘elite’ private schools, indeed, have superior facilities compared to the majority of state-run schools, but, at the same time, such necessary conditions like gas and water supply and telephone connection are not installed (Boxian 1996). The scholars (He and Zhang, 1996) called for assistance to private schools because “existing private schools generally have relatively crude conditions” and “virtually all are woefully inadequate in school buildings and equipment” and “[w]hile we naturally wish they could depend on their own strength, we realize that everything needs a process of development, and at the initial stage, in particular, they need outside assistance to help and foster them” (He and Zhang, 1996: 42).

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<sup>29</sup> “They have up-to-date teaching instruments and equipment, libraries, nice campuses. In the Private Guangya Elementary School in Dujiangyan, Sichuan, classrooms are installed with imported air-conditioners and are equipped with pianos, computers, and large-screen TVs; in the dormitories, there are Simmons mattresses on the beds, as well as private showers and bathrooms. Yang’en College in southern Fujian has fourteen buildings for classes and a first-rate athletic field. It covers 3,000 *mu* of land. All these are excellent material guarantees for studies” (Yimin, 1996: 10).

<sup>30</sup> “Besides strong faculties, these schools are well equipped with computer rooms, piano rooms, gyms, large-screen cable TV in the classrooms, and ultraviolet lamps in the dormitories. Some hire child care workers, dietitians and security personnel” (Xia, 1996: 23).

<sup>31</sup> “[To] achieve their goal, many private schools are backed up by strong faculties: teachers with at least a Bachelor’s degree from such well-known schools as Beijing University and Beijing Normal University with teaching experience; English is taught by teachers from the United States; the teacher-student ratio is 1:5 compared to 1:10 in public schools, with luxurious living and studying conditions including computer rooms, piano rooms, language labs, fitness rooms, TVs, and central air-conditioning in dormitories that are equipped with ultra-violet sterilizing lamps and staffed with child care teachers and nutritionists” (Ling, 1996: 10).

The analysis of the literature on the cost of education in Chinese private schools shows wide brackets of figures.<sup>32</sup> It was underlined that the status of being an elite schools gives the priority to charge annual fees of the astronomical kind for ordinary people with the figure of 200,000 *yuan* (approximate US\$ 25, 000) at the *Private Chaoneng International School* in Huizhou (Guangdong Province) (Ling 1996). At the same time, the *Kuang Liangzhi Junior High School* in Bazhong County (Sichuan Province) charges 70 *yuan* (approximate US\$ 10) per student per semester (Zhu G. 1996). The arrangement of paying fees is also flexible and depends on the policy of the school (Gao 1997). According to Ling (1996), the *Jinghua Private Elementary School*, which appeared almost at the same time as the Guangya School, charges 13,500 *yuan* per student for a year for tuition and expenses, in addition to a one-time, school-construction fund of 30,000 *yuan*. As high as these rates are, they pale by comparison with the *Guangzhou's Yinghao Middle School*. Admitted students pay a one-time educational savings fund of 150,000 *yuan*; they are charged at the rate of 12 per cent of 150,000 per year for regular teaching costs. When students graduate, the 150,000 *yuan* is returned (Ling 1996).

There is no clear understanding about the fees charging policy in private schools operating in Beijing. The results of the “Survey of the Current Situation of Nongovernmental Elementary and Middle Schools in Seven Provinces and Municipalities”(1996) show that the normal charges are from 800 to 1,200 *yuan* per

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<sup>32</sup> “In the 1992 school year, the nongovernmental Guangya Elementary School of Chengdu, Sichuan, collected a one-time financing fee of 18,000 *yuan* as well as 4,200 *yuan* of tuition and expenses. At Beijing's nongovernmental Jinghua (boarding) School, each pupil has to contribute 30,000 *yuan* upon admission in addition to 10,000 tuition and expenses. In Shanghai, nongovernmental schools' admission fees are standardized at 2,000 each for senior high, 1,600 for junior high, and 1,200 for primary school. Nongovernmental schools located in rural areas charge comparatively less. The Guomin Middle School in Nanle County, Henan Province, charges each boarding student 200 *yuan*; the nongovernmental Kuang Liangzhi Junior High School in Bazhong County, Sichuan Province, only charges 70 *yuan* per student. The big differences in fees have given rise to the particularity of student groups in different schools as well as gaps in the number and size of student sources” (Yimin, 1996:15).

semester per student. But, at the same time, some Beijing elementary/middle schools have the policy of 'contribution' of a sum of 1,000 *yuan* monthly; others accept a one-time 30,000- to 50,000-*yuan* 'contribution' in the name of 'special favoured treatment' or 'special considerations' (Xianmin 1997). Thus, the literature reveals there are no regulations on the subject of the cost of private schooling and the market mechanism determines the private schooling cost.

A puzzling situation is apparent in relation to the quality of human resources of private schooling in China. According to the "Survey of the Current Situation of Nongovernmental Elementary and Middle Schools in Seven Provinces and Municipalities" (1996), among the 17 schools in Beijing, only a few are run by truly experienced professionals. He and Zhang (1996) have noted that the majority of teachers in these schools are currently retired educational workers from public schools. This situation has a double effect: the retirees have rich experience in educational practice, but a fairly large percentage are elderly and physically weak and cannot do all that they want to do (He and Zhang, 1996). Aging teachers, frequent changes of the teaching staff, instability, and lack of successors in the ranks of teachers are major problems in private schools (Tiehua 1997). Therefore, teaching staff management is a great concern faced by all private schools<sup>33</sup> that affects the quality of delivered curriculum to the students.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> "A major problem that private schools face is the management of teachers. At present, the majority of teachers in private schools are retired elderly teachers. Because of their age, they are different from younger teachers--they can't learn new things as easily, and in some areas, they are just unable to do what they want. Part-time teachers are also limited in the energy they can devote to us, and constantly changing teachers makes it hard for a school to build up its own teaching system. In short, without its own, younger, and full-time teachers, the cause of private schools cannot hope to have greater development" (Wei and Ji, 1996:100).

<sup>34</sup> "It is necessary improve skills in order to keep pace with social development in these changing times and, on the other, that the traditional educational system and contents of teaching have to change, that the operational mode and concepts of regular schools must be adjusted and changed, and that the quality of



There are a few opinions in relation to the curriculum implementation in the private schools. One is that the market affects the character of a curriculum and establishes the margins of subjects (He and Zhang 1996).<sup>35</sup> At the same time, there is an opposite opinion that private schools run the identical curriculum with the state-run schools (Guangyu 1996)<sup>36</sup> and many private schools have no unique characteristics and closely resemble public schools (Zhongkui 1996).

Discussing the problems faced by private schools, there is a tendency to accentuate the conditions of schools, but not the quality of educational programs (Cheng K. 1993). In particular, attention was given to boarding schools and their inability to overcome the problem of being isolated from society (Zhang and Ji, 1996).

Thus, the insufficient performance of aging staff, a lack of consensus on the position, the role and significance of private schools in social life are not the only problems faced by Chinese private schools. Serious sluggishness in legislation, ambiguous boundaries in management functions, incomplete management bodies and lack of regulation of

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basic education for the next generation must be improved so that they may have a better chance in future social development and competition." (Bi, 1996: 23-38).

<sup>35</sup> "[P]rivate schools have a relatively large measure of autonomy. They are not bound hand and foot and enjoy less unnecessary interference. They can enrol students, hire teachers, and select teaching materials on their own, thus carrying out reform in mode of school, curricula establishment, method of enrolment, wages of teachers, etc. In internal management, they have the clear-cut characteristic of being committed to improvement. The Shanghai Xinshiji School has only forty-five teachers and seven service personnel. The Yangbo Senior High School and Elementary School have even fewer people: four each of teachers and service personnel. Everyone has several jobs. The Shanghai Qianjin Spare Time Advanced Studies College has fewer than 20 management personnel taking care of 1,600 students. The rapid development of nongovernmental private schools shows that reform of the educational management system and gives all types of schools (including public schools) a great autonomy." (He and Zhang, 1996: 45).

<sup>36</sup> "Traditional Chinese education focused on preparing students to go on to a higher level of education. With the development of the market economy, talent trained by schools is far from adequate, in level and type of education, to meet the needs of the national economy and social development. Public education has left many "vacuums," which private education can fill. In recent years, different types of private schools have opened a variety of "hot" specialties and courses, much to the public's delight, such as public relations, foreign language secretarial work, foreign trade, securities and investment, real estate development, market sales, administration of tourism, and tourist guide" (Guangyu, 1996: 78).

managerial staff, an absence of clearly defined properties, the interference of power and disruption of fair competition, a lack of regulation of fees for private schools responding to the market demands, enrolment wars and promotional blitz, the difficulty of forming policy and the greater difficulty of implementing policy are the major problems of Chinese private schools that should be controlled by the state (Wen and Liu, 2001).

In contrast to a broad description by the facilities of private schools in China and problems related to these issues, the literature about the facilities and cost of education in private schools in Russia disclosed very limited information (Bray 2003). Some brief comments were made regarding the high cost of some business subjects as a part of MBA programs (Kuzminov 2004) and varied tuition fees that some schools charge "may be as much as US\$3,000 plus the individual donations of wealthy parents" [my translation] (Lushagina 1995). Researches investigating the cost of education and facilities of private schools, however, were not detected. It was noted that the quality of studying in the private schools is higher compared to the state school (Nesterovich 1997). Hence, there was a necessity to address the further study of the private schools and their facilities due to the limited numbers of works mentioning this issue.

### **1.9 State and private schooling**

The literature on the role of the state in relation to private schooling reveals dissimilar views regarding the relationship between the state and private schooling in China and Russia. The development of private schools in China came as a result of the Chinese government's policy (Yimin 1996) and management and supervision of private schools by the official educational bodies at the national level (Ling 1996). The scholars (Gao 1997; Guangyu 1996; Guoyu 1996; Niu 1997) call for the more active involvement of

the state because under the leadership of the relevant provincial or municipal educational administrations, these schools basically can enjoy a healthy development. There is also an evidence of the systematic and methodical implementation of a state push towards diversification in education as a response to internal social demands (Lo 1989; Louie 1980), and an example of the desire of the state to control innovations in transformation (Levin 1987).

In contrast to China, the literature concerning the relationship between the state and private education in Russia, demonstrates a broad scope of opinions ranging from a 'withdrawal syndrome' from the state (Gershunsky 1993), a suppression (*Chastnaja Shkola* 1995), a control from the state (*Prikaz o Litssenzirovanii Obrazovatelnoj Dejatelnosti Juridicheskikh Lits, Ne Javliaushimisa Obrazovatelnyimi Uchrezhdenijami*, 1997) over the diversification of schooling (Blagov 2005).<sup>37</sup> Some educators pointed out (Tikhonov 1999) that, in fact, the state's involvement ended up with activities such as tax collection and controlling the compulsory part of the curriculum delivered by the private school. Others argue that the relationship between the Russian authorities and the private schools seems to be more complicated and can be characterized as an inadequate and unstable during the different periods of the development of private schooling (Luzhkov 1996).

### **1.10 Driving forces of private schooling**

In relation to the driving forces behind private schooling in China, the majority of scholars see the appearance of private schools as a result of China's economic reform

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<sup>37</sup> "Russia has now 600 non-state schools attended more than 50,000 students. But despite lack of funding Russian authorities are reluctant to commercialize the education system fully. President Vladimir Putin has said that the state must provide free education for all in line with a single standard" (Blagov, 2002: 2).

and open policies (Deng 1997; Hou 1993; Wu 1995). The development of private schools was considered by scholars as the result of the influence of the "invisible hand" of the market (Yimin 1996; Xu G., 1997), and the adjustment of the superstructure to the economic development (Linsheng 1996). The social demands of parents (Tsang 2001) and the active state policy (Wang D. 1997) with the correct guidance of CPC (Yang 2001,) are considered to be also the main reasons for the rise of private schooling. However, some scholars (Bi 1996) see the appearance of private schools as a result of the Chinese cultural tradition to adopt new elements extracted from the best world experience.<sup>38</sup>

A great number of contradictions exists in relation to the driving forces behind educational changes in Russia. Scholars noticed an unhealthy opposition, sometimes competition, between government and private schools (Silverman and Yanowitch, 1997). The rapid speed of the development of private schools was unprecedented (Derzhinskaja and Poroshninskaja, 1999). The swift expansion of private schools – many of which closed soon after they had opened space – was permitted by the Decree of Education (1991). The development of private schooling produced a number of hostile analyses of educational transformation in Russia (Kostukov 1997; Krichevskii 1996; Sutherland 1999).

Some scholars were quick to emphasize the positive outcomes of the changes in education (Eklof and Dneprov, 1993); others were equally quick to point out the negative consequences of the diversification in education (Gershunsky 1993). Writing

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<sup>38</sup> "Facts have proved that the appearance of the private education model is a product of educational reform. It is a need of social development for pluralistic modes of education. Behind the phenomenon lies the fact that Chinese traditional education is voluntarily changing and accepting the challenges of a new education revolution under the market economy system" (Bi, 1996: 38).

later in the decade, Popkov (1998) noted that the appearance of privately-run forms of education fundamentally changed not only the character and role of education in post-soviet Russia, but also polarised Russian education.

The development of private schooling was understood as a result of an increasing capacity to serve the new social imperatives that occurred in the Russian society (Luzhkov 1996; Medvedeva and Shishova, 1998; Merenkov 2000). However, in relation to the origin of social changes, Goldman (1991) notices that the specific character of the Russian way of reshaping society initially originates with a political system rather than with an economic sector.<sup>39</sup> Miller (1994) emphasises the political democratisation as the main source of social changes.<sup>40</sup> Others (Eklof and Dneprove, 1993; Logue, Plechanov and Simmons, 1995) profess the view that the social changes are embodied in a high-echelon politics.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Goldman (1991) sees the constant shift of lack power, political intrigues, and lack of determination to carry on reform as main reasons for the failure of the pre-transition reform.

<sup>40</sup> Miller (1994) concludes that rapid changes in the Russian society had begun from the process of democratisation in the Russian society from the top of the political power and emphasises that the advance of democratisation led to the most extraordinary experiment in the early stages of Russia's transitional economy, such as "to combine the efficiency advantages of market with humane and egalitarian goals of socialism" (Miller, 1994: 247).

<sup>41</sup> According to Eklof and Dneprov (1993), reforms were advocated by politics. In contrast to this point of view, Logue, Plechanov and Simmons (1995) pointed out that "the government was made the revolutionary judgment to open up market for privatisation, however it was not able to hold up with the extremely rapid acceleration of this process" (Logue, Plechanov and Simmons, 1995:15). Hence, the Russian version of transition is "a result of absence of a national policy and involvement of any governmental planning. Thus, by beginning of 1995, Russian market identifies itself as fully opened market freedom where the government plays only observant role and does not control the outcome from economic restructuring" (Eklof and Dneprov, 1993: 11).

### **1.11 Conclusion**

The analysis of literature concerning private schooling in China and Russia reveals a lack of informed cross-cultural comparative studies of private schools. It was however clear that the future of private schooling is a matter of serious concern in these societies. In both countries scholars and educators paid attention to the characteristics of private schools, the character of development and its outcomes, the origin of private schools and their prospective directions. In both countries, the debates and discussions have disclosed the controversy and ambiguity related to all areas of private schooling.

The above restricted understanding of private schooling in the local environment of formally centralised systems of education, reveals the gap in the literature regarding the cross-cultural aspect of private schooling studies. This directed my study towards the cross-cultural context of private schooling that will assist to overcome the ambiguity and help to understand the local categories of private schools as well as it will illuminate a common pattern and uncommon characteristics of private schooling.

This will also clarify the role of internal and external forces during the development of private schools that, in turn, will assist in the comprehension of educational transformation in a society in-transition. Finally, it will be demonstrated how the innovation processes occurred in the formerly state-run system of education.

## CHAPTER 2

### TRANSITION AND TRANSFORMATION

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of works and studies focusing on Transition Theory (TT) and aims to explore the socio-cultural discourse that lies behind the theoretical framing of TT. The socio-cultural discourse assumes a set of social and cultural objectives that, along with cultural values and beliefs, includes the transformation occurring in the state-run educational system of a transitional society.

This chapter will attempt to define and distinguish *transition* and *transformation* in order to re-conceptualise the *educational transformation*. This will clarify the role of the socio-cultural discourse, in which the cultural aspect plays an essential part in producing changes in education. This proposed theoretical approach will be tested on the educational transformation, as an element of socio-cultural discourse, in two transitional societies, China and Russia. This approach will serve to illuminate many ambiguous and contradictory elements in the ways in which a new educational order in these transitional societies is interpreted, from economic, political and cultural standpoints.

## **2.1 Towards theoretical explanations of educational changes in transitional countries**

Education is a fundamental component of the transition in a number of countries that are facing a period of economic, political, and especially, social restructuring, from the command economics - with a specific ideology, based largely in the social and political life of Communism - to a society characterised by liberalisation of the market and by democracy in different aspects of social and political life.

As Birzea (1994) states,

A term [transition] has recently been given currency to denote a new geopolitical reality: the countries in transition. Although the expression usually refers to former communist countries, a closer analysis shows that transition is in fact a universal historical phenomenon. All societies, civilisations and nations have, at some point in their development, changed their mode of government, property system, the division of power, political paradigms and ideas, attitudes and mentalities, social relations and institutions, way of daily life, etc. In short, it can be said that every individual, social group or community has been and is perpetually in transition from one thing to another (...) Yet one speaks of post-totalitarian transition and countries which are about to experience it ["countries-in-transition"], one is thinking of a much more complex phenomenon. It is an historical stage whose duration is impossible to determine at present and which will lead to substantial transformation in every domain: political life, the economy, culture, education, social structures, international relations, etc. (Birzea, 1994: 7).

There are several reasons why it is difficult to formulate an objective understanding of the forces driving the transformation in education in transitional societies. One is the lack of theoretical explanations for the new circumstance of educational change in transitional societies. Due to the relatively recent appearance of countries-in-transition, on the global scale, scholars are not yet in a position to recognise the whole range of controversies and complexities regarding the educational developments in the



transitional environment (Stiglitz 1999). Instead, the changes occurring in the system of education in transitional countries have been understood via various theoretical explanations.

For the last few decades, scholars have viewed development in education as a sufficient response to economic growth and, at the same time, as a major cause of economic output and its result (Halsey, Floud and Anderson, 1969).<sup>1</sup> The recognition of economic reforms as a dominant influence on further development in education finds its validation in studies analysing education not only in advanced economies (Anderson and Windham 1982; Brabant 1987; Carter and O'Neill 1995), but also in developing countries (Baker and Holsinger, 1997; Currie 1981; Carnoy and Samoff 1990). Such a strongly economic-oriented approach has its own history and explanation.

At the beginning of the 1960s, Schultz (1959) summarised his past half-century's observations relating the cost of schooling to national income and the cost of all resources used in education to the total value of physical capital in the particular economy. It was concluded that investment in human capital is more effective than physical investment and clearly becoming a major form of investment in the modern industrial world.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "From economic point of view education can be regarded both as consumption and as investment. Expenditure per capita has risen with income per capita: for example, in the United Kingdom, it rose from one per cent in 1983, and to four per cent in 1920. The same rise may be noted all countries for which figures are available; in the United States, it appears that the income-elasticity of demand for education is 3.5; as a society grows richer, it spends a larger proportion of its income on education. What are the deciding factors in establishing this proportion? In absolute terms, the closes relation is between the rise of GNP itself and the rise in educational outlays, but behind this relationship lie others " (Halsey, Floud, and Anderson, 1969:38).

<sup>2</sup> Halsey, Floud, and Anderson (1969) wrote: "Education is a crucial type of investment for the exploitation of modern technology. This fact underlies recent educational development in all the major industrial countries. Despite idiosyncrasies of national history, political structure, and social tradition, in every case the development of education bears the stamp of a dominant pattern imposed by the new and

Despite some criticism,<sup>3</sup> the conceptual outcomes of this analysis were far-reaching. The literature regarding the development in education in an industrial society includes several versions of Human Capital Theory (1960s-1970s), such as Screening Theory (1970s-1980s) and Market Liberal Human Capital Theory (1980s-1990s).

The theoretical rationale of understanding the first wave of Human Capital Theory was the idea that any increase to the stock of capital through investment in education resulted in increases in national income, and that the rate of return on investment in ‘man’ was greater than the rate of return on investment in physical capital (Chen Kuan 1980). In an advanced industrial society, education delivers career jobs, status and higher incomes, – hence the strong demand for greater access to education (Bray 2003). The state actively involves itself in the governmental practice of education provision, supported by funding, – and provides equal opportunity to maximise human capital (Brown 1973).

A different approach to understanding the role and place of education as a social institution was developed by followers of Screening Theory. According to this theory, education not only trains people, but, at the same time, functions as a sorting mechanism. The modern educational system provides a means of distinguishing the more capable people from the less capable in a society reliant upon credentials. Credentialism can be defined as the process, “when it is the economic value of people

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often conflicting pressures of technological and economic change” (Halsey, Floud, and Anderson, 1969: 1).

<sup>3</sup> “In order to arrive at an adequate sociological understanding of education in differentiated societies, one must appreciate the magnitude of the “educational enterprise (...) Even the estimates by Professor Shultz are incomplete, for they do not include the costs of training, paid by industry; adult educational programs, paid by fees; etc.” (Halsey, Anderson and Floud, 1969: 20).

that matters, the more productive one is, the more highly regarded one becomes in that society. A device is needed to sort out these productive people, and thereby *credentialism* [as in original] emerges” (Thomas and Postlethwaite, 1983: 237). In a so-called credential society,<sup>4</sup> the role of a government is significant because the state provides potential increases in expenditure, standardisation of qualifications, and programs linking education to work (Barton and Walker, 1985).

Market Liberal Human Capital Theory sees the main function of education as an avenue for individual investment until the point where costs exceed the expected benefits. Education becomes an individualised investment and a market place. The most significant attempt to explore the transformation of the Australian educational system using this approach is offered by Marginson (1997), who understands the relation between the market and modern education as a parallel co-existence: the industrialised economic system finds its reflection in the system of education.<sup>5</sup>

According to Marginson (1997), the hierarchy of educational institutions varies according to academic performance (positional advantage) and social status (social advantage), that reflects the hierarchy that exists in society itself. Hence, closely related to the educational market are factors such as private schools, home computing, and

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<sup>4</sup> Upon the analysis of education in Japan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Lee (1991) concluded that “[t]he developing countries that have embarked on modern education in the wake of the advanced countries have an underlying motive to produce as soon as possible modern manpower for modernisation...Once education has become the prerequisite for a place in the modern sector, more and more people want it...This has led to the phenomenon of the so-called qualification inflation. In this process, education is reduced to qualification earning. The phenomenon of ‘schooling without education’ thus occurs” (Lee, 1991: 207).

<sup>5</sup> Upon the analysis of education in Australia, Marginson (1997) concluded that “[e]ducation is constituted by relations of power as well as economic relations and characterizes the education market in terms of prices and consumer relations (commodity, field of production, exchange between producer and consumer, competition, and market that include the attitude and behaviors)” (Marginson, 1997: 3).

postgraduate courses that maximise people's relative advantage. In advanced economies,

it [has been] in schooling that the hierarchical structure of positional competition was most clearly apparent. The schools functioned almost like a caste system, in that the status barriers were firm, and reproduced from generation to generation. (Marginson, 1997:147)

Referring to the reasons for the existence of private schooling, Marginson (1997) noted that in Australia, parents have invested in private schooling for social, economic, and safety reasons. They want their children to benefit from learning achievements and social environments, and to enjoy social and economic stratification for further education that could be resulted in advanced employment opportunities. In higher education, inequality arising out of a competition for status closely resembles the market. This is why the role of the state as a regulatory mechanism is very important during Transition (Carter and O'Neill, 1995).

Current explanations of educational development, mainly based on the known history of economy of the forces of the economy and market in industrialised and post-industrialised countries, have been well mapped by social science researchers. The strong influence of the various approaches of Human Capital theory is reflected in a majority of the works understanding educational changes in transition societies as consequenced upon to liberalisation of the market and the economic reforms implemented (Micklewright 1999; Weber 2000). For a variety of reasons, ranges of the forces driving educational changes in transitional societies, has not yet been fully comprehended, nor the variations in the education system with characteristic of transitional societies let alone the origin of alternative forms of education.

In regards to China it has been observed that some particular driving forces have played a crucial role, such as the success of economic reforms (Deng 1999), the improvement in living standards (Cheng K. 1994), the social demand for innovations (Xu Y. 1995), and state reforms (Zhongkui 1996).

Analysing the educational transformation in the new Russia, Webber (2000) sees the ongoing process of comprehensive reform in the Russian schooling system as supportive of the “processes of democratisation and the development of a market economy in Russia” (Webber, 2000:1). Jones (1994) recognises the prevalence of the social aspect in educational reform as a base for the future of the Russian society, where “the knowledge and attitudes necessary for a new society will be prepared [and] education now has a chance to control more of its activities and to reorganise its relationships with other major institutions of society” in the process (Jones, 1994:xiii).<sup>6</sup> Gershunsky (1993) sees the close link with the Party and the government as the principal mechanism of the educational changes and notes that the authority of the state has a determining influence on the results of the educational transformation.<sup>7</sup> Thus, scholars comprehend the educational transformation in China and Russia quite differently.

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<sup>6</sup> “It is in the schools that the future labor force will in part be formed. It is in the school that future citizens are shaped. In short, the emerging society will be influenced in no small measure by what happens in education. At the same time, what happens in the schools will be strongly affected by what happens in society. The kinds of tasks that the educational system will undertake, the goals that the curriculum will try to meet and the resources necessary for functioning will all come mainly from the world outside of the school” (Jones, 1994: xiii).

<sup>7</sup> Gershunsky notes, that “[t]ransforming a socialist-totalitarian educational system that has been closely linked with Party authority and control, conformity, and command and orders, presents endless challenge and frustrations. With the present trend to a more authoritative regime, the transformation is likely to meet with greater resistance” (Gershunsky, 1993: xviii).

The process of educational transformation has raised a number of questions. Is educational transformation associated with economic reforms also intended to be culturally appropriate? Or it is merely economically in its character? How do the education structures react to economic reform? Which kind of mechanism causes the progress in educational development? Is the role of government necessary in order to achieve results in educational development? All these important questions still wait to be resolved. Among them the role of education in the transitional period and the process of the transformation of an educational system under economic reforms is particularly not widely understood.

From this point of view, an analysis of educational transformation in China and Russia provides an outstanding example for estimating changes in the system of education. A study of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow provides an unprecedented, interesting, international, cross-cultural case for understanding the driving forces behind the educational transformation in China and Russia and moreover assists in developing a cultural approach within the overall theoretical framework of TT.

## **2.2 Transition Theory and its ambiguous terminology**

As already noted, the origins of the Transition Theory can be located in the mid-1960s, a time when the initial understanding that economic reconstruction was not uncomplicated had been provoked by Hungary's Velvet Revolution of 1956. A number of writings and discussions on the economic and social transformations have undergone by Hungarian society in its transition from a communist central planning system to an open-market society. Having initially concentrated on the economic impact of Transition, a development through transition was not included a political aspect. These

discussions led to a 'transition orthodoxy', the theory which discusses merely strategies of how to reform a centralised economy to a market of capitalism (Major, 1993: 24). These strategies, initiated both by the state and by academic advisers, were popularly referred to as Transition Theory (Currie 1981).

The second wave of extensive debates around the issue of economic transition –, both theoretical and empirical, – has developed since 1989, when the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe declared that they were in the midst of transforming their economic systems from a centrally-planned economy to a market-oriented one. Meanwhile, the success of the Chinese economy from the 1990s has called into questions the supposedly required scenario demanded by 'transition orthodoxy', where an immediate economic reform – “a shock therapy” (Murrell 1993) – is routinely accompanied by rapid political change. Scholars (Naughton 1997; Pomfret 1992; Roosevelt and Belkin, 1994; Smart 1998; Solinger 1993) have observed, often approvingly, and to some extent, the benefit of an heterodox path of *gaige kaifan zheng ci* (an open door policy in China) that was designated by Chinese economists as *jiang she you zhong guo teci de jihui zhu yi* (building a socialist society with Chinese characteristics). The different approach to the gradual transformation of Chinese society proves, for supporters of radical reform, the necessity of varying the concepts and models making up Transition in countries with a powerful communistic bureaucracy (Overholt 1993). Discussions over the role of a state and an authoritarian regime demonstrates some new conceptual and strategic issues in the development of policy responses ( Niemi and Owens, 1994 ).

In the first place the term ‘transitional society’ (sometimes ‘transition society’), occurs within the context of TT, but the definition of a ‘transitional society’ has not yet been firmly established. In line with this theory, the term can refer to the society, implementing economic reforms (Gelb 1997), or facing specific political situations (Lauder 1993). It also refers to democratic political reform (Coughlin 1989) or has its focus on the decentralisation of the economy in the move towards an open-market system (Naya and Tan, 1996). Some scholars see a parallel in the existence of similar economic processes between developing countries and transitional ones (Carnoy and Samoff, 1990). Others assume that the microeconomic dimensions of the transitional and developing societies are two entirely different processes (Gur 2005) and see the specific characteristics of a transitional society as a natural growth process in an economy (Guriev and Ickes, 1999).

According to Guriev and Ickes (1999), the function of the main microeconomic agents in a transitional society –, that is firms and households, local government, and the level of savings and accumulation of human capital –, is slightly different in contrast to those in a developing country. It was emphasised that a transitional society can be characterised as experience of growth through restructuring, but not through development (Guriev and Ickes, 1999).<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> “For a developing economy to grow, household should choose to save and accumulate human capital and then supply labour and capital to emerging firms. In transition countries the situation is somewhat different, since their economies have already been industrialized. The labour force has acquired necessary technical skills and the physical assets are in place. Moreover, there exist large enterprises that resemble modern capitalist firm. Therefore the microeconomic problem of transition is slightly different from those of development. Household choose how much to save and which firms to work. Also, they choose to become entrepreneurs and establish new business. Existing firms make their restructuring choices, changing both outputs and inputs, including size and composition of their workforce” (Guriev and Ickes, 1999).



In the general debate over the understanding of 'transition' and 'transformation' there is no single way of comprehending the meaning behind these connotations. These two terms are ranked differently in the literature dealing with Transition Theory.

On closer inspection, the existing literature<sup>9</sup> – dealing with a substantial quantity of arguments on the topic of transition – shows that 'transition' and 'transformation' are used ambiguously. For instance, the term 'transformation', in the light of neo-classical economic theory, is understood as a liberalisation of the economic sector (Kornai 1990), while the structural discourse understands this term as equivalent to democracy and liberation (Lowe 1976). The followers of the structural approach of TT frequently use the terms 'transformation' and 'transition' when speaking in economic and social contexts, with discursive patterns of meaning towards the social or economic sectors (Lowe 1976; Brabant 1998). Sometimes these terms have been replaced with 'development' and 'modernisation' (Chang-kuo 1983; Chen A. 1999). Some scholars have substituted the term 'transition' for 'political development' or indeed 'revolution' (Carnoy and Samoff, 1990).

Thus, the understanding of 'transition' and 'transformation' implies quite divergent conceptions. Implicit within these conceptions are certain essential elements of economic structure, power relations and decision-making opportunities, mainly related to the policy-producing exercises (Brabant 1998; Brabant 1990; Goldman 1991;

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<sup>9</sup> Bogomolov 1999; Brabant 1987; Brabant 1990; Brabant 1998; Gur 2005; Guriev and Ickes, 1999; Harrold and Lall, 1993; Hedlund 1999; Hertz 1997; Hodder 1992; Knell 1996; Knell and Rider, 1992; Kornai 1990; Leveson and Wheeler, 1979; Linden and Prybyla, 1997; Logue, Plechanov, and Simmons, 1995; Lowe 1976; Major 1993; Miller 1994; Naughton 1997; Naya and Tan, 1996; Niemi and Owens, 1994; Nolan 1995; Ogden 1992; Overholt 1993; Pomfret 1996; Prybyla, 1995; Roosevelt and Belkin, 1994; Rumer and Stanislav, 1998; Schipke and Taylor, 1994; Smart 1998; Smith 1995; Solinger 1993; Spicer, Emanuel, and Powell, 1996; Wade 1990; Walder 1996a; Walder 1996b; White 1988; World Bank Report 1992; World Bank Report 1996, World Bank Report 2000.

Hedlund 1999; Hertz 1997; Hodder 1992; Knell 1996; Knell and Rider, 1992; Leveson and Wheeler, 1979; Major 1993; Sharma 1997).

Despite the fact that many of these responses are very different, nonetheless the study of TT invariably involves two major aspects. On the one hand, there is a superficial similarity with economic reforms that refer to an economic shift from the management of a centralised system to a decentralised one. On the other hand, it gives emphasis to political feedback and the policy making process, in the specific political aspect, in the debate over the road signs of a democracy. These theoretical approaches are an effort at rational analysis, but they touch upon economic issues and feed into major political sensitivities. In common parlance, the Transition Theory schools are peculiarly instructive to a changing economic system undergoing major revision from communism to capitalism with the associated democracy of the latter (Lauder 1993). As has been pointed out, “from the beginning this process has been labelled the Eastern European ‘transition’ and has been depicted as essentially a two-prolonged political and economic endeavour” (Linden and Prybyla, 1997: 38).

This partially explains the parallel existence of the terms ‘transition’ and ‘transformation’ in regard to a constructive policy in the economy along with political changes, and reflects understanding that equates transition with transformation (Leveson and Wheeler, 1979; Logue, Plechanov, and Simmons, 1995; Major 1993; Naya and Tan, 1996; Schipke and Taylor, 1994).

This parallel use of two terms leads to the ambiguous utilisation of top-down techniques in economies and politics. Whether measured in terms of privatisation, foreign trade,

capital flows or banking reform, the pattern of these changes also displays a principal mechanism for promoting the free market. Political reform forms an integral component of transition in the shifting of a viable market economy that, in a reasonable period of time, will directly coordinate a market in congruity with its own needs (Hedlund 1999). Thus, so far, being framed within the fixed orbits of the economic and political reforms, a process of transition has not been referred to the social infrastructure of a transitional society.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, the theoretical framework of an understanding of all processes related to the educational system in a transitional society has not been the focus of attention.

It is important to underline the fact that the variety of concepts dealing with Transition Theory, along with the use of terminology, reflects the evolution of the transition theory school, the theory that offers to find the answers for a number of questions regarding the current economic and political processes in a transitional society. A close look at the ambiguous use of the terminology allows us to identify a brief overview touching on a central question of this chapter, namely, how do the different schools of TT explain the processes of transition and transformation in transitional societies? To fully understand transition and transformation as the processes, along with a brief indication of the sense in which these terms are used, is the aim of the discussions in the following paragraphs that briefly overview the different theoretical approaches of TT.

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<sup>10</sup> Despite the idea of the neo-classical design to comprehend a transition equivalent to a transformation as a restricting process in education towards a market-oriented, Marginson (1997) developed a sophisticated framework which embraced education in an economically advanced country as a tool for marketisation.

### **2.3 Transition Theory and Transition as a process**

An analysis of the literature concerning TT illuminates several stages of popularity in understanding the process of transition and its interpretation in the different theoretical methodologies. It can be divided into several major periods of comprehension of transition:

1. neo-classical approach (from the beginning of 1960s to the end of 1980s) ;
2. structural adjustment approach (beginning of 1990s);
3. guided market approach (middle 1990s).

Neo-classical justification understands transition in equal measure to transformation. Concentrating first on the economic reform, the followers of the transitional orthodoxy approach became famous for introducing market reforms in order to put the economy on 'automatic-pilot', and allowing the market to decide supply, demand, and prices (Kornai 1990). This ended up with the key prescription of the "shock therapy" (Murrell 1993), or the "big bang approach" (Knell and Rider, 1992) to economic reconstructing as a more direct route to an open market.

The origin of the parallel use of 'transition' and 'transformation' comes from neo-classical design to comprehend a transition equivalent to a transformation as a restructuring process in economy, from a centrally planned system towards a market-oriented system. The main focus on the economic reform can be explained by the fact that the followers of neo-Keynesian economics believe in a free-market balanced mechanism, which automatically creates access to the macroeconomic level. According to Kornai (1990), these radical actions in economics will be the only way, in his

terminology, to transform the former communist countries from zero-experience, learning from the accumulated wisdom of Western social science.

By using the term 'transformation', Kornai (1990) advocates transition as a defining feature of economic transformation that includes price liberalisation, privatisation, reforming the financial system, and direct foreign investment packages. It was noted, that a government should play no part in this 'economic transformation' because 'invisible hands' at its heart were all that would be needed to propel the communist' economies into prosperity.<sup>11</sup>

The left wing of transition orthodoxy is opposed by the neo-liberal understanding process of transition and assumes that transition is a process of economic transformation. The neo-liberal comprehension of transition perceives transition as being equal to understanding the process of privatisation. This view was summarised by Major (1993), who stated that privatisation is a form of the liberalisation of an economy and, consequently, a market seems to be first and foremost a political process in a transitional society. The transition will benefit from an open market, which has articulated the reform package of 'three *sations*': privatisation, liberalisation, and democratisation.<sup>12</sup>

In the 1980s, Brabant (1987) suggested recognising adjustment processes in transitional societies "within the basic parameters of the given socioeconomic system" (Brabant,

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<sup>11</sup> Kornai (1990) also sees this process as a road to a minimal state because "right now, in the beginning of the transformation process, it is time to take great steps away in the direction of a minimal state" (Kornai, 1990: 22).

<sup>12</sup> The democratisation was understood as the consequences of economic reform, namely as the social implications and political dimension of transformations (Major 1993).

1987:14). In relation to the redesign of economic institutions, Brabant (1987) applies the distinctive process of structural adjustment that has been proposed by Knell (1996), to the context of economic policy changes and clarifies structural adjustment as a process for a new overlap between the social context and the economic environment.

In consideration of marketisation, Brabant (1990) interprets transition in the terms and practices of liberalisation and democratisation. Liberalisation seeks to de-monopolize the power of the state and separate the state from the economy and civil society. Marketisation seeks to free up the economy. Privatisation aims to break up economic monopolies in the shares of production, such as purchasing and distribution. Democratisation seeks to break up the power of a communist system and free the market. In contrast to the previous understanding of the common parlance of transition, Brabant (1990) notes that each country brings its own specific instruments and policies of the technique in a period of economic transition. This was later developed by Pomfret (1996), who stated that any phenomenon considered *sui generis* for all transition economies does not exist because “beyond a number of a core elements there is no single, homogeneous model of ME (market economy) for the PET (planned economy in transition)” (Pomfret, 1996: ix). Thus, the contributions to TT have been made largely in many ways to understand transition in terms of an economic infrastructure moving towards a package of represented market economic reform.

The current mainstream of orthodox Transition Theory understands Transition, in terms of discourses and practices of liberalisation, as a series of techniques of transformation involving marketisation of economic relations, privatisation of property, and the democratisation of political life. The transformation of a centrally planned economy or

Modified Planned Economy into a market economy is clear as regards the direction to be pursued, but it is exceedingly vague as to the precise destination. It is often overlooked that the actual functioning of markets depends on a detailed infrastructure of property rights (Major 1993); corporate and other law (Rumer and Stanislav, 1998); an extensive array of specialised financial institutions with proper supervision (Gelb 1997); regulations and regulatory bodies in non-financial areas (Spicer, Emanuel, and Powell, 1996); labour law and procedures for setting disputes, including the role of new trade unions (Logue, Plechanov, and Simmons, 1995); and controlling certain components of the “infrastructure” of a market economy (Walder 1996a).

Hence, the neo-classical hypotheses of transition were couched in universal terms and were extended beyond the circumstances in which they were generated. For the purpose of economic goals, the social structure was imagined as a singular norm bound by economic margins. Social institutions were out of focus for ‘orthodox’ transition. Correspondingly, novelties and transformation in any social objectives, including an educational structure, were beyond conception and discussion.

The dramatic collapses of several European economies at the beginning of the 1990s cast a shadow over the image of transition as a self-run well-functioning market economy. The unsuccessful results of orthodox Transition Theory led to a review of the understanding of transition in merely economic terms. The value of controversial economic outcomes in the different Eastern European countries (Major 1993), and specifically in Russia (Nolan 1995), demanded a new way of looking at the transition process.

The unpredictable performance and controversial outcome of economic reforms in some transitional societies persuaded scholars (Schipke and Taylor, 1994) to seek a different approach in order to verify economic reforms towards different social settings, and some scholars (Brabant 1987; Brabant 1998; Brabant 1990; Leveson and Wheeler, 1979; Lowe 1976) started to consider bringing the subject of social and cultural constraints into the realm of TT.

According to Lowe (1976), who prefers the term 'transformation' towards the manifestation of all processes in a continuously changing market in a transitional society, the context of the driving forces for a transformation is a configuration of two aspects: one occurs at the technical level of transition, and the other affects the social one. Lowe (1976) refers to the technical structure to feasible technological possibilities of adapting the economy's capital stock to the requirements of the desired terminal state; the social structure refers to the institutional framework in which decision-making processes take place. However, by dividing the technical and social structure techniques, Lowe (1976) underlines that, at the level of analysis of structure and structural change, centrally planned socialist and capitalist market economies are basically the same, a range of structural adjustments constrained by the existing social relations.<sup>13</sup>

However, the comparative analysis of Human Resources Development (HRD) in Russia and China presented by Niemi and Owens (1994) demonstrates that behind the curtain of Transition there is a range of variable scenarios of this process shared on a global

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<sup>13</sup> Lowe (1976) underlines the value of efficiency as a set of the institutional framework that consists of the following components: (1) industrial organizations with market's forms and labour organizations; (2) financial institution; (3) legal system; (4) social system, including the health care system, educational system and welfare system; (5) "the historical context, including cultural and ethical-religious traditions" (Lowe, 1976: 42).



scale. As an example, analysing HRD, Niemi and Owens (1994) see a conflict between the use, by the Russians, of “the Western approach that fosters competition and seeks individual regards” and the long history of Communist practices “with a low level worker initiative and motivation due to centralised control” (Niemi and Owens, 1994: 15). In contrast, the Chinese variation of HRD is more favourable due to extension of HRD responsibilities to the enterprises that “created profound change in the preparation and development of workers in the enterprise” (Niemi and Owens, 1994: 16). Despite the fact that this study (Niemi and Owens, 1994) does not refer to the topic of private schooling, it has its significance for showing a spreading interest towards seeking a new methodological shift in order to comprehend the cross-cultural study of the social institutions in different transitional societies.

In further discussing the complexity of structural adjustment, Prybyla (1991) draws a distinction between adjustments and reforms, arguing that most socialist countries have so far only shown adjustments, not reforms.<sup>14</sup> A further step towards recognition of the social spheres in transitional society was made by Leveson and Wheeler (1979) who distinguished the positive and negative adjustments towards market stabilisation and liberalisation.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> According to Prybyla (1991), neither leftist nor rightist adjustments will work because they ignore the need for institutional reform. Real reforms of the system are excluded or inhibited by economic, political, ideological, and psychological difficulties. Without proper institutional reform, which must include scrapping many existing institutions, there can be no true reform – only adjustments.

<sup>15</sup> According to Leveson and Wheeler (1979), “the positive adjustment approach is based, to the extent possible, on market forces to encourage the movement of capital and labour to their most productive uses. In those infrequent cases where protective actions can be justified, the actions are to be temporary, progressively reduced, and linked to plans to phase out obsolete capacity. Emphasis is placed on positive measures such as training and improved labor mobility in order to facilitate adjustment to shifting demands, technological progress, and changing pattern of trade” (Levelson and Wheeler, 1979: 7).

The work of Knell and Rider (1992) represents a shift in scholarly emphasis away from issues of stabilisation and liberalisation in favour of long-term considerations and a review of the prospects for sustainable economic growth in Eastern Europe from the different perspectives on structural adjustment. Knell and Rider (1992) also view the transition of markets and private property as complementary institutions “that together engenders certain kinds of motivations and behaviours, some of which may lead to a higher standard of living” (Knell and Rider, 1992: 236).<sup>16</sup> It was argued that, in reality, any economic policy would be affected by human motivation and behaviour. The specific type of human motivation or behaviour will form the adequate social institutions. Hence, ignoring the demands of social institutions will not successfully complete Transition (Knell and Rider, 1992).

The idea of distinguishing between structural and behavioural attributes of the economy was so attractive that some of the neo-classical theorists have become aware of the highly sensitive interaction, which emerges among the political, economical and cultural subsystems of the transition. Schipke and Taylor (1994) concluded that transition constitutes not only a series of techniques of transformation involving marketisation of economic relation, privatisation of property, but also very important components in social infrastructure, which “have not received due attention thus far, yet are likely to be on the research agenda as the consequences of economic reform become more visible, namely the social implication and political dimensions of transformation” (Shipke and Taylor, 1994: x).

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<sup>16</sup> Knell and Rider (1992) believe that the experience of transition by a “shock therapy” is “crucial to the transformation process, and that rapid marketisation and privatisation may not lead to a higher standard of living, or if it does, only at very high social and economic costs” (Knell and Rider, 1992: 236-237).

Under the influence of the structural adjustment approach for the very first time, the social objectives became a subject of interest and exploration of the Transition Theory. Scholars began to notice the role of non-economic factors regarding the design of the political system (Sharma 1997), the vision of policy making (Cho 1998), the role of the authority of government in a cultural aspect (Overholt 1993), and the role of morality and culture in a society in regard to transition (Bogomolov 1999).

It was noticed that the changes in the social infrastructure follow a different route to changes in the economic spheres and it would be naïve to argue that Transition in any case has proceeded in a smooth and uniform manner (Nolan 1995). On the contrary, it has proceeded to generate contradictory effects and can claim only partial achievements (Hedlund 1999; Silverman and Yanowitch, 1997). One nation adopts a slow process of marketisation in an economy (Naya and Tan, 1996; Niemi and Owens, 1994), another performs with an unprecedented speed (World Bank Report, 1992). Where are the driving forces for what has been proposed?

The question of the role and function of government in the process of transition has received specific attention from a number of scholars (Hodder 1992; Rana and Hamid, 1996; Roosevelt and Belkin, 1994; Wade 1990; Walder 1996b; World Bank Report 1996) . The positive result of a guided governmental approach for economic transition was noticed in Taiwan (Wade 1990), and in several other East Asian countries (Hodder 1992). The concept of *laissez-faire* (Pomfret 1996) and the role of government were fully reviewed and scholars (Roosevelt and Belkin, 1994) began to consider the new element of transition as the privileged function of a state. Governmental market reforms

became an issue of undergoing discussions in economics (Roosevelt and Belkin, 1994), generally, and within the context of a transitional society (World Bank Report 1996).

Wade (1990) considers the polarised views on the role of government in the economic development of East Asia. At one end of the ideological spectrum are the neo-Marxists and dependency theorists who emphasise the need for government and socialist state institutions to create the necessary preconditions for successful and socially equitable economic development. At the other end there are those who adopt neo-classical analyses and emphasise the need for relatively free and open market forces to operate. What is important, Wade (1990) argues, is to realise that neither of these polarised positions is valid, because

[t]he government did not simply control markets; it also offered periodically updated visions of the appropriate industrial and trade profile of the economy and gave a directional thrust to private sector choices in line with these visions (Wade, 1990: 4).

At the beginning of the 1990s, scholars began seriously discussing the experiences of China's economic transition as an instance of the long-term economic reform. (Overholt 1993). The successful performance of the Chinese economy validated the idea of a variation in political transformation and the different forms of democracy that support the viability of market socialism. Roosevelt and Belkin (1994) saw the value of market socialism in "theoretical advances that have finished powerful tools for understanding the underlying logic, necessity, and comparative advantages of both market and nonmarket 'detour'" (Rosevelt and Belkin, 1994: 3). The important idea

theory was contributed to Transition regarding the existence of the market in the socialist countries,

[m]arkets are obviously not acceptable to socialists if they are seen as automatic and infallible mechanism for making decisions behind the back of those who are affected by them. That is indeed a profoundly capitalist notion and the new socialism should reject it out of hand. But within the context of a plan, market could be, for the first time, an instrument for truly maximizing the freedom of choice of individuals and communities (Rosevelt and Belkin, 1994: 100).

Discussions over the role of the state during Transition have brought together considerations of 1) the role of the state within the implementation of economic reform, and 2) firm control by the state in order to stabilise the functional persistence. These become a manifestation of the Theory of Regulation that underline the value of efficiency in a state's involvement in economic transition.

The value of the Theory of Regulation was emphasised by the "World Development Report: From Plan to Market" (1996). It underlined a positive regulative role of the state as governor of the economic reforms. Within parallel use of 'transition' and 'transformation', it was concluded that the combination of the right policy and economic situation is a main condition for further success during the transition period of an economy (World Bank Report 1996).

The fresh methodological approach of combining the knowledge of Transition with the political economy was presented in the work of Pickles and Smith (1998), who, in contrast to the previous theoretical approaches, understand social and material worlds separately "that constitute transition-in-process – actually existing transition (Pickles and Smith 1998: 5). Pickles and Smith (1998) address Transition to the importance of exploring superstructure, because "particular trajectories of political economic

development result from the ways in which social network and social relations are transformed, struggled over, and institutionalised in new forms” (Pickles and Smith, 1998:13). It was noted that the combination of the old socialist system and new-implemented capitalistic elements will never work without the social institution and its transformation, because

[t]ransition is not a one-way process of change from one hegemonic system to another. Rather, transition constitutes a complex reworking of old social relations in the light of processes distinct to one of the boldest projects in contemporary history on the attempt to construct a form of capitalism on and with the ruins of the communist system (Pickles and Smith, 1998:2).

The significance of this theoretical approach is far-reaching. The neo-political approach of TT initiated the specific interest in different social spheres of transition. Scholars began to shift their attention from the economic aspect of transition (Sharma 1997) to the cultural aspect (Hedlund 1999), where the historical roots of a heritage identity can play a crucial role for outcomes in the restructuring of a transitional society (Deery 1995).

Writing the end of the 1990s, Brabant (1998) understood Transition<sup>17</sup> to be the process that combines two political and economic changes, in contrast to transition to be the process with a lower case of “transition policies” over “a fairly short-term horizon” (Brabant, 1998: 12) by referring the transformation as a process of gradual reforms for

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<sup>17</sup> “[T]he essence of the transition at its inception was twofold. One component revolved around the construction of pluralistic democracy. The other focused on erecting a viable, and hopefully vibrant, market economy anchored to the fundamental right to private property, which should in time become the dominant ownership format that are involved in this process” (Brabant, 1998: 2).

[e]mbarking on incisive, far-reaching structural mutations at a pace that takes advantage of, and when necessary can maintain, a sociological consensus on the cost inflicted by the transition in a bold way, with or without external assistance (Brabant, 1998: 12).

Brabant (1998) made a very important step towards the realisation that Transition has a long-term version and a short-term version. However, it seems risk leaving out their complexity of changes in a transitional society. Does the differentiation between 'transition' and 'transformation' represent all the changes that occurred in transitional China, where the economic outcomes are a step ahead of the social development? How will these definitions reflect the cultural changes in Russia, where only a minority of the population enjoy the results of the economic reforms implemented? The role of different social institutions has not been examined and this lack of any assessment of the social elements in Transition minimizes the significance of the theory. Therefore, the proposed application of 'transition' and 'transformation' limits the comprehension of Transition. It is clear that the justification to differentiate transition and transformation from the timing zone's points of view faces the limitation of various structural components of the world human order (social and cultural aspects, in particular). It also does not reflect the enigma of social changes that is limited our understanding of the actual Transition.<sup>18</sup>

However, even with understanding transition as a limited time scale production of a capitalised market that reflects the traditional point of view of the neo-classical approach towards TT,<sup>19</sup> the demarcation of 'transition' and 'transformation' as two

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<sup>18</sup> "Of course, the outcome of transformation in any economy is conditioned by much more than the economic and political environment. Indeed the behaviour of the individual economic agent when suddenly entrusted with more encompassing responsibilities than under state socialism must be taken into account. But I cannot provide a philosophical or sociological discourse on these societies" (Brabant, 1998:60).

<sup>19</sup> Emphasising the economic goals of transition, Brabant (1998) suggests evaluating the role of banking systems, the labour market, social services and rearranging system of property rights in a transitional society.

different processes is an important step towards the further elaboration of Transition Theory.

## **2.4 Transition Theory and cultural approaches**

The assumption of the complexity of transition in transitional societies is, of course, not new. The necessity to pursue the cultural concept in Transition seems to be a very substantial shift in Transition Theory. The difficulties to acknowledge the cultural approach within the transitional process have been driven by various reasons: there are several issues that need to be clarified.

Concentrating first on the economic impact, orthodox transitionalists, as mentioned before, expected the automatic change in the economy (Kornai 1990). The social aspects of systematic changes in a transitional economy have been associated only with the political effectiveness of democratic transition (Coughlin 1989; Dneprov 1998a; Johnstone 1978; Lauder 1993; Lee 1991; Prybyla 1995). It appears to be a tangible issue for supporting a Westernised model of democracy and leads to a great deal of debate and controversial opinions (Chen and Delany, 1999; Hodder 1992; Linden and Prybyla, 1997). Seen in these schematic perspectives, the liberating economic reforms were the most important motive to design a political framework of Transition as a preliminary attempt that can indicate the capacity of social institutions in the specific national ground.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> This increased attention to the question of a role and intervention of a state into an economic transition, commonly termed "transition to democracy" (Prybyla 1995), is due not only to the virtual absence of a coherent theoretical framework around which a transitional policy can be designed, but also to a lack of information about the ultimate national and ethnic effects on the various transitional policies.



It is impossible to avoid the fact that ‘transition’ and ‘transformation’ in a number of works (Bailey 1990; Barton and Walker, 1985; Buarque 1993; Gelb 1997; Hodder 1992; Linden and Prybyla, 1997; Naya and Tan, 1996; Nolan 1995) do not only reflect economic reform, but also resonate with a set of circumstances, which impose the social demands and cultural requirements of a transitional society.

The special attention to the social objectives in Transition was given by the neo-political approach (Pickles and Smith, 1998) that clearly stated the equal importance of social infrastructure along with economic reforms. Both factors, economic and political, have to operate within the social objectives that can characterize a specific ability for transition. In other words, transition in any economic sector cannot perform and carry on without changes occurring in social institutions.

There were several social objectives that became a matter of particular interest and the evaluation. One of them was an ability of the state to access resources-in-transition and control them (Cho 1998; *Economist* 1999; Gershunsky 1993; Goldman 1991; Hedlund 1999; Hodder 1992). Another, dealing with “issue[s] of ideology, cultural value, the beliefs, doctrine, and ethics, the threat to national unity and the promise of material prosperity offered by regionalism, social science-based projection of future trends” (Linden and Prybyla, 1997:15) became a matter of consideration for an elaboration of TT. Surprisingly, the record of works on Transition demonstrates little knowledge about the systematic changes in education from the cross-cultural perspective (Ginsburg 1991; Hinkson 1991). However, there is evidence that as a cultural and organizational process, transition reforms are assumed to be taking different forms and styles, including the

possibility of fundamentally changing national ideas under external (Overholt 1993) or internal political choices (Hedlund 1999).

Overholt (1993) notes that, in politics as well as in economics, China was the beneficiary of successful Asian models, whereas the USSR and Eastern Europe were the victims of inexperience and ideology, this time Western democratic capitalist ideology, but ideology nonetheless.<sup>21</sup> With regards to the democratic transition in China, some elements can be characterized as a unique way of understanding the authority in accordance with Chinese traditions (Chen A. 1999).<sup>22</sup>

Analysing Transition in Russia, Hedlung (1999) recognises that the reasons behind the 'shock therapy' of economic reform have roots deeper than the rapid implementation of a new market mechanism and underlines its connection with the specific cultural burden of *samoderzhets* (tsar), characterising Russia's patrimonial society.<sup>23</sup>

Thus, the evolution of Transition Theory has moved towards the understanding that Transition cannot be analysed only by heavy-handed economic goals or politically oriented exclusiveness, and economic goals can be employed merely as a first step to

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<sup>21</sup> It was emphasised that China's success involves the very important factor of performing economic reform with an Asian attitude and values code in contrast to those countries, which did not consider the human factor by importing the set of economic reforms (Overholt 1993).

<sup>22</sup> Regarding the specific democratic transition and its prospect for China's democracy, it was pointed out, "[i]n the cradle of modern representative democracy in Western Europe, democratic transition was promoted by a unique combination of elements, none of which China has. They include the long-established principle of liberty that governed economic relations, the rule of law developed from the hallowed nature of business contracts, the relative weakness of absolutist rules and power-limited minimalist state, the small size of the peasantry and the turn toward appropriate forms of commercial farming at an early point, and Protestantism" (Chen A., 1999: 4).

<sup>23</sup> "The roots of the Russian problem may be found in the rather curious blending of power and property that occurred early on in its history and would maintain its hold on Russian society for centuries to come. The essence of the patrimonial society was that the ruler combined in his person both the rights to rule over all his subjects and the right to dispose of all property. He was thus not only a supreme ruler, a *samoderzhets*, but also the sole owner of the country's productive assets" (Hedlung, 1999: 23).

understand the overall phenomenon of Transition. The context of processes in a transitional society is much too complex, interactive, diverse, and self-actuating to be only a set of blueprints of economic figures.

A whole range of economic changes has to operate within the social objectives in the era of globalisation and to reflect the cultural approach towards the restructuring of a society-in-transition in general. Determining how worthwhile the objectives of this theory are and the relative priorities to be given to different objectives, are important and necessary steps towards the implication that the theory not only has economic grounds, but also social objectives formulated by ethical values (Buarque 1993). As Buarque (1993) notes,

technological options must be determined by an economic rationale subordinate to social objectives formulated by ethical values. The hierarchical order: technical values/economic rationale/social objectives/ ethical values would thus be reversed (Buarque, 1993: 364).

The current exploration of Transition Theory is moving towards quite a different model, emphasising what may be a satisfactory outcome in regards to the recognition of cultural obligation through values of national tradition and the social objectives (Pickles and Smith, 1998). The acceptance of the social and cultural changes in Transition is a significant step toward the comprehension of changes in the specific environment and conditions of the countries-in-transition. It requires investigating of the changes, which occurred in the different institutional infrastructures in order to audit their role in Transition. Herein lays the value of the differentiation of 'transition' as a process of economic reform and its development, from 'transformation' as a process of mutual interaction of the different social objectives and attributions that occur with respect to the cultural identity of a specific social superstructure in each transitional society.

## 2.5 Economic transition and educational transformation

This thesis is aimed not primarily at the development of new theory, but rather to explore the possibility of employing the terms – ‘economic transition’ and ‘educational transformation’ – in order to label the wide-ranging ramifications of Transition that occurs in any transitional country.

The present study adopts certain starting points for the definition of the specific environment of any country-in-transition. In this study the specific environment of the transitional societies refers to decentralisation of power, a vertical dimension and redistribution of investment among sectors and regions, liberalisation of economies, and the processes of how authoritarian regimes make, or fail-to make, the transition to democracy along with the transformation of social objectives. Thus, the character of Transition refers to the different processes.

In this environment, transition occurs in the economic sector of a society undergoing economic reforms such as privatisation, liberalisation of the market, including banking, the legal system, and so on. The process of transformation appears in the social spheres, such as traditions, ideology, education, human management and behaviour. A process of democratisation occurs as a result of political reforms or, in some cases, a political power struggle and can be understood as a part of transformation, namely political transformation.

Therefore, this study proposes to differentiate the changes occurring in a transitional society and employs *transition* as a process that includes changes in the economic sector

along with a set of reforms to control economic decentralization; *transformation* as a process that includes changes in a system of education along with a set of reforms to obtain the outcomes within social infrastructure; and *democratisation* as a set of political reforms stepping away from a single political party system towards a multi-party system.

In contrast to the previous understanding of “transition” and “transformation” (Brabant 1998) as short-term reforms versus long-term reforms, this thesis suggests applying the term ‘*transformation*’ towards changes that occur in a sphere of social objectives. Transformation reflects, to some extent, the increasing acceptance of changing the role of social behaviour, social relations, customs and lifestyle, including the system of values, religion, and education. It would be a valid addition to an understanding, within the cultural dimension, the changes occurring in the system of education.

This study argues that the process of Transition is a circular process that started within changes accumulated by social objectives (education, social behaviour and attitudes). Social objectives may form the initial preparatory mechanism for the further validation of economic transition, and, when economic transition has occurred, it also may influence the process of transition. Educational institutions, initially, accumulated the social expectation for further development and thus indicate the mode of Transition. To understand the relationship between transition and educational transformation is very important. The characteristics that appear to be detected during educational transformation can be relevant for the transformation of other social objectives and, perhaps, for economic transition. Thus, the direction of educational transformation could be an initial indication of the coming economic reforms. Depending on the

specific characteristics of the stage of educational transformation, the changes in education may influence the cultural characteristics of economic transition. At the same time, education is the first social objective of the infrastructure that likely to acclimatize (to some extent) the external forces of globalisation. Hence the mobile and adaptable character of educational transformation that consists of the old-fashioned elements together with new elements of global experiences (Ashton and Green, 1996; Ball, Maguire and Macrae, 2000; Evans 2000; Fien and Fien, 1996; Fraser-Abder 2002; Singh 1996; Zajda 2005).

Due to the specific focus of this thesis on private schooling, the significance of the changes, which appeared in the state-run system of secondary education in two transitional societies, is underlined. The processes that have occurred in the system of education will be labelled as 'educational transformation', which in the era of globalisation may lead to significant changes in the private and state systems of schooling.

Therefore, some objectives of social infrastructure might be activated by certain elements of the economic transition mechanism, but, in return, they could play a determinative role for further validation of the implementation of economic reform, and finally for its goals. Education is a part of social infrastructure and the processes of transformation in education play an important role during Transition.

The *educational transformation* is a process of changing one form, appearance, nature, and structure of education into another, according to certain processes constrained by internal and external forces. This study argues that the development of private schooling

is a part of educational transformation that could be a result not only of the internal policies in education but also the pressure from the global market. The contiguity of the educational transformation, democratisation and transition affects the assimilation of various changes in education to the demands of the regional markets. Meanwhile, globalisation can diversify culturally framed forms of education and evoke new forms of schooling.

Unlike prevailing points of view that see educational transformation as a consequence of undergoing economic changes and examining how the pattern of economic transition affects the educational policy implementation, this thesis argues that, in the new millennium of globalisation, the relationship between education and the economy could change a direction of their relationship. The educational transformation can be viewed not only as a result of the economic restructuring but also as an important pre-conditional accumulator of further validation of economic transition. Hence, the *educational transformation* (sometimes transformation in education) refers to the dynamic process of various changes that appeared in the system of education of a transitional society, as a result of assimilation of the internal forces to external influence of the global market in education.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

The majority of existing theories on Transition have failed to appreciate the influence of a range of socio-cultural factors involving the transformation in education. Therefore there is a gap in existing literature regarding a theoretical framework for understanding the role, place, and function of educational transformation in Transition. There are several reasons for this shortfall that can be summarised in the following categories: a)

the recent occurrence of such a phenomenon as a transitional society, hence a prevalence of partial observations instead of systematic framing involving a whole complex of social, political and economic aspects and lack of theoretical explanations due to the unknown character of the transformation in education in a transitional society; b) the influence of Human Capital Theory; c) the controversial outcomes of educational reforms of different stages based on the political instability of the state in transitional Russia; d) the flexible character of the system of education after economic reform; and e) the on-going changes occurring in private education.

This analysis of TT also shows that the view of Transition merely as an economic limits one's understanding of all processes, occurring in all spheres of infrastructure. The economic transition cannot perform and carry on the targeted transitional goals without a proper set of social institutions. In other words, Transition needs an institutional framework: not only in the economy, or political reform, but also in a social dimension. Seen in these schematic perspectives, the liberating economic goals were the most important intention in designing the policy of transition. In this case, the political aspect, in most of the discussions, was understood as the entry to a transitional period. Hence, the economic transition has to operate within the changes of social objectives, including education.

The viewing of a social institutional structure as a vital element with the same value as a market in the transitional society changes the theoretical approach for understanding the 'engine' in the transitional processes. The general trend in the past few years in most parts of Transition Theory indicates a strong tendency for reviewing the dominant role of economic reforms. It would be naïve to argue that economic reforms do not have the



most important influence on the processes that are now facing the different transitional societies. However, the real circumstances of transition include a new matrix that has different processes beyond economic reform.

The process of educational transformation has raised a number of questions. Is the educational transformation under economic reforms intended to be culturally appropriated? Or only economically? How does the education structure react to economic reform? Which kind of mechanism creates the progress of educational development? Is the role of government to be a compulsory element due to effective results in educational development? All these important questions still wait to be resolved. Among them the role of education in the transitional period and the process of the transformation of an educational system under economic reforms is not widely understood.

In order to understand Transition as process, this thesis engages the cultural approach, which opens a wider perspective to acknowledge 'superstructure' as a part of Transition Theory (Pickles and Smith, 1998). This study proposes to differentiate the definition of 'transition' and 'transformation' as different but interrelated processes critical to outcomes in both the economic sector and the social sphere. The apparent differences between *transition* and *transformation* will be tested on the systems of private schooling in the transitional societies of contemporary China and Russia because private schooling in Beijing and Moscow are two interesting cases in relation to many of these questions.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESEARCH DESIGN

#### 3.0 Introduction

The multiple method of data collection has been chosen in order to analyse the changes that occurred in the state-run education systems of China and Russia. This chapter explains the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods used in this study to investigate the development of private schooling and characteristics of private schools, operating in Beijing and Moscow up until the end of the year 2004.

The qualitative approach was applied to data gathering in relation to (1) private schooling history and financial management, (2) semi-structured interviews, (3) the state regulations, official documents, and ‘in-house’ policies of private schools. The qualitative approach is supported by a quantitative method of data collection that tabulated the information derived from the parents’ and students’ surveys. The combination of the two methods not only assisted in establishing a profile of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow but also helped to classify the common characteristics of private schooling in these transitional societies.

In addition, this present chapter illuminates the significance of the cross-cultural expertise of the researcher in the comparative data analysis of interviews and surveys. This cross-cultural experience assisted to combine the role of ‘outsider’ (a researcher) as well as ‘insider’ (a part member of the local educational community) during the interviews. As mentioned previously, the researcher has a history of close cultural,

social and professional engagement with these local communities while working in various Universities in China from 1990 to 1995, and in the former Soviet Union (Russia) from 1982 to 1990. The ability to operate in these two cultural dimensions is an important prerequisite in conducting cross-cultural comparative investigation. This flexible strategy allows the researcher to overcome the obstacles related to gathering of data in a cross-cultural setting. A description of the techniques to analyse the data, gaining the trust and handling each participant's credibility and trust in the different cultural environments are also included in this chapter.

### **3.1 Multiple methods approach**

In the literature on Chinese private schooling, qualitative methods dominate in a number of works (Deng 1997; Lin 1999; Linsheng 1996; Tang and Xiaoyu, 2000). However, some works (Survey of the Current situation of nongovernmental Elementary and Middle Schools in Seven Provinces and Municipalities, 1996; Lo 1989) rely heavily on quantitative and statistical techniques. A number of early studies, dealing with private schooling in Russia, are for the most part qualitative (Kainova 2001; Krichevskii 1997; Woodard 1995). Studies employing a combination of both qualitative and quantitative data are not so common (Tsang 2001).

In this study, a qualitative approach is evident in the historical perspective of changes tracing the development of private schools in China since 1974 and in Russia since 1984/85. A wide range of texts, documentation and recorded statements, including private school policies and 'in-house' regulations, government Laws and regulations relating to education, and other relevant legal documents, media observations, public discussions, demand an approach that is primarily qualitative. A qualitative approach is

necessary to draw out information from several collection techniques, including face-to-face semi-structured interviews with the administrators/founders of private schools and officials-in-charge, as well as undertaking visits, observations and detailed investigation of private schools in Beijing and Moscow. The quantitative approach is applied mainly towards the analysis of the survey of parents and students in the selected six private schools in Beijing and seven private schools in Moscow, and other kind of data collection.

The use of the multiple-method approach has several advantages. First, it enables the study to be pursued in a natural setting, where the methodology of constructivist inquiry can be incorporated with qualitative evaluation (Guba and Linkoln, 1981; Guba and Linkoln, 1989). The second advantage of blending quantitative and qualitative data is improved validity of findings due to the additional insights attained as a result of such integration (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2004). Finally, a combination of quantitative and qualitative data is necessary for achieving our specific research objectives, addressing the comparative cross-cultural issues in this project.

Table 3.1 presents a summary of the purposes and the use of the qualitative and quantitative methods.

**Table 3.1 Purposes and Multiple Method Approach**

Research purpose	Qualitative method	Quantitative method
Investigating the relationship between educational changes and economic reform within the scope of private schooling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• school bulletins;</li> <li>• data collection from the local media, educational magazines;</li> <li>• data collection from internationally published studies;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• parents' surveys;</li> <li>• official statistics, local studies and journals;</li> <li>• teachers' questionnaires.</li> </ul>
Estimating the role of the state as a source of the development of the private schools in Beijing and Moscow	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• state regulations;</li> <li>• legal documents and Educational Laws;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• state officials' semi-structured interviews;</li> <li>• semi-structured interviews with administrators.</li> </ul>
Investigating the origin and characteristics of selected private schools in Beijing and Moscow	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• schools' documentation;</li> <li>• state regulations;</li> <li>• social legislative documents on private schools;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• parents survey;</li> <li>• students survey;</li> <li>• interview-in-depth with founders of a school, administrative staff and owners;</li> <li>• semi-structured face-to-face interviews with officials.</li> </ul>
Investigating the role of an international component in private schools of Beijing and Moscow	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• schools' Educational Curriculum and extracurricular Programs;</li> <li>• state regulation;</li> <li>• teachers' questionnaires;</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• parents survey;</li> <li>• students survey;</li> <li>• semi-structured face-to-face interviews with administrators.</li> </ul>

Source: I.Vasilenko, 1999

### **3.2 Multilevel study design: local and cross cultural levels**

The data was collected in Beijing in the year of 1999 and Moscow in the year 2000 with a follow up visit to these cities in 2002 and 2004 respectively. The data collection was organised in two case studies: one centered on Beijing case study, the other one on Moscow. Each case study aimed at investigating: a) the link between economic reforms and the appearance of private schools; b) the political climate in the relationship between private schooling and the state; c) the influence of educational policies on the process of the establishment of private schools and their monitoring; d) the relationships between the state-run and privately-run schools; e) the classification of private schools; and f) the type of management, curriculum and forms of supplementary education in each country.

Due to the fact that this study engages a comparative analysis of private schooling in two different countries, the research adopted a multileveled study design, in which findings were arranged on (1) the local level and (2) the comparative level. The targeted schools in Beijing and Moscow were compared using the strategy of triangulation as explained in Chapter 4. The first level of the research design focuses on an account of the specific characteristics of private schools in a local environment, namely private schooling in Beijing and private schooling in Moscow. This involves:

- a) data collection from the local media, educational magazines, bulletins, government statistics, and documentation; and analysis of data collection gained in the available internationally published literature;
- b) visiting and observing the private schools;

- c) conducting semi-structured face-to-face interviews with administrators/ founders/ teachers working in private schools; and semi-structured face-to-face interviews with officials and state bureaucrats related to private schooling;
- d) conducting a survey of the opinions and social profiles of parents whose children study in private schools;
- e) distributing and collecting the questionnaires of students studying in private schools.

The research design has also a cross-cultural comparative dimension, which was designed to best satisfy the objectivity of this study in order to gain integrative and creditable data from more than one standpoint. The cross-cultural comparative analysis of private schooling in China and Russia at the second level was applied towards: (a) common characteristics of private schooling in China and Russia; (b) cultural diversities of private schools; (c) a range of driving forces impelling private schooling in the culturally dissimilar countries; and, finally, (d) the theoretical framing of the development of private schooling as a part of the educational transformation in a transition country. The results will be discussed in Chapter 7, Chapter 8, and partially in Chapter 9.

The involvement of the data from two countries with different cultural, economic and political settings increases the reliability for understanding the transformation of education in a transitional society. Therefore, the second level of cross-cultural research was proposed to compare the Chinese private schooling case study with the Russian private schooling system in order to:

- understand processes of transformation and development of a non-government schooling system in a transitional society;

- establish a comparative profile of a non-government schooling system within the international context of the privatisation in education within a global scale;
- evaluate specific characteristics of the privatisation in a transitional society;
- indicate a pattern of the transformation in education in each country;
- test the transformation of education within the framework of a transitional society.

The combination of these two levels assists in discovering the specific features of private schools in each country and classifying the common characteristics of private schooling that reflect the system of non-government schooling in transitional China and Russia. Therefore, the nature of sampling methods (Holiday 2002) becomes a sensitive issue regarding: a) location of the fieldwork, b) selection of the schools, and c) selection of participants as tool of ongoing human experience in different cultural settings (Denzin 1978).

### **3.3 Selection of cities**

These two capitals, Beijing and Moscow, exhibit comparable characteristics. These cities were chosen due to their political, economic, scientific and cultural canvas inhabiting a special status in the traditionally highly centralised China and Russia. These cities have a ring-shaped structure. Beijing has nine rings, but the inner structure of Beijing has six rings: the First Ring consists of the central Xi Cheng Qu, Dong Cheng Qu, Xuan Wu Qu, and Chong Wen Qu districts that are located around Tian An Men Square; the Second Ring consists of the Chaoyang, Haidian, Feng Tai, Hai Dian Qu, and Shi Jing Shan districts; the rest of the municipality regions – Fang Shan Qu, Da Xing Qu, Tong Zhou Qu, Shun Yi Qu, Ping Gu Qu, Mu Tian Yu, Mu Yun Xian, Huai



Rou Qu, Yan Qing Xian, Men Tou Gou Qu – are located at a distance from central Beijing, between the Third Ring and Sixth rings.<sup>1</sup>

The inner structure of Moscow includes nine districts. The Garden Ring around the Kremlin circles the Central District. From the Central District another eight districts are spread towards East, South, South –West, South –East, North, North –West, North-East, and West. They were named according to their geographical directions.<sup>2</sup>

Occupying a similar sized area (Beijing makes up 16,807.8 sq km, Moscow of the area 17 sq.km) and population (13,82 million in Beijing and around 15 million in Moscow), Beijing and Moscow<sup>3</sup> are administered as autonomous cities, giving them the same status as a province in relation to the financial and administrative structures and decisions. These two capitals are host to state, regional and local government bodies, including educational organisations at different levels: local administration (Beijing Educational Department; The Moscow Department of Education) and the central one (The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China and The Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation).

Being after Shanghai is the second largest city in China. As well as its retail and business activities, Beijing is favored by the location of key-decision makers and planners of the economy. This city is the centre of the representative offices of foreign companies, housing 3,500 representative companies' offices. Moscow is one of the best regions in

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix 1. Map 1. Municipal Regions of Beijing, p. 460.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix 1. Map 2. Municipal Regions of Moscow, p. 461.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Constitution of the Russian Federation, Moscow, is a "Subject" of the Russian Federation (Constituency) that makes the status of this city very special, enjoying such status out of the 89 Subjects of the Russian Federation). The Moscow Government and Mayor's Office represent executive power in the City of Moscow; the functions of legislative power are performed by the Moscow Duma.

terms of economic achievements. It has become the largest financial centre of the country, housing over one thousand banks, which control 60 per cent of the capital of the entire country. Moscow runs one of the best regional programs to support small businesses. As a result of these programs 220,000 out of its 340,000 enterprises fall into this category and provide jobs for over 1.6 million people. Moscow also attracts approximately 57 per cent of all foreign investment, far more than any other region. By January 2000, Moscow had over 5,600 joint ventures with companies from over 40 foreign countries, connecting with the markets of Germany, Austria, USA, Canada and Italy. Finally, the city is ranked number one among Russia's 89 regions in terms of investment climate (*Ekspert Magazin* 1997).<sup>4</sup>

### **3.4 Fieldwork strategies**

The fieldwork was conducted during several phases of research. The first phase<sup>5</sup> of the investigation was conducted during August - December 1999 (Beijing) and January - March 2000 (Moscow). The follow-up visits of private schools during September - October, 2003 in Beijing and July - August, 2004 in Moscow, were focused on the justification of data analysis outcomes and monitoring the development of private schooling in these cities.

At the time of conducting the first fieldwork trip, the following research activities were focused on: visiting and observing the conditions and learning environment of private

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<sup>4</sup> The unique regional economic environment of these cities makes an interesting choice for the fieldwork outlined in "Table 1. The Comparative Economic, Political and Social Characteristics of Beijing and Moscow", see Appendix 1, p. 462.

<sup>5</sup> In fact, the starting point of the study could be traced back to 1984, when the researcher observed changes occurring in the Russian system of education during the *perestroika* period. In relation to the changes that became transparent in the Chinese system of education, since 1990 the researcher had an opportunity to register the establishing of non-government education whilst living and working in China till 1995.

schools, conducting semi-structured interviews with officials, educators and administrators of private schools, distributing and collecting parents' and students' surveys and conducting open-plan discussions with teachers in the selected private schools.

The purposes of the follow-up fieldwork trips were: analysing the literature on private schooling published in Chinese and Russian, researching statistics, media, school documentation, and government regulations on private schooling; and investigating innovations occurring in the two systems of private schooling. These strategies of fieldwork were grounded in the possibility that both qualitative and quantitative analyses would be performed.

#### **3.4.1 Contacts, visits and observations of private schools**

The location of private schools in Beijing was detected via *guanxi* (networking through associated personal contacts). In Moscow, the “*Shkoly Moskvy: Spravochnik*” (2000) (“Moscow Schools Guide, 2000”) became the starting point of the research.

The mosaic of private schools in Beijing takes in different types and categories of schools: private, semi-private, privately run but controlled by the state, and independent international schools. A warm welcome and willingness for cooperation was evident at the following schools: *Ming Ban Tong Ren* (Middle School), Beijing *Huangpu* High School, or *Whampoa* (High School), *Huijia helide xuexiao* (private schooling enterprise), *Shi Xian xuexiao* (private schooling enterprise), *Shi Xian xueyuan* (private college), Beijing's No. 87 Senior High School, *Dong Shi Men* Secondary School (the key state-run schools with the privately run Schools of languages), *Zhengze* Middle

School, *Jinghua* Elementary School, *Qimeng* School, *Junyi* Middle School, *Changcheng* (Great Wall) Elementary School, *Ren Ming Da Xue Xiexiao*, and many others. In Beijing the researcher visited and assessed the facilities of 49 private schools.<sup>6</sup>

Compared to 51 private schools in Beijing, Moscow comprised 246 schools in the beginning of 2000. In order to meet the same criteria as private schooling in Beijing, these schools were short-listed for visiting. Different types of private schools that are focused on providing full secondary education from the primary or middle levels to the year 10 and year 11 (equivalent to Australian Year 11 and Year 12) were chosen for further investigation of the learning facilities. The list of contacted or visited private schools was edited down to: 18 schools in the South-West district, 22 schools in the South district, 18 schools in the South-East district, 17 schools in the North-East district, 33 schools in the North district, 20 schools in the North-West district, 33 schools in the West district, 37 schools in the Central district, and 24 schools in the East district.<sup>8</sup>

Depending on the level of cooperation of the administration of the schools, the researcher was invited to observe the learning process, and discussed the curriculum and teaching methods in some schools. In the selected schools, upon agreement with the administration of these schools, the surveys of students were conducted and parents' questionnaires were distributed.

The following set of general features at each school was examined on the visits:

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<sup>6</sup> See Appendix 1. Table 2. List of Visited Private Schools in Beijing, p. 463–464 .

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix 1. Table 3. List of Visited or Contacted Private Schools in Moscow, p. 465–470.

1. The general conditions of the class-rooms and schools. Among features examined in the schools were the size of the classrooms, dining room, and hygienic facilities. The capacity of the sport and art facilities also was a matter of interest.
2. The ability and capacity to use equipment related to a learning process. It was expected that the level of the use of laboratories, library, and computer-rooms would be an advantage for those who are attending a private school, over those students who are enrolled at the government schools.
3. The dedication and use of sports facilities.
4. The extent of associated services and outsourcing that has been developed and the acceptance of this approach by the different groups.

Observations of the learning facilities at private schools in Beijing confirmed the existing polarity of opinions on the facilities in private schools. The majority of visited *minban xuexiao* schools have from poor to moderate facilities, and only very few have better than average learning facilities. Some schools from categories of *silide xuexiao* and *helide xuexiao* privately-run schools manifest an advanced level of facilities: *Changcheng* (Great Wall) Elementary School, *Beijing's Zhengze* Middle School, *Huijia helide xuexiao*. After the analysis of the visits, seven schools were selected for case study. The observation of facilities in private schools in Moscow demonstrated that the majority of these private schools have an advanced level of learning environment compared to the private schools in Beijing, within an exclusion of international independent schools. A detailed comparative analysis of the schools' facilities will be a topic of the discussion in Chapter 7.

### 3.4.2 Selection of schools

The two lists of private schools in Beijing and Moscow in total comprise 271 named schools. Some of them have several branches around the central part of the city suburbs and provide service to all financially advanced groups of students. Some of them occupied only one floor in a state-run school. Others have the accreditation to provide a wide education service starting from the nursery up to senior secondary education and are authorized to offer International Baccalaureate (IB) program and General Certificate of Education (GCE). A number do not provide recognised certificates. Some schools focus only on supplementary education, while others just repeat the compulsory curriculum. There are different type of schools ranging from the family-run type of schools to the internationally spread private business-like educational organisations. Naturally to select the schools which would cover the main targets of this study was a laborious process. Therefore, several categories were taken as groundwork to identify those private schools that should be a subject of the in-depth study (1) independence from government support; (2) curriculum chosen by a private school; (3) operating management and financial capacity (4) a link with social group; (5) access to the officially recognized national certificate of education; (6) a documented history of establishment and achievements, and (7) the specific financial allocation of sources compared to other schools.

In Beijing, the following schools were short-listed as case studies:

1. Beijing International School *Shunyi* (BISS),
2. *Huijia Helide Xuexiao* Educational Enterprise,
3. Beijing *Zhengze* Middle School,
4. *Beijing Huangpu High School*, or *Whampoa* College,

5. *Shi Xian Xuexiao*,
6. Beijing *Xibahe* N4 School,
7. Beijing *Dong Shi Men* Secondary School.

In Moscow, five private schools were selected for studying-in-depth:

1. Private school *Stolichnyj*,
2. Private school *NAS* (pseudonym),
3. Private school *Premier*,
4. Private school *Venda*,
5. Private school *Myslitel*.

These schools were chosen because they reflect specific characteristics of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow in relation to the administrative structure of the school, the recognition of Secondary Schooling Diploma/Certificate, the origins of their establishment, financial allocation of sources, and a specific type of management. These schools illustrate different environments and also reflect the disparity in provided educational services.

Thus, the selection of these schools covers the existing diversity of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow and the investigation of these schools will provide the comprehensive data for further analysis in order to understand the development of private schooling in these transitional societies.

### **3.4.3 Selection of participants group**

The specifically focused scope of this research led to the selection of the following five main groups of participants:

- (1) Officials closely engaged with the non-government sector of education;
- (2) Directors/Administrators of privately-run schools;
- (3) Teachers from selected non-government schools,
- (4) Parents with children attending the private schools;
- (5) Students of the targeted non-government/private schools.

The involvement of officials was to investigate the official position of the state towards private schools. They were examined in relation to (1) techniques to modify communication for a greater opportunity to deliver the education service to students; (2) practice and procedure for negotiating and networking with the private schools. The directors or administrators were asked questions in relation to the history of the school; the environment of the schools and sources of funds; allocation of funds to different areas in the school, management of funds, the role of the state government, forms of the state control, process of negotiation between private interests of the school and state, and the decision making process.

The teachers were chosen to participate in the study in order to get a sense of the implemented educational reform and teaching resources. This accumulated data would help to establish the further comparison of the professional and social profiles of teaching staff in non-government schools of Beijing and Moscow and to illuminate the strength and weakness regarding administrative style, wages and curricula running in the school.



A group of parents whose children attend these schools was selected in order to investigate the social perception of private schools and their service, as well as to illuminate the social and economic interest of the families involved with private schooling. Finally, the group of students, studying in the targeted private schools at Beijing and Moscow was selected in order to find out their opinions on the schools policy, the quality of teaching, and curricula. Special questions were designed in order to expose their future aspirations and intentions for studying overseas, including Australia.

#### **3.4.4 Semi-structured interviews**

The semi-structured interviews were focused on two groups of participants: (1) administrators, founders of the schools, directors, and (2) teachers working at or associated with the private schools. The semi-structured interviews assist in building up a detailed picture of the current stage of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow, along with collecting the personal opinions and professional feedback of teachers, administrators, directors and officials at the different levels of the private schooling system. The use of the interviews gives the ability to collect a larger set of data, which was integrated to form part of the total inquiry.

The semi-structured interviews used a quintamensional plan (Guba and Linkoln, 1981), where probes have been designed to move an interviewee from the areas, which are descriptive and relatively impersonal in nature, to the affective realm and the areas of a more personal nature. However, the quintamensional plan was modified according to

the cultural appropriateness of an interview setting in China and Russia. The cultural appropriateness of the sequence of the questions is used to spark the interview and facilitate a greater flexibility for responses. For example, after introducing the aim of the interview, the conversation in Chinese will turn towards inquiring about personal issues (e.g. family, relatives, or friends connected to Australia). The conversation in Russian will continue with a praising appreciation of achievements.

The correct use of a cultural component in the semi-structured interview allows the interviewees to unscramble their thoughts and, by doing so, to identify some 'hidden agendas' of the particular private school that were not a matter of public release. Some issues were related to the official and non-official position of the state towards private schooling, a double standard of the state policy towards private schooling, the financial policy of private schooling and problems faced by private schools in China and Russia and other issues that were not identified by previous studies or published works.

All interviews were a 'face-to-face' type of interview and were conducted in Beijing and Moscow during the first field trip. Ethical procedures were instigated. The interviews were recorded on 12 audiotapes. In a few cases, when the interviewees denied the request of using a recorder, a note-taking technique was used instead. The interviews varied in length from an hour to three hours depending on the type of personality and the level of cooperation. The interview procedure involved:

1. A list of questions prepared beforehand to ensure that all relevant aspects of the problem were discussed.
2. Notes were taken during the interview (with permission of the person being interviewed) and later filled out and arranged in numbered paragraphs.

3. At the end of each interview, the interviewer recapitulated the main views as she heard them expressed by the interviewee.

The first group of the semi-structured interviewees were officials and administrators at the different levels of bodies associated with private education in China and Russia. The cross-cultural coverage of the administration of two subsystems opened up a new perspective towards the analysis of private schooling in the system of state-controlled education of both societies and it was unique as well as useful. The requested information was directed by several principal outlines:

1. To identify the place of private schooling in the system of national education;
2. Supporting infrastructure for private schooling;
3. Mechanism of Regulation;
4. Prospects and contemplation of private schooling.

The second group of semi-structured interviewees were directors, administrators along with educators and teachers working at a private school. The purpose of the specialist interviews with principals, school founders, and administrative representatives was to gain the newly developed context and a spectrum of problems faced by private schools in Beijing and Moscow. It requested information on the following subjects of the current investigation:

1. Key motive for establishing the school;
2. Historical, economical, and social profile of the school;
3. Type of management;
4. Position of the school in relation to the 'big' picture in the system of education in the city/ state;

5. Relationship between the non-government sector of education and the state;
6. Relationship between the school and the community;
7. Socio-economic profile of the parents and their role in the administrative orientation and management of the school;
8. Financial, administrative, and social profile of the school;
9. The sources of funding of the school and financial management and procedure of allocation for distribution of funding;
10. Origin of Supplementary Education and additional curriculum.

The interviewees revealed that some administrators of these non-government schools have different responsibilities, ranging from executive management to teaching. Some interviewers agreed to release their full name or first name and the name of the school. Some of them preferred to remain anonymous. Those wishing to remain anonymous were given pseudonyms and the real name of the school was not released. Under the agreement and due to confidentiality, one particular school in Moscow is recorded as the school *NAS* to protect its identity.

In Beijing, the interviewed individuals were:

1. Mr Jia Weiyin, founder and honoured principal of *Zhengze* Middle school, Beijing.
2. Mr Wang Hui Cheng, founder, administrator and director of *Huangpu* College, Beijing.
3. Mr Hu, administrator and teacher of a non-government school, Beijing.
4. Mrs Shi, teacher of a non-government school in the *Chaoyang* district, Beijing.
5. Ms Li, director and teacher of *Shi Xian* College, Beijing.

6. Mr Wang, President of *Hujia* Education Organization, Chairman of the Board of *Furen* Foreign Studies University
7. Mr Huang Yao, Inspector General, Head of the State Educational Commission;
8. Mr Tao Xiping, Member of the Committee of Education, Science, Culture and Health of the National People's Congress, President of National Federation of UNESCO Association of China, Vice President of the Chinese Education Association of China, Vice President of the Chinese Education Association for Exchange, Vice President of the Standing Committee of Beijing People's Congress.

In Russia, the individuals interviewed were:

1. Mr Alexander Vilson, founder and President of Association of Non-Government School in Moscow, the director of the non-government school *Stolichnyj*, Moscow.
2. Mrs Tatyana A. Yurovskaja, founder, administrator, director and educator/teacher of the non-government school *Premier*, Moscow.
3. Mr Vasiliy (pseudonym), administrator and director of the non-government school, Moscow.
4. Ms Vera (first name), owner and director of the non-government school *Venda*, Moscow.
5. Ms Tamara (first name), director of a non-government school, Moscow.
6. Mrs Poroshinskaja, Head of Department of Non-government education, the Moscow's Department of Education.
7. Ms Irina (first name), Inspector of the Department of License and Regulation for Conducting Educational Services, the Moscow's Department of Education.
8. Ms Bogomolova, director of the private school *Myslitel*, Moscow.

9. Mr Sasha (pseudonym), the financial investor of a private school in the East Moscow District.
10. Miss Derzhinskaja, Head of the Department of Alternative Education, State Ministry of Education, Moscow.
11. Ms Lubov Mashina, vice-director and teacher of school *Premier*, Moscow.
12. Mr Ivan (pseudonym), director of a non-government school, Central Moscow District.
13. Msr Ludmila Zubouva, administrator and teacher of a non-government school, Moscow.
14. Ms Lina Vocalova, administrator and teacher of a non-government school *Premier*, Moscow.

### **3.4.5 Surveys and questionnaires**

During the fieldwork three types of questionnaires were distributed: (1) students' survey (2) parents' survey and (3) teachers' questionnaire. The students' survey was distributed in order to illuminate opinions about the learning process and curriculum offered by a school. The main aim of the parents' survey was to illuminate the specific characteristics of a new emerging social class that could be proven to be a financial provider for the development of private schooling. Questionnaires of teachers assist in the understanding and evaluation of specific circumstances of privatisation of schooling in a transitional society.

The students were asked in their native languages, Chinese and Russian, anonymously to circle, according to their thoughts, the appropriate answer. The students'

questionnaire<sup>9</sup> asked questions, which included a level of satisfaction with teaching performance and assistance in their school, types of curriculum, inspiration towards further study, favourite subjects and future professional aspirations. There were some questions that also concerned the number of hours spent on homework and diverse extra curriculum activities. Also students were asked questions regarding the reasons for choosing the non-government school, the environment, the number of years studying in the particular school, the study process and the range of activities provided by the school. Students were also asked to identify briefly the reasons why they choose this school, who was responsible for this decision and to release an opinion about the school. This survey was conducted in the class during one of the lessons. For Chinese students the duration of the survey was 50 minutes, according to the standard time of one lesson. For Russian students the duration of the survey was 45 minutes, standard time for one lesson.

Parents' survey includes 20 questions that were arranged in the form of multiple choices and were adapted to the specific cultural setting and different economic environments according to each country. The structure of questionnaires comprises three sections: introduction, general questions in regards to parents' personal opinion about the emerging private schooling system of education, opinion about a specific school where their child/ren is/are studying, and a personal set of questions regarding the socio-economical status of the parents, including education, profession, wage and family status.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See Appendix 1. Questionnaire 1: Students' Survey, p. 471.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix 1. Questionnaire 2: Parents Survey (English Translation), p. 472.

The questionnaires were translated into the native language of the country where the investigation was conducted. The Chinese version of questionnaires<sup>11</sup> was written in *putonghua* (an officially recognized national version of communication). The Russian version<sup>12</sup> adjusted some questions of the questionnaires (financial unit, and cost of living) according to the cultural context and practice in Russian society.

Despite the fact that the questions were designed in the form of multiple-choice questions, 25 per cent of parents in China felt impelled to add comments and to disclose greater concerns in relation to the development of private schooling. Russian parents chose not extend their answers beyond the survey framing. Although the parents' survey requested anonymity, 10 per cent of Chinese parents exposed their identity and even wrote their home address. In relation to the Russian case, all responders maintained anonymity.

Teachers' questionnaires<sup>13</sup> consisted of both multiple choice and semi-structured interview. Multiple choices were designed to elicit both, the information about a teacher (age, gender, the highest level of education he/she achieved, and years of teaching experience), as well as to disclose their opinions about the teaching environment and identify the teaching methods.

The teachers were asked to complete questionnaires relating to the general conditions at the school at the time of the survey, personal opinions about educational transformation in general, finances, profession, type of jobs. These questionnaires were constructed with a consideration of different types of information, relating to cultural dissimilarity,

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<sup>11</sup> See Appendix 1. Questionnaire 3: Parents Survey (Chinese Version), p. 473.

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix 1. Questionnaire 4: Parents Survey (Russian Version), p. 474.

<sup>13</sup> See Appendix 1. Questionnaire 5. Teachers' Survey, p. 475.



and perception of this information. In accord with the different conditions of the social and economic environments, these questionnaires were varied in the manner of delivery and distribution.

### **3.5 Secondary sources of information**

A key component of this research was to begin with the documentary analysis from primary and secondary sources. Primary source materials cover a set of official documents, ranging from official documents of the Ministry of Education and official publications distributed inside each country to the internally circulated materials of a school. Secondary source materials mainly refer to professional papers and academic publications, and other internationally published materials, including World Bank statistics and round-table discussions broadcast on TV. The intensive search of available primary and secondary sources illuminated a connection between economic reforms and non-government education in a transitional society and confirmed the role of the state.

The qualitative method was used to obtain data from secondary sources. The secondary sources were accessed in the State Library in Beijing and the State Library in Moscow:

- to locate available statistical data on private schooling in China and Russia;
- to establish the magnitude of problems related to private schooling in each country;
- to illuminate a range of opinions on controversial issues regarding the development of private education and private schooling in particular.

There is a broad range of secondary sources that were employed to obtain the information in Chinese and Russian: local newspapers, radio and TV programs, as well as locally published books, articles, and magazines. Exceptionally valuable data was collected from periodicals and ephemeral materials, in particularly from independent

magazine “*Chastnoje Obrazovanije*” (“Private Education”) in Moscow, magazine “*Jiao Yu*” (“Education”) in Beijing; Chinese daily media (*China Daily*), and quaterly printed *Yu Yi Gan Bao* (“Education Guide”, Beijing); Russian *Shkoly Moskv*y (“Schooling in Moscow: Guide and Directions”) reprinted annually and website Moscow private schools updated weekly. The information in Chinese and Russian from these sources was particularly beneficial for this research.<sup>14</sup>

### **3.6 Role of the researcher in the process of investigation**

Fieldwork puts the researcher in a very important role especially in relation to conducting interviews and surveys, as well as the process of selecting schools for further investigation.

In discussing the influence of the researcher in the inquiry, Denzin and Linkoln (1998) assert that there is little consensus within the qualitative community about how much researcher influence is acceptable and how such influence can be monitored or detected. However, Eisner and Peshkin (1992) supports the notion of an inquirer who is an expert in the field of inquiry, collecting information and then using his or her expert frames and insights to integrate, interpret and judge.

In this study the researcher’s experience includes living and working in China for five years (1990–1995) and almost ten years (1980–1990) in the former Soviet Union. The experience of different cultural environments has directly and indirectly influenced the approach towards the subject. The present researcher is in a unique position to conduct a cross-cultural data analysis.

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<sup>14</sup> More sources are listed in “Periodicals and Ephemeral Materials”, pp.456-459.

The researcher's cross-cultural experience supports the interpretative paradigm for incorporating the self of the inquirer into the research and makes interpretation and re-analysis of the data less likely to be socially and economically oriented. Moreover, knowing the patterns, narrative threads, and tensions related to the cultural perception of some issues, the advantage of the researcher's experience was obvious. For instance, an acknowledgment of the pressure to emphasise the positive side of development for an outsider in both countries makes sense to a culturally experienced researcher. In the beginning it was a problem to identify the most appropriate schools to illustrate the existing categories of private schooling. So, every choice of schools for case study has necessarily been based on the personal and professional knowledge of these cultures. Without this cultural background, the sampling process would have been much more hit and miss.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

This Chapter has focused on the multilevel cross-cultural research design and has described various aspects of the qualitative and quantitative methods that were employed to investigate private schooling in Beijing and Moscow and to comprehend the changes that occurred in the state-run system of Chinese and Russian education.

The combination of qualitative and quantitative methods assists the understanding of the connection between economic reforms and non-government education in a transitional society; the role of the state in the processes of the development and the rise of private schooling; the characteristics of private schooling in both societies; establishing the phases of the development of private schooling within the multi dimensional

parameters, including economic, political and social scope of changes; a range of the driving forces assisting the development of the private schooling in China and Russia system; and the role of an international component in the journey of schooling from the state-controlled to the market choice of secondary education.

A set of fieldwork strategies rationalised the data collection. During the visits to many private schools, the method of observation was undertaken in order to choose the schools for in-depth study. The semi-constructed interviews assisted in understanding the role of the state in different cultural environments specifically relevant to the schools for the elite. The use of questionnaires and surveys helped to illuminate the characteristics of each category of school and socio-economic profiles of parents supporting private schooling. It also greatly helped to understand the students' expectation from private schooling.

Finally, the research design took into account the flexibility of the researcher's attitude based on the knowledge of cross-cultural settings. Being an outsider as well as an insider, this flexible attitude during the semi-conducted interview assisted in identifying some 'hidden agendas', when responders hesitated to discuss openly some problems. The cross-cultural experience of the researcher was helpful in engaging responders to disclose their concern in relation to a double standard of the state policy towards private schooling. So, cultural awareness was an additional part to assist in data collection.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **DATA ANALYSIS**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents an analysis of the data collected in private schools in Beijing and Moscow, between 1999 and 2003. The data presented in this chapter are arranged in order of increasing complexity. First comes the data sampled from an analysis of two sets of schools, one in Beijing and the other in Moscow. Having described these two sets of schools, the chapter illustrates the principle of triangulation through which features of these schools (economic, political, and socio-cultural) are analysed. This analysis then leads to a presentation of each school's profile, beginning with the Chinese schools. Profiles for each of the Chinese schools are intended to flesh out how their features can be mapped onto a larger framework. Then come the Russian examples, following the same format.

Based on in-depth interviews with the administrators and directors, this chapter uncovers the profile of each school, in a particular order: 1) location, 2) history and the school's establishment, 3) facilities, cost, 4) type of management, and 5) curriculum. The data analysis based on returned students' questionnaires, parents' surveys, and teachers' questionnaires is partially used in this chapter, but mainly is the subject of a comparative analysis presented in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7.

By the end of this chapter, it is intended that the reader could mentally picture these twelve schools. The attached photos in the section “Appendix” should help to demonstrate the point that each school can be seen as having an identity of its own, as well as conforming to one or other of the broad categories which are suggested by my own overall framework. The subsequent discussions based on the interviews and questionnaires that generate the more detailed findings of later chapters, can be better understood once these two sets of samples of schools are set out and the overall framework of data analysis explained.

#### **4.1 Collected data**

The total set of 271 schools that belong to the category of private schooling was a matter of the fieldwork investigation. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, this number includes the 49 schools as the Beijing file<sup>1</sup> and 222 private schools as the Moscow file.<sup>2</sup>

The sampling of different categories of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow results in detailed case studies of seven schools in Beijing and five schools in Moscow. These schools represent the specific characteristics of the system of private schools in Beijing and Moscow and illustrate the existing sub-groups of private schooling in each country. All together, the Beijing data include the responses of 136 parents, 98 students’ questionnaires, 18 teachers questionnaires and 7 interviews. Table 4.1 summarises the data analysed within this chapter.

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix 1. Background Materials. Table 2. List of Visited Private Schools in Beijing, pp. 463–464.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix 1. Background Materials. Table 3. Visited or Contacted Private Schools in Moscow, pp. 465–470.

**Table 4.1 Data Analysis of Private Schooling in Beijing, 1999-2003**

Schools name	Parents' survey	Students questionnaires	Teachers' questionnaires	Interviews
1. Beijing International School <i>Shunyi</i> (BISS)	5	5	4	1
2. <i>Helide Xuexiao Huijia</i> Educational enterprise	5	0	1	1
3. Beijing <i>Zhengze</i> Middle School	18	10	2	1
4. <i>Minban</i> schools: <i>Huangpu</i> High School	24	35	2	1
5. <i>Shi Xian</i> School	18	28	2	1
6. Xibahe N4 <i>Xuexiao</i>	10	10	2	1
7. Beijing <i>Dong Shi Men</i> Secondary School	56	30	5	1

*Source:* Irina Vasilenko, Data Analysis, Fieldwork, Beijing, 1999-2003.

The data analysis of the five schools in Moscow includes the survey of 83 parents, 44 students' questionnaires, 11 teachers' questionnaires, and 7 interviews. The Table 4.2 presents the summary of the returned questionnaires, surveys and numbers of interviews.

**Table 4.2 Data Analysis of Private Schooling in Moscow, 1999-2004**

Schools name	Number of parents' questionnaires	Number of students questionnaires	Number of teachers' questionnaires	Interviews
1.Private School (NGU) <i>Stolichnyj</i>	20	14	3	2
2. Private Schools <i>NAS</i>	0	0	0	1
4. Private School <i>Premier</i>	25	12	4	2
5. Private School <i>Venda</i>	20	10	2	1
6. <i>Litcey Myslitel</i>	18	8	2	1

Source: Irina Vasilenko, Data Analysis, Fieldwork, Moscow, 1999-2004.

The data of these fourteen selected schools was analysed using the principle of triangulation. The use of triangulation makes it possible to establish a cross-cultural classification of private schooling in any country-in-transition. This principle of triangulation reflects a cultural acceptance of social changes, an involvement of the political authorities, and financial management and will be a subject of our detailed discussion in the following paragraph 4.2.



## 4.2 Principle of triangulation

As a cross-disciplinary method, the principle of triangulation is understood and conceptualised in various ways.<sup>3</sup> Taking account of the various conceptions of the method of triangulation, this study understands triangulation as a method of data analysis that measures three major aspects of private schools concurrently, namely social, economic and political aspects. In this study, the principle of triangulation is a classifying principle of private schools operating in a transitional society that sets the wider boundaries or parameters of understanding the concept of private schooling in the changing environment of a transitional society.

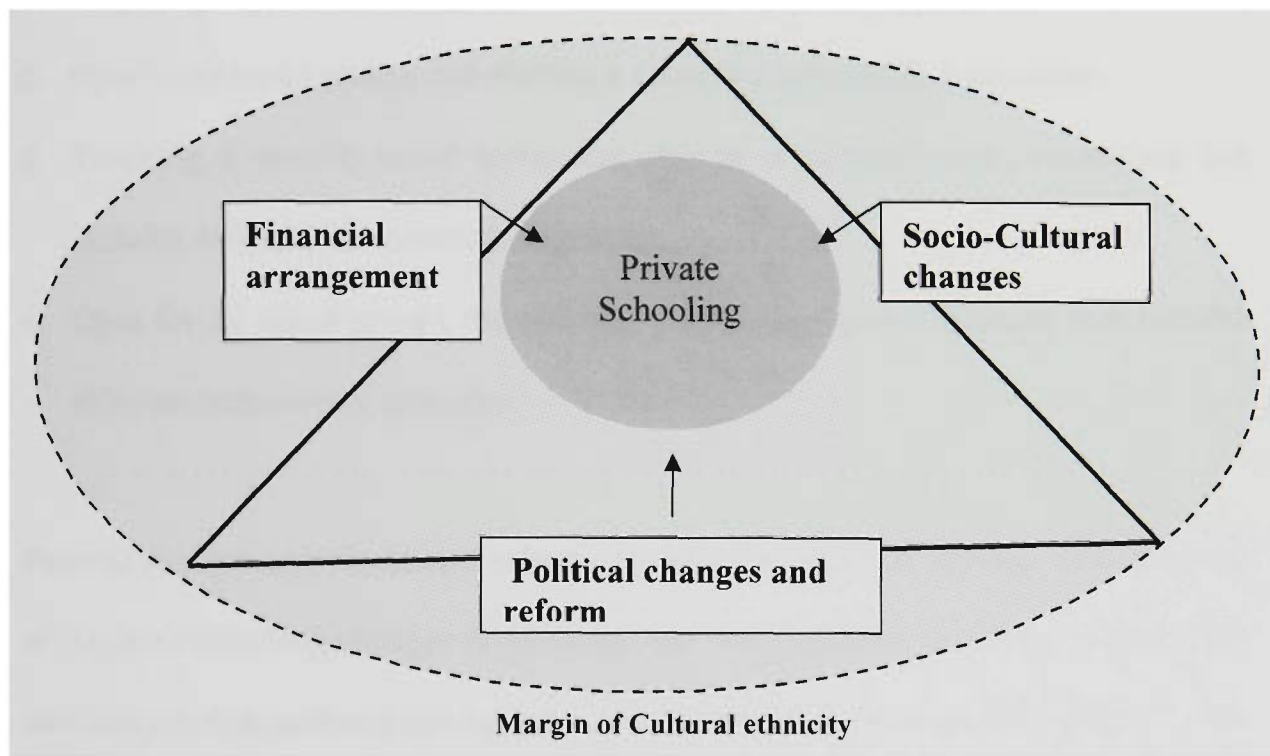
In contrast to previous classifications<sup>4</sup>, this study incorporated a triangle of the social, political, and economic categories that has formed the principle of triangulation and established a bedrock foundation for the triangle classification of private schools in a transitional society. Figure 4.1 demonstrates the combination of economic, political and socio-cultural aspects making up the basis of the principle of triangulation

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<sup>3</sup> Triangulation was referred to as a tool of “(...) bringing together of the answers gained from different methods and from different questions (...) and constraints on the research expanding the scale of ‘orienting decision’ ” (Andrews, 2003: 50); as a tool that helps to collect “the interconnected data within the core setting are strengthened through triangulation with the periphery, but equally with interconnected data collected in the wider setting” (Holiday, 2002: 43); as a way to increase the validity of a research by getting and comparing “multiple perceptions” of the same phenomenon (Stake, 1994: 57). However, in contrast to member-checking process it was argued that “triangulation should be thought of as referring to cross-checking specific data items of a factual nature” (Guba and Lincoln, 1989: 241) and “ought to be dedicated to verifying that the constructions collected are those that have been offered by responders” (Guba and Lincoln, 1989:241).

<sup>4</sup> The previous classifications underline the importance of social legitimisation (Kwong 1997; Litvinova 1995), economic reforms (Lushagina 1995; Mok 1997b), and educational reforms (Birzea 1994; Murphy, Gilmer, Weise, and Page, 1998).

**Figure 4.1 Principle of Triangulation: Case Study Framework, 1999**



*Created by: I. Vasilenko, Fieldwork, 1999.*

The aspect of socio-cultural changes refers to the changes occurring in the socio-cultural environment and signifies the importance of two major culturally framed elements related to the development of private schooling in a transitional society. The first element deals with a school policy targeting a particular social stratum. Being acceptable or not to all social groups in a particular transitional society indicates the level of social adjustment.

The second element of socio-cultural changes reflects the type of curriculum that the particular school has to offer. The combination of these two elements signifies a diversity of private schools based on the cultural adjustment and social acceptance of a school with the following characteristics:

1. Targeting a specific social group and offering a culturally appropriate curriculum;
2. Open to all social groups and offering a culturally appropriate curriculum;
3. Targeting a specific social group and offering a culturally-open curriculum that includes different international programs;
4. Open for all social groups and offering a culturally-open curriculum that includes different international programs.

Political changes and educational reforms are very important factors that reflect the role of the state regarding changes in ideology that were detected in private schools. The data analysis demonstrated that the role of the state is a very consequential factor for the successful development and operation of a private school, and could range from the direct guidance of the state to a complete withdrawal. In relation to the political aspect of state involvement, there are four different types of state engagement with private schooling in Beijing and Moscow:

1. Direct guidance from the state;
2. Indirect guidance of the state, occurring via retired politicians and state-honoured pensioners;
3. Affiliation with some political groups (can be an alternative to that officially recognised in a society);
4. Total dissociation with the involvement of the state in any form.

The aspect of economic reform is very important to the type of financial settings of any private school in a transitional society. As the data analysis indicates, there are four types of economic interests that reflect the different arrangements of financial sources:

1. Personal investment (local);
2. Group investment, including a 'local + overseas' combination
3. Economic organisation investment, including a 'local + overseas' combination;
4. State investment (only local).

In relation to the personal investment, the data analysis shows that each of these categories could have taken a different cultural shape. The Russian private schooling case indicated that a developer of a private school and a personal investor can signify the same person but, in many cases, it reflects the different arrangements regarding investment and management. The first scenario is based on a co-existence of parallel structures: the Director of a school, managing the school's everyday routine, and *khozjain*, a physical investor, who may or may not be familiar with the school's life and does not participate in routine and leadership (see case study of the school *Myslitel*). Therefore, the 'investment' and 'development' could be two phenomena that reflect cultural differences related to (a) individuals' development and personal investment (equivalent and non-equivalent); (b) personal development and a group investment; (c) economic group development and economic group investment; and (d) state development and economic group investment. Table 4.3 summarises all the characteristics of private schools in Beijing and Moscow that were applied under the principle of triangulation.

**Table 4.3 Principle of Triangulation: Composite Measures**

<b>Socio-cultural Changes</b>	<b>The political aspect and state involvement</b>	<b>Financial sources</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Targeting a specific social group and offering a culturally bounded curriculum</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Direct guidance from the state</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personal investment (local);</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Open for all social groups and offering a culturally-bounded curriculum</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indirect guidance of the state (via the retired politicians and state-honoured pensioners)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Group investment, including a 'local + overseas' combination</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Targeting specific social groups and offering a culturally-open curriculum that includes different international programs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Affiliation with a political party and in an association with the particular political direction (might be an alternative to their officially recognised in a society);</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic organization investment, including a 'local + overseas' combination;</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Open for all social groups and offering a culturally-open curriculum that includes different international programs.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Total dissociation with the involvement of the state in any form.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• State investment (only local).</li> </ul>

*Source:* I. Vasilenko, Data Analysis, 1999-2004.

### 4.3 Typological profiles of private schooling in Beijing

There are six different groups of private schools in Beijing: (1) a group of independent international schools; (2) educational private enterprises (*helide xuexiao*); (3) privately-run schools that are very close to the Western type of private school (*silide xuexiao*); (4) people-run schools (*minban xuexiao*). There are also two semi-transformed schools, which operate on the edge of the privately-run system and the system of state-run schools: (5) a group of the converted schools; and (6) shadowed schools.

(1) Independent international schools are a part of the internationally recognised and world-wide network of educational organisations that, via extensive facilities and teaching, deliver an educational service to the children of expatriates, from kindergarten to middle school, and extend their service to secondary aged students in order to either achieve a moral value of Christianity or provide progressive routes into top overseas universities.

(2) Educational private enterprises (*helide xuexiao*) are multifaceted complexes that link non-educational businesses (overseas and local) with the educational organisation for the *elite*, and under the indirect guidance of the state, maintain two separate programs: a national curriculum and a traditional IB program.

(3) Privately-run schools (*silide xuexiao*) are secondary schools that refer to some traditional Western values of 'being private', such as financial independence and a direct response to the local market demands, but, at the same time, expose a range of dependencies on the political forces and the state, and offer Chinese-language curricula

with intensive Foreign Language Programs, later preparing students for admission to the Chinese and foreign universities overseas.

(4) People-run schools (*minban xuexiao*)<sup>5</sup> are secondary schools that under the guidance of the state that maintain their facilities and financially operate based on the combined effort of a group of individuals or a community, and offer the intensive study of the national curriculum to those students, who for miscellaneous reasons were left outside the main stream of study, in order to prepare them for admission to a Chinese tertiary or further professional education.

(5) A group of converted schools represents schools transferred from the state responsibilities to the people-run type of schools, which enjoy the financial freedom of charging tuition fees for extended educational responsibilities towards a varied group of students, including foreigners, by offering national curricula with intensive English programs, and, at the same time, keeping a status of responsibilities to the state.

(6) A group of 'shadowed' schools represents some famous key-state-run schools that under a special remit of the state educational authorities are given permission to operate in parallel with the same-named key state-run schools, and have the privilege of charging tuition fees to students in-need of extra educational care.

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<sup>5</sup> It was the first segment of secondary education that was released from the financial obligation of the state and became a responsibility of local communities in rural areas of China. However, as will be underlined in Chapter 5, the rural and urban systems of *minban xuexiao* have different characteristics, tendencies and future. As a response to economic development and a cultural shift after the implementation of a new economic policy, the urban *minban xuexiao* refers to the form of private schooling run by a group of people with financial and administrative responsibilities towards compulsory education and the capacity to develop, to the same extent, the system of supplementary education independently from the state.

These last two subgroups are changeable; they represent semi-transitional forms from the state-run system to the *minban* type of school and are a result of the privatisation of secondary education initiated by the state. This process spurs the semi-transferred forms of schooling and represents an intermediate stage from the state-run system to privately-run secondary education. Driven by an intention to pass the financial burden of running schools into the hands of the community, the state, at the same time, is eager to keep a control over the administrative management of these schools. Table 4.2 demonstrates the diverse forms of private schooling, operating in Beijing by 2003.



**Table 4.4 Principle of Triangulation: Classification of Private Schools, Beijing, 2003**

<b>Type of School and example</b>	<b>Economic Parameter</b>	<b>Political Parameter</b>	<b>Socio-cultural Parameter</b>
International School: Beijing International School <i>Shunyi</i> (BISS)	Personal investment and group development	Complete dissociation with an involvement of the state in any form	Targeting a specific social group and offering culturally-open curriculum that includes different international programs
<i>Helide Xuexiao</i> : <i>Huijia</i> Educational Enterprise	Group investment and group development.	Indirect guidance of the state, occurring via the retired politicians and state-honored pensioners	Targeting a specific social group and offering culturally-open curriculum that includes different international programs
<i>Silide Xuexiao</i> : Beijing's <i>Zhengze</i> Middle School	Personal investment and development personal	Indirect guidance of the state, occurring via the retired politicians and state-honored pensioners	Open for all social groups and offering culturally-open curriculum that includes different international programs
Urban <i>minban xuexiao</i> : <i>Minban</i> boarding schools: <i>Huangpu</i> College	Personal investment and group development	Affiliation with a political party and in an association with the particular political direction	Targeting a specific social group and offering culturally bounded curriculum
Urban <i>minban xuexiao</i> : <i>Shi Xian</i> College	Group investment and personal development	Direct guidance from the state	Targeting a specific social group and offering culturally bounded curriculum
Converted School: <i>Xibahe N4 Xuexiao</i>	State investment and group development	Direct guidance from the state	Open for all social groups and offering culturally-open curriculum that includes different international programs
Shadowed School: <i>Beijing Dong Shi Men Secondary School</i>	Group investment and group development	Direct guidance from the state	Open for all social groups and offering culturally bounded curriculum

Source: I.Vasilenko, Fieldwork Data Analysis, Beijing, 1999-2003.

#### **4.4 International schools**

There are two sub-categories of the independent international schools. The first sub-category includes independent international schools, which operate mainly for the embassies' employees and offer instruction in the languages of the embassy (British School, French School, Swedish School; German School; Japanese School, Russian school). This category of schools charges the tuition fees only in the foreign currency and the price range is varied from Euro 5,000 to 10,000 or from US\$ 7,000 up to US\$ 15,000 per year.

The school's buildings can be located inside the embassy walls as well as on rented premises outside an embassy area. For example, the International Russian School is located on the territory of the Russian embassy but also provides service for the embassies of the former Soviet Union republics, now independent states; the school closely works with a Russian culturally-appropriate curriculum. But the French School is located in rented premises near the residential area of the French embassy. The language of instruction in this school is French and the school provides the French national curriculum along with the International Baccalaureate (IB) Program. The policies of these schools are the sole responsibilities of the embassies and politically, socially and financially do not relate to the involvement of the Chinese authority under any circumstances. This category of international private schools has been excluded from this study.

The second sub-category of international school includes denominational and non-denominational types of independent schools that mainly target expatriates, foreign experts and overseas Chinese, working and staying with a family in China. At the same

time, these schools are open to a specific category of family, where one of the parents is a local Chinese. This category of international school is a part of the private schooling system in China and therefore has been included in this study. These schools work in the two parallel modes of Chinese and English languages of instruction. The schools charge tuition fees either in US\$ (from US\$ 3,000 to US\$7,000) or in equivalent sum of money in national currency RMB (*renminbi* or *yuan*).

All independent international schools are co-educational, with a mix of denominational and non-denominational. For example, the International school of Beijing offers a strong Christian-infused American curriculum and emphasizes character building rather than entering the tertiary level of further education. But the Harrow International school of Beijing offers a qualification at GCSE and A level that provides further education at the top British and other world universities. Some independent international schools target the expatriates' children aiming to enter particular universities. As an example, the Australian International School of Beijing offers the Western Australian education Curriculum, including the Tertiary Entrance Examination Program.

The curriculum of the international schools is the subject of attention by the Chinese Educational authorities. Observations of the international schools, in-country and overseas, is a part of the state-run campaign under the slogan "Learning the best from West"<sup>6</sup>, which aims to replicate the best knowledge on privatisation in education in order to place the world-proved experience within Chinese schools.

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<sup>6</sup> In the end of the 1990s, the Ministry of Education instructed the educational authority to organise several study trips to a number of European countries and Japan in order to bring back to the country the best knowledge of the private schooling development. After consideration, the Japanese model of privatisation in education was taken as an example how to privatise secondary education in Mainland China (Guangyu 1997).

#### 4.4.1 Beijing International School *Shunyi* (BISS)

The BISS was founded in 1998 by Chinese expatriates from Hong Kong with English connections as a co-educational school. The school is located only three minutes from the residential villas at the *Chaoyang* District, just off the North Third Ring Road, the residential area popular among the expatriates in Beijing.<sup>7</sup> The school targets a specific social stratum of Chinese expatriates, mainly Koreans, Americans and Singaporeans.

BISS is an English-language international day school having the model '4 in 1', meaning that the school has four campuses comprising the Lower elementary school (equivalent to the pre-schooling level, a kindergarten), the Upper elementary School (equivalent to primary schooling), the Middle school (equivalent to junior secondary schooling), and the High school (equivalent to high schooling or a college) under one roof. The school also occupies a modern building with clean classrooms with the capacity for 10-15 students, a kitchen and dining hall, and a sport's ground outside.

The school specialises in providing the IB program to more than 360 students of more than 48 nationalities from the pre-kindergarten level to grade 12. The reputation of the school is very high and is considered as an example in delivering the international standard of education. Chinese authorities express a certain interest towards the methods of teaching. As the Australian-born manager pointed out, during one year (1998) the representatives from the Beijing State Education Bureau visited five times in order to observe the teaching of English, and Mathematics.

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<sup>7</sup> The central location and modern buildings are common features of all international schools. See Appendix 2. Photographs. Photo 1. Beijing International School, p. 476.

This type of school provides a culturally open and internationally recognised curriculum. The school has an accreditation from with Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC) and focuses on the individualised type of education. Special programs include Model United Nations, China Studies, performing arts, fine arts, and athletics. Students of the High School may choose the International Baccalaureate (IB) diploma program. The average class has 20 students. Depending on the level of schooling, the price ranges from US\$ 9,900 to 20,000 per annum. The cost of the transport and food is an additional extra and varied from US\$ 2,000 to 4,000 per year, depending on the distance between the school and the home residence.

The school has a high reputation for academic achievement. Each class of less than 10 students has one English speaking teacher and a Chinese assistant. The majority of graduates enter the British (57 per cent), American (28 per cent), Singaporean (5 per cent), and the top of Chinese - *Beida* (3 per cent) and *Qinhua* (2 per cent) - universities. The facilities of the school represent the best world-standard. For example, the High School campus has a library, dance studio, visual arts centre, computer lab, and science lab. Sports facilities are also world-standard and include a playground, 200m athletics' track, and basketball, volleyball and tennis courts.

#### **4.5 International educational enterprises**

International Educational Enterprises is a relatively new development in the system of Chinese education that became transparent at the end of 1999, when the CPC took a direction in the Special Educational Zones as a part of experimental innovation in the investment into education, locally and internationally. These schools make a strong

attempt of accumulating the best experience of Western education under the close attention of the Party via the involvement of old Party cadre ‘patriarchs’ of education as advisors. The connection with ‘the oldest’ on the national level allows these schools to make the curriculum flexible and up-to date according to the parents’ demands and their financial ability. The selection of students in these schools depends on the parents’ capacity to pay an exorbitant amount of money. The exclusivity of these schools is based on the high quality of curriculum (mainly copied from the West).

As the case study of *Huijia helide xuexiao* demonstrated, there are several important issues faced by the educational enterprises in China: (1) despite the financial independence, this group of schools has an indirect, but a firm link with the CPC through the retired high-ranked CPC members; (2) despite the fact that these schools have superior learning facilities compared to a majority of private schools, a lack of computers, IT classes, a constant shortage of English teachers are downfalls faced by educational enterprises.

#### **4.5.1 Huijia Educational Enterprise**

*Huijia* Educational Enterprise (*Huijia helide xuexiao*) is an education complex that comprises a chain of kindergartens, a primary, middle and junior secondary school, a vocational school, a university, a research institute, and a research centre for the study of overseas students. This category of private schooling is located on the outskirts of

Beijing, in the so-called Special Educational Zone Development between Eight and Nine Rings Roads.<sup>8</sup>

The organisation is a new type of schooling that aims at bridging the local system of education with global education. The organisation specialised in international education provided by the Australian Alexander International Education Group. For this project the school received a great support from the superior education body, the Ministry of Education.

The history of this school demonstrates the evolution of a majority of private schooling in Beijing. Starting as a provider of a private kindergarten in the end of the 1980s that the *Huijia* Kindergarten gradually enlarged to a chain of kindergartens (*Huijia* Kindergarten Complex), which are located across different districts of Beijing, *Haidian*, *Chanping*, and *Fengtai*. The social recognition of service was so high that the one of the founders of this educational complex, Mr Wang Jia Jun, in 1993 decided to expand the service towards secondary schooling.

Now the territory of the *Huijia* Educational Enterprise of 360 *mu*<sup>9</sup> makes *Huijia* one of the biggest private holders of land in the East Longfengshan District, one of the Beijing outskirt regions. The several integral parts of the *Huijia* Educational Enterprise are located in the area named “Special Educational Zone” that is between Beijing and Tianjin. The *Huijia* Educational Enterprise includes (1) the basic primary/middle *Huijia* school, (2) *Huijia* College, (3) and *Furen* University affiliated in 2003 to the

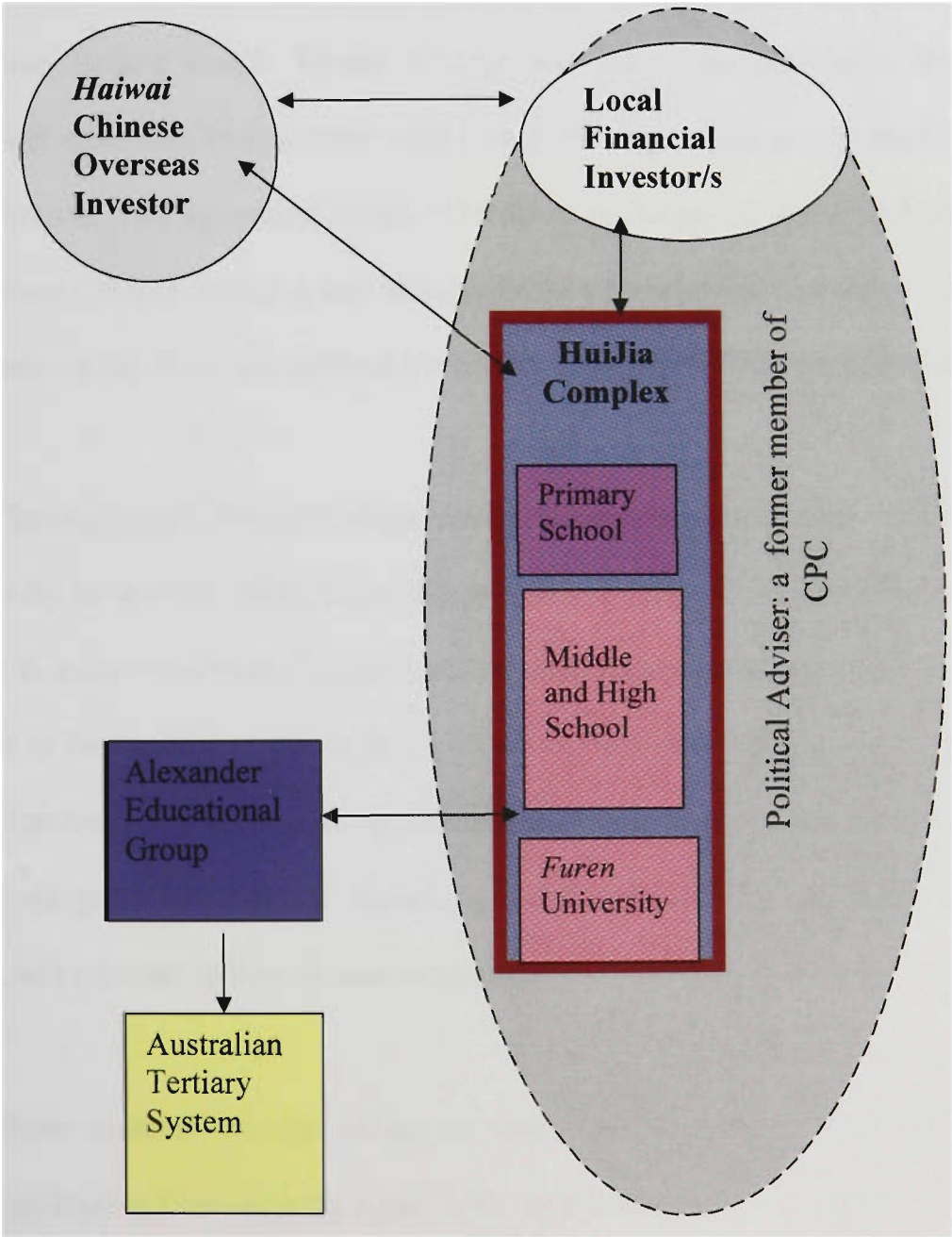
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<sup>8</sup> See Appendix 2. Photographs. Photo 2. Outskirt of Beijing: *Huijia* Educational Enterprise Location, p. 476.

<sup>9</sup> “*Mu* is Chinese traditional unit of area measurement (= 0.0667 hectares)” (Cowie and Evison, 1980: 317).

school. This University is functioning as a research local centre with a focus on education and also as the first internationally recognised privately-run university. Figure 4.2 summarises the structure and management of *Huijia* Educational Enterprise.

**Figure 4.2    *Huijia* Educational Enterprise:  
Structure and Financial Management**



Source: I. Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Beijing, 2003.



The *Huijia* Secondary School was set up in 1995 as a model '3 in 1' that includes the primary, junior and high levels of secondary schooling under one roof. A private co-educational school offers the service from Year 1 through to Year 11 and arranges classes in different buildings. In the year of 1998, under an approval granted by both Beijing Municipal Commission of Education and the Western Australian Government, the *Huijia* Educational Enterprise obtained an exclusive joint venture in education between Beijing *Huijia* Private College and Alexander Education Group (Perth, Western Australia). In December 1998 both parties signed an agreement of international cooperation. This agreement covers (1) student exchange, (2) bringing *haiwai xueshen* (overseas Chinese students) into Mainland China for studying in *Furen* University, and (3) sending the *Huijia* Educational Enterprise's students to Western Australia.

The Beijing *Huijia* Private College started to operate in December 1999, but opened officially in the year 2000. This College gives the chance for Chinese students (who want to study overseas) to finish Year 12 in Beijing and achieve a satisfactory ELICOS result to be enrolled in the tertiary system of Australian education. The College also offers to Australian students an opportunity to study Chinese culture and language in the native-language environment. Therefore, the school acts as an agent and, at the same time, as a provider of international education.

For those students who are willing to study in China, the doors of Beijing *Furen* Foreign Studies University (as a part of the *Huijia* Educational Enterprise complex) are always open. This private University was established in 1984 as a part of the phase

privatisation in the tertiary system. Since then 15,000 students have graduated from Beijing *Furen* Foreign Studies University.

The *Huijia* Educational Enterprise impresses visitors with its modern red-colour buildings<sup>10</sup> and spacious clean classrooms. After observing the facilities of Chinese private schools, casual visitors would infer world-standard teaching and learning facilities. However, as the data analysis of the questionnaires of teachers shows, behind the grandiose façade are still numerous problems for the *Huijia* Educational Enterprise. These include a lack of freedom regarding the independent decision making process, a shortage of experienced qualified teachers, and a lack of contemporary teaching materials and IT equipment. There was also a big concern among the teachers about the freedom of speech, work and movement. The strict control of teachers by the administration is the reason why, despite the extremely attractive salaries paid by the school,<sup>11</sup> teachers left the job after their contract finished. This is both a response to the excessive control over their movement and the opportunity to take other jobs. There are two streams of teachers: the majority of young recently graduated teachers, working on a full-time basis, and retired professors from the prominent *Beida* University, who teach casual hours.

The state plays a very important role in the success of this school. The indirect involvement of the state via *guanxi* (personal connections) carried on by the former oldest party cadre, Mr Tao Xipin, plays a significant role towards the recognition of

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<sup>10</sup> See Attachment 2. Photo 3. *Huijia* Educational Enterprise: Front Gate and Administrative Building, p. 477.

<sup>11</sup> The teachers' salary in this school ranged from 5,000 *yuan* (A\$1188) to 7,000 *yuan* (A\$ 1659), which is 2,5 times higher than the salary of an average teacher in other private schools (3,000 – 4,000 *yuan*, which is A\$700- A\$948); and 5 – 7 times higher compared to the salary of a teacher working in a state-run school.

*Huijia* as the major provider of global education in China. Having a role of being ‘a patriarch’ (or ‘oldest’), Mr Tao Xipin patronises the development of the *Huijia* Educational Enterprises and approves those school activities that operate alongside the Party’s line. *Huijia* Educational Enterprises received from the CPC assistance in different forms in return for 1) contributing significantly to the educational development in the SEdZs, 2) firming a political connection with South East Asian region (in this particular case with Taiwan via Hong Kong and Australia), and 3) attracting financial investment in education from wealthy *haiwai Zhongguo ren* (overseas Chinese), and 4) tightening the wealth of overseas Chinese with the economic infrastructure of the Mainland Chinese via education.

The indirect financial help from the state, including a Loan Program, a smoothing decision making process through *guanxi* (personal connections) with the politicians of the CPC highest echelon, and an exclusive land renting program formed the special economic, political and social status of this school.<sup>12</sup>

#### **4.6 Beijing *silide xuexiao* (private schools)**

Compared to the South of China, this category of private school in Beijing is not widely developed. There are several reasons why this type of private schools developed more slowly in the capital of China. The first reason is an unsettled position of the state

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<sup>12</sup> The *Huijia* Educational Enterprise has the special Educational Loan Program, which was signed, with Beijing Commercial Bank (*Qinghuayuan* Branch) in September 1999. This program targeted students who wish to study overseas by providing to them a financial assistance for the next 5 -10 years. This program opened a door to the school’s students to continue studying overseas in Murdoch College (Western Australia), with the responsibility to return to China after the study. Among indirect guidance we should mention an exclusive relationship with the Ministry of Education, Liu Bin (who is also an Honoured President of this school and Inspector General). This high-connected network assists the financial relief of taxation.

towards the private schools. Whilst the state officially declares a positive attitude towards the development of private schooling, in reality the state reacts very suspiciously towards any independent movement among private schools. As a result of this dubious attitude some private schools were annulled, others were restricted in their profit-seeking activities. The ambiguous position of the state towards private schooling has its effect on the further growth of a private school. This is why this category of private schools seeks a firm bond with the political forces that would guarantee the social status of financial investment of individuals and assist in further development.

The majority of private schools are linked with the Beijing Municipality of Education and only very few reach the status of being the subject of a special policy of the Beijing Educational Committee. There are several different forms and policies, which include the special status of a school as 'an experimental private school', 'a school under the state guidance' and 'a school of special consideration'. All of them, in fact, reflect *guanxi*, the connection between a management body of a private school with the state officials based on a personal relationship, kinship or friendship. The educational bureaucrats play a significant role by providing a necessary political and social support and by involving the state body in the official opening, celebration, and other important ceremonies, as well as advising them on financial policy. The private schools, in return, accommodates officials, who work in the educational bodies and have a close association with the school, with additional income via offers them casual rates of teaching, lecturing and conducting of seminars. The Beijing *Zhengze* Middle School's case study provides the classical example of the complications occurring on the road to success in the market of private schooling in Beijing.

#### 4.6.1 Beijing *Zhengze* Middle School

Beijing's *Zhengze* Middle School is the first full-time private senior high school in Beijing City opened in 1984 by an individual, Mr Jia Weiyin, the founder, educator, and director of the school for more than 15 years.<sup>13</sup> He named this school “*Zhengze*” in honour of an ancient poet Chu Yuan, who in his the poem “*Li Sao*” depicted a scholar named “*Zhengze*”. The name of Beijing's *Zhengze* Middle School reflects the philosophy and policy of this school that is based on the philosophy of the quality of education and affordable cost. The school charges only 1,200 *yuan* (A\$ 228) per year, an affordable sum for lower middle-class families.

The quality of education is the first priority for the school targeting several categories of students. The specially targeted group is the junior high school graduates who for various reasons did not graduate on time and could not enter the senior high-level stream via regular channels. According to the data analysis, there are several categories of students, studying at *Zhengze*: those (1) who did not prepare for some reason to enter university and are required to repeat the year in order to concentrate on study (80 per cent), and those (2) who have family problems (remarriage, one-parent family) (18 per cent).<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Now seventy-six years old Jia Weiyin is retired and enjoyed the story-telling how he started his private capital with around 17,000 *yuan* (around US \$ 2000) in the 1940s, when young student Jia Weiyin studied at the Department of Economics in Yanching University. After graduation he worked at a public school, but soon he left to teach English at a private remedial school in Xidan's Piku Lane till the Cultural Revolution. When the Cultural Revolution ended he decided to come back to teach the young generation to be decent human beings.

<sup>14</sup> 2 per cent of students did not answer the question referring to the reason for studying in this school.

The relationship between the state and the school went through several stages. In the beginning, the school did not have any support and help.<sup>15</sup> Gradually, Mr. Jia Weiyin developed a network that actively engaged the educators working at the different level of the official educational bodies. As a result, the school hired 23 teachers on a part-time employment basis and the 17 teachers work in the Beijing District Education Department, the Beijing Municipal Education Bureau, and the State Committee of Education as the officials, administrators or researchers. The close relationship with the state educational officials arranged a new position for the school. The school was recognised as a private experimental school. Being in the category of an experimental school in the system of private education, the school, thus, receives enormous support from the administrative division of the State Education Commission.<sup>16</sup>

The curriculum of the school is identical to the curriculum run by the state, with the only difference being a greater emphasis on studying English. The standard of state schooling facilities<sup>17</sup> and moderate tuition fee<sup>18</sup> attract many students. In 1992 fifty-two students were officially enrolled, but in 1999, the number of students increased to 300 students. The school is not an exclusive educational body. The school runs extra activities alongside with the local Neighbourhood Committee's activities that, according

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<sup>15</sup> Recalling the earliest time of his school, Mr Jia Weiyin noted, "in the beginning the school has to changed five times. Keeping the school going was hard. In five years the schools changed its location six times. I was as poor as ever. At first, I had no school buildings, no laboratory equipment, no teaching staff. I had two legs and a bike. I have to pedal to each corner of the city" (extracted from the semi-conducted interview with Mr Jia Weiyin, Founder of the School, 2 December, 1999).

<sup>16</sup> The Head of the State Education Commission mentioned that the school enjoys the favourable position for "the applying a progressive experience towards private schooling. Studying private school policy and regulations will make private schooling in China better" (extracted from the interview with Mr Huang Yao, Head of the State Education Commission, 12 December, 1999).

<sup>17</sup> The facilities of the school are good according to the Chinese level. The school has its own building, an area and the outdoor sport facilities (a basketball court and running oval), but the building is old with bare walls and lack of space inside. School has a shortage of equipment, one language class and one IT class with 5 out-dated computers. The black desk and a chalk in classrooms are the typical teaching equipment.

<sup>18</sup> Despite the fact of that the founder of the school is still 60,000 *yuan* (A\$ 3,158) in debit, the school charges a moderate price around 1,200 *yuan* per year (A\$ 228).

to Mr Jia Weiyin, are not only cementing the relationship between the school and locals, but also promotes the school's popularity among the local community.<sup>19</sup>

#### 4.7 *Minban* schools

The data analysis demonstrates that the majority of *minban* schools are a) a boarding type of school, set up by retirees (educators, former political cadres, or celebrities) on rented premises with a low (to moderate) standard of facilities in order to provide educational service to students who failed to pass the entrance exam to universities. However, as the data analysis shows, the *minban* group also includes (b) *minban* schools that are half-day schools running in the same mode and curriculum as the state-run schools (*Shi Xian College*), (c) *minban* Saturday schools (*Renmin Daxue minban xuexiao*).

The *minban* schools seek to be placed under the umbrella of the state provincial level of educational bodies. The majority of them link with the Beijing Municipality of Education and very few with the Beijing Educational Committee. The case study of the boarding school *Huangpu College* demonstrates the process of establishment and development of the *minban* category of private schooling.

##### 4.7.1 *Minban* boarding schools: *Huangpu College*

The idea of re-establishing the *Huangpu College* was inspired by two prominent army leaders: 96-year old General Wen, who had devoted his life to the Revolution since the age of 24, and 70-year old General Gao Chunxing, who was an Artillery Commandeer

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<sup>19</sup> Photo 4. “Zhengze School Students on Study Trip to the Newly Built Neighbourhood Office” (see Appendix 2, p. 477) shows how the middle secondary students, accompanied by the English teachers, become involved in the local communal project. Students were asked to name the offices in English of the newly built local communal house, but foreign teachers have to answer.

in the People's Army of China. Both of them were graduates from the Nationalist's Military Academy at *Whampoa*<sup>20</sup> and both have received a high social recognition for their role during the Revolution.

In order to promote the peace and friendship between the "two Chinas", these two prominent figures agreed to set up a school that could carry on the patriotic spirit of the *Whampoa* people. In 1994 General Gao Chunxin took a personal loan of 5 million *yuan* (A\$ 80,000) and borrowed the same amount of money from his relatives in Taiwan.

In 1995 the school was set up in order to provide educational service to off spring of the *Whampoa* Military Academy people under the management of former *Whampoa* Academy graduates. Soon after the opening, the school experienced various obstacles. The first director, a teacher Mr Pei, felt ill and soon was replaced by Ms Song Man Xia,<sup>21</sup> who also soon was replaced by retiree Mr Wang Hui Cheng who was also a former *Huangpu* military school student. Now a schoolteacher, Mr Wang Hui Cheng, is still a director of the College. Together with the Head Master Mr Yi, and teacher Mr Lei they formed the current leadership of *Huangpu* College.<sup>22</sup>

During 1995-1997 the school also experienced financial difficulties. A lack of funding reflected the poor facilities at *Meigan Yuan*, the area on the edge of Beijing's Fifth Road. This distant location from Beijing also was a sign that the school could not afford to rent premises close to central Beijing. At that time, the school rented a

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<sup>20</sup> *Whampoa* Military Academy was the first military academy in China, established in 1924 and modelled on Soviet institutions, with Russian advisers and teachers, in order to train elite military cadres.

<sup>21</sup> Ms Song Man Xia was assigned for this position due to a being *Huangpu* former student, and also to his father social recognition and his role in Chinese history. The father of Song Man Xia worked with former Premier Zhou and devoted his life to the Revolution.

<sup>22</sup> See Attachment 2. Photo 5. *Huangpu Minban* Boarding School: Welcome from the Leaders, p. 478.



building of a half- demolished factory that had two rooms with no heating system that at night became a sleeping compartment. During the summer season, the conditions were bearable, however, when the winter season started, students had to face survival conditions: toilets outside, frozen water in mornings, and showering once a week.

Based on *guanxi*, the school's networks extend among the former graduates of the *Whampoa* Academy around Mainland China and the Strait. The prominent name of this academy was a signpost of exclusive education in a hope to enrol students from different parts of China and overseas (Taiwan and Hong Kong). However, during the first two years, the number of students did not grow. The school faced a critical stage: out of 100 students, 58 returned home.

The changes arrived in late 1997, when the school received a special recognition from the Education Committee of Beijing as 'a school of testing the certificate'. This status permitted this school to have the right to issue their graduates with the nationally unified High Student Graduation Certificate. It allowed the school not only to enlarge its marketing policy by offering to all graduates across China and overseas the official document that officially recognized their study at the school, but it also instituted a political ground for the school's functioning. The school received a special status from the Education Committee as 'the school building up one China'. Since the year 1997, the number of students has been climbing.<sup>23</sup>

After receiving a special status with the Education Committee of Beijing, the leaders of the school became actively involved in the political campaign of firming the link with

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<sup>23</sup> In 1997, the school enrolled 900 students, in the year of 1998, there were over 1100 students, and in 1999 the number of students reached the figure of over 1400 students.

Taiwan to order to re-conceptualise assumptions 'Isolated Taiwan' and 'Two Chinas'. As a result, in the year of 1998, sixty delegates from Taiwan (some of them representing the *Whampoa* people in Taiwan, some of them not) were overwhelmed by the existence of this school in China. To honour this event, the school adopted a name *Huangpu minban xuexiao* (*Huangpu College*).

The school's effort in relation to promoting the unity of China was noted by the former President Jiang Zheming. The school received a favourable renting policy at the building of the former state-run school at the Fourth Ring Road, an area close to the central parts of Beijing that was suitable for schooling and boarding.<sup>24</sup> The school established international connections not only with Taiwanese *Huangpu*, but also with the American *Whampoa* people. One of the second-generation leaders of the *Whampoa* movement, Mr Chen Shun Cheng, who now is based in America, in 1998 personally, invested 10 million *yuan* (A\$ 1.900000) for the further development of the *Huangpu College*. In 1999, the school had the capacity to improve learning conditions regarding overcrowded classes and boarding facilities.<sup>25</sup>

Now the *Huangpu College* is a co-educational boarding school hosting 100 students. Despite the fact that the school policy underlines the priorities of receiving overseas students, predominantly from Taiwan, in reality, there are two streams of students attending this school: (1) drop-outs that come from over 20 provinces of China (the major stream of students came from the South, mainly from the Wenzhou and Zhejiang provinces; and (2) *Huangpu* cadres' off-spring. In order to ensure studying

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<sup>24</sup> The issued by Beijing Municipality Education Committee License that is openly displayed on the wall, stated: "The school achieved a significant effort for the unity of China. Therefore, the state will provide any assistance in all reas that will improve and unity Chinese people across the world." (translated by I. Vasilenko).

<sup>25</sup> See Appendix 2. Photo 6. *Huangpu Minban College: Boarding Facilities*, p. 478.

for their students at the tertiary level, the school established an affiliation with the Beijing Herbal Institute and Business Institute.

The *Huangpu* College offers a national curriculum with an extensive study of some subjects. For example, if Mathematics requires 34 hours per week, the student in this school will have 45 hours per week as an additional help after study in the class. There are fifty students in a class. The 72 part-time teachers work for wages that ranged per class of 55 minutes from 28 *yuan* (A\$ 5.32) for a young teacher to 34 *yuan* (A\$ 6.46) for a professor. However, the majority of teachers are in their retired age and have extra tutorials in different universities. Teachers can have an extra 7 *yuan* (A\$ 1.33) per student to teach extra students after class. The monthly salary of a teacher is not more than 1,000 *yuan* (A\$ 190). The salary of management personnel in this school is around 1,500 *yuan* (A\$ 285). The teachers and management personnel start their working day at 6 am and finish at 6 pm but there are several teachers, who look after students in the boarding facilities and stay overnight at school.

The school runs classes in the similar manner to the state-run schools with the basic facilities of using a black desk and a piece of chalk. The Language Lab is a room with posters in English on the wall. An out dated computer was the only one that was spotted in the Director office. However, the school pays serious attention to nutrition of their students. The school has two mini-vans and a bus.<sup>26</sup> According to the leader of the school, in 1999, the fixed capital of the school is over 100 million *yuan* (A\$ 19 million). The school increased the annual tuition fees from 2900 *yuan* (A\$ 559) in 1998 to 4500 *yuan* (A\$ 855) in 1999. The additional expenses, such as a medical levy

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<sup>26</sup> See Appendix 2. Photo 7. Façade of Huangpu Minban Boarding College and School-owned Bus, p.479.

of 30 *yuan* (A\$ 5.7) per year are partially covered by the state medical insurance policy; and those students who use the school's bus have to cover the transport cost of 400 *yuan* (A\$ 76) annually.

#### **4.7.2 Minban day school: Shi Xian College**

*Shi Xian* College is a day secondary school that offers the Chinese national curriculum for students whose parents for various reasons prefer private schooling.<sup>27</sup> *Shi Xian* College is one of the most successful privately run schools that were opened in the year 1993 by a group of 'social forces'. This group of 'social forces' involves two local individual investors associated with the Beijing police force and the People's Liberation Army personnel. They were not specialists in education, however they decided to establish a school for a category of children seen as having the potential for 'making troubles'. Ms Li Xue Lan, who was a principal for 15 years in *Fungtai* Experimental School, the key-state school, was asked to be a Director of *Shi Xian* College. Her connection with the Beijing Municipal Education Commission and the respect gained from her work-mates were also taken in account.

The data collected at this school show that the majority (56 per cent) of parents decided to enrol their children in the school due to its proximity to home; another 30 per cent of parents see the advantage of studying in the less crowded classes. Only 5 per cent admitted that their children cannot attend the state schools for different reasons, and 2 per cent mentioned it is does not matter which school was attended by the children because they will be studying overseas to obtain the further education.

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<sup>27</sup> See Appendix 2. Photo 8. *Shi Xian* College: Main Gate, p. 480.

The school catered for 120 students, for those 1) who did not succeed in entering University and were required to repeat the final year of studying; and 2) who required the extra attention and around-the-clock discipline. The majority of students' parents (74 per cent) have a police and military professional background. The school is located in an inner-city compound with army-run facilities (students live in the army-like room), a common bathroom and a Chinese style toilet. The classroom learning equipment is moderate and includes a blackboard, a desk, chalk and the explanations of teachers; the only TV set on the wall was used for political studies.<sup>28</sup>

There are two categories of teacher, working in this school: (1) teacher-retirees from the targeted local Universities (60 per cent) and (2) graduates from the Chinese Universities (40 per cent). The school invites graduates from the Beijing universities who do not want to return to their homeland, and offers them a package with moderate pay (around 1,000 *yuan*), free accommodation, and a mandate to stay in Beijing.<sup>29</sup>

The school provides a culturally open curriculum that combines (1) the main compulsory subjects of Grade 11 according to the Chinese State educational program; and (2) the targeted subjects of the Beijing Technology and Business University. The school has ambitious plans to improve the English classes. In order to overcome a shortage of English teachers and to gain status on the market of private education as a school with 'overseas connections', the school is constantly making an attempt to implement a blending combination of the British, European and American versions of English Programs and Mathematics Programs. The schools for the last three years

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<sup>28</sup> See Appendix 2. Photo 9. *Shi Xian* College: Classroom during the Break, p. 480.

<sup>29</sup> For the young graduates, having an accommodation in Beijing is the most important factor influencing them to stay with this school for the next several years.

entertained delegations of several overseas educational organisations of different levels and purposes: Utah Valley State College, (USA), *Liton* Education Center (Hong Kong), Business Management School (Switzerland), and the American Graduate School of Business (France).<sup>30</sup>

The main aim of this school is to ensure entry to tertiary or specialised technical educational organisations. Strong cooperation was developed with Beijing Technology and Business University, Yanshan University (Qinhuangdao City), and Beijing Institute of Machinery.<sup>31</sup> Due to the special connection with Beijing Municipal Education Commission, the school has legal status equally close to the state-run school. The school practices the principal responsibilities system under the guidance of the Board of Directors, who are also members of Municipal Education Commission. Thus, upon completion of studying the maximum length of three years, the students are issued with a unified High Students Graduation Certificate under the responsibility of the Beijing Municipal Education Commission.

#### **4.8 Semi-transparent forms of private schooling**

The data analysis shows that now in Beijing there are also semi-transparent forms of private schooling that combine characteristics of the state-run administrative responsibilities with the people-run financial responsibilities, functioning in the system of the *minban* schools. This type of converted schools is represented in this thesis by the

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<sup>30</sup> In the interview, Ms Li said: "The urgent task is facing us is to develop their [kids] intelligence and wisdom soon to become talented personal capable of assimilating the culture essence both home and abroad. That is why I am trying to run well a senior high boarding school with foreign language features and secure relationships with famous schools in Europe, Australia and the United State, which becomes the goal of my new challenge" (extracted from the interview with Ms Li, Director of *Shi Xian* College, 27 November, 1999).

<sup>31</sup> The popularity of these educational organisations is lower compared to *Beida* or *Qinhuwa*, and is respected of being the second or, some cases, a third preference choice.

*Xibahe N4 School* case study; the *Ren Ming Da Xue Xiexiao* school represents the type of shadowed schools. These two schools operate on the edge of people-run mode and the state-run mode under the aegis of the state-run school. The parallel stream of fees-paying education is a prerogative for those students not capable of catching up with the main stream of students in the state-run mode.

#### **4.8.1 Converted school: *Xibahe N4 school***

Located in the *Chaoyang* District, *Xibahe N4 school* is a formal state-run school that was converted to the privately-run *minban* school in 1994. There are several “social forces” (Deng 1997) involved in establishing this type of school: (1) the Educational Consulting Division of the Social Benefits Foundation, and (2) the consultative body of the *Chaoyang* District Education Bureau. Being graded as an experimental school under the responsibility of the *Chaoyang* District Education Bureau, the school was financed by two sources: the state-run school raising two-thirds of funds and instruments and equipment, and the *Chaoyang* District Education Bureau providing the site and one-third of the funds.

The school is a day-run school without boarding facilities. The five level building is in a good condition because the school was formally a ‘key-state-run’ school and received an advance financial assistance from the state. However, the equipment of the classes is the norm for the Chinese learning environment: a blackboard, a teacher with chalk in one hand, and a text book in the other.

The school targets all social groups who can afford to pay for the classes and offers a locally-bounded curriculum. The school curriculum is identical to the state-run with one

exemption. The English department contracts nine foreigners to conduct the English language classes: seven expatriates who have native (or near native) skills in English on a casual basis with the 100 *yuan* per hour <sup>32</sup>; and only three foreigners were contracted for a year with the salary of 4,000 *yuan* per month (A\$ 700) under the conditions of a package “Teaching English in China” that includes free accommodation, medical insurance and travelling discount.

The school caters for 400 students. For its educational service the school charges a fee around 1,600 *yuan* (A\$ 393) annually without any additional cost which is, according to the parents’ survey, a positive tendency (86 per cent) due to the fact that the majority of private schools very often request an additional cost on the top of the mandatory payment.

#### **4.8.2 Shadowed school: *Beijing Dong Shi Men Secondary school***

*Dong Shi Men Secondary School* started in 1968 as a state school. In the year 1993, the school was chosen to be one of key schools in Beijing. It was assigned by the State Educational Bureau (the highest Chinese official educational body) as the school chosen for the delivery of the best quality education. During the years 1995-1996 the school was allowed to re-register with the regional body of the Beijing municipality. It lowered the rank of the school from the state-level to the regional level, but, at the same time, it allowed this school more independence and creativity in relation to structure, finance management and introduction of new educational programs with the involvement of the foreign teachers.

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<sup>32</sup> There were no qualified foreign teachers in the English department: one teacher in his 60s was from the South Africa, two teachers in their seventies were from Australia, and one young Russian woman in her 20, who speaks English.



Recently, the school has come under the surveillance and assistance of the district *Dong Chang* Educational Bureau. The movement of this school from one body of the official educational authority to another is very important in order to understand the evolution of the financial assistance and the scope of the independence of the school.

The recognition as a key school qualified this school for the additional financial assistance from the state that includes up-grading learning facilities, decreased class size, developing the additional programs and courses in respect to the chosen subjects in 'deep study'. According to the chosen subjects 'in-depth studies', the Chinese language, English, and Mathematics, the school provides a supplementary curriculum combined from two sources: (1) the state assistance towards the implementation of additional programs, and (2) the school fees charged for extra classes on Saturdays.

The surveillance of the state authority of the educational body, gives this school the opportunity of implementing their own programs and courses, giving an extra financial income to augment the teachers' salary. Thus, the school implements the 'deep study' classes in English, Chinese and Mathematics that run each Saturday with the exclusion of holiday and national days.

This Saturday school operates on a different mode compared to the key state school. The administration of this school is composed from the close relatives of those who work in the main school. Depending on the demands, the size of the class is varied from 6 to 25 students. The school conducts several classes different to the state-prescribed educational programs and has flexible policies towards employment and teaching

methods. For example, the school can independently contract foreigners to teach English.<sup>33</sup>

In 1999, there were 25 teachers, among whom 9 were foreigners teaching on a casual base with pay of 120 RMB (approx. A\$ 24) per hour, and most are working without a teaching qualification solely on the basis of being familiar with English. Weekday teachers who run classes from Monday to Friday conducted the Mathematics at junior levels. However, for the senior level Mathematics, as well as Chinese, the school invites tutoring staff from a number of Chinese Universities; including the very famous *Beida* (Beijing University), and *Qinhua*. All teachers work on the casual base with the hourly rate three times higher than any Chinese state-run educational institutions.

The schools charge tuition fees for covering the financial cost of these programs. Parents pay a non-refundable fee directly to the school between 100-200 RMB (around A\$ 18-30) per month with a minimum three sessions on Saturday. The parents have the choice of buying the package of the Saturday additional programs that includes Chinese, Mathematics and English. A part of this money covers the salary of the teachers and the administration; the rest goes to the main school as rent and facilities payment. Thus, the evolution of the *Dong Shi Men* Secondary school demonstrated the implementation of privately-run and fees charged supplementary education under the state's responsibility and therefore reflects the privatisation under the state control.

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<sup>33</sup> See Appendix 2. Photo 10. With the Expatriate English Teacher Infront of Beijing *Dong Shi Men* Secondary School, p.481.

#### 4.9 Typological profile of non-government schooling in Moscow

The study established that by the end of 2004 in Moscow there were more than 500 educational organisations operating in the non-government-run system of education. The data analysis reveals the system of non-government schooling includes the following categories: (1) independent schooling (embassies and religious schools), (2) supplementary schooling of *obrazovatel'nyi complex* (an educational complex), and (3) actually private schooling that will be a focus of our detailed analysis.

Schools of embassies and religious schools are formed the systems of independent schooling that does not reciprocate with the Russian system of schooling. In contrast to Beijing, these two sub-categories of independent schooling were also excluded from this study due to a lack of connection with the system of private Russian education.

Also the category of *obrazovatel'nyi complex* (educational complexes) was not included in this study due to the fact that these financially independent educational bodies provide some additional educational service ranging from professional development to a preparation to entering tertiary levels, locally or internationally, within an additional program, focused at the specific clients' requests rather than overall education.

The fieldwork also reveals that by the year 2000 in Moscow there were several types of state-run schools offering additional classes under the user-pay principle. These state-run secondary schools, named as a *gimnazija* or *litsei*, offer fee-charged supplementary classes as an additional element to the state-prescribed curriculum. Some state-run *spetsializirovannyje shkoly* (specialised schools) also implemented fee-paying

*spetsializirovannyje klassy* (in-depth study courses). Due to their functioning in the system of state-run schooling these subgroups were excluded from the data analysis.

Therefore, the focus of this research was aimed at the system of privately-run schools offering full secondary education. As fieldwork indicated, the system of private schools (private schooling) consists of several sub-categories of a) educational enterprises (*negosydarstvennyje obrazovatel'nyje uchrezdenija i organizatsii*, NGO), and b) private schools (*chastnaja shkola*).

The educational enterprises in Russia were named as non-government educational organizations (NGO). NGO<sup>34</sup> refers to a chain of several schools, located overseas and locally, that, financially and administratively, is linked to the one owner (a group or an individual), and delivers a culturally open curriculum to the specifically targeted groups.

Private schools (*chastnaja shkola*) present a financially independent educational unit that offers updated educational services under a financial agreement (a contract) between parents and the particular school. Private schools do not have international branches and perform educational service locally. The names of private schools can be varied. The *litsei* or *gimnazia* can be used instead of 'a school' in order to attract parents willing to give to their children the Arts-oriented type of education. The use of *litsei* or *gimnazia* is confusing because these forms of secondary schooling also exist in the state-run system. The certain indication of a privately-run school is the individualised name of a school (e.g. the Slavic-American school "Marina", the school "Alfavit",

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<sup>34</sup> The data analysis demonstrates that in many cases the characteristics of a private school can be identical with *negosydarstvennoje obrazovatel'noje Uchrezdenije* (NGO) (a non-government educational organization), but in some cases there is a difference related to the structure and a type of management.

Gymnasium “Klassika”, *Litsei Stolichnyj*). Therefore, in this work these two sub-categories will refer as “private schools” that respect the system of private schooling.

These two sub-categories of private schooling in Moscow offer a combined type of curriculum that includes compulsory and supplementary subjects. The variation of the Supplementary curriculum studied on the advanced level along with extended Compulsory curriculum, is immense. Depending on the quality of Supplementary curriculum, the tuition fees are varied and can be charged in national currency (Roubles) as well as foreign currency (US\$ or Euro). However, this market-driven method of payment is facing the considerable changes due to the State Regulation from 25 May 2006 regarding the banned foreign currency payment within the local market.

#### **4.10 Categories of private schooling**

The data analysis of private schools in Moscow demonstrates the existing variations in relation to the curriculum, social recognition, and economic characteristics of private schools. Regarding the type of curriculum, this category of private schools presents the most varied forms of curriculum: (1) specialized in targeting group and offering culturally-open curriculum (12 per cent); (2) open for all social group and offering culturally appropriate curriculum (10 per cent); (3) targeting a specific social group and offering a culturally-open curriculum (28 per cent); and (4) open for all social groups and offering culturally open curriculum (50 per cent).

In relation to social characteristics, the category of private schools can be divided into the following subgroups:

- (1) Elite private schools – co-educational boarding and day schools with an exclusive standard of education, learning environment and studying conditions. These schools are not typical for the majority of Russians and consist of only 2 percent of a total number of private schools. The financial agreement between schools and parents are varied but the lowest level of charging fees is US\$ 5,000 per month.
- (2) Upper-middle class schools: co-educational day schools and non-co-educational schools with up-dated boarding facilities upon personal request, owned buildings and land, outsourcing services, small classes (the maximum up to 10 students in one class), security, transport. The schools have individually designed diets, and provide a personal psychologist to each student of the school due to a great emphasis on the character-building program. The tailored educational program combines the best of the local and international educational achievements: the System Zankova (Robin 2002), Montessori System (Wentworth 1999), Waldorf System (Schwartz 2000), Elkonina-Davydova System (Kozulin, Gindis, Ageyev and Miller, 2003), and the Howard system (Howard 1999). The school invited educational specialists from overseas and teachers from top local universities, conducted routine overseas trip on *kanikuly* (school holidays), and charged fees of around US\$ 800-1000 monthly. This category of private schools embraces 10 per cent of all private schools.
- (3) Prevalent private schools: co-educational schools, extended working hours in the regime of half-*pension* (from 7am to 7pm), own building, off-sourced or rented facilities, medium size classes (10-15 students), school's bus routes, the parallel

curriculum – Compulsory and Supplementary – where the latter is combined with additional subjects related to the individual’s demand; IB Program, conducted by a invited native speaker, changed nutrition-balanced diet (each monthly), a medical check-up (per semester), the annual overseas language program family holiday trip; charging fees between US\$ 500-800 per term. This category of private schools tackles 64 percent of the total private schools in Moscow.

(4) Average private schools: co-educational half-*pension* school and schools, rented building (usually kindergarten) and contracted facilities, medium size classes (17-20 students), cafeteria meals, predominantly part-time teachers, one school bus, excursions to different parts of the country, charging fees around US\$ 300-500 per term. 24 per cent of schools belong to this category that operated in Moscow by 2004.

The table below presents the characteristics of studied private schools in Moscow according to the principle of triangulation.

**Table 4. 5 Principle of Triangulation: Classification of Private Schools, Moscow, 2000-2004**

<b>Type of School and example</b>	<b>Economic Parameter</b>	<b>Political Parameter</b>	<b>Socio-cultural Parameter</b>
Non-government Educational Organisation: NGO <i>Litsei Stolichnyj</i>	Personal investment and group development	Indirect guidance of the state via the membership with the state-run educational organisations	Targeting a specific social group and culturally-appropriate and culturally-open curriculum that includes different international programs
Elite private school <i>NAS</i>	Personal investment and personal development	Complete dissociation with the state in any form	Targeting a specific social group and offering culturally-open curriculum that includes different international programs
Upper-class private school <i>Premier</i>	Personal investment and personal development	Complete dissociation with an involvement of the state in any form	Open for all social groups and offering two parallel curricula: (1) culturally-appropriate and (2) culturally-open curriculum that includes different international programs
Middle class private school <i>Venda</i>	Personal investment and personal development	Complete dissociation with an involvement of the state in any form	Open for all social groups and offering culturally-appropriate and culturally-open curriculum that includes different international programs
Low-middle class private school <i>Myslitel</i>	Personal investment and group development	Complete dissociation with an involvement of the state in any form	Open for all social groups and offering culturally-appropriate curriculum

Source: I.Vasilenko, Data Analysis of Fieldwork, Moscow, 2000 and 2004.



#### 4.10.1 Elite school NAS

The private school NAS<sup>35</sup> represents the exclusive elite subgroup of the category of upper middle class private schooling. This subgroup of private schools embodies only two per cent of all the private schools in Moscow. NAS is a full-day school that provides education from Year 1 to the final Year 11 with boarding facilities that upon request of parents can be used at any time. Boarding facilities consist of 10 individually designed rooms where en-suites with a spa, mobile phones, and personal DVD and TV are compulsory elements of the interior. The maximum capacity of students is 50. In the year 2000 the school catered for 36 students. The location of the school is inside of the second ring of Moscow, *Bulvarnoje koltso*, and is located in the historical building of a former Russian aristocrat. The wife of a leading political figure in Moscow opened the school. A discreet operation for the public, a zero advertising campaign, a stringent selection procedure and isolation from the main stream of private schools can characterise the in-house policy of this school.

Initially, the school was established in 1991 to provide educational services to the children of a marginalized economic group of *Novyje Russkije* (New Russians), who for miscellaneous reasons decided to finish their secondary education in Russia. Now the school provides an individualised service to the political elite strata of *Novyje Russkije* and economic upper-class that includes magnates and corporate bodies' associates from the financial sector, banking, tax department, and petrol industry as well. This school prior to any legalisation of private schooling received State Accreditation and a license for issuing graduates with the *Attestat zrelosti* (Certificate of Completed Secondary

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<sup>35</sup> The coded name of this school is a result of the agreement between the researcher and the school administration that did not want disclose any names. This school did not agreed to conduct any surveys, but the manager of this school kindly agreed to provide a tour around the school and answered only appropriate to the school policy questions.

Education). However, for the graduates of this school, the local Certificate of Secondary Education is not the sufficient document. Upon graduation or even before, students go to study in private boarding schools in England and USA, where the majority of them decide to stay permanently.

Starting with eight students in 1991, the school currently caters for the needs of 36 students. There are twenty-four teachers, five psychologists, and twelve personal trainers who are responsible for the successful outcomes of a high quality of education. The five members of the school's management are responsible for the quality related to the delivery of educational services; and 34 service personnel (security guards, chauffeurs, librarians, doctors, kitchen staff, gardeners and cleaners) are obliged to deliver exclusive comfort and maintenance.

The learning and living facilities of the school are impressive. It includes 24-hour surveillance of the schools' ground and classes, excluding the students' personal apartments. The school also has impressive IT facilities. There are four IT labs, with 40 computers, 10 computers in each class. Two labs work with the Apple and Mackintosh Programs, and other two work with Microsoft Programs. Despite the high standard of IT service, the school encourages students to bring personal laptops (notebooks) to the class as an integral part of cultivation of the political and economic elite.

Based on the blending combination of two types of curricula – Compulsory and Supplementary – the school has individually designed programs of upbringing, educating, and developing the personal assets of each student through the primary, middle secondary and high secondary levels of schooling. The compulsory subjects,

such as Physics, Mathematics, Biology and Chemistry are conducted by Doctors of Science from the Finance Academy of Russia and Academy of Foreign Affairs on a part-time basis. The English language classes<sup>36</sup> are conducted by two professional foreign teachers from London and three are local MA holders. Classes are tailored individually according to the interests of the particular student and can be changed according to a student's decision. The school provides a regular study-tour during the four school holiday seasons to Cambridge, Oxford and Harvard. The school has achieved a high academic standard. All students continue their study at the tertiary level overseas.

The school also provides a range of personal development courses: automotive modelling, astronomy, art designing and crafting. The Chess Club and Classic Dancing Studio are open for students from Year 1. There is psychological assistance to accommodate each student in order to help to overcome social isolation and elitism. The monthly fee is a very individualised issue and subject to the personal portfolio of the parents' business. The minimum payment starts from US\$ 5,000 per month.

#### **4.10.2 Non-government organisation: *Litsei Stolichnyj***

The history of *Litsei Stolichnyj* reflects the tendencies associated with the development of non-government educational organisations in Russia. The initial stage of the beginning of non-government educational organization can be traced back to the year 1988-1989 when, during the period of the stagnant state-run economy, many Soviet people experienced a shortage of supply, in particular those who were not involved in material production and business, such as teachers, educators, and academics.

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<sup>36</sup> English is a compulsory subject from the Year 1 through the Year 11. Study of a second foreign language, usually German or French is begun from Year 5.

Therefore, many of them became involved with *kooperatives*, independent private enterprises of small-scale business activity.

In 1988, the founder of the educational *kooperative*, Mr Vilson, established a private enterprise that provided IT service to several experimental state-run schools<sup>37</sup>; one of them was the state school No.600 that retained a partnership with the NGO *Litsei Stolichnyj*. Two years later, in 1991, the Director of one of these schools was offered to combine the financial asset of this *kooperative* with the infrastructure of one of the experimental schools, which experienced a deep financial crisis. In 1992 a new privately-run school was registered with the Moscow Committee of Education (*Komitet Obrazovania goroda Moskvy*) under the name *Litsei Stolichnyj*. From the beginning, the school targeted the children of the rapidly enriching social class of New Russians.<sup>38</sup>

Starting with 57 students in 1991, now the *Litsei Stolichnyj* teaches 574 students from the Year 1 to the final Year 11. Due to the multi-skilled experience of the owner of NGO *Litsei Stolichnyj*, academician Mr Vilson who has entrepreneurial, educational and academic expertise skills, by the end of 2000, the school had four branches. In the year 2004, this school opened six branches locally and overseas.

Three branches are located in Moscow (Central Moscow Branch *Litsei Stolichnyj*) and around the Moscow region (a boarding school *Sophrino* and the regional branch *Shkola Buduschego*), and three schools are located overseas: one is in the former Russian

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<sup>37</sup> Experimental school is a state-run school that was allowed to diversify the compulsory curriculum by inventing the innovative teaching methods, disciplines, and programs as well as was allowed to diversify the financial sources for an implementation of the experimental programs.

<sup>38</sup> The phenomenon of New Russians refers to the rapidly arisen, in the late 1990s, social strata of the richest of the wealthy entrepreneurs, ranging from chairmen of banking and financial sectors and top criminal bosses to body corporate members and small business owners.

Republic, now independent state, of Kazakhstan; another school is in Finland, and there is a school in the Czech Republic.

The management of facilities in each branch in Moscow is very high. The schools have a high-quality learning environment in the day-school *Litsei Stolichnyj*<sup>39</sup> and boarding facilities in *Shkola Buduschego*<sup>40</sup> In these schools students can take any sport activities in the built up indoor sports ground<sup>41</sup> or study IB subjects in IT class.<sup>42</sup>

The inner structure of each branch is typical for the category of private schools. Each school has five departments: Department of Foreign Languages, Department of Information Technology, Department of Sport and Recreation, Department of Arts and Humanitarian Disciplines, and Department of Science and Mathematics. All departments of each school work closely with the Department of Psychology and Personal Orientation.

The inner structure of NGO embodies the absolute power of the President (backed up with the legal advice of a personal solicitor). At the top of the schools' management is the Director of NGO who shares the responsibilities with two managers. The Educational Program Manager is responsible for the implementation and delivery of the Educational Programs across all departments in each school. The Property Maintenance Manager looks after the maintenance of the NGO properties. The upper body of the NGO *Litsei Stolichnyj* includes The Russian Academy of Education, the Highest School of Economy (State University), the state school number 600, the state-run recreational

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<sup>39</sup> See Appendix 2. Photos 11-12. NGO *Stolichnyj*: Learning Environment, p. 482.

<sup>40</sup> See Appendix 2. Photos 16-17. NGO *Stolichnyj*: Boarding Facilities, p. 484.

<sup>41</sup> See Appendix 2. Photo 18. NGO *Stolichnyj*: Sporting Facilities, p. 485.

<sup>42</sup> See Appendix 2. Photos 13-15. IB Program in Progress: IT Lab, Classroom and IB Office, p.483.

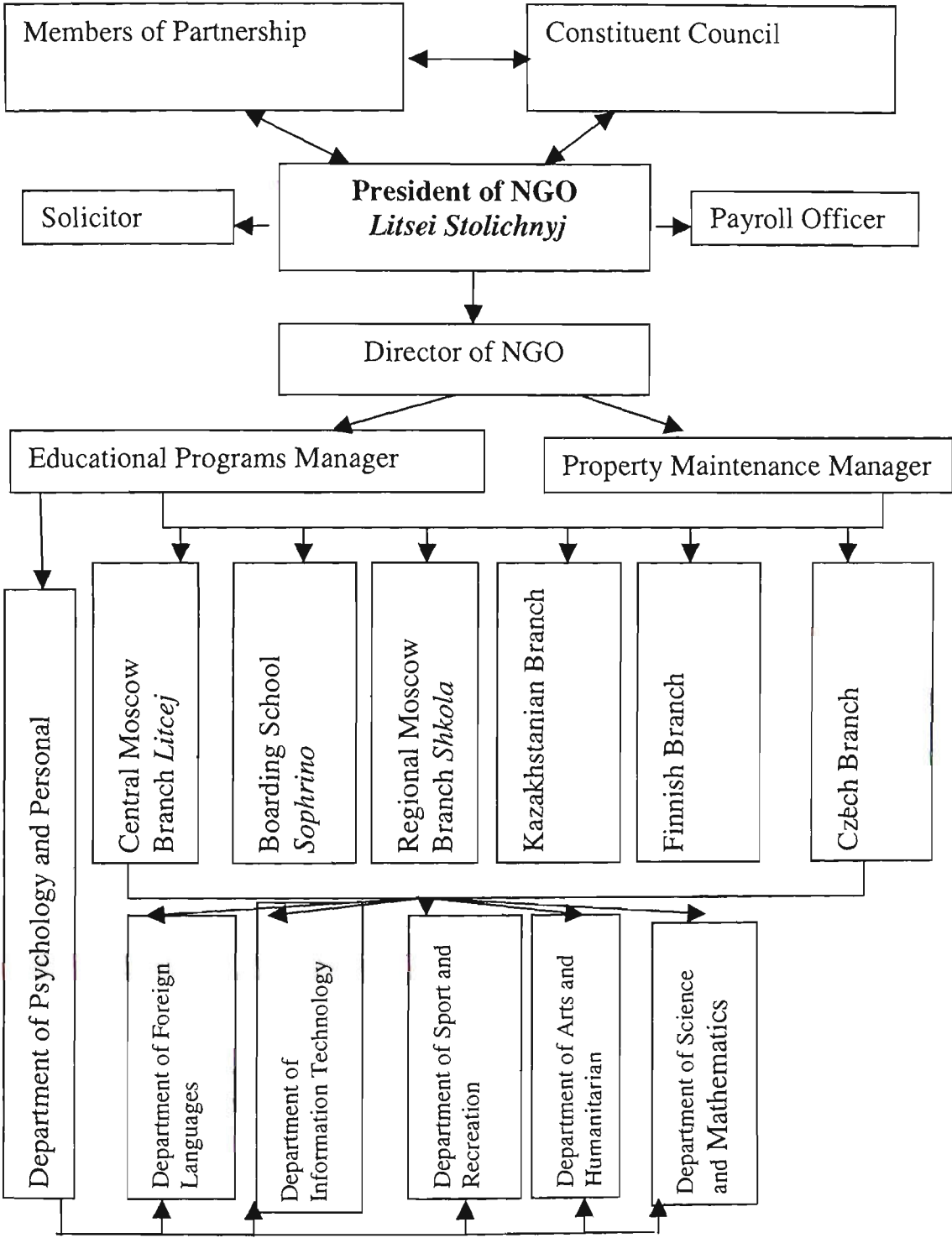
complex *Sophrino*, Professional Golf Association, and the legal firm “World of Law” which signed an Agreement of a non-commercial partnership.<sup>43</sup>

Apart from the overseas extension, the inner structure of the “*Litsei Stolichnyj*” illustrates a typical management structure that was repeated by all private schools and can be applied to any private school in Moscow. However, the overseas extension of this school is advanced and is widening with the opportunity to seize the market. This gives the school a strong position to be successful in the fierce market of private schools in Moscow. The structure of the NGO *Litsei Stolichnyj* is presented by Figure 4.3.

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<sup>43</sup> The main aim of the Agreement of a non-commercial partnership is to avoid the tax deduction program. According to the Law of Private Education (1996), any profit making commercial organizations can obtain the tax relief program under the circumstances of investing the profit in education.

Figure 4.3      NGO *Litsei Stolichnyj*: Structure and Management



Source: I. Vasilenko, Data Analysis, Fieldwork, Moscow, 2000 and 2004.

By the end of 1999, the *Litsei Stolichnyj* received a high social recognition in Moscow due to the high quality educational service delivered by the school. According to the independent magazine “*Komersant*” (1999, issue 20), the school was ranked number seven among all school in Russian and number 5 across the category of private schools.

#### 4.10.3 Upper-class private school *Premier*

The private school *Premier* was founded in 1992 by Ms Tatjana A. Yurovskaja, with a structure common for most of private schools, that includes pre-schooling (nursery and kindergarten), primary, and secondary schooling (middle and senior).<sup>44</sup> Classes are conducted from 9.30 am to 6.00 pm, in the system of half-boarding *pension* (boarding facilities). The school has a reputation of one of the best educational providers in the system of all Moscow schools. In the academic year of 1998/99, the school achieved the highest rank number 4 on the ranking scale out of the best 100 state and private schools. The school has excellent learning facilities and teaching environments<sup>45</sup> and sport facilities.<sup>46</sup> The school has its own restaurant and kitchen.<sup>47</sup> In 2003 the school built a new five-storey school building of 200 classrooms and sporting facilities (a swimming pool and basketball court).

Two campuses of the school are located in the South District, near metro *Krasnogoradskaja* (kindergarten and primary campus) and the secondary school is

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<sup>44</sup> The education in this school starts from nursery school (3 to 6 years old), then continues at the primary level (6/7 to 9/10 years old). After finishing the primary school, student automatically enrolls the secondary school (9/10 to 13/14 years old), and finally graduates from the senior/high school at 16/17 years old.

<sup>45</sup> See Appendix 2. Photos 19-21. Private School *Premier*: Learning and Teaching Environment, p. 485-48.

<sup>46</sup> See Appendix 2. Photos 22-23. Private School *Premier*: Indoor Sportsgrounds and Sanitary Facilities, p.487.

<sup>47</sup> See Appendix 2. Photos 24-25. Private School *Premier*: Kitchen and Students Cafeteria, p. 488.



situated near the *Domodedovskaja* metro station.<sup>48</sup> The territory of the schools is under over clock professional surveillance and upon request; the school can provide *lichnyj okhranik* (a personal body-guard).

The school offers a culturally appropriate curriculum,<sup>49</sup> working towards the International Baccalaureate Diploma along with the nationally accredited General Certificate of Education. The students taking the IB classes are monitored through all the years of studying.<sup>50</sup>

The specialized Foreign Language Program starts from the Nursery school (1<sup>st</sup> form) continuing till stage IV, the two last years of graduation. At stage IV (Year10 and Year 11) the school offers a pre-University oriented program.<sup>51</sup> The Program aims at fluent speaking, writing and reading skills upon completion. The level of teaching is extremely high. The majority of teachers are holders of postgraduate qualifications (MA and PhD). The school has partnerships with Moscow State University and the Higher School of Economics, the two leading prominent tertiary bodies in the Russian system of Higher Education.

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<sup>48</sup> The close location to the metro does not specify the popularity of the school, because the majority of the students reach the school by private transport or home-to-school minibus service (the school has five mini buses and two standard buses), but indicates the central location in Moscow.

<sup>49</sup> "The school provides well structured learning environment and a caring atmosphere where each student can develop the potential skills. The school acquires the widest possible range of skills of the student to make his pathway to be successful in the future. It is why our school works with tow curricula. The combination of the National Curriculum and a personalised, flexible timetable meets the needs and best interests of a child" (extracted from the interview with the Director of the school Ms Lubov Mashina).

<sup>50</sup> See Appendix 2. Photo 26. School *Premier*: IB Office, Year 10 Students Files, p. 489.

<sup>51</sup> See Appendix 3. Figure 1. International Model of Forein Language Program in *Premier*, 2000-2004, p. 502.

#### 4.10.4 Middle-class private school *Venda*

The school *Venda* is located at the Northeast region, the so-called 'dormitory regions' of Moscow, with a characterless urban style of high-rise buildings that were erected by the end of 1990. The school is one of the many other private schools, which started to provide privately-run educational services before the inauguration of the economic reform in 1991. In 1990, in the abandoned building of a former kindergarten Mr. and Mrs. Shegol opened an educational enterprise under the name '*Venda*'<sup>52</sup> in the former kindergarten building.<sup>53</sup>

Initially the cooperative offered parental assistance for the newborns and babysitting, full-day and part-day childcare, pre-school training, kindergarten and primary teaching. Gradually, the enterprise extended the service towards secondary schooling, and in 1993, was issued with the license to provide a range of educational services in relation to kindergarten, primary, and secondary schooling.

Now under the fully government-approved accreditation (*akreditatsija*), the school provides a specifically targeted "3 in 1" program with an individually-designed curriculum focusing on the individual capacity and ability of a child from pre-school to entry into particular targeted top tertiary organisations, such as the *Unstitut finansov, ekonomiki i prava* (University of Finance, Economy and Law). The high secondary level is oriented towards the entrance to this University and has a semi- official reputation of being the university's 'off-shore' branch. The school also signed

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<sup>52</sup> The euphonious pronunciation of the Latin name was a popular trend in names for private cooperatives in the era of *perestroika*.

<sup>53</sup> See Appendix 2. Photo 27. Location of Private School *Venda* in the former Kindergarten Building (p. 489) that illustrates a typical look for the majority of private schools in Moscow.

agreement for a special consideration for their students with several other tertiary organisations (the Russian Academy of Law, the Russian Academy of Barristers and Solicitors) to ensure the placement of the schools' students after graduation.

The school offers a culturally-appropriate curriculum that includes two components: compulsory subjects and elective subjects. The selective subjects can be varied and depend on the students' demands. They could include studying a Second Foreign Language, Psychology, Advanced Math-method, Mini-economy, World Culture and Arts. The school pays attention not only to the physical activities (tennis, karate, aerobics, swimming, skiing) but also to personal development and creativity (there are weekly classes in handy-craft, pottery, puppetry theatre, classic and modern dance classes, choir, and a classical theatre).<sup>54</sup>

The school has standard middle class school facilities: a qualified chef responsible for the balanced nutrition of three meals every day from Monday to Friday. Considering that students come from all parts of Moscow, the school has a car park and responsibility to deliver students from home to the school and back. The monthly fees are not fixed and vary within the brackets between US\$ 500-1000 depending on the business of parents. Some wealthy parents provide *mezenatstvo* (a type of charity) by making a substantial donation of money.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> See Appendix 2. Photo 28. Private Schools *Venda*: Students Arts Works Exhibition, p.490.

<sup>55</sup> The recent donation was a sum of 3 million Russian roubles from a parent, wished to avoid the taxation authorities and decided to invest into education in the school where his son is studying.

#### 4.10.5 Low middle-class private school *Myslitel*

The school *Myslitel*<sup>56</sup> is located in the green zone outside the central Moscow areas. Its origin is dated back to the year of 1919 to the time of the Bolsheviks' turmoil. Upon the request of Lenin's wife, Nadezhda Krupskaja, the Red Commissariat of Education was assigned the special project of opening a school for orphans at the *Sokolniki* Park. The aim of the project was to help those children-orphans whose parents died during the Revolution and the Civil War. During the Soviet Union era, the school was financially subsidised by the state. The turning point occurred in 1991, when the former President Yeltsin dismissed the state-run economy and state-run education started to sink (Pervova and Gordon 1997). This school was not prepared to enter the market and in a short period of time, was in need of rescue. By 1995, the State Educational bodies experienced negative processes including a shortage of teachers, unpaid salaries, bribery, and an unlawful transformation of the state property to individuals under a special consideration (Kerr 1995).

In 1995, the director of this school, Ms Bogdanova, approached a private businessman, who at that time was involved in the process of controlling the financial assets of the *Sokolniki* region, in order to seek financial assistance. Ms Bogdanova offered a plan of privatisation for the school that was a survival strategy for many state-run schools. In 1995 the former state-key school was privatised and named *Myslitel* (Thinker) and became one of the private investments of Mr *Sasha* (a pseudonym). According to the contract agreed upon, Ms Tatjana works with a fixed monthly salary (US\$ 200) and provides administrative and educational leadership.<sup>57</sup> The financial investor collects

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<sup>56</sup> See Appendix 2. Photo 29. Private School *Myslitel*, p. 490.

<sup>57</sup> Teachers of this school are paid salaries in Roubles that equivalent US\$ 100, not counting the additional private tutoring that allows them to increase their salary up to US\$ 300

money raised from fees at the end of the teaching finished in June and is not involved in the schools' everyday routine.

The school is a small, co-educational, family-oriented school, providing educational service for 45 students from primary school to the graduating year 11. It focuses on the basic components of the state-prescribed curriculum, but, at the same time, offers additional hours for chosen subjects. The small classes and friendly environment make this school very popular for those who want to avoid studying under stress.<sup>58</sup> The school also has an outdoor swimming pool, dance studio and provides a *Débutante Ball*, which is fairly new for Russia.

English, German and French are specialised subjects of the school taught by part-time lecturers from the Russian Academy of Education. The school provides several services, including door-to-door transportation, speech therapy, and the service of a psychologist. The school works 7 days from 8 a.m. till 8 p.m. During the *kanikuly* (a study break), the school organizes activities, including sporting activities, excursions and trips around famous locations in Russia and former Soviet Union Republics.

The monthly fee (US\$ 300) is considered to be relatively low compared to other private schools. The school is focused on the middle-class working family with both working parents having a busy schedule, and provides a culturally-bounded curriculum with a strong family orientation setting. After graduation from the school, students will enrol in the Russian Academy of Education, with whom the school has a close connection.

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<sup>58</sup> See Appendix 2. Photos 30 - 31. School *Myslitel*: Family Environment, p. 491.

#### **4.11 Conclusion**

The data analysis of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow was analysed against the political, economic, and socio-cultural elements of the environment in which any private school in Beijing and Moscow has to operate. The combination of these three aspects forms the bedrock for the principle of triangulation, which was applied towards the data analysis of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow.

In relation to the Beijing system of private schools, the analysis of data demonstrated that by the end of 2004, the Chinese private system of education diversified itself and expanded its service towards all social groups, including expatriates, the newly emerging elite class of economically wealthy Chinese, intelligentsia, and blue-collar and white-collar workers. Such a diversity of private schools is a result of: 1) a combination of the state-reallocated resources on the state level, municipal level, and regional level; 2) the transformation of financial responsibilities from the state into private or community hands, and 3) the investment of wealthy overseas Chinese in the private educational enterprise. Despite the fact that different private schools achieve financial independence from the state via a combination of local and overseas investments, in relation to political guidance and control, the state plays a significant role. The management of these schools includes a combination of the involvement of private individuals, retired prominent members of the CPC, and the mutual efforts of the community. The private schools in Beijing offer different educational programs and curricula that provide upbringing, educating, assimilating with the Western style of life, and study in depth the particular subjects necessary for entering the local or overseas universities.

The system of private schooling in Moscow is not as diversified as in China. It includes NGO as enterprises and private full-day care schools and boarding schools. The category of private schools can be divided into highly elite schools, upper-middle class private schools, lower-middle-class and average private schools.

Private schools in Moscow have a high standard of learning environment, qualified teaching staff and provide an extended curriculum. All categories of private schools in Moscow focus on the quality of the state-prescribed Compulsory Curriculum. However, unlike the state-run schooling, all private schools in Moscow run a system of supplementary subjects that forms *systema dopolnitelnogo obrazavania* (the extra-curriculum of Supplementary Education). This system of Supplementary Education is market oriented and directly links to particularly targeted local universities and the personal development of a student.

Most of private schools in Moscow offer a range of supplementary subjects, which go beyond the state-prescribed margins. These schools can be characterised as schools that offer the culturally-open curriculum. The international programs are a significant element of private schooling in Moscow. The studying of subjects under the British system (Mathematics or English), International Baccalaureate and ELICOS are the main forms of the culturally-open curriculum.

The quality of Supplementary Education is a decisive factor as the tuition fees charged can vary from US\$ 100 up to US\$ 10,000 per month and higher. Regardless of the scale

of the tuition, each category of private school provides a higher quality of education compared to the state-run schools, and vastly superior facilities, which makes the system of private schools more attractive for consumers and indicates the leading position of private schools in Russian secondary education.



## CHAPTER 5

# EDUCATIONAL TRANSFORMATION IN CHINA AND THE RISE OF PRIVATE SCHOOLING IN BEIJING

### 5.0 Introduction

One of the major developments occurring in the system of education in post-Mao China has been the appearance of private education.<sup>1</sup> The main aim of the chapter is to establish the stages of educational transformation in relation to the development of private schooling in China, the country that uniquely “does marry a centralised political system with increasingly decentralised, market-oriented economy” (Naya and Tan, 1996: 21).

Changes occurring in the system of Chinese education were a matter of attention in a number of works (Cleverley 1991; Epstein 1991; Fraser and Hsu, 1971; Hayhoe 1992; Johnstone 1978; Lewin, Hui, Little, and Jiwei, 1994; Lo 1989; Pepper 1990; Surowski 2000; Wang J. 2001), but they do not focus specifically on the evolution of private schooling.<sup>2</sup>

There are several works that present the stages of private schooling, however most of them look at private schooling as a product of the implementation of economic reforms

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Ministry of Education, by March 31, 2004, China had more than 70,000 private schools with a total of 14.16 million students. The private system of Chinese education includes 175 colleges and universities, with an enrollment of 810,000 students; 1,104 other higher educational institutions with one million students; 1,377 secondary technical schools with 793,100 students. Among private educational institutions there are 2,679 senior middle schools with 1.41 million students; 3,651 junior middle schools with 2.57 million students, 5,676 primary schools with 2.75 million pupils; and 55,500 kindergartens, with 4.8 million children (*Xinhua*, 2004, 31 March).

<sup>2</sup> For instance, Surowski (2000) presents the expanded classification of the educational development in China that includes periods of: (1) Pre-1840 (Imperial Education); (2) 1840-1949 (Opium War-P.R.C.); (3) 1949-1966 (P.R.C. - Cultural Revolution); (4) 1966-1976 (Cultural Revolution); (5) 1976 - present (Post-Mao Reforms), but the complicity of post-Mao reforms regarding private schooling was left aside.

(Lin 1994; Mok 1997a; Qiu J. 1997). Deng (1997) divides this process into two stages: before the implementation of economic reforms and after. Tsang (2000) underlines the development of private schooling as a part of long line of social demands starting from 1992. Considering the specific characteristics of private education in China, Yu Zhang (2003) conceptualises the development of private education within the following stages: (1) Restorative stage (1978-1992), (2) Rapid growth stage (1992-1997); and (3) Regulatory development stage (1997 - current). However, Zeyu Xu (2001) recognises the significance of the pre-1949 era, but notices that the private schooling (*sishu*), at that time, was analogous with the current system of private schooling (*silide xuexiao*).<sup>3</sup>

This chapter offers an original classification outlining the development of private schooling as a part of educational transformation that includes four stages:

- Diversification (1975 –1985);
- Decentralisation (1986 – 1991);
- Privatisation (1992 – 1998/99);
- Marketisation (1999 – present).

The origin of private schooling in China has been mainly framed by *gai ge kai fan* (the Open Door policy) and understood as a reflection of the need of local markets (Hui, Little, and Jiwei, 1994) and economic modernisation (Hu R. 1997). But the evidence confirming the development of private schools in the low-performing economic areas (Tooley 2004) raises several questions. How did the system of Chinese education come to be complemented by private/non-government schooling? Is the unique combination

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<sup>3</sup> “Schools in this period can be divided into four types: Government-owned schools, mission schools, schools run by Chinese and *sishu*. The latter three types are private schools. However, the last one, *sishu* (which translated literally means private school) does not belong to the modern school type” (Xu Zeyu, 2001:4)

of a Communist political umbrella and a free market economic policy the only driving forces behind the enormous challenges of private schooling? What was the involvement of the state? Was it the inclination towards trying to control a global tendency in the situation when “[an] emergence of a society whereby the person is significantly formed by the internalisation of image” (Hinkson, 1991: 31) or was the top-down guidance directed at finding diversified financial sources of schooling (Hu Y.1994)? This chapter makes an attempt to answer these questions.

### **5.1 Diversification of the Chinese system of education (1975 – 1985)**

Without detracting from the importance of this period, it is necessary to point out that although changes occurring during this period are directly related to the development of private schooling, the appearance of private education occurred during the later stage, the stage known as Privatisation. Nevertheless, the importance of Diversification is by no means devalue, because the rise of private schools in the Privatisation stage could not have happened without the diversification of Chinese education. Diversification was a period of gradual perception of the vitality of educational reform and demand for a high quality educational program in the state-run system of education that started in 1975 and ended by 1985.

During this period educational transformation was taken 1) in the forms of political education debates (1974/5-1979) over the question “Should *jia yu ge ming* (educational revolution) be replaced with *jia yu xian dai hua* (educational modernization)?”, and 2) in the form of diversifying concepts of education (1979-1985).

While the ideology remained attached there were several very important changes in the

strategy of educational development towards the diversification in education. It was a stage when the future of private schooling was draped in the forms of intensive political debates, dramatic social controversy and concealed adjustment of the Human capital theory to the environment of *jiang she you zhong guo tecedde shehui zhu yi* (the development of socialism with specific Chinese characteristics). It was a period when the role of education was reviewed and the social goals of education extended to individuals. It was a period of policy planning practice that targeted higher education with the promising expectation of privatisation of educational organisations in the future (Hu and Seifman, 1987). At the same time, this period can be characterized as a period of dramatic political changes, tense struggle between Experts and Reds, and the tragic death of Mao Tze Dong. From 1975 to 1988 Chinese society experienced not only a period of “cleaning up after Cultural Revolution” (Lofstedt 1980), but it was also a period of de-validating Mao’s doctrine on mass education.

During this period a new understanding of the role of education and diversification of Higher Education were the most important factors for the future of private schooling. The new role of education to rejuvenate the system of Chinese education as the basis for modernisation <sup>4</sup> was a reflection of the Human capital theory where investment into education has been understood as a first step to the pathways of capital accumulation, or, in the Chinese case, modernisation. This idea of modernization received a severe criticism from ‘Reds’ during public discussions and debates, but Deng Xiao Ping sets the tone for implementing special status and programs for some universities that he called ‘key universities’ (Cleverly 1991).

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<sup>4</sup> “The key to achieving modernization is the development of science and technology. And unless we pay attention to education, it will be impossible to develop science and technology” (Deng Xiao Ping, 1984: 53).

The idea to give some priorities to especially listed universities was a very radical one regarding the political situation and ideology of communism. This implementation of 'key universities' would be copied later, during the next stage of decentralisation, on the secondary level of schooling with the establishment of 'key state schools'.

### **5.1.1 Diversification of the main concepts in education: 1975-1979**

This period indicates the state's effort to revive the lapsed education system after the Cultural Revolution and illuminates the very first sign of educational transformation that became transparent when a group of leaders at Qinghua University, one of the future key universities in Beijing (at that time Peking), triggered the campaign of the 'Great Debate on the Revolution in Education'. This campaign became a major source of political debates over the changes in education in the winter of 1975-1976 (Lofstedt 1980).

In year 1975 the Ministry of Education, the new government body<sup>5</sup>, was re-installed after a long replacement during the Cultural Revolution. The official policies in education, in particular, during the spring of 1978 changed the educational system in a manner almost unknown to pre-Cultural Revolution schooling. The newly restored Ministry of Education, with the Minister of Education, at that time, Zhou Rongxin, began the preparation for educational reforms focused on the role of education as a primary source for economic modernization. Deng Xiao Ping and his followers developed a concept of *jia yu xian dai hua* (educational modernization), a new policy in

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<sup>5</sup> The Ministry of Education is the highest administrative organ in charge of education in China. Re-established in 1975 a number of responsibilities were put into effect by the state: enforcing the laws and decrees, carrying out the principles and guidelines formulated by the state, drawing up overall plans and specific educational policies, coordinating the effort of various governmental departments in education, controlling a general scheme for and giving guidance to the reform.

education that was referred to as Open door in education.<sup>6</sup> This policy was aimed at establishing diversity in the existing type of education and turning Chinese education from a bold politicisation towards improving science and technology via the effort of individuals.

The ideas of the Open Door education policy had several profound consequences in relation to the future of private schooling. First, during this period a new way of thinking was released to the mass. In theory, the development of higher education was considered as a source of human development. This thinking was related to the Human Capital theory that stressed the importance of human development as a form of investment through the effort of individuals rather than mass involvement. In practice, the new procedure for University entrance encouraged any individual willing to study to enrol at a University.<sup>7</sup> As a result of this program, the universities were re-opened and admission was reviewed. The diversified quota of students on each provincial level to be admitted to key universities was assigned to diversified categories of students: (1) the student should be a senior-middle-school graduate; (2) students should obtain permission from the workplace and no longer needed work experience.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The concept of modernisation in education had been expressed in central documents written by Deng Xiao Ping such as the "General Program", "Some Problem in Accelerating Industrial Development", "Outline Report on the Work of the Academy of Science" (Deng Xiao Ping 1984).

<sup>7</sup> Instead of two kinds of graduates (those with academic education and college preparation and those with specialized vocational technical education), the "unitary approach" was proposed. The restricted numbers of individuals with the given recommendation from their *danwei* (work unit) had a chance to enrol at a university. In December 1977, uniform national examinations were reinstated and admission criteria were changed.

<sup>8</sup> A second quota of students was assigned for regular universities within that administrative division; a third quota of students –from other provinces, autonomous regions, and special municipalities who would be admitted to institutions operated at the provincial level. This effort was successful by closing the back door for students from officials' families, who would not accept two years work assignment in the countryside, that used to be a compulsory requisite before the Open Door Policy in education.

In the speech at the Science and Education Forum on August 8, 1977, Deng Xiao Ping called attention to the need to solve the many problems in the educational system, one of which was the issue of the proper length of the primary goals raised with the question over the basic needs for the new curriculum. Minister of Education, Hua Guo Feng, called for rapid quantitative and qualitative expansion of education and reliance on technical cadres, professors, teachers and other specialists. The implementation of various classes, a distinct approach towards understanding national goals by introducing overseas study programs under the Open Door University Program, stirred politically coloured debates.<sup>9</sup> Retrospectively, these overall debates and discussions fell under several broad arguments regarding the policy of spending money on education, restructuring higher education as a premise of the new emerging policy of 'scientific management' and establishing key point principles as a major task for transition in education (Louie 1980).

Numerous discussions over the replacement of the concept of *jia yu ge ming* (educational revolution) with *jia yu xian dai hua* (educational modernisation) ended up with the resolution of the Party Congress in August 1977, when the Party CC and the State Council underlined important decisions of accepting the policy of *jia yu xian dai hua* (educational modernization). This policy reflected the diversification of the management controlling and operating in the tertiary system of education in relation to:

- developing scientific and technological commission and its program at *zhong dian xuexiao* (keypoint schools);

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<sup>9</sup> On the political level this idea took forms of a struggle between 'Experts' and 'Reds'. The concept of 'Experts' emphasizing the professional skills rather than a politically correct background was strongly criticised by the politically oriented "Red's" followers and even led to the six-month arrest of Deng Xiao Ping. The left wing of China's Communist Party referred to Deng as the 'capitalist-roader' and even dismissed him from his post for some time. The ascension to power by twice-rehabilitated Deng Xiao Ping, gives the educational reforms a direction to improve educational quality by establishing order and stability, calling for an end to political contention and expanding university enrolments.

- introducing and developing *xiao zhan ze ren zhi* (a director responsibilities system) in the different type of educational institutions;
- introducing *xin zhu ce zhi du* (the new enrolment system into a university);
- introducing *xuexi wai guo* policy (striving to learn from foreign countries);
- allocating a greater proportion of the state budget towards science and education giving more priority to general publicity about science and education in accordance with *jiaoyu ziyuan liyong xiaolu* (utilization rate of educational resources) along with establishing and developing *jiao yu jing ji* (educational economics).

By 1978, the CPC's leader Deng Xiao Ping, along with his followers in the moderate wing of technocrats, guided the national and educational policies. His approach of "looking abroad, learning abroad and bringing back home" (Cheng Shu-ching 1994) was in strong opposition to the lapsed radical faction of 'Reds'.<sup>10</sup> The political battle between Deng Xiao Ping and the existing CPC oppositions came to an end in April 1978, when at the National Education Work Conference, Deng Xiao Ping made his significant speech that underlines the main points of the Open Door policy in education (Deng Xiao Ping 1978).

These educational reforms were primarily targeting the backwardness of Chinese education. As a result of 'study behind the closed door' they were aimed at changing

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<sup>10</sup> In 1979, the Chinese Comparative Education Society (CCES) was established. The chief role of this national academic organization was the exclusive comparative education of chosen countries. According to Cheng Shu-ching (1994), during the 1979–1984, the most frequently quoted information came from studies on education in Japan, the former Soviet Union and the United States, and some advanced a European countries. These studies "helped both to the masses and Chinese policymakers to deepened their understanding of the crucial role education could play in a national's development. To a certain extent, these study played an advisory role in the formulation of a number of major policies, such as increasing annual investment in education and universalising the 9-years compulsory education requirement by the year 200, the core of which stressed attaching strategic importance to educational development" (Cheng Shu-ching, 1994: 239).



selective criteria for those who show an outstanding ability to study. Chinese youth was called in to learn ‘the best from the West’. This announced program had a great significance in relation to the further development of private schooling. Firstly, the principle of personal development as the best personal effort for national goals replaced the mass education concept. Secondly, the school was viewed as a tool to educate the individual in the best way to serve the country’s needs and thus the concept of diversifying schooling was ready to be realised to the mass. Finally, the *minban* schools campaign (the non-government schooling system under the people-run management) was proclaimed and indicated the direction of educational transformation towards the diversification of schooling.

#### **5.1.2 Diversification in secondary and vocational schooling: 1979- 1985**

During this period the role of education was revised and a new type of education received the green light. Compared to the Mao era, when the appetite for education in the state-run system of education was “considered first and foremost in mass terms, not so much in order to understand what the masses are demanding” (Jones P., 1977: 88), the role of education had been shifted from the ideological aspiration of Marxism. Education was viewed as a creative and intelligent force in improving the country’s productive capacity, as the tool to modernization that was capable of keeping the balance between a search for higher efficiency in education and governmental commitment to diminish the negative impact of a market economy by introducing the multifarious policy of priorities and aids.

The Third Plenary Session of the party's Eleventh Central Committee in 1979 inaugurated the period of building up Socialism with Chinese characteristics and

delivered the concept of *gaige kaifan* (the Open door policy in economy) formulated by Deng Xiao Ping and his team. The reform of the Chinese economy changed the primary goals in education. Under the concept of building socialism by replacing the centrally-planned economic system with the market-oriented economic one, the role of education was diversified. Following the pattern of implemented economic reforms and Open Door policy, the diversification of Chinese education was targeted at the development of the educational system towards financial relief and removing education from the government's financial responsibilities (Lo 1989). A new set of social values that "stressed personal interests, material incentives, different rewards, economic efficiency, market distribution, and competition" (Mok, 1997b: 262), put demands that could benefit social, economic, and political requirements. The appearing miscellaneous tasks on the different levels of Chinese education were redirected towards the needs of economic reforms and became an attached to *gaige kaifan* policy. In order to meet the Modernisation Program inaugurated by CPC, the system of secondary schooling was targeted towards diversifying into several directions: practical, theoretical, and international engagement.

In practice, at the secondary level, the educational reforms induced stratification by introducing four types of state-run secondary schools: (1) general ordinary middle schools (*putong xuexiao*), (2) specialised technical secondary schools (*zhongdeng zhuanye xuexiao*), (3) vocational schools (*zhiye zhongxue*), and (4) keypoint middle schools (*zhongdeng zhondian xuexiao*). The keypoint schools (also as 'key-state schools') had a significant role in relation to inequality of education and to the specification of private schooling in China.

At the theoretical level, the intensive decentralisation had awoken the concept of people-run schools. The *liangtiaotui zoulu* ('walking on two legs') concept <sup>11</sup> in secondary schooling was restored. The Mao concept of building socialism (Mao 1994) took a practical direction towards the development of *minban xue xiao* (people-run schools) in the urban areas. As a result, the urban *minban xue xiao* campaign was established and was considered as the experimental zone in education by the state. Finally, according to the third direction, contacts with foreign countries were strengthened throughout the context of the Universities Open Door program.<sup>12</sup>

**a) Diversification of state-run secondary schooling: *zhongdeng zhondian xuexiao* (keypoint middle schools)**

During the Cultural Revolution key-schools were abolished and shut down. In the late 1970s and the early 1980s, secondary schooling became the subject of special attention by the state and the concept of a key school was restored. In 1977, South China (Canton) included 20 high schools, and 47 primary schools that were granted a special status of 'key-points' schooling (Unger, 1982: 208). Though it started as a central government program, soon the provincial Ministry of Education from other cities, provinces and prefectures became actively involved in financing and running a number of 'key' schools, and by the spring of 1978 there were 20 'key' schools under the direct charge of the central ministry (Lofstedt, 1980:150).

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<sup>11</sup> In 1961 the Party made a first attempt to find a balance between Confucian and Western style education that took forms of a two-track educational system: (1) vocational and work-study schooling as newly introduced Western type of education and (2) existing regular education including regular university, college and secondary schooling (Mao 1994).

<sup>12</sup> "It envisages a kind of knowledge transfer that contributes to the resolution of China's integral contradiction and supports a transformation role for China and the global order" (Hayhoe, 1989: 101).

The policy of appointing a 'key-school' was designed to maximize the effort to accelerate the modernisation of the country through the economic zones (Chen J. 1982). This program was a pilot study focused on the development of a remarkably higher quality of education at the secondary level. The state allocated extra financial provision for targeted schools whilst the rest of the schools suffered from a shortage of human and financial resources. Such an unequal distribution was partly related to the Cultural Revolution's scarce resource inheritance, which did not allow spreading an equal proportion of financial assistance from the state among all secondary schools (Wang and Zhou, 2002).

As a result of this program, the education system became stratified in such manner that the first priorities were given to the task of reconstitution in full of the system of 'key-point' schooling versus mass education (Unger 1982).<sup>13</sup> The key-school education system became apparently fitted to the new policy environment of shifting from equality of opportunity to fairness respecting the access and participation in post-compulsory education. The key educational institutions at all levels were decided by the central government, which not only created wide gaps among young people in their levels of learning<sup>14</sup> but also established an unequal learning environment as well.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> "Most of the urban schools, would have to accept sacrifices on behalf of the college-preparatory mission of "the key-point schools. The neighbourhood high schools were stripped of their best teachers and their best administrators to allow the key point system to rebuild a quality staff. Already understaffed, the ordinary high schools scraped through by absorbing former primary-school principals and teachers (which placed some of the primary schools in even deeper in trouble). Only the key-points [schools], moreover, received the funds to improve school facilities. While these elite schools were able to reduce very sharply their programs of student labour in order to let their students concentrate almost entirely on studying, some of the neighbourhood schools, to bring in needed supplementary income, were obliged to retain and occasionally even expand their school-run factories and workshops." (Unger, 1982: 209).

<sup>14</sup> Some experiments carried on by 'key-schools' regarding grouping students in accord with the new trend of fast, medium and slow teaching methods, spread up to the next level of post-compulsory education.

<sup>15</sup> The programs were more elitist and more 'talent' oriented on the specific group of students, as well as money distribution and allocation towards the nominated key-schools.

After several years of successful operation, the key schools received wide recognition as the best choice for educating one's child. Parents wanted to enrol, under a one-child policy, the only child of a family in the best school and the government-run key schools appeared to be the best way to educate a child in China. The additional financial sources allocated by the local as well as the state governments improved the quality of education in these schools remarkably. A high standard of teaching resulted, which explains the extremely high popularity of state key-schools among the Chinese.<sup>16</sup>

In contrast to the experience of the formation of markets in education facing most Western countries (Marginson 1997), China demonstrated an originality of approach towards developing inequality in its education system through an accumulation of financial and human resources in the targeted area (Qiu, J. 1997). This unbalanced financial distribution to support key-schools has led to an appearance of a new type of elite schools under the control of the state among the state-run schools.<sup>17</sup>

In 1982 the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (1982) validated the concept of 'schools established by societal forces' and approved the diversification of secondary schooling. Section 4, Article 19 stated, "the state encourages collectively owned economic organizations, state enterprises, undertakings and organizations, and other forces in society to establish all types of educational undertakings in compliance with

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<sup>16</sup> The next stage of educational transformation demonstrated the future evolution of key-schools as a result of pressure from the market and demands of parents. Some schools did not satisfy the consumers who were seeking for the best place in the market of education for children with lesser academic performance. In order to meet the parents' expectation, later, in the end of 1990s, these key government schools would open a non-government branch, very often under the same name but with a dual budget, where an untold share of a school's income would come from the newly introduced pay-classes.

<sup>17</sup> "On the further request of the Ministry of Education other cities, provinces and prefectures became actively involved in financing and run a number of 'key' schools" (Lofstedt, 1980:150).

the law”. The particular development of schools established by social forces received a green light in the vocational and technical sector where a new educational enterprise began to grow. Through the 1980s, the development of ‘schools established by social forces’ was focused on the diversification of vocational and technical sectors. This development of privately-run schooling in specialised technical and vocational secondary schools was the main characteristic of the mode of the private schooling development in the 1980s and was named *zhongdeng zhuanye xuexiao fazhan* (secondary specialised vocational schools development).

**b) Diversification of specialised technical secondary schools: *zhongdeng zhuanye xuexiao***

Since the 1980s, along with the deepening of China's reform and open policy, technical secondary schooling has shown itself to be pluralistic and evolutionary. This diversification of specialised technical schooling was the result of (1) a high-tech cadre shortage at all levels (Hayhoe 1992), (2) increasing demands for different levels of education (Lo 1989), and (3) demand for new curricula that can reflect the expanding pluralistic characteristics of the market (Hawkins and Koppel, 1991).

The practice of a dogmatic curriculum in the existing state-run Chinese schooling system was no longer satisfying (Bastid 1984), and in the middle of the 1980s, some *zhongdeng zhuanye xuexiao* (specialised technical secondary schools) changed their curriculum (Rosen 1985). The initial precedent of diversifying the curricula according to market needs was recorded at the Special Economic Zones (Hawkins and Koppel, 1991) and costal areas (Mok 1997a). This led to the implementation of specialised programs according to individuals' requests. Hence, the new cultural phenomenon of

the concept of non-government education threw off the shackles of the existing inflexible educational system and the renaissance in the development of schools under the ‘user pays’ principle began in China (Tsang 1996). By the end of 1990s, the majority of vocational schools at SEZ’s demonstrated profound changes and implemented some characteristics that later were discovered in the system of private schooling (Zhang Z. 1996).

### c) Diversification of rural people-run schools: *minban xuexiao*

The development and promotion of the *minban* system (‘people-run’ schooling) was based on the assumption to diversify financial responsibilities towards education and lightened the state obligation towards mass education.<sup>18</sup> This development of the *minban* system<sup>19</sup> was framed by the typically Chinese approach of cautious *i-bu-i-bu* (step-by-step) to redirect the financial undertaking from the state to a community (Zhang Y. 2003).

*Minban xuexiao* refers to several specific instances: (1) *minban* education in 1949, which was expected to contribute to the revolutionary struggle and construction (Peterson 1997), (2) *minban* schools in 1958 to conduct “proletarian policy” (Chen T. 1981), and (3) the more recent growth of *minban xuexiao* in urban area since the 1980s to “building socialist modernisation” (Hayhoe and Bastid, 1997). Based on a certain

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<sup>18</sup> “Practically of course, people-run schools which also meant people-financed schools, helped the Communist Party fulfill its promise to educate and enrich the poor, without costing the Party of the fledgling revolutionary government excessive amounts of scarce capital. Instead, the Chinese Communists Party (CCP) used the slogan of self-reliance to claim credit for schools that were organized, financed and managed by members of the local community” (Robinson, 1991:164).

<sup>19</sup> The term “*minban* system” in China caused a great deal of confusion because nowadays this term has been frequently used in the official documents as a reference to non-government education to alternative forms of education as well as any form of private-run management in state secondary schooling (Provisional Regulations on the Establishment of Nongovernmental Institutions 1996; Tsang 2001).

degree of financial independence all types of *minban* schooling were understood as the one system (Tsang 2000).

However, this study expresses a point of view that a legal standing in itself does not reflect the tendencies that occur in the rural *minban* system and the urban *minban* system, because rural *minban* and urban *minban* embodied quite different tendencies in education.<sup>20</sup> The rural *minban xuexiao* is an educational system that was responsible for the implementation of the literacy programs in remote areas of China.<sup>21</sup> The urban post-Mao *minban xuexiao* is an alternative educational system that reflects market demands, initially, in metropolitan areas and then across the country. In relation to the type of education, the rural *minban* catered for mass education, while the urban people-run system of schools goal focuses on individualised education.

Two specialised secondary schools opened in 1985 in Liaodong and Shandong Peninsulas. The *Donggang* and *Wendeng Sino-Japanese Friendship Japanese-Language Secondary School* were the first *minban* schools that, from the very start, perpetuated a type of education tailored to the individuals (Xu G. 1997). The arrangement between the individuals, willing to invest in education, and schools, charging fees, formed the market-related base for the successes of these schools. Therefore, not only demands but also capacities to pay for the educational service were the driving forces behind the development of urban *minban xuexiao*.

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<sup>20</sup> As the supportive evidence of the assumption to comprehend these *minban xuexiao* systems separately, there are several works in which scholars predict the future of the *minban* system differently. Robinson (1991) suggested that it is unlikely that “massive doses of money will be infused into any local school system in the near future: *minban xuexiao*, the poorest cousin of all, will be hit the hardest.” (Robinson, 1991: 168-169).

<sup>21</sup> Robinson sees it as the ideological and pragmatic function of the *minban* system to convince poor uneducated peasants “that they could exert control over their lives and their communities, that they had power if they cooperate together over the wealthy educated landowners and officials in their village.” (Robinson, 1991: 163-164).

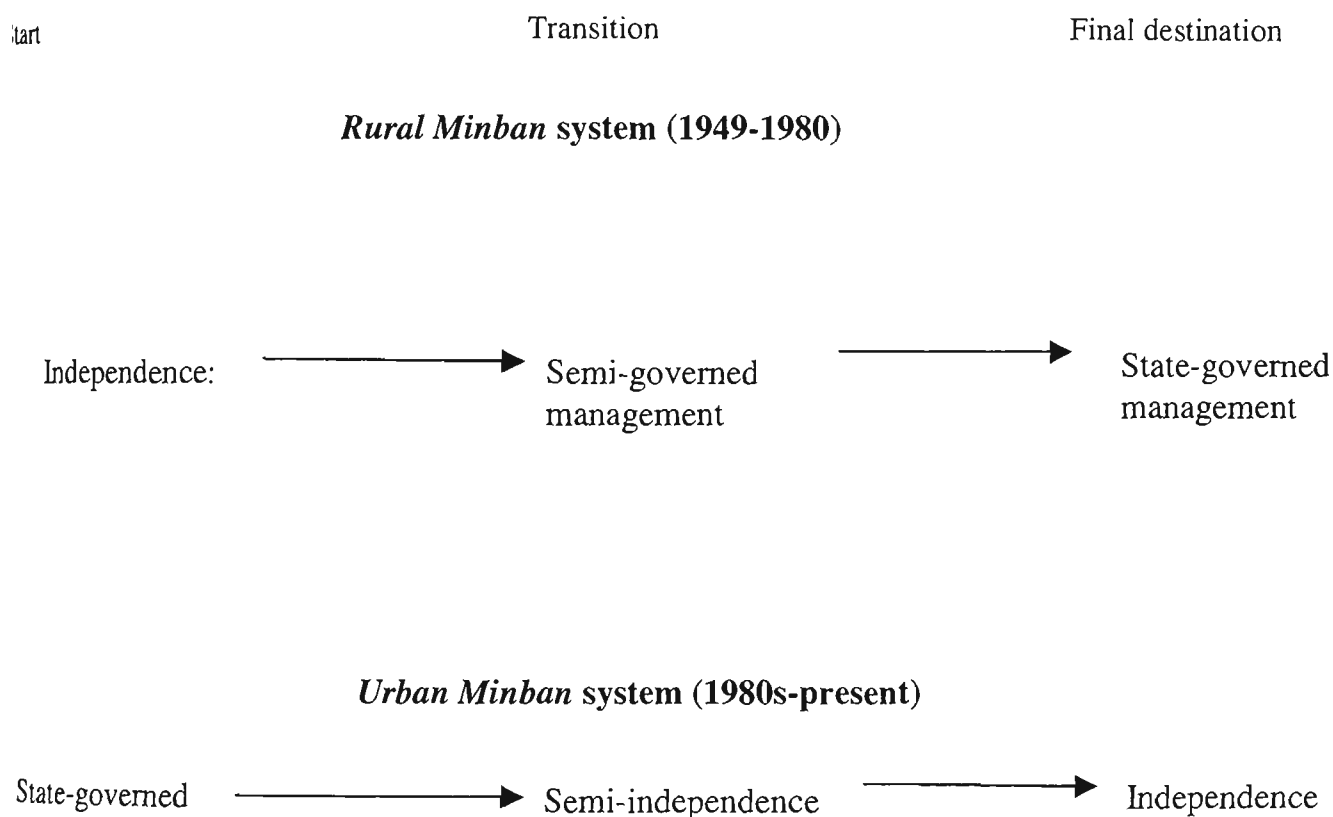


The economic goals of these two *minban* systems are also different. Initially rural *minban xuexiao* began schooling independently from the state. But due to an inability to run these schools without state assistance, responsibilities ended up being shared between the state and the local community. Since the early 1980s, the Chinese government has taken a more active role in supporting rural people-run schools. Initially, a village community was proactive and cooperated in funding major repairs of schools and the construction of new schools, as well as contributing to the salary of a teacher. But gradually the state introduced a scheme to transform *minban* teachers into *gonban* teachers and the government began to provide a monthly stipend to *minban* teachers in order to improve their living conditions. According to Tsang (2000), “since the early 1980s, the Chinese government took a more active role in support of rural people-run schools. Initially, the government provided a monthly stipend to *minban* teachers in order to improve their living conditions; it then consequently implemented a plan to convert *minban* teachers into *gonban* teachers. Also, both the village community and the government shared in the major repair of schools and in the construction of new schools” (Tsang, 2000: 9).

In relation to the financial arrangement, the relationship between the state and urban *minban* schooling was different. In urban areas, those state-run schools that were not able to run schools without an additional financial injection from the community were liable to find themselves private hands under an agreement between the state and a local community. Although they began as part of the declining state-run sector of secondary education, urban *minban* gradually reached an independent status without any financial

support from the state. Figure 5.1 summarises the trajectories of these two *minban* systems.

**Figure 5.1 Comparative Analysis:**  
**Rural *minban* (1949-1980) and Urban *minban* (1980s-present)**



Source: I.Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Beijing, 1999.

The roles, design, and adverse tendencies that occurred in these two *minban* systems provided the evidence to understand them separately. The nature of the principles of the *minban* system of the Maoist era relates to a program of planned and organised instructions to design the transmission of skills, attitudes, and values from the preserved and prized traditional way of the elders to the national level of promoting Communism. Therefore, the system of people-run schools in rural areas during the 1949 to 1980s underpinned schooling as a process that is “intended to maintain and enhance one’s sense of identity” (Shane and Tabler, 1981: 5).

This distinctive form of schooling was a new phenomenon of the Chinese society and was called *minban* schooling by way of analogy with the *minban* rural system that was already an established feature of the Chinese education system (Tang and Xiaoyu, 2000). This new concept of urban non-government run schooling was defined later, in 1987, when the State Education Commission's “Provisional Regulations on Schools Established by Societal Forces” (1987) labelled the privately-run schools as ‘schools established by social forces’.<sup>22</sup>

In 1985, the National Conference on Education recognised five fundamental areas for a further reform: (1) to foster talented individuals and educate more able people; (2) to make localities responsible for developing basic education and systematically implement a nine-year compulsory education program in secondary, vocational and technical schooling; (3) to reform the graduate-assignment system for Higher

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<sup>22</sup> In Article 2 of the State Education Commission's “Provisional Regulations on Schools Established by Societal Forces” the concept of ‘societal forces’ means “societal forces as referred to in these regulations referring to state enterprises or undertakings, democratic parties, people's organizations, collective economic organizations, social groups, academic groups, or state-approved private school sponsors, with legal person status” (Provisional Regulations on Schools Established by Societal Forces 1987).

Education; (4) to expand the management and decision-making power to the state, regional, municipal levels; and (5) to give administrators the necessary encouragement and authority to ensure smooth progress in education reforms.

In the same year, 1985, the government in the “Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the Reform of the Educational system” clearly pointed out that local authorities should encourage and give guidance to the establishment of schools by state enterprises, social organisations and individuals. The period of diversification ended in 1985 when the government promulgated the document “Decision of the Central Committee of Policy the Chinese Communist Party on the Reform of the Factors Educational System”. These documents legalised the process of diversification of schools and issued local and internal authorities with the instruction of encouraging and controlling the process of diversification of schools by state enterprises, social organisations, school organisations, and individuals (Yimin 1996).

## **5.2 Decentralisation of schooling: 1986–1992**

The transparent sign of decentralisation of schooling took place in 1986, when the Law on Nine-Years Compulsory Education took effect in July 1986. This law tailored the state-prescribed requirements for universal education to the local conditions and guaranteed that school-age children would receive nine-year compulsory schooling in all areas, including rural areas (previously they were recieved from four to six years of schooling). To be able to deliver this program, the Ministry of Education on the national level divided the country into three categories: (1) cities and economically

developed areas in coastal provinces and a small number of developed areas in the hinterland, (2) towns and villages with medium development, and (3) economically backward areas. The responsibilities of the central educational administration were decentralised and local and regional educational bodies were designated to conduct this national-wide campaign successfully. From the Central Committee the specific instructions were given to a local education of each nominated area and the local administration in education was given permission to develop their-own supportive programs in the purpose of relieving the financial burden of the state for expenditure in education. Privately-run colleges started to develop their independent curriculum according to the demand of the market (Linsheng 1996; Ma 1998).

The management of educational enterprises was also decentralised. The local authorities received the permission to approve or disapprove the privately-run activities in education (Zhu G. 1996). The governments and educational administrations of provinces, and autonomous regions – or centrally administered cities such as Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai – were assigned to form corresponding management regulations and were instructed to set up special management agencies according to the local environment. For example, The Beijing Educational Bureau, in 1989, published a set of “Provisional Regulations in Regard to Certain Questions in Regard to Privately Established Regular Middle and Elementary Schools in Beijing”, which greatly encouraged private education in Beijing (Ling 1996).

### 5.2.1 Stipends, scholarships and private loans

In July 1986 the State Council announced a new stipend system for universities and college students that was to be tested in selected institutions during the 1986-1987 academic year. This new financial program was designed to help particular categories of students to apply for scholarship in the forms of low-interest educational loans. The several categories of students eligible for aid were established.<sup>23</sup> In addition, free tuition and board were to be offered at teachers' colleges, and the graduates were required to teach at least five years in primary and middle schools.

According to this new policy, students would apply for an education loan through the university they attended. The university played the role of a middle man between a student and four nominated banks authorised to issue this type of loan: the China Industrial and Commercial Bank, the China Agricultural Bank, the China Bank and the China Construction Bank. The involvement of a university in the process of issuing the loan was driven by several functions. Firstly, a university, as an officially recognised organisation, can certify the repayment after graduation that should be remitted by his or her employer in a lump sum, and the money was to be reimbursed to the employer by the students through five years of payroll deductions. Second, a university becomes a guarantor for a proper use of loan linked only to study and thereby decreasing the cost of education for the state. Between 1985 and 1991 Beijing's Zhonghua Social University alone granted 95,000 *yuan* of scholarships of

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<sup>23</sup> These categories of students were: 1) top students who attained all-around excellence, students who 2) specialised in education, agriculture, forestry, sport, and marine navigation; and 3) students willing to work in poor remote and border regions or in the harsh conditions' industries, such as mining and engineering.

various types (Bulletin of the Department of International Cooperation and Exchanges 1998).

Initially run only in the eight pilot cities, this new loan system was modified in 1998. As the trial run revealed, the four nominated banks could provide only a limited amount of loan funding and the banks' costs in providing education loans were relatively high. This restriction has been annulled. In order to ensure efficient development and allocation of bank's resources, it has been decided that any financial organization that offers education loans to students can be exempt from paying profit tax on the income earned from the interest of the education loan (Chen D. 2004)

These changes were announced in June 1999. The People's Bank of China, jointly with the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Finance, published a cooperative document "Some Suggestions on Loan Management"<sup>24</sup>, that was later finalised by the General Office of the State council in the document "The Supplement Opinions on the Administration of Students Loan",<sup>25</sup> issued in September 2000.

Initiated by the Central Government, this direction spread in the form of regional variations: a direct connection with banks through the banking system (Yunnan Province); different types of regional government loans to students through the

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<sup>24</sup> This document guaranteed, for all students over 18, eligibility for college students' loans with 5 per cent interest subsidy by the Chinese government. The Vice-Ministry of Education Wei Yu said that the Central Government intends to invest a large amount of money in the next three years to facilitate the build-up of educational infrastructure (*China Daily*, 5 May, 1999).

<sup>25</sup> Jointly with the People's Bank of China, the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Finance underpinned the main content of the policy loan: (1) the State Student Loans with central government subsidies for interest is now a subject of the education system of whole country; (2) start the local student loan with local government subsidies for interest to students in local universities and colleges; (3) the beneficiaries enlarge from undergraduates to postgraduates; and (4) eyewitnesses have no commitment to prove guarantee to the loan borrowers and to simplify the process of the application for the loans.

government education units/ organisation (Liaoning Province, Shandong Province, Jianxi Province); a special rate of student loan through the university's finance system (Zhejiang Province); and no-guarantee commercial student loans (Shanghai municipality).<sup>26</sup>

The new Loan Program promoted by the state demonstrates a closely linked association within paradigms of the Human Capital Theory in education, which combines education's contributions to income and productive capacity within the economic externalities (Wang, J. and Wu, D. 2000). In Western societies, the investment in education in the form of social and individual investment emerged with recent processes of budgetary allocation in education, institutional funding, students grants and loans, that was named as the "positivity" of the economics of education (Marginson, 1997:102). This key paradigm of Loan Program indicated that China followed the proven pathway of the worldwide experience regarding the development of education under the Human Capital theory.

The new program of financial assistance for students was a significant step in diversifying sources of study, which formerly were the prerogative and responsibility of the state. The program had also a great impact on the diversification of finances in *minban* secondary educational institutions (Chu Z. 2002). The decentralisation of scholarship and stipend programs helped to establish the 'user-pays' principle these introduced Stipend and Scholarship Programs aimed at substituting the existing centralised system of state-run educational scholarship with personal educational loans.

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<sup>26</sup> In Shanghai some universities put into practice the establishing a new type of stock-sharing branch of a university. This provides a new attempt to encourage tertiary institutions to actively participate as financial investors that directly links banking to the market.



### **5.2.2 Stratification of state-run schooling**

Since 1978 China has modified the policy of concentrating education resources at the tertiary level and expanded the mode towards the key schools. A fresh vision to see the socialist society as the society of a collective effort of the sum of individual efforts (Deng Xio Ping 1978) was the new tendency that helped to re-conceptualise the key-schools' program. The state initiated a policy towards developing the alternative schooling that began with the approach of 'sector by sector' reform. Such approach had already provided successful outcomes in the agricultural sector, in trade and in the financial system (Huang 2001).

As the history of Chinese education demonstrates (Lin 1999), the trajectory of education reform moved from the development of the key schools into forms of alternative schooling (James 1995), and the latter provided the base for the further development of private education. By being placed into a special financial, but mostly respected, social position, the key-schools formed the elite category of state-run schools that reflects the unequally ranked opportunities in a buyer's market for education for many students (Tsang 2000). Strict discipline and rules, enormous pressure to gain the highest results and achievements prevalent among the students of key-schools led to a cruel competitiveness. The vigorous competition of the key-school environment creates the situation where 'second choice' students were unfitted to the state-regulated education environment of the key-state schools (Togersen 1987). Much later, in the 1990s, after the liberalisation of economy, the market of this category of students was urgently seeking its realization in the alternative forms of

schooling that could foster the 'second choice' students' market (Tang and Xiaoyu, 2000).

The state-run education system became stratified in such manner that the first priorities were given to the task of reconstitution in full of the system of 'key-point' schooling versus mass education. The key schools created wide gaps among young people in their levels of learning<sup>27</sup> and also established an unequal learning environment. The program was oriented to accumulate the best human resources in nominated by the state schools and to provide the extra financial help for these nominated key-schools (Unger 1982).<sup>28</sup> Thus, the key-school education system became apparently fitted to the new policy environment of shifting from equality of opportunity to fairness respecting the access and participation in post-compulsory education.

By being placed into a special financial and socially respected position, the system of key-schools formed an elite form of education within the state-run schooling that created unequal opportunities for many students. The vigorous competitiveness of the key-school environment created the situation where some students were unfitted to the

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<sup>27</sup> Some experiments carried on by 'key-schools' regarding grouping students in accord to the new trend of fast, medium and slow teaching methods was spread up to the next level of post-compulsory education.

<sup>28</sup> "Most of the urban schools would have to accept sacrifices in behalf of the college-preparatory mission of "the key-point schools. The neighbourhood high schools were stripped of their best teachers and their best administrators to allow the key point system to rebuild a quality staff. Already understaffed, the ordinary high schools scrapped through by absorbing former primary-school principals and teachers (which placed some of the primary schools in even deeper in trouble). Only the key-points [schools], moreover, received the funds to improve school facilities. While these elite schools were able to reduce very sharply their programs of student labour in order to let their students concentrate almost entirely on studying, some of the neighbourhood schools, to bring in needed supplementary income, were obliged to retain and occasionally even expand their school-run factories and workshops."(Unger, 1982: 209).

state-regulated education environment of the key-state schools. The market of the second choice students was consummated. This market was urgently seeking alternative forms of schooling that could foster the needs of second choice students (Tsang 2000) and urban *minban xuexiao* (people-run schooling) began to foster these needs.

### 5.2.3 Urban *minban* schooling

During the decentralisation, a new type of privately-run schools, namely urban *minban xuexiao*, was opened across countries (Deng 1997). The majority of these privately-run schools were opened in the south of China (Hou 1993; Xu Y.1996) and coastal regions (Mok 1997a). These schools were named *minban xuexiao* (people-run schooling) after the existing type of people-run schools in rural China (Wang and Zhou, 2002). Despite the fact that the two tendencies are named *minban xuexiao*, they are two different phenomena and are driven by different forces.

The nation-wide *minban* programs in rural areas are deemed to be essential by the state to conceptualise the Chinese society's well-being in the new stage of nation formation along the line of the Third World model of the 1970's (Pepper 1996).<sup>29</sup> The politics and ideology in 1949 were the main aspects of social life in China, and the *minban* system had to promote the national development in agreement with the ideological doctrine of the 'Reds'. In contrast, the development of the *minban* system in the rural era, the *minban* system of the 1980s is subject to the economic self-efficiency of schooling. Appearing in the 1980s, urban *minban* schooling has a broad social connotation that involves changing behavior to create personal attributes,

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<sup>29</sup> As Pepper (1996) notes, "China – following its own course of development – appeared at first glance and by reason its policy pronouncements not only to have reached similar conclusions but to have begun implementing concrete solutions based upon them" (Pepper, 1996: 32)

making individual goals, developing personal ways of thinking and participation in lifelong living and learning, but most of it is an introduction and acceptance of competition as a way of everyday opportunity. This *minban* system of the 1980s was encouraged to invest into education in different forms and for different groups of people: students, community and the business people.

Regarding the social aspect of these two different phenomena, it is necessary to underline the different type of education with which each of these *minban* systems is associated. To compare to the specific goal of mass education under the literacy program in illiterate remote areas of post 1949 China (Peterson 1994a), the current *minban* system offer a new type of education, a continuing type of education, which is a specific characteristic of any economically developed society. The system of *minban xuexiao* of the 1949s was designed in order to promote basic literacy skills for people of “the dusty corner of China’s interiors, where they continued to be the only hope for basic education in much of the countryside” (Robinson, 1991: 164).

The emerging socio-economic inequality of Chinese society in the 1980s reflects a sharp contrast to the previous *minban* system that was “sponsored and managed by a community of people or a collective organisation, and funded by resources from the community or collective organisation, and from a variety of sources” (Tsang, 2000:4). The system of urban *minban* schools of post-Deng China is based on the ability to cover the financial cost of schooling for the purpose of continuing education at the next level.

Finally, the main cultural direction of rural *minban* system followed a different contour from that of the urban *minban xuexiao*. If the rural *minban* system was aimed at the reshaping of the traditional mentality of Confucianism of a local peasant community in the direction of the loyal appreciation of the national ideological base of Communism (Peterson 1994b), the urban *minban xuexiao* moves towards the global cultural values in education: an individual type of education (Ashton and Green 1996, Zajda 2005), a globally-shared curriculum (Askew and Carnell 1998), and market oriented education (Fien and Fien, 1996).

In relation to the financial setting, the rural *minban* system is altered compared to the *minban* system of the 1980s. The rural *minban* schooling began in the village community setting as a dual system with financial support and independent administrative guidance, and gradually moved towards state financial and administrative guidance (Sheringham 1984). Being unable to maintain financial independence from the state<sup>30</sup>, the rural *minban* system of the Mao era, moved towards the state-government management.<sup>31</sup> In contrast, as the case study of Beijing schools demonstrated, urban *minban* schooling (that initially established itself as a semi-dependent unit from the state-run school) is moving towards the financial and managerial self-government educational system. By the end of 1990, in China, there were over 1,000 full-time *minban* urban schools registered at different educational levels (He and Zhang, 1996).

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<sup>30</sup> The Bulletin of Statistics on National Development (1999) issued statistics on education that show the strong tendency of decreasing numbers of teachers in rural *minban* schools. Numbers of full-time teachers in rural *minban* schools exceptionally declined by 5.3 per cent of full-time teaching staff in primary education.

<sup>31</sup> The recent implementation of the adjustment programs in the rural areas across the country breaks the existing pattern of schools run by a single village. The role of the state in the *minban* rural system is steadily increasing in terms of guidance and financial support from the state. The government intends to optimize the teachers' salary through the staff-contract system, to reform the personnel system, to enhance the system of headmaster accountability and establishment of the staff-contract system.

The political goals of rural and urban *minban xuexiao* were different as well. For the rural *minban* the main political goal was the propaganda Communist ideology (Chen T., 1981); for the urban *minban* it was the value of individuals for achieving the higher target in education (Mok 1997a). As the case study of *Huangpu minban xuexiao* demonstrated, the students are preoccupied with their individual goals rather than the political orientation of this school (75 per cent of students indicated that are not aware of the special political role of their school and 60 per cent do not pay attention to it). The majority of students (88 per cent) placed their personal achievement in study first to be able to continue education at the tertiary level. This reflects the tendency of continued education alongside the global movement towards a continuance of studying (Peterson, Hayhoe and Lu, 2001). The differences between rural *minban xuexiao* and urban *minban xuexiao* are summarised in Table 5.1.

**Table 5.1 Social, Economic and Cultural Differences Between  
Rural *Minban* and Urban *Minban* Schooling**

Goals	Rural <i>Minban</i> system (1949-1980s)	Urban <i>Minban</i> system (1980s-present)
Social Goals	Mass education, literacy developed projects	Establishing a new type of education: (1) continued individually-oriented education; (2) life-long education.
Economic Goals	Lightening financial burden from the state responsibility to provide a basic education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individual investment</li> <li>• Economic investment</li> </ul>
Political Goals	Propaganda of Communist doctrine	Moral and aesthetics of individuals as part of the national goals
Cultural Goals	Shifting the traditional ethnic belief in Confucius towards the state-wide new doctrine of Communism	Developing international domain within the state-national frame

Source: I.Vasilenko, Data Analysis, Beijing, 2003

### 5.3 Privatisation (1992 – 1999)

The speech of Deng Xiao Ping<sup>32</sup> in 1992 during his visit to Shengzhen SEZ was a turning point that saw the development of the non-government sector of education flourish: “like spring breeze, rain, and dew, the reform and open policies of the Chinese Communists Party and the state have moistened the soil and sprouted the seeds of private education” (Tang and Xiaoyu W., 2000: 154). This positive attitude towards the privately-run schools induced a mushrooming of privately-run schools. During the seven years of Privatisation, private schooling began to develop its capacity in Beijing in order to accommodate the needs of ‘second chance students’ as a first and foremost principle.

It is necessary to emphasise that the tertiary sector of education was the first level where privatisation in education took place. The first *minban* (privately-run) university — Zhonghua Shehui University — was opened in Beijing in 1982. However, the development of private schools in Beijing had to find their way through the lack of regulations, social recognition, and traditional respect for the state-run system of education. Hence, Privatisation of schooling in Beijing took a decade longer. The first privately-run school *Jinghua* Private School, was opened in Beijing in 1992 (Ling 1996).

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<sup>32</sup> In his speech Deng Xiao Ping advocated speeding up the reform and transformation from a planned economy to a market economy, and diversification of educational financing. This new institutional administration and management concept featured a rapid rise of the non-government sector of education, which urged the government to enact new policy guidelines, namely “Guideline of Chinese Educational Reform and Development” (1993). Issued by the Central Committee and the State Council this document mentioned that the establishment of schools run by different societal forces should be encouraged and given support.



During Privatisation several fundamental changes occurred in the state-run system of education. In particular, some formerly state-run educational institutions became a part of the non-government management and the market of secondary schooling was enriched by developing the different categories of privately-run schools; some *minban* schools became state-run (*gonban xuexiao*). The stage of Privatisation was a period of the private schooling development when the market of private schooling was setting down a blueprint, which indicated the complexity of private, semi-private and independent forms of schooling. There are several tendencies that came into view during the period from 1992 to 1999: a) an explosion of social demands for the market of private schooling and experimentation with the state-run schooling; b) an expansion of *minban* schools in urban areas; and c) an appearance of new forms of private schools: *silide xuexiao*, *helide xuexiao* and independent international schools.

### **5.3.1 Social demand and new categories of private schools**

Since 1949 education has been a state monopoly as a tool of Communist ideology. The state was the major force for the reconstruction of education. However, the Open Door Economic program widened the sources of the private schooling development. This created a new paradigm of driving forces where the local social demands became a new type of engine driving the development of private schooling. The development of private schooling entered a new phase where schools could be run not only by the local community and private local individuals, but also by international educational organisations.

From September 1992 to May 1993, the Beijing Education Bureau received more than 80 applications for state approval. Among these were schools organised by social and

economic organisations (20 per cent); schools organised by individuals from Hong Kong, Macau or other foreign countries (25 per cent); and schools organised by local individuals (55 per cent) (Zhongkui 1996).

Social demand for the different types of private schooling became so transparent that the state started to experiment with *gongli xuexiao* (public schools). As Lai (1996) mentioned, this reflects the state attempt to link education with the market forces and capacity. During this period, *texiao* state-run schools which specialised in studying particular were permitted to deliver special subjects (Foreign Languages, Fine Arts, Mathematics, Chemistry, etc.) or to offer programs under the user-pays principle that appeared in a number of different types of semi-private forms of secondary schooling. The terms '*minban xuexiao*' and 'societal forces schools' no longer reflected the existing variations of secondary schooling and were complemented with the term 'social groups and individual citizens schools'.<sup>33</sup>

Initially focusing on the pre-schooling sector, and in a short period of time, these new social forces became operational at the schooling level. Table 5.2 illustrates the development of private-run schooling from 1991 to 1993.

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<sup>33</sup> In Article 16 of the February 26, 1993, "Outline of Chinese Education Reform and Development" (1993) reads: "The state adopts a policy of active encouragement, vigorous support, correct guidance, and enhanced management toward the lawful establishment of schools by social groups and individual citizens."

**Table 5.2 Development of the *Minban* Category at the Pre-schooling and  
Schooling Levels, China, 1991-1993**

	1991	1992	1993
<b>Middle Schools</b>			
Numbers of Schools	544	673	851
Numbers of Student (1,000)	101	134	127
<b>Elementary Schools</b>			
Numbers of Schools	655	864	4,030
Numbers of Students (1,000)	36	65	649
<b>Kindergartens</b>			
Numbers of Kindergartens	2,091	13,808	16,990
Numbers of Children (1,000)	418	536	724

Source: Y. Zhu (1994).

In contrast to *minban* schooling that had appeared in the system of Chinese schooling as a result of the decentralisation in administration, finance and management of schools initiated by the state, the rise of urban *minban* schooling during Privatisation was result of: (1) demands from students with different capacities to finish secondary schooling and be able to have a chance to continue education onto the next level; (2) demands from the students' parents to have a choice of graduation from secondary schooling with boarding facilities; (3) social demands offering a chance to graduate from secondary school in order to be able to complete the exam for entering higher institutions, or supplying them continuing specialized vocational training education; and (4) growing numbers of migrant workers due to the changing social infrastructure of Beijing.

Urban *minban* schooling obtained the status as schooling for the demands of 'second choice students', those who cannot compete in the state-run system due to strong competition, family situation or individual capacity for learning. The increasing numbers of urban *minban* (people-run) schools across the country was one of the major characteristics of Privatisation.

In the beginning of 1993, eleven privately-run schools operated mainly in the capital of the Jianxu Province, Nanjin. Within one year, at the end of 1993, Jianxu Province had 180 private schools alone (Correctly Grasp the Role of the Market Mechanism in the Operation of Private Schools: Survey of Private Schooling in Jianxu Province, 1996). In the same year, 1993, in Guangzhou the number of private schools increased from 25 to 125 (Tiehua 1996). Statistics up to 1993 showed a total of more than 100 non-governmental elementary and middle schools in seven provinces and municipalities (Zhongkui 1996).

The rapid growth of *minban xuexiao* schools was also registered in Beijing. In 1992 in Beijing there were 19 privately-run schools (Zhongkui 1996); by the end of 1995, in Beijing, for instance, 500 schools were accredited (Zhu G. 1996). The rapidly changing infrastructure of Beijing required more labourer sources. A large number of migrants moved into the city to work without legal permission from the authorities. Due to their semi-permitted status, they could work, but their children could not attend the state schools. Therefore, urban *minban* schools consummated the new niche in the schooling market. However, the poor conditions of these schools, lack of teachers, retired age of qualified teachers and low standard of education were the main concerns of the public (Zou 1997). All of these would be a matter of resolution

later, when in the year 2004, national authorities in education would take a step towards supporting *minban* schooling.<sup>34</sup>

### 5.3.2 The emergence of new forms of private schooling

During the stage of Privatisation of schooling the new forms of private schooling appeared in the system of Chinese private secondary education: (1) private *silide xuexiao* run by local individuals, and (2) international independent schools run by international educational enterprises.

Although these categories of private schooling appeared at the same period, they reflect two different tendencies. The development of *silide xuexiao* was a result of two processes. From one side it responded to the increasing social demands for better service in education for those who could afford to pay. At the same time, it was a result of the state policy of encouraging local individuals to invest into private schooling. As a result of private capital injection by individuals and the support from the state, the system of private schooling developed the new forms of private schooling: *silide xuexiao*.

The development of this category of schools started from the most economically developed regions of China. The first *Guangya silide xuexiao* school was opened in September 1992 in Dujiangyan by a prominent celebrity (Hou 1993). At the beginning of 1993, more than 40 private schools were operating in the economically developed Zhejiang Province. In 1993, Wenzhou Province also registered the high demand for *silide xuexiao*, where locally this category of schooling reached 10 per cent of all

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<sup>34</sup> In 2004, the Beijing municipal government voted to ensure equal opportunities for all migrants' children to receive at least nine years of education (*Xinhua* News Agency, 14 August, 2004).

students studying in private schools (Ling 1996). In Beijing *silide xue xiao* schools started their history in 1993, when *Junyi* Middle Boarding School enrolled students from different locations on Beijing's Haidian Road (Ling 1996). By the end of 1995, China had 629 *silide xuexiao* schools. *Silide xiexiao* demonstrated different characteristics compared to the existing urban *minban* schooling. In contrast to the appalling conditions of *minban* schools, *silide xiexiao* reflects the increasing demands to improve the learning environment.

Prior to the appearance of *silide xuexiao*, the pioneer *minban* (people-run) schools were facing difficulties in being accepted as an equal part of the Chinese secondary education due to the depiction of these schools as 'schools for the second choice students'. Hence there was the tendency of building grandiose and spacious *silide xuexiao* schools that overwhelmed the market of private schooling.<sup>35</sup> The rapid boom in construction of private schools across the country raised alarm in the central government. Since 1995 the government has forbidden the construction of new private schools.

However, the superior environment of *silide xuexiao* compared to *minban xuexiao* has changed the social perception of privately-run schools. The improved quality of learning facilities was the important step towards the social recognition of private schooling in China. It encourages *silide xuexiao* schools to portray themselves as schools for upper-class strata of Chinese society, and a new type of 'elite' school, but in the private system of secondary schooling. The new phenomenon of elitism in

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<sup>35</sup> For example, Beijing Qimeng School (Beijing) invested 10 million *yuan* and occupied 100 *mu* land, Beijing Yamei School (Beijing) has 200 *mu* with the investment of 20 million *yuan*, Beijing 21 Century Experimental School (Beijing) occupied 100 *mu* and has 70 million *yuan*, Chengdu's Jiahao School (Chengdu) invested 80 million in construction over 145 *mu*, Gaungzhou's Zhounhua Yinghao School (Gaungzhou) has the land 500 *mu* and the financial asset of 200 million *yuan*, and Bowang School (Shenyang) invested 50 million *yuan* in 250 *mu*.

private secondary schooling entered the Chinese market of education.<sup>36</sup> By the end of 1995, thirty-one *silide xuexiao* private schools were opened for the elite across China, including Beijing.

In Beijing alone, there were 25 private schools that charged 3,600 dollars inscription, boarding and teaching cost US\$ 1750 extra per year (Xia 1996). Thus, in Beijing, the best elite school at the primary level is *Shangli*, and at the secondary level *Jinhua* and *Huacheng*. School fees in these deluxe schools range from US\$ 18,000 to US\$ 30,000 and sometime up to US\$ 35,000. Soon after their great performance on the market, these schools received the status of being experimental schools and became the subjects of state alertness (Kaixian 1996).

The existence of the elite *silide xuexiao* schools became a reality due to the positive performance of the Chinese economic market and the rise of the middle class in Chinese society (Xia 1996). According to the "Survey of the Current situation of Nongovernmental Elementary and Middle Schools in Seven Provinces and Municipalities" (1996), in Beijing among the 150 parents in *Jinghua* private school, 20 per cent were government functionaries, 30 per cent were managers of national enterprises, 20 per cent were high-ranking employees of foreign enterprises, 15 per cent were personnel of local enterprises, 10 per cent were personnel working abroad, and 5 per cent were individual business people.

However, as the data analysis of the profiles of parents revealed, the social strata of parents of *getihu* (individual business) category has been increased across all

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<sup>36</sup> The 'elitism' in the state-run schools was a phenomenon that occurred in the system of Chinese secondary schooling since the implementation of the key schools system as a result of the relentless and ferocious competition for the best teachers and facilities (Bastid 1984). They enjoy the best choice for studying in the prestigious 211 national universities.

categories and reflects the accumulation of the particular social group of parents in each category of private schools. For example, the category of international independent schools has 30 per cent of individual businessmen, *helide xuexiao* has 40 per cent, *silide xuexiao* has 33 per cent of *getihuren* (private business owners); 28 per cent of parents are from the category of a *minban* day school versus 33 per cent in the boarding type of *minban xuexiao*.<sup>37</sup> This rapidly developing social strata requested special treatment for their kids and therefore triggered the development of new educational forms that were previously unknown for Chinese schooling (Bastid 1984).

### 5.3.3 The rise of international independent schools

The first international independent school was run by the state. The *Fang Cao* school<sup>38</sup> has a history of more than 40 years of providing educational services for *waiguo renmen* (foreigners) including Chinese-oriented Curriculum and extra-curricular activities - sport, fine arts, and music. However, from the end of 1990s, the number of international independent schools started to grow in Beijing and the rise of these schools reflects a new tendency of educating the global child.

By the end of 1999, a list of international schools included BISS (1996), Beijing *Huijia* Private College (1999), Fang Cao Di School (1976), International School of Beijing (1996), International Study Group (1896), Beijing Yew Chung International School (1995) that successfully offered IB Programme in Beijing.<sup>39</sup> The branches of international schools spread out across China offering IB, MBA and TESOL courses at secondary level, finding a ready market, the implementation of IB is a part of

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<sup>37</sup> See Appendix 3. Table 1. Data Analysis of Parents Categories in Private Schooling in Beijing, 1999-2003, p. 496.

<sup>38</sup> *Fang Cao Xuexiao* is translated as “a fragrant grass land school” referring the nurturing nature of educational environment offered by this school.

<sup>39</sup> See Appendix 3. Table 5. Chinese International Schools Offering International Programs, p. 503-504.



Supplementary education in the majority category of private schools. These schools offered educational service to children of expatriates, the new social strata of Beijing that according to the unpublished sources close to Beijing Statistic Bureau grew from 15,000 in 1995 to 150,000 in 2005.

#### 5.4 Marketisation (1999 – present)

From the year 1999, the development of private secondary schools began to develop away from its 1980s paradigm, with its focus on vocational and technical education, and put their primary focus on secondary curriculum. This schooling development was framed by two tendencies: the matured local market and its engagements with international communities. Along with the formation of the socialist market economic system and society's multilevel needs in education, the field of private schooling has responded with multilevel development. At the secondary level there were new tendencies that were summarised by Premier Zhu Rongji in 2001.<sup>40</sup>

The development of private schools has been typified by two major tendencies. The first tendency reflects the local characteristics of the educational market. As a response to the local market demands, the number of *minban* schools and *silide xuexiao* is continuously increasing. Along with the marketisation of private schooling, the market related characteristics have grown inside the system of state-run secondary schooling, and the mixed forms of the state-run and privately run secondary schooling have emerged. The category of converted schools reflects the continuing

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<sup>40</sup> In 2001, Premier Zhu Rongji underlined the main directions of the role of education in modernized China, such as (1) an incorporation of modern techniques and global outlook; (2) enriching students' intelligence, morality, health and aesthetics; (3) popularising nine-year basic education; (4) acceleration of senior secondary and tertiary secondary education; (5) keeping the balance between economic and social needs; and (6) increasing state and societal investment in education. (*China Education Daily*, 6 March, 2001)

attempt of the state to transfer the financial responsibilities for re-arranging the state-run management into the privately-run type of management.

The second tendency embodied the increasing influence of the global market in education. A new type of privately-run schools, international independent schools and *helide xuexiao* (international educational enterprise) international educational joint venture, *helide xuexiao*, demonstrate a different mode of incorporation into the global system of education.

#### 5.4.1 International independent schools in Beijing and global citizens

The rise of this category of private schools reflects a new social reality of Chinese society – the expanding numbers of expatriates that became a reality of everyday life in Beijing.<sup>41</sup> Reflecting the consequences of globalisation – the growing numbers of expatriates – this category of school placed a strong emphasis on combining Eastern and Western cultures in their curricula.

By the year 2003, in Beijing alone there were 19 independent international schools that targeted the global citizens' market, including *dabinze* (Westerners) and *haiwai Zhonggouren* (overseas Chinese): (1) Yew Chung International School of Beijing; (2) Beijing International School Shunyi, (3) International Study Group, (4) Western Academy of Beijing<sup>42</sup>, (5) International Academy of Beijing, (6) Fang Cao Di

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<sup>41</sup> According to the Beijing Municipality (*Xinhua* News, February 12, 2004), the city hosts 144 embassies, 18 representative offices of international organisation, 185 foreign bureaus, more than 7,000 foreign companies and 15,760 foreign students studies.

<sup>42</sup> The word 'academy' reflects the Chinese cultural peculiarity of praising learning facilities of a number of schools: e.g. International Academy of Beijing, Ivy Academy, Beijing World Youth Academy. In relation to Western Academy of Beijing (WAB), accredited by both the European Association of School and the New England Association of Schools and Colleges, WAB (kindergarten – Year 11) provides IB/US curricula for 900 students of 50 countries. The language of instruction is

Primary School; (7) Harrow International School; (8) Dulwich College of Beijing; (9) Eton International School; (10) Ivy Academy of Beijing; (11) The International School of Beijing (ISB); (12) New School of Collaborative Learning; (13) The Learning Centre of Beijing; (14) Ritan Middle and High School; (15) Beijing World Youth Academy; (16) Australian International School of Beijing; (17) the International Montessori School; (18) Beijing City International School; and (19) British International School (first campus).

From 2003, several international independent schools were opened in Beijing:

Beijing *Zhogguancun* International School, Beanstalk Beijing International Bilingual Schools, Jo-Jo English Academy and the British International School (second campus). The versions of the International Curriculum (European Commission, 2000), can be found in British International School that officially debuted last fall in September 2004, in *Sanlintun*, and recently opened in December 2004 the second campus in Shunyi, the district around the Beijing Airport. The Ivy Academy has sprouted up in the East Lake Villas and its bilingual sister school is flourishing in Seasons Park.

A number of international independent schools will be influenced by: (1) the fact that the law which allows them to enrol only foreign passport holders will be rescinded by 2008, and (2) the growth of the number of expatriates and foreign experts living and working in China. However, this category of private schools has a limited capacity for development in the future due to the international companies' policies and the state changing regulations towards expatriates' children educated in the state-run school.

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English. The school has world-standard facilities, including library, gymnasium, swimming pool, computer labs, and sports fields.

According to Pillsbury (2005), 40 per cent of international companies plan to increase the number of expatriates, but the other 60 per cent of international companies want to keep expatriates' levels steady. The Chinese government also shows signs of reconsidering and easing the co-educational policy in the state-run schools for foreigners. Recently (2005), the state-run Beijing N12 Middle School<sup>43</sup> was permitted to enrol the children of expatriates, joining the state-run Middle school N 55 and the *Fang Cao Di* school, which were officially allowed this privilege.

#### **5.4.2 The appearance of *helide xuexiao* (educational enterprise)**

The *helide xuexiao* category of privately run schools appeared as a result of the experimentation of the state with a new mode of education – education without borders. This new concept turned into a stage of the experimentation in 1999, when a privately-run educational enterprise was introduced in the local educational market of Beijing.

Copying the nationally recognised campaign of Special Education Zones of the early 1990s, in 1998 the state assigned several Special Science and Education Zones (SSEZ) in order to develop the educational capacity of China as the world intellectual property provider in the future. One SSEZ is located in Changping District in Beijing. This category of private schools has specific instruction from the state to bring the

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<sup>43</sup> The Beijing N2 Middle Schools is a state-run school affiliated to Beijing Normal University (Beijing Teachers' University) that was authorised by the Beijing government to open its doors to overseas students (Liu, 2003:7).

*haiwai* Chinese financial resources into the Mainland.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, education without borders has two major goals: (1) to accumulate local and international education resources (finance and human resources) in a particular zone for the purpose of developing the local market capacity, and (2) to establish flexible networking for assured tertiary education locally or internationally.

During this stage, the state developed its attitude towards the role of private education as a form of social financial investment. This tendency became an important new strand of current educational policy in China on a national scale. The relation with the overseas partners via the *Huijia* Educational Enterprise shaped the new vision of the Chinese authorities towards the role of China in the market of global education. It was also a very significant step towards merging the private capital of wealthy overseas Chinese with locals under state guidance (see Figure 4.4).

During the interview (Fieldwork, Beijing, 1999), Mr Tao Xiping, the retired Member of the Committee of Education, Science, Culture and Health of the National People's of Congress, President of National Federation of UNESCO Association of China, Vice President of the Chinese Education Association of China, Vice President of the Chinese Education Association for Exchange, and Vice President of the Standing Committee of Beijing People's Congress, underlined the new role of the state as an investor in education. He also stressed the new direction of the CPC towards the development of the best educational 'know-how' on Chinese soil running in parallel with implemented SEZs as a part of economic reforms in the 1980s. Therefore the *Huijia* Educational Complex as a form of global education was acknowledged. Hence,

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<sup>44</sup> If, whilst, for example, the *Huijia* Educational Complex was established with the assistance of the Hong Kong financial group which is closely related to the Honk Kong Harbour Financial Group Ltd., the Great Wall School is associated with the British-Hong Kong Medical Association.

the favourable treatment of *Huijia helide xuexiao*, because the school has international as well as locally-specialized educational programs, which run in tune with the ambitious global educational expectation of CPC to be a globally-recognised educational centre in the future.

#### 5.4.3 The rise of *silide xuexiao* (private schools)

The existence of private schools in China is not an entirely new phenomenon (Xu Z., 2002), however, the post-Mao development of private schooling is exemplified by the new private schools in the category of *silide xuexiao* schools. The rise of the Western type of *silide xuexiao*, elite schools,<sup>45</sup> was noted in Beijing from 2000. The current development of *silide xuexiao* is characterised by: (1) firmer control from the regional and state educational bodies; (2) an increased multifaceted structure of bureaucracy, and (3) a lower popularity compared to a highly respected state-run sector of schooling.

*Silide xuexiao* schools that were opened during Privatisation were not much different to the state-run key schools, but the fieldwork in 2002 detected a new trend among these schools. The copying of the Western style involves the uniform, the class setting and working etiquette.<sup>46</sup> Although the category of private schools is not equally developed in Beijing compared to the South of China, there are 16 *silide xuexiao* schools that have received high social recognition. The most socially recognised that were operating in Beijing by the end of 2003 are (1) Beijing Li Xin Xuexiao, (2)

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<sup>45</sup> Indeed, the elite schools are the rising phenomenon in China, and, in fact, there are a few across China and mainly between Shanghai and Guanzhou, in the South, and the SEZ Shenzhen. In Beijing these schools started to develop later compared to the coastal areas of China and economically advanced regions.

<sup>46</sup> As an example, *Li Mai* School has forbidden the afternoon siesta and students encouraged to learn the Western etiquette of conducting business, dining and negotiating.

Beijing Qinhua Yingcai Shiyan Xuexiao, (3) Beijing Sanfan Zhong Xue, (4) Beijing Shi 21 Shijie Shiyan Xuexiao, (5) Beijing Shi Bowen Xuexiao, (6) Beijing Shi Jianhua Shiyan Xuexiao, (7) Beijing Shi Mei Ya Xuexiao, (8) Beijing Shi Mingge Yixian Zhongxue, (9) Beijing Sili Jinghua- Huacheng Xuexiao, (10) Beijing Shi Sili Shuren Xuexiao, (11) Beijing Shi Sili Xingxing Xuexiao, (12) Beijing Shi Sili Jun Yi Xuexiao, (14) Beijing Zhong Jia Xuexiao, (15) Beijing Sino-Canadian School, and (16) Beijing's Zhengze Middle School, and (17) Li Mai Schools. This list is likely to be extended. The growth of private schools is a vivid process that includes the appearance and, in many cases, following subsequent disappearance of private schools after only several years or even months of operating.<sup>47</sup> The relatively new Property Law (2004) is likely to assist the further development of this category of private schools due to the legislation of the private property law.

The owners of *silide xuexiao* gained confidence with the changing social attitude around private schooling in China and steady economy environment. The Law of Promotion Non-State Educational Institutions (2003) set out the guidelines policy towards the rights of students who study in private schools.<sup>48</sup>

In March, 2003 (*Xinhuanet*, 23, March) the first Association of Non-government Schools was established in Beijing. The Association looks at further discussions with the state regarding documents that should be adopted to standardize private education

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<sup>47</sup> During the fieldtrip to Beijing (2003), the phenomenon of *jiu sili xuexiao* was detected, the case of the 'reverted privatisation'. One state-run school, which was assigned to run privately, in a short period of time has been returned to the state system of secondary education due to incapability to maintain the administrative, teaching and financial tasks.

<sup>48</sup> The documents institute the same rights for students of private schools regarding employment, social welfare and competition for academic awards. Regional government should give preferential policies to private schools that want to use land to build schools. Private schools should not be discriminated against by the public and government institutions and should provide an equal standard of education compared with the state-run schools.

to encourage investment from the public in this dynamic sector. It is also has the purpose of cooperating with media, government, officials and presenting disputed cases in the judicial organisations.

There is another factor that has underlies the rise of *silide xuexiao*. The Chinese middle class is growing with breathtaking speed. According to the Chinese Academy of Social Science in March, 2003, one in five of the population is now classified as middle class with the household assets worth from \$18,000 to \$36,000. The middle class is growing at one percent per year, which means 13 million people join its ranks annually (*Xinhuanet*, March 31, 2004).

#### **5.4.4 Enlargement of *minban* schools**

The recent development of *minban* schooling demonstrates that the state increased the financial investment in private education. This category of school illustrates the state effort to combine the political concept of *jiang she you zhong guo tecedede shehui zhu yi* (development of education with Chinese characteristics) with the market.

In 2003, in Beijing, as the fieldwork indicated, this category of private schooling experienced profound changes. It was particularly relevant to *minban xuexiao* with the focus on teaching migrants' children, so called 'sparrow schools' because of their overcrowded classes with poor conditions. Thirteen *minban xuexiao* schools have received the official certification from the Beijing Department of Education helping them to end their illegal status, whilst another 28 schools are waiting to be accessed.



In the environment of the market-related competition, some *minban xuexiao* have received financial help from the state and therefore improved their facilities.

In September 2004, the Xingzhi School became the first migrant 'sparrow school' to receive official certification from China's Ministry of Education. To support this school, the Chinese government allocated \$12,000 to the school's budget, renewed the furniture, heating system and renovated the building. This event was a turning point for the migrant *minban* schools. Being heavily dependent on social donations from both Chinese and foreigners in Beijing, the facilities of 299 *minban xuexiao* cannot alone shoulder the cost for educational service of 288,400 migrant children of workers living in Beijing (*Xinhua* News, August, 18, 2004). In 2004, the deputy secretary of the Beijing Municipal Committee, Long Xinmin, announced the state investment in this category of school by allocating 35 million *yuan* (US\$ 4.2 million).

Other *minban xuexiao* schools indicate a tendency to merge with the *selide xuexiao* category. The *Huangpu* boarding school, due to the collaborative effort of the help from the state and overseas investors, improved the quality of its service by involving a young generation of teachers, and employing two foreigners for conducting English classes. In 2002, this school claimed the name of *silide xuexiao* although they maintain same infrastructure and quality of education as in 1999 when they were considered as a *minban* school.

The numbers of *minban* schools providing educational service after day-school are also rapidly increasing. The tendency of 'selling key school facilities for profit' is strengthening and the state expressed serious concern towards this development. As

the fieldwork in 2003 demonstrated, there were 40 state-run schools that are allowed to operate like private schools, including ten key elite schools. The serious changes are expected to control the state-run schools marketisation. In January 2006, the State Council approved a draft revision that bans public schools from being run along private lines and contains a consensus on the government's key role in providing free basic education. The document prohibits local governments to set up a privately-run school in the state key-schooling system.

#### **5.4.5 The appearance of semi-private secondary schooling**

During the Marketisation period, the category of converted schools became diversified. In contemporary China, several sub-categories of semi-governmental forms of schools are operating on the edge of the private schooling market:

- *Gongban Minzhu* (Converted schools) – a semi-private category of schools with the combination of private and government funding that is further supported by the government through the faculty, administration and infrastructure.
- *Jiu Sili Xuexiao* (Reverted private schools) – privatised government schools that have returned to the system of government schooling.
- *Minban Gongzhu* (State supported people-run schools)- schools that are owned and supported by the government through property and infrastructure.
- *Shequ Xuexiao* (Schools in communities) – schools proposed and established by real estate companies on government provided land on the outskirts of a city.
- *Zhongdianxiao Fengxiao* (Shadowed school) – schools that share the same infrastructure and property with the key school but function as subsidiaries of key schools, enjoying the financial flexibility of charging tuition fees.

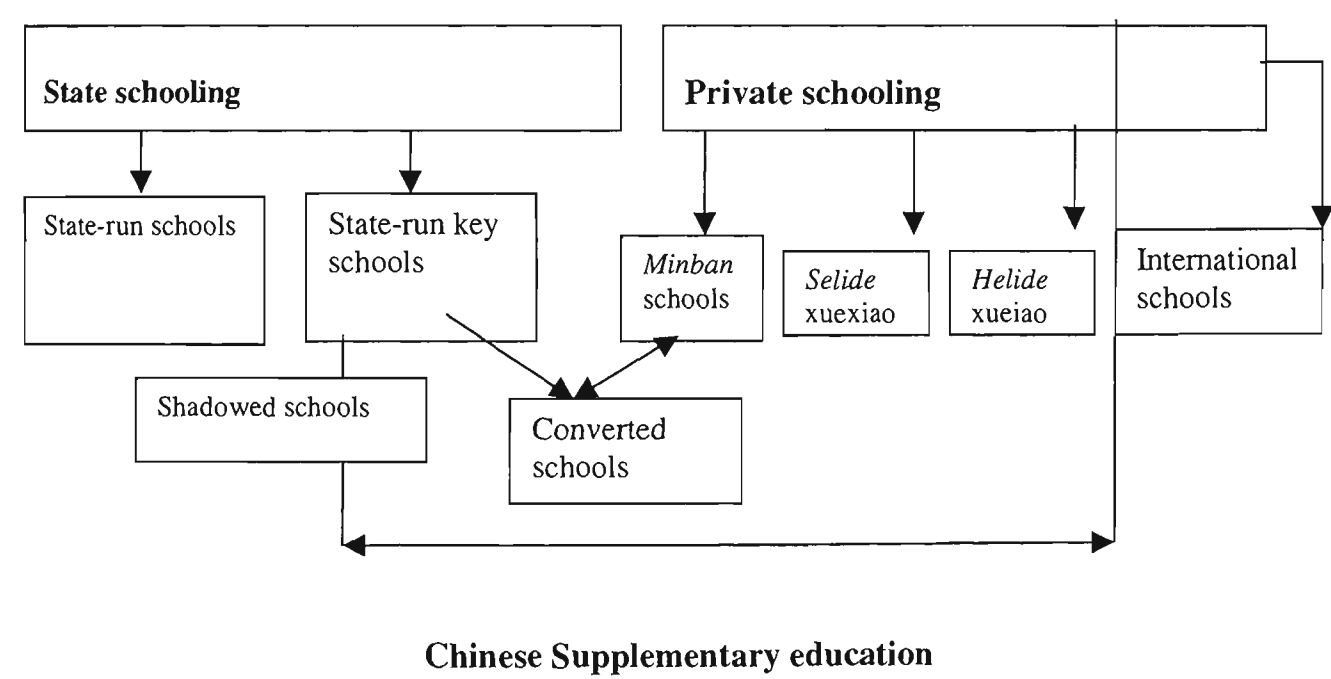
- *Zhongdian Chuzhong Bu* (Elementary part of key school unit) – a detached unit/section/level of the key school that has been placed in the care of a private investor.
- *Zi Di Xiao* (Corporate Schooling) – schools set up and managed by a government owned corporation and organisation (*gouqi*) with attached tuition fees.

The category of converted schools reflects the continuing attempt of the state to transfer the financial responsibilities for re-arranging the state-run management into a privately-run type of management. The implemented elite system of key-schools performs as a sorting mechanism of students, by keeping the capable ones in state-run schooling. Successful students and less capable ones no longer enjoy the same state-provided facilities by the state. The key-schools arranged fully paid classes for the students who are not able to cope with the stress of studying in the state-run facilities. Therefore, some state-run facilities are converting into privately run schools for the less successful students in order to give them a second choice. The converted schools function on the intangible balance between the state-run and privately run management. This kind of arrangement allows for some schools to operate like private schools, charging higher fees and adopting their own selection criteria. There are more than 40 converted schools in Beijing alone and students have to take extra classes to acquire the skills they needed to qualify for a place. Parents also have to 'donate' thousands of *yuan* in admission fees.

Currently, non-government schools have expanded to all levels of education, including secondary schooling. There are several categories of privately-run schools

offering their services to all strata of society. The figure below demonstrates the current diversity in privately-run secondary schooling, operating in Beijing by 2003.

Figure 5.2 Chinese Private Schooling, 1999 - 2003



Source: I. Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Beijing, 1999-2003.

## 5.5 Cultural mode of educational transformation in China

The development of converted and shadowed schools indicates the changing role of education in China. Nowadays state-run and privately-run sectors of education not only train people, but at the same time also function as a sorting mechanism. This distinguishing feature was noted in several credential Asian countries: Singapore, Hong Kong and Japan (Lee, 1991: 205). At the same time, China provides an interesting blend of controversial motives that were noted in the advanced industrial societies. From the one side the state educational system does distinguish students as capable and less capable. This process of inequality of education became transparent in the dichotomy 'private schooling versus state schooling' and a fairly known in the countries of advanced fully capitalistic production (Marginson 1997).<sup>49</sup> However, as we can see, Chinese schooling produced the inverted version, where the state-schools ensured higher quality education compared with education in the privately-run schools.

But, from another viewpoint, the educational system in China provides a means for everyone to climb the social ladder, or at least gives them a chance to do so. The state-run key schools and alternative forms of *minban schools*, converted schools, and individually-run schools continue to be used for different categories of students. In contrast to the key-schools run by the state targeting high achievers, the alternative forms of education help to withdraw the negative effect of the differentiation and

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<sup>49</sup> "[i]n the government sector, marketisation created winner and loser schools and differentiated the quality of education on socio-economic grounds. Strong schools became academically selective, whether deliberately or de facto as the result of competitive success. The impact on weaker schools was negative. Market pressure created a direct conflict between their educational goals and their economic imperatives" (Marginson, 1997: 203)

segmentation of the growing resource disparities between the different kinds of school. The alternative education market's choices are ranged from accommodating the individual interest of the 'second choice' students to the offering of the best education as a reflection of the concept of "buying quality education with money" (Huang 2001). This educational approach depends on the economic profile of the areas and strongly links with the characteristics of the market in a region.

The recent policy of the state that places emphasis on the new role of education as a tool for human investment, clearly indicates that the final goal of the labour productivity is the investment in individuals (Jones, P. 1977). Hence the schools are required to develop the individual potential by providing expanded skills and knowledge which leads to further expansion of the educational system. China, alongside a number of other Southeastern Asian countries eagerly elaborates the pattern of investing in manpower as a classical line of Human Capital theory (Baker and Holsinger, 1997). The Chinese authorities followed the classic line of the Human Capital theory seriously take into account the wisdom and practical implementation of private schooling in other countries (Lane 1995). After searching for best knowledge and investigating the experience of private schooling abroad, closely looking for the Asian attitude towards private schooling in South Korea, Japan, and Hong Kong (Guanguy 1997), China developed their own cultural approach towards the marketisation of private schools (Hu W. 2000).<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> The Law on Private school in South Korea was appealed to the Chinese authorities in relation to preventing close blood relationship between board (council) members and superintendents. Experience of Hong Kong private schools was also noted because it shows how for a board (council) to play a role and correctly guide the work of a school.

To overcome the personal dissatisfaction regarding the lack of choices in education, the state inaugurated a strong policy push towards the acceleration of fee-charged forms of education and initiated the market policy in the state-run system of education. The different forms of paid education (personal saving and education loans with fixed interest) in the state-run and private educational institutions have been employed by the state in order to combine the characteristics of the Chinese market economy with education. The current Marketisation of private schooling shows a new paradigm of education that takes different forms, some of which have close associations with the main characteristics of the global vision on education in the twenty-first century (Beare and Slaughter, 1993).

## 5.6 Conclusion

This Chapter has demonstrated that the development of private schooling in China is a prolonged gradual process encompassing several stages of educational transformation. The concept of individualised education (that later became the platform of private schooling) occurred before an implementation of *gaige kaifan*, (an open door policy) for modernization and implementation of economic reforms. This recognises the role of educational institutions during transition and underlines that the initial phase of Transition occurs in the social spheres, particularly in education. The new educational policy towards private schools was aimed at changing the selection criteria towards those who show an outstanding ability to study. The principle of personal development program was evaluated as the best personal effort for national goals. This changing character of education led to further development of the non-government system of education and outlines the important role of non-government schools in the process of educational transformation.

One of the main outcomes of diversification was a step towards broadening a *minban* campaign in urban areas. Minban schools in the urban areas, along with *minban* schools in the rural areas, were viewed as tools to educate individual in the best way to serve the country's needs. The different types of state-run school were diverted into the semi-private *minban* type, and the growth of *silide* and *helide xuexiao* run schools signifies the maturing capacity of private secondary schooling. These schools are now looking to connect with the global system of education with a focus on playing an equal part in education service in the future.

The development of private schooling in China is a complicated process that involved two different but interrelated tendencies: the cultural specification of the private schooling market and the pressure from the global imperatives in education. The state's efforts to achieve a balanced relationship between the social demands and local capacity of the market led to the experimentation of the state private schooling; hence, the private schooling development in China is strongly controlled by the state.



## **CHAPTER 6**

# **EDUCATIONAL TRANSFORMATION IN RUSSIA AND PRIVATE SCHOOLING IN MOSCOW**

### **6.0 Introduction**

The main aim of this chapter is to analyse the major events relevant to the development of private schooling, before and after economic liberation, in order to understand the stages of educational transformation that led to the rise of private schooling. The analysis of these events demonstrates that Russian education went through four particular stages. This chapter offers an original classification of these main stages of the educational transformation in Russia:

- Diversification (1984 – 1989);
- Decentralisation (1989 – 1991);
- Privatisation (1991 – 1996);
- Marketisation (1996 – ongoing).

In contrast to previous understandings of the educational transformation in Russia (Dunstan 1992; Eklof, Holmes and Kaplan, 2005; Kerr 1998), this chapter argues that the process of educational transformation began before the implementation of economic reform. This process started with the Diversification period around 1984 and lasted till 1989. This chapter then outlines the main characteristics of uncompleted political and economical actions that led to Decentralisation (1989 –

1991). The main social, cultural, and economic events of Privatisation (September, 1991 – 1996) are analysed in relation to the swift rise of private schools and demonstrate the controversial character of legalisation of private schools. Finally, by analysing the current tendencies during Marketisation (1996 – present), the chapter discusses the future of private schooling in Moscow.

This four-stage classification gestures at the direction of the demands for educational change that originated from the grass roots rather than state involvement. It also demonstrates the controversial role of the state during this process. This classification reflects that ways in which private schooling in Moscow has been characterised by culturally-specific factors and brought to light the evolution of private schooling in the system of Russian education.

### **6.1 Diversification (1984 – 1989)**

The stage of Diversification was a period of debates and battles over the legacy and use of alternative methods in education. This period started with the establishment of *Eurica* (1989), a radical educational movement that began before economic reforms. Started from the political battles of theoretical ideas in education, this period ended with the development of independent secondary schooling that supported the practice of alternative teaching methods and strong independence from the state. The rebellious character of these discussions discloses sometimes of the uncompromising nature of educational transformation. This radical style of reform was later, in 1991, applied towards an economic transition that was labelled as the “shock therapy” (Murrell 1993) or “the Big Bang approach” (Frydman and Rapaczynski, 1991).

### 6.1.1 Political framing of educational reforms

In April 1989, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union installed as General Secretary of the Communist Party, M.S. Gorbachev, who inaugurated the era of *perestroika*, *glasnost* and called for serious changes in the country. Although these reforms addressed a number of pressing educational problems, they were only a reaction to the stagnant era of the Soviet Union. As Gershunsky has pointed out, “during the years of *perestroika*, education was never one of the priority concerns of Gorbachev” (Gershunsky, 1993: 34). According to Linden and Prybyla (1997), the first priority of changes were in relation to (1) the *glasnost* policy, which helped the country to overcome the Stalinist era fear to speak up publicly; 2) *perestroika* (“restructuring”) within three major turns - *uskoreniye* (acceleration), reformation of the political institution, and a transformation of the regime itself, was directed at the bureaucratic stagnation of social development, which is used to describe the previous stagnant period; and 3) *novoye myshlyeniye* (new thinking), which was aimed at shifting from the Cold War’s ‘zero-sum’ doctrine to the concept of “balance of interest”. These directions were focused on the reconstruction of the political party regime with a minimum of the *apparatchiks* and the elite of *nomenklatura* power, which were labelled as a “socialistic pluralism” (Linden and Prybyla, 1997: 13), a kind of hybrid between communism and democracy.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> “Gorbachev carried out a classic grand ploy of the prince to defeat his opposition in the ‘aristocracy’ by doing to the people at large. Further, he followed another bit of Machiavellian advice, namely, that when a prince finds the regime he heads in decline and decay he should replace old institutions (the party) with new ones (the new parliament) formed by releasing a measure of power into society “ (Linden and Prybyla, 1997: 77).

The strong politicisation of the former Soviet Union society was reflected in the way its went about the implementation of educational reforms (Eklof and Dneprov, 1993). These changes in education from ‘above’ were used as a weapon during the power battle for the leadership in the country.<sup>2</sup> As Table 6.1 demonstrates, there was a close connection between the educational reformers and the political leadership in Russia and for many Russians it was an indication of imminent changes in the political structure of the country.

**Table 6.1 Education Reform and Political Leadership, Russia, 1982–1991**

Year	Country Leader	Related to the Education Reforms Position	Further Administrative Assignment
1982	Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the Party	Konstantin Chernenko, Head of the Central Committee’s Commission on Education Reform	K.Chernenko, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party.
1984	K.Chernenko, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party	Gorbachev, the Second Secretary was assigned to carry out the task of guiding the educational “Reform of the General School and the System of Vocational-Technical Education”.	M.Gorbachev became the leader of the country and inaugurated the era of <i>perestroika</i> .
1985	Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party	Yegor Ligachev (Yeltcin supporter), the Head of Department of Research and Educational Institutions	Boris Yeltcin, the first President of the country as a result of mini-revolution after Moscow’s troops invasion in 1991.

Source: Compiled by I. Vasilenko, 2003

<sup>2</sup> “In one sense, the reform movement was a local embodiment of high politics, taking its cue from the general directions of reform under Gorbachev, and especially glasnost and *democratisatsia*. But it also represented the renewal, or legimation of long marginalized or even repressed perspectives in education, the triumph of the progressive (used as a descriptive rather than a normative term) tradition against the educational establishment - the ministries, the Academy of Pedagogical Science and the official Teachers’ Union” (Eklof and Dneprov, 1993: 9).

During the Diversification stage, the struggle for political power at the highest echelons became an essential part of the political battle. The power battle among the members of the 'Gorbachev – Ligachev – Yeltsin triangle taking place at the highest level of the Soviet political machine, had its correlation in the educational reform movement. At the highest level of *nomemklatura* dealing with education, it was reflected in the triangle comprising Iakovlev (the Ligachev line) – Dneprov – (the Yeltsin line) – Yagodin (the Gorbachev line) (Linden and Prybyla, 1997). So, during Diversification there were three conflicting powers that were locked in a political struggle for power at each level of the government machinery and this had the effect of decreasing the effectiveness of state-prescribed directives and Laws. As Yakavets (2003) noted, the educational reform of 1984–85 was the forerunner of the soon-to-be-initiated *perestroika* but was doomed to failure as it did not coincide with the reforms in other sectors of the society and economy.

### **6.1.2 The emergence of alternative types of education**

The conflicting situation in the highest levels of the political structure brought about a new environment that encouraged open and free discussions around educational issues. This situation gave a chance to some teachers who expressed their disagreement with the stagnant situation in secondary education including the authoritarian method of teaching that prevailed the scholastic approach to schooling life, and the low living standards of teachers (Zajda 1980). The government was overwhelmed by the amount of printed, broadcasted and translated information

coming from teachers who worked all over the country, with strong criticisms of the existing teaching practice in secondary schools. Some of these teachers took a step forward and organised an informal teaching union in opposition. This group of radical teachers under the leadership of Vladimir Matveev, at that time the editor of *Uchitelskaja gazeta* (Teachers Gazette), expressed dissatisfaction with the pedagogical approaches of the Soviet Union's schooling and made a call for urgent changes (Kerr 1995).

In October 1986, as a result of long and controversial discussions, this group of innovative educators made a sharp break with the official practices of teaching and launched their historical *Manifesto of the Pedagogy of Cooperation*. The process of diversification in education was heading in an extremely radical direction. The established method in the state secondary schools was labelled as conservative and outdated (Yakavets 2003). The educators dismissed all existing practice in teaching methodology. The union of *uchitel'-novators* (creative teachers) refused to work with the state-prescribed curriculum and teaching methods. The *Manifesto* mandated the establishment of a new type of schooling that would be an alternative to the state-prescribed teaching methods.

The system of secondary schooling was in a feverish stage: new classes appeared and disappeared in one month; the teachers received a dispensation to experiment with the class. New schools – *avtorskaja shkola* (schools with the teachers-designed curriculum) and *novatorskaja shkola* (new schools) – became the subject of pedagogical debates in the media. At this time, in Russian state-run schooling, there were schools that offered (1) a compulsory education curriculum based on the old

principles of authoritarian methods in concurrence with the traditions of the Soviet era; and (2) a compulsory education curriculum via alternative methods of education based on the best achievements of the Russian and Western pedagogy.

In July 1987, the Politburo member and Central Committee Department Chief for Ideology, Yegor Ligachev, decided it was time to rein in the innovators and regain the Party's vanguard role in school reform. A four-step program of reconstruction of Soviet education was announced, including: (1) to open the door for innovations and issues facing school administrators and teachers on the job; (2) to discuss and analyse solutions to educational problems; (3) to appoint the VNIK (*vremennyi nauchno-issledovatel'skij kollektiv-shkola*) as an experimental group of alternative education; and (4) to submit recommendations to the Teachers Congress.

In 1988 the newly established Creative Union of teachers (the alternative Union to the state-run Teachers' Union) set up the independent programs. At the same time, the independent movement of alternative education "*Eureka*" reached the national network. Supported by *apparatchik* Dneprov (a future Minister of Education), this movement of independent schooling started to operate on a wide-ranging scale (Dunstan 1992). Branches were established in all big cities along with the independently-run organisations and clubs for modelling the alternative pedagogical method and theories. The independent movement became so strong that the state expressed its concern regarding the uncontrollable changes in secondary education.

However, the official structure of education was changing slowly compared to the changes occurring in the system of education on the ground (Gershunsky 1993). At

the same time, the so-called 'informal' educators mushroomed throughout the country. By 1989 there were some 500 of these informal groups of Russian educators (Eklof and Dneprov, 1993:17). Since the publication of the *Manifesto*, the system of education went into a state of turmoil that provoked battles between the traditionalists from *Academia pedagogicheskikh nauk*, APN (Academy of Pedagogical Science) and the innovators from the VNIK group, *vremennyyi nauchno-issledovatel'skii kolektive-shkola* (Temporary Scientific Research Organisation of Teachers). A range of issues—such as approaches towards secondary education, the role of a teacher in classroom, and legalisation of new types of schools – were discussed between these two groups. This radical group included Eduard Dneprov, the future Minister of Education (1991), whose reforms would assist the privatisation and legalisation of private schooling during the Privatisation period.

By the end of 1990, the general system of Russian education had developed two elements: (1) a typical school, based on the old-fashioned model of education that was established under state control during the era of Communism; (2) new types of schools, gymnasiums and lyceums, secondary schools with specialised classes (later re-named as colleges) that appeared as a result of the activities of radical educators.

## **6.2 Decentralisation of alternative schooling (1989 – 1991)**

The stage of Decentralisation can be characterised as a very short period with a controversial character. This stage occurred only three years and saw alternative schooling become an independent sector of secondary education. The Law of Cooperatives (adopted in May 1988) authorised the registration of the alternative school as an educational cooperative. It did not, however, deal with the problem of



cronyism in the system of education, between the half-measured caution and gradual approach of Yagodin – the Gorbachev line and the radical approach of Dneprove – the Yeltsin line. However, without state support some alternative schools did not last long and were replaced by private schools that were connected with the new social elite groups of Russians (Colloudon 1998). So, the history of alternative schooling in Russia demonstrates an ambivalent relationship between the state and education (Zajda 2004). While the first tendency evidenced the welfare model of education and the transforming role of the state in regards to education (Carnoy 1989), the second tendency supports the “market-anchored conception of schooling” (Murphy, Gilmer, Weise and Page, 1998:16) where ‘grassroots’ demands for private education is replacing the state’s monopoly in education. This contradiction reflects the complexity of “the teleological goal of the ‘marketisation’ of education around the world” (Zajda, 2004: 209) and evidences that the multi-faceted process of educational transformation “is particularly relevant to the Russian Federation and other transitional economies experiencing the effect of globalisation and decentralisation in education” (Zajda, 2003: 76).

In 1989, under the *Perestroika* reforms, old ministries and committees that had formerly guided all aspects of the educational system in the Soviet Union were reorganised and replaced with a single State Committee on Public Education under a chairman Yagodin, who was “a typical Gorbachev-era figure – too radical in his vision of the future for many moderates and conservatives, too slow-moving and unsupportive of serious change for the radical reformers” (Jones A., 1994: 50).

Meanwhile, by 1989 the educators grouped around Dneprov had developed a set of major principles, which were the basis to convert the institution of schooling in Russia from the monopoly of the state's authority to a situation of decentralisation – including the financial structure, curriculum, and administration. Therefore, the reality in education turned out to be the situation when the radical educators did not obey the rules, because of their ideological preferences, and chose their own independent way.<sup>3</sup> Focusing on alternative education, the political guidance was out of step with the rapid changes in education. The reaction of official administration in the educational structure was too slow; they were unable to make up their mind how to control the development of private schools. This existing gap between the reality and the implementation of incomplete reforms were the major characteristics of the 1990s post-communist educational policy (Farkas 1995).

The complex interrelated reasons for such phenomena can be tied to the inadequacy of the Soviet leadership, and a type of inherited behaviour linked to a single conceptual framework with its radical application. Moreover, the planning of educational priorities around political values can also be added as characteristic of the educational reforms in the prelude of post-communist period of Transition. Because the Russian approach to reform in education began as the plan to achieve a political objectives, it has resulted in a political contestation.

Since 1989 education was the scene for challenges by individuals for alternative paths in the development of Russian education and the beginnings of the radical

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<sup>3</sup> This program of “use schools to change society” with unrealistic approach to recognize “the fate of education reform hinged upon economic change” was criticised by Eklof and Dneprov (1993) who see the roots of such approaches in an inherent contradiction of Russian national characters, and an influence of Dneprove's background as an historian to see the aspect for the solution from the historically retrospective view (Eklof and Dneprov, 1993:21).

transformation in the development in education. This progressive and independent movement of educators seriously dissolved the system of education in the terms of a creation of a new common practice of teaching. The orientation to the needs of the individual, and the democratisation and humanisation of education led to the development a new type of educational institution: gymnasiums, lyceums, and specialised courses within the frame of the general system of education.

While the general system of education was based on the old principles of the previous years during the era of the former Soviet Union, and was financially supported by the state, the new developments in education had to create their own sustaining mechanism. The financial support was mainly found through donations (Bray and Borevskaya, 2001). These alternative schools offered the additional educational programs, which were the result of the personal creativity of progressively-minded educators. The outcome of these independent programs was the development of supplementary education in each radical school that broke off from the state-run system. Being a product of the personal creativity of radical educators, these schools had specific characteristics that became a matter of discussions in *Uchitelskaya gaseta* (*Teachers Gazette*) through these years. As the analysis of this publication shows that throughout 1989 alone, each weekly issue of this newspaper contained two or three published discussions regarding the radical teachers. The society was divided between the conservatives with their traditional vision of education and the radical teachers who demanded the implementation of new teaching methods and who wanted to consign to oblivion the authoritarian methods.

Following the sanction given by the Manifest of Progressive Educators in 1988 and, later in 1989, after the declaration of the All-Union Congress of Workers in Education, the various kinds of alternative educational institutions received an ambiguous consent to operate. They were not legalised due to the lack of an appropriate Law from the Ministry of Education, but they were technically not illegal due to the presence of the All-Union Declaration.

Thus, by the end of 1989, new types of schools implemented the tuition fees system according to their service. These schools decided differently how much parents will be charged for the services provided by their schools. The decentralisation of the fee-changing policy was the new phenomenon in the general system of education. The following table presents the description of these alternative types of schooling operating on the edge of the state-run system.

**Table 6.2 Main Forms of Alternative Schooling, Moscow, 1989 – 1991**

Type of alternative schools	Characteristics
<i>“Avtorskaja shkola”</i> Creative Secondary school	Educational cooperatives and enterprises that ensure the achievement of the continuity of education to an advanced level
<i>Gymnasia</i>	Old-fashioned model of classical secondary education that has been modernised by including a set of compulsory, state-regulated subjects.
<i>Litsej</i>	Secondary educational with a focus on instruction in self-determination of humanising general development
<i>Obrazovatelnyj tcentr</i> (Educational center)	Educational enterprises that focus on teaching languages and cultural studies and provide a favourable cultural-linked learning environment according to chosen subjects from pre-schooling to the tertiary level of education.

Source: I. Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Moscow, 2000.

The decentralisation process also occurred in the forms of curriculum, educational activities and reporting to the educational authorities and seeking additional payments in the forms of various donations, including financial help from state-run organisations and individuals, and *metzenatstvo* (a big sum of charity) (*Chastnaja Shkola* 1995). Moreover, the philosophy on the role of education in alternative schools was different when compared with the state-run schools. The dissimilarities became apparent regarding the roles of education, methods and approaches, reflections of social values and morals, an adaptation of Russian youth to the society, a specification in secondary education and an access to Higher education. A summary of this comparative analysis between the main characteristics of general education and

alternative education is presented in Table 6.3.

**Table 6.3 Comparative Characteristics Between Alternative Schooling and State Schooling (Decentralisation), Moscow**

Characteristics of General Secondary Education	Characteristic of Alternative Schooling
Education for all, in which educational programs are oriented towards providing high-quality instruction, upbringing, and development for all children on national/regional levels	The principal training and learning of individual focused at seemingly universal organisational ideology, based on American and European educational practices
The necessity of taking account of the interests and needs of the individual school students and society as a whole	Taking account of the interests and needs of the individual in accord to the family activities
Maximum development of the child's abilities, regardless of socioeconomic and societal status, gender, nationality and religion	Maximum development of the students of elite strata regarding only socioeconomic status
The education of a citizen whose system of values and relations are in keeping with those of a multinational society	The contestation in the Russian private education is not limited to the national context but is also subjected to 'global imperatives'
An individually oriented educational process that takes account of and develops the individual abilities of schools students and serves to shape their overall ability to learn	The main form of the private schooling system is a secondary school and the school focused at special, individually created programs to prepare students exclusively for high professional activities
An adaptation of young people to the changing conditions of the life of society	Setting up the environment and fixed mechanism to avoid unnecessary negative results of failure in educational processes
The accessibility of education, the availability of knowledge and information to broad strata of the population.	Cater to the needs of the elite family with recognition of different levels of ability among pupils by means of remedial and enrichment programs and teaching practice of continual assessment of the child's progress.

Source: I.Vasilenko, Data Analysis, 2002-2004

The lack of regulation and the state control assisted the mushrooming of alternative schools in Moscow. As our fieldwork reveals, in Moscow alone, there were at least 35 alternative schools, which offered semi-chargeable education in languages (*Internationalnaja shkola "Planeta"*), compulsory subjects (*Judith Gymnasium*) as well as additional services (a school of memory training, *Eudetics Shkola*). To these examples of alternative schools, we may add other schools listed in Table 3 and presented in Appendix 2, p. 498. These schools operated with the semi-legal mode of educational service. In reality, schools offered subjects according to the parents' demands, but in documentation, for the bureaucrats – according to the books.

### 6.3 Privatisation (1991 – 1996)

Privatisation was a period of the legislated activities of alternative schools and establishing the validity of private schooling in the system of Russian education. It was also a period of legalisation of private schooling, the active implementation of the fee-charged services in the state-run secondary schools and the state's effort to control the market of privately-run schools.

The significant changes occurred in January 1991, when the newly appointed Minister of Education, Edwards Dneprov, revealed the program "Russian Education in a Period of Transition: A Program of Stabilization and Development". This document clearly indicated that Russian schooling was open for privatisation. These inventive directions had been developed personally by E.Dneprov<sup>4</sup> and were aimed at the

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<sup>4</sup> Eduard Dneprov was born in 1936 in Moscow into a military family. After graduation from Frunze Higher Naval Academy, one of the most prestigious military institutions in the former USSR, he started his career by following the footpath of his male side of the family as a military officer. In 1971 his career path changed dramatically, he left the Navy due to health reasons. Since that time he began to

building up of the theoretical groundwork for releasing the state from a financial commitment towards education.

The idea behind the program was to patronise and assist in the liberalisation of education that reciprocally would stimulate alternative directions and methods of the educational system. The idea of fees charged for education on the crest of freedom after the collapse of the Berlin Wall was exciting and attractive along with the tide of Westernisation of the Russian society. The first empirical data (1992–1994) on public opinion regarding the social perception of private education clearly demonstrates the euphoric vision towards private education during the first two years of privatisation in education that would be reversed in 1995 (*Chastnaja shkola* 1995).

In October, 1991, then President Yeltsin inaugurated the liberalisation of the economic market without warning. The privatisation of public property became an oversight challenge for those who became winners and for those who became losers (Lapina 1995). In other words, after the rapid implementation of economic reforms that dismissed the badly, but still functioning mechanism of regulation between the state and economy, numerous opportunities opened for those who were not obedient to state rules and regulations (Mikulsky 1996).

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work as a historian and lead the section on History of Pedagogy and provided editorial assistance for a very famous publishing house "*Pedagogica*". Since 1976 his career began continuously blossoming. He returned to the Academy of Pedagogical Science, where he became famous for his radicalism and revolutionary approach to education. In February, 1989, he established the special temporary Scientific Research Group (VNIK) of the USSR State Committee on Education and carried on duties of a Director of VNIK. After his successful strategy of radical restructuring of the school curriculum and teaching methods he was appointed as Director of the Centre for Pedagogical Innovation and soon after that he was nominated by the President Yeltsyn as the Minister of Education (1990–1992).



From one side of the social strata, the criminals, adventurers and private entrepreneurs, *chelnoky* (a newly-arisen class, *chelnoky*, re-sell basic goods at local markets delivered by themselves from overseas) received a real chance to improve their financial and therefore social status of living (Kristanovskaja 1994). From another side, the former members of public and political organizations, such as *Academija Nauk* (Academy of Science) and Communist Party Youth League (communists' bosses, factory directors, senior management) were heavily involved in the process of the transition of public property to privately established companies. Finally, the members of the high echelon of political power were eager to stake their claim (Kristanovskaja 1995). The legal aspect of this process was weakened by such a massive attack on privatisation (Weigle 2000). The weakest position of the state to regulate these unstoppable processes led to the pilfering of different commodities from state ownership to private ownership and proved a favourable time for the process of rapid privatisation in Russia. Hence, the phenomenon of *Novyje Russkije* (New Russians) was the result of integration of several formerly disparate Mafia groups, ranging from serious criminals involved in the theft of state property, export and currency scams, shifting the public property to private ownership, to ordinary criminals whose areas of illegal business meet criminal definitions (illegal trade, speculation, extortion, smuggling, sophisticated protection, rackets, fraud, drug) (Anon. *Economist*, 28 August, 1999).

Indeed, the rapid development of private businesses in Russia after the liberalisation of the market in 1991 greatly influenced the number of private schools. The number of students studying in the private schools during the 1995-1997 was rapidly

increasing. Table 6.4 demonstrates the extended numbers of students in private schools.

**Table 6.4 Development of Private Schooling in Moscow,  
1994–1999**

Year	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Number of schools	154	182	225	247	250	240
Number of students	5,740	9,000	13,450	15,000	16,450	16,000

Source: I.Vasilenko, Moscow, Fieldwork, 2000.

In 1995–1996, 45,000 students (0.8 per cent) of non-government educational institutions chose fee-paid education in 525 non-state educational institutions that made up 8.2 per cent of the total number of schools that offered enrolments (Rutkevich 1997). But by the end of 1996, the market of private schooling indicated that the number of schools exceeded the demands: several schools went out of business. However, by 1996, the privately-run schools formed a market of private schooling in Russia.

Initially this market was purely focused on the demands of the New Russians (*Economist* 1999), who demanded not only quality of education but also protection for their children. One of the remarkable outcomes of this research (Moscow, 2000) is a discovery that security for the children in the private schools was a dominant factor in

choosing a private school. Most parents (72.3 per cent) indicated a quality of teaching as the first priority for entering the private school; the security and protected environment was the second dominant reason for 38 per cent of parents for placing their children in a private school. As the analysis of the in-depth study schools' documentation reveals, all private schools operate under a Contract between a School and a Client (or Parent) that includes minimum 35 and maximum 44 paragraphs. In all schools Paragraph Two states the responsibility of the school towards the "Client": "Every child should be picked up by the bus belonging to the private school from the home door and return after classes at an exact time". However, the cost of this particular service is varied from US\$ 80 to US\$ 200.

During this period, the system of private schools was established and covered all aspects of the market of private schooling. The super-elite school was opened an exclusive school for super-rich children was founded by Elena Baturina, the wife of the mayor of Moscow, Yuri Luzkov. While the elite schools were located in green zones of Moscow, the upper-middle-class schools took up premises in central Moscow and the middle- and lower-middle-class private schools moved into former kindergarten premises across Moscow as a whole.

At the time of this swift development in private schooling, the state-run schooling reached its dramatic downfall: 27 per cent of students left the state-run schools; the most capable teachers moved to the private sector of industry; the facilities of the state schools fell into a dilapidated stage; and schools had no money to continue providing educational service (Dneprov, 1996: 39). The state-schools were encouraged to find the additional financial sources way from the state. To avoid any legal ambiguity, the

state in 1992 instituted the first Law on Education, which legalised the position of privately-run educational services.

The importance of this Law was underlined by a Report of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 1998) that emphasised the significant impact of the governmental guidance on Russian education at different stages of the social development.<sup>5</sup> With regards to all major assumptions on the role of the Russian State as a leading provider of educational changes, the outcomes of this research questioned this statement regarding the development of private schools.

As our analysis reveals, the approach of the state towards private schooling was rather receptive than active. By the time the state came to discuss the legalisation of private schooling, the development of private schools went through a period of fierce competition. Schools appeared and disappeared in one year; some merged with the strongest one and were reincarnated in the new forms. As the data analysis of the study field revealed, in 1992, out of 100 newly-opened schools only 45 survived and exist till 2006.

Due to the strong competition between schools and due to the wealth of parents the private schools formed 'the gate guarded policy' and kept low-key publicity. Outsiders were not welcome and any inquires about schools were taken suspiciously.

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<sup>5</sup> "Traditionally, the educational system in Russia has been largely inspired and run by the central government. However, as early as 1985, reformers within the public and in the Soviet Ministry of Education advocated more democratic and humanitarian schools. The Law 1992 on Education marked the beginning of significant educational reform when it initiated the transfer of selected administrative and fiscal responsibilities from the center to the regions. Regions and municipalities were granted greater freedom to change the organization and content of school instruction in their areas" (OECD, 1998: 27).

New parents could only receive information upon request through a reference from someone who was well known to the school. Operating autonomously from the General Secondary schooling became a trademark of private schooling (there is only exception for the financial substitution of the food voucher with an approximate value between 20–30 cents per student).

The marginalised character of private schools became noticeable and there were serious concern expressed regarding the “paradoxical” and “neurotic” profile of students in the upper-class private schools. According to I. Medvedeva and T. Shishova (1998), the profile of students of the private schools is different to those of other types of schools. One of the reasons for such differences is an unorthodox environment of “the air of criminality in which children of the wealthy are immersed” (Medvedeva and Shishova, 1998: 62). The marginalisation, neurotic and rebellious behaviour against the cultural values clearly manifests the situation, where “the interests of the elite and the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population with inevitably give rise to hostility and contempt for the country in which this population lives, and this runs contrary to the national security” (Medvedeva and Shishova 1998: 65). The the parallel existence of two systems of schooling – the state-run schools and the privately-run schools – also became a matter of state concern due to unpaid tax from private schools (Wood 2003). The Tax Department could not proceed with any legal action against private schools because there were many ambiguous statements in the Law on Education (1992) that reflected the semi-legal situation of a private school, but not the legal right, and what was the most important obligation towards the state. The vagueness of the first Law on Education (1992) was taken into account and the revised version of Law on Education (1996) made an

attempt to tie the privately-run educational institutions to the main stream of education. Table 6.5 illustrated the differences between the main concept of Law on Education in 1992 and Law on Education in 1996.

**Table 6.5    Law on Private Education (1992) and Law on Private Education (1996): Comparative Analysis of the Main Concepts**

Law on Private Education (1992)	Law on Private Education (1996)
<p><b>Main concepts:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Non-government educational organisation <i>can be designed in any</i> form under the legal frame of the Civic Law of Russian Federation</li> <li>Functioning of non-government educational institutions is subject of regulation of <i>the special additional Law</i></li> </ul> <p><u>Articles:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Paragraph 18 In case of closing of <i>any</i> educational civic institution, all students have the right to transform to others educational civic institutions on the equal base.</li> <li>Paragraph 5 Graduates <i>from the state and non-government education institutions</i> have the equal right to entering the educational institutions of the next level.</li> <li>Paragraph 20 The right to have a special consideration in regards to serving duty in the army is <i>applicable to all students</i> of non-government institutions.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Main concepts:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Non-government institutions <i>can be organised only</i> at the prescribed forms by the Law of the Russian Federation for non-profitable organization</li> <li>Functioning of non-government educational institutions is subject of regulation of <i>the Law of the Russian Federation</i></li> </ul> <p><u>Articles:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Paragraph 18 In case of ceasing of <i>the state or municipal</i> educational civic institution, all students have the right to transform to others educational civic institutions on the equal base.</li> <li>Paragraph 5 Graduates from the education institutions, <i>having exclusively of government proved accreditation degree,</i> have the equal right to entering the educational institutions of the next level.</li> <li>Paragraph 20 The right to have a special consideration in regards to serving duty in the army is <i>applicable only to the students</i> of non-government institutions <i>with the state's accreditation.</i></li> </ul>

*Note:* key phrases italicised by the author

*Source:* Translated and compared by I. Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Moscow, 2004.

In August 1996, two federal bodies exercised management and administration over the educational system in the country: The Ministry of Education of the Russian Federation and the State Committee of the Russian Federation for Higher Education were merged. The new Ministry of Education became the responsible administrative body for changes in education. A new mechanism for quality control and assessment was introduced with the establishment of the Department of Non-government Schooling. The main functions of this department included establishing control over private schooling, licensing and state attestation and accreditation of private schools. It was the end of the anarchic era for private schools.

By the end of 1996 a system of private schooling was established in terms of the local market demands, legalisation and administrative control. There have been very few private schools opened in Moscow since the end of 1996. The steady numbers of private schools covered all areas of educational services. The competition from the locally-oriented curriculum moved into the area of international education. This process required more financial and administrative forces and, therefore, the first Associations of Private Schools was formed. At the end of 1999 there was an Association of Private Schools in Moscow that united 19 private schools. The functions of this association included legal services, negotiation with the state regarding law cases, tax policy, the implementation of the equal fee-charging ethics in the schools, and sharing information. By 2006, two independent Associations of Private Schools are operated in Moscow.

#### **6.4 Marketisation (1996 – present)**

The period of marketisation signifies the new stage of the development of private schooling that embraced their services from the locally focused market to the merge with global education. It is also a period of adjusting the main tendencies of the global market of education system to the system of private schools in the culturally appropriate forms of education that reflect the local social, political, or economic interests of its phenomenon. The current stage of local market of private schools demonstrates the completion and fulfilment according to the local demands. In 2005 there were 246 private schools operating in Moscow. This market signifies a differentiation by social class. According to Hardt (2003) in Russia “differentiation by social class already exists as 85 per cent of students at prestigious universities came from a small number of elite secondary schools and only 6.5 per cent from ordinary public schools” (Hardt, 2003: 158). The system of private schools represents steady characteristics of social respect as schooling for upper-middle class Russians.

However, in the past few years, the political and socioeconomic transformation that has taken place in Russia has brought about the active involvement of international education in the local market. The great influence of the global market of education was reflected in the “Draft Conception of the Structure and Content of General Secondary Education (In the twelve-year School)” (2000).<sup>6</sup> According to this

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<sup>6</sup> The document stated that today Russian education in many cases can be characterised by general tendencies of the global education, such as a rise in the overall level of a population's education, increased requirements on the level of the culture and professional qualifications of all citizens, the development of a system of continuous education, an increase in the length of general secondary education.



document, an individually oriented educational process that takes account of and develops the individual abilities of school students and serves to shape their overall ability to learn. In August 2000 the Council of Ministry of education approved recommendation for the schools reforms for the next decade that includes the following:

1. Based on the British model the length of schooling will be extended from 10 to 12 years for all students and upgrade the quality of instructions.
2. All curricula will be revamped with more options for students.
3. All schools should be connected to the Internet over the next four years.

There were also acknowledged new environments of internationalisation and globalisation in education and needs for an adaptation of young people to the changing conditions of the life of society. The most important principle was the accessibility of education, namely the availability of knowledge and information to the broad strata of the Russian population (Kuzminov 2004).

However, in relation to flexibility between the two parallel education subsystems, – private and state schooling–, private schooling has an advanced position and the financial capacity to develop these global imperatives. Private schooling in the Moscow private system of education can be characterised by its adaptive features to: (1) parents' demands (safety environment and quality of education to ensure entrance into the tertiary level) and (2) students' interests (personal attention and individual orientation of learning activities). Hence, the system of private education differs from the state/public system of education by stipulating not only the principle of borderless

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education, but also its strong orientation towards the specific goals of individuals – tertiary education.

One of the major outcomes of the parents' survey conducted by this research in Moscow in 1999, reveals that 98 per cent of families with steady income believe that higher education for their children is the most successful pathway to build up a career. There are several reasons for the high demand of tertiary education. First, according to the Russian Law, those boys who studied at the tertiary level cannot be recruited to serve the army. Second, the cost of unqualified labour force is far below the standard of group of families (Colloudon 1998) send their children to the private schools. Finally, lifelong education that appeared of in the post-Soviet system of higher education in the 1990s (Kitaev 1994), delivered the advanced managerial knowledge and skills required in market transition economies and corporate laws (Gerber and Hout, 1998).

## **6.5 Education without borders**

The system of private schooling educational demonstrates the capability of rapid adaptation to new realities and transformation in accord with demands of the global market (Gellespie and Collins, 1986) and the local market (Fretwell 2001). Hence, private schooling in Moscow developed new types of education formerly unknown in the system of Russian education that first one we can labelled as 'education without borders', and, the second is continuing education. 'Education without borders' refers to the system that provides a targeted proficiency in education and accommodates the needs of individuals for arrangements to continue their education to an advanced level at any age and in different countries. Continuing education refers to the bridging

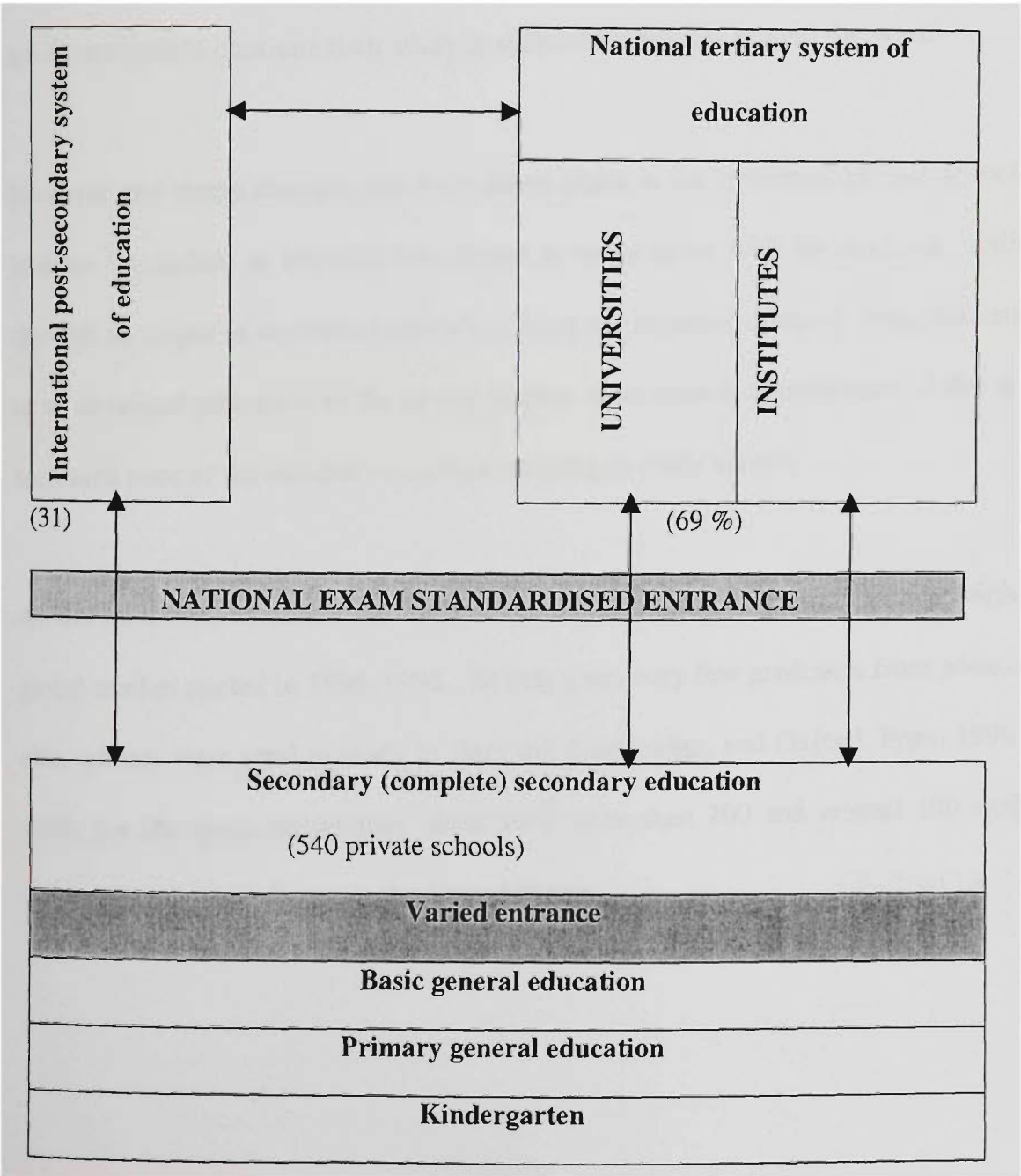
character of education between schooling and tertiary level that ensured the next level of study at the local universities and institutes.

The specific goal of individuals to continue education to the next level is the first priority for private schooling and reflects the re-evaluation of personal values as a global trend (Harrison and Hillman, 1989). The data analysis during the fieldwork, in Moscow (2000–2004) revealed significantly a strong orientation of graduates towards higher education. Findings indicate that 100 per cent of graduates from private schools in Moscow intend to continue education on the tertiary level in the system of universities and institutes. One consequence of this was the appearance and establishment of the new type of system operating in the non-government schooling system, the emergence of the new model of “education without borders”. This model is based on the specific environment of paid education known to the West (Hogan 1984) and failed to establish an analogy with developing countries (James 1993; James 1995), but, at the same time, it represents “a tripisation model” (Cheng Y. 2003) operating in credential societies (Townsend and Cheng, 2000). In the new environment of the global market economy, Russia demonstrates an interesting experience in the establishment a controversial version of the paradigm “public versus private” (Birth-Baker 2001), closely associated with the leading role of the state-run system of universities and institutes in the process of the development of the private education in Russia (Shishkin 2004).

In relation to the graduates from private schools in Moscow, the data analysis of the fieldwork (Moscow, 2000-2004) indicates that almost 99 per cent of graduates from the private sector of schooling are confident of entering tertiary education, which is in

Russia are presented by two types of higher institutions, universities and institutes. Figure 6.1 demonstrates the persistence of the private subsystem of education from kindergarten to the guaranteed entrance into the universities or institutes on the national and international levels.

**Figure 6.1 Education without Borders, Moscow, 2004**



Source: I. Vasilenko, filedwork (1999-2004). Data extracted from the interview with Ms Poroshinskaja, the Head of *Departament Moscovskogo Obrazovanija* (Moscow's Department of Education) and the Bulletin Moscow Educational Bureau (2004).

Note: as described in the text (p.270), only in very few exceptional circumstances students from private schools do not go to tertiary education.

According to finding of our students' survey (2000–2004), 27 per cent of graduates indicated the possibility to study overseas in the nearest European countries: German (nine per cent), Spain (seven per cent), Italy (six per cent) and Great Britain (five per cent). Only four per cent of students registered their future aspiration to study in USA. Two per cent of graduates expressed their interest to come and study in Australia. Therefore, almost half of the graduates (41 per cent) of the private schooling system are determined to continue their study in different countries around the world.<sup>7</sup>

However, the recent changes that have taken place in the system of private schooling indicate the ability to transmit knowledge in accordance with the students' abilities through all stages of secondary education from the regional-oriented 'basic education' to an advanced education in the global market. One natural consequence of this is the increased pace of the number of students willing to study abroad.

As the fieldwork revealed, the integration of the system of private schools with the global market started in 1996–1998. At that time, very few graduates from Moscow's elite schools were sent to study in Harvard, Cambridge, and Oxford. From 1996 and 2000, the European universities alone took more than 200 and around 100 students went to 24 private colleges in the United States.

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<sup>7</sup> According to R. A. Elebayeva, N. Omuraliev, R. Abazov (2002), 29.9 per cent Russians graduates in the state-run schools of Kyrgyzstan concedered to continue study in Russia, whilst other (26.1 per cent) replied that they would like to go overseas for studying or training.

At the same time, the main stream of the newly emerging social class of wealthy New Russians parents experienced an urgent need to sent their off-spring far away from the criminal “dark ages”<sup>8</sup> that occurred across the country from 1993–1996 (Yun 2003).

During that time a numerous local agencies affiliated with the University of Maryland, which was the dominant provider of international education, started to operate on the Russian market (Hira 2003). But only very few were successful and received social recognition as trusted provider of international education.

Due to the insufficient performance of the agencies’ system in the Russian market, the private schools became proactive in searching for reliable international contacts for the purpose of bridging directly with an overseas international education provider. The role of ‘middle men’ between the demands of Russian parents and the global market was taken by different categories of private schools in a different way. The upper-class private schools established a link with the specific provider overseas quickly and did not show the intention to extend the framing of this cooperation. The categories of middle-class and low-middle class private schools made a later start and commenced this process gradually, exploring all available opportunities that existed on the global market. By 2000, all categories of private schools indicated a strong interest towards the possibility of sending their graduates to study overseas, in a

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<sup>8</sup> “From 1953 to 1993, 700,00 people (out of total 1,670,000) migrated from the former USSR to the USA” (Fassmann and Munz, 1994:528). Since the beginning of the 1990s, the open door policy introduced in Russia has led to an increase in emigration. During 1990 – 1994, 513,700 Russians left the country (Zlotnik 1999: Table 4). “In 1990 alone 104,100 persons were granted exit permits compared with 47,600 persons in the previous year. In the following years 1991, 1992, 1993 emigration from this country has stabilised on the very high level, as 90,000, 103,700, and 114,100 persons, respectively, has emigrated from Russia. Majority went to Germany, Israel, and the USA, which has stemmed from the high percentage of ethnic Jews and Germans in these outflows. In years 1989-1995, 56 per cent Jewish emigration from Russia moved to Germany, when compared with 29,2 per cent who migrated to Israel, and 9 per cent who has chosen the USA.” (Romanishyn, 1997: 25).

college or in a university. Since the year 2000 there has been a substantial expansion of the world geography for the category of international students and this will be a subject of special discussions presented in Chapter 9.

The private school mirrors the structured inequalities in the Russian society, hence, a school not only acts as a sorting mechanism, helping to maintain the existing distribution of monetary status, but some types of school, like *elite* schools, function as a mid-wife between the inner-schooling system and overseas advanced educational institutions. The different categories of private schools established or sought to establish an access to (1) a global market of education with guaranteed entrance to the tertiary level, and (2) to targeted local high educational institutions (universities or institutes), or (3) a combination of both, the local tertiary system and overseas.

Access to a global market of education takes several forms: participating in the system of the International Baccalaureate, in direct exchange programs with certain overseas schools, in summer camp, in organising international conferences, in an intensive learning program of foreign languages from the kindergarten and primary level of schooling up to the special language's courses in the host overseas universities, and with specific attention to the main field of study in accordance with the particular Western country's standards. Consequently, the private system of education assures not only an individual investment in the future, but also indicates the increasing demand from family businesses to secure the continuing of education at the advanced educational institution in the future as an investment overseas (this will be discussed in Chapter 9).

There are several particular techniques and methods used by a private school for the purpose of bridging with the market of local tertiary education. The most common are:

- orientation of the supplementary curricula in accordance with the specialisation of the tertiary institution;
- employment of academic staff and personnel from the targeted university or institute;
- incorporation of additional courses from the targeted tertiary organisation as a part of the school's curriculum;
- offers by the targeted tertiary institution financial assistance in developing a co-project.

For example, the NGO *Litsei Stolichnyj* established the close connection with the *Institute of Ekonomiki I Prava* (the University of Economics and Legal Studies) the *Premier* school connected with Moscow State University and the Higher Schools of Economics, the *Venda* school has an agreement with the Russian Academy of Law and the Russian Academy of Barristers and Solisiters and the school *Myslitel* with the Russian Academy of Education. These examples illustrate the bridging character of relationships between a private school and a local state-run institution at the tertiary level. In the situation of strong competition, a private school has to find the way to ensure the interests of parents in the society who are capable of bearing the expenses in the range of payments from US\$ 300 to over US\$1,000 per month.

Thus, under the conditions of the rising competitiveness between private schools in Russian society, there is a new role for universities. The Russian universities instruct



the mode and method of delivered supplementary subjects. These subjects are strongly focused at individual needs of perspective students' employments and also link the schools' curricula with the programs of tertiary institutions. These dual functions of Supplementary education developed by the system of private schools ensure the continuation of education in targeted tertiary institutions on a national level.<sup>9</sup> This relationship between private schools and educational institutions at the local tertiary level assists the fierce competitive environment of private schooling in Moscow. The recent tendency in the development of private schooling in Moscow towards establishing 'education without borders' is to bridge private schooling via tertiary education in Moscow to colleges overseas (see Chapter 9).

## **6.6 The cultural framing of educational transformation**

The development of private schooling in Moscow demonstrates the radical character of this process. The battles for alternatives in the development of Russian education in opposition to the state and the conservative wing of educators were the pathway towards alternative schooling. The orientation to the needs of the individual, and the democratisation and humanisation of education, led to the development of a new type of educational institution: gymnasiums, lyceums, and specialised courses within the frame of the general education. This progressive and independent movement of educators seriously dissolved the system of education in the terms of the creation of a new common practice of teaching. As we saw, there

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<sup>9</sup> For example, in Moscow University of Finance and each higher education program comprises around 75 disciplines. This diversity of disciplines has been combined into an integrated educational course in order to optimize the process of learning and to create a system enabling the students to receive valuable information, on the one hand, and to carry out individual activities and practical work, on the other hand. Thus, we can see a new system quality of the process of more effective learning. Having taken up the integrated courses with several private schools students reduce the time, needed for apprehending the discipline packages, by around 150 per cent, which enables them to cut the time needed for studies from 5 to 3 years.

were two kinds of schools offering (1) a compulsory education curriculum based on the old principles, and offering (2) a curriculum thorough alternative methods of education.

However, private schooling arose during the economic transition. The implemented economic reforms improved the learning and teaching environment and, in contrast to the state-run system of education, placed private schooling on the top scale of secondary education. The weak attempt of the state to control this process failed, and the unleashed system of private schooling quickly absorbed the best from the state system of education, and established itself as the system of providing 'the best for the best'.

There are several important cultural characteristics that fundamentally have influenced the development of private schooling in Russia:

- The groundwork for a swift growth of private institutions has been prepared by an already established semi-legal education system that was labelled 'alternative education', that included specialised schools, educational centres and consultant services with a broad range of tasks and offers, from legally permitted specialised courses to illegally functioning tuition fees;
- The process of the legalisation of new processes in education did not reflect the outmoded tendencies and events occurring in the system of Russian education;
- A gap between the educational laws and the reality of events in the system of education introduced ambiguous readings and misunderstandings that

provoked negative influences and obstructions in the process of the private educational development.

Thus, the radical pathway of choices, the strong resistance to the weak state, the revolutionary opposition to state-approved forms of schooling, and the marginalised mode of functioning reflect the culturally appropriate characteristics of private schooling.

## 6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has established the main stages of educational transformation in Russian that resulted in the development of private schools. The first stage, Diversification, happened at the same time as the period of *perestroika*. Radical educators were animated by the popular European teaching methods that encourage children to explore ideas more freely. They initiated debates about the role of education and alternative schools were encouraged to carry on with these new educational concepts. The second stage, Decentralisation (1989-1991) can be characterised by a split of so called *alternativnaja shkola* (alternative schools) from the state-run system, and the cultural adjustment to the idea that not only a government school can be a guarantee for education. A number of schools, such as ethnic, religious and culturally oriented to specific social needs, were established. This strong interest in the individualization of education started from 1991 when the implementation of the 'shock therapy' in the Russian economy assisted the formation of a new Russian elite.

Privatisation (1991-1996) was an active and fruitful period for private schooling. Under the economic reform, private schooling (due to the specific characteristics of

the local market) was established, with an unprecedented speed as the system of schools for the wealthy Russian. Along with the privatisation of the state properties, a new type of family business was established during this period. It was a period when a number of private schools opened and soon disappeared. During this stage a strong selective process and competition between private schools gave the chance for survival only to those who were supported by big money through the *metzenatstvo*, and *blagotvoritelnost and metzenatstvo* (the free-paid and paid activities that assisted to improve the environment of a school).

The functioning of private schools during the recent years (2003– 2005) is characterised by stability in the system of private schooling and demonstrates the attempt of private schooling to bridge the Russian system of secondary schooling with the global market of education.

## CHAPTER 7

# COMPARATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF PRIVATE SCHOOLING IN BEIJING AND MOSCOW

### 7.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a comparative analysis of private schooling as it was operating in Beijing during 1999–2003 and Moscow during 2000–2004. The findings from the extensive surveys and interviews carried out in these two cities can now be compared, in order to understand how private schooling differs between these cities. This comparative analysis is based on the original information gained from an analysis of the parents' surveys, the questionnaires administered to students and teachers, the interviews, and the supplementary additional materials gathered from industry associations and government official records obtained during fieldwork (1999–2004).

This comparative analysis of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow correlates the specific characteristics of private schools to the designated markets and the stated purposes of private schooling in the two countries generally, and more particularly in Beijing and Moscow as local jurisdictions. This involves understanding something of the locations of private schools, the dynamics of their growth, the facilities and learning environment, the administrative structure and management, and finally, changes in curricula. The chapter presents a comparative outline of similarities or differences in each of these areas in the form of comparative charts and tables.

7.1 Private schooling market in China and Russia

A comparative analysis of the literature discussing the geographical distribution of private schools across China and Russia reveals a different pattern of location for private schools. While in China the phenomenon of private schooling operates widely throughout the country, the Russian private schooling is concentrated around two major cities: Moscow and Sanct-Petersburg. Table 7.1 presents a summary of the officially published data.

Table 7.1 Private Schooling in China and Russia: Distribution and Location,  
2000

CHINA		RUSSIA	
City	School Numbers	City	School Numbers
Sichuan	11,656	Moscow	252
Beijing	2,101	St Petersburg	58
Shanghai	1,000	Other regions	18
Inner Mongolia	965		
Liaoning Province	600		
Zheijiang	472		

Source: Combined by I. Vasilenko from different sources. Fieldwork, Beijing and Moscow, 1999–2000.

Such differences relate not only to the economic characteristics of the region where private schools operate, but also indicate varying attachments to tradition and the changing pattern of social infrastructure.

In China, private schools have been accepted in all economically developed provinces and regions. The biggest numbers of private schools are located in the South of China, around the coastal areas, and cities closed to the Special Economic Zones.<sup>1</sup> Looking North, the demands for private schooling are weaker and therefore the number of private schools smaller. Such unsymmetrical pattern of distribution of private schools has both economic and cultural causes.

In China each geographical area of private schooling has its own character and displays a distinctive aspect of the market. The largest number of private firms is concentrated in the Southern coastal area.<sup>2</sup> In particular, the high popularity of *silide xuexiao* (a traditional private school) in Shanghai, Guangdong and Sichuan makes private schooling a landmark of the southern provinces (Mok 1997a). The distribution of private schools reflects the distinctive characteristics of private schooling that operate in each region (Wang P. 2001). The Southern regions initiated the expansion of the elite schools through the country (Hou 1993). For example, in Sichuan, private schooling serves the special market of families with a child born to an unwed mother as a result of extramarital relations between rich businessmen and concubines (Xu Z.

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix. 3. Map 7.1 Spreading Pattern of Private Schooling across China, 1999-2003, p. 492.

<sup>2</sup> The study of registered private firms in China shows that "the differences between coastal and internal provinces are especially pronounced. The regional distribution of private business sector is strikingly different across the country. The ratio of the number of firms in the western, central and coastal area was 21:26:100 in 1992 and 23:34:100 in 1997 " (Gregory, Tenev, and Wagle, 2000: 26-27).

2001).<sup>3</sup> This tradition of children born out of wedlock to rich Mandarins and their concubines is an inherited canvas and has been a feature of China.

Private schooling in the North is dominated by families that place a child in the boarding schools for different reasons – to re-marriage, death of one parent, or their type of work (travelling, long hours of working and etc.). In marketing themselves, private schools put a great emphasis on supplying an educational service for “the second choice students”<sup>4</sup> that was noted in the central regions, such as Beijing and Tianjin (Tang and Xiaoyu, 2000).

In Beijing itself, private schooling is aimed at variety of markets.<sup>5</sup> As our study indicated, compared to the others area, Beijing has a broaden range of private schooling markets and targets the following categories of students:

- 1) Students who cannot compete within the main stream of the state-run schools’ students (24 per cent);
- 2) Students who require extra educational service due to a struggle with completion in state-run schools (38 per cent);
- 3) Latecomers and mature-age adults who are seeking to complete their secondary education (4 per cent);

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<sup>3</sup> Zeyu Xu (2001) notices that nowadays, due to the fact that the economic growth has brought more illegitimate children who are not permitted in regular schools, the region comprises an increasing number of children born to the mistresses of rich businessmen. It explains the expanded number of private schools in the South of China (Sichuan, Zhujaing) where a majority of students came from a family with this specific traditionally resurrected canvas (Tsang 2001).

<sup>4</sup> While private schools in the West are often bastions of the elite, China’s serve a generation of have-nots who would otherwise lack opportunities for further study (Tsang 2001)

<sup>5</sup> Previous study concluded that there is no difference in regards to the “second choice” students and existing varieties of private schools offer their service to low-graded students, because “educators in Beijing pointed out that the best schools in Beijing now still government school” (Tang and Xiaoyu, 2000: 30).



- 4) Rural residents with official identification and students coming from other provinces and regions (14 per cent);
- 5) Elite local students (6 per cent);
- 6) *Haiwai Zhongguo xueshen ren* (overseas Chinese students) (10 per cent).

In Russia, the pattern of the geographical distribution of private schools demonstrates different circumstances. Unlike the widespread geography of private schooling across China, Russian private schools are mainly concentrated in two metropolises<sup>5</sup>: Moscow, the current capital of Russia, and Saint-Petersbourg, the former capital of Russia prior to 1917.<sup>6</sup>

Such a concentration has economic, cultural and political explanations. The origin of the wealth of the New Russians is related to: 1) shifting the state-owned assets to the individuals (with different degrees of lawful consent), and 2) an involvement in a range of activities directly related to the criminal underground world (*Economist* 1999). The location of these schools correlates with the residential pattern of wealthy Russian business people, who prefer to live in these cultural, economic and political centres of Russia. It also reflects the concentration of big business only in the certain areas after the economic reforms of 1991. Private schools provide educational service to children from wealthy families who mainly live in Moscow.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> There is also an insignificant number of private schools that are located in the big industrial cities and ports, such as *Novosibirsk, Vladivostok, Perm, Saratov, Tolijatti*, and several others, that made up only 2 per cent out of the total number of private schools operating in Russia (Filippov 2000).

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix 3 "Map.2. Centralised Pattern of Private Schooling in Russia", p.493.

<sup>7</sup> The appearance of private schools in St. Petersburg also has a link with the underground world of a closes group of people who control most capital and industries with permission of the government (Kristanovskaja 1994). According to Hancock, D. and Logue, J. (2000), "the richest 10 percent of Russians recieved 27 percent of all income, while the poorest 10 percent received but 2.5 percent. The ratio between the richest 10 percent and the poorest one was 13.5:1. If illegal incomes are taken into account, the ration is 25:1. Twenthy percent of the wealthiest Russian recieved 44.7 percent of all income, while the poorest 20 percent received only 6.5 percent" (Hancock and Logue, 2000: 24). Such

The cultural component also plays an important role in explaining the concentration of private schools in Moscow. A large proportion of students in the private schools is local, coming from upper-middle class and middle class families (87 per cent). Such concentration is a result of the origin of private schooling that targets the elite stratum of the society. The wealthy Russians in other areas also display a preference for being involved with people in their own particular social stratum (Popkov 1998) and are inclined to send the children to Moscow in order to establish networks for future business engagements, to enjoy the best quality of education, and to improve their social skills. It explains the 11 percent of children who are from families living in other Russian cities (mostly these children come from Siberian cities). The exclusive environment of private schools is the decisive factor for the wealthy non-Muscovites in making the decision to send their offspring to private schools in Moscow.

The result of my parents' survey conducted in Moscow (2000) indicates that the majority of parents (89 per cent) put their emphasis on the right type of environment: safety of children and socialising. Hence, establishing friendship and connections with the appropriate social strata, socialising from a young age in exclusive environments, networking in order to assist their business in the future are the main reasons for Muscovites and non-Muscovites to send their children them to Moscow rather than keeping them in a local school in their hometown.

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unbalanced distribution after the implementation of the shock therapy encourages the majority of Russians into the illegal activities. During the 1990s the influence of underground groups was so influential that the city of St. Petersburg considered as a criminal capital of Russia, therefore the safety of children was the first priority for the economically elite group of Russians. This service was not the provided by the state-run schools; therefore private schools started to deliver this service and filled in the gap according to the elite market's demand.

An data analysis of the parents’ and students’ questionnaires in this study indicates two common categories of students studying in private schools: elite private school students and overseas students. Compared to the pattern of overseas students studying in private schools in Beijing (0 per cent) and Moscow (2 per cent), the number and distribution of students in the local category are different.

In Beijing the majority of students (84 per cent) attend *minban* schools whilst the elite category of schools enrolls only ten per cent. In Moscow private schools, most local students (87 per cent) study in the category of elite, upper-class and middle-class private schools. Therefore, the market of private schools in Beijing and Moscow targets different categories of students: second-class students in Beijing and the elite class in Moscow. A summary of this comparative analysis is presented in Table 7.2.

**Table 7.2      Categories of Students in Beijing and Moscow Private Schools,  
1999 – 2004**

Category of Students	Beijing Schooling	Russian Schooling
Students who cannot compete within the mainstream of state-run schools’ students	24 per cent	N/A
Students who require extra educational service due to a struggle with the completion of state-run schools	38 per cent	N/A
Latecomers and mature-age students who wish to complete their secondary education	6 per cent	N/A
Holders of rural resident status and students coming from different provinces	14 per cent	11 per cent
Students from elite strata	8 per cent	87 per cent
Overseas students	10 per cent	2 per cent

Source: Irina Vasilenko. Data analysis of parents and students questionnaires, Beijing, Moscow, 1999–2004.

## 7.2 Distribution of private schools across Beijing and Moscow

This analysis of the location of private schools around Beijing and Moscow suggests the different characteristics corresponding to particular locations of private schools that reflect the market characteristics and pattern of private schooling in each city. Compared to the advantage of a central location of a private school in Moscow, the locations of private schools across Beijing reflect the complicated pattern of the private schooling market. Some of the unique features of this market derive from the fact that in Beijing the private sector of schooling developed experimentally, in an environment of political, legal and regulatory uncertainty.

In Beijing the different categories of private schools have found different locations that in some cases reflect the market demands of the neighbourhood, but in some cases do not. For example, all international schools are located in the central part of Beijing between the First and the Third Ring Roads. While international schools are centrally located, most of private schools in Beijing are located in the outlying districts. It is specifically relevant to the category of *helide xuexiao* (educational enterprise) schools.

Functioning as schools for the elite, the category of *helide xuexiao* (educational enterprise) schools is most suitably located outside Beijing. The *minban* schools are spread across all suburbs but are mainly located between the Fifth and the Seventh Ring Roads, due to the less expensive price of land and maintenance. However, *silide xuexiao* schools are proportionally spread across all suburbs of Beijing: *Haidian*, *Chongwen*, *Dongcheng*, *Fengtai*, with one or two operating in each suburb. Such an

evenly proportioned distribution of *silide xuexiao* schools reflects a cultural preference of the Chinese private schooling market to avoid a clash of interests. The combination of the market demands with neighbourhood interests, conducting marketing via *guanxi*, and networking through relatives are the most common way of negotiating the operation of the schools in an agreeable manner. Finally, under the aegis of fee-charging policy, the category of converted schools and shadowed schools leads towards a location in the faraway suburbs. However, few of them are located in the area between the *Remin Daxue* (People's University) and the *Tsinghua* University.

There are several reasons for the suburban emphasis in the distribution of private schools. The independent non-government schools in Beijing (the first category of schools that initiated international education in China) are located in the districts close to the embassies. This explains the significant number of international schools located in the *Chaoyang* District and on the territory between the First Diplomatic and the Third Diplomatic areas, which are located around areas of business activities of expatriates. Certainly private educational service, as the case study of the *Huijia* Educational Enterprises demonstrated, is delivered by privately-run kindergartens<sup>8</sup> that also mainly occupy the central area of Beijing (*Chaoyang*, *Dongcheng*, and *Haidian*). Therefore, due to the intensive concentration of international schools and privately-run kindergartens in the central Beijing, the endowment of *minban*, *silide xuexiao* and *helide xuexiao* schools took different residential lodgings.

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<sup>8</sup> Lin (1994) understands the evolution of private schooling as the process of growth out of the pre-schooling and nursery service supporting our observations.

*Minban* schools demonstrated the most even distribution across Beijing <sup>9</sup> that epitomises an ability to develop financially sustained management in conjunction with the Bureau of Education, at the district, regional, provincial or national levels through the *guanxi* settings, – rather than the market demands of the area. The majority of *minban* schools cannot afford to sustain their service without additional help from the state, personal investors and property developers due to the price of the land in central Beijing.<sup>10</sup>

The ‘shadowed’ and ‘converted’ schools can be found in central Beijing, as well as in the periphery districts between the First and the Seventh Ring Road. In the case of the ‘converted’ schools, the centralised location of a school reflects the power connection of the management of a school with the state’s authority. In the case of the *minban* schools as a result of a personal investment, the centralised location is a sign of their extreme prosperity and is the subject of attention from the state authority and Tax Department. The larger number of *minban* schools of the ‘personal investment and group developer’ category have preferred to set up school on the outskirts of Beijing.

The last reason partially sheds light the location of *helide xuexiao* (‘elite’ schools) in the Special Education Zone (SEZ). The location of these schools in the SEZ serves a dual function: relieving tax policy and tying elite schools with the national educational campaign of “bringing money to education from overseas” (Zhang Z. 1994).

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<sup>9</sup> The widespread location of *minban* schools is one of the main reasons for the ambiguous statistical official data on private schooling in Beijing that was presented in the Introduction.

<sup>10</sup> The price of the land in the central Beijing varies from US \$700 to US \$1,500 per square metre and is unaffordable for a private developer without overseas investment money flow-in.

Thus, the centralised location of international schools, the circumstantial location of *minban* schools via Beijing, the peripheral leverage of *silide xuexiao*, and the outlying residences of *helide xuexiao* reflect the diverse types of educational service offered to a broad range of social groups across Beijing by different categories of private schools. Table 7.3 illustrates the pattern of private schooling location in numbers and percentage.

**Table 7.3 Distribution of Private Schools in the High, Medium and Low Demand Areas of Beijing (Numbers and Percentage)**

High Demand Areas		Medium Demand Areas		Low Demand Areas	
Chaoyang District		Shi Jain Shan District		Dong Cheng Qu District	
11	22%	7	14%	1	2%
Haidian District		Ching Wen Qu District		Ching Men Qu District	
10	21%	5	11%	1	2%
Fengtai District		ShinYi District		Shun Yi Qu District	
9	18%	4	8%	1	2%
Total		Total		Total	
30	61%	16	32%	3	6%

Source: I.Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Beijing, 1999-2003

Contrasted to the periphery location of private schools in Beijing<sup>11</sup>, the location of private schools in Moscow manifests a centralised configuration.<sup>12</sup>

The number of private schools is greater towards the central part of Moscow and fewer towards the outskirts. The concentration of private schools in the central areas has a great deal to do with the concentration of business activities, the location of banks and corporate bodies across the central districts of Moscow. For example, there were 38 private schools operating in both the Central District and North District <sup>13</sup> whilst in each region of the South, Southeast and North-East District there were only 17 or 18 schools operating.

Finally, the concentration of private schools in the West District reflects the expanded educational services of private schooling towards the middle class of Russians who are mainly located in so-called '*spalnyje raiony*' (dormitory areas) of Moscow. These established areas, along with the North and West Districts, supply private schooling service to the middle and upper-middle class. Table 7.4 summarises the distribution of private schools in each district of Moscow.

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<sup>11</sup> See Appendix 3. Map 3. Spreading Pattern of Private Schooling in Beijing, 1999-2003, p. 494.  
<sup>12</sup> See Appendix 3. Map 4. Centralised Pattern of Private Schooling in Moscow, 2000-2004, p.495.  
<sup>13</sup> A large number of wealthy Russians are located in the North District and this explains the concentration of private schools in this area.



**Table 7.4    Distribution of Private Schools in the High, Medium and Low Demand Areas of Moscow (Numbers and Percentage)**

High Demand Areas		Medium Demand Areas		Low Demand Areas	
Central District		South District		South-West District	
48	18.7 %	28	10.9%	18	7%
North District		East District		South-East District	
43	16.7%	22	8.5%	18	7%
West District		North-West District		North-East District	
43	16.7%	20	7.7%	17	6.6%
Total		Total		Total	
104	52%	70	27.3%	53	20.6%

*Source:* I. Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Moscow, 2004.

**7.3 Dynamics of private school development in Beijing and Moscow**

It is interesting to notice that in both countries the rise of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow has been regarded as “swift” and “rapid” (Adamskij 1998; Mok 1997a). In Beijing, in 1991 there were five private schools (Lin 1994). By the year 1995, Lai (1996) listed 21 private schools that were operating in Beijing. It was concluded that “such a quick development is the inevitable outcome of the system of reform of the Chinese economy, education, and science and technology, especially of the increasing developing of the socialist market economy” (Tiehua, 1996:13). However, P. Wang. (2001) sees the development of private schools as a consequence of the state’s pursuit of educational quality, even if it also reflected the exacerbation of social inequality.

In Moscow, according to official data from the Moscow Educational Bureau (Derzhinskaja and Poroshinskaja, 1999), the journey of private schools started in 1991 with 13 private-run schools. In 1994, the number increased up to 154 schools. Since 1994 the number of students enrolling in the private schools has been increased almost three times. In 1994, 154 non-government schools offered a placement for 5740 Russian students; by the year 1999 the number of students consisted of 16,000 young people, studying in 240 non-government schools. However, this study disclosed the intricate numbers, the pattern of the growth, and the rapid establishment. Table 7.5 presents comparative numbers of private schools in Beijing and Moscow, operating from 1991 to 2002.

**Table 7.5 Comparative Statistics of Private Schooling in Moscow and Beijing,  
1991–2002**

Year	1991	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2001	2002
Number schools in Beijing	5	17	21	30	54	64	68	80	98
Number of schools in Moscow	13	154	182	225	247	250	240	245	248

*Sources:* I.Vasilenko, Fieldwork Data Analysis, Beijing 1999-2002, Moscow 2000-2004. Data accessed from the Beijing Educational Committee Statistics Department and the Educational Department of Moscow’s Non-Government Schools.

Table 7.5 reflects the different tendencies in development. Whilst Chinese scholars were concerned about the rapid development of private schools, in fact, private schooling in Beijing manifests a steady growth compared to an explosion of private schools in Moscow. In Moscow, starting from only 13 schools in 1991, the growth reached a peak in 1998 and went into regression in the following 1999, ending with stable numbers of private schools firmly incorporated into the private market of secondary schooling.

As this comparative analysis of the tempo and sequencing of changes in private schooling in Beijing and Moscow demonstrates, the development of private schooling in both cities has the strong and continuing connection with the cultural pattern of developing private schools. Varying delineations of private school growth confirms the observation of Naya and Tan (1996), who advocate a culturally-framed pattern of

transition, especially when “the question of institutions involves the role of the public sector in the transition process” (Naya and Tan, 1996: 17).

Forming part of the educational transformation, the development of private schooling embodies the divergent paths – from the ‘step-by-step’ model of China to the explosive changes in Russia. The diverse scenarios of private school development reflect this range of culturally-framed patterns, varying from a steady and gradual development of private schools in Beijing to a changeable mode of private schooling development in Moscow.

The comparative analysis of the annual growth of private schools in Beijing and Moscow unveils some common tendencies around the question of the fluctuating dynamics of private schools. In Beijing the first wave of the private schooling occurred in 1991–1994 with growth of 240 per cent, followed by growth of 23.5 per cent in 1995 and 42.8 per cent in 1996. The second wave occurred in 1997, with an 80 per cent annual growth, ending with 18.8 per cent in 1998 and 6.2 per cent in 1999. A similar dynamic of annual growth was observed in the system of private schooling in Moscow.

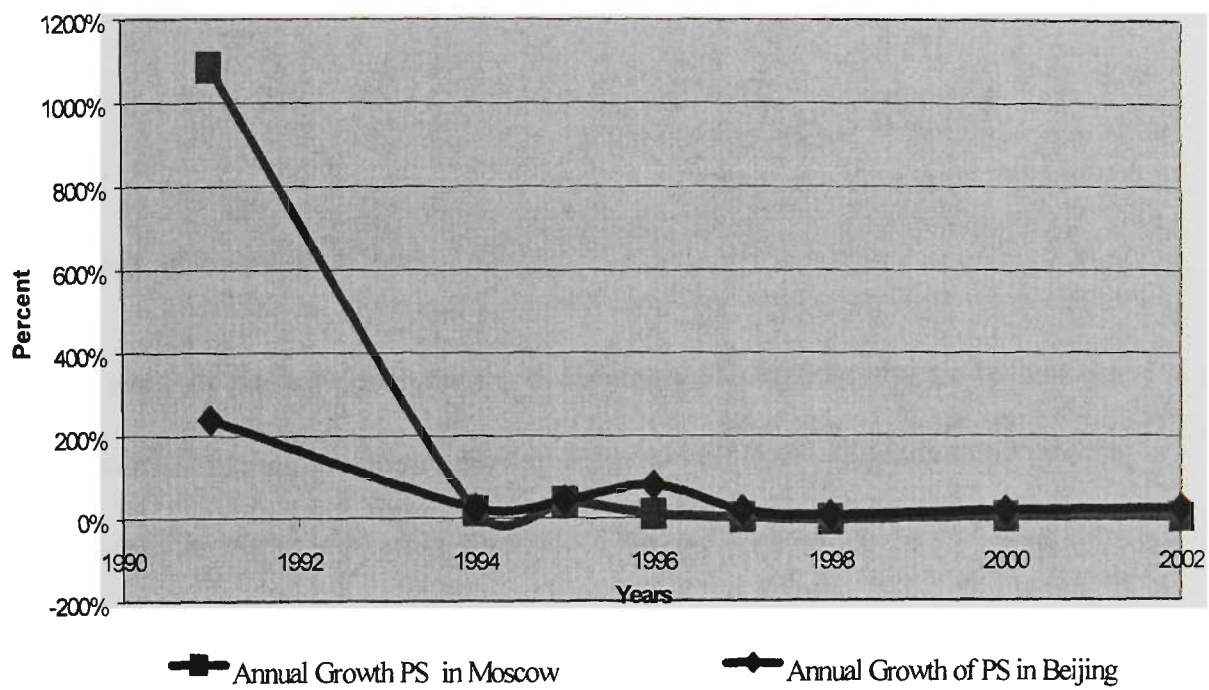
From 1991 to 1995 the system of education in Moscow has experienced an explosion of private schools with the unprecedented growth of 1300 per cent, which ended with 18 per cent of annual growth in 1995. The second wave of private schooling occurred in the year of 1996 with 23 per cent of the annual growth overloading the market of private schools. As a result of this, for the next few years the annual growth of private

schools declined down to the negative performance of -4 per cent in 1999, and then the market stabilised with a 2 per cent increase in numbers by 2001.

The common pattern of the annual growth of private schooling that was detected in private schooling of both Beijing and Moscow suggests the operation of a market mechanism between demands and its supplier (Marginson 1997). This reflects a segmental model of 'finding the gap' in the market of private schools that specifically could be relevant to the condition of infrastructure of the countries-in-transition. During the transitional period of economic and social restructuring in China and Russia, an individual could reach instant success by simply being in the position to detect market demands. This newly discovered challenging experience became the subject of massive duplication. In the environment of a transitional society, with the lack of regulation (China) or a chaos (Russia), the developing markets of private schools reflect a universal market mechanism of demand and supply. The role of the state during this process will be a subject of special discussions presented in 8.6 "The role of the state in private schooling".

The customers market under the 'user-pays' principle is the main tool of a market regulation that reduces the numbers of schools and regulates the percentage of annual growth. The tendencies towards stabilisation of the market are another common feature of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow. The comparative analysis of the annual percent of private schools' growth in Beijing and Moscow shows that these two different markets demonstrated a similar inclination towards the stabilisation of an annual growth by reducing the extreme longitudinal amplitude of an annual growth that is illustrated by Figure 7.1.

**Figure 7. 1 Comparative Analysis of Annual Growth: Private Schooling in  
Beijing and Moscow, 1991 – 2002**



Source: I.Vasilenko, Data Analysis, 2004

The dynamics of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow mirrors the cultural pattern of two cultures. The slow but constant growth of private schooling in Beijing contrasts with the explosive character of the private schooling market in Moscow. However, both markets can be characterized by the common fluctuating tendency of expanding its capacity that shortly could be stabilized to certain numbers of private schools.

#### **7.4 Distribution of financial affairs**

The different stage of market development in Beijing and Moscow also influences the dissimilar pattern of management and money distribution. If the consummated system of private schools in Moscow mainly focuses on the salary package of teaching staff and renting expanses, Chinese private schooling puts a great emphasis on the development of school facilities.

The indicative monthly distribution of money in an average private school in Moscow covers: (1) teachers' salary (28 per cent); (2) tax (17 per cent); (3) food (12 per cent); (4) renting cost (14 per cent); (5) maintenance (9 per cent); (6) sport (6 per cent); (7) water, electricity and gas bills (6 per cent); (8) security (4 per cent), and (9) transport (4 per cent). The cost of educational projects and program are covered partially by the school's tax deductions and partially by teachers' salary as a part of the job description and professional duties.

In Beijing, the monthly distribution of money in an average private school covers: (1) teachers' salary (14 per cent); (2) development building facilities or rented premises

(30 per cent); (3) rent (10 per cent) and (5) tax (10 per cent);<sup>14</sup> (6) maintenance (12 per cent); (7) water, electricity and gas facilities (8 per cent); and (8) food (4 per cent), and other cost (14 per cent).<sup>15</sup> The comparative analysis of the monthly money distribution is presented in Table 7.5.

**Table 7.6. Annual Distribution Finance of Private Schooling in Beijing and Moscow, 1999 – 2000 (per cent)**

Spending revenue	Beijing	Moscow
Teachers' salary	14	28
Water, electricity and gas and telephone bills	8	6
Property Rent	10	14
Constructing building and facilities	30	N/A
Maintenance	12	9
Food	4	12
Developing Sport Facilities	N/D	9
Tax	10	17
Security	N/D	4
Transport	N/D	4
Others	14	N/D

Note: N/A – not assessed; N/D – not detected.  
 Note: Total exceeded 100 because of rounding.

Source: I. Vasilenko, Fieldwork, 2000.

<sup>14</sup> The rent and tax is the subject of a personal *guanxi* and negotiation between a private school with the Beijing Education Commission and the Beijing Finance Bureau. It could be varied from 5 per cent to 20 per cent. The figure of 10 per cent is only and represents the average cost. Some schools redirect tuition fees revenue as a donation to the low-quality category of the state-run schools as a part of the Program of Improving the Quality of Low-Achieving Government Schools (1996).  
<sup>15</sup> The category of “Others” expenditure includes the cost of advertising campaign, networking, and cost related to the projects’ development.



## **7.5 Facilities and learning environment of private schools in Beijing and Moscow**

In adapting to the market economy and hoping to gain an undefeated position in the changing market competition, the private schools can only rely on their learning environment and a quality of educational service. As an organic part of the learning environment, the property holding is an indication of the sustainability, financial security and prosperity of a school that should attract prospective students and their parents.

The comparative analysis of the learning environment and facilities of private schools in Beijing and Moscow shows similar characteristics as well as the fact that they maintain their culturally-dissimilar patterns of running a private school. Thus, some similarities occurred on the level of management and administrative structure between certain categories of private schools in Beijing and Moscow. However, compared to the facilities of private schools in Beijing, private schooling in Moscow indicates an advanced level of property holdings, human resources, professional personnel employment, and fiscal expenditure.

Thus, the majority of private schools in Moscow occupied former industrial kindergartens (43 per cent). The second biggest number of private schools leased the buildings of the former state-run kindergartens (34 per cent). These two types of property arrangement were exclusively opened for private schools in Moscow and are one of the specific characteristics of the private schooling environment in Moscow.

The active growth of private schools in Moscow started in the pick years of the economic crises and social turmoil from 1993 to 1995 (Derzhinskaja and Poroshinskaja, 1999). During that time, the industry-funded kindergartens ceased their operation due to a shortage of funds and a number of buildings were emptied. Private schools filled this niche in the property market not only because these types of properties were accessible, but because the secure atmosphere,<sup>16</sup> comfortable rooms, kitchen, individually oriented facilities (classes and bedrooms) and outdoor sporting areas were appropriate for the demands of the private schooling market. This type of premises is now fully accommodated the private schooling property market and is one of the specific characteristics of private schooling in Moscow.

In Beijing, a large percentage of private schools rent state-run educational institutions: schools (34 per cent), universities and vocational schools (10 per cent), and other premises (25 per cent), including (unsuitable) factories and private houses. The analysis of Beijing private schooling reveals the different characteristics of property management for the specific category of private schools. For example, the numbers of 'shadow' schools (20 per cent) share the same state-run premises. The facilities of *silide xuexiao* schools can range from an unsuitable type of premises to owned property. This type of owned property management can be relevant to the *helide xuexiao* category (1 per cent) that also has a specific characteristic of dealing with an arrangement of renting the state land under favourable conditions (5 per cent).

In relation to the development of private property of private schools, the school owners in Beijing and Moscow schooling are differently inclined. According to the

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<sup>16</sup> The walls around a compound protect each Moscow kindergarten and its surrounded areas.

data analysis of the semi-formal interviews with the management and state officials, in Beijing in 1999, property ownership is highly respected because it is a sign of the secured position with the state.

Conversely, in Moscow, as the analysis of the semi-structured interviews indicates (2002), a possession of private schooling property signifies: 1) a link with a profitable financial group, and 2) individuals who avoid paying tax by investing their money in the school's development. The incomplete tax policy generally (Black and Tarassova, 2003) and towards private schooling in particular led to ambiguous reading of property ownership that was noted by Gaddy and Ickes (2002). Because of the tax system in Russia is often seen as confiscatory (Black and Tarassova, 2003), there was a group of individuals who did not want to expose their income to the Tax department, and, by implication, to the state legal system (Aslund 1995).

This partially explained the undeveloped capacity of the private schooling property market in the country despite the fact that the market was stabilized by 1998. Under the circumstances that private schooling reflects the immense property capacity of wealthy New Russians, many schools as small enterprises prefer to accept a policy of *metzenatstvo* (a big-sum charity, donation) from the parents who are owners of big companies inside the country (Daniello 1998).

There are different forms of charity from the wealthy parents to the school. It could include a one-time donation of a lump sum to build new buildings, to repair the old ones, and to improve indoor or outdoor sport facilities. It also could be personal assistance towards a compulsory annual renovation and up-dating the equipment

during the summer schools breaks (June–August). However, in relation to questions of buying the private school property and land, there is a tendency to invest overseas by opening a branch of the school (*Expert Magazin*, 1997).<sup>17</sup>

Thus, in relation to the private schooling property arrangement, the two systems of private schools take different paths. In Moscow, the property market of private schooling found its niche in the market of former kindergarten property run by the state and the industries. The biggest numbers of private schools are accommodated in the formerly industry-run kindergartens, which after the implementation of the economic reforms were deserted. The luxury of the majority of private schools shows no connection with the state-run system of schooling.

The system of private schools in Beijing demonstrates a strong link with the state-run facilities: schools, institutes, and vocational schools. This indicates that the process of establishing private schooling as a market is liable and in process. The lack of niche in the property market in Beijing forces many private schools to seek any premises available that, in most cases, are unsuitable. The small percentage of private property owners indicates that the development of Beijing private schooling in the future will be directed towards property development. Beijing private schooling prefers to invest in property inside of the country, locally, whilst private schooling in Moscow inclines

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<sup>17</sup> During the fieldwork in Moscow (2000–2004), out of the 100 personally visited schools, every third owner (a director or a general financial manager) of a private school expressed their interests towards investing in Australia. A broad range of questions were asked, some of them included an unrealistic approach due to the limited cultural knowledge about the Australian society, but some of them reflected the global business market realities.

to invest overseas, internationally. Table 7.7 illustrates the common and different tendencies of property occupancy of private schools in between Beijing and Moscow.

**Table 7.7 Comparative Analysis of the Property Holding: Private Schooling in Beijing and Moscow, 2002 (per cent).**

Property Occupancy	Beijing	Moscow
Owners of the premises	1	7
Renting the former state schools buildings	24	10
Leasing the formerly run industrial kindergartens	N/D	43
Leasing the formerly state-run kindergarten buildings	N/D	34
Sharing the state schools premises	30	N/D
Leasing the Higher and Vocational Education premises	20	5
Renting Unsuitable Building (factories, private houses, commission flats, and ext.)	25	N/D

Note: N/D – not detected

Source: I. Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Beijing, Moscow, 2002.

## 7.6 Human resources and working categories in the private schools of Beijing and Moscow

In relation to the human resources involved in private schooling in Beijing and Moscow, the comparative analysis shows the dissimilar quality of teaching resources, management and accompanying services. In Beijing, the categories of working personnel in the system of private schools are different compared to Moscow. In Beijing, the larger number of teachers is in the part-time category (60 per cent), whilst the smaller proportion (40 per cent) works on a full time basis. Those who work part-time comprise retired professors (65 per cent), holders of high-ranking titles (35 per cent), many of who are administrators from the State and Municipality, and Regional Bureau of Education), overseas contractors (18 per cent), and young specialists (8 per cent). Our results of surveys confirmed the strong dependence on the retired teaching personnel reflecting the limit of the teaching resources that, in fact, affects the quality of teaching that was noted by Z. Zhang (1994).

Further analysis of teachers working in Beijing private schools, indicate the prevailing proportion of (1) retired teachers (25 per cent),<sup>18</sup> (2) overseas contractors (2 per cent), who are not necessarily specialists in teaching or holders of any qualifications and working on the basis of being a 'native speaker', and (3) a category of young specialists that represents a small proportion (5 per cent) of *hegede jiaoxue rencai* (qualified human teaching resources).<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Our analysis confirms the percentage of working teachers in Shanghai private schools detected by Yimin (1996). According to Yimin (1996), full-time teachers are basically all retired personnel, with the 56.3 per cent was the age group; between 46 y.o. and 55 y.o., and 29.3 per cent was a group over 57 y.o.

<sup>19</sup> In most of the cases the young specialists have agreed to work in the not popular sector of private schooling in exchange for permission to stay in Beijing after their graduation. This vibrant city with a lot of opportunities especially attracts young rural residents.

In contrast to the system of private schools in Beijing that uses human resources remaining after the filling of the state-run system of education, private schools in Moscow absorbed the best quality of professionals and teaching staff accumulated previously by the state-run schooling system. Thus, in 2002, Moscow private schools were using full-time teachers with full registration qualification (70 per cent) and part-timers (30 per cent). The full-time teachers were Doctorate Degree Holders (8 per cent), Honoured Teachers of the Russian Federation (25 per cent), Honoured Teachers, and Holders of Highest Qualification in Teaching (25 per cent). The other 42 per cent were represented by the holders of a Diploma of Specialist with a professional/specialist title to teach one particular subject (for example, History that includes World History, National History, War World II History, etc.), requiring four or more years of university-level study.<sup>20</sup> A large percentage of the part-time of teachers were holders of *Doctor Nauk* and *Kandidat Nauk*<sup>21</sup> degrees (30 per cent). Retired teachers and unqualified teaching staff were not detected in Moscow's system of private schools.

The differences of all categories of teachers working in the system of private schools in Beijing and Moscow are presented in Table 7.8.

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<sup>20</sup> According to the "Assessment Guidelines for Higher Education and Technical Qualification" (1990), this qualification is comparable to the Australian Bachelor of Arts (BA), but sometimes referred as Master Degree (p.24).

<sup>21</sup> According to the "Assessment Guidelines for Higher Education and Technical Qualification" (1990), "a *Kandidat Nauk* in mathematics, science of technology is assessed as comparable to the educational level of an Australian PhD. A *Kandidat Nauk* in other fields of study assesses as at least comparable to the educational level of an Australian Master Degree in the first instance, and may be referred to NOOSR for individual consideration for a higher assessment. A *Doktor Nauk* can be regarded as at least comparable to the educational level of an Australian PhD" (p.24)

**Table 7.8 Comparative Analysis of the Private Schooling Human Resources in Beijing and Moscow, 1999–2000.**

Teaching Resources Categories	Beijing		Moscow	
	Full-time Employment	Part-time Employment	Full-time Employment	Part-time Employment
	40 per cent	60 per cent	70 per cent	30 per cent
Retired Teachers	65 per cent	435 per cent (and 5 per cent of them are holders of Doctorate Degrees Holder)	N/D	N/D
Doctorate Degrees Holders	N/D*		8 per cent	100 per cent
Honored Teachers	N/D	38 per cent	25 per cent	N/D
Holders of Highest Qualification of Teaching	N/D	N/D	25 per cent	N/D
Overseas Contractors	12 per cent	18 per cent	2 per cent	N/D
BA Holders Qualified Professionals/ Experienced Specialist in teaching a particular subject	N/D	N/D	40 per cent	
Young Specialist in teaching a particular subject	23 per cent	8 per cent	N/D	N/D

Note: N/D – not detected

Source: I Vasilenko, Data Analysis of Fieldwork, Beijing, Moscow, 1999–2000.



The differences of the human resources involved in teaching at the private schools of Beijing and Moscow have influenced the student-teacher ratio. In relation to the student-teacher ratio, both private schooling systems indicate substantial improvement, compared to the state-run system. However, the variation of the student-teacher ratio is dependent on the category of private school. For example, in the Chinese private schools the student-teacher ratio is less compared to the state-run school and could be varied from 35 students per teacher (35:1) in *minban xuexiao* schools to 10 students per teacher (10:1) in *silide xuexiao* schools. The private schooling of Moscow demonstrates the prevailing ratio of teachers over the students and can be varied from one student per teacher (1:1) in ordinary private schools to one student per five teachers (1:5) in upper-class elite schools.

So, in comparing the human resources of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow, it is necessary to underline the role of the different categories of teaching forces involved in the teaching process. The process of learning in private schools in Beijing strongly depends on retired teaching personnel. The process of social adaptation and popularity, as we have noted already, depends on holders of the honoured title who work in the private sector of schooling, and in most cases, are preoccupied with the administrative type of job and underline the social status of the school.

In Moscow private schooling absorbed the best quality of educational services from the state-run system, including the teaching experience of *uchitel'-novator* (innovative teachers). Many of the teachers are holders of the honoured title and proactive in their professional field. The freedom and flexibility of Russian private schooling compared

with the state-run system are the main sources of the advanced quality of private secondary education delivered by the private schools in Moscow.

### **7.7 The local curriculum of private schools**

The comparative study of curriculum of the private schools in Beijing and Moscow has demonstrated that both systems of private schooling are inclined towards two common major directions: adjusting the local curriculum to the needs of the individuals and implementing internationally-recognised programs. Following the parents' demands, both schooling systems indicate the tendency towards the individual needs of students. Therefore, the elaboration of learning activities, an orientation towards the personal needs and individual development indicates some similarity as well as differing uncommon inclinations towards the final outcomes of studying in privately-run schools.

In Beijing, as shown by the data analysis (1999–2002) of the Chinese parents' questionnaires, tertiary level entry was the main reason for placing a child in a privately-run school (75 per cent), following upbringing (15 per cent), disciplinary reasons (8 per cent) and receiving the National Certificate of Secondary education (2 per cent). Therefore, the majority of private schools have their task to prepare their students to sit the National Entrance Exam. This exam is the most important event in Chinese society in June (formerly in July), because it not only shows the results of studying at the secondary level, but also has an important implication for the future. There are three levels of the National Entrance Exam score: the most successful scores (450 and up) open a door to the 100 most prestigious universities in the country; a moderate result (380–450) gives a chance to study in a second choice

university, and the average score (350–330) provides the opportunity to enter colleges and vocational schools. For that reason, the compulsory-prescribed National Curriculum in the private schools of Beijing was adapted to the demands of parents in order to achieve or improve the Exam entrance score.

One of the common practices of the adaptation practised by all private schools in Beijing is to put a fastidious focus on the National Curriculum and by doing so to double the hours of studying the state-prescribed subjects. However, different categories of private schools set different goals for their students. For example, the general practice among the *minban* category of private schools is to target ‘the second choice universities’ (as a best result) for their students, or, at least, to help them to achieve a score sufficient to study at a vocational school or college. Consequently, the main focus of these schools has been placed on the minimum basic exam requisites: Mathematics, History and Chinese. In order to improve the students’ scores, in *minban* schools, for example, the compulsory 6-hours of mathematics per week could be replaced with 10–12 hours; the studying of the Chinese language could be up to 12 hours per week instead of the compulsory 6 hours. Such so-called practice of ‘studying in-depth’ puts an enormous pressure on the students’ shoulders (Liang 2003). The same overloaded timetable was offered in relation to the rest of the subjects. As a result, students study almost all the time: not only in the classroom and afternoon at school, but in the dormitory or home, in the evening, until midnight. In order to reduce overloaded hours of studying, some schools designed different study models by focusing on the required outcomes for entering universities.

Hence, the subjects of Supplementary curriculum are directly linked to the National curriculum and are adapted to the parents' demands, reflecting the capacity of the schools' local market. For example, instead of six hours weekly lessons of Mathematics each week, a *helide xuexiao* school will arrange extra 5–6 classes with a tutor from the University who can be a professor from the prominent *Beida* University or just a graduate from *Renmin Daxue* (National University). The Chinese language compulsory six hours will be extended up to 12 hours per week by a combination of tutoring and supervised, but independent, study by students. Focus on the National Curriculum is still the first prerogative for the majority of parents.

The category of *silide xuexiao* schools is implemented an extra year (Year 12) in order to review all subjects under the National Curriculum requisite. Meanwhile, these schools are very active in establishing international exchange programs as the way of covering the shortage of English teachers, the improvement of their Foreign Language Program, and, hopefully, to establish the personal contacts, *guanxi*, that will be helpful for sending students to study overseas.

The schools of another private schooling category, *helide xuexiao*, actively exercise a range of methods. For instance, apart from the studying-in depth subjects of the National Curriculum they have implemented new programs that include the prolongation of studying topics as well as new subjects that are not prescribed by the National Curriculum, such as IT, Business, Arts and Music. These programs tailored to the parents' demands, are expensive and can be afforded only by the upper-middle class private schools. However, there is a strong tendency towards the development of

the market of exclusive tailored programs.<sup>22</sup> Table 7.9 illustrates the extended curriculum in the *Huijia helide xuexiao* private school.

**Table 7.9 Year 12 Program: Structure and Content**  
*(Huijia helide xuexiao, Beijing, 2003)*

Compulsory education	Supplementary education
Basic Subject Area	Optional Subjects
Chinese Language and Literature	Chinese poems in English literature.
Mathematics (all levels)	Revision course: Invidual Study
Natural Science: General Physics, Physical Geography, Chemistry, Astronomy, Biology	Revision course: Invidual Study
Physical Education (PE): General Physical Training (Athletics, Basketball, Volleyball)	Not offered
Foreign Language: English	International Program: WACC
Social Science: Chinese History	Not offered
Arts: Drawing, Music, Craft	Not offered
Not included	Basic IT Skills: Chinese Microsoft version (Five Stars, Zhonwen) and English Microsoft version.

Source: I.Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Beijing , 2003.

<sup>22</sup> Despite the expensive cost of such individually-tailored programs, the popularity of them is climbing each year. For example, in Beijing Zhong Hua Mei Xue Xiao (Beijing Private Visual Painting Arts School) in 1999 had 14 students, in 2000 had 24 students, in 2003 had 32 students. In August 2004, the school website placed a call for qualified artists to conduct the 14 Arts classes (minimum 8 students per class).

In Moscow private schools the adaptation of compulsory educational programs to the students' interests is taken in different directions. First, the demand of Russian parents to have individually designed programs is higher compared to parents in the private schools of Beijing. The result of the data analysis of our parents' survey (Moscow, 2000) indicated that all Russian parents (100 per cent) who participated in the survey expect to have the absolutely highest standard of education and an assured entrance for their children into the best Universities. There were also other reasons for studying in a privately run school: 1) the safety environment (65 per cent) and (2) individual development of a child (35 per cent).

In order to meet such high expectations of parents and to justify the high cost of education, the system of private schools in Moscow developed a school program that contains two curricula: the Compulsory Curriculum and the Supplementary Curriculum. The Compulsory Curriculum responds to the unified national secondary program schooling and has been regarded as the minimum basic area of subjects. This Curriculum is common for all secondary schooling and does not reflect the blueprint of the schools on the private schooling market. However, the Supplementary Curriculum is a program specifically designed by a school. These programs are original and varied from school to school. The programs of Supplementary education directly respond to the personal needs of students, their interests and the individual orientation of their learning activities and, thus, signify the special features of the product for marketing purposes.

As a common trend, each private school starts to monitor their students' progress from Year 9. This process includes studying all compulsory subjects within an orientation towards the program of the intended University, and studying subjects

within the individually designed program. Such an early connection with the targeted universities can be reasoned, firstly, by the fact that admittance into the leading Moscow universities requires excellent results at the entrance exams, oral and written. The earlier commitment to the high standard of the chosen university was taken by private schools as the efficient way to achieve this score. Also, the earlier engagement with the Supplementary education delivered by the particular private school, in return benefits the stability of the private schooling market. The market of a connection between prominent universities and private schools is firmly cemented, and thus divided between private schools. Some of the private schools have established an exclusive connection via offering university academic staff good financial conditions to teach in their schools, and as a result of this, have ensured the success of the school's graduates. For instance, the school *Premier*, during the last seven years, has had 100 per cent of entrance into the Moscow's Higher School of Economics, one of the most respected in Russia learning centres concerned with the different aspects of global and regional economics. In 2000, 74 per cent of graduates studied at the Law Department; 6 per cent studied at the Department of Politology and Sociology, 12 per cent studied at the Economic Department and 8 per cent studied at the International College of Economic and Finance, the affiliated tertiary body of the State University.

In order to meet the high requirements of the entrance exams, private schools in Moscow have used study-required subjects as a part of the Supplementary Curriculum. During the final years of the secondary level, Year 10 and Year 11, a private school puts greater emphasis on the Supplementary Curriculum that will be designed and tailored directly towards the students' future professional orientation.

For example, to meet the requirements of the entrance exams of the State University Higher School of Economics and International College of Economics and Finance, the school *Premier* year has implemented the parallel Supplementary Curriculum. Students in Year 10 and Year 11 have had to study Mathematics, Foreign Languages and the Russian Languages at advanced level. The table below presents one example of the Year 11 Programs.

**Table 7.10 Year 11 Program: Structure and Content**  
**(*Premier* School, Moscow, 2000)**

Compulsory education	Supplementary education
Basic Subject Area	Optional Subjects
Russian Language and Literature	World Culture; History of Arts, Rhetoric.
Mathematics (all levels)	IT and Programming; Computer studies and Computer Modelling (equivalent to IT Study Design)
Natural Science: General Physics, Physical Geography, Chemistry, Astronomy, Biology	Project Work (equivalent to Detailed Study at VCE Level, Years 11 and 12, Victoria, Australia)
Physical Education (PE): General Physical Training (Athletics, Basketball, Volleyball)	Lawn Tennis, Swimming, Aerobics, Dancing, PE Therapy, Exercising in Fitness Centre
Foreign Language: English	French, German, Spanish, Advanced English, World Literature
Social Science: History of Russia, World History, Economic Geography, Moscow Local Studies	Basic Course of Economics and Management, Legal Studies
Arts: Drawing, Music, Craft	Second Degree in Studies of chosen musical instrument; Advanced Diploma in Drawing; Advanced Diploma in Crafting
Basic Technological Skills: Technical Translation, Home Economics, Design Technology	Advanced Technological Skills: Technical Translation, Home Economics, Design Technology

Source: I.Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Moscow, 2000.



Thus, in Moscow, the educational programs running in the private schools became less technical and more managerially oriented. Still requiring a solid mathematical and computer background, private schools have started to provide more courses on entrepreneurship, leadership and organizing behaviour, as well as requiring students to take more classes in liberal arts areas, including foreign languages.<sup>23</sup>

## 7.8 Conclusion

The appearance of private schools alongside the state-run system of schooling is a result of the educational transformation in transitional China and Russia. Both societies recognised the system of private schools as an important component of their educational systems. This recognition reflects the new realities facing Chinese and Russian private schooling today that should be understood in the extended frame of common and uncommon characteristics.

There are five major characteristics describing the similarity between the system of private schools in Beijing and Moscow. Firstly, both systems are relatively smaller compared to the state-run system of education. Secondly, both systems are extremely competitive and developed a certain mechanism to sustain themselves on the market which is illustrated by the specific location of the particular category of private school around the urban areas, including suburbs. Thirdly, both systems invent a particular marketing mechanism that assists these schools to reach the demands of their clients. Fourthly, both systems incline towards the implementation of a) new curriculum; b) changed curriculum, or c) curriculum adjusted to the local specification of the market.

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<sup>23</sup> See Appendix 3. Figure 1 “Educational Model of English in *Premier*, Moscow, 1999 – 2002” p. 502.

Finally, in order to gain successful outcomes both systems incline towards developing links with local or overseas tertiary systems. However, the two systems of private schools are very much unlike in their internal characteristics.

In contrast to the elite character of private schooling for rich Russians, Beijing private schooling targets a range of customers, including locals and non-locals, wealthy and poor. This wide spectrum of private schooling marketing has resulted in the kaleidoscopic diversity of categories of private schools.

The different categories of private schools possess different qualities of education ranging from expensive international programs to a lower quality of National Curriculum. This unbalanced quality of education run by private schooling in Beijing was the main reason why the market of private schooling was labelled as the “secondary category students” market (Tsang 2000). Compared to the system of Russian private schools, the structure of private schooling in Beijing is far more complicated and can be classified into different categories that include all categories of students. It makes the system of private schools multi-tiered and more approachable for all social groups of Chinese society. The different categories of Chinese private schools ask different fees. As a result, there is a chance for wider social groups of Chinese society to have an access to private schooling. Apart from international schools, up to 1999, the market of private schooling in Beijing mainly embraced the special category of students, who could not compete with the high standard of the state-run system of education. However, the recent tendencies demonstrate that the marketing of private schools is moving towards the establishment of exclusive education for an elite class and their children by copying the quality of

education in the international schools of Beijing. Therefore, now private schooling serves not only for local students of *minban* schools and the local elite *helide xuexiao* schools, but, at the same time, also provides service to the international standard of education for the students who study in the international schools.

In contrast to the wide range of the private schooling market in Beijing, the market of Russian students studying at private schools in Moscow presents different characteristics. Firstly, it comprises the only choice for educational service for a particular category of students, first and foremost targeting the elite students from rich families. Secondly, the quality of education in all categories of private schools is much higher compared to the state-run system of education. The high respect for education in a private school comes at a price, with fees affordable to only a certain social strata of Russian society. Thirdly, the educational programs of private schools in Moscow indicate an autonomous modification of curriculum.

The changes occurring in the curricula of the two systems of private schooling shows similar tendencies related to the development of national programs tailored to the tertiary system of education. Both systems of private schooling have developed a certain mechanism to meet the expectations of the parents and up to a certain degree to ensure or assist the entrance to the universities. However, the methods and approach to this task were developed differently. In China, the main tools were the increase of learning hours and adding an extra year (Year 12) as a year of the repetition of learning materials from the graduate Year 11. In Russia, Moscow private schooling developed the method of running two parallel curricula and implementing a

tailored educational program since Year 6 with the following monitoring process started in Year 9.

In relation to the National Curriculum, some private schools in both cities have developed original tailored Supplementary Education Curriculum programs. In relation to the international programs, both countries demonstrated a strong demand for incorporating the international programs into supplementary education. But, at the same time, they indicate their limited capacity to develop and to deliver without assistance from a western partner.

Therefore, both systems of private schooling demonstrate similar characteristics in relation to: (1) the contestation in the Russian private education is not limited to the national context but is also subjected to 'global imperatives'; (2) the main form of the private schooling system is a secondary school and the school focused on special, individually created programs to prepare students purely for high professional activities; and (3) the principal training and learning in a private school is focused at seemingly universal organisational ideology, based on American and European business practice.

## CHAPTER 8

# COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL SETTINGS OF PRIVATE SCHOOLING IN BEIJING AND MOSCOW

### 8.0 Introduction

The comparative analysis in this chapter specifically focuses on several issues. First, the chapter looks into a comparative analysis of the pattern of economic reforms and their role in relation to the development of private schooling in two countries. The comparative analysis of the role of market reforms will assist in establishing how germane economic reforms were regarding the origin of private schooling. My findings in this cross-cultural comparative analysis of economic mode and educational changes in these countries will add to theoretical discussions regarding the role of economic reforms in transitional societies.

Secondly, the chapter presents a comparative examination of the popularity of private schools tailored to the specific cultural settings. Understanding the social attitude towards private schooling and the acceptance of private schools by these societies assists in the comprehension of the subject of educational transformation, as a part of social infrastructure, along with a public awareness of changes in education. The comparative analysis of the role of education in the new economic environment of these transitional societies will also be a subject of the theoretical evaluation of Transition Theory.

Thirdly, this chapter will also compare the role of a state in relation to private schooling along with the different cultural approaches towards private schooling. Thus, the comparative analysis of the development of private schools in Beijing and Moscow will illuminate how private schooling has to cope with culturally-specific educational realities: economic reforms and their impact on education, changes in social strata of a transitional society, and attitude of the state.

### **8.1 Common forms of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow**

The comparative analysis of categories of private schools that operate in Beijing and Moscow shows that there are several common forms of schooling during the educational transformation in a transitional society: alternative schooling; private schooling; and independent schooling. The alternative schooling type appears during the stages of diversification and decentralisation. The rise of private schooling takes place during the privatisation period, and a new type of independent schooling emerges during the marketisation stage.

In this work, **alternative schooling** refers to the educational institution that has targeted local priorities in education (literacy program, anti-illiteracy campaign, etc.) directed by the state in order to meet expectations of the national education programs. The combination of local financial budgeting with state intellectual properties is a typical model of the management of this kind of school. In China, the *minban* system of the Mao era was a visible manifestation of the main educational objectives of alternative schooling that was designed to provide schooling for all children,

including those in rural areas. In Russia, during the Gorbachev era, a new type of schools – *shkola uchitelia-novatora* (schools of teachers-innovators) – created by the state, provided alternative education in specialised subjects, based on the individual teaching program of *uchitelia-novatora* (a teacher-innovator).

**Private schooling** refers to the system of educational institutions aiming at the expectations of individuals, as a part of a larger society, to meet individual goals of education within or without the framework of the national educational campaign. The emergence of the *minban* system in urban areas of China from the 1980s, as well as the operation of converted schools and individually run schools, have been the significant responses to the period of educational transformation in the stage of commercialisation.<sup>1</sup> Further development of private schools in Beijing is highly likely, given the unmet demands for the individually-oriented type of education. In contrast to the Beijing scenario, the swift rise of private schools in Moscow, as a result of responding to the local demands for the individual type of schooling, filled the gap and established a better balance between supply and demand. This resulted in a fixed number of schools, which provide an individually-oriented type of education to meet the needs of students and parents. The development of private schools in Moscow is unlikely to lead to a numerical expansion, but is likely to result in an increased number of students attending these schools.

**Independent schooling** refers to that part of the non-government system of education that emphasise, within the context of educational transformation, the development of

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<sup>1</sup> “The term of commercialisation refers to the introduction or extension of one or another characteristic of market; such as user charges, or competition for public funds previously distributed by formula, or the establishment of a commercial research centre, or the creation of an entrepreneurial management required to increase private income”(Marginson, 1997:36)

personal skills and social mobility within the international community. These internationally-branded private schools, which combine local market demands with global educational imperatives, foresee the magnitude of the global market in education. This market includes the recent growth in the local markets of other countries—in-transition. Further, a new and lucrative consumer market in educational technologies and software together with demand for quality private education will assist in fuelling the fast growth of this type of school in the near future in both countries. Table 8.1 outlines the socioeconomic characteristics of alternative, private and independent schooling in transitional China and Russia.



**Table 8.1 Socioeconomic Imperatives of Common Forms of Schooling in Russia  
and China**

Socioeconomic imperatives	Alternative schooling	Private schooling	Independent schooling
Role of education	Education for all	Education for group/individuals	Education for individuals
Goal of education	Obtained the basic standard in education	Continuing education	Advanced level education of continuing education
Reflection of marketisation in education	Education as common goods/segmentation of market	Diversification of the social group mobility/emergence of middle class/ commercialisation	Crystallization of Elite/ privatisation
Financial management	State and community money allocation	Local Individuals/ National groups	Transnational companies/ International groups
School types	Embracing all students  Focusing on particular groups	<i>Minban</i> system, converted, socially demanded, privately run (China); Private, NGO, and state schools offered some supplementary subjects (Russia)	International school (China, Russia); Private school (China, Russia)
Social effects	Equal opportunity and marginalising particular groups	Diversification of educational skills	Social polarisation

Source: I. Vasilenko, 2002.

The educational transformation in China and Russia indicates that each country developed individual qualities in their system of private schools. The ways in which individuals relate to the state either intellectually or financially has created different categories of private schools than previously known in the West. In contrast to private schooling in the West, originated from wealth as a result of industrialisation and technological innovation (Ashton and Green 1996), private schooling in a transitional society emanated from the state-run system of education. The departure from state schools re-arranged not only differently financial management and HR allocation, but, first and foremost, opened limitless possibilities of engaging with the world market in education. During this journey, there are many transitional forms of private schools with unclear positions of belonging. By demonstrating a new form of the positional market in the educational paradigm of mode production, these transitional societies provide the evidence for the statement that

[the] typology is not universal; other types of non-market education are possible and, like all economic models it is a simplification. The real world is not as neat as the typology (Marginson, 1997: 34-35).

## **8.2 Educational transformation and economic reforms**

A comparative analysis of educational transformation in China and Russia concludes that the educational transformation in both societies in fact commenced in advance of the implementation of economic reforms. As this study demonstrated, prior to the implementation of economic reforms, both societies underwent educational reforms of an intensely political kind originating in social activity.

The fact that educational transformation began prior to the economic reforms was noticed earlier by Henze (1992), but for some reason was not taken into account by adherents of Transitional theory. Henze (1992) underlines the importance of the relationship between how modernisation is now understood, and educational reform in China for the period from 1977 to 1990, and outlines the main characteristics of the five principal phases, based on the trends apparent in the educational policy of the PRC by mid-1990 that started in 1976.<sup>2</sup> The comparison of economic reforms and educational transformation in relation to the development of private schooling in China, as presented in this chapter, confirms that educational transformation started well before the implementation of economic reforms.

In China the transformation of education was initiated by a group of like-minded educators from Qinhua University in 1974 (Cleverly 1991). Later, in 1975, the Great Educational Debate (1975-1977) was instigated by Mao Zedong as a political campaign (Lofstedt 1980). As a result of the political struggle between Experts and Reds, there emerged a political platform of education for individuals in the socialist society, where 'a collective effort is the sum of individual efforts' (Deng Xio Ping, The Speech to the National Educational Work Conference, 1978). The education system also became stratified in such a manner that the first priorities were given to

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<sup>2</sup> Henze (1992) divided the development of education policy in China into the following periods: from October 1976–April 1977 as a take-off stage, with demands for an improvement in the quality of education; May 1977–April 1979 as a period of an increasing awareness to form a political leadership necessary for carrying out the educational reform; April/May 1979–mid-1985 as a period of readjustment of educational issues to economic policy; mid-1985–spring 1989 as a period of a tense relationship between economic innovation and education; spring 1989–mid-1990 as a period of an open conflict between ideology and economic pattern of reform in order to establish control over an educational institution.

specially listed universities and to 'key-point' schools, even at the expense of mass education (Unger 1982).<sup>3</sup>

The Third Plenum of the 11<sup>th</sup> Party Congress in December 1978 approved education reforms and gave political acceptance to the new policy of the Open Door as it applied to education. This policy can be viewed as a draft for economic modernisation. In 1979, the Party launched a three-phased economic development strategy for China's modernisation in agriculture, industry, national defence, and the move from the mass education towards specialised 'key-universities' and 'key-schools' was designed to maximise whatever assistance could be given to accelerate the modernisation of the country through economic means. After economic reforms, the implementation of education reforms were included as part of the development in science and technology and were refashioned in order to assist in further economic modernisation.

This analysis of educational transformation in China demonstrates that diversification, as the first stage of educational transformation in China, occurred before the implementation of *gaige kaifan* (the Open door policy for modernisation) and the implementation of economic reforms. This observation is a very important step in recognising the role of educational institutions during Transition and serves as a reminder that that the initial phase of Transition occurs in the social sphere, particularly in education.

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<sup>3</sup> As Unger (1982) noticed, most of the urban schools, would have to accept sacrifices on behalf of the college-preparatory mission of 'the key-point schools': "The neighborhood high schools were stripped of their best teachers and their best administrators to allow the key point system to rebuild a quality staff. Already understaffed, the ordinary high schools were scrapped through absorbing former primary-school principals and teachers (which placed some of the primary schools in even deeper trouble). Only the key-points [schools], moreover, received the funds to improve school facilities. While these elite schools were able to reduce very sharply their programs of student labor in order to let their students concentrate almost entirely on studying, some of the neighborhood schools, to bring in needed supplementary income, were obliged to retain and occasionally even expand their school-run factories and workshops." (Unger, 1982: 209).

This new educational policy was aimed at changing the criteria of selection for those children who showed an outstanding ability at study. This policy was implemented using as its key principle, the development of each individual's best personal effort for the attainment of national goals. State schools in the urban areas and *minban* schools in the rural areas were viewed as the tools by which to educate individuals in the best way to serve the country's needs. The changing character of education was reflected by the process of diversification within the schooling system. One of the main outcomes of diversification was a step towards broadening the campaign to set up *minban* schools in urban areas. The various types of state-run schools were amalgamated into the *minban* type, the people-run schools. The growth of this category of private schooling signals the next step towards the development of different categories of Chinese private schools.

In Russia, the process of educational transformation commenced in 1984 was opened with education debates over a new set of values in education. The changing attitude towards the individual goal in education had also turned into very much a political campaign (Gorbachev versus Yeltsin). During the period from 1984 to 1988 numerous different forms of alternative schools were established in Russia. These schools provided differentiated curricula and intensive study of selected academic subjects, just like private schools in other countries. However, they could not call themselves 'private' just in other countries. There was a typically Russian way of using many words substituting for the meaning of 'private education'. Such semi-legal and half-permitted differentiation in education, as exercised within the Soviet system of education of the 1980s, clearly indicates that private education, in the best

of Russian cultural traditions, was already on the way from the 'underground' experimentation in education to official recognition by the state as a new value in the socio-cultural system of Communist Russia.

It is interesting to note that in both countries the stand between progressive and traditional educators took the form of political struggle between Reds, communist puritans and Experts, 'capitalist roaders' in China, and between two political clans of Gorbachev and Yeltsin, in Russia. In both cases the call for a new type of individually-oriented education was initiated by a group of progressively minded educators.

Therefore, this comparative analysis of the development of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow has demonstrated that the process of educational transformation had its origins well in advance of economic transition, having started before the implementation of any economic reform and the transition from Communist ideology and the command economy. This precocious phase of educational transformation in China and Russia, ahead of the implementation of economic reforms, is very important to further comprehending the role of the educational transformation in the context of Transition Theory (TT). Conversely, adherents of TT, as was outlined in Chapter 1 ("Educational Transformation and Economic Transition"), understand the educational changes to have taken place within the context of economic reforms.

### 8.3 Economic transition in China and Russia and its impact on private schooling in Beijing and Moscow

The contrast between gradual reform in China and the Big Bang approach to reform in Russia continues to fascinate economists and policy makers (Cho 1998). There are several views regarding the different economic performance in China and Russia.<sup>4</sup> Some scholars see the economic inequalities (Linder and Prybyla, 1997) as the main reason why transition works in China and Russia differently. Others (World Bank Report 1996) link an ineffective political strategy in Russian and failure economic reforms. However, a comparative analysis of economic reforms in China and Russia demonstrates that different applications of economic transition have no determining effect on the development of private schooling in a transitional society.

In relation to the classification of economic reforms, there is no common classification among scholars. According to F. Chen (1995) and Ogden (1992), the reform of the Chinese economy began with the Third Plenum of the 11<sup>th</sup> Party Congress in December 1978, when a three-phased economic development strategy was launched for China's modernisation in agriculture, industry, national defence, science and technology.<sup>5</sup> But Rana and Hamid (1996) advocated four stages of economic reform started in 1979, as follows: (1) from 1979 to 1981; (2) from 1982 to 1984; (3) from 1985 to 1990; and (4) from 1990 to the present. This classification of

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<sup>4</sup> The contrasting economic performance in transitional China and Russia was a main focus in a numbers of works (Chang-kuo 1983; Cho 1998; Gros and Steinhert, 2004; Huang 1994; Nolan 1995).

<sup>5</sup> In order to meet each phase's goal, the Chinese government operates according to a set of economic policies aimed at modernisation of the industry, scientific development, introducing and developing free market elements in economy. The first phase was aimed to double the 1980 Gross National Product (GNP) and to solve the problem of providing food and clothing for the people. The second phase was aimed to quadruple the 1980 GNP by the end of the century and to raise the standard of living of the Chinese people to a comfortable level. At last, the aim of the third phase was targeted basically at achieving the modernisation by the middle of the next century, with per capita GNP reaching the level of a medium-developed country.

economic reforms has been adopted in this present work for further comparative analysis of economic transition and educational transformation.<sup>6</sup>

According to Rana and Hamid (1996), the main aims of the first phase of economic reforms (1979–1981, known as the reform paradigm period) were

to replace the essentially Soviet-style planning system of collectivisation reforms and to establish a cautious, gradual reduction in central planning and administrative allocation, along with the introduction of a number of pilot schemes in enterprise profit retention and experiments in agricultural reorganisation in selected regions (Rana and Hamid, 1996:11).

It can be argued that this novel approach towards diversification in agriculture was the first sector that happened to be the focus of experimental economic reforms. What is most significant in the Chinese case is the fact that both factions in the Chinese leadership, from the start, have incorporated into their development strategies not only economic considerations but also an equal emphasis on the ethical, cultural, and ideological transformation of the human individual in their social group.

The reforms of the second phase in China (1982–1984) focused on the rural economy. The extension of the locally-initiated ‘household responsibility system’ in farming, in combination with reduced procurement quotas, higher prices, and more direct links between effort and reward, allowed the rural economy to increase at a rate of 17 per cent (Rana and Hamid, 1996:11). Thus the development of the private sector was

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<sup>6</sup> However, in contrast to Rana and Hamid (1996), Hodder (1992) suggests five periods of economic transition in China and sees the significance of the period from 1988 to 1992 due to the rise of *siying qiye* (privately run enterprises), that were very distinct from the smaller *getihu* (individual enterprises).



initially promoted by the State in rural areas. This fact is very important for understanding further economic activities in the development of private education.

It was in the remote areas that the implementation of 'isolated' elements in this process began, far from the central part of China. The experimental implementation of a contract system of responsibility for individual households was regarded purely as the base for further directions in economic development. From the contract responsibility system through the form of specialised households in economic activities, the process of establishing of private economic units (which do not always carry on the activities associated with the agricultural sector) was successful.<sup>7</sup> It also added to the diversification of what had been a centralised economy. The diversified sectors of rural and provincial became more independent. The introduction of capitalistic elements into agriculture encouraged the centrally planned process of a diversified economy to go ahead towards further diversification in other industries.<sup>8</sup>

This led to conflict between centralised political forces and the decentralised sectors of economy – the main emphasis of government policy was to strike a balance between them, because, as Ogden pointed out, “in fact, provincial leaders have simply refused to permit greater central control of their economies, whether in planning, fiscal policy, or taxation policy” (Ogden, 1992:86).

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<sup>7</sup> As Neil Gregory, Stiyen Tenev, and Dileep Wagle (2000) noticed that the contract responsibility system became a fundamental reform in agriculture because economic management developed to household. Some households then specialised in nonagricultural activities and became *zhuanehu* (specialised households).

<sup>8</sup> The importance of the experimental agricultural reform as the first step of the development of private sector has to be seriously considered due to the fact that “their private nature could be ignored for the time being and obviated the need for guidelines or regulations dealing with them as such” (Gregory, Tenev, and Wagle, 2002:20).

The main target of the third period (1985–1990) was the improvement of the economic system in urban areas. To meet this goal the Chinese government carried out reform measures in the areas of planning, taxation, finance, pricing, wages, overseas trading, and management. As Rana and Hamid pointed out, “almost everything was liberalised: resources for enterprise management, banking regulation, and private enterprise development” (Rana and Hamid, 1996: 35). The relaxation of the open-door policy for direct foreign investment, originally instituted under the 1979 Joint Venture Law, permitted the concentration of foreign investment in the SEZs. The introduction of this ‘sparkling program’ had, as its purpose, the transfer of advanced science and technology from overseas into China’s rural areas and assistance in the establishment of specialised households or profitable enterprises (Pomfret 1996). Closing down inefficient enterprises became acceptable under the reform mantra of ‘socialism with Chinese characteristics’. Thus the reinforcement of central government control over both the macro-economy and the distribution of resources were set up as the main goals of reform during this period. Policies were implemented to encourage exports and to limit imports by the introduction of managerial reforms in order to assume full responsibility for production under the “director responsibility system” (Ogden, 1992: 90). The government put more emphasis on the “dual contraction’ aimed at tightening bank credit and curtailing government expenditures” (Rana and Hamid, 1996: 37). The specific economic goal for education authorities consisted in a massive expansion and development of scientific and technological higher education as the key to economic restructuring (Parkins 1985).

The fourth period (1990–the present) was characterised by a strong push towards a market-oriented type of ‘socialist market economy’ and the progressive reduction of central planning. The significance of the speech by Deng Xiao Ping in 1992 during his visit to Shenzhen was that it inaugurated a new era of a strong push by the government towards opening up markets even further. He reviewed the role of education as a tool both to control the masses and to administer the ideology; education was categorised as an instrument for the modernised national economy. Recognising the increasing openness of China’s economy, the government initiated a number of reforms, which provided the appropriate fiscal tools for a market-based economy, namely: tax sharing, accounting regulation, and a budget system (Harrold and Lall, 1993). The first phase of housing reform focused on expanding the resources available for financing private housing (Overholt 1993).

Economic growth and economic reform were accompanied by their corresponding problems: inflation, corruption, and growing income disparities (Rana and Hamid 1996). Some degree of decentralisation occurred, with the allocation of high school and university graduates to jobs.<sup>9</sup> Since 1978 China has gradually implemented reforms that encourage a general rise in the standard of living, the availability of quality consumer goods for domestic consumption and for export, a boom in construction and modern communication technology, and the development of a private market in economy and education, where the capitalistic elements of a free market are combined with the state-controlled ideology of communism. In 1990, the growth rate of the GNP was 12.6 per cent, reaching 2.2 trillion *yuan*, the total consumers’ deposits in the banks reached 184.1 billion, and in the same year, urban

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<sup>9</sup> As Cho (1998) concludes, “after price liberalization and inflation in 1988 and the Tiananmen incident in 1989, China focused on stability rather than economic growth.” (Cho, 1998:7).

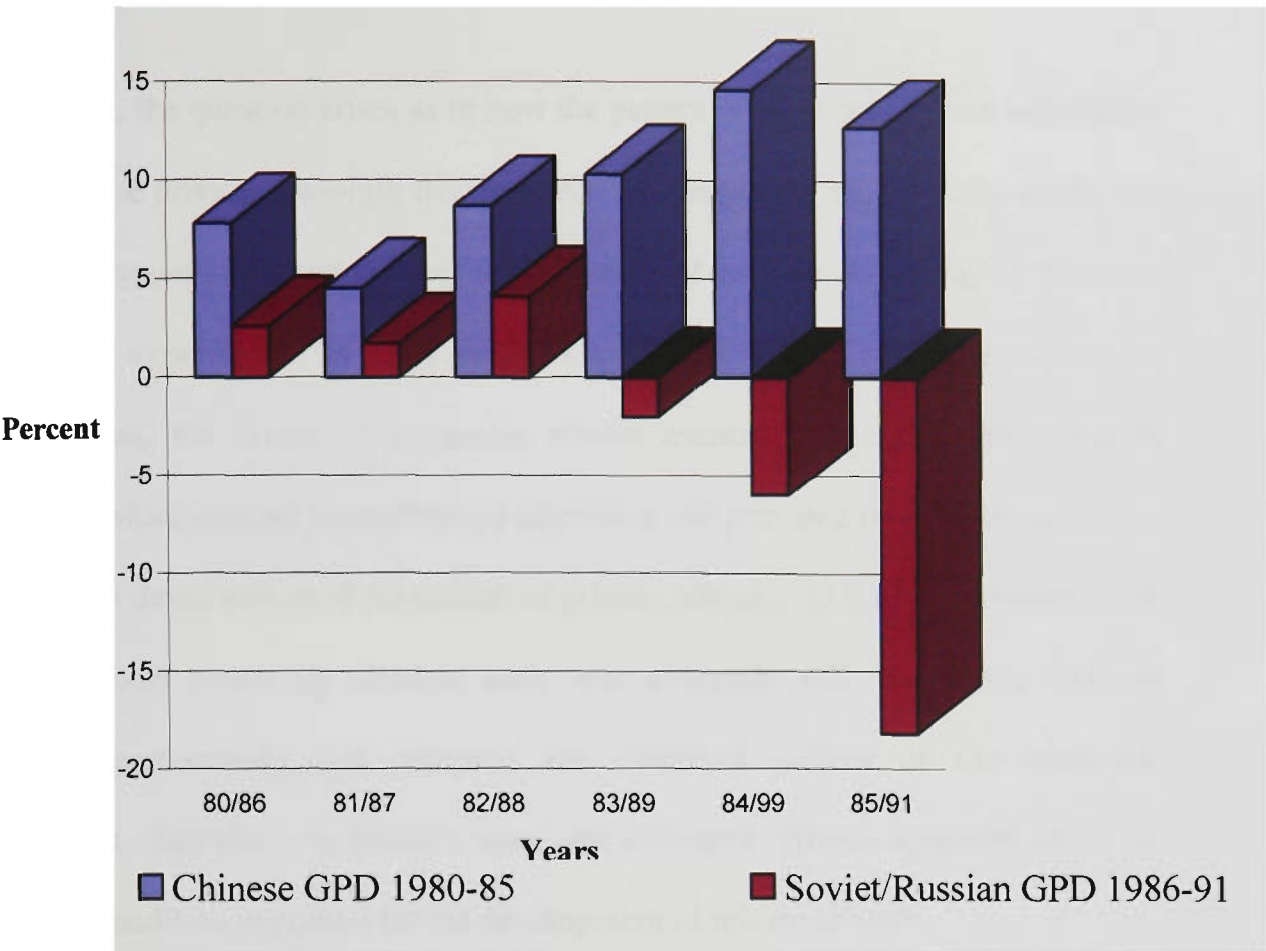
per capita income increased 68.1 per cent over that in 1980 (Cheng 1994). In contrast to the Chinese version of gradual transition<sup>10</sup>, Russia in the year of 1991 exercised a “shock therapy” (Gerber and Holtt, 1998). Almost overnight the centralised economy was swept away, along with communist ideology. The new era of the Russian society was labelled as “a bad case of predatory capitalism” (Hedlund, 1999:1) and characterised by ensuing crises in the economy, and in social and political life (World Bank Report 1992).

The outcomes of economic reforms were the most dramatic during the yearly 1990s. During the first three years after the implementation of economic reform, both societies demonstrated a similar tendency towards growth in GDP (in China it is called the Gross National Product index, GNP; in Russia it was Net Material Product, NMP). After a few years both countries experienced slightly declining performances during the second phase of economic transition. But the contrasting results in economic performance became clearer after the introduction of “shock therapy” in the Russian economy: this caused massive “hyper-stagnation”, with dramatic consequences in Russian social life and economy (World Bank Report 1992). Therefore, as Nolan (1995) noted, in the first six years of economic reform, the growing gap between the Chinese and Russian economic performances became a matter of theoretical discussion, within the framework of Transition Theory, which has raised more questions than given answers. Figure 8.1 demonstrates the alternative character of economic outcomes.

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<sup>10</sup> This model became subject to the criticism that the focus of the economic reform does not meet the exclusive large and important trends in the world, in particular in cultural and political dimensions (Gelb 1997).

**Figure 8.1. Chinese and Russian Economic Performances  
During the First Years of Transition**



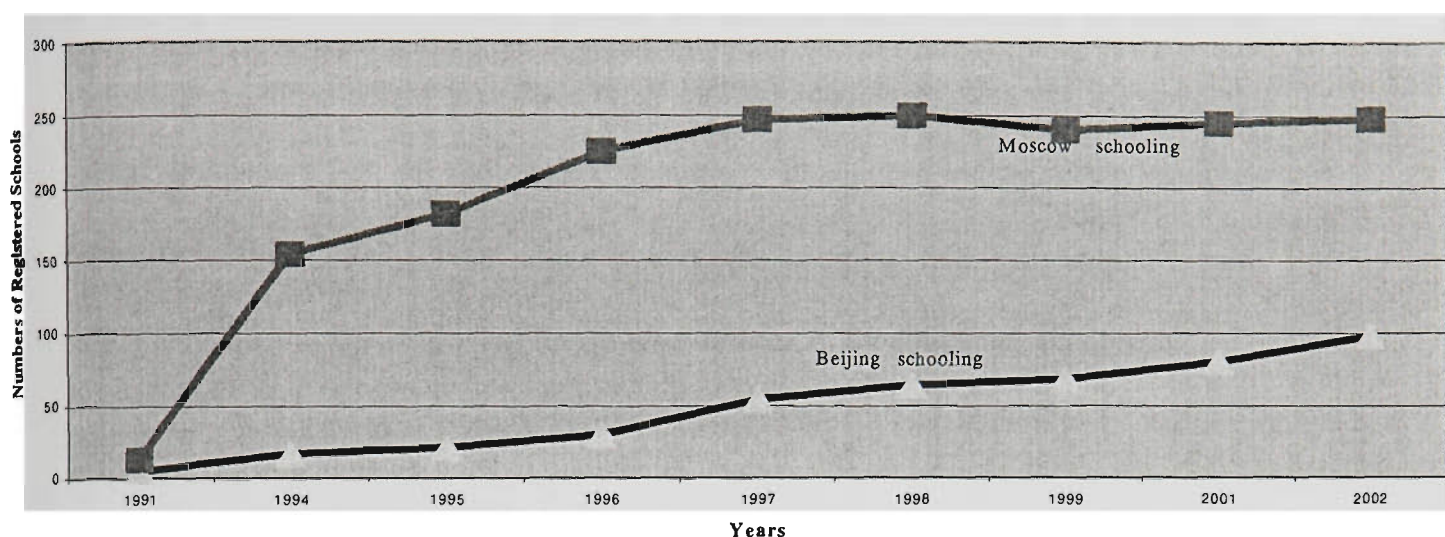
Years	80/86	81/87	82/88	83/89	84/99	85/91
China	7.8	4.5	8.7	10.3	14.6	12.7
Russia	2.6	1.7	4.1	-2	-6	-18.2

Source: IMF, State Statistical Bureau, 1992.

Nonetheless, the question arises as to how the pattern of economic reform reflects the pattern of the private schooling development. In Russia, during the early 1990s, the years of economic recession, the development of private schooling in Moscow nonetheless experienced its most intensive period of growth. It appears that, in Russia's case, the failure of economic reform assisted to the decentralisation in education, which created inequalities in education and provided favourable conditions for the swift development of the market of private schools. In Beijing, the number of private schools constantly climbed each year alongside with the steady Chinese economic performance and mirrored the continual pattern of the economic development. Therefore, in China's case, the economic growth appeared to be an important condition important for the development of private schools.

Figure 8.2 demonstrates the different outcomes of the development of private schooling.

Figure 8.2. Growth of Private Schooling in Beijing and Moscow, 1991 - 2002



Source: I.Vasilenko, Data Analysis, 2004.

Thus, a comparative analysis of the economic reforms in China and in Russia indicates that the economic failure of Russia in 1991 is in direct contradiction to the growth of private schools in the same year. The economic success of national reforms does not necessarily translate to similar results to the area of private schooling developments. Further, in relation to the development of private schooling, the impact of economic reforms cannot be seen as the driving force. This observation gives a new understanding, within the framework of Transition Theory, about the role of economic reforms in transitional societies as far as private schooling is concerned. Economic reform increases the speed with which the crystallisation of the middle class takes place, but it cannot be regarded as the primary cause of private schooling developing.

The following analysis of economic reforms and the development of private schooling in Beijing have indicated that the steady and gradual development of private schools in Beijing reflected the overall pattern of gradual implementation of economic reforms in China. Conversely, the rise of private schools in Moscow mirrored the radical characteristics of the 'shock therapy'. Thus, the relationship between economic reforms and private schools is more complex than followers of TT have comprehended and is a subject of further discussions in the following paragraph.

#### **8.4 Economic reforms and the character of private schooling development**

What is most significant in the Chinese case is the fact that China from the start has incorporated into their development strategies not only economic considerations but also equal emphasis on the ethical, cultural, and ideological transformation of the human individual in his or her social group, a policy agreed by both factions within the Chinese leadership. And these strategies correspond with many of the theories advocated by world scholars of development (Chen Kuan, 1980:28). Therefore, the comparative analysis of the stages of educational transformation and economic reforms demonstrates that in a transitional society the educational transformation is the first step towards transition. This sheds light on and can assist in a fresh reading of economic reforms in relation to changes in education under the aegis of Transition Theory.



**Table 8.2 China: Educational Transformation (1975–2004) and  
Economic Transition (1978–2004)**

Educational Transformation		Economic Transition	
Years	Characteristics	Years	Characteristics
1975 – 1985	Diversification in education	1978/79 – 1981	Diversification of concepts: Reform paradigm period
1986 – 1991	Decentralisation	1982 – 1984	Decentralisation of rural economy
1992 – 1998/99	Privatisation	1985 – 1990	Decentralisation
1999 – present	Marketisation	1990 to present	Marketisation

Source: I.Vasilenko, Data Analysis, 2004

Analysis of the direction taken by educational transformation that finally led to the development of private education reveals striking similarities between the patterns of economic reform with those of education reform. In this case, the pattern and contour of implementing reform are very similar compared to the approach taken to the development of the *minban* system that was already established in the country under the centralised rules. The gradual development of the newly implemented elements, whether in the system of education or in the economy, began with cautious experimentation in one particular segment in rural areas located quite distantly from Beijing.

In 1978 the state determined that this responsibility would rest with the rural household. The system of responsibility that resulted, in the shape of a formal contract, was gradually refined until it developed into a form of family-run private enterprise. Economic development under the impetus of reform was also begun within a selected sector of the economy, the new economic zones (NEZ). These new economic zones were a key part of the economic experiment (Pomfret 1996; Smart 1998) and are an analogy with the same pattern of the educational development in the SEZs.<sup>11</sup> The comparative analysis of approaches to transforming the education and agricultural and economic sectors reveals the identical characteristics of the pattern of the educational and economic reforms. The economists identify the gradual character of economic reforms as one of the most notable features of China's reform approach (Dorn 1998). The dual-track approach of the reforming of the economic sector is another sound characteristic of reform in China (Huang 2001).

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<sup>11</sup> Hawkins and Koppel (1991) notice the contradictory character of education under economic reform because "education plays its role in de-politicizing bureaucracy, but, at the same time, assists to politicizing primary skills" (Hawkins and Koppel, 1991: 191).

In relation to the educational transformation, the segmental pattern of the Open Door economic policy has an association within the gradual approach of the Open Door policy in education (Hayhoe 1989), when the *Beida* and *Qinhua* universities initiated the experiment of the Open door education policy that eventually spread across the country. At the level of schooling, the *minban* category of schooling became the next selected area for diversification. Thus, the educational transformation and its policy reforms have the identical pattern and logic of the implemented reform in the economy. However, a set of the characteristics is equally applicable to economic reforms as well as to education and reflects a cultural perception of the development: (1) deliberately targeted sections of aimed imperatives; (2) accumulation of financial resources in one particular area to-be-reformed and then a gradual evaluation of outcomes; (3) balanced implementation of decentralised policy in different types of contract systems; (4) circular spreading of reforming areas.<sup>12</sup>

Therefore, China's performance of policy implementation in the economy and in the development of private schooling can be characterised (as some scholars emphasise) as "Asian attitudes and values" (Overholt 1993): economic development and market-based reform have in general been viewed as a step-by-step, incremental process, to be pursued over a fairly extended time frame (Naya and Tan, 1996). Based on the cultural mode of Transition, these similarities are so striking that they can be misleadingly interpreted as the influence of economic reform.

In Beijing, the educational development started from planned experiments guided by the state. Through the gradual implementation, the state established a long-term

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<sup>12</sup> Naughton (1997) sees the Chinese transition differing from those in Eastern Europe in the specific sequence with which policies were adopted, and in particular transitional institutions, rather than in the ultimate objective.

strategy for the development of private schooling. The pyramidal structure from the top to the grass roots was inverted. The state became the major investor, controller and manager of private schooling.

In Moscow, the alternative development in the old system of education took a radical direction towards the marginalisation of the system of private schools from the old state-controlled system of education. It resulted in the forms of exclusive and elitist groups of schools that were privately run in Moscow. The system of private schooling in Moscow developed an inverted pyramidal structure. The demands from the grass roots dictate the final outcomes and thus control the development of private schooling.

Finally, the implication of the educational transformation resulted in different outcomes of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow. The system of private schools in Beijing is development controlled by the state and is an experimental periphery operating within the state-run system of education. In Moscow private schooling is a result of the random development that forms a marginalised system of education for the elite. Table 8.3 presents a summary of the culturally different modes of educational transformation in these countries.

**Table 8.3 Transformation of Education in China and in Russia: Cross-Cultural Analysis**

<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Education Transformation in China</b>	<b>Education Transformation in Russia</b>
Starting point	Before economic reforms (1974/75)	Before economic reforms (to 1984)
<b>Initiator/ Initiators</b>	Group of educators close to the State's political platform on education	Educators/Individuals opposed to the State's political/social platform on education
<b>Mode:</b> Primary goal	Increase of literacy rate of population up to the standard of economically developed countries.	Forming alternative education as an opposition to the old system of education/ Maximisation of individuals' needs
Role of the state	Active	Passive
Forms	Planned experimental zones and development	Organised exclusive and elitist lines in secondary education
<b>Approach:</b> Method	Gradual implementation	Rapid implementation
Strategy	Long-term strategy	Short-term strategy
Direction	Pyramidal structure	Inverted pyramidal structure
<b>Outcomes</b>	Controlled development	Random development in education and marginalisation of private schooling

Source: I.Vasilenko, Data Analysis, 2004.

## 8.5 Social attitudes towards private schooling in Beijing and in Moscow

The comparative analysis of the parents' surveys collected in the private schools of Beijing and Moscow during the period from 1999 to 2002 indicates that the social acceptance of private schools in the country-in-transition is a very complicated process and shows that the received wisdom about private schooling in transitional societies is inadequate. The sensitivity of societies-in-transition to this issue includes several issues. Firstly, different groups of parents express different levels of expectation and social satisfaction in respect to different categories of private schooling. Secondly, the character of social acceptance of private schools is a changeable phenomenon and with time can endorse the positive attitude as well as the negative. And at last, the social acceptance of private schools is culturally given and reflects a historical perception of private schooling in the Chinese and Russian societies.

In China, prior to the Cultural Revolution, the system of private schools was highly respected by Chinese society as the product of the elite and was regarded as a marginalised schooling system affiliated with an intellectually-advanced social group of scholars (Tiehua 1996). The functioning of private schools was banned due to the Communist egalitarian doctrine and private schools were abolished. During the Cultural Revolution, the Communist Party directly orchestrated the social attitude towards private schooling and, as a result, the concept of private schooling was totally rejected by society. After the Open Door policy, there was a tendency showing a shift away from the social rejection of private schooling towards cultural acceptance (Hu W. 2000). This study reveals that public opinion about private schooling is varied and depends on the category of private schools, and, thus, indicates that any survey

conducted on private schooling should be more specific than a random questioning of the public.

The fieldwork conducted in Beijing (1999) shows that the parents of children studying in different categories of private schools expressed different attitudes towards private schooling. The scope of opinion about a private school ranges from a high level of satisfaction to a lower level of satisfaction with the teaching performance of private schools, but overall a majority of parents finds themselves in a difficult situation when faced with the question ‘Do you think the development of private schooling is a positive development?’ (see Table 8.4 below that demonstrates the result of the survey).

Table 8.4 Data Analysis of Social Attitudes towards Private Schooling in Beijing

Schools and returned numbers of parents questionnaires	“Do you think the quality of education in the privately-run schools is higher compared to state-run schools?” (per cent)					“Do you think the development of private schooling is a positive development?” (per cent)		
	Yes	No (reasons for it)			Difficult to answer	Yes	No	Difficult to answer
		High Price	Poor Facilities	Poor Teaching				
Beijing International School <i>Shunyi</i> (BISS) (5)	100	0	0	0	0	100	0	0
<i>Ren Ming Da Xue Xiexiao</i> (56)	21	3	56	5	15	25	30	45
Beijing <i>Xibahe</i> No. 4 Elementary Secondary School (10)	40	50	5	5	0	50	30	20
<i>Minban Tong Ren Xuexiao</i> (21)	35	17	21	22	5	15	50	35
<i>Beijing Huangpu High School</i> (24)	18	17	35	25	5	45	40	15
<i>Beijing Shi Xian Xuexiao</i> (Shi Xian College) (18)	50	10	10	18	12	32	50	18
Beijing's <i>Zhengze</i> Middle School (10)	60	16	10	2	12	70	15	15
Beijing Sino-Bridging Foreign Language School (9)	40	12	22	2	24	45	25	30
<i>Huijia</i> Educational Enterprise (5)	100	0	0	0	0	100	0	0

*Note:* This survey also includes a participation of the parents from the schools *Minban Tong Ren Xuexiao*, the Beijing Sino-Bridging Foreign Language School.

*Source:* Irina Vasilenko, Data analysis of Parents’ Survey, Fieldwork, Beijing, 1999-2003.



The most certain positive answer (100 per cent) was given by parents whose children studied in two categories of schools – international schools and elite schools. However, the majority of parents from the *minban* schools gave a less decisive answer. For instance, parents from *minban* category of schools could not identify their position in relation to this question. In *Ren Ming Daxue Xiexiao* 20 per cent per cent answered the question positively and 35 per cent saw the development of private schools as a negative tendency in the system of Chinese education, while 45 per cent of parents found it difficult to answer this question. In *Ming Ban Tong Ren* school 15 per cent of parents gave positive responses, 35 per cent gave negative answers and 50 per cent could not answer this question. Such a reaction reflects the undeveloped capacity of the *minban* category of private schooling in terms of teaching resources, finance and facilities. All of these factors assist in forming the negative perception of private schooling as the system of school of “the second choice students” (Tang 2000; Wang P. 2001). The *minban* category of private schooling is the most widespread category of private schools across Beijing and therefore can be misleading in relation to the reaction of the society to private schooling.

However, in contrast to the *minban* category of private schools, parents from the category of *selide xuexiao* indicate a positive reaction towards the development of private schooling. Thus, 70 per cent of parents from the Beijing's *Zhengze* Middle School answered ‘yes’, and 15 per cent of parents negatively identified the development of private schooling, with a further 15 per cent finding it difficult to answer. The reaction of parents from the Beijing Sino-Bridging Foreign Language School showed the same inclination (45 per cent – ‘yes’, 25 per cent – ‘no’, 30 per cent – ‘difficult to answer’). The reactions of parents from the category of the

shadowed school *Beijing Xibahe* No. 4 Elementary Secondary School also showed a similar tendency (50 per cent – ‘yes’, 30 per cent – ‘no’, 20 per cent – ‘difficult to answer’). Therefore, the social acceptance of private schooling in Beijing depends on the particular type of private schooling and reflects the level of satisfaction of the parents’ and students’ needs.

Overall, the result of the survey reveals a range of answers given by parents whose children studied in the system of private schooling in Beijing and demonstrates that the social acceptance of private schooling in China is far from a positive and enthusiastic attitude towards privately-run schools even among the primary customers and varied depending on the particular category of private schools. On the ladder of privately-run schools, the parents from less elite schools express more negative concerns towards private schooling; and, vice versa, the parents from schools on the top of the ladder demonstrate a more enthusiastic approach. Our results contradict the conclusion about the positive attitude towards private schooling (Ling 1996) and confirm a great concern expressed among Chinese in relation to private schooling (Yimin 1996).<sup>13</sup>

The survey also indicates a range of opinions about the quality of education in the privately run schools compared to the state-run schools. Parents from the *minban* category of schools (*Ren Ming Da Xue Xuexiao*, *Ming Ban Tong Ren*, *Beijing Huangpu High School*) recognise the lower quality of education compared to the state-run school. The exception was the results of a survey of parents from the *Beijing*

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<sup>13</sup> According to Yimin (1996), in 1993 a random public survey in Beijing of 488 parents from the state-run schools shows that 89 per cent of parents were concerned about the system of private schools; 69 per cent considered this development unavoidable; 62 per cent were concerned about the quality of education on privately-run schools; and 88 per cent of parents did not plan to send their kinds to privately-run schools.

*Shi Xian Xuexiao*: they were equally divided about the quality of education in this school. Parents from *silide xuexiao* category (Beijing's *Zhengze* Middle School), *helide xuexiao* (*Huijia* Educational Enterprise) category and independent schools (BISS) identified the quality of education as higher compared to the state-run schools. The number of these schools is few and can be easily lost in the statistic involving a number of *minban* schools. However, the acceptance of private schooling among parents of these categories indicates the social shift of public cohesion and the continued evolution of private schooling towards an internationally accepted type of education. It is also interesting to notice that these categories offer intensive English language training, with the cooperation of overseas experts, as a part of the supplementary program.

Further, the results of the parents' survey in Beijing showed that parents of different categories of schools are concerned about different commodities. Parents from the *silide xuexiao* category and the *helide xue xiao* category are primarily concerned about the high schooling fees. The majority of parents of the *minban* category and the category of shadowed schools are not only happy with schooling fees and concern about facilities and teaching quality. So, parents from the *minban* category of schools, firstly, expressed their concerns about poor facilities, secondly, about the cost of studying, and, lastly, about the quality of teaching. Therefore, the outcomes of our survey show that parents from different categories of schools worry, in the first place, about the tuition fees and cost of education. In line with demands of all parents around the world (Tinbergen 1996), Chinese parents want to have affordable private schools with satisfactory facilities and a good quality of education for their children .

The altered opinion among parents using private schooling in Beijing demonstrates that Chinese society has manifold cultural perceptions towards private schooling. The survey detected a strong link between the level of parents' satisfaction and the particular category of private schools their children attended. These responses indicate that the system of private schools in Beijing is arguably part of a process in the on-going development towards a crystallization of public opinion on the sub-system of private schooling after a prolonged time of rejection by the society.

The analysis of our survey conducted among the parents of private schools in Moscow demonstrates the high level of satisfaction of parents' demands in relation to educational services provided by private schools. Table 8.5 shows that the social welcome of private schools in Moscow compared to those in Beijing is also higher and also indicates that the parents adopt a positive attitude towards private schooling. Thus, the survey indicates that all parents (100 per cent) have a positive attitude towards the development of private schooling in the private schools *Premier*, *Myslitel*, *Venda*, *Economicheskaja shkola*. The majority of parents (75 per cent) of the parents in *Economicheskaja shkola* agreed that the development of private schooling is a positive tendency, five per cent of parents answered negatively and twenty per cent could not give an answer. A similar tendency was detected in the school *Litsei Stolichnyj*, where the majority of parents (86 per cent) hold a positive attitude towards private schooling and only 14 per cent found this question difficult to answer.

This survey also detects that the majority of parents of children studying in private schools is convinced about the higher quality of education in the private sector of schooling compared to the state-run schooling system. Thus the parents from schools

*Premier* (100 per cent), *Venda* (100 per cent), *Economicheskij Litsei* (100 per cent) are assured that the quality of education in the privately-run schools is higher compared to state-run schools. The majority of parents from *Economicheskaja shkola* (90 per cent), *Litsei Stolichnyj* (96 per cent), and *Myslitel* (76 per cent) indicate that the education in private schools is better, compared to the state-run schools. A lesser number of parents see the standard of quality of education in private schools as the same as the state schools.

**Table 8.5 Data Analysis of the Social Attitude towards Private Schooling in Moscow**

Schools and numbers of returned parents questionnaires	“Do you think the quality of education in the privately-run schools is higher compared to state-run schools?” (per cent)					“Do you think the development of private schooling is a positive development?” (per cent)		
	Yes	No (reasons for it)			Same	Yes	No	Difficult to answer
		High Price	Poor Facilities	Poor Teaching				
1. <i>Economicheskaja shkola</i> (52)	86	0	0	0	14	75	5	20
2. <i>Litsei Stolichnyj</i> (20)	80	0	0	0	20	86	0	14
3. <i>Premier</i> (18)	61	0	0	0	39	100	0	0
4. <i>Myslitel</i> (12)	83	0	0	0	17	100	0	0
5. <i>Venda</i> (18)	66	0	0	0	34	100	0	0

*Note:* this survey includes the opinion of parents from *Economicheskaja shkola*, Moscow.  
*Source:* I. Vasilenko, Data Analysis, 2000–2004.

The results of questionnaires on private schooling in Moscow demonstrated that parents do not have any complaints regarding the high price of tuition fees, facilities, and quality of teaching. The results of my survey were conducted among parents of students at private schools. It partially explains the different outcomes to the results that were received by the Educational Committee of Saint-Petersbourg who conducted a survey in the state-run system of schooling in 1995 (*Chastnaja shkola* 1995).<sup>14</sup>

There are several reasons to explain these differences. First, our survey was conducted among parents of private schools and did not involve the state-run system of schooling. Second, our survey was conducted in Moscow, not in St-Petersburg. Compared to private schooling in St-Petersburg, private schooling in Moscow offers a wider spectrum of educational service and focuses not only on the elite social strata, but also extends its service to the middle class. Finally, the system of private schools in Moscow represents more matured development compared to the system of private schools in St-Petersburg. It includes a bigger number of schools, large networking operating in Moscow, bigger classes and plentiful human resources.

The results of my survey demonstrate that a cultural shift has occurred in Russian society in the late 1990s in relation to popular attitudes to private schools. If, in the

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<sup>14</sup> According to *Chastnaja shkola* (1995) the parents of students in the state-run schools express the positive attitude towards charging the moderate level of fees in the state-run schools for additional educational service. The majority of parents of the state-run schools have a little information about the additional service that they have to pay for. In fact, parents do not see the differences between an additional payment for the supplementary service and the compulsory fees charged by the state. The majority of parents see the fact of paying for the additional educational service in the state-run school as the step towards private education. The additional fees charged by the state-run schools are highly respected among parents who understand this as a step to the higher level of social reputation of the state-run school.

middle of the 1990s, most surveyed Russians had a sceptical attitude towards the development of private schooling and preferred the familiar pathway to the tertiary system via the state-run system, by the beginning of the millennium the situation of private schools in Russian society had changed. The private schools in Moscow became highly respected due to the advanced quality of educational service compared to the state-run schools. The individualised programs offered by private schooling became a fashionable trend in the society. The state-run schools that began to offer a diversified curriculum copied this trademark of private schooling. The social prestige of private schools has become elevated in the society.

Nowadays, to study in a private school in Moscow is prestigious and expensive. It is a sign of wealth that reflects a social respect. Private schooling provides a steady pathway towards assured study in the future. It is the guaranteed entrance to the best universities in the country or overseas. Private schooling crystallises the social margins of the club of wealthy Russians from an early age. It is a system of grouping themselves exclusively.

## **8.6 The role of the state in private schooling**

This comparative analysis of the role of the state regarding the development of private schooling demonstrates the different role of the state in relation to the origin of private schools. In both cities, Beijing and Moscow, the appearance of private schools was triggered by social demands rather than being a product of the state's initiatives. Both transitional societies experienced a demand for private schooling as a process of educational transformation driven by the desire of fulfilling the individuals' goals.

My comparative analysis of the social forces that initiated the development of private schooling demonstrates that in both societies the idea of opening private schools was brought to life by different social groups. According to the data of the Beijing Municipality, the Department of Education, collected during the fieldwork in Beijing, in the year 1999, a range of social forces specific to Beijing initiated private schooling. These came from international educational groups, international and local entrepreneurs, local Party cadre retirees and celebrities, and retired educators. Thus, the first nongovernmental (*minban*) university *Zhonghua Shehui College University* was founded in 1982 (Teng and Guangcai, 2004). Since then, more than 30 full-time, privately-run universities and colleges have sprung up. In September 1992 Beijing had its first private elementary school, the *Jinghua Private School* (Lin 1994). In 2000, 48 or more private schools were advertising for students in the local newspapers; and another 90 are waiting to be approved to conduct privately-run secondary education.

In Moscow, parents, educators, prominent academics, businessmen and individuals representing a range of initiative groups, are involved in the development of private schooling. Fieldwork investigation illuminates that 35 schools were practising privately-run schooling before the legislation of private schools in 1992.<sup>15</sup>

However, the involvement of the state in the process of regulation of private schooling is different in China compared to Russia. In China the state takes a proactive role and plays a significant part in this new phenomenon in education - in order to establish its control over it. The close attention of the state to the

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<sup>15</sup> See Appendix 3. Table 2. List of Private Schools Practicing Non-government Education before the Enactment of the Law "On Education"(1992), p.498.



development of private schooling makes Chinese educators believe that the rise and development of private schools is closely related to the Chinese government's policy regarding such schools (Yimin 1996). Issued in 1985 the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the Reform of the Educational System" pointed out that local authorities should encourage and give guidance to the establishment of schools by state enterprises, social organisations, and individuals. In 1987 the 'Provisional Regulations on the Establishment of Schools by Societal Forces' provided some guidelines on the establishment and management of private schools. The Beijing Education Bureau, as far back as June 1989, published a set of 'Provisional Regulations in Regard to Certain Questions in Regard to Privately Established Regular Middle and Elementary Schools in Beijing,' which greatly encouraged the development of private schools. However, the real turning point in the history of private schooling became a speech delivered in the South during the trip to Shenzhen economic zone in 1992 by the former president of China. This speech confirmed the positive attitude of the state towards the development of private schooling and encourages the development of new schooling.

As a result, from September 1992 to May 1993 the Beijing Education Bureau received more than 80 applications, of which schools organised by social and economic organisations made up 20 per cent, those organized by organisations and individuals from Hong Kong, Macau or foreign countries made up 25 per cent, and those by individual citizens made up 55 per cent. Shenyang city's Education Commission received 42 applications.

The 1993 “Outline of Chinese Educational Reform and Development” confirmed that the state adopts a policy of active encouragement, vigorous support, correct guidance and enhanced management of schools established according to law by social organizations and individual citizens. Immediately after this, the government promulgated a set of regulations concerning the development of privately-run tertiary organizations and schooling: “Provisional Regulations on the Establishment of Nongovernmental Institutions of Higher Learning” (1995) and the “Regulations on Nongovernmental Schools” (1996). At the same time, local authorities received a mandate to release the regulations on nongovernmental schools taking into account the local conditions. For instance, by 1996 Shanghai city formulated two important documents: “Provisional Regulations on Nongovernmental Schools” and “Measures for the Management of Schools in Shanghai Cooperatively Established by Organizations and Individuals from Out of the Borders”; Shenyang city of Liaoning Province published “Trial Measures Concerning Nongovernmental Full-Time Elementary and Middle Schools and Vocational and Technical Schools”; Zhejiang Province announced “Zhejiang Province Measures (Trial) for the Management of Nongovernmental Elementary and Middle Schools”.

In Russia, the state played a passive role in relation to private schooling. From the beginning private schooling developed in active resistance to the state. Educators expressed their political position of democracy via the declaration of the new programs, methods and innovative curriculum in education. This was regarded as a new fresh vision of democracy in schooling (Kerr 1998). Privately-run schools appeared against the state-regulated status of other schools. In an opposition to the old system of education, the privately-run schools offered an education focused precisely

on the needs of customers and individuals. Through the maximisation of the educational services tailored to the individual, private schooling was formed as an exclusive and elitist secondary education for those who could afford to pay.

Due to the political and economic turmoil, the state adopted a passive role towards the initiatives occurring in the private schooling sector and thus, private schooling was given to the mercy of the “invisible hands of the market” (Kornai 1990). The merciless competition swept away a number of private schools, which appeared during the 1991–1995 period, and a short-term strategy of survival skills was adopted. One of the characteristics of this strategy was the adoption of, as we named it, an inverted pyramidal structure of the establishment. This reflects a direction of the relationship between the demands of the grass roots and the reaction of the state that, till the legislation of the private schooling in 1992, simply ignored the fact of the appearance of private schools. The passive role of the state toward the changes occurring in the system of education after the economic reforms resulted in the random development in education and ended in the marginalisation of private schooling.

## **8.7 Conclusion**

A comparative study of private schooling in China and Russia shows that there are many forms and approaches to educational transformation, closely related to a set of social, economic, and political agendas under the different cultural conditions in the various transitional societies. The link between the educational transformation and economic reform is very significant in relation to a cultural understanding of the rise of private schooling. The local market has produced a great influence on private

education in terms of speed and cost; however, it cannot be considered as the main driving force behind educational transformation.

Beijing and Moscow demonstrated that the educational transformation started before the implementation of economic reforms in both societies. In both societies there were several groups of educators who took the initiative and moved towards the individualised type of education. However, in China these groups reflected the state ideology, while in Russia the radically-oriented groups of educators and individuals were in opposition to the state. These different approaches of the state towards the development of private schooling form different modes of the establishment of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow. The role of the state in China towards the development of private schooling is active in surveillance and proactive in controlling, compared to the passive observation of the state towards private schooling in Moscow.

## CHAPTER 9

# GLOBALISATION AND PRIVATE SCHOOLING IN BEIJING AND MOSCOW

### 9.0 Introduction

The main aim of this final chapter is to comprehend the role of globalisation in relation to the development of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow. The systems of private schools in Beijing and Moscow reflect different economic and social conditions and are framed within each country's specific cultural domains. To date, the literature of private schools development in China and Russia has emphasised the surge in the domestic market growth (Bray and Borevskaya, 2001), the onset of democracy (Eklof and Dneprov, 1993), or the existence of educational reforms (Birzea 1994), and has paid little attention to the influence of the world market in education (Bray 2003; Ginsburg 1991). However, a study of global trends in education for the last three decades provides convincing evidence that

[g]lobalisation, marketisation and quality/efficiency driven reforms around the world since 1980s have resulted in structural and qualitative changes in education and policy, including an increasing focus on the “lifelong learning for all” (a ‘cradle-to grave’ vision of learning) of the lifelong learning paradigm and the “knowledge economy” and the global culture.

(Zajda, 2005: xix).

Despite the cultural differences, there is a common paradigm of educational changes related to deliverable goals that

have shifted from the human capital and supply determined models of economic planning based on enrolment, inputs and outputs, and the market forces, to a multi-dimensional and national, national and sub-national forces on education and society (....) However, the principle of providing quality education for all, in view of the presently widening gap of wealthy, power, income SES disadvantage and inequity between the rich and the poor locally and globally continues to remain a myth. (Zajda, 2005: 18)

This comparative analysis of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow has revealed some common tendencies, which were detected beyond the cultural constrain of only particular country-in-transition and which reflect the increasing popularity of private schooling across the globe (Baker and Holsinger, 1997). The development of private schooling inside the state-run systems of education within China and Russia, as they undergo Transition, reflect some common tendencies that are consistent with common educational patterns across the globe (Zajda 2005).

This raises certain questions: Does the transformation in the nature of knowledge across the globe play any role in relation to the development of individualised education? What power does globalisation in education have to affect and shape a state-run system of education in China and Russia? What consequences does it have for local schooling? Is globalisation should we consider as one of the forces that could foster the development of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow?

To arrive at some answers, this chapter takes into account the external factor, globalisation in education, which motivates common changes in schools' administration (Frase-Abder 2002) and in curriculum (Great Britain Department for Education and Skills 2000) common forms of pedagogy (Davis M. 1998) and personal goals in education (Davies L. 1998).

For that reason the analysis of international contacts during different stages of educational transformation, educational co-operation with overseas partners, the character of education, and the changes occurred in curricula of private schools, are discussed here. The unpublished data gained during field trips in Beijing and Moscow (1999–2004), will be supported by previously published sources in Chinese and Russian (translated by the researcher) in order to illuminate the significance of world-wide forces driving the market of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow.

### **9.1 Educational transformation and international educational engagement**

The analysis of educational transformation in China, presented in Chapter 5, and in Russia, in Chapter 6, demonstrated that the development of private schooling in both countries is a part of the educational transformation which consists of four common stages: Diversification, Decentralisation, Privatisation, and Marketisation. Table 9.1 outlines the duration of these stages during the educational transformation in these countries.

**Table 9.1 Stages of Educational Transformation in China and Russia:**  
**Comparative Analysis**

STAGE	CHINA	RUSSIA	Description
Diversification	1974/1975 – 1985	1984–1989	A political and social conceptualisation of the new character of education
Decentralisation	1986–1991	1989–1991	Replacement of ‘mass education’ with ‘education for individuals’. Alternative schools’ appearance: legal in China and semi-legal in Russia
Privatisation	1992 – 1998/99	1991–1996	The rise of privately-run schools reflecting local market demands
Marketisation	Since 1999	Since 1996	Developing a mechanism, linking with the global market of education

Source: I. Vasilenko, Data Analysis, 2005.

A comparative analysis of the stages reveals that the duration of each stage can vary reflecting the fluid character of boundaries. For example, the stage of Diversification in China took more than a decade, from 1974 to 1986, Decentralisation took fifteen years (1986 to 1991), and almost seven years to establish the reflective mechanism of the local market demands (1992–1989/1999). The mode of educational transformation in China reflects the cultural approach of *yi-bu-yi-bu* (a step-by-step gradual approach) (Zhang Z. 1996), the slow and balanced development of the market of private schooling that was noticed among most Asian countries (Yencken, Fien and Sykes, 2000).



In contrast to the Chinese *yi-bu-yi-bu* (step-by-step) mode, in Russia and in some post-Soviet state, the educational transformation took the revolutionary approach (Tomiak 1992). The Russian experience of private schooling demonstrates a speedy alternative, where the diversification of schooling took only five years (1984–1989), Decentralisation lasted only two years (1998–1991), and there was only five years of the stage of Privatisation (1991–1996). Thus, the development of private schooling reflects different cultural approaches that resulted with the varied duration of each period: it could last more than decade, but it could also occur quickly.

This comparative analysis of the time frame for each stage illuminates the fact that to register the boundaries between the stages taking into account only the internal characteristics of private schooling is not always plausible. As the study revealed, the boundaries of each stage should be understood within an account of the internal and external driving forces due to some changes that occurred in private schooling beyond the local context. For example, during the period of Privatisation, private schooling in both countries has responded to culturally appropriate social demands and has developed specific characteristics, supplying potential clients for private schools according to the capacity of the local market. During the Marketisation period, private schools are still adjusting their connection with the local market of education, involving not only the private market of economy (Russia), but also government regulations (China). However, during Privatisation and Marketisation the external influence on private schooling received the separate validations of international contacts, forms, and characteristics.

In both countries, during Privatisation there were only partial implementations of international courses in the curriculum of some private schools. However, during Marketisation, private schools in Beijing and Moscow demonstrated a similar tendency towards developing international programs as a part of their supplementary curricula. The introduction in July, 2004, by the Royal Schools, of the British General Certification of Education (GCE) expanded the world-wide accepted examinations programs in China.<sup>1</sup> In Russia, in 2002, *Economicheskij Litsei* was the first private school in Moscow, to introduce the British General Certification of Education (BGCE) via the Oxford educational marketing group. Such incorporation of an international curriculum into the region is a rising trend that became a common occurrence among the elite and middle-class private schools in both cities.

There is also a different type of connection with the international provider of education during the different stages of educational transformation. During the period of Diversification of the schooling system in China (1974–1989) and Russia (1984–1988), both systems of education experienced a collateral influence of globalisation in education. These changes closely reflect the transformation in the nature of knowledge registered in the 1970s in industrial countries across the globe (Brown 1973). The questioning of the “mass education efficiency” (Deroek 1998) was not only a common characteristic of Chinese and Russian education, but was also in line with the shift experienced to the individualised type of education across the globe.

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<sup>1</sup> “The Royal School students represent part of a global education and training market that involve US\$2 trillion in 2002 according to World Bank figures. More than 10 percent of the global sector has been cornered by the private sector and the growth rate for the overall market is from 10 percent to 15 percent.[...] Britain’s general Certification of Education ( GCE) examinations programme authorised by Cambridge University has been introduced in China by , TNO, a listed Singaporean education group was granted a license in May by Cambridge to bring its GCE “0 Level” programme to China.[...] GCE education is not cheap. Students pay more than 30,00 yuan (US\$3,623) for better dormitories, dinners and top quality teachers” (Cited from <http://www.btmbeijing.com/contents/en/business/2004-07/focus/education>).

Such responses to the individual need in education are associated with the world-wide phenomenon of educational needs for individuals (Zajda 2004). Both systems of education experienced this simultaneous influence from the global market during the yearly periods of educational transformation.

The influence from the global market on private schooling demonstrates the progressive power within upcoming stages. The comparative analysis of international engagements during Privatisation and Marketisation demonstrated that the collateral character of the global market was replaced by the direct connection with the system of private schools in Beijing and Moscow. The increasing influence of the global market of education, in turn, reshapes the culturally appropriate characteristics and expands the local boundaries of private schooling. This direct connection with a provider of international education compels the capacity of private schools and helps each to compete with other private schools in the local market. Therefore, the connecting mechanism with global education during each stage is different.

For example, during Privatisation, private schooling in both countries established a connection with a provider of international education only via certain specialised schools in international education. In Beijing, this function was taken by the category of international independent schools, which had the capacity to offer international educational services and were moderated to meet the demands of expatriate parents. In Moscow, during the same period, the access to the global market of education was established by the elite and upper middle class category of private schools, in contrast to the rest of the private schools in Moscow, that owing to their undeveloped capacity, were able to reflect the needs of the local market only.

During Marketisation, the restricted access to the global market of education ended, with the start of the e-learning era and the establishment of a new mode of 'education without borders' in the private schooling of both countries. In both cities, as the case study of *Huijia* school (Beijing) and *Litsei Stolichnyj* school (Moscow) demonstrated, the new category of educational enterprises has directly initiated the bridging process between the local and the global markets of education. The tendency to establish a direct connection between a private school and the global market of education is one of the main characteristics of the stage of Marketisation. Both systems of private schools demonstrated the higher level of adaptation of international education to the local market.<sup>2</sup> The tendency of moving towards the global mode on the secondary education level via private schooling was noted in both Beijing and Moscow.

During the recent stage of Marketisation, the systems of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow are developing some of the responsibilities of a 'middle man' between a local and an international system of education. By exclusively preparing students for studying overseas, private schools in both countries disclose a similar tendency towards networking with the global educational community, but the networking technique, the direction and projection of international contacts are different in each country and are culturally determined. Table 9.2 summaries the tendencies and forms of educational contacts during the different stages of the educational transformation in China and Russia.

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<sup>2</sup> In China, in 2004, there were fifty licensed cyber sites that provided on-line educational resources and degrees to secondary and high education (Godfrey 2004).

**Table. 9.2 International Forms of Education in the Transitional China and Russia during the Main Stages of Educational Transformation**

Stage	Description	Tendency	International form of contacts
<b>Diversification</b> China: 1974/75-1985  Russia: 1984-1988	Response to a global movement of education towards educational service of individual needs	Occurrence of independent philosophy of education framed in old command system of education/ instructive tendency through the vertical type of administration	Approved by the state and politically correct academic visitors at the senior level of educational organisation
<b>Decentralisation</b> China: 1986-1992  Russia: 1989-1991	response to economic development and a cultural shift after the implementation of a new economic policy and social changes	Independent functioning of a new education element inside of the state system/ structuring of a new independent system of education/ newly appearing elements of horizontal infrastructure/ instructive tendency/ Limited vision towards international contacts	Academic exchange, conferences, Visiting and observing overseas educational organization at all levels of educational organisation
<b>Privatisation</b> China: 1992-1999  Russia: 1991-1996	Diversification of private schooling forms from semi-privately run schools to the wholly privatised	Function of a non-government system as an independent/ or semi-independent sub-system of education/ cooperating vertical and horizontal admin. Systems/ instant practical vision towards international contacts	Implementation of international courses (IB, bridging subjects of Supplementary education)/visiting scholars/ students' exchange/ intellectual exchange (co-books)
<b>Marketisation</b> China: since 2000  Russia: since 1996	Accumulation of private capital in education, seeking profitability of educational enterprises	Framed by the specific market each educational organization developed its capacity beyond reproach	International branches/ Borderless education/ Access to the global market of education through specialized schools

Source: I. Vasilenko, Data Analysis, 2004.

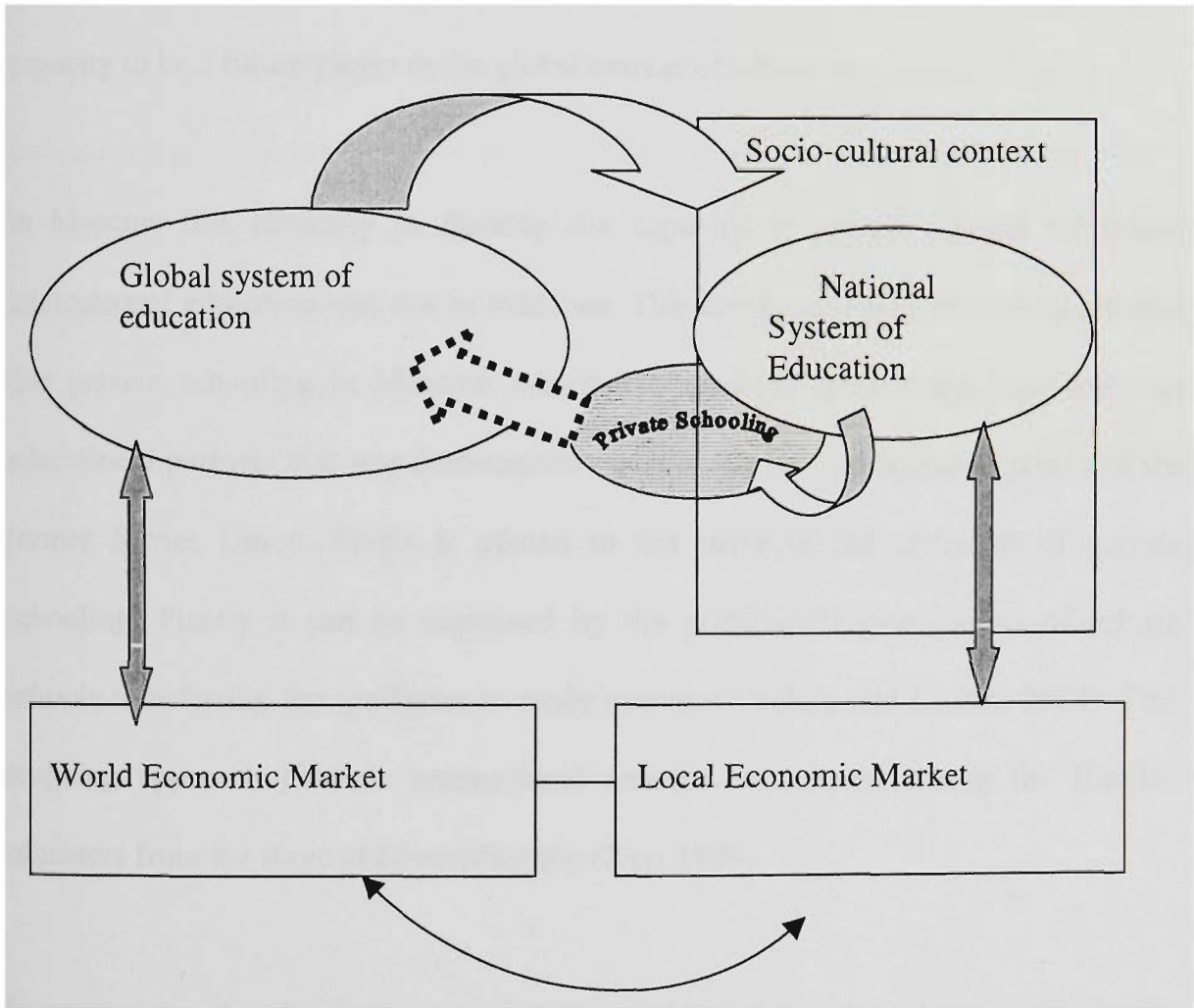
## **9.2 The approaches of private schooling towards the global market of education**

Despite the fact that private schools are extremely interested in an engagement with international education, private schooling in Beijing and in Moscow demonstrates two distinct approaches towards the market of global education that reflect their cultural differences.

Since the Colombo Plan from 1950, China has developed the passive-receptive mode, namely promoting international education as a part of internal affairs. As a result of it, in 1998, according to the President of Chinese Association of Universities and Colleges for Foreign Student Affairs, Yu Fuzeng, China hosted foreign students from 164 countries around the world. Among those countries the top 25 countries are: Japan (12,784), Korea (11,731), the United States (4,094), Indonesia (24,511), Germany (1,297), France (824), Australia (770), Russia (609), Thailand (512), Canada (508), Vietnam (471), Singapore (466), Italy (455), Malaysia (454), Nepal (423), United Kingdom (419), Mongolia (359), Pakistan (294), Laos (278), Sweden (211), Yemen (206), Philippine (185), Finland (177), and the Netherlands (156) (Bulletin of the Department of International Cooperation and Exchanges, 1998). The receptive approach towards international contacts in education shaped the character of private schooling. In China the role of private schooling, as an agent in international education, is also supplemented by developing the capacity of private schools within a projection to be competitive in the global market of education in the future.

As Figure 9.1 indicates, the system of private schools is the segment of secondary schooling operating in the shadow of the state-run system of education.

Figure 9.1 Globalisation and Private Schooling in Beijing, 1999–2003



WORLD TRADE ORGANISATION/ INTERNATIONAL  
INCORPORATION

Source: I. Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Data Analysis, Beijing, 1999–2003.

This supplementary character of privately-run schools provides a certain flexibility for engaging with the global market of education and for conducting experimentation approved by the state. This circular process of international engagement has created the conditions where the system of private schooling in Beijing is gaining surplus capacity to be a future player in the global market of education.

In Moscow this tendency to develop the capacity of private schools for future international education was not in evidence. This can be partly explained by the fact that private schooling in Moscow inherited a mode of networking with overseas educational partners that was demonstrably part of the foreign language policy of the former Soviet Union. Partly it related to the marginalised character of private schooling. Finally it can be explained by the profit-seeking ambitions of private schools transferring the graduates to study overseas (Vahtra and Liuhto, 2004). This outgoing approach towards international contacts was noted among the Russian educators from the stage of Diversification (Kerr 1989).

In contrast to the developing service for studying international programs in the Chinese *helide xuexiao*, the primary goals of private schools in Moscow is to offer “education without borders” that aimed at the study at the tertiary level locally or overseas. This structure has been established since 1996 within the context of certain private schools. Offering a continuing type of education, the elite and upper-middle class private schools developed an outward-looking structure of international engagement by sending their graduates overseas. The Russian non-government



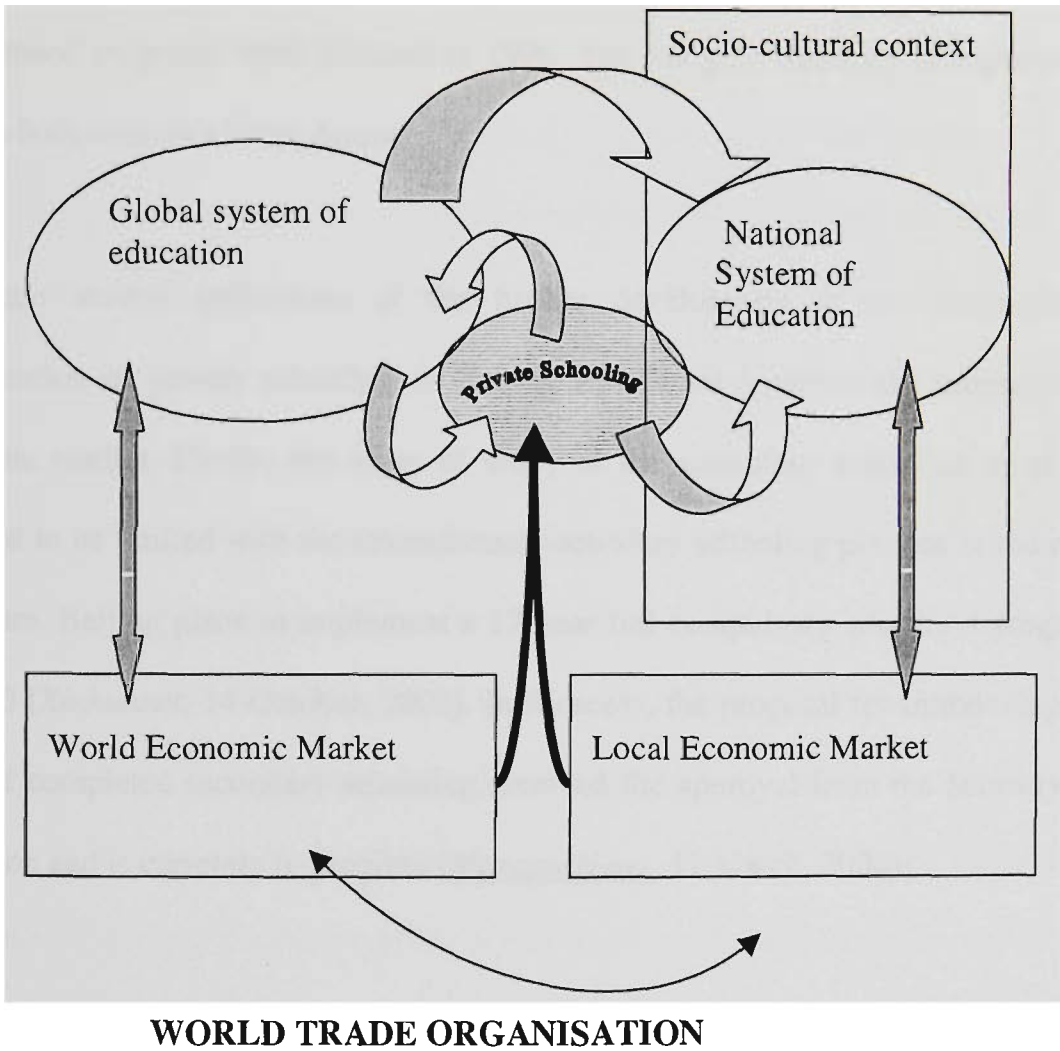
educational enterprises developed a limited educational service for students from remote areas of rich Siberia who were sent by parents to study in Moscow.

Statistics from the Moscow Passport Bureau are highly illustrative. As fieldwork revealed (Moscow 2004), during 2000–2004, there were 25, 000 students given permission to leave the country for study overseas.<sup>3</sup> 86 per cent of young Russians designated European countries and the USA: Great Britain (43 per cent); USA (20 per cent); Germany (10 per cent); France (7 per cent); Spain and Italy (6 per cent). Only 14 per cent went to study in New Zealand (4 per cent), Australia (3 per cent), and Japan (2 per cent). The remaining 5 per cent were spread between China, Singapore, and Malaysia. Therefore, the different approaches have significant consequences in relation to finding a new role for private schooling—bridging the global market of education. Figure 9.2 demonstrates the current marginal character of private schooling and its bridging role between the global market of education and the national system of secondary schooling.

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<sup>3</sup> This number does not include the category of students under the state-run exchange programs with some Asian countries.

**Figure 9.2    Globalisation and Private Schooling in Moscow, 2000-2004**



Source: I. Vasilenko, Data Analysis, 2004.

The tendency to integrate the local characteristics of private schooling with international education is a recently noted phenomenon in both countries. In Beijing the bridging role of private schooling first occurred in 2000, while in Moscow the first incorporated programs were initiated in 1996. The bridging tendency is expected to grow in both countries in the future.

There are several indications of the further development of the international incorporation of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow within the international education market. Firstly, the years of study at the secondary schooling level are expected to be unified with the international secondary schooling practice in the next few years. Beijing plans to implement a 12-year full compulsory education program by 2010 (*Xinhuanet*, 14 October, 2005). In Moscow, the proposal for introducing 12 years of completed secondary schooling received the approval from the Ministry of Education and is currently in progress (*Moscow News*, 11 March, 2004).

Secondly, both private schooling systems expect to enlarge and diversify the existing practice in relation to international suppliers operated on the local market. This tendency of enlarging the capacity for engagement with the international education market is driven by the specific characteristics of international markets in both countries. In China, the sagitarian market of international education attracted a number of less reputable international operators. The China Service Centre for Scholarly Education, a newly established gatekeeper organisation that verifies accreditation, has been inundated with complaints from aggrieved students, and this

has led to the compilation of a list of approved foreign universities. The Ministry of Education also plans to cut back on foreign education due to profit seeking motivations, and tighten control over agencies recruiting secondary students for foreign schools (*Xinhuanet*, 7 July, 2004). Compared to China, in Russia, the presence of international providers at the Russian market is limited due to the proactive approach towards international education and the independent character of private schooling. It allows for the private schools in Moscow to establish, with the international education providers, an outgoing arrangement without an involvement of the state and agencies.

### **9.3 International contacts: Forms, characteristics and implications for private schooling**

The comparative analysis of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow confirmed that the development of private schools is a part of the global movement towards a formation of the universal educational community.<sup>4</sup> One of the major impacts of globalisation has been the appearance of education for individuals in the system of education of China and Russia.

During Diversification, the local educational systems in China and Russia responded in the culturally appropriate forms of educational service run by the state. However, as was pointed out previously, changes that occurred in the old command systems of

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<sup>4</sup> As Townsend and Cheng (2000) noted, “education has moved from no provision for most (since labor was readily available) through different provisions to fit people to different tasks for different technology. We are heading into an age of communication and information and these two factors will reshape our understanding of what human enterprise might be. The new metaphor is based on information, and might be called the knowledge technology. For this to work, we need everyone on the planet to develop themselves to high level of knowledge. Thus the new metaphor for education might be the development of the global community” (Townsend and Cheng, 2000: 7).

education, have assisted in establishing the concept of “mass education in both countries. The state-run system of education in China and in Russia experienced a similar cultural shift by absorbing the ideas of radical education (in China) and democratic education (in Russia) that resulted with a movement from ‘mass education’ to ‘education for individuals’. But in China this process was controlled through the vertical power of the state.

In Russia this process received a less of a restraining order from the state, but as in China, was used as a tool for gaining political power. The instructive tendency for approving or disapproving of a new way of thinking did not stop changes that resulted with the development of alternative forms of education. Thus, the state-run schooling systems in both countries responded to the global phenomenon of “education for the individuals” (Zajda 2005) with the subsequent establishment of the culturally-appropriate alternative types of schools (Vasilenko 2000).

Hence, in both countries, the validation of globalisation (along with the significance of the local markets’ development) should be counted as one of the most significant influences towards the diversification of schooling. In order to compete with the international educational community, the Chinese government placed high expectations on programs to increase the level of literacy among the rural population. This goal could be met only by employing a new type of schooling that would cover the needs of rural illiterates reflecting the global tendency of the equal standard literacy across the globe (Steiner 1993). The system of rural *minban* schools was formed. The experimentation with rural *minban* schooling eventually led to the establishment of urban *minban* schooling, the new type of schools that gave a second chance for those

students who couldn't compete in the growing competition between students in the city. In the present global context of standardising qualities in education (Blumenthal 1996; Cloonaan 1994; Singh 1996; Tooley 2000), the *minban* system is open for the assistance from the international community to ensure further the alternative choices in education (Tooley 1999) .

The Open Door Policy in Education in China is the next significant outcome of globalisation (Hayhoe and Marianne 1997). The implementation of the Open door Policy Education in 1976 greatly assisted the configuration of a new category of students – the international student. Since the time when China inaugurated the opening-up and reform initiative, the international communication and cooperation in the education sector has migrated onto a new stage, characterising increasing the number of students studying abroad. As the archive record of Australian Embassy demonstrated, 1975 there were 245 Chinese students studying in Australia, in 1980 there were already 2,124 and by the end of 1985 there were 4888 students from mainland China came to study in Australia. The number of non-returned students also increased.

In Russia, there was little help and assistance from the state for alternative schooling during Decentralisation. The international contacts coming from different countries, also were meagre and covered the particular areas of cooperation at the tertiary level, based on the “politically correct” (Daniello 1995) contacts between educators on a personal base, academics (Lanzberg 1997) and public servants (Eklof and Dneprov 1993). The independent movement of *Eureka* registered the decentralisation at the

schooling level that began in the late 1980s and signified a tendency towards the unification of education.<sup>5</sup>

Starting from the initiatives of the independently thinking educators in the late 1980s, the Eureka group invented the first break through in the state's regulated teaching practice in the schools of the former Soviet Union. The spontaneous 'grass-roots' alternative educational assumptions (Holmes, Read, and Voskresenskaya, 1995) stated by this group reflected not only matters of the national context of Russian education, but also were subjected to some global educational imperatives occurring in the Russian system of education. First, the group promoted the main postulates of the universal system of education such as humanisation and diversification of education, along with the popularisation of a democratic style of teaching and learning, the concepts highly regarded in the West's schooling practices. Second, the emergence of new imported models, including a heavy stress on Montessori and Waldorf education was publicised by the Eureka group (Kerr 1995). Finally, the group revised an official 'mass education' postulate and re-directed Russian society towards the acceptance of freedom and pluralism in education, which changed the authoritarian politically, framed style of education with the diversified methods of the individually oriented pedagogy.

The influence of the global market on the development of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow has increased after the establishment of the local markets in the economy. In China and Russia this process became transparent during Privatisation

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<sup>5</sup> There is a number of very well written works (Gershunsky 1993; Jones 1994; Dneprov 1998; Kerr 1998) that have described in detail the history and the role of the *Eureka* group and its movement in Russian education. However, the reflection of a global aspect by this movement was left aside.

after developing the 'user-pays' principle in the local education markets that will be discussed in the following paragraph.

#### **9.4 Local markets and the tuition system**

The first implementation of the 'user-pay' principle in China was initiated in higher education. This tendency became transparent from 1984 when the tertiary institutions offered the first privately run tertiary courses. It was noted that newly introduced paid courses not only reflected a world-wide user-pays principle of competitive education under the market conditions, but it also signified a new era of Chinese education by establishing fee charged education, an extraordinary phenomenon in the state-run universities (Zhang Z. 1994).

At the tertiary level by the end of 1990s there was an explosion in interest in internationally recognised English courses. The MBA privately-run courses were introduced to most Chinese universities (Lewin, Hui, Little and Jiwei, 1994). By introducing privately-run courses, the universities had to implement more flexible and quite changeable management that had not only to be compatible with the new market but also had to reflect the social values of a society under the Communist regime.

Encouraged by the state, universities have strengthened links with industries and many universities changed their traditional courses and programs to meet the needs of economic and social developments (Levin 1987). Although some Universities have practised self-financed trade-related foreign language courses, mostly English, since the beginning of the 1980s, this principle was adopted by most of the Chinese universities by the end of 1997 (Hayhoe 1996).



At the secondary level, the consumer character of education (Townsend and Cheng, 2000) was firstly implemented in *minban* schools, targeting those students who were rejected by state-run schooling, but was fully developed by the several categories of private schooling.<sup>6</sup> The international schools and *helide xuexiao* in Beijing charge the tuition fees in US\$, while *silide xuexiao* schools adopted a flexible type of payment. One of the *silide xuexiao* groups prefer payment in US\$, another group charge in RMB, and sometime there is a combined method of payments, including partially in US\$ and partially in RMB. The system of *minban* schools operated only with the national currency.

In Russia, a 'user-pays' system was first introduced in secondary schooling. The privately-run schools implemented tuition fees, which evolved through several stages. During the Decentralisation period, the parents exchanged their personal skills and capacity to maintain a school in return for educational service provided by the school. As the data analysis indicated, there are a number of private schools that combined and still are combining financial payment with barter. The barter payment was the main principle of compensation in the alternative schools. However, during Privatisation, the private schools adopted a flexible policy of payment. The indoor sport-ground and sanitary facilities constructed by parents could be accepted as tuition fees payment.<sup>7</sup> The financial covering of the excursion overseas by parents would also be accounted for payment. The parents' assistance to paint or repair the facilities of schools was also counted as a payment. However, within the development of the

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<sup>6</sup> Scholars (Tang, 2000; Hayhoe 1989; Hayhoe 1992; Hayhoe, 1996; Hayhoe and Bastiyid, 1987) see the implementation of fee-charging education as a result of a world-wide tendency towards the standardisation of educational services.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix 2. Photos 22-23, p. 487.

economic market, the capacity of parents extended towards the ability to cover the cost of educational service in a nominative monetary unit. In contrast to the state-run schools, charging in the national currency, the majority of private schools charge in US dollars or Euro (since 2004). There are also examples of some low-middle class of private schools that accept a combination of Roubles and US dollars. The form of currency clearly indicates the level of the private schools in Moscow and it is likely that the first question asked by parents will be “Which currency do you accept”?

### 9.5 Private schools and international engagement in education

The link between private schooling in Beijing and Moscow and the global market of education became apparent when by the beginning of 2000 private schools in both countries developed their own capacity to connect with the international system of education. In China, this process was initially directed towards the accumulation of international schooling capacity in the local market. The independent international organisations, providing educational service, moved into the Chinese market of education and set up new schools and by 2004 a chain of international schools had been established across the country reflecting the popularity of international education among expatriates.<sup>8</sup>

The international schools were not the only schools that became interested in international co-operation in education. The category of *minban* schools also intensified their effort to find international partners in order to receive financial donations from overseas. As the fieldwork revealed, any affiliation (real or artificial)

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<sup>8</sup> See Appendix 3. Table 4. The Most Developed International schools in China, p. 500.

with foreign educational organisations, schools or agencies improved the chances for a private school to survive the competition in the local market. The international co-operation at secondary education level was viewed (and still is) as an effective tool for improving the learning environment and consequently for increasing the tuition fees. The co-operation with overseas educational organisations has become so popular that “The Interim Provisions for Chinese Co-operation in Running Schools” in 1996 was issued in order to “strengthening control of Chinese-foreign co-operation in running schools and promoting education in China and co-operation in the field of education with foreign countries”.<sup>9</sup>

In August 2000, the suppliers of international education from Great Britain, the USA, Canada, and several European countries were invited to the International Education Exhibition held in Moscow by an independent educational development group. At that time, 24 international educational groups signed the contract by delivering IB (as the primary demands). The international cooperation assisted several private schools (including the school *Premier*) in establishing leading position on the local market. The direct connection with an overseas partner has assisted in upgrading the status of private schools from middle to upper class. The increasing interest towards international education is a specific characteristic of Marketisation. As the follow-up visit in 2004 indicated, the new category of middle class private schools is ready to engage with the international provider.

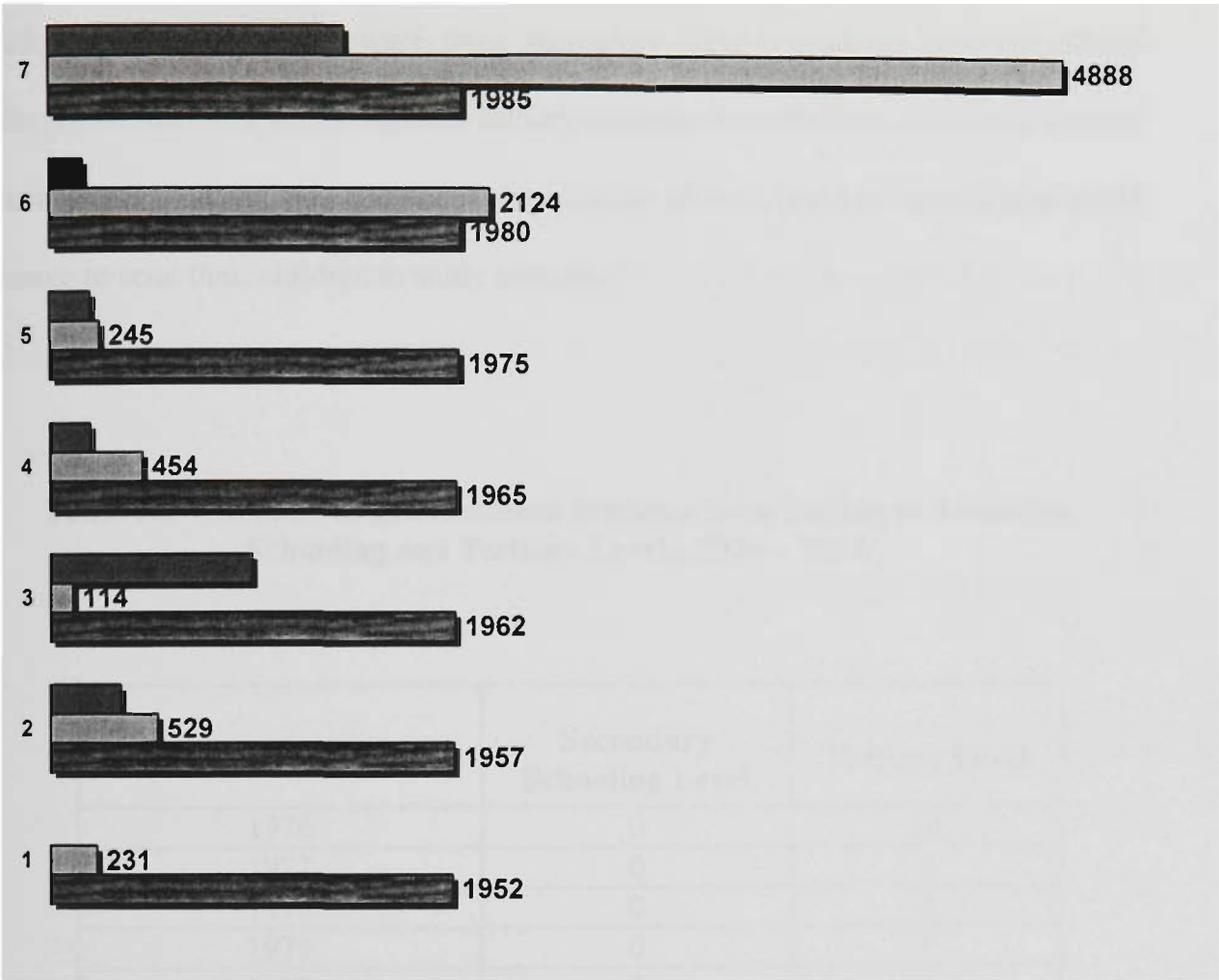
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<sup>9</sup> See Appendix 3. Extract 1. “The Interim Provisions for Chinese Co-operation in Running Schools. Chapter 1. General Provision”, p. 501.

## 9.6 Private schooling and international students

Under the conditions of the rising globalisation of the life of the society, internationalisation in education is playing an increasingly significant role. One natural consequence of this is the increased number of students willing to study abroad. The comparative analysis of international contacts during the educational transformation reveals that the formation of the international students' category in China and Russia is a result of the widening international contact. The implementation of international programs in order to prepare students for studying overseas extended the market of private schooling. The category of international students enters the global market education as a new category of global forces in education. In China this process dates back to 1952, when 231 students were sent to study to Australia under the agreement of the Colombo Plan. Figure 9.3 demonstrates that the first flow of mature adult international students from China were entering tertiary levels of the Australian universities.

**Figure 9.3. Flow of International Students from China Studying in Australia, 1952-1984**



Year	1952	1957	1962	1965	1975	1980	1985
Returning Students	0	347	980	199	199	162	1424
Number of students studying abroad	231	529	114	454	245	2124	4888

Source: Adopted by I. Vasilenko from Australian Embassy Archive, Beijing, 1999.

However, as Table 9.3 illustrates, from 1981 a new category of international secondary students from China appeared on the global market. In 1976 a total number of 23 students from Beijing were international students entering the tertiary institutions; in 1981 there were three secondary schools students entering private colleges in Australia versus thirteen tertiary students from Beijing. This new flow of international students was comprised the children of very few individuals who could arrange to send their children to study overseas.

**Table 9.3 Numbers of International Students from Beijing to Australia:  
Schooling and Tertiary Levels, 1976 – 1984.**

Year	Secondary Schooling Level	Tertiary Level
1976	0	23
1977	0	2
1978	0	0
1979	0	1
1980	0	2
1981	3	13
1982	0	15
1983	3	35
1984	13	90

Source: I. Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Beijing Educational Bureau, 1999.

Based on the culturally-positive attitude towards studying overseas (Chen J. 1982), this tendency among Chinese students is expanding and the number of students studying at secondary schools has increased significantly. In 1993, there were 293 students who committed to study in Australia; in 1999, this number increased over 350 per cent in total and 1320 secondary students decided to come and complete high secondary schooling in Australia. However, as the table below demonstrates, the number of students leaving China for study in Australia has increased at all levels, but the majority of Chinese students prefer studying overseas at the tertiary level.

**Table 9.4 Numbers of Chinese Students in Australia Studying by Sectors, 1993 – 1999**

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Higher Education	2,533	1,708	1,358	1,582	1,878	2,302	4,329
Vocational Education	3,531	2,969	1,946	1,243	949	1,024	1,459
Secondary and Below	293	262	217	284	458	739	1,320
ELICOS	944	596	360	411	491	1,103	2,266

Source: Adopted by I. Vasilenko from DETYA Statistics, 2000  
 ([http://aei.detya.gov.au/subscribes/market\\_info/north\\_asia?PRC/china/country/chi\\_ci\\_5.htm](http://aei.detya.gov.au/subscribes/market_info/north_asia?PRC/china/country/chi_ci_5.htm) )

From 1989 to 2005 the number of international students has soared by 321 times in Australia (Beuachamp 2005). By 2005, the category of international students at secondary schooling embraced all states of Australia: Victoria has 2191 international students, NSW – 1805, Queensland – 1095, SA – 795, WA – 454, ACT 412 – Tasmania – 186, and Northern Territory – 40 (Beuachamp 2005). Reflecting the culturally determined standard of secondary education in China, the majority of students (88 per cent) prefer to study in the state- government system of secondary education.

Changes in the system of private schools in Beijing and Moscow reflect the local demands for international education. The connections with overseas suppliers provide the support towards an integration of a regional system of education with the global system. It also guarantees continuing education overseas free of age brackets (Askew and Carnell, 1998).

## **9.7 Private schooling curriculum: Global marketisation**

The comparative analysis of the curriculum in private schools of Beijing and Moscow indicates that both systems exhibit a strong demand for international cooperation in education and incline to incorporate the international programs within the National Curriculum programs. However, the particular mechanism of fitting foreign curricula into the local educational context is different.

In Beijing, two categories of private schooling in particular have an advanced situation regarding international education and programs. The *silide xuexiao* and



*helide xuexiao* schools took several steps ahead of *minban xuexiao* towards implementing the international programs, to adjust their programs to meet the Western standard and intensify the cooperation with peer institutions abroad. The category of *silide xuexiao* schools partially incorporated some elements of international programs (English, Mathematics). By using the personal contacts regarded as the most trusted way of conducting business, several *silide xue xuexiao* schools improved their popularity by sending their students to study overseas. Hence, the new tendency of popularity for study English as a part of ELICOS international programs in private schools.

The category of *helide xuexiao* private schooling developed a new type of international cooperation in education. The result of fieldwork in Beijing (2002) indicates the emergence of a Supplementary Curriculum among *helide xuexiao* schools.<sup>10</sup> The trademark of this type of educational enterprise, in terms of marketing, is the establishment of international educational co-operation with USA, Australia, Britain and Canada.

An analysis of *AodaliaHuijia* Education Enterprise, the Australian-Chinese education joint venture, shows the unbalanced nature of this cooperation. The hidden multiple players from the Chinese side overbalanced the Australian component in this particular form of international education. Invisibly guided by retired Chinese officials close to the highest echelon of state power, this form of international enterprise allows bringing the financial assets of exclusive numbers of overseas

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<sup>10</sup> The prospects of international programs among *helide xuexiao* can be inspiring for the overseas investors. However, the fieldwork investigations regarding the method dealing with the overseas partners and intellectual properties, brought to light some questions. Answers to them can be found only on the level close to the Minister of Education.

partners to the Chinese system of education. Several educational zones between Beijing and Tianjin are developing in order to transfer the financial assets of overseas partners (most of them are overseas Chinese) into the private school facilities in China. The international curricula offered by these kinds of private schools became an area of experimentation in international education as practised in China. The major shift occurred in the cultural perception of local education. As an examination of the program of *helide xuexiao* schools demonstrates, there is in existence two types of curriculum: the Compulsory curriculum based on the National Curriculum and the Supplementary curriculum based on the internationally recognised educational programs.

Meanwhile, the *helide xuexiao* category of private schooling demonstrates some curriculum changes that identify the attempt to develop, distinct from the National prescribed curriculum. Such curriculum is based on a mixture of international education programs or solo incorporated course (IB, K-12, Western Australian Certificate of Education, Victorian Certificate of Education, and English bridging courses for further tertiary study overseas with a number of English-speaking countries, including South Africa). To be able to meet Western standards, some Chinese private schools incorporated Year 12, whilst the final year of studying in China is Year 11. During this year the students repeat the subject of Year 11 and study the imported international programs.

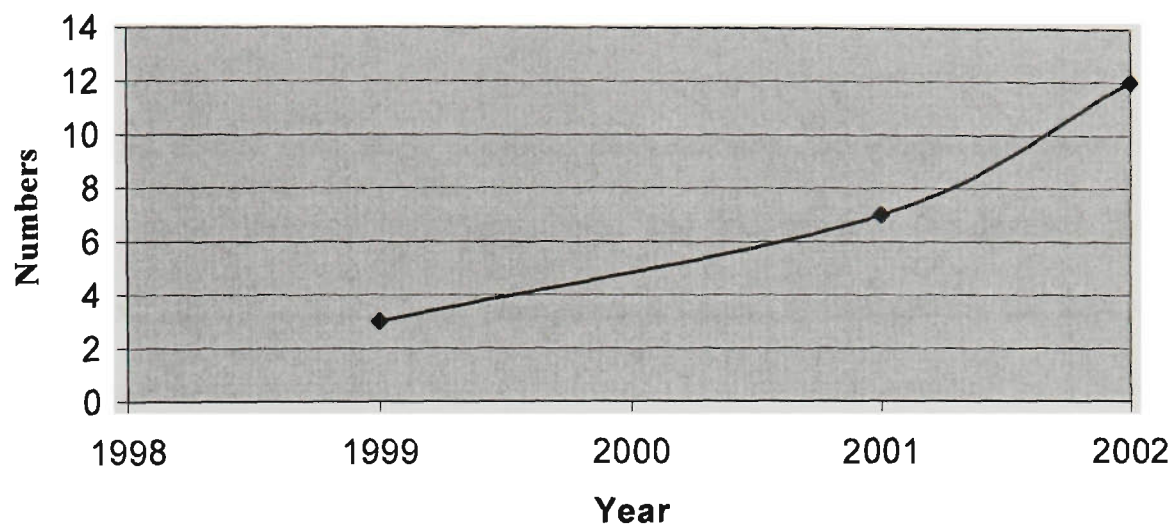
Supplementary subjects are additional to the National curriculum but can be a primary focus for those students who are willing to continue their study overseas. The demand to study the international programs delivered in some private schools in

Beijing is based on the increasing capacity of commitment from parents (50 per cent), close relatives (20 per cent), or the extended whole Chinese family (30 per cent), to provide a financial support to the student for studying overseas.

This new tendency explicates the increasing numbers of students willing to undertake English, Mathematics, Chinese, and History under the regionally recognised Western Australia Certificate of Education (WACE) or Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE). For example, the number of students studying WACE at *Huijia helide xuexiao* in 1999 was 3, in 2001 – 7, in 2002 – 12 and by the year of 2003 there were 19 students who were sent by Alexander Educational Enterprise (Western Australia) to sit WACE in Perth. Students who successfully passed the examination can study at the Australian universities under the category of international students. Those who could not reach the desired results could repeat Year 12 in Australia at the Alexander Chinese-Western Australian College.

Figure 9.4 shows the increasing popularity of the WACE International Program among students of the *Huijia* Educational Enterprise.

**Figure 9.4. Fluctuation of Numbers of Students from *Huijia* Educational Enterprise Undertaking WACE Program, Beijing, 1999-2002.**



Note: Data for 1998 is missing

Source: I. Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Beijing, 2003.

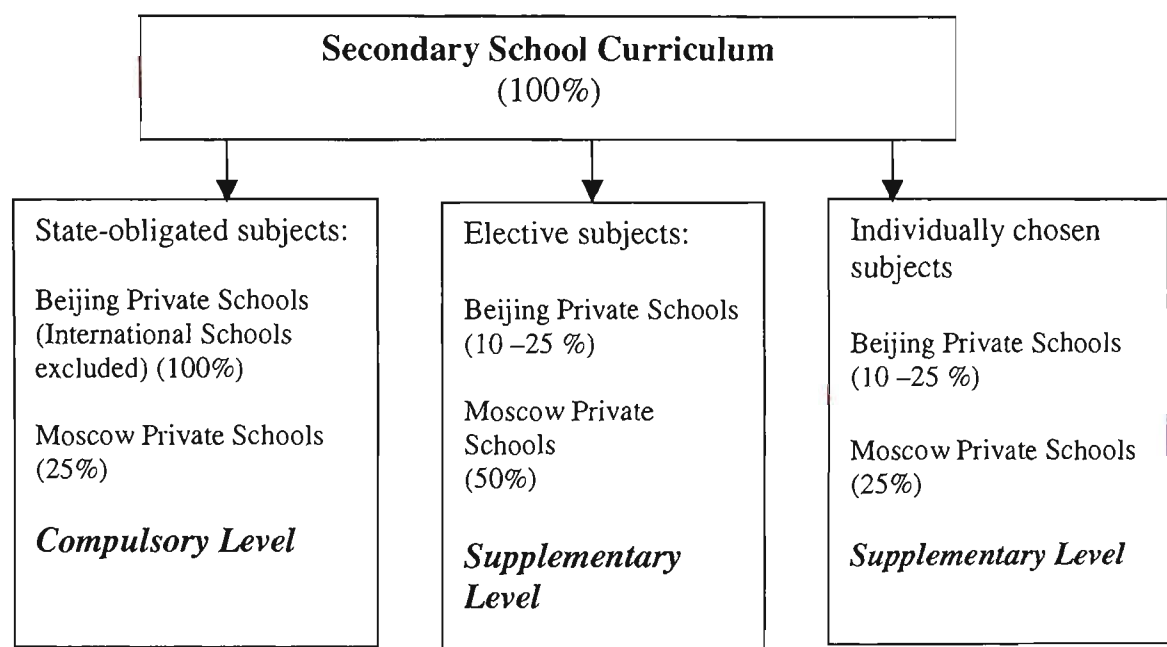
The fieldwork investigation demonstrated that by January 2003, among 45 private schools in Beijing, 29 privately-run schools implemented international programs, or a partial element.

As the *Huijia* school case study (Beijing) demonstrated, the school specialises in English, Business, International Management and Mathematics (all levels). This specialisation clearly indicates new tendencies towards (1) establishing the core of global education within national boundaries, and (2) addressing needs of individuals to the market of international education.

To meet demand, the schools implemented the additional hours as a part of supplementary education with a specific focus on the program to assist meeting the tertiary entrance level of universities in Australia. In this way, the character of supplementary education was analogous to supplementary education in Russian private schools. The case study of the school *Premier* demonstrated the original mode of IB program incorporated in the teaching curriculum of this school.

Figure 9.5 presents the changes in curriculum occurring in the private schools, *Huijia* in Beijing and the school *Premier* in Moscow.

**Figure 9.5 Comparative Analysis of Modified Secondary Schooling Curriculum in Private Schools, Beijing and Moscow, 1999–2004**



Source: I. Vasilenko. Fieldwork, Beijing and Moscow, 1999–2004.

The comparative analysis of the development of an international element in Chinese and Russian supplementary curriculum demonstrated the identical tendency among the top-ranked private schools towards establishing an exclusive way of entering the tertiary system overseas. In both countries, private schools indicate a stage of active cooperation regarding international programs. The strong interest towards the incorporation of international programs in *silide xuexiao* and *helide xuexiao* schools in

Beijing demonstrated similar changes in the curricula of private schools in Moscow. However, in contrast to the Chinese scenario of borrowing the international programs as the exclusive pathway of entering overseas tertiary system, the Russian private schools create a local version of international programs as a part of the particular school's curriculum.

Private schooling in Moscow attained the bridging process with the global curricula via two methods: 1) the development of original programs as part of the National Curriculum, and 2) incorporating the IB model as a part of the Supplementary Curriculum. Both methods are employed to ensure study for all students at the local tertiary level and for a certain category of students to study overseas.

In contrast to the Chinese understanding of studying overseas as the safest way to ensure further education, as the data analysis of the students questionnaires revealed, the Russian students' intention to study overseas has different motivations. For students of the upper and middle class private schools it is a way to secure the family business (15 per cent), investigating areas for further investments (35 per cent), transferring money to international banks in order to reduce tax (20 per cent) changing the residence and buying properties (30 per cent).

Our study of international programs in private schools in Moscow (2000–2004) also indicates the increasing demand for these programs. This process can be illustrated by the dynamics of the number of students following the International Baccalaureate Program (IB Program) in the school *Premier*. In 1997, the school became a member of the IB Program and incorporated the Adjusted IB Program (AIBP) that provides a

framework of academic challenge for students from the early age to the age of adolescence for studying various disciplines. The structure of AIBP includes three levels: (1) Primary Years Program (PYP) for the 3–11 age group as a preparation stage for the cross-cultural assimilation of the distinct educational program; (2) Middle Year Program (MYP) for the 11–16 age group as the pre-Diploma Program's level; and (3) Diploma Program (DP) for the 16–19 age group as the level of completion IB programs.<sup>11</sup> This adjusted program is one of the first IB Programs run by private schools in Russia. The rising numbers of students graduating from this program each year is one of the most proud achievements of the school.

In 1997, there were fourteen students who decided to follow the IB Program, while in 1998 there were 30 students, and in 2000 there were 45. The number of students undertaking the IB program has still been climbing; and in the year 2002 there were 56 students and in 2004 the number grew to 65.

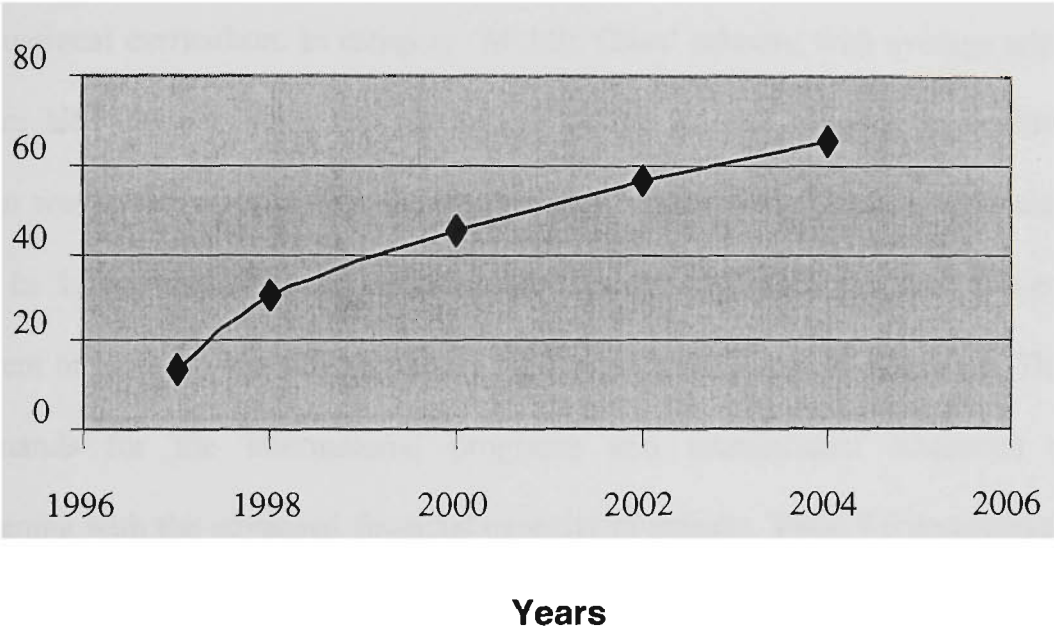
Figure 9.5 presents the dynamics of the MYP program and shows a strong interest of Russian students from the school *Premier* (alone) towards the international programs conducted by private secondary schooling.

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<sup>11</sup> See Appendix 3. Figure 1. Educational Model of Foreign Language Program in *Premier*, Moscow, 2000-2004, p. 502.



**Figure 9.6. Fluctuation of Numbers of Students from *Premier* School Undertaking the IB Program, 1997 – 2004**



Note: Data for 1996 and 2005 are missing.

Source: I. Vasilenko. Fieldwork, Moscow, 2000- 2004.

The demands for different forms of international education adequately reflect the prestige of a private school, which directly relates to the financial status of parents. In 2000, the main focus of all Moscow private schools of category 'Elite' and 'Upper-middle-class' schools was aimed at implementing the original English Language Curriculum, as a part of the World Culture lessons, or as a separate IB subject. For this purpose, they were seeking a mutual cooperation regarding the development of the international curriculum. In category 'Middle Class' schools, with average tuition fees from US\$300 per term, the percentage of the interest towards international education was lower compared to the categories of 'Elite' and 'Upper-middle-class' schools. In 'Lower-middle-class' schools, with fees up to US \$500 per term, just over 35 per cent of parents were willing to pay for international forms of education. Thus, the demands for the international programs and international education are strengthening with the advanced financial capacity of parents. Table 9.6 demonstrates a correlation between the financial assets of private schools and the demand for international programs and global education in the different categories of private schools in Moscow.

**Table 9.5 Correlation between Term Fees and Demand for International Programs in Private Schools, Moscow, 2000.**

Category of School	Term Fee (In US\$)	Demands for International form of education (per cent)
Elite	Up to 10,000	100
Upper-middle-class	Higher than 5000	89
Middle-class	From 3000	60
Lower-middle-class	From 1000	25

Source: I. Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Moscow, 2000.

As the analysis of the international contacts of the private school *Premier* indicates, the school was an initiator, organiser and financier for a range of international engagements, including IB Program International, Summer Camp Overseas Study, Student exchanges, and the participation in several international conferences. The similar tendency of entering the global market of education via the implementation of the internationally recognized programs was detected in the upper-class private schools of two categories: *Huijia helide xuexiao* and *Li Mai silide xue xiao*.

However, the fulfilment of Supplementary education in the system of private school of Beijing and Moscow is not yet finalised. Chinese educators in categories of *helide xuexiao*, *silide xuexiao*, *minban xuexiao* have expressed a great interest towards any form of international education as a way to access teaching in English at different

levels. Russian educators have expressed a great concern regarding the limitations of the national education scheme in relation to IT Studies, Foreign languages and World culture and are looking for the combined effort and expertise to produce the collaborative programs.

Thus, the implementation of the International Programs in the private schooling curriculum is a result of a tendency across the globe towards a unification of the educational standard. In the state-controlled system of education there is no gap in which to implement the subjects of International programs, but in the system of privately-run schools, the flexibility of curriculum is open for international cooperation. The incorporation of international programs in the curriculum of private schools in Beijing and Moscow demonstrates the persisting pressure of the global market in education towards the formation of the digested curriculum across the globe. Therefore, the systems of private schools in both countries play an increasingly significant role for the development of international education within the local cultural and educational margins.

## **9.8 Globalisation and the development of private schooling**

The comparative analysis of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow demonstrated that to different degrees each nation is involved in the processes of worldwide interaction including schooling. The global interaction impels some common forms of education that assist the development of private schooling.

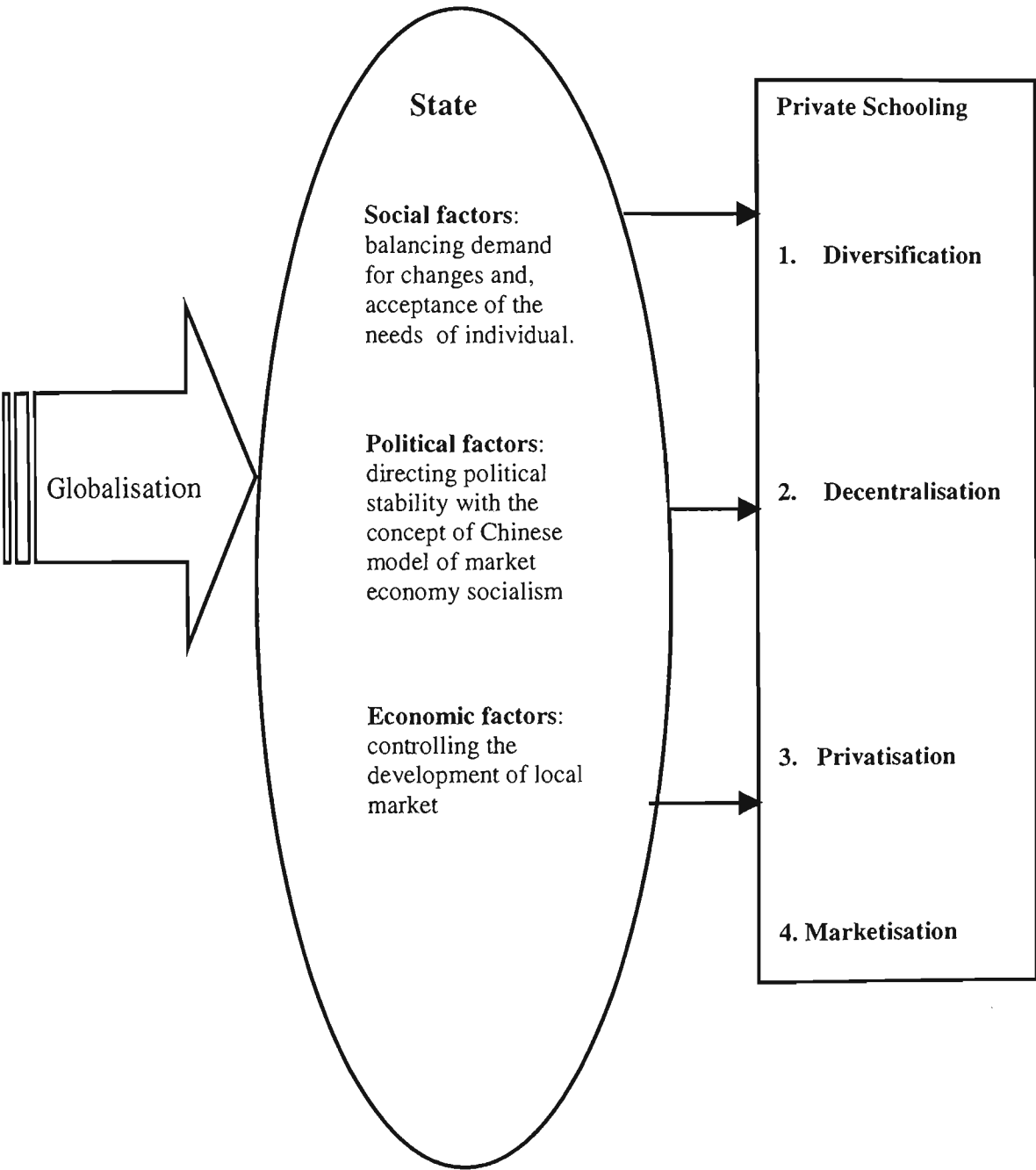
In Beijing, different types of non-government educational organisation or semi/privately schools are run according to the global market. There are several common forms of connecting the market of global education. The most common form is incorporating the international courses as a part of Supplementary education. The next common form is establishing direct connection with the international providers and monitoring mutual cooperation through the years. In Beijing, specialised agents mainly offer this newly emerging type of 'education without borders'. By 2004 there were 35 specialised Chinese agencies, working with the Australian market of international education and only few of them were successful. However, in the last few years this monopoly was supplemented by developing a new role of middlemen, initiated by the *helide xuexiao* category of Chinese private schools, *silide xuexiao*, and some schools of category *minban xuexiao*. The appearance of this type of private schooling reflects the market-customers dualism that was initially experienced by a number of Western countries. In this case, the educational transformation in China demonstrates an example of the development of private schooling as subject to the security of the state. This experience shows some particularities and demonstrates a parallel line to intellectual and political perspectives of an explication of a model of education reforms that had been invented internationally.<sup>14</sup>

In China, the rationalism of market-related characteristics impels the striving effort of the state to keep the balance between the global influence and the capacity of the national system of education. Figure 9.7 demonstrates the driving forces behind the development of private schooling in Beijing. The leading role of the state is particularly important for the future of private schools in China.

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<sup>14</sup> The clarification of such complicated parallelism was the subject of explanations *minban* schooling within the frame of Dependency Theory (Pepper 1996) and HRD within the cultural approach (Niemi and Owen, 1994).

**Figure 9.7 Driving Forces Behind the Development of Private Schooling in Beijing, 1999-2002.**



Source: I.Vasilenko, Data Analysis, 2005

Operating as a self-managing investor, there is a precedent than the state established a mode of product and it had analogue with some Western countries (Birth-Baker 2001) that can be illustrated by the Australian experience of the 1970s , which has a close association with the introduction of corporate forms and quasi-markets in to the state educational systems “to install the market mechanism within government itself, not only as the premises of self-criticism and a mean of self-regulation, but as the means of economisation and the naturalisation of outcomes, and a system of a control” (Marginson, 1997:73).<sup>15</sup>

Despite the fact that the state pays constant attention to the education development as a reflection of the high value of education in a country with strong roots of Confucianism, the non-government system of education clearly can be identified with the economic mode of productivity. The mode of production of education is reflected by the mode of economic performance and forces. Hence different forms of private education in China reflect the new role of education as a form of production. Hence, there are various forms of private schooling that mirror the interest of different social groups in Chinese society.

In relation to the interest of individuals, the alternative/non-government system of education provides some additional opportunities and services that are targeted at the emerging type of education as input-output production. These market related characteristics are closely associated with the Australian market of education, where

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<sup>15</sup> Analysing the Australian education development after the Thatcher reforms strategy that was adopted by the Australian education market from 1975, Marginson (1997) noticed that the terms, conditions and contents of production were regulated from a central pilot, using techniques of corporate management such as competitive bidding and contractual negotiation.

the mode of 'consumption-market' choices immediately affects the state-run schooling system (Marginson 1997).

Conversely, the character of private schooling in Moscow was strongly influenced by an instructive tendency from the global market. The global market of education supports the accumulating private financial assets in education, profitability of educational enterprises as the first priority for the functioning and operation at the local market. Viewing the development of private education in Russian as a result of social demands and reflection of the social changes, Cherednichenko (2000) underlines the dominant role of private property ownership among all the forces in the social sphere, including education.<sup>16</sup>

I argue that the global forces in education assist the re-structuring of private schooling into the independent sub-schooling system. The global market re-directs the development of alternative schools of the 1980s towards the unification of education and alternative schools were assimilated with the private schools. The rapid growth of private schools has been prepared by an already established semi-legal educational system that was named as 'alternative education', that included specialised schools, educational centres and consultant services with a broad range of tasks and offers, from legally permitted specialised courses to illegally functioning tuition fees. The

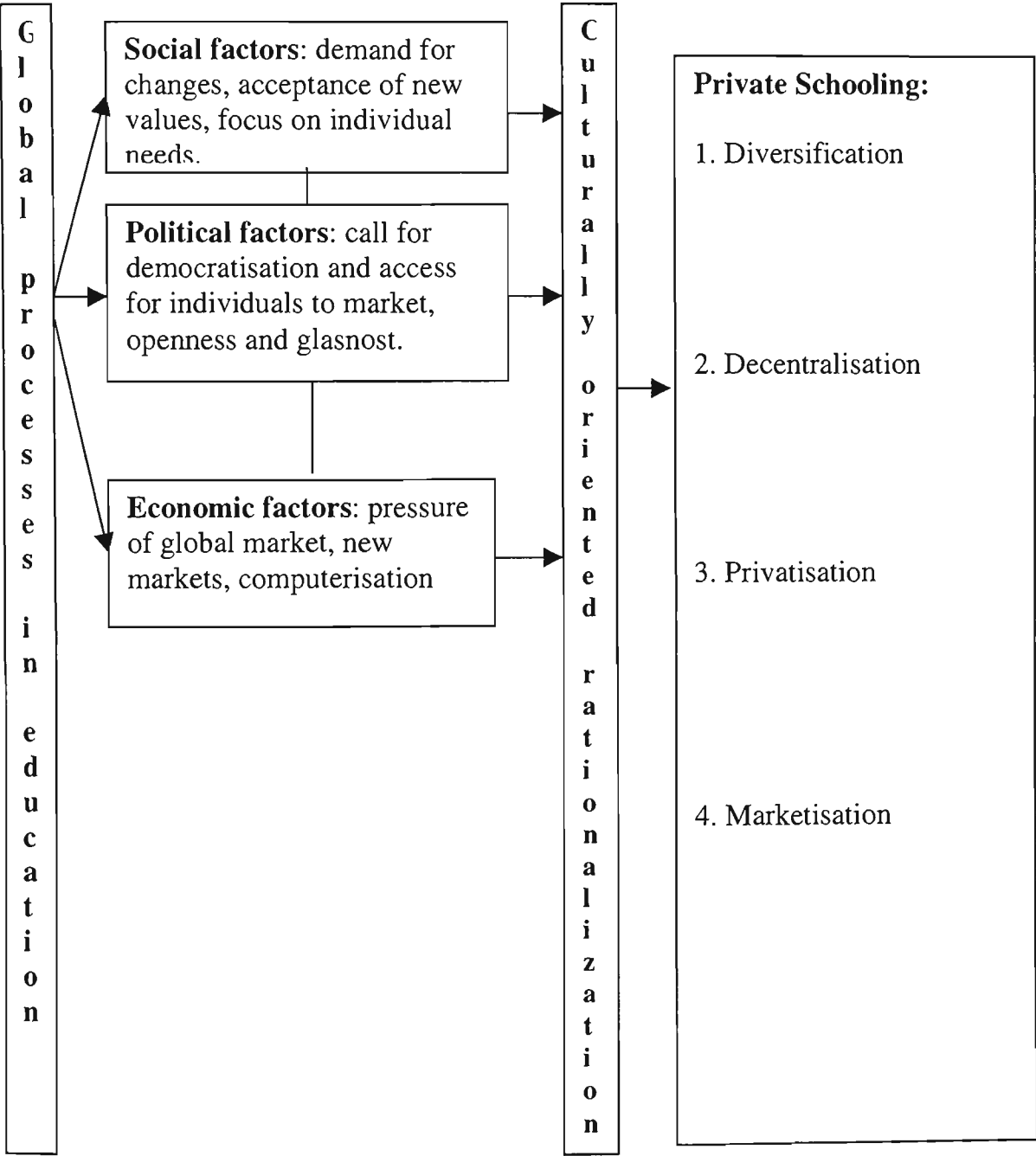
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<sup>16</sup> "Intensive changes are taking place in the system of school education as a result of its effort to adapt to the needs of the social system, which is going through radical transformation. This process is affected by a whole spectrum of new social forces that are making themselves felt in the sphere of political power and in the economic, social, and cultural fields. As a result of restoration of private and mixed forms of property ownership, new ruling and privilege groups are being formed, and at the same time the social revival of the old *elites* is taking place. All of them are sharpening their own specific interests, in particular their demands with respect to the kinds of educational institutions that can ensure their reproduction. Under pressure from the new educational strategies of these strata, the school system is being transformed, especially in the direction of the differentiation of types of educational institutions". (Cherednichenko, 2000:8)



Figure 9.8 illustrates the range of driving forces in relation to private schooling in Moscow.

**Figure 9.8    Driving Forces Behind the Development of Private Schooling in Moscow, 2000–2004.**



Source: I.Vasilenko, Data analysis, 2004.

## 9.9 Conclusion

The comparative analysis of the influence of globalisation in education and its impact on the local system of private schools has been outlined in this chapter. One of the major outcomes of the cross-cultural comparative analysis of economic transition and educational transformation shows that the development of private schooling in the systems of Chinese and Russian education is very complicated process. This involves not only economic margins of a local education transformation, but also reflects global tendencies towards (1) establishing a common educational structure across the local boundaries and (2) a fulfilment of individual needs in education.

The Chapter provides much evidence that the development of private schooling as a widespread phenomenon reflects the global tendency in education to establish the universal educational system in a transitional society. Firstly, the increasing influence of globalisation became apparent at the time when the entire social structure was changing from a monolithic to a pluralistic one. The appearance of private schools is a response to the global tendencies of education concerning the needs of the individual as a priority. Therefore the rise of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow reflects global tendencies towards establishing a balanced structure, pattern and matching quality of education across a globe.

Secondly, the inclination to establish a recognisable education curriculum in both systems of Chinese and Russian private schooling demonstrates the global tendency towards standardised educational programs that could be accepted in any countries across the globe.

Thirdly, private schooling in both countries seeks a connection with the global market of education in order to fill in a gap in the local market needs in regards to international programs in English, Mathematics and World Culture. For this purpose, the system of private schools in Beijing and Moscow developed a new bridging type of education that connects these local markets with the global market of education.

Fourthly, the development of 'education without borders' is a recently escalated economic-social phenomenon in transitional China and Russia that becomes intensified in the environment of a fully-developed economic market. This common phenomenon was manifested in different culturally-framed forms. In Beijing the rise of international independent schools in the local market of China and appearance of new category of *helide xuexiao* schooling reflects this common tendency. In Moscow, the development and incorporation of international programs as a part of Supplementary education, and direct connection with the providers of these programs demonstrates the integrating role of private schooling with the market of tertiary education, locally or overseas.

Finally, the appearance of common category of international students in both countries signifies a potential for developing international education inside each country. Hence, the perspective vision of Chinese authorities of developing the enhanced educational infrastructure is a dissimilar pattern towards private schooling in Moscow that seeking a short-time profit.

## CONCLUSION

China and Russia are two transitional societies that opted to change their centrally planned economies towards market-oriented restructuring, but via different models of Transition. Entering Transition, these countries experienced different socio-economic outcomes in the economy and education, including the development of private schooling.

The rise of private schooling received extensive attention in Chinese and Russian sources. However, as Chapter 1 established, there was ambiguity regarding all aspects of private schooling in China and Russia, and a lack of comparative cross-cultural analysis of private schooling in these countries. The deficit of a cross-cultural classification of private schools in a transitional society – the economic preoccupation in describing the changes occurring in private schooling – has considerably weakened the theoretical comprehension of these processes and left a gap regarding the development of private schooling in the environment of a transitional society. In order to fill in this gap in relation to understanding the development of private schooling in different transitional societies and overcome the deficiency of theoretical knowledge about Transition, the cross-cultural comparative study of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow was undertaken.

The main aim of this thesis is to analyse private schooling in the capitals of the two countries, Beijing and Moscow, in order to comprehend the development of private schools in the state-controlled system. The complexity of this aim directed this research towards formulating the two fundamental questions: “Why private schools

appear in these countries?” and “What similar or dissimilar characteristics do they possess?”.

To be able to provide answers to these questions, this study has employed a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. These methods, complementing each other, provided the instrumental tool for conducting a cross-cultural analysis of private schooling. The qualitative method was applied towards the investigation of private schooling as a process. The quantitative method was used as the instrument employed to analyse the data that was collected during the fieldwork in Beijing (1999-2003) and Moscow (2000-2004).

The analysis of the data, collected during the first fieldwork (Beijing, 1999; Moscow, 2000), helped to establish an original classification of private schools operating in Beijing and Moscow by 2000. Based on the principle of triangulation, involving 1) the interwoven socio-cultural settings, 2) a reflection of the state reforms or policy guidelines, 3) and types of management, the characteristics of private schools operating in Beijing and Moscow from 1999-2004 were analysed via a multi-faceted scale. The case studies of the chosen seven privately-run schools in Beijing, (BIS, *Huijia* educational enterprise, Beijing *Zhengze* Middle School, *HuangPu* College boarding school, *Shi Xian* day schools, *Xibahe* N4 school and Beijing *Dong Shi Men* Secondary School) and five private schools in Moscow (NGO *Stolichnyj*, school *NAS*, school *Premier*, school *Venda*, school *Myslitel*), were classified according to this proposed classification.

On the socio-cultural scale, four expedient sub-groups of schools were proposed: (1) schools, targeting a specific group and offering a culturally-appropriate curriculum; (2) schools, open to all social groups and offering a culturally-appropriate curriculum; (3) schools, targeting a specific group and offering a culturally-open curriculum, including international programs; (4) schools open for all social groups and offering a culturally-open curriculum targeting a specific group and offering a culturally-open curriculum, including international programs. On the state-guidance scale, there were four subgroups detected: (1) schools, receiving direct guidance from the state; (2) schools, having indirect guidance from the state via individuals trusted by officials; (3) schools, making an affiliation with some political parties, and (4) schools dissociated with the state in any form. On the scale of the financial management four subgroups of schools were identified as a result of: (1) personal investment; (2) local business group investment; (3) educational organisations, including local and overseas, and (4) state investment (local only). This original cross-cultural classification provides the opportunity to identify the private schools operating in a transitional country.

The cross-cultural analysis of these schools assisted to overcome the different cultural conceptions surrounding the definition 'a private school'. This study established that the definition of 'private schooling' is culturally determined and reflects different principles at work. In China private schooling refers to the system of schools containing any alternative (to state-run schooling) elements, occurring in management, financial affairs, or curriculum. At the same time, the system of private schools is closely tied to the national system of secondary education by the state governing the development of private schools.

In Russia, private schooling was established as a system within sphere that embodied highly competitive characteristics as schooling defined by excellence and quality, best learning environment, individually tailored programs in any fields, and subjects upon the parents' demands. This system of private schools operates independently from the state-run schooling system and enjoys a great degree of flexibility in relation to the curriculum development, management, and financial operations.

The cross-cultural analysis of private schools, operating in Beijing (1999–2002) and Moscow (2000–2004) disclosed dissimilar and similar characteristics. The dissimilar characteristics justify the cultural approach of Transition and demonstrate the cultural boundaries of the local markets of private schooling in these cities.

In China, private schooling started as the system for the 'second choice' students, students cast out by the state system of education for miscellaneous reasons (social, economic, political or family). The rise of the urban *minban* schools in the 1980s in Beijing was a result of increasing numbers of students who could not complete studying in the state-run system of education. However, by the end of 1990s, it was evident that various groups of Chinese students were accommodated with the services of the different categories of private schools.

As this study established, the structure of private schooling in Beijing was far more complicated compared to the system of private schooling in Moscow. The different categories of schools reflect the diverse market demands: international independent schools, *helide xuexiao*, *silide xuexiao*, *minban xuexiao*, and the semi-private

categories of converted and shadowed schools that are operated under the umbrella of the state-run system of education. The different categories of private schools possess different qualities of education ranging from high quality of expensive international programs to a lower quality version of the National Curriculum. The unsettled recognition of education from private schools, and the uneven quality of education, are the main reasons why the market of private schooling is considered to be less popular compared to state-run schooling.

The study established the specification of private schooling in Beijing. The results of this research illuminate several sub-categories of students, who cannot study in the state-run schools for miscellaneous reasons. The Beijing market of private schooling targets various sub-groups of students, ranging from the dropouts and children of Beijing's migrants to the children of local elite and expatriates. Such diversity mirrors the educational demands from different social groups and strata.

Private schooling in Beijing serves not only local students of *minban* schools and the local *elite helide xuexiao* schools, but, at the same time, also provides service to the international standard of education for the students who study in the international schools. This system of private schools is multi-tiered and approachable for all social groups of Chinese society, open to the educational needs of families with different social and financial backgrounds: rich and poor, migrants and expatriates, businessmen and officials.

Therefore, the local characteristics of private schools, such as management, learning environment, location and provided service, have been closely associated with the



regional market demands. Each category of private schooling offered a different quality of education to the students, and has unlike learning environments, ranging from poor conditions to the standard learning environment that is similar to the state-run schools. The tuition fees across different categories of schools are diversified and ranged from US\$10 to US\$10,000 per term. Apart from the category of international independent schooling, there are no permanent fees standard inside of each category of private schooling.

In contrast to private schooling in Beijing, private schooling in Moscow is less diversified. Initially private schools were focused only on the particular segment of the local educational market – wealthy New Russians. This social stratum appeared after the redistribution of state property among the limited participants in the ‘shock therapy’ that was applied to reform the Russian economic system.

The enormous wealth of this group has dictated the high quality of education and exclusive educational service compared to the state-run schools. Hence, private schooling in Moscow can be characterised as the system of education for children from the financial, political elite, upper-middle class, middle class, and lower-middle class. All categories of private schools in Moscow equally offer a better standard of education, compared to state schooling, and are tailored to the individually requested supplementary curriculum. The degree of fulfilment of the supplementary curriculum dictates the differences in tuition fees, ranging from US\$300 to US\$ 10,000 per term. The price list is structuralised according to the category of private schools, but the methods of payment are varied from foreign currencies (US dollars and Euro only) to a combination of barter and national currency (Roubles).

Thus, in contrast to the broad range in the private schooling market in Beijing, the market for Russian students studying at private schools in Moscow presents different characteristics. Firstly, it comprises the only choice for educational service for a particular category of students, targeting the elite students from rich families. Secondly, the quality of education in all categories of private schools is much higher compared to the state-run system of education. The high respect for education in a private school comes at a price, with fees affordable to only a certain social strata of Russian society. Thirdly, the educational programs of private schools in Moscow indicate an different adaptation of curriculum programs according to the personal demands of students or their parents.

A comparative analysis of private schooling human resources demonstrates that, while in Beijing, the majority of teachers are retirees or young teachers working part-time, in Moscow, the teaching staff is highly qualified and the majority of them work-full time. These differences influence the quality and character of schooling programs. Beijing private schooling copies the state-run schooling curriculum, whilst Moscow private schools develop their own original programs.

However, the comparative analysis of the changes occurring in the curricula of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow shows similar tendencies towards the development of national programs tailored to the tertiary system of education. Both systems of private schooling have developed a certain mechanism to meet the expectations of the parents and, up to a certain degree, to ensure or assist the entrance to universities. However, the methods and approach to this task were developed differently. In China,

the main tools were the increase of learning hours and adding an extra year (Year 12) for the repetition of learning materials from the graduate Year 11. In Russia, Moscow private schooling developed the method of offering two parallel curricula and implementing a tailored educational program from Year 6 to be followed by a monitoring process starting from Year 9 and continued until Year 11, the final year of schooling.

In relation to the National Curriculum, some private schools in both cities have developed the original tailored Supplementary Education Curriculum programs. In relation to the international programs, both countries demonstrated a strong demand for incorporating the international programs into supplementary education. But, at the same time, they have indicated their limited capacity to develop and to deliver without assistance from a western partner.

The cross-cultural analysis of the social economic, political and historical events in China and Russia established the fact that the educational transformation in these societies has had common tendencies during the different periods. Tracing the history of the educational events that led to the establishment of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow, this study discovered that both societies experienced similar tendencies that can be grouped in four stages of educational transformation:

- Diversification of education as a response to a local movement of education towards the educational service of individual needs;
- Decentralisation as a response to economic development and a cultural shift after the implementation of a new economic policy and social changes;

- Privatisation as a stage of opening up different types of non-government educational organization or semi/privately run schools;
- Marketisation as a reflection of the need of the global and local markets in education.

As was demonstrated in Chapters 5 and 6, during these different stages, the reversed character of a relationship between economic reforms and educational transition in both transitional societies was noted. Prior to the implementation of economic reforms in China and Russia, both societies experienced an active phase of educational activities in the forms of discussions, politically oriented educational reform and diversification of the national system of schooling.

The demands for an individualised type of education were articulated in China by a group of progressively minded educators. In Russia, radical teachers had to step in with the initiatives to oppose the official concept of education. This shift from mass participation in decision-making to individual choice crafted a new character of education as a form of a personal investment.

This development of new ideas in the state-run system of education, as the study has shown, was accompanied by the political struggle between new ideas and old ones in both countries. Thus, the earlier stages of educational transformation can be characterised as a period of educational change pointed towards meeting socially created educational needs rather than an economic agenda for both societies. This discovery is particularly significant in relation to the theoretical comprehension of Transition as a process.

This outcome confirmed that Transition consists of two different but interwoven processes: economic transition and educational transformation. By drawing a line between them, this study exposed the flexible interaction between two sides of Transition. In the earlier stages of Transition, educational transformation accumulates the conditions for changes in private education that became evident in the market related environment.

Although these two processes are interrelated, at the same time they have established specific conditions that would create quite different arrangements for alternative forms of private schooling in a particular cultural environment. Thus, the *minban* system in China and alternative schools in Russia manifested cultural differences in the diversification of schooling. In contrast to the followers of TT, this study proves that Transition cannot be understood in isolation from changes already taking place in educational transformation and, at some point, economic changes are occurring against a background of social and cultural pressures. The study provided evidence that the failure of economic reforms during the economic transition can advance the development of private schools. The Russian scenario of 'shock therapy' greatly assisted to the establishment of the 'virtual economy' that resulted in the polarisation of the Russian population into the rich and the poor. The demands for excellence and quality in education of the rich New Russians were met by private schooling.

The major theoretical finding of this thesis is the comprehension that Transition as a process of economic, political, and social restructuring from a Communist society with the absolute domination of a state to a society characterized by the market

economy, democracy and the civil rights of individuals, should be understood in the wider context of a complicated course of social, cultural and political events. On the empirical level, in terms of implementation, it is argued that for transformation in education to be successful it must be culture-specific.

A context of educational transformation in China and Russia justified a cross-cultural pattern and illustrates that the direction of economic transition can be predicted through the analysis of changes already taking place in education. In China the development of private schooling took form as a collective decision-making process, where the state nominated a specific segment of the reformed area. The system of key-state schools quickly developed the dual character of changes in the schooling system. In the situation of the market economy, the environment of an inequality in education and a decreasing adequacy of opportunities were evidenced by the existence of privately-run schools.

The outcome of the comparative analysis of economic transition and educational transformation demonstrated an identical pattern of changes. In China, the re-shaping of the agricultural, economic, and educational sectors was conducted under the umbrella of the state. The call for the restructuring of the targeted educational sections in later years was applied towards economic transition via establishing special economic zones. Upon proved successful development of SEZ, this idea in the late 1990s was implemented in education. The Special Education Zones became the next experimental areas, where private schooling has played an important role in accumulating financial and human resources from overseas via private schooling

inside Mainland China. Therefore, the educational changes in schooling were conducted by the gradual, circular approach, with close state guidance and control.

In Russia, the nature of educational the debate on education and reforms during the early stage of educational transformation, during the 1990s, was identical to the “shock therapy” approach. The inclination to conduct changes quickly, and in opposition to the state, has framed the process of transferring state-controlled property into the hands of private individuals and accumulating financial assets by the small exclusive group of the New Russians. This opposition towards the state, radical re-visioning of the role of education and expectation of receiving an instant result were repeated later after the implementation of economic reforms. These were resulted in a spectacular growth of private schools in Moscow.

The development of private schooling was a reaction to the state system, by rejected its mass education, which was perceived to be of poor quality and which did not meet the changing needs of the market economy. Throughout the political struggle and dramatic economic changes private schooling was established as a small marginalised system of schooling.

The cross-cultural comparison of economic reforms and educational changes proved that Transition should be understood as a process within socio-cultural rather than economic discourse. In contrast to previous understanding of the development of private schooling in transitional China and Russia, this study helps us to understand in a new light the origin of private schooling, which was the result of the educational transformation in both China and Russia rather than due to economic reforms.

The culturally determined character of the development of private schooling was one of the major outcomes of this study. Therefore social, political and economic changes were represented by the culturally framed pattern of educational changes. Despite the fact that during Diversification, China and Russia experienced a similar cultural shift from “mass” education to the individual type of education, this process was culturally framed and reflects the social values of the particular society. In China the discussions reflected the gradual approach towards changes in education, whilst in Russia, radicalism and political intolerance had resulted with the opposition of radical teachers towards the state. In China, the development of new ideas in education was viewed as a national investment, and was orchestrated by the state. In Russia, the educational debates represented a complex pedagogical battle between teachers-innovators and traditionalists.

In different cultural environments the state plays different roles. The outcomes of this study have confirmed that in Beijing the state has remained the major agency for guiding policy the development of private schooling and controlling its outcomes. The study shows that the state is one of the major driving forces in establishing private schooling in China. At the same time, along with the state’s manpower requirements for modernization, the pressure for international parity was and still is among the immediate driving forces to expand, reform and develop private schooling. In China the state formulates the main role of education that is relevant for private schooling as well. The functioning of private schooling under economic reforms has been considered as: 1) a national investment in economic modernization; 2) the tool to control the economy in order to educate people to manage the high-tech technology;



3) the necessary condition to participate in the processes of the world-wide community.

In relation to private schooling in Moscow, the state demonstrated a rather ambivalent attitude towards non-government schools during different stages of educational transformation. It involved oppression towards alternative schools, a withdrawal, and an attempt to control finances. Recent tendencies indicate the changing character of the relationship between the state and private schooling and offer evidences that the Russian government is attempting to integrate the system of private schools with the state-run schooling.

Thus, analysing the development of private schools in Beijing and Moscow, the thesis confirmed that the development of private schooling was driven by internal forces, including social demand for innovations, economic transition, improvement of living standard, and state reforms (Vasilenko 2000). However, the comparative cross-cultural analysis of private schooling reveals some tendencies that cannot be attributed to an economic pattern or involvement of the state. In addition to the previous explanations of the educational development in transitional China and Russia as a process of accompanying economic reforms and of state guidance, the thesis understands the development of private schooling as a part of globalisation in education.

The analysis of the private schools in Beijing and Moscow demonstrates that the development of private schooling is a result of the dual challenges of national goals in education and global market influences. There are two major driving forces, internal

and external, behind the appearance of private schools in transitional China and Russia. Internal forces reflect the local socio-cultural evolution of education and assist to establish the particular market of private schools according to the needs of the individuals. During the four stages of educational transformation, the role of the state, economic reforms and cultural values play different roles that shape the particular characteristics of private schools in each country-in-transition. These distinctive peculiarities have formed the different categories of private schools and represent a cultural shift from the old state-command type of schooling.

External forces related to the general global tendency towards the establishment of a common market in education, regardless of national boundaries, the unification of market economy, communication and education, all foster private schooling (Zajda 2005).

In China, privately-run schools operating in Beijing have sought financial help and assistance regarding the development of the curriculum and social recognition of the privately-run schooling certificates that were not commonly accepted and respected by neither the system of education nor by the society. These directions shaped the base for the targeted preference of establishing international contacts.

In Moscow private schooling represents a diverse network of offering, where curricular programmes are adapted to the local and international market demands. The specialised subjects offered as extra-curricular and as a personal investment also reflect the local demands for ensured tertiary education, locally or overseas.

The international contacts influence the development of private schooling in both countries. In contrast to the state-controlled access to the global market in Beijing, private schooling in Moscow has the benefit of its exclusivity and enjoys a 'middle-of-the-road' position between the local and international markets of education. The development of the local capacity to connect with the global market has taken a new direction since the advent of "education without borders" in both systems of private schools.

This type of education occurred in private schooling of Beijing and Moscow under a pressure of two powerful stimuli: (1) the universal congruity of the educational markets across the world, and (2) an explicit response of national education to local market demands connected to the global economic market. It was established that connection with the overseas provider is significant for local and global private schooling. The implementation of international programs and the development of original programs upgrade the status of private schooling in the local market.

Finally, in examining private schooling in Beijing and Moscow, it should be underlined that private schooling occupies a different position in the system of national education in China and in Russia. In Beijing the sub-system of private schools is an organic part of the state-controlled system of education, catering for the 'second choice' students, and operating on the edge of the system of national schooling. In Moscow, private schooling is a marginalised system of schooling and functions outside the national system of schooling in parallel with the state-run system of education. In Beijing, the success of private schools depends on the involvement of the state authorities, whilst in Moscow, it depends on a range of educational services.

These two systems of private schooling have different potential for further development. Compared to the fully developed Western type of private schools in Moscow, the Chinese private schooling system is still in an immature stage of development and, refers to a second best education choice. A number of affluent private schools, to a certain extent, are still fumbling towards institutional autonomy and academic independence, as well as professional development. The state policy towards private schooling (Law of Promoting Non-state Educational Institutions, September, 2003) has an obligation to increase admittance of those students rejected from public schools. At the same time, the market of private schooling in Beijing is moving towards the establishment of exclusive education for an elite class and their children by copying the quality of education in international schools of Beijing or by engaging with international cooperation via “education without borders”. In Moscow, top private schools have responded to the demands of the market, both locally and globally.

However, both systems of private schooling indicate an unexploited potential of engaging with the global market of education, but the direction of this engagement is different. Since Russian private schools prefer to send some of upwardly socially graduates overseas. Meanwhile Chinese schools are developing the capacity to accommodate the needs in international education not only for local students, but also for international students.

It can be concluded that the development of private schools in Beijing and Moscow can be attribute to (1) the influence of the global market of education on the newly

emerging education market of a transitional society and (2) a culturally oriented local adjustment to the internationally-recognized education imperatives. The above components have formed compulsory elements in the process of development of private schools in a transitional society. The first element forms the bone structure of “education without borders”, while the second element is responsible for the shape, agents, and the mode of connections with the global market of education. The local educational system is responding to global education according to the specific ethnocentric cultural framework. These two components are significant and play a crucial role in the development of private schooling in a transitional society.

The outcomes of the thesis demonstrated a full range of impelling forces in relation to the development of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow. This is likely to have a great impact over the coming decades for integrating education policy in these countries with the global market of education.

Thus, this study made an attempt to answer some important questions regarding these processes and provided some insightful information on how private schooling in transitional China and Russia shapes their educational institutions to fit the social, cultural and economic characteristics in the era of globalisation.

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APPENDIX 1. BACKGROUND MATERIALS.

Map 1. Municipal Regions of Beijing (2005)

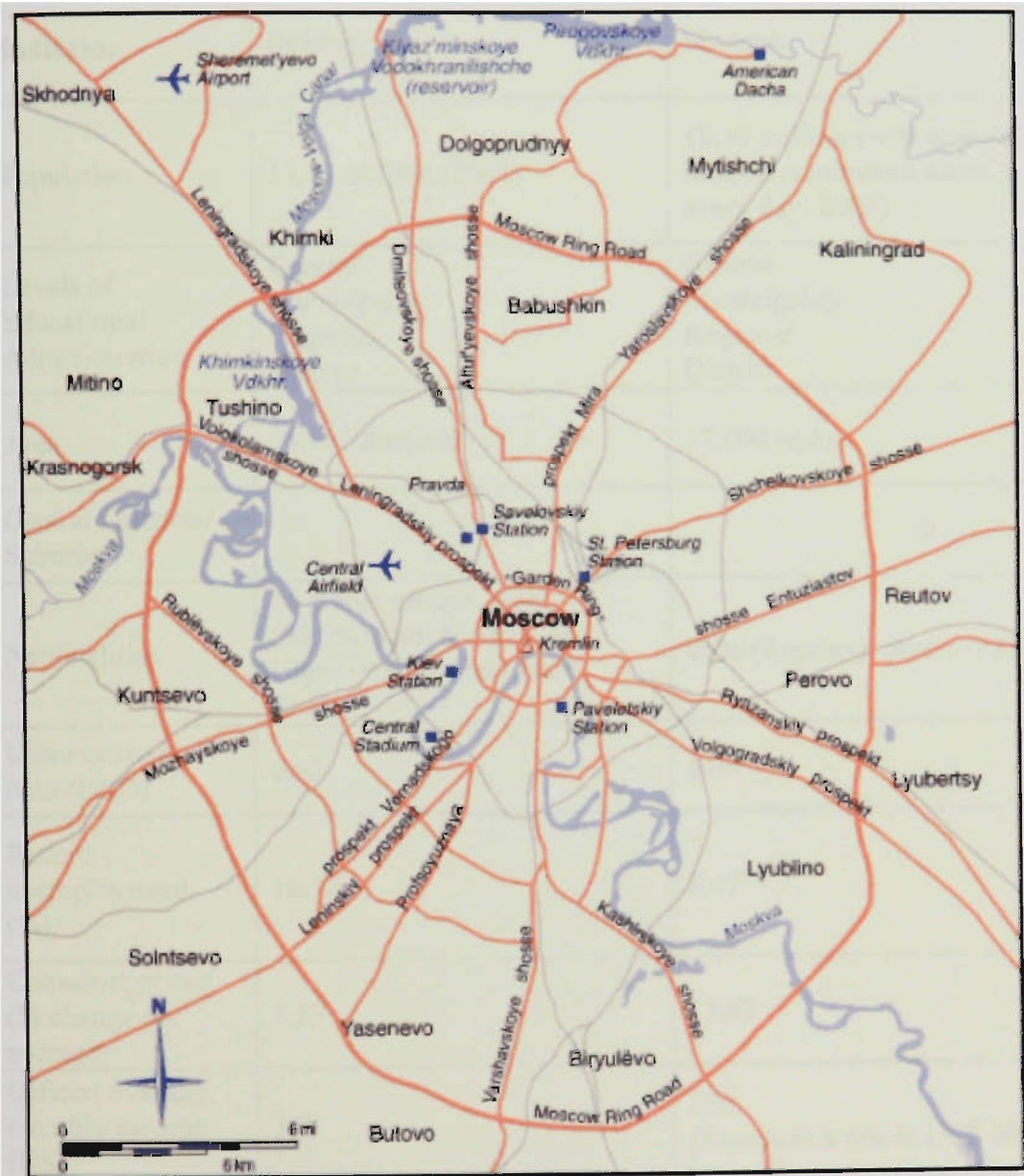


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Source: [www.beijingmap.us](http://www.beijingmap.us), 2005.

APPENDIX 1.

Map 2. Municipal Regions of Moscow (2000)



Source: [www.moscowmap.ru](http://www.moscowmap.ru), 2000.

APPENDIX 1.

**Table 1. Comparative Economic, Political, and Social Characteristics of Beijing and Moscow (2003)**

Indicator	Beijing	Moscow
Population	13,82 million (2001)	10,10 million (with approximately five million commuters travel into the city every day, 2001)
Levels of Educational Administration	Central Municipality Regional District	Central Municipality Regional District
Area	16,807.8 sq km	17,000 sq.km
Central Districts/ Suburbs	7	9
Nationalities	56 ethnic groups: Han (96.5%),Hui, Manchu and Uigur (0.4%), and others (0.2%)	86% (Russian); others (23%)
Labor cost per hour (USD)	0.92	1.00
Record unemployment (%)	10.10	8.47
Consumer prices (% change pa, average)	1.17	13.63
Official overage monthly income (US)	300	400 (Russia as a whole US\$ 100)
Population with money incomes below	13 (%) (China as a whole 32%)	18 (%) ( Russia as a whole 25%)
GPD growth annually	8.1%	12%

*Source:* Compiled from different sources by Irina Vasilenko, 2003.

# APPENDIX 1.

## Table 2. List of Private Schools Visited in Beijing

Name of the School	Date of visit	Result
1. Beijing Ren Min Da Xue Minban Xue Xiao	3 September, 1999	Selected
2. Beijing Tsinghua Zhiqing High School	5 September, 1999	
3. Beijing Shan Li Silide Xue Xia	6 September, 1999	
4. Beijing N55 Middle School	7 September, 1999	
5. Beijing Xingzhi Migrant School	8 September, 1999	
6. Beijing's Xibahe No. 4	9 September, 1999	Selected
7. Beijing Li Shi Selide Xue Xiao	10 September, 1999	
8. The New School of Collaborative Learning (NSCL)	15 September, 1999	
9. Western Academy of Beijing (WAB)	16 September, 1999	
10. Beijing Zhong Jia Selide Xue Xiao Beijing Sino-Canadian School)	17 September, 1999	
11. Ershi Xi Shi Di Xue Xiao	18 September, 1999	
12. Tong Ren Min Ban Xue Xiao (Middle School)	19 September, 1999	Selected
13. Beijing International Study Group	20 September, 1999	
14. Beijing Dong Zhimen Zhong Xue	21 September, 1999	
15. Feng Cao Di Xue Xiao	22 September, 1999	
16. Beijing Zhong Hua Mei Xue Xiao (Beijing Private Visual Painting Arts School)	26 September, 1999	
17. Tong Ji Er Shong Min Ban Xue Xiao	28 September, 1999	
18. Beijing Huacheng Silide Xue Xiao	2 October, 1999	
19. Beijing Sino-Bridging Foreign Language School	3 October, 1999	Selected
20. Beijing's Jinghua Elementary School	5 October, 1999	
21. Beijing Zhongguancun International School (BZIS)	10 October, 1999	
22. Beijing's Qimeng School	12 October, 1999	
23. The Private Changcheng (Great Wall) Elementary School	15 October, 1999	
24. Shi Xian Xue Bu (Shi Xian private college)	18 October, 1999	Selected
25. Dong Jian Min Zhong Xue	20 October, 1999	
26. Beijing Li Mai Xue Xiao	21 October, 1999	
27. Gou Lou Da Xue	24 October, 1999	
28. Beijing Shi Jinghua Shiyen Private School	25 October, 1999	
29. International Montessori School of Beijing	26 October, 1999	
30. Tong Ren Zhon Xiao Secondary school	27 October, 1999	
31. Haidian Minban Xue Xiao	28 October, 1999	
32. Beijing Royal School	29 October, 1999	
33. BISS International School Shunyi	1 November, 1999	Selected
34. Junyi Middle School	2 November, 1999	
35. Beijing Li Xin Xuexiao	8 November, 1999	
36. Beijing Qinhua Yingcai Shiyen Xuexiao	12 November, 1999	

37. Beijing Sanfin Zhong Xue	15 November, 1999	
38. Yew Chung Beijing International School	19 November, 1999	Selected
39. Beijing Shi 21 Shijie Shiyuan Xuexiao	20 November, 1999	
40. Beijing Shi Mei Ya Xuexiao	21 November, 1999	
41. Beijing Shi Mingge Yixian Zhongxue	22 November, 1999	
42. Beijing Sili Shuren Xuexiao	23 November, 1999	
43. Beijing Shi Sili Xingxing Xuexiao	24 November, 1999	
44. Beijing Shi Sili Jun Xuexiao	25 November, 1999	
45. <i>Beijing Huang Pu High School</i>	25 November, 1999	
46. Beijing Shi Bowen Xuexiao	26 November, 1999	
47. Huijia Helide Xuexiao	1 December, 1999	
48. Beijing Zhengzhe Xuexiao	2 December, 1999	
49. Beijing Shi Guo Minban Xuexiao	5 December, 1999	

APPENDIX 1.

**Table 3. List of Private Schools Visited or Contacted in Moscow**

**1) South-West Region**

Name	Date	Results of contacts/visits
1. Slavic-English-American school "Marina"	15 January, 2000	Visit
2. British International School	15 January, 2000	Visit
3. NGO "Alfavit"	16 January, 2000	Visit
4. NGO "Promo-M"	17 January, 2000	Visit
5. NGO "Moskvich"	17 January, 2000	Visit
6. Private school "Renaissance"	18 January, 2000	Visit
7. Religious Gymnasija "Radonez"	19 January, 2000	Telephone information
8. NGO "Malenkij Princ"	19 January, 2000	Telephone information
9. Private school whole-day care "Nika"	19 January, 2000	Telephone information
10. Private school "Akademija Jasyka"	19 January, 2000	Visit
11. Conventual school affiliated with Andreevskij monastery	19 January, 2000	Visit
12. NGO Gymnasium "Doverije"	20 January, 2000	Visit
13. Private School "Danko"	20 January, 2000	Visit
14. NGO "Raduga+"	21 January, 2000	Visit
15. NGO "Gimnasija Utro"	21 January, 2000	Visit
16. NGO "Jasenevo"	22 January, 2000	Telephone information
17. Christian school named after Hinkinsona	22 January, 2000	Telephone information
18. Private school "Pheniks VB"	22 January, 2000	Telephone information

**2) South Region**

Name	Date of visits	Results
1. Gimnasium "Klassika"	23 January, 2000	Visit
2. Educational Komplex "Vstuplenije"	23 January 2000	Visit
3. NGO "Intellect – XXI"	24 January, 2000	Visit
4. Litsei "Stolichnyj"	24 January, 2000	Visit Selected
5. School "Zavtra"	25 January, 2000	Telephone information
6. Clerical School Seraphima	25 January, , 2000	Telephone information
7. NGO "Vybor"	25 January 2000	Telephone information
8. Private school "Gulliver"	25 January, , 2000	Telephone information
9. NGO "Znaniye"	25 January, 2000	Visit
10. Private School "Imja"	26 January 2000	Visit
11. NGO "Integral"	26 January 2000	Visit

12. Private school “Naslednik”	27 January, 2000	Visit
13. Private schools “Premier”	1 February, 2000	Visit
14. Private School “Prestizh”	1 February, 2000	Visit
15. NGO “Rolf”	2 February, 2000	Visit
16. NGO “Samson”	2 February, 2000	Visit
17. NGO “Epos”	3 February, 2000	Visit
18. Private School “Erudit”	3 February, 2000	Visit
19. Private Schools of classical dance and art	4 February, 2000	Telephone information
20. Private schools “Ellada”	4 February, 2000	Telephone information
21. NGO “Perspektiva”	4 February, 2000	Telephone information
22. NGO “Atlant”	4 February, 2000	Telephone information

### 3) South-East Region

Name	Date of visits	Results
1.NGO “School Young Businessmen”	4 February, 2000	Telephone information
2. Gymnasija “XXI Millenium”	4 February, 2000	Telephone information
3. Private School “MiniShkola”	5 February, 2000	Visit
4. Private School “ Magnolija”	5 February, 2000	Telephone information
5. Private School “ Apogej”	5 February, 2000	Telephone information
6. Private Schools “Intellecte”	5 February, 2000	Telephone information
7. Provate Schools “ Istok”	5 February, 2000	Telephone information
8. NGO “Lichnost”	6 February, 2000	Telephone information
9. NGO “ St. Georgij”	6 February, 2000	Telephone information
10. Private School “ESHL”	6 February, 2000	Telephone information
11. NGO “Kariera”	6 February, 2000	Visit
12. Educational complex “Nauka Servis”	7 February, 2000	Visit
13. Private Educational Complex associated with the Russian Academy of Science “Formen”	7 February, 2000	Telephone information
14. NGO “Erudit-2”	7 February, 2000	Telephone information
15. Private primary school “Svetljachok”	7 February, 2000	Telephone information
16. NGO Religious School “ Pray”	7 February2000	Telephone information
17. Private School ”Novoje Obrazovanije”	8 February2000	Visit
18. Educational complex “Novaja shkola”	8 February2000	Visit

### 4) North-East Region

Name	Data	Result
1. Boarding School “HOP Center”	9 February, 2000	Telephone information
2. NGO “kredo Jakimanka”	9 February2000	Telephone information
3. Private school “Potential”	9 February, 2000	Visit
4. Private school “ Nadezhda”	9 February, 2000	Visit
5. Litsei “Rasum –L”	10 February, 2000	Visit
6. Finansovo-economichaskaja shkola	10 February, 2000	Visit
7. NGO “Belst”	11 February, 2000	Visit
8. Private school “ Gorod Solntca”	11 February, 2000	Visit
9. NGO “Lotos”	12 February, 2000	Visit
10. Private school “Spodvizhnik”	12 February, 2000	Visit



11.Private school “YHA”12.	12 February, 2000	Telephone information
12.Private school “Venda”	13 February, 2000	Visit
13. Private school “Andromeda”	13 February, 2000	Visit
14. Private school Litsei Troitse-Lykovo	13 February, 2000	Telephone information
15. Licej “East-West”	14 February, 2000	Visit
16.Educational complex “Penaty”	14 February, 2000	Telephone information
17. Georgian Litcej	14 February, 2000	Telephone information

## 5) North Region

Name	Data	Results
1.Nataly Nesterova School	15 February, 2000	Telephone information
2. NGO ”Talisman”	15 February, 2000	Telephone information
3.Gimnasium “Gurucula’	15 February, 2000	Telephone information
4.Litfond’s Educational Center	15 February, 2000	Telephone information
5. Juish school “Bet Egudit”	15 February, 2000	Telephone information
6. Academy School	15 February, 2000	Telephone information
7. Educational complex “ROSH”	15 February, 2000	Telephone information
8.NGO “Junosct’ ”	16 February, 2000	Visit
9. International British School	16 February, 2000	Visit
10. Private School “Znaika”	17 February, 2000	Telephone information
11.Moscow’s college advanced education	17 February, 2000	Telephone information
12. NGO “Novaja Gumanitarnaja Shkola”	17 February, 2000	Visit
13. NGO “Malvina”	18 February, 2000	Telephone information
14. Orthodox Classic Gimnasija	18 February, 2000	Telephone information
15.NGO ‘ Mumi Trol’ “	18 February, 2000	Telephone interview
16. Private school “Svetoch”	18 February, 2000	Telephone interview
17. NGO “Polarnaja Zvesda”	18 February, 2000	Telephone interview
18. NGO “Nadezda + Vika”	18, February 2000	Telephone interview
19. NGO “Pervalja schokola”	18 February, 2000	Telephone interview
20. Private school “Belst”	18 February, 2000	Telephone interview
21. Educational Cnter “Luch and K”	19 February, 2000	Telephone interview
22. Mezdunarodnyj University’s Lyceum	19 February, 2000	Telephone interview
23.NGO Gymnazija “Dialektika”	19 February, 2000	Telephone interview
24.Akademichaskaja shkola “Gelan”	19 February, 2000	Telephone interview
25.Petrovskaja shkols	19 February 2000	Telephone interview
26.Educational Center “Kiprida”	19 February, 2000	Telephone interview
27.NGO “Pioner”	19 February, 2000	Telephone interview
28.St.Georgija School	20 February, 2000	Telephone interview
29. NGO “Irmos”	20 February, 2000	Telephone interview
30. Anglo-American School	20 February, 2000	Telephone interview
31. Municipality educational organisation litcej N11 “Phystech”	20 February, 2000	Telephone interview
32.Private school “Zdorovje”	20 February, 2000	Telephone interview
33 School “ Naslednik”	21 February, 2000	Visit

## 6) North-West Region

Name	Data of visits	Result
1. Private school “ Semejnyj Lad”	21 February, 2000	Telephone interview
2. Moscow’s Gymnasium of Kirilla and	21 February, 2000	Telephone interview



Mephodia		
3. Private school Logos”	21 February, 2000	Telephone information
4. NGO “Moscow girls’ gymnasija”	22 February, 2000	Visit
5. Private school “ Pheniks”	22 February, 2000	Visit
6. NGO “Juvenes”	23 February, 2000	Visit
7. International school “ Integracija XXI vek”	23 February, 2000	Visit
8.Private school “Shkola etiketa I vsestoronnego rasvitija”	23 February, 2000	Telephone information
9. Litsei ‘ Morozko”	24 February, 2000	Visit
10. NGO Educational center “ Genesis”	24 February, 2000	Visit
11. NGO ‘Delta-Prometej”	25 February, 2000	Visit
12. Lyceum “ Vozrozhdenije”	25 February, 2000	Telephone information
13.Educational center “ Prioritet”	25 February, 2000	Telephone information
14. NGO “Sojuz”	26 February, 2000	Visit
15. NGO “Rosinka”	26 February, 2000	Visit
16.Yceum “Kivchg – XXI”	27, February, 2000	Visit
17. Municipal Educational Center “Krasnogorodskij Licej”	27 February, 2000	Telephone information
18. NGOP “ Opaliovskaja gymnasija”	27 February, 2000	Telephone information
19.NGO “Master-Clas”	27 February, 2000	Telephone information
20. Linguistic School “Victoria”	27 February, 2000	Telephone information

#### 7) West Region

Name	Data of visits	Result
1.Inessa Svetlanova College	27 February, 2000	Telephone information
2. International School “ Dom Philippa”	27 February, 2000	Telephone information
3. NGO “School Alef”	27 February, 2000	Telephone information
4.NGO “Integracija”	28 February, 2000	Visit
5.Private school “ Budushee”	28 February, 2000	Visit
6. Educational Center “ Migdal “	29 February, 2000	Telephone information
7.NGO “VITA”	29 February, 2000	Telephone information
8. Educational Center “Obrazovanije Plus”	29 February, 2000	Visit
9. Private school “kollege Romashka”	1 March, 2000	Telephone information
10. Educational Center “Delta”	1 March, 2000	Telephone information
11. Private school “ Olimp Plus”	1 March, 2000	Telephone information
12. Orthodox School Ioanna Bogoslova	1March, 2000	Telephone information
13. Private school “Lomonosov’s School”	1 March, 2000	Visit
14. Teenagers’ school of adaptive education	2 March, 2000	Telephone information
15. Private school “ Killedzh – XXI”	2 March, 2000	Visit
16. Private school “Freestyle”	3 March, 2000	Visit
17. NGO “Moskovity”	3 March, 2000	Visit
18. NGO ‘Stupeni”	4 March, 2000	Visit
19. School-Lyceum “Venda”	4 March, 2000	Visit
20. NGO “Bakalavr”	5 March, 2000	Visit
21.American school “Judzhin-Center”	5 March, 2000	Visit
22. School of Arts “ Garmonija”	5 March, 2000	Visit
23. Linguistic Center “Inter college”	6 March, 2000	Visit
24. International Center of Education	6 March, 2000	Visit
25. School “Kontinent”	7 March, 2000	Visit
26. Bourding school “Rosinka”	7 March, 2000	Visit
27. International school of Ecology	8 March, 2000	Telephone information
28. School <i>Mir Znaniy</i>	8, March, 2000	Telephone information
29.NGO “Center UCCT”	8 March, 2000	Visit

30. International affair and business School	8 March, 2000	Telephone information
31. Gymnasuim “ Zhukovka”	9 March, 2000	Visit
32. Educational Center “ Intercollege”	9 March, 2000	Visit
33 Boarding school “Klassika”	9 March, 2000	Telephone information

## 8) Central Region

Name	Date of visits	Result
1. Greek Classical Gymnasium named A. Shishalina	10 March, 2000	Visit
2. Private school “Shkola na Znamenke”	10, March, 2000	Visit
3. Moscow economic school	11 March, 2000	Visit
4. NGO “Pervaja Shkola”	11 March, 2000	Visit
5. Private school “Pirogovskaja skola”	12 March, 2000	Visit
6. NGO “linija Plus”	12 March, 2000	Visit
7. Religious schoogymnasium of Svjato-Vladimirovskogo Center	12 March, 2000	Visit
8. Religuous school affiliated with the Georgij Preobrazhenija Church	12 March, , 2000	Telephone information
9. Traditional Gymnasium	13 March, 2000	Visit
10. Educational center of individual development “Erudit”	13 March, 2000	Visit
11. Private school of Silonovoj	13 March, 2000	Visit
12. Private secondary school “Intensiv”	13 March, 2000	Visit
13. Private school “ Otkrovenije”	14 March, 2000	Visit
14. Private school “Sovremennoje obrazovanie”	14 March, 2000	Visit
15. NGO “Skola Sontrudnichestva”	4 March, 2000	Visit
16. NGO “Risk”	15 March, 2000	Telephone information
17. NGO ‘Victoria 2000”	15 March, 2000	Telephone information
18. Linguistic school affiliated with International Languages Institute	15, March, 2000	Telephone information
19. Private school “Zolotoje sechenije”	15 March, 2000	Visit
20. Non-profitable school “Afina”	16 March, 2000	Telephone information
21. NGO “Gerkules”	16 March, 2000	Telephone information
22. Private school “Jurisdiction College”	16 March, 2000	Telephone information
23. NGO “Litcej Stolichnyj”	16 March, 2000	Selected
24. Private school “Perspektiva”	17 March, 2000	Visit
25. NGO “B and I”	17 March, 2000	Telephone information
26. Educational Center “Kluch”	17 March, 2000	Telephone information
27. NGO “Nadezhda”	18 March, 2000	Visit
28. NGO “Onkrovenije”	18 March, 2000	Telephone information
29. Educational Center “Luchik”	18 March, 2000	Telephone information
30. Russian People’s University Gymnasium	19 March, 2000	Telephone information
31. Gymnazium Nataly Nesterovoj	19 March, 2000	Telephone information
32. Gymnasium “Alteir”	19 March, 2000	Visit
33. School “Avogadro”	19 March, 2000	Visit
34. NGO “Internatinal school”	20 March, 2000	Visit
35. Juridical college “Leks”	20 March, 2000	Visit
36. Gumnasioum “Makpovez”	20 March, 2000	Telephone information
37. NGO Alexandra Nevskoro	20 March, 2000	Telephone information

APPENDIX 1.

Questionnaire 1: Students' Survey

Dear Student! We ask you to participate in the anonymous survey investigating the future aspiration of students and their opinion about the school. Please circular the appropriate answer, your honest answer will be greatly appreciated. If you will for some reason uncomfortable to answer a particular question, live it as a blank. Thank you very much for your time and good luck for studying in future. I am (*male or female*) and study at the \_\_\_\_\_ Year.

1. In general I satisfied with teachers and their work in this school

Yes            Not            Not sure            Have difficulties to answer            Partly
2. Teachers help me to every time to do homework

Yes            Not            Not sure            Have difficulties to answer            Partly
3. I study only compulsory minimum to finish the school

Yes            Not            Not sure            Have difficulties to answer            Partly
4. Do you study any International Program?

IB            TEFL            British Program            Others
5. After graduation from this school I will enter the local university

Yes            Not            Not sure            Have difficulties to answer            Partially
6. I am convince that I will be studying in the chosen University

Yes            Not            Not sure            Have difficulties to answer            Partially
7. In the future I wish to continue studying overseas

Yes            Not            Not sure            Have difficulties to answer            Partially
8. If “ Yes”, answer, do you have opportunity to study overseas?

Yes            Not            Not sure            Have difficulties to answer            Partially
9. Do you already planned to studying overseas in

Germany    England    USA    France    Italy    Japan    China    Australia    Others
10. How you find the information about the overseas University?

Internet    Friend    Parents work    During holiday    Agent    Heard from others    Advertisement
11. After obtaining an undergraduate degree, do you intend to get a postgraduate degree?

Yes            Not            Not sure            Have difficulties to answer
12. Will you miss you schoolmates after a graduation?

Yes            Not            Not sure            Have difficulties to answer            Partially
13. In the future I wanted to be \_\_\_\_\_
14. I selected this profession, because \_\_\_\_\_
15. My favorite subject/s \_\_\_\_\_
16. I spent on my home work \_\_\_\_\_ hours at school and \_\_\_\_\_ hours at home
17. Which extra curriculum activities provided by the school \_\_\_\_\_
18. Who chose to study on this school?
19. What the reasons behind of studying in this school \_\_\_\_\_
20. Would you consider changing the school?    Yes            Not
- Thank you!

## APPENDIX 1.

### Questionnaire 2. Parents' Survey (English Translation)

Dear Parents! This postgraduate study conducted at the Victoria University (Melbourne, Australia) investigates private schooling in Moscow. We will greatly appreciate you help to fill in Questionnaires. There are two requirements we ask you to follow: anonymity and honesty. If for some reason you do not want to participate, please return the questionnaire as a blank. To answer, please tick the appropriate blank space. For example:



Your Age: 20-25 \_\_\_\_ 30-35 \_\_\_\_ 35-40 \_\_\_\_

1. Your age 20-25 \_\_\_\_ 30-35 \_\_\_\_ 35-40 \_\_\_\_ 40-45 \_\_\_\_ 45-50 \_\_\_\_ и старше \_\_\_\_
2. Sex: женский \_\_\_\_ мужской \_\_\_\_
3. Working activities in: private business \_\_\_\_ state organisations \_\_\_\_
4. Profession : teacher \_\_\_\_ doctor \_\_\_\_ farmer \_\_\_\_ bluecolar \_\_\_\_ businessmen \_\_\_\_ whitecolar \_\_\_\_
5. Family monthly allowance (in US\$): 100 \_\_\_\_ 300 \_\_\_\_ 600 \_\_\_\_ 900 \_\_\_\_ 1500 \_\_\_\_ over 2000 \_\_\_\_
6. Decision-making person for studying in the school: farther \_\_\_\_ mother \_\_\_\_ both \_\_\_\_ granpa \_\_\_\_ granma \_\_\_\_ relatives \_\_\_\_
7. Reason/s for chosing this school: quality of teaching \_\_\_\_ location \_\_\_\_ garanteed entrance to a University \_\_\_\_ comparatively low price \_\_\_\_
8. Child sex: boy \_\_\_\_ girl \_\_\_\_
9. Monthly spending on education of a child (in US\$): up to 50 \_\_\_\_ up to 100 \_\_\_\_ up to 200 \_\_\_\_ up to 300 \_\_\_\_ up to 400 \_\_\_\_ over 500 \_\_\_\_
10. Quality of teaching: excellent \_\_\_\_ good \_\_\_\_ it's Okay \_\_\_\_ low \_\_\_\_ very low \_\_\_\_
11. Yours evaluation of learning environment in this school: excellent \_\_\_\_ good \_\_\_\_ it's Okay \_\_\_\_ low \_\_\_\_ very low \_\_\_\_
12. Are you happy with a level of teaching quallification of the staff in this school: yes \_\_\_\_ just \_\_\_\_ not really \_\_\_\_ could be better лучше \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_
13. Are you satisfied with quality of taching and learning: yes \_\_\_\_ just \_\_\_\_ not really \_\_\_\_ could be better лучше \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_
14. Are you satisfied with a work of administrative staff: yes \_\_\_\_ just \_\_\_\_ not really \_\_\_\_ could be better лучше \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_
15. Approximate monthly fee (in US\$): up to 50 \_\_\_\_ up to 100 \_\_\_\_ up to 200 \_\_\_\_ up to 300 \_\_\_\_ up to 400 \_\_\_\_ over 500 \_\_\_\_
16. Amout of studies subjects in a year: up to 10 \_\_\_\_ 10-15 \_\_\_\_ 15-20 \_\_\_\_ over 20 \_\_\_\_
17. Direction of your chils education: Arts \_\_\_\_ Languages \_\_\_\_ Social cience and History \_\_\_\_ Mathematics \_\_\_\_ IT \_\_\_\_ ingeneering \_\_\_\_ business \_\_\_\_ sport \_\_\_\_
18. Do you think, the level of education in a private school is a better than any state-run school: yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_ (if N O please indicate reason/s: \_\_\_\_\_)
19. Do you think that the development of private schoolg is a positive phenomenon ?: yes \_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_ (if NO why a) expensive \_\_\_\_ b) the quality of education does not reflect the high fees \_\_\_\_ c) bad learning environment \_\_\_\_ d) bad management of a private school \_\_\_\_ e) other, specify \_\_\_\_\_)
20. How do you learn about the existance of this school: TV Advertisement \_\_\_\_ Newspaps Advertisement \_\_\_\_ Street Poll \_\_\_\_ Personal Advertisement \_\_\_\_ Heard from others \_\_\_\_

**Please return this Questionnaires to the Director of your school, THANK YOU!**

APPENDIX 1.

Questionnaire 3. Parents' Survey (Chinese Version)

尊敬的家长:

我是澳大利亚维多利亚理工大学亚州与国际系的教师,我对中国私立学校的教学很感兴趣,想以此作为硕士论文研究的课题,我真心地希望得到您的帮助,请在符合您情况的选项后面方框内打“4”(年龄:20-25 25-30 30-35 35-40 40-45 45-50 50-55).

本着不侵犯隐私权的原则,您不必写出姓名.

1. 年龄: 20-25 25-30 30-35 35-40 40-45 45-50 50-55, 55-60
2. 性别: 男 女
3. 工作单位: 政府部门 国有企业 个体企业 三资企业 其他
4. 职业: 教师 医生 农民 工程师 雇员 管理人员 其他
5. 每月家庭收入: 1000 元以下, 1000-2000 元, 2000-3000 元 3000-4000 元 4000-5000 元 5000 元以上
6. 您孩子在校学习主要是谁的意见: 父亲 母亲 (外)祖父 (外)祖母 其他亲属
7. 您为什么决定让孩子在该校学习: 学校声誉好 教师水平高 教学设备优 于公立学校 离家较近 能丰富孩子课余生活
8. 您的孩子是: 男孩 女孩
9. 每月您为子女教育花费: 100-200元 200-300元 300-400元 400-500元 500-600元 600-700元 700-800元 800-900元 900-1000元 1000-2000元 2000元以上
10. 您对该校教师的评价: 棒极了 好 一般 差 很差
11. 您对该校教学设施的评价: 棒极了 好 一般 差 很差
12. 您对该校教师水平是否满意: 是 一般, 有待改进 否 如选择“否”, 请说明原因:
13. 您对该校教学设备是否满意: 是 一般, 有待改进 否 如选择“否”, 请说明原因:
14. 您对该校管理制度是否满意: 是 否 如选“否”, 请选择原因: 很难找到管理人员 机构繁复 服务态度差 以上全部 其他
15. 每月您为子女每科所花学费: 100-200元 200-300元 300-400元 400-500元 500-600元 600-700元 700 元以上
16. 您的子女在该校所学的科目总数为: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
17. 您的子女在该校所学科目为: 艺术 语言 历史 地理 计算机 数学 物理 化学 其他
18. 该校管理水平是否高于公立学校: 是 否 相同
19. 您对私立学校有何评价: 好 不好 如不好, 请选择原因: 费用太高, 教学质量差 设备差 师资水平低 以上全部 其他
20. 您是如何得到该校招生信息的: 投递广告 张贴广告 (街上)分发广告 听说 电视广告 报纸广告 其他

## APPENDIX 1.

### Questionnaire 4. Parents' Survey (Russian Version)

#### АНКЕТА ОПРОСА РОДИТЕЛЕЙ ЧАСТНЫХ ШКОЛ г. МОСКВЫ

Уважаемые родители! Университет Виктория (Мельбурн, Австралия) приглашает Вас принять участие в исследовании частных школ в странах перестройки. Участие в данной программе добровольное и анонимное. Если Вы не хотите по каким-то причинам участвовать, пожалуйста, верните директору школы вопросник незаполненным. Главная задача этого вопросника – собрать объективную и откровенную информацию, связанную в развитие частного образования в странах переходного периода. Подобная исследование также проводится в школах Пекина. Для ответа поставьте птичку в подходящем, по вашему мнению, месте, к примеру:



Возраст 20-25 \_\_\_\_ 30-35 \_\_\_\_ 35-40 \_\_\_\_

1. Ваш возраст: 20-25 \_\_\_\_ 30-35 \_\_\_\_ 35-40 \_\_\_\_ 40-45 \_\_\_\_ 45-50 \_\_\_\_ и старше \_\_\_\_

2. Пол: женский \_\_\_\_ мужской \_\_\_\_

3. Вид профессиональной деятельности: частный бизнес \_\_\_\_ государственный \_\_\_\_

4. Профессия: учитель \_\_\_\_ медработник \_\_\_\_ аграрий \_\_\_\_ рабочий \_\_\_\_ бизнесмен \_\_\_\_ администратор \_\_\_\_

5. Семейный месячный бюджет (доллары США): 100 \_\_\_\_ 200 \_\_\_\_ 300 \_\_\_\_ 400 \_\_\_\_ 500 \_\_\_\_ выше 600 \_\_\_\_

6. Кто принял решение учиться в этой школе: отец \_\_\_\_ мать \_\_\_\_ оба родителя \_\_\_\_ бабушка \_\_\_\_ дедушка \_\_\_\_ родственники \_\_\_\_

7. Почему Вы выбрали эту школу: качество обучения \_\_\_\_ близко к дому \_\_\_\_ гарантированное поступление в вуз \_\_\_\_ относительно низкая плата \_\_\_\_

8. Под ребенка: мальчик \_\_\_\_ девочка \_\_\_\_

9. Месячные затраты на образование (доллары США): до 50 \_\_\_\_ до 100 \_\_\_\_ до 200 \_\_\_\_ до 300 \_\_\_\_ до 400 \_\_\_\_ больше 500 \_\_\_\_

10. Качество обучение в этой школе: отличное \_\_\_\_ хорошее \_\_\_\_ удовлетворительное \_\_\_\_ плохое \_\_\_\_ очень плохое \_\_\_\_

11. Как Вы оцениваете условия обучения в школе: отличное \_\_\_\_ хорошее \_\_\_\_

удовлетворительное \_\_\_\_ плохое \_\_\_\_ очень плохое \_\_\_\_

12. Удовлетворены ли Вы уровнем преподавания: да \_\_\_\_ так себе \_\_\_\_ нет \_\_\_\_ могло быть и лучше \_\_\_\_ нет \_\_\_\_

13. Удовлетворены ли Вы качеством преподавания: да \_\_\_\_ так себе \_\_\_\_ нет \_\_\_\_ могло быть и лучше \_\_\_\_ нет \_\_\_\_

14. Удовлетворены ли Вы работой школьной администрации: да \_\_\_\_ так себе \_\_\_\_ нет \_\_\_\_ могло быть и лучше \_\_\_\_ нет \_\_\_\_

15. Приблизительная стоимость обучения в месяц (доллары США): до 50 \_\_\_\_ до 100 \_\_\_\_ до 200 \_\_\_\_ до 300 \_\_\_\_ до 400 \_\_\_\_ больше 500 \_\_\_\_

16. Количество предметов, изучающий в год: до 10 \_\_\_\_ 10-15 \_\_\_\_ 15-20 \_\_\_\_ свыше 20 \_\_\_\_

17. Направление дисциплин Вашего ребенка: гуманитарное \_\_\_\_ лингвистическое \_\_\_\_

История \_\_\_\_ математика \_\_\_\_ информатика \_\_\_\_ техническое \_\_\_\_ бизнес \_\_\_\_ спорт \_\_\_\_

18. Является ли уровень обучения в частной школе выше, чем в государственной?: да \_\_\_\_ нет \_\_\_\_ (если «нет», укажите причину \_\_\_\_)

19. Является ли развитие частной школы положительным явлением?: да \_\_\_\_ нет \_\_\_\_ (если «нет», укажите причину А) дороговизна \_\_\_\_ Б) качество обучения не соответствует цене \_\_\_\_ В) прочие условия \_\_\_\_ Г) административный произвол \_\_\_\_ Д) ваши причины \_\_\_\_)

20. Как Вы узнали о существовании этой школы: телереклама \_\_\_\_ газетная реклама \_\_\_\_ уличный щит \_\_\_\_ объявление \_\_\_\_ слышали от других \_\_\_\_

**Верните анкету директору школы. Огромное Вам спасибо!**

## APPENDIX 1.

### Questionnaire 5. Teachers' Survey

Dear Teacher! The Victoria University asks you to participate in the study of private schooling in the transitional societies, China and Russia. Your anonymous and honest answers will greatly assist to this project.

1. Your gender: M F
2. Age
3. Do you have a teaching qualification/ Diploma of Teaching? Yes No
4. Do you teaching experience? Yes No
5. How many years you do work as a teacher?
6. Do you have tertiary Degree/s? Yes No Not completed
7. Do you have Master Degree? Yes No Not completed
8. Do you have Doctor's Degree? Yes No Not completed
9. Which subject(s) do you teach in this school? \_\_\_\_\_
10. Can you work in parallel in other schools? Yes No
11. How you will rank the teaching environment in this school ? 1 2 3 4 5
12. How you will rank the work of an administration in this school ? 1 2 3 4 5
13. Do you think your salary is higher comparing to the salary of teacher in another private school?  
Yes No Almost the same
14. In US\$ what will be equivalent of you salary?
15. How long you work for this school?
16. Do you have an intention to work here longer? Yes No
17. If NO, what will be the reason for changing the schoool \_\_\_\_\_
18. What is your working condition ?  
Full-time Part-time Contract Casual Replacement Ongoing casual
19. Does the school private the work cover?  
Yes Not Partly Not sure No answer
20. How you will rank learning environment in this school?  
Excellent good moderate poor very poor

*Thank you for your cooperation!*

## APPENDIX 2. PHOTOGRAPHS.

**Photo 1. Beijing International School**



**Photo 2. Outskirts of Beijing: Site of the *Huijia* Educational Enterprise Location**





APPENDIX 2.

**Photo 3. *Huijia* Educational Enterprise: Front Gate and Administrative Building**



**Photo 4. *Zhengze* School Students on Study Trip to the Newly Built Neighbourhood Office**



APPENDIX 2.

**Photo 5. *Huangpu Minban* Boarding School: Welcome from the Leaders**



**Photo 6. *Huangpu Minban* College: Boarding Facilities**





APPENDIX 2.

**Photo 7. The Façade of *Huangpu Minban* Boarding College and School-Owned Bus**



**Photo 8. *Shi Xian* College: Main Gate**



**APPENDIX 2.**

**Photo 9. *Shi Xian* College: Classroom during the Break**



APPENDIX 2.

**Photo 10. With the Expatriate English Teacher in front of Beijing *Dong Shi Men* Secondary School**





## APPENDIX 2.

### Photos 11-12. NGO “*Stolichnyj*”: Learning Environment



**Photos 13-15. IB Program in progress: IT Lab, Classroom and IB Office**



APPENDIX 2.

**Photo 16-17. NGO *Stolichnyj*: Boarding Facilities**







APPENDIX 2.

**Photo 18. NGO *Stolychnyj*: Sporting Facilities**



Photos 19-21. Private School *Premier*: Learning and Teaching Environment







## APPENDIX 2.

### **Photos 22-23. Private School *Premier*: Indoor Sportsgrounds and Sanitary Facilities**





APPENDIX 2.

**Photos 24-25. Private School *Premier*: Kitchen and Students Cafeteria**







## APPENDIX 2.

**Photo 26. School *Premier*: IB Office, Year 10 Students IB Files**



**Photo 27. Location of Private School *Venda* in a Former Kindergarten Building**



**APPENDIX 2.**

**Photo 28. Private School *Venda*: Students Arts Works Exhibition**





**Photo 29. Private School *Myslitel***



**APPENDIX 2.**

**Photos 30 - 31. School *Myslitel*: Family Environment**

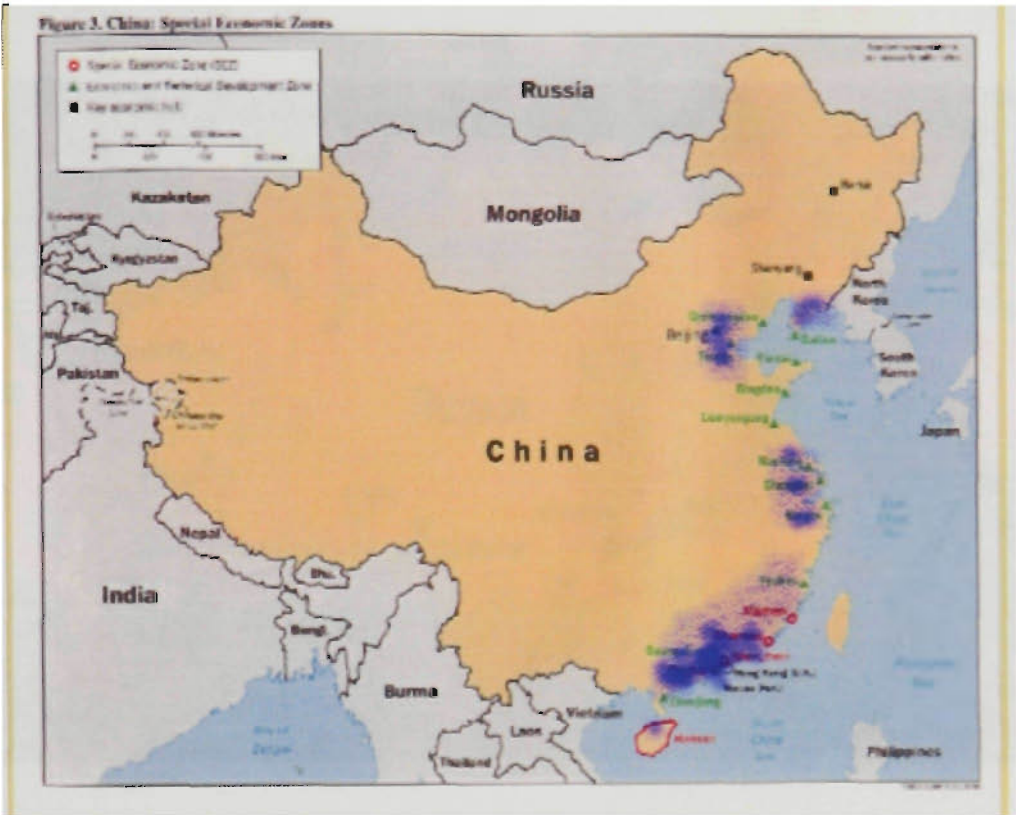




### **APPENDIX 3. MAPPING PRIVATE SCHOOLING**



**Map 1. Spreading Pattern of Private Schooling Across China, 1999-2003**



*Note:* the major allocations of private schools are dashed with blue dots.

*Source:* Adopted from different sources by I. Vasilenko, 2004.

## APPENDIX 3.

### Map 2. Centralised Pattern of Private Schooling in Russia, 2000-2004

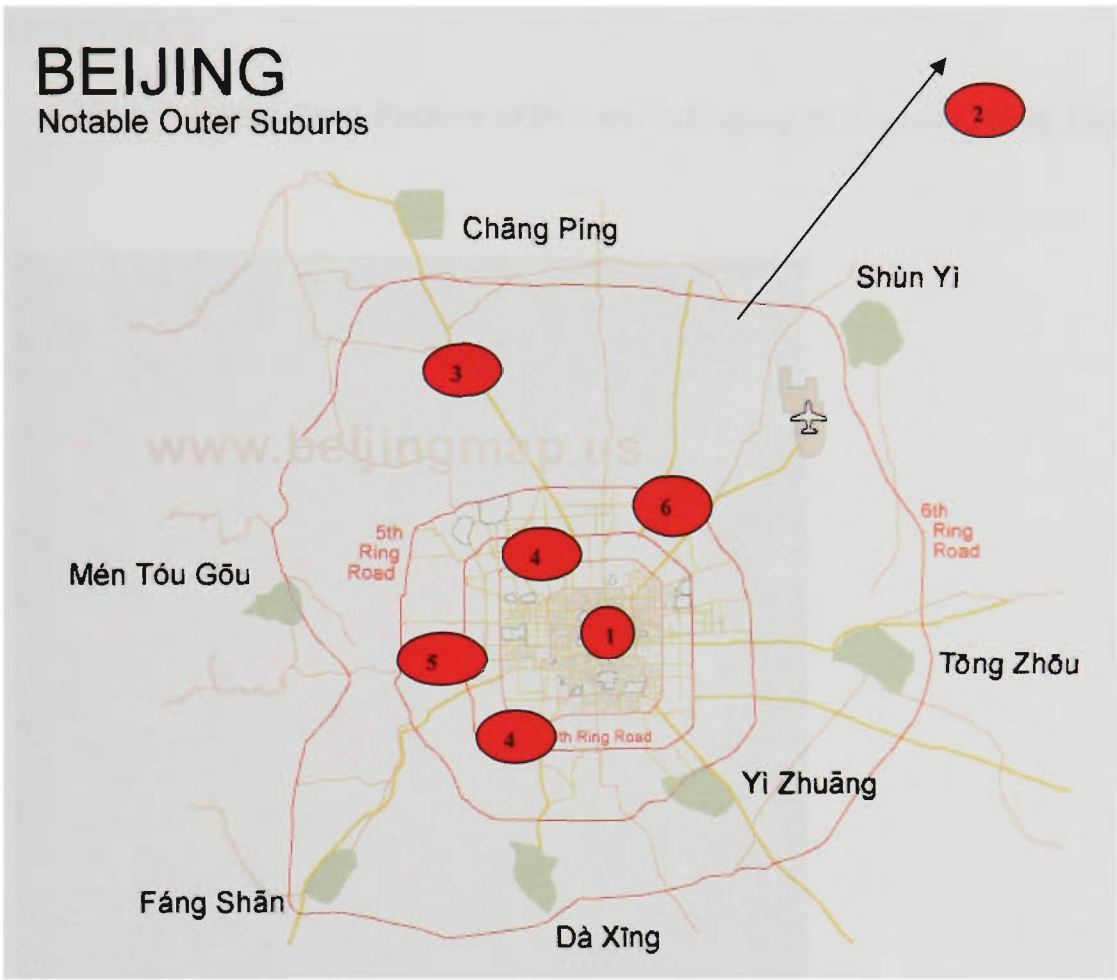


Note: the major allocations of private schools are dashed with green dots.

*Source:* Adopted I. Vasilenko, 2004

APPENDIX 3.

**Map 3. Spreading Pattern of Private Schooling in Beijing, 1999-2003.**



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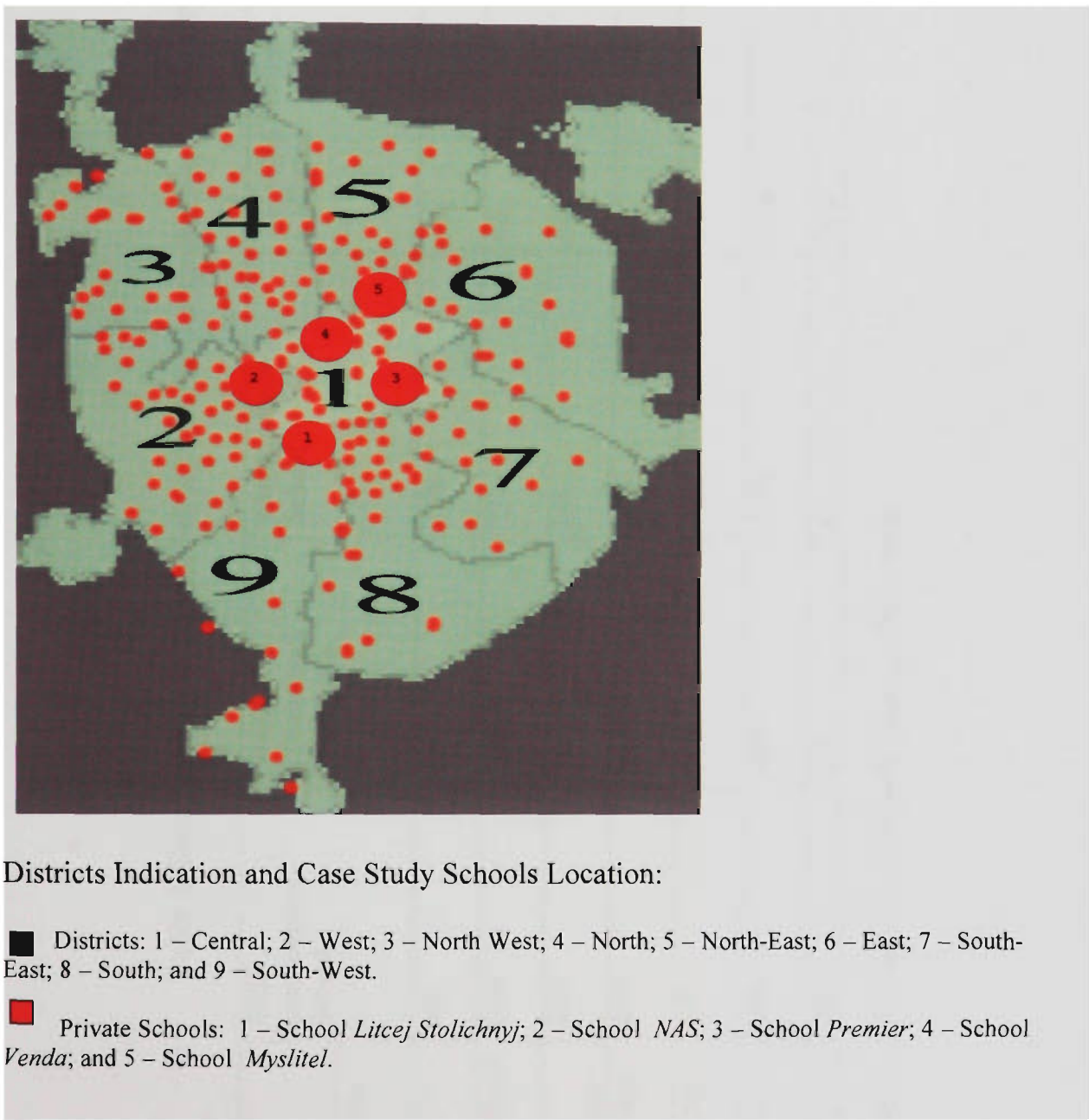
Source: Adopted by I. Vasilenko, Beijing, 2003.

Legend: ● - privately-run schools

- 1 - BISS
- 2 - Zhengze Silide Xuexiao school
- 3 - Huijia Educational Enterprises school
- 4 - Huangpu Boarding minban school
- 5 - Shi Xian Day minban school
- 6 - Xibahe N4 School
- 7 - Dong Shi Men Secondary School

APPENDIX 3.

**Map 4. Centralised Pattern of Private Schooling in Moscow, 2000-2004.**



Source: I. Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Moscow, 2000-2004.

### APPENDIX 3.

Table 1. Data Analysis of Private School Parents Occupations in Beijing, 1999-2003

Names of the Schools	Parents Categories				
	BISS International School	Huijia Educational Enterprise	Zhengze Private School	Huangpu Minban College	Xibahe No4 School
Government functionaries	0%	0%	17%	0%	33%
Managers of national enterprises	0 %	10%	11%	0%	11%
Employees of foreign enterprises	26%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Employees of local enterprises	60%	0%	39%	8%	28%
Personnel working abroad	0%	50%	0%	0%	0%
Individual business people	24%	40%	33%	21%	28%
Beijing Migrants	0%	0%	0	71%	0%

Source: I. Vasilenko. Data Analysis. Fieldwork, Beijing (1999 - 2003).

# APPENDIX 3.

Table 2. Data Analysis of Private School Parents Occupations in Moscow, 2000-2004

Names of the Schools	NGO <i>Stolichnyj</i>	Upper-class Elite Private School <i>NAS</i> •	Upper-class Private Schools <i>Premier</i>	Middle-class Private School <i>Venda</i>	Low-Middle Class “ <i>Myclitel</i> ”
Parents Categories					
Government functionaries	2%	n/a	1%	0%	0%
Managers of national enterprises	0 %	n/a	0%	8%	0%
Employees of foreign enterprises	5%	n/a	7%	5%	0%
Employees of local enterprises	3%	n/a	2%	5%	0%
Personnel working abroad	0%	n/a	0%	0%	8%
Individual business people	10%	n/a	15%	0%	10%

Source: I. Vasilenko. Data Analysis, Fieldwork, Moscow (2000 - 2004).

• Although the schools did not agreed to survey their parents due to the policy of this school, the Manager of this school kindly mentioned in the interview about the only two categories of parents, targeting by “NAS”: (1) Government functionaries and (2) Business people. There are around 50 % of each category presented each year.



APPENDIX 3.

**Table 3. List of Private Schools Practising Non-government Education in Moscow before the Enactment of the Law “On Education” (1992)**

Year	Schools’ Name	Founders	Type of school
1988	Educational Center “Luch and K”	Parents and teachers	Preschool/Primary/Secondary school
1989	Secondary School “Pirogovskaja Shkola”	Parents and teachers	Preschool/Primary/Secondary /High Secondary
1989	School “Malaja Schola”	Director	General Secondary (1-11)
1989	NGO Secondary School “Rasum-L”	Academy of Science	General (1-11)
1990	Memory training school/ Eudetics School	Individuals	General (1-11)
1990	Moscow Litsei “Stypeny”	Individuals	General Secondary (1-11)
1990	Educational Center “Venda”	Parents and teachers	Kindergarten/Primary/ Secondary/ High Secondary/ Tertiary (Branch of RALS)
1990	HGO School “Kredo-Jakimanka” (School of left handed)	Teachers	General Secondary (1-11)
1990	Litsei “Troitzko-Lykovo”	Academic Hutorskij	General Secondary (1-11)
1990	NGO International School “Intergation XX”	Individuals	General Secondary (1-11)
1991	NGS “Intensive”	Parents and teachers	Preschool/)Primary /Secondary
1991	Religious School Boloslova	Orthodox church	General Secondary (1-11)
1991	NGO School “Aleff”	MSU	General Secondary (1-11)
1991	Experimental School	Academy of Development of Russian Society	General Secondary (9-11)
1991	NGO School of Managers “Jamis”	Individuals	High Secondary (9-11)
1991	Moscow Kulturological Litcej N1310	Moscow Committee of Education, Arts’ State Museum, Institute of Philosophy of Academy of Science	High Secondary (7-11)

1991	NGO "School v Chertanovo"	NG Educational Center	Preschool/General school (1-11)
1991	International School "Planeta"	Association of Creative teachers and Administration of Moscow's West Zone	General Secondary (1-11)
1991	Judith Gymnasium	MSU	Preschool (3-5y.o) / General Secondary (1-11)
1991	Litcej "Stolichnyj"	Individuals	Preschool/Primary/ Secondary High (1-11)
1991	NGO "Risk"	Group of parents from State Science Museum and group of educators	General Secondary
1991	NGO School "Renessans"	Individuals	General Secondary (1-11)
1992	Gymnasium Kirilla Mefodia	Orthodox Church	Preschool (5 yo)/ General Secondary
1992	Moscow Girls Gymnasium	Individuals	General Secondary (1-11)
1992	NGO "New School"	North Consul Administration	Preschool (4-6)/ General Secondary (1-11)
1992	NGO School "Lotos"	Teachers	Preschool (4-5yo) Primary Middle Secondary (1-8)
1992	Private School "Spodviznik"	Parents and teachers	General Secondary (1-11)
1992	HGO Shkola Buduzchego "Raduga"	Individuals	General Secondary (1-11)
1992	NGO School "Integral"	Individuals	General Secondary (1-11)
1992	School "Juna"	Parents and teachers	General Secondary (1-11)
1992	NGO School "Naslednik"	Individuals	General Secondary (1-11)
1992	NGO School "Integration"	Peece Fond Russian Branch and individuals	Preschool (3-6 yo) General Secondary (1-11)
1992	NGO School "Education-1"	Individuals	General Secondary (1-11)
1992	Private School "Romashka"	Individuals	General Secondary (0-11)
1992	NGO "New School"	North Consul Administration	Preschool (4-6) General Secondary (1-11)
1992	NGO "Raduga Plus"	Teachers	General (1-11)



### APPENDIX 3.

**Table 4. Best Developed International Schools in China, 1999-2004.**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>Qingdao MTI International School (QMTIS)</b>	A foreign-run school for expatriate children. The Qingdao City Education Commission approves it by the Central Education Commission of China and. QMTIS offer a full program from pre-kindergarten through grade 12, as well as English as Second Language instruction based on American curriculum and the American system of instruction.
<b>Chengdu International School (CIS)</b>	Established in 1997 by MTI, Inc, an American non-profit organisation. The school bridges academic program and Christian religious classes from pre-kindergarten to 12 years' students from expatriate families any race, nationality, and believes. CDIS offers an American curriculum and the American system of instruction.
<b>American International Schools of Guangzhou (AISG)</b>	Independent coeducational day school to provide education for expatriates families' children based on American curriculum and the American system of instruction. English is the Second Languages of instruction from kindergarten to Year 12. The school run the parallel international Program in the year 12 and 12: International Baccalaureate and the Advanced Placement Exams sponsored by the College Board in the United State.
<b>Beijing International School Shunyi (BISS)</b>	Established in 1994 as the first international school in Beijing. It is an associate member of the European Council of International School (ECIS) and is accredited by Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC). The school is a non-profit coeducational English-language school from kindergarten to Grade 12 students. The school provides for 300 children from expatriate families in BJ from 50 countries today the international standard of education.
<b>Chongqing Yew Chung International School</b>	Established for the children of growing number of expatriates in Chongqing that came from Hong King, Macao, Taiwan and other countries in order to foster the Western Development Project. The Chongqing municipal government has highly encourages the establishment this school in order to foster the healthy environment for expatriate and invited specialists working on the Project. The school provides two languages of instruction: English and Chinese.
<b>Concordia International School Shanghai</b>	Established for expatriate's community in order to serve their children educational needs. The school offers an American pre-college academic Program from preschool to High School. The school provides the American Program with modification for those children who have an intention to enter European University. All students from the grade 7 required having a personal laptop.

*Source:* I. Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Interview with Tao Xiping, Beijing (1999)

## APPENDIX 3.

### **Extract 1. “The Interim Provisions for Chinese Co-operation in Running Schools. Chapter 1. General Provisions”**

**Article 1.** These provisions are formulated for the purposes of strengthening control of Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools and promoting education in China and cooperation in the field of education with foreign countries.

**Article 2.** Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools mentioned in these provisions refers to educational undertakings enrolling Chinese citizens as the main objectives and run by educational institutions (hereinafter referred to as cooperative educational institutions) established in cooperation by foreign corporate, individuals and relevant international organization and Chinese educational institutions and their social organizations with the status of legal person.

**Article 3.** Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools as an important form of Chinese education in its international exchanges and cooperation, and serves as a complement to Chinese education.

**Article 4.** Chinese and foreign Parties may run educational institutions of various forms at varying levels, excluding China's compulsory education and those forms of education and training under special provisions by the state. The state encourages Chinese-foreign cooperation in education running schools in the field of vocational education.

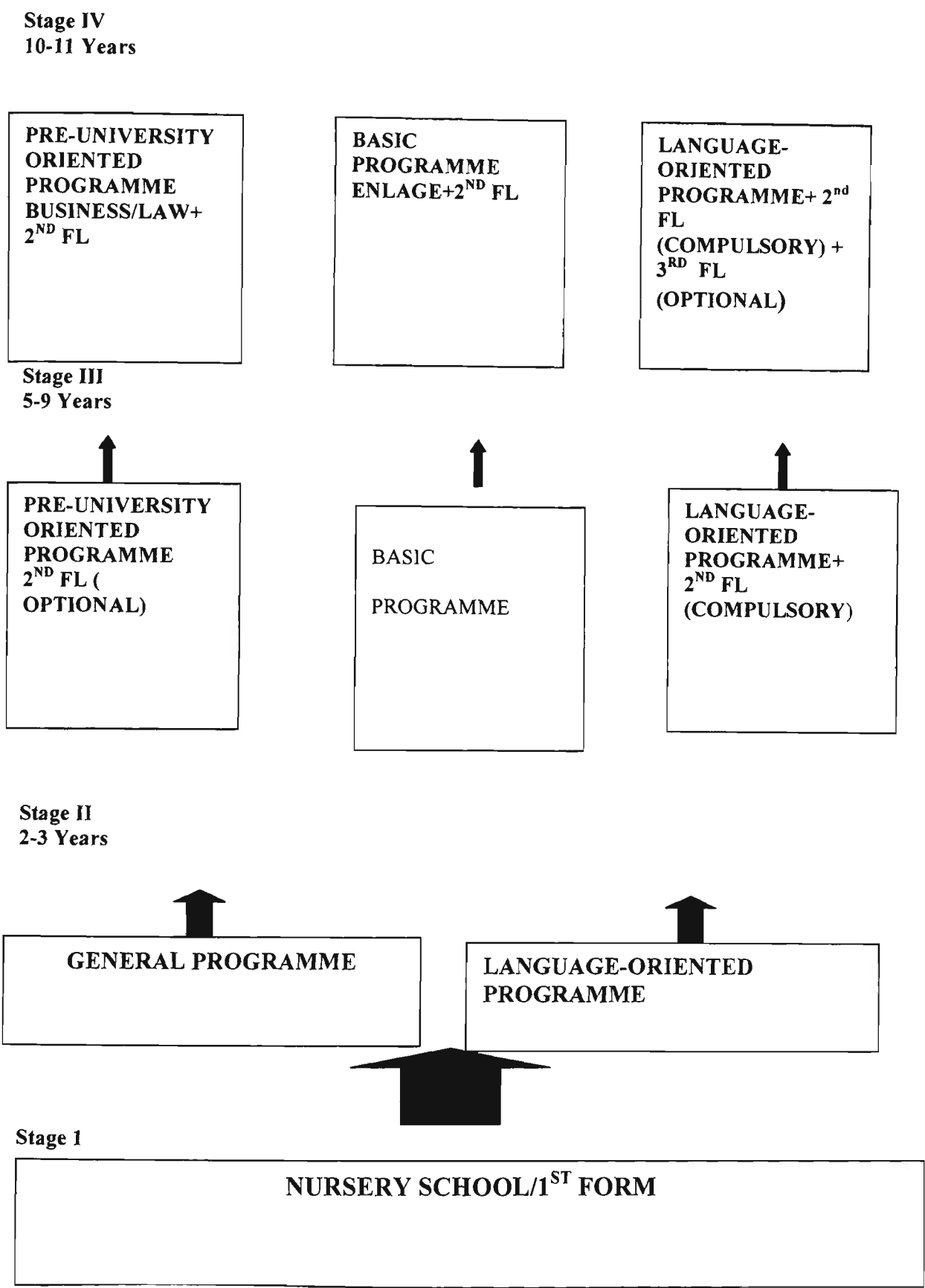
**Article 5.** Chinese-foreign cooperation in education shall abide by the Chinese law and decrees, implement China's guideline for education, conform with China's need for educational; development and requirement for the training of talented and ensure teaching quality, and shall not seek profits as the objective and /or damage the state and public interests.

**Article 6.** Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools in China in pursuance of these provisions is under the jurisdiction and protection of Chinese Law.

**Article 7.** The educational administration of the State Council shall be in charge of Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools. The educational administration of the local people's government at the country and higher shall be in charge of the control and supervision over cooperative educational institutions in their respective localities.

APPENDIX 3.

Figure 1. International Model of Foreign Language Program in *Premier*, Moscow, 2004



Source: Fieldwork, Moscow, 2000-2004.

# APPENDIX 3

**Table 5. Chinese International Schools Offering International Programs.**

Name of the School	Implementation of International Programs	Curriculum Changes
49. Beijing Renmin Daxue Minban Xuexiao	No	No
50. Beijing Tsinghua Zhiqing High School	Partially Incorporated	Yes
51. Beijing Shan Li Silide Xue Xia	American English Program	Yes
52. Beijing N55 Middle School	IB, American Mathematics and English Programs	Yes
53. Beijing Xingzhi Migrant School	No	No
54. Beijing's Xibahe No. 4	British English Program	Yes
55. Beijing Li Shi Silide Xuexiao	No	Yes
56. The New School of Collaborative Learning (NSCL)	IB, American Mathematics and English Programs	Yes
57. Western Academy of Beijing (WAB)	IB, American Mathematics and English Programs	Yes
58. Beijing Zhong Jia Silide Xue Xiao Beijing Sino-Canadian School)	Canadian English	Yes
59. Ershi Xi Shi Di Xuexiao	No	No
60. Tong Ren Min Ban Xuexiao (Middle School)	No	No
61. Beijing International Study Group	IB, American Mathematics and English Programs	Yes
62. Beijing Dong Zhimen Zhong Xue	IB partially incorporated in English (blending mixture)	Yes
63. Feng Cao Di Xue Xiao	American English	Yes
64. Beijing Zhong Hua Mei Xue Xiao (Beijing Private Visual Painting Arts School)	No	Yes
65. Tong Ji Er Shong Min Ban Xue Xiao	No	Yes
66. Beijing Huacheng Silide Xue Xiao	American English	Yes
67. Beijing Sino-Bridging Foreign Language School	No	Yes
68. Beijing's Jinghua Elementary School	American English	
69. Beijing Zhongguancun International School (BZIS)	IB	Yes

70. Beijing's Qimeng School	IB	Yes
71. The Private Changcheng (Great Wall) Elementary School	IB	Yes
72. Shi Xian Xue Bu (Shi Xian private college)	No	No
73. Dong Jian Min Zhong Xue	No	No
74. Beijing Li Mai Xuexiao	American English	Yes
75. Gou Lou Da Xue	British English Yes	
76. Beijing Shi Jinghua Shiyan Private School	American English	Yes
77. International Montessori School of Beijing	International Montessori Program	Yes
78. Tong Ren Zhong Xiao Secondary school	No	No
79. Haidian Minban Xuexiao	No	No
80. Beijing Royal School	IB	Yes
81. BISS International School Shunyi	IB	Yes
82. Junyi Middle School	IB	Yes
83. Beijing Li Xin Xuexiao	No	No
84. Beijing Qinhua Yingcai Shiyan Xuexiao	Australian English	Yes
85. Beijing Sanfin Zhong Xue	No	No
86. Yew Chung Beijing International School	IB	Yes
87. Beijing Shi 21 Shijie Shiyan Xuexiao	IB	Yes
88. Beijing Shi Mei Ya Xuexiao	No	No
89. Beijing Shi Mingge Yixian Zhongxue	No	No
90. Beijing Sili Shuren Xuexiao	American Program	Yes
91. Beijing HuiJia Helide Xuexiao	Australian VCE	Yes
92. Beijing Shi Sili Xingxing Xuexiao	American English	Yes