

## Private Schooling in China and Russia: Challenges to the Local Demands or Echoing the Global Market?

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### 1. Introduction

This paper presents a comparative analysis of the development of private schools in Beijing and Moscow. The People's Republic of China ('China') and the Russian Federation ('Russia') are two transitional societies that opted to change their centrally planned economies via different models of economic transition. In this work the term *transitional society* refers to a society that undergoes significant political, economic and social changes, including education, from a state-run economy to a market economy.<sup>1</sup>

Many works analyse changes occurred in the state-run system of education in China<sup>2</sup> and Russia.<sup>3</sup> However, the comparative analysis of private schooling<sup>4</sup> in these two transitional countries has not been a subject of specific attention.<sup>5</sup> In order to fill in this gap and to develop the conceptual understanding of the development of private schooling, in a transitional society within the frame of Transition Theory (TT)<sup>6</sup>, the study of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow (1999-2004) was undertaken in Victoria University (Melbourne, Australia) as a part of the Doctorate Program.<sup>7</sup>

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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).

<sup>2</sup> In China, 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). The system of education became diversified at all levels new forms of *minban xuexiao* (people-run) schooling are appeared and attracted attention local and international researcher (Yimin 1996; World Bank Report 2002). The contradictions and problems of private schooling in China became a major focus in a number of works (Deng 1997; Kwong 1997; Lin 1999; Mok 1997; Xu 2001).

<sup>3</sup> During the time of the economic breakdown and political turmoil (Hedlung 1999), 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 and a lack of financial support (Cherednichenko 2000) led to a failure to deliver educational reforms in the state-run system of education. 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 and national crises (World Bank Report 1992). Meanwhile, private schools mysteriously blossomed in the Russian system of education and, in a very short time, became a respected part of the system of Russian education (Dneprov 1998).

<sup>4</sup> In this paper, *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.

<sup>5</sup> Bray M. and Borevskaya N. (2001) compare the financing methods in Chinese and Russian non-government education. Birzea (1994) presents the educational reforms in transitional countries, including China and Russia.

<sup>6</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. In contrast to the followers of TT, this paper understands 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.

<sup>7</sup> The total set of 271 schools that belong to the category of private schooling was a matter of the fieldwork investigation that was included the 49 schools as the Beijing file and 222 private schools as the Moscow file.

The paper is aimed to answer to 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, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods has been employed. These methods, complementing each other, provided the instrumental tool for conducting a cross-cultural analysis of private schools in different cultural environments. 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).

## **2. Economic transition and educational transformation**

The paper proposes to understand Transition<sup>8</sup> in the wider context of a complicated course of social, cultural and political events that include changes in education. On the empirical level, in terms of implementation, it is argued that for transformation in education to be successful it must be culture-specific. This paper proposes to view the *educational transformation* and *economic transition* as the two separate aspects of Transition.

Since the implementation of the *gaige kaifan* program that partially liberalised the country’s economy, from 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. In 1990, the growth rate of the GDP 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 per capita income increased 68.1 per cent over that in 1980 (Cheng 1994). In Russia, after October, 1991, then President Yeltsin inaugurated the liberalisation of the economic market, the privatisation of public property became an overnight challenge for those who became winners and for those who became losers (Lapina 1995). The contrast between gradual reform in China and the Big Bang radical approach to reform the Russian economy is presented by the following figure.

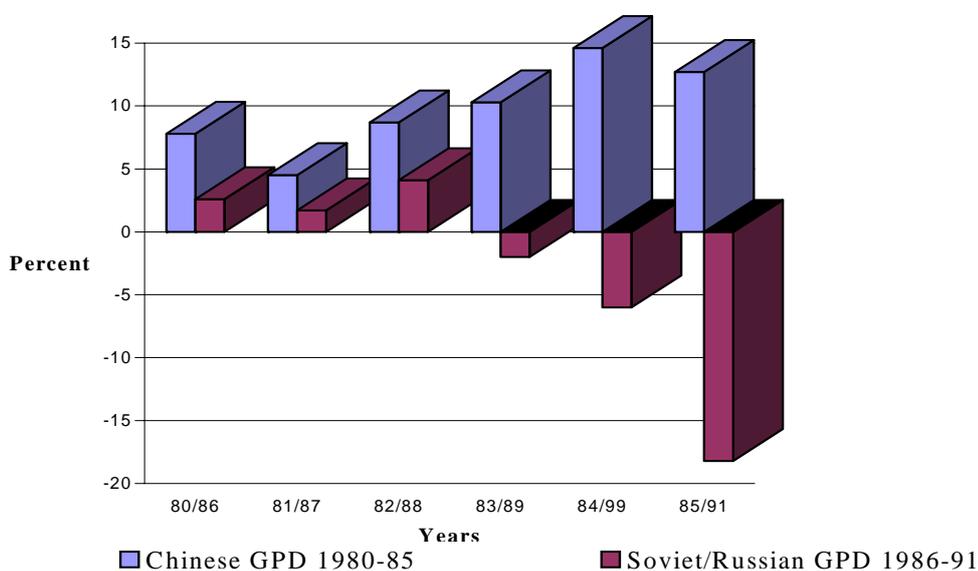
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After serious consideration, seven schools in Beijing and five schools in Moscow were chosen for study-in-depth. Each case of the study-in-depth school represents a particular category of private schooling.

<sup>8</sup> “Transition is 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” (Kornai, 1990:14).

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**Figure 1. Chinese and Russian Economic Performances During the First Years of Transition**



Source: IMF, State Statistical Bureau, 1992.

Years	80/86	81/87	82/88	83/89	84/99	85/91
<b>Chi na</b>	7.8	4.5	8.7	10.3	14.6	12.7
<b>Russia</b>	2.6	1.7	4.1	-2	-6	-18.2

In contrast to the Chinese version of gradual transition, Russia exercised “shock therapy” (Gerber and Holtt, 1998). In the year of 1991, overnight, the centralised economy was swept away, along with communist ideology and open the new era of the Russian society that shortly was labelled as “a bad case of predatory capitalism” (Hedlund, 1999:1) due to ensuing crises in the economy, social and political life (World Bank Report 1992).

Despite contrasting economic reforms and their outcomes (Nolan 1995), the systems of education in both countries developed private schooling.

Table 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		

<b>Liaoning Province</b>	<b>600</b>		
<b>Zhejiang</b>	<b>472</b>		

*Source:* Combined by I. Vasilenko from different sources. Fieldwork, Beijing and Moscow, 1999– 2000

The steady and gradual economic reforms assist the spreading pattern of the development of private school across China.<sup>9</sup> In China, private schools have been accepted in all economically developed provinces and regions. The biggest number of private schools are located in the South of China, around the coastal areas, and cities closed to the Special Economic Zones. 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.<sup>10</sup>

In contrast to the steady pattern of Chinese private schooling (although within a different speed across the country, ranging from slow to swift), the failure of economic reform in Russia has accelerated the development of private schools. Unlike the widespread geography of private schooling across China, Russian private schools are mainly concentrated in two metropolises: Moscow, the current capital of Russia, and St-Petersbourg, the former capital of Russia prior to 1917.<sup>11</sup>

Moreover, 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. 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 economically and politically troubled 1995-1997 was rapidly increasing.<sup>12</sup> In Russia, the failure of all state-run

<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> The distribution of private schools reflects the distinctive characteristics of private schooling that operate in each region. 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. 2001). This tradition of children born out of wedlock to rich Mandarin 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” that was noted in the central regions, such as Beijing and Tianjin (Tsang, 2001).

<sup>11</sup> There is also an insignificant number of private schools that are located in the big industrial cities and seaports, 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>12</sup> As the Russia’s case demonstrated, the withdrawal of the state played a critical role for demolishing state-run schooling (Gershunsky 1993), but, at the same time, can be significant for the development of private schooling within remarkable speed. 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).

sectors, including economy, education and living standard, brings up the development of private schools *with the swift speed*.<sup>13</sup> (See Figure 2).

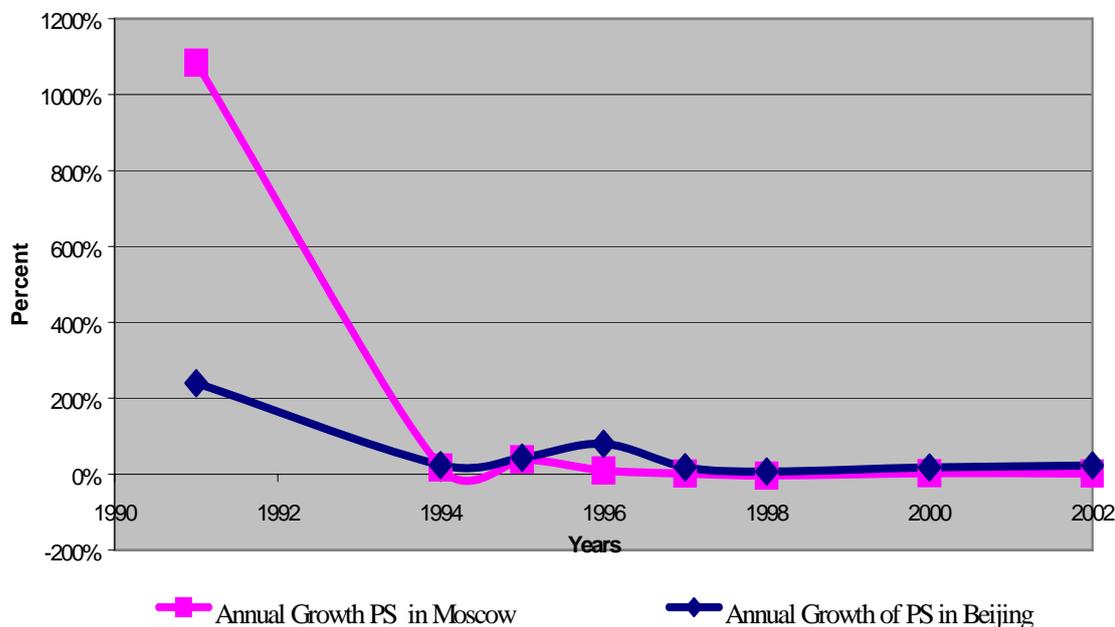


Figure 2: *Comparative Analysis of Annual Growth: Private Schooling in Beijing and Moscow, 1991 – 2002*

Source: I.Vasilenko, Data Analysis, 2004

In Russia, the annual growth of private schools reached 1200% during the most disadvantaged economic years. 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. The failure of economic reform assist in establishing so-called 'virtual economy' in Russia which gives support to transferring the state property in the hands of a small group of Russian, latter called "New Russians".<sup>14</sup> This group demands privately-run facilities, which provide a confident environment for guaranteed safety of their children.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> 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. According to the official sources, 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).

<sup>14</sup> The phenomenon of New Russians was the result of integration of several formerly disparate Mafia-like 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)" (Economist, 1999).

<sup>15</sup> One of the outcomes of our research in Moscow (2000) was a discovery that security for the children in the private schools was a dominant factor in choosing a private school (63%). In 2003, 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 became the second dominant reason for 38 per cent of parents for placing their children in a private school.

Thus, the role of economic reforms in transitional societies, as far as private schooling is concerned, is to increase 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. Therefore, this paper proposed to distinguish two terms: educational *transformation* and *economic transition*. The term *educational transformation* refers to the processes visualised by economic, political, social and global pressures in the system of education that became unequivocal within the open market economy. The term *economic transition* refers to the changes occurred in the economic sphere on the road from the state-run economy to the market economy. Although these two processes are interrelated, at the same time they have established specific conditions that would create quite different arrangements for different forms of private schooling in a particular cultural environment.

### 3. Common stages of educational transformation

Tracing the history of the educational events that led to the establishment of private schooling in Beijing and Moscow, the study discovered that both societies experienced identical tendencies that can be grouped in four stages of educational transformation: (1) Diversification as a response to a local movement of education towards the educational service of individual needs; (2) Decentralisation as a response to economic development and a cultural shift after the implementation of a new economic policy and social changes; (3) Privatisation as a stage of opening up different types of non-government educational organization or semi/privately run schools; (4) Marketisation as a reflection of the need of the global and local markets in education. 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 that are illustrated by Table 2.

Table 2: *Stages of Educational Transformation in China and Russia: Comparative Analysis*

STAGE	CHINA	RUSSIA	Description
Diversification	1974/1975 – 1985	1984–1989	A political and social conceptualisations 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 local and global markets of education

Source: I. Vasilenko, Data Analysis, 2005.

#### 3.1 Diversification

In China, during Diversification 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 *jiayu xiandai hua* (educational modernization)?”,<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> 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

and 2) in the form of diversifying concepts of education (1979-1985). The *liangtiaotui zoulu* ('walking on two legs') concept<sup>17</sup> in secondary schooling was restored. . 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 zhuan ye xuexiao*), (3) vocational schools (*zhiye zhongxue*), (4) keypoint middle schools (*zhongdeng zhondian xuexiao*), and 5) the development of *minban xuexiao* (people-run schools) in the urban areas. As a result, the urban *minban xuexiao* campaign was established and was considered as the experimental zone in education by the state.<sup>18</sup>

In Russia, the stage of Diversification also was a period of debates and battles over the legacy and use of alternative methods in education.<sup>19</sup> 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. 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. By 1989 there were some 500 of these informal groups of Russian educators (Eklof and Dneprov, 1993:17). 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 radial educators.

### 3.2 Decentralisation

In China, Decentralisation became transparent in 1986, when the Law on Nine-Years Compulsory Education initiated the decentralisation local and regional educational bodies. 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

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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'. (Lofstedt 1980). This campaign became a major source of political debates over the changes in education in the winter of 1975-1976. In year 1975 the Ministry of Education, the new government body, was re-installed after a long replacement during the Cultural Revolution. The newly restored Ministry of Education 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 *jiayu xiandai hua* (educational modernization), a new policy in education that was referred to as Open door in education. 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.

<sup>17</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 ..

<sup>18</sup> 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. 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>19</sup> 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.

developed areas in the hinterland, (2) towns and villages with medium development, and (3) economically backward areas. From the Central Committee the specific instructions were given to a local education of each nominated area and the local administration in education to develop their-own supportive programs. In the purpose of relieving the financial burden of the state for expenditure in education, 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 according to the local environment.<sup>20</sup> As a result of it, a new type of privately-run schools was opened across countries (Deng 1997). Privately-run colleges started to develop their independent curriculum according to the demand of the market (Linsheng 1996; Ma 1998).

Decentralisation occurred also in state-run schooling system. 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 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 2001) and urban *minban xuexiao* (people-run schooling) began to foster these needs (see Attachment. Table 3. Social, Economic and Cultural Differences Between Rural *Minban* and Urban *Minban* Schooling).

In Russia, the stage of Decentralisation was a very short controversial period with lasted only three years. The Law of Cooperatives (adopted in May 1988) authorised the registration of the alternative schools (Creative Secondary school, *Gymnasija*, *Lycej*, *Obrazovatelnyj centre* (Educational centre) as an educational cooperative alternative schooling become an independent sector of secondary education that characterise by new features unknown to state-run schooling (see Attachment. Table 4. Main Forms of Alternative Schooling, Moscow, 1989 – 1991). 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 Yeltcin line. 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). 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 (see Attachment. Table 5. Comparative Characteristics Between Alternative Schooling and State Schooling, Moscow). 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.

### 3.3 Privatisation

In China, 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

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<sup>20</sup> 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).

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*<sup>21</sup> and independent international schools.

In Russia, 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 commenced privatisation in Russian education. It 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. Indeed, the rapid development of private businesses in Russia after the liberalisation of the market in 1991 greatly influenced the number of private schools (see Attachment. Table 6. Development of Private Schooling in Moscow, 1994–1999). 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.<sup>22</sup> 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. 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. 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.<sup>23</sup> The

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<sup>21</sup> 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 students studying in private schools (Ling 1996). In Beijing *silide xuexiao* 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 xuexiao* demonstrated different characteristics compared to the existing urban *minban* schooling. In contrast to the appalling conditions of *minban* schools, *silide xuexiao* reflects the increasing demands to improve the learning environment.

<sup>22</sup> 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.

<sup>23</sup> 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).

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.<sup>24</sup>

### 3.4 Marketisation

In China, from the year 1999, the development of private secondary schools began to develop new paradigm framed by two tendencies: the matured local market and its engagements with international communities. As a response to the local market demands, the number of *minban* schools and *silide xuexiao* is continuously increasing. 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. 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.<sup>25</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. 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. The *helide xuexiao* category of privately run schools appeared as a result of the experimentation of the state with a new mode of education, as a part of the global system of education, that ensured education at tertiary level of Western countries.<sup>26</sup>

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. 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*<sup>27</sup>, *Jiu Sili Xuexiao*<sup>28</sup>, *Minban Gongzhu*<sup>29</sup>, *Shequ*

<sup>24</sup> 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.

<sup>25</sup> The most socially recognised that were operating in Beijing by the end of 2003 are (1) Beijing Li Xin Xuexiao, (2) Beijing Qinhuo Yingcai Shiyuan Xuexiao, (3) Beijing Sanfan Zhong Xue, (4) Beijing Shi 21 Shijie Shiyuan Xuexiao, (5) Beijing Shi Bowen Xuexiao, (6) Beijing Shi Jianhua Shiyuan 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>26</sup> Copying the nationally recognised campaign of Special Education Zones (SEDZ) 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 *haiwai* Chinese financial resources into the Mainland.

<sup>27</sup> *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.

<sup>28</sup> *Jiu Sili Xuexiao* (Reverted private schools) – privatised government schools that have returned to the system of government schooling.

<sup>29</sup> *Minban Gongzhu* (State supported people-run schools)- schools that are owned and supported by the government through property and infrastructure.

*Xuexiao*<sup>30</sup>, *Zhongdianxiao Fengxiao*<sup>31</sup>, *Zi Di Xiao*<sup>32</sup> and *Zhongdian Chuzhong Bu*<sup>32</sup>. In Beijing the most developed *Gongban Minzhu* (Converted schools) and *Zhongdianxiao Fengxiao* 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.

The increasing number of international schools reflects the influence of the global market in education. 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. By the year 2003, in Beijing alone there were 19 independent international schools that targeted the global citizens’ market.<sup>33</sup> As this study established, the structure of private schooling in Beijing was far more complicated compared to the system of private schooling in Moscow, however less in numbers. By 2003 in Beijing were 59 privately-run schools of different categories. 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

<sup>30</sup> *Shequ Xuexiao* (Schools in communities) – schools proposed and established by real estate companies on government provided land on the outskirts of a city.

<sup>31</sup> *Zhongdianxiao Fengxiao* (Shadowed schools) – 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.

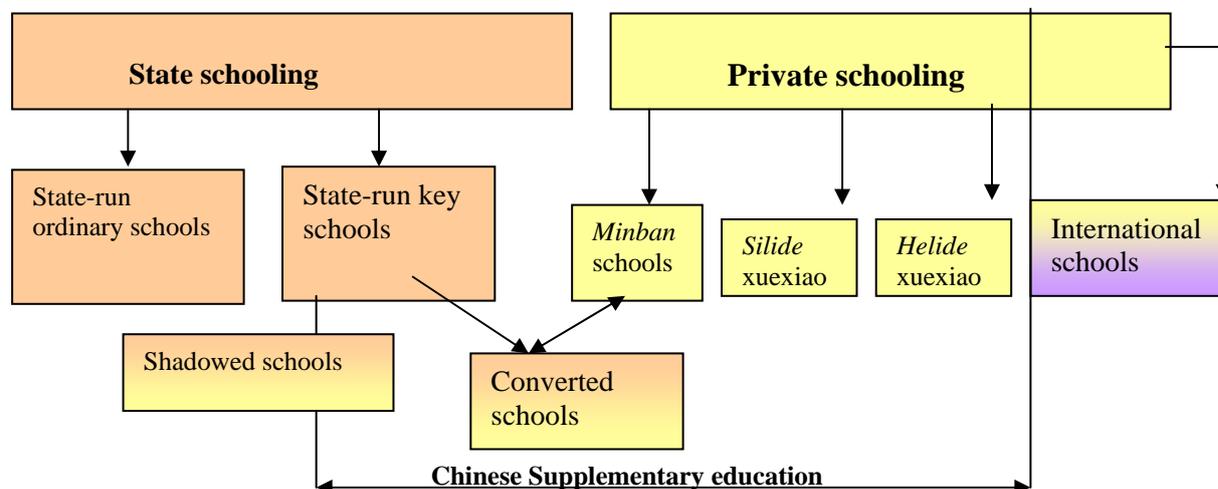
<sup>32</sup> *Zi Di Xiao* (Corporate Schooling) – schools set up and managed by a government owned corporation and organisation (*gouqi*) with attached tuition fees.

<sup>32</sup> *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.

<sup>33</sup> (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 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.

why the market of private schooling is considered to be less popular compared to state-run schooling. The figure below demonstrated the system of Chinese private schooling.

Figure 3: *Chinese Private Schooling, 1999 - 2003*



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

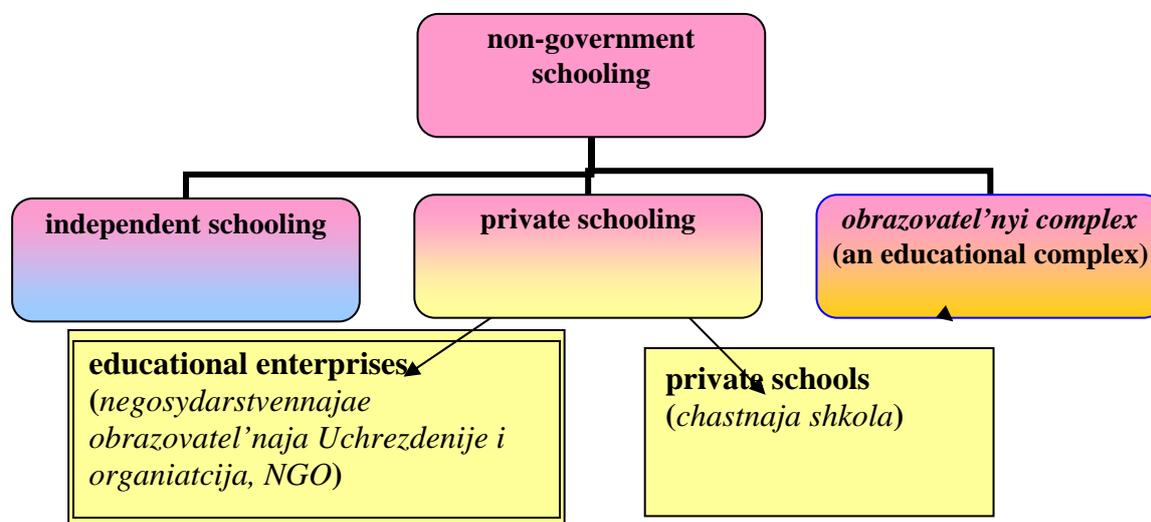
In Russia, the period of marketisation signifies the new stage of the development of private schooling that embraced their services from the locally focused market to the merge with global education. In 2005 there were 246 private schools alone operating Moscow. This system demonstrates the capability of rapid adaptation in accord with demands of the global market and the local market. Private schooling in Moscow developed new types of education formerly unknown in the system of Russian education: (1) ‘education without borders’, and, (2) continuing education.<sup>29</sup> In relation to the graduates from private schools in Moscow, the data analysis of the fieldwork (Moscow, 2000-2004) indicates that 100 per cent of graduates from the private sector of schooling are confident of entering tertiary education, locally or globally (See Attachment. Figure 4. Education without Borders, Moscow, 2004). As students’ survey (2000–2004) revealed, 27 per cent of graduates indicated the possibility to study overseas in the nearest European countries.<sup>34</sup>

Compared to the multi-tiered private schooling system in China, in Russia, the system of non-government schooling is presented by several categories of: (1) independent schooling (embassies and religious schools)<sup>35</sup> (2) supplementary schooling of *obrazovatel’nyi complex* (an educational complex)<sup>36</sup>, and (3) actually private schooling<sup>37</sup> (see Figure 5. below).

<sup>29</sup> ‘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.

<sup>34</sup> As our fieldwork outcomes reveals (Moscow, 2004), graduates from private schools studied in Germany (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>35</sup> Schools of embassies and religious schools are combined 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

Figure 5. *Russian Non-government and Private Schooling, 1999 - 2003*

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

The system of private schools (private schooling) consists of several sub-categories of a) educational enterprises (*negosydarstvennaja obrazovatel'naja Uchrezdenije i organizacija*, NGO), and b) private schools<sup>38</sup> (*chastnaja shkola*). These two sub-categories of private schooling in Moscow offer a combined type of curriculum that includes compulsory and supplementary subjects. By the end of 2004, in Moscow operated all together 253 private schools and educational enterprises. Private schooling was established as a system on the margin that embodied highly competitive characteristics as schooling of superior education, best learning environment, individually tailored programs in any fields, and subjects upon the

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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.

<sup>36</sup> 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.

<sup>37</sup> The educational enterprises in Russia were named as non-government educational organizations (NGO). NGO 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. Compared to NGO, private schools do not have international branches and perform educational service locally.

<sup>38</sup> The names of private schools can be varied. The *litcej* or *gymnasia* can be used instead of 'a school' in order to attract parents willing to give to their children the Arts-oriented type of education. However, the use of *litcej* or *gymnasia* is confusing because these forms of secondary schooling exist in the state-run system. The certain indication of a privately-run school is the individualised name of a school (see Attachment .Table 7. List of Moscow. Private Schools)

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.

#### **4. Cross-cultural classification of private schools in a Transitional Society.**

Upon analysis the data, collected during the first fieldwork (Beijing, 1999-2003; Moscow, 2000-2004), this study established an original classification of private schools operating in Beijing and Moscow by 2000. This first cross-cultural classification is based on the principle of triangulation (See Attachments. Figure 6. Principle of Triangulation: Case Study Framework, 1999), involving 1) the interwoven socio-cultural settings, 2) a reflection of the state reforms or guidance, 3) and types of management of private schools operating in Beijing and Moscow from 1999-2004.

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. Thus, the case studies of the chosen seven privately-run schools in Beijing (BISS, *Huijia* Educational Enterprise, Beijing *Zhengze* Middle School, *Huangpu* College boarding school, *Shi Xian* day school, *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 analysed according to the proposed classification (see Attachment. Table 7. Principle of Triangulation: Classification of Private Schools, Beijing, 2003; and see Attachment. Table 8. Principle of Triangulation: Classification of Private Schools, Moscow, 2004).

The extended curriculum is, indeed, the next specific characteristic that depart private schooling from the state-run system. 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.

#### **5. Current Characteristics of Private schooling in China and Russia**

##### **General overview**

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 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).

In contrast to private schooling in Beijing, private schooling in Moscow is less diversified. Initially private schools focused only on the particular segment of the local educational market – wealthy *Novyj Rusikij* (New Russians). The enormous wealth of this group has dictated the high quality of education and exclusive educational service compared to the state-run schools. Currently, Russian private schooling currently is expanding service towards middle and low-middle class. Hence, private schooling in Moscow can be characterised as the system of education for children from the financial and political elite, upper-middle class, and middle class, low-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, 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 according to the personal demands of students or their parents.

### **5.1 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 unlike in 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>39</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>40</sup>

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, Holders of Highest Qualification of 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>41</sup> A large percentage of the part-time of teachers were holders of *Doctors Nauk* and *Kandidat Nauk*<sup>42</sup> degrees (30 per cent). Retired teachers and unqualified teaching staff were not detected in Moscow’s system of private schools. Table 9. Comparative Analysis of the Private Schooling Human Resources in Beijing and Moscow, 1999–2000 (see Attachment) presents the differences of all categories of teachers working in the system of private schools in Beijing and Moscow. Our results of surveys confirmed the strong dependence on the retired teaching personnel reflecting the limit of the teaching resources.

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 school-run system of schooling 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

<sup>39</sup> Our analysis confirms the percentage of working teachers in Shanghai private schools detected by Yimin (1996). According to Yimin (1996), full-time teacher 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>40</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.

<sup>41</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>42</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 *Kindidat 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)

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.

## 5.2 Finance Distribution

The current stage of market development in private schooling detected the dissimilar pattern of management and money distribution in Beijing and Moscow private schools (see Attachment. Table 10. Annual Distribution Finance of Private Schooling in Beijing and Moscow, 1999 – 2000 (per cent)). 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); (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>43</sup>

## 5.3 Facilities and learning environment of private schools in Beijing and Moscow

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 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, there is undeveloped capacity of the private schooling property market in the country despite the fact that the market was stabilized by 1998.<sup>44</sup>

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

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<sup>43</sup> The category of "Others" expenditure includes the cost of advertising campaign, networking, and cost related to the projects' development.

<sup>44</sup> In Russia, 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 led to ambiguous reading of property ownership (Black and Tarassova, 2003). This confiscatory character of the tax system in Russia affected the group of the individuals who would expose their insecure position in relation to the Tax department, and therefore, to the state legal system (Aslund 1995). This partially explained Under the circumstances that private schooling reflects the immense property capacity of wealthy New Russians, many schools as a 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.

development. Beijing private schooling prefers to invest in property inside of the country, locally, whilst private schooling in Moscow inclines to invest overseas, internationally. Table 11 “Comparative Analysis of the Property Holding: Private Schooling in Beijing and Moscow, 1999–2000 (in per cent)” (see Attachment) illustrates the common and different tendencies of property occupancy of private schools in between Beijing and 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 substantial number 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).

#### 5.4 Social attitudes towards private schooling in Beijing and in Moscow

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.<sup>45</sup> In China, as the study reveals, public opinions about private schooling are varied and depends on the category of private schools. 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 Attachment. Table 12. Data Analysis of Social Attitudes Towards Private Schooling in Beijing, 2003). Parents from the *silide xuexiao* category and the *helide xuexiao* 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 happy with schooling fees, but also have a 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. 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

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<sup>45</sup> 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).

private schools their children attended. These responses indicate that the system of private schools in Beijing is 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.

In Moscow, all parents from private schools (100 per cent) have a positive attitude towards the development of private schooling in the private schools *Premier*, *Myslitel*, *Venda*, *Economicheskij 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 *Litcej 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.<sup>46</sup> 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.

### 5.5 Curriculum Changes

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 1) the local tertiary system of education, and 2) global system of education.

On the local level, 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 running two parallel curricula and implementing a tailored educational program from Year 6 the 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. 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 worldwide-accepted examinations programs

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<sup>46</sup> Thus the parents from schools *Premier* (100 per cent), *Venda* (100 per cent), *Economicheskij Litcej* (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), *Litcej 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.

in China.<sup>47</sup> 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 demonstrated the structure 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 ambitious of private schools transferring the graduates to study overseas. In Russia, in 2002, *Economichskiy Litcej* 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.

## **6. Driving Forces behinds the private schools' development**

In contrast to previous understanding of the role as one of driving forces in Transition, (Polizoy, Fullan, and Anchan, 2003), this paper comprehend that the role of the state in the different cultural environments can be unlike and state plays different roles. In Beijing the state has remained the superior force for guiding the development of private schooling and controlling its outcomes and 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. Thus, the state is one of the major driving forces towards establishing private schooling in China.

In relation to Moscow private schooling, the state demonstrated a volatile character during the different stages of educational transformation. It involved oppression towards alternative schools, a withdrawal, suppression and attempt to control finances. Recent tendencies indicate the changing character of the relationship between the state and private schooling and evidence that the Russian government is making an attempt to integrate the system of private schools with the state-run schooling.

At the same time, along with the state's manpower requirements for modernization in Chian or lack of the state' involvement in Russia, the pressure for international parity was and still is among the immediate driving forces to expand, reform and develop private 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

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<sup>47</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>).

economy, communication and education, all foster private schooling (Zajda 2005). 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 marginalised position and enjoys a ‘middle-men’ 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 forceful 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.

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 varies the character of the curriculum in different private schools and demonstrates the ability to bend with reference to the local and international market demands. The specialized subjects offered as extra-curricular and as a personal investment also reflect the local demands for ensured tertiary education, locally or overseas. 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. Chinese schools are developing the capacity to accommodate the needs in international education not only for local students, but, at the same time to provide a service to meet the demands of incoming international students (See Attachment. Figure 7. Globalisation and Private Schooling in Beijing, 1999–2003). Meanwhile Russian private schools prefer to send their graduates overseas (see Attachment. Figure 8. Globalisation and Private Schooling in Moscow, 2000-2004).

## **7. Conclusion**

Concluding our discussions on the characteristics of 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. The analysis of the development of private schools in Beijing and Moscow demonstrates that private schooling is a result of the twin 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. Thus, the development of private schools in Beijing and Moscow appears to be a result of (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. These two systems of private schooling have dissimilar 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. An affluent number of 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” as same as in Moscow. In Moscow, the number of private schools has met the demands of that market with high social and financial credentials, and therefore, it is unlikely to see the growth of the market of private schooling in Moscow in the future.

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**Attachments**Table 3. *Social, Economic and Cultural Differences Between Rural Minban and Urban Minban Schooling*

<b>Goals</b>	<b>Rural Minban system (1949-1980s)</b>	<b>Urban Minban system (1980s-present)</b>
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

Table 4: *Main Forms of Alternative Schooling, Moscow, 1989 – 1991*

<b>Type of alternative schools</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>
<b>“Avtorskaja shkola” (Creative Secondary school)</b>	Educational cooperatives and enterprises that ensure the achievement of the continuity of education to an advanced level
<b>Gymnasija</b>	Old-fashioned model of classical secondary education that has been modernised by including a set of compulsory, state-regulated subjects.
<b>Lycej</b>	Secondary educational with a focus on instruction in self-determination of humanising general development
<b>Obrazovatelnyj centr (Educational center)</b>	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, 2004.

Table 5: *Comparative Characteristics Between Alternative Schooling and State Schooling (Decentralisation), Moscow*

<b>Characteristics of General Secondary Education</b>	<b>Characteristic of Alternative Schooling</b>
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.

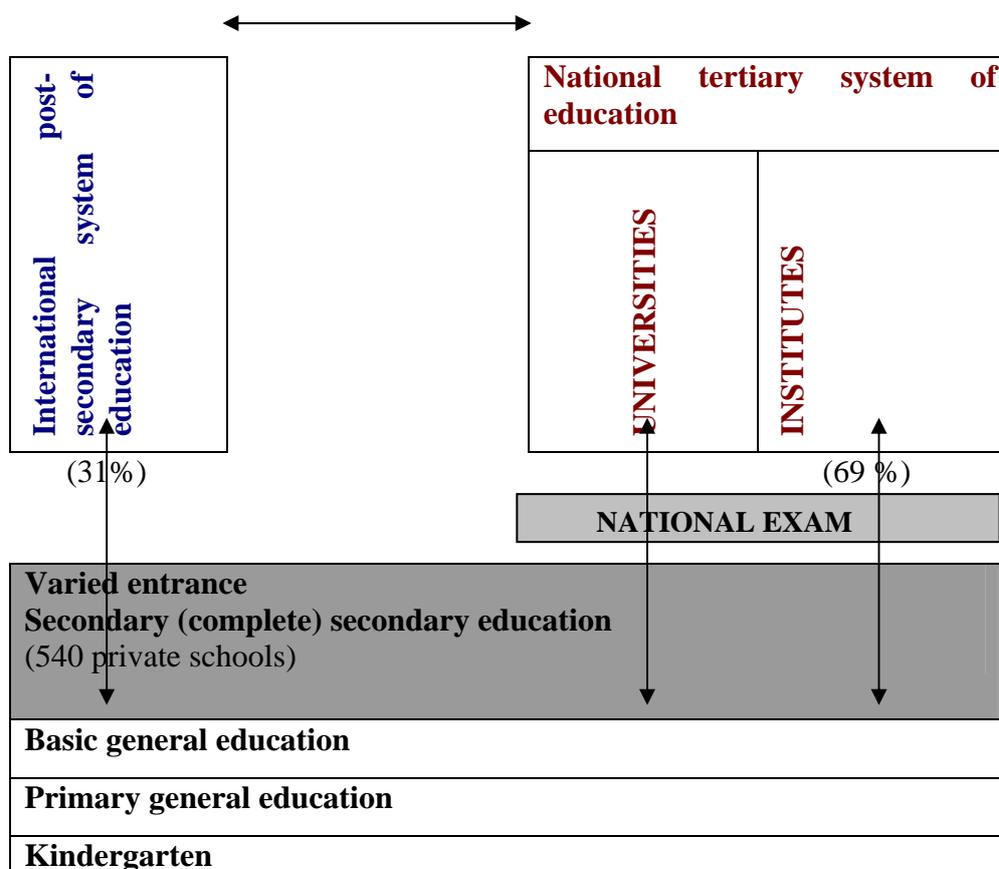
Source: I.Vasilenko, Data Analysis, 2002-2004

Table 6: *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, Fieldworks, Moscow 2000-2004.

**Figure 3. Education without Borders, Moscow, 2004**



Source: I. Vasilenko, fieldwork (2000-2004). Data extracted from the interview with Ms Poroshinskaja, the Head of *Departament Moscovskogo Obrazovanija* (Moscow’s Department of Education) (2000) and the Bulletin Moscow Educational Bureau (2004).

Table 7: List of Moscow’s Private Schools

1) Region	South-West	2) South Region	3) South-East Region
1. American “Marina”	Slavic-English-school	1. Gimnasium “Klassika”	1. NGO “School Young Businessmen”
2. British International School		2. Educational Complex “Vstuplenije”	2. Gymnasija “XXI Millenium”
3. NGO “Alfavit”		3. NGO ‘Intellect – XXI”	3. Private School “MiniShkola”
4. NGO “Promo-M”		4. Licej “Stolichnyj”	4. Private School “Magnolija”
5. NGO “Moskvich”		5. School “Zavtra”	5. Private School “Apogej”

6. <i>Private school “Renaissance”</i>	6. Clerical School Seraphima	6. Private Schools “Intellectc”
7. <i>Religious Gymnasija “Radonez”</i>	7. NGO “Vybor”	7. Private Schools “Istok”
8. <i>NGO “Malenkij Princ”</i>	8. Private school “Gulliver”	8. NGO “Lichnost”
9. <i>Private school whole-day care “Nika”</i>	9. NGO “Znanije”	9. NGO “St. Georgij”
10. <i>Private school “Akademija Jasyka”</i>	10. Private School “Imja”	10. Private School “ESHL”
11. <i>Conventual school affiliated with Andreevskij monastery</i>	11. NGO “Integral”	11. NGO “Kariera”
12. <i>NGO Gymnasium “Doverije”</i>	12. Private school “Naslednik”	12. Educational complex “Nauka Servis”
13. <i>Private School “Danko”</i>	13. Private schools “Premier”	13. Private Educational Complex associated with the Russian Academy of Science “Formen”
14. <i>NGO “Raduga+”</i>	14. Private School “Prestizh”	14. NGO “Erudit-2”
15. <i>NGO “Gimnasija Utro”</i>	15. NGO “Rolf”	15. Private primary school “Svetljachok”
16. <i>NGO “Jasenevo”</i>	16. NGO “Samson”	16. NGO Religious School “Pray”
17. <i>Christian school named after Hinkinsona</i>	17. NGO “Epos”	17. Private School “Novoje Obrazovanije”
18. <i>Private school “Pheniks VB”</i>	18. Private School “Erudit”	18. Educational complex “Novaja shkola”
	19. Private Schools of classical dance and art	
	20. Private schools “Ellada”	
	21. NGO “Perspektiva”	
	22. NGO “Atlant”	

4) North-East Region	5) North Region	6) North-West Region
1. <i>Boarding School “HOP Center”</i>	1. Nataly Nesterova School	1. Private school “Semejnyj Lad”
2. <i>NGO “kredo_Jakimanka”</i>	2. NGO “Talisman”	2. Moscow’s Gymnasium of Kirilla and Mephodia
3. <i>Private school “Potential”</i>	3. Gimnasium “Curricula”	3. Private school Logos”
4. <i>Private school “Nadezhda”</i>	4. Litfond’s Educational Centre	4. NGO “Moscow girls’ gymnasia”
5. <i>Licej “Rasum –L”</i>	5. Juish school “Bet Egudit”	5. Private school “Pheniks”

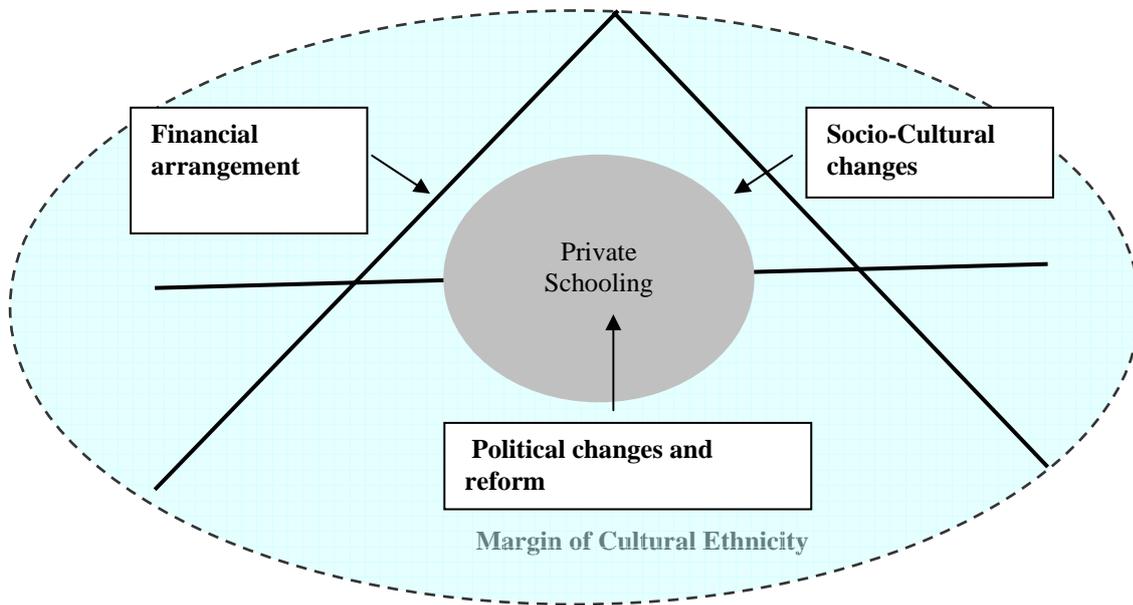
6. <i>Finansovo-ekonomichaskaja shkola</i>	6. Academy School	6. NGO “Juvenes”
7. <i>NGO “Belst”</i>	7. Educational complex “ROSH”	7. International school “Integracija XXI vek”
8. <i>Private school “Gorod Solntca”</i>	8. NGO “Junosct”	8. Private school “Shkola etiketa I vsestoronnego rasvitija”
9. <i>NGO “Lotos”</i>	9. International British School	9. Licej ‘Morozko’
10. <i>Private school “Spodvizhnik”</i>	10. Private School “Znaika”	10. NGO Educational centre “Genesis”
11. <i>Private school “YHA”</i>	11. Moscow’s college advanced education	11. NGO ‘Delta-Prometej’
12. <i>Private school “Venda”</i>	12. NGO “Novaja Gumanitarnaja Shkola”	12. Lyceum “Vozrozdjenje”
13. <i>Private school “Andromeda”</i>	13. NGO “Malvina”	13. Educational centre “Prioritet”
14. <i>Private school Licej Troitce-Lykovo</i>	14. Orthodox Classic Gymnasia	14. NGO “Sojuz”
15. <i>Licej “East-West”</i>	15. NGO ‘Mumi Trol’	15. NGO “Rosinka”
16. <i>Educational complex “Penaty”</i>	16. Private school “Svetoch”	16. Yceum “Kivchg – XXI”
17. <i>Georgian Litcej</i>	17. NGO “Polarnaja Zvesda”	17. Municipal Educational Centre “Krasnogorodskij Licej”
	18. NGO “Nadezda + Vika”	18. NGOP “Opalihovskaja gymnasija”
	19. NGO “Pervalja schokola”	19. NGO “Master-Clas”
	20. Private school “Belst”	20. Linguistic School “Victoria”
	21. Educational Centre “Luch and K”	
	22. Mezhdunarodnyj University’s Lyceum	
	23. NGO Gymnazija “Dialektika”	
	24. Akademichaskaja shkola “Gelan”	
	25. Petrovskaja shkola	
	26. Educational Centre “Kiprida”	
	27. NGO “Pioner”	
	28. St. Georgija School	
	29. NGO “Irmos”	
	30. Anglo-American School	
	31. Municipality educational organisation	

	litcej N11 “Phystech” 32.Private school “Zdorovje” 33 School “ Naslednik”	
<b>7) West Region</b>	<b>8) Central Region</b>	<b>9) East Region</b>
<b>1. Inessa Svetlanova College</b>	1. Greek Classical Gymnasium named A. Shishalina	1. Orthodox school Seraphima Sarovskogo
<b>2. International School “Dom Philippa”</b>	2. Private school “Shkola na Znamenke”	2. NGO ‘Jumla’
<b>3. NGO “School Alef”</b>	3. Moscow Economic School	3. European Gymnasium School
<b>4. NGO “Integracija”</b>	4. NGO “Pervaja Shkola”	4. Jewish School
<b>5. Private school “Budushee”</b>	5. Private school “Pirogovskaja skola”	5. Private school “Advice”
<b>6. Educational Centre “Migdal”</b>	6. NGO “linija Plus”	6. Private school “Retro”
<b>7. NGO “VITA”</b>	7. Religious school Gymnasium of Svjato-Vladimirovskogo Centre	7. Private school affiliated with UN “ Myslitel”
<b>8. Educational Centre “Obrazovanije Plus”</b>	8. Religious school affiliated with the Georgij Preobrazhenija Church	Private school “Planeta”
<b>9. Private school “College Romashka”</b>	9. Traditional Gymnasium	8. Private school “Prosveshenije” ( 1-9 Grades)
<b>10. Educational Centre “Delta”</b>	10. Educational centre of individual development “Erudit”	9. NGO “School Raduga”
<b>11. Private school “ Olimp Plus”</b>	11. Private school of Silonovoj	10. Universal educational Centro
<b>12. Orthodox School Ioanna Bogoslova</b>	12. Private secondary school “Intensiv”	11. NGO “Dialog”
<b>13. Private school “Lomonosov’s School”</b>	13. Private school “Otkrovenije”	12. NGO “Voskrecinije”
<b>14. Teenagers’ school of adaptive education</b>	14. Private school “Sovremennoje obrazovanije”	13. NGO “Intellect Service”
<b>15. Private school “ Killedzh – XXI”</b>	15. NGO “Skola Sontrudnichestva”	14. NGO “School Garmony”
<b>16. Private school “Freestyle”</b>	16. NGO “Risk”	15. Private school “Irida”
<b>17. NGO “Moskovity”</b>	17. NGO ‘Victoria 2000”	16. Educationa Centre “EOS Iris”
<b>18. NGO ‘Stupeni”</b>	18. Linguistic school affiliated with International Languages	17. NGO ‘Klades””

	Institute	
19. <i>School-Lyceum</i> “Venda”	19. Private school “Zolotoje sechenije”	18. Private school “Kolibri”
20. <i>NGO “Bakalavr”</i>	20. Non-profitable school “Afina”	19. NOG “Lad”
21. <i>American school</i> “Judzhin-Center”	21. NGO “Gerkules”	20. NOG “Kamelia+”
22. <i>School of Arts</i> “Garmonija”	22. Private school “Jurisdiction College”	21 Sokoliniki Specialised professional school
23. <i>Linguistic Centre</i> “Inter college”	23. NGO “Litcej Stolichnyj”	22. NGO “Poljanka”
24. <i>International Center of Education</i>	24. Private school “Perspectiva”	23. Private school “Elite School”
25. <i>School “Kontinent”</i>	25. NGO “B and I”	24. NGO “Golos”
26. <i>Boarding school</i> “Rosinka”	26. Educational Center “Kluch”	
27. <i>International school of Ecology</i>	27. NGO “Nadezhda”	
28. <i>School Mir Znanij</i>	28. NGO “Onkrovenije”	
29. <i>NGO “Centre UCCT”</i>	29. Educational Center “Luchik”	
30. <i>International affair and business School</i>	30. Russian People’s University Gymnasium	
31. <i>Gymnasium</i> “Zhukovka”	31. Gymnazium Nataly Nesterovoj	
32. <i>Educational Centre</i> “Intercollege”	32. Gymnasium “Alteir”	
33. <i>Boarding school</i> “Klassika”	33. School “Avogadro”	
	34. NGO “International school”	
	35. Juridical college “Leks”	
	36. Gymnasium “Makpovez”	
	37. NGO Alexandra Nevskoro	

Source: I. Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Moscow, 2000-2004.

Figure 6: *Principle of Triangulation: Case Study Framework, 1999*



Created by: I. Vasilenko, Fieldwork, 1999.

Table 7: *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: Huijia</i> Educational Enterprise	Group investment and group development.	Indirect guidance of the state, occurring via the retired politicians and state-honoured pensioners	Targeting a specific social group and offering culturally-open curriculum that includes different international programs
<i>Selide Xuexiao: Beijing's Zhengze</i> Middle School	Personal investment and development personal	Indirect guidance of the state, occurring via the retired politicians and state-honoured pensioners	Open for all social groups and offering culturally-open curriculum that includes different international programs
Urban <i>minban xuexiao: 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: 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 Xuexiao</i> <i>N4</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.

Table 8: *Principle of Triangulation: Classification of Private Schools, Moscow, 2004*

<b>Type of School and example</b>	<b>Economic Parameter</b>	<b>Political Parameter</b>	<b>Socio-cultural Parameter</b>
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
Non-government Educational Organisation: NGO <i>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
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 – 2004.

Table 9: *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
Honoured 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.

Table 10: *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>Litcej 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.

Table 10: *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, Beijing (1999) and Moscow (2000).

Table 11: *Comparative Analysis of the Property Holding: Private Schooling in Beijing and Moscow, 1999–2000 (in per cent).*

<b>Property Occupancy</b>	<b>Beijing</b>	<b>Moscow</b>
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, ext.)	25	N/D

<sup>N</sup>ote: N/D – not detected

Source: I. Vasilenko, Fieldwork, Beijing, Moscow, 2002.

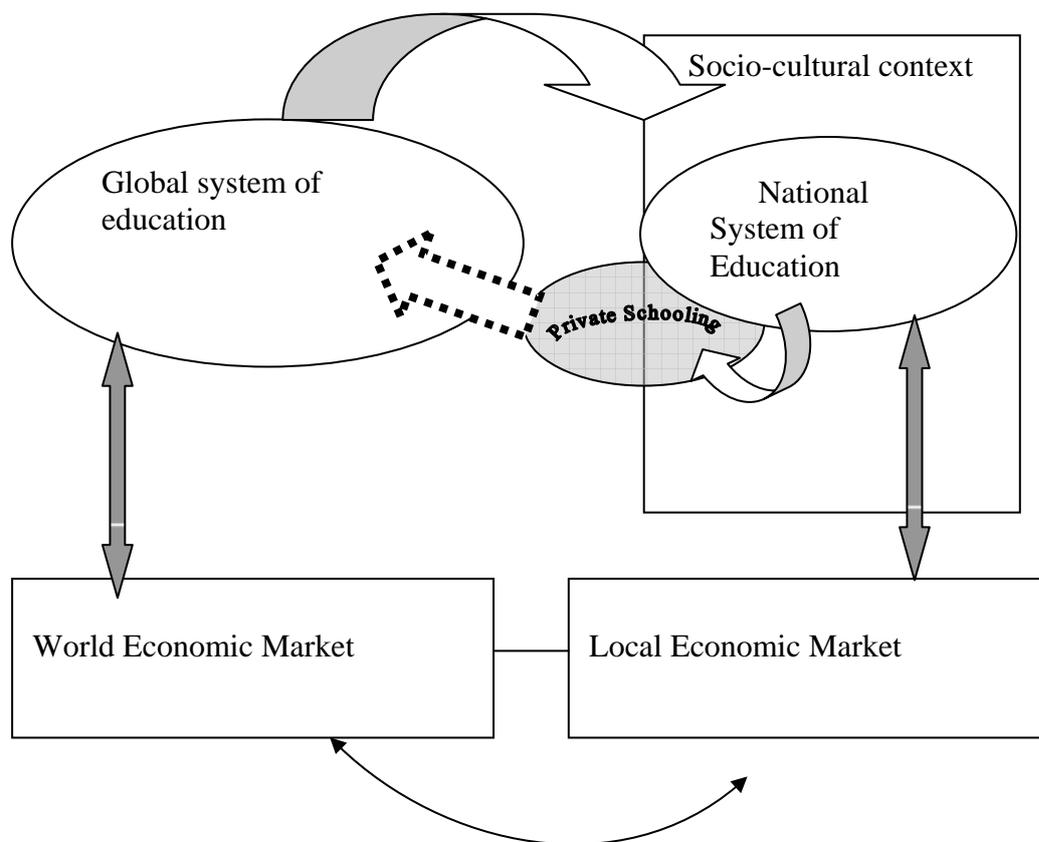
Table 12: *Data Analysis of Social Attitudes Towards Private Schooling in Beijing*

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 Xuexiao</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
Beijing <i>Dong Shi Men</i> Secondary School (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 *Ren Ming Da Xue Xuexiao* and the Beijing Sino-Bridging Foreign Language School.

*Source:* Irina Vasilenko, Data analysis of Parents’ Survey, Fieldwork, Beijing, 1999-2003.

Figure 7: *Globalisation and Private Schooling in Beijing, 1999–2003*

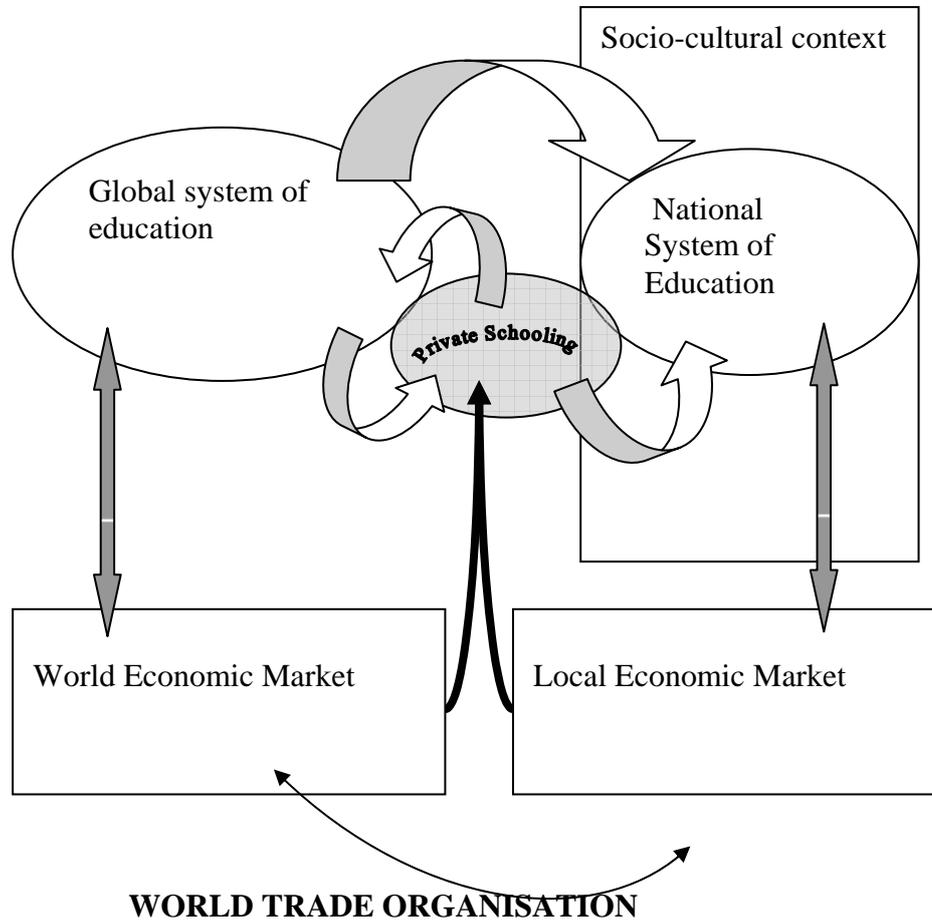


**WORLD TRADE ORGANISATION/ INTERNATIONAL INCORPORATION**

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

Figure 8: *Globalisation and Private Schooling in Moscow, 2000-2004*

Source: I. Vasilenko, Data Analysis, 2004.



Source: I. Vasilenko, Data Analysis, 2004.