

APPENDIX

Educational Reforms In Russia and China at the Edge of the 20–21st century

Comparative Aspects

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This comparative research project deals with the key problems of educational strategy in these two countries during the period of 25 years of reform and modernization - from the beginning of the 1980s up until today. Both Russia and China are trying to obtain leading positions in the world by breakthrough into the information age. Both countries have faced many common problems during the transitional period towards modernization, while, at the same time, educational strategy is quite obvious. Their common experience (in particular, how to use the national traditions, how to avoid a purely technocratic approach to modernization, how to strengthen a macroregulating role of the state etc.) make contrast to the specific approaches of how to solve the problems. This *unique project is the first* in the field of comparative education and could be of a practical and theoretical interest to many countries.

The Russian Academy of Education (RAE) and the Chinese National Institute of Educational Research (NIER) are working together on this large and very promising project in the frame of a bilateral agreement. The Russian chief editors of the project consist of academician Vladimir P. Borisenkov, a vice-president of the RAE and the chief editor of "Pedagogy" magazine, and a leading Russian sinologist Prof. Nina Ye. Borevskaya, a vice-chairman of a Russian Council of comparative education and a member of a Standing Research Committee of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WC-CES); from the Chinese side it is Prof. Zhu Xiaoman, the President of NIER and an Honorable foreign member of RAE.

The volume includes 11 chapters, which illuminate the key problems of modern educational strategies. Each chapter is written in parallel by outstanding Russian and Chinese scholars and accompanied by their own comparative analysis. These initial conclusions are summarized in the framework of comparative education theory in the final chapter, which represents the Russian, Chinese and global viewpoints.

The English Appendix, containing all comparative analyses, is quite representative of the book and gives the reader an understanding of the entire volume.

COMPARISONS

Chapter 1.

EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

*VIEW FROM RUSSIA**

V. P. Borisenkov

Comparative analysis of educational strategies, applied in Russia and China in 1980–2000 years allows the following conclusions:

1. In conformity with challenges of the time during that period Russia and China faced the need to launch democratic restructuring and modernization of education. In the contemporary world, education serves the basis for social and economic wealth, and is a key factor of economic growth and social progress as well as a powerful resource for consolidation and sustainable dynamic development of a civil society. With the shared task to create prerequisites for the sphere of education to overcome the procrastinated stage of «late modernization», there was a remarkable difference between the two countries in terms of their respective starting conditions and selected strategies for innovation of education.

2. As far as the starting conditions were concerned, they appeared to be more favorable in the Soviet Union (from 1992, after collapse of the USSR – in Russia) than in China. First, by such objective indices as development level and academic provision of education, population literacy, realization of universal compulsory education, training of teaching personnel, material and technical equipment of educational institutions, and many others, the Soviet Union, being a world leader in the given sphere, was much more advanced than the PRC. Another noteworthy point is that after the end of the «Proletarian Cultural Revolution» in 1976 China had to overcome thereby caused chaos, to regulate the sphere of education, to resume operation of educational institutions and recommence entry exams at the tertiary education level, to regain the prestige of education and the public respect for intellectuals as well as academics and teachers. While bringing order into the given sphere of social life, it was necessary at the same time to enact new principles for the development of education and to assert its priority status within the general reform strategy designed by Deng Xiaoping, which included decentralization of education governance system, expansion of autonomy for educational institutions, phased realization of compulsory nine-year education, development of education structure that would meet the requirements of socialist

* Russian comparisons of chapters 1–11 are translated by T.A. Karganova.

market economy, and building of a non-government sector in education with the state remaining as the main actor of education policy.

Resolution of so heterogeneous tasks required clear leadership as well as a consistent and thoroughly coordinated program of actions. Such leadership was provided by resolutions of the CPC Congresses, while in 1993 the CPC CC and the PRC State Council published the «Program for Education Reform and Development», which defined the principal priorities of basic and vocational education development, realization of 9-year compulsory education, growth of government funding for education up to 4% of GDP by the end of the XXth century, and building of non-government sector in education. Within the task to expand market relations under the regulating role of the government, the Program, as far as the higher education was concerned, provided measures to abandon the full government provision for university-level students and to introduce the cost-recovery principle, as well as modification of the system for government-run employment of graduates. As a whole, the education development strategy in China was marked by consistency as well as by phased expansion of the ever more profound reform of education.

3. The best-case scenario for the implementation of the 1980s reform process in Soviet (Russian since 1992) education would have been the conservation of Soviet achievements and the overcoming of its drawbacks, such as state monopoly, rigid and excessive centralization in managing schools, dominance of communist ideology. Same approach could be followed in solving the problems of curriculum and methodology at all levels, from kindergartens through universities.

Unfortunately it should be stated that the real process of education reform in Russia turned rather far from the principles of supplementing and succession. As a result, the destructive trends quite often prevailed over the constructive ones, thus weakening pedagogical activities in educational institutions and aggravating the social inequality in the given sphere. To some extent, the sphere of education has manifested the technocratic and inhuman approach to realization of market reforms in Russia and the continuous imbalance of the economic and social policy disadvantageous for the latter.

The crucial problems for the future of Russian education are: improvement of a financial position of teachers, introduction of obligatory 11-years school education, alignment of chances for acquiring a high-grade education.

VIEW FROM CHINA*

Li Zhang, Yinfu Yang

In 1978, China began to carry out the policy of reform and opening to the outside world, stepping into a new stage. Nearly a decade later, at the end of 1980s, the Soviet Union was shocked by drastic changes and disintegrated. A new Russia was born. The economic and social reforms develop in different ways in the two countries. And the educational reform in each country takes on specific traits. By studying the texts of research reports on educational reform strategies of China and Russia, we are going to discuss the differences in the following two aspects.

1. China's Gradual Reform Mode and Russia's Radical Reform Mode

In the educational reform, China and Russia choose opposite modes, the former the gradual reform, and the latter the radical one. While leading Chinese in the practice of construction of socialist modernization and reform and opening-up, Deng Xiaoping put forward the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. According to the theory, China, now at the initial stage of socialism, must adhere to the basic line of «One focus, two basic points », that is focusing on economic construction, adhering to the four cardinal principles and persisting in reforms & opening to the outside world. The fundamental task is to emancipate and develop productive forces. As Deng said, development is above all other things, and reform, the second revolution in China, is to emancipate and develop productive forces. We must balance reform, development and stability. Development is the aim, reform is the drive, and stability is the prerequisite for reform and development. Here reveals the obvious feature of gradual reform mode in China. Under the guidance of Deng Xiaoping's theory, China adopted the strategy of giving priority to the reform of economic system. The PRC has experienced several stages during 14 years after building socialist market economy was promoted in 1992. The stages include «taking the planned economy as the mainstay and market regulation as a supplement», then «a planned commodity economy», and next «a planned economy is not equivalent to socialism, because there is planning under capitalism too; a market economy is not capitalism, because there are markets under socialism too», and so forth. Along with the staged reform of economic system, educational reform in China was also carried out step by step from the phase of mobilization and exploration, to the phase of primary practice, and the phase of reform accordant with the needs of socialism market economy, finally to the phase of promoting the qualification-oriented education in an all-round way.

At the end of 1980s, Russia experienced drastic changes. The Soviet Union disintegrated and socialism was eliminated from Russia's economic basis and ideology. Political liberalization and economic privatization along with «Shock Therapy» were advocated. Accordingly, educational reform in Russia followed the radical way. «In the Soviet Union,

* All Chinese comparisons are translated by Chinese translators.

reforms were advanced like greased lightning. In fact, the best solution was to keep the achievement of the existing educational system and overcome the shortcomings. However, a departure from the principle of perfecting and inheriting controlled the reform». Take the first stage for example. The Russian author named the period from late 1980s to mid 1990s «a period of euphoric reform». In this phase, the essential of reform was negating uniformity of the educational outline and advocating humanism. And the reform aimed at the universal human values rather than those of a certain class.

To a certain extent, Russia's radical educational reform underwent a process of «negation of negation». In the first phase of the educational reform, instead of developing the usefulness and discarding the uselessness of the former Soviet Union's educational system, the attitude was completely negating the past with the destroying power. In late 1990s, the sense of situation crisis destroyed the inebriation of liberty. And the lost of soul of liberty induced anarchy in the country. After the euphoric period of reform, convinced of the necessity to avoid revolutionary actions, Russia embarked on rehab for the past education. As Russian philosopher V. Solovyov said, during the interim, negation of ancient traditions and values usually penetrated during the end and initiatory era. He also pointed out that history had proven the unilateralist and fatalness of the indiscriminate negation of the past. «Obviously, rational thought cannot be replaced by emotional catharsis», – concluded this statement my Russian colleague.

2. Comparison of Several Strategic Relationships in the Reform

(1) Strategic Status of Education

Before the policy of reform & opening-up was conducted, dominated by Cultural Revolution and the idea of «taking class struggle as the key link», education was not paid adequate attention. Its function of serving proletarian politics was emphasized, while the status and quality of education was not guaranteed. After Cultural Revolution, Deng Xiaoping came forward to develop education, emphasizing respect for knowledge and intellectuals. From then on, the ethos of showing respect for teachers and attaching great importance to education has come back in China. Deng ever said, with developed education, a country with a population of one billion would beat all other countries relying on powerful human resources. Later on, the strategy of invigorating the country through science, technology and education, and the strategy of reinvigorating China through human resource development were established. The strategic position of education was greatly promoted and given prominence.

The following sentences can describe the keynote of educational reform in Russia. «The Soviet schools were highly effective in coping with concrete tasks, including eliminating illiteracy, enhancing the net of educational services, fostering labors, building the scientific and technological potential, constructing national educational system, and ensuring the popularity of education. Additionally, the basic of the Soviet education, particularly of natural science education and mathematics education, should be paid attention.» It can be concluded, educational reform in Russia emphasized the liberty of education rather than the strategic position of education.

(2) Education, Social Development and Human Development

In Russia, the first phase of educational reform focused on liberty and humanism. Thanks to democracy, uniformity and unilateralism were eliminated from teaching and process of education. In the schools of new Russia, students are encouraged to give opinions independently, make judgments freely and promote assumptions and solutions. The syllabus for humanities was examined and revised so that teachers and students could tap

and develop their potentials. The Russian Education Law (1992) was highly appraised by the international community and UNESCO as one of the most democratic laws in the world. In Paragraph 5, Article 2, of the Russian Education Law, liberty of education is stipulated as a principle of national policy. In the law it is also provided that the unconstrained development of personality and cultivating the respect to laws and liberty are prioritized as part of educational policies. From then on, especially in the third phase of reform, the function of education to meet the need of social & economic development was further stressed. It is also the case now. As a Russian scholar said, there were two tendencies competing with each other during the reviewed period. One was a technocratic approach to education modernization, which based on autocratic views and took education as a precondition for promoting prosperity of the country. The other, humanistic one, which rooted from liberal education, regarded the development of a human being as the most important value.

In China, the relationship between education and socioeconomic development was first emphasized in the reform. The priority was reflected not only in the debating on essence of education, but also in the education strategic guidelines of «Three orientations» (education should be oriented towards modernization, the whole world and the future) advanced by Deng Xiaoping. Education should serve the construction of socialist modernization, and the construction of socialist modernization should rely on education. More emphasis on the political function of education and the relationship between education and superstructure was replaced by more emphasis on the economic function of education and the relationship between education and productivity. With the changing era, the relationship between education and the development of a human-being, as well as the relationship between education and social development are paid much attention. It is clearly stated at the 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) that, education should serve the people and the construction of socialist modernization. At the Third Plenary Session of the 16th National Congress of CPC, the outlook of science-based development with human beings as the key was adopted for the purpose of offering quality education to meet the needs of all citizens. Emphasis was laid upon both the concepts of «education and personal development» and «education and social progress».

If sorted, education reform in Russia changes from the emphasis on the development of a human-being as an individual to that on the social development, while education in China is just the opposite, that is: from the emphasis on the social development to that on the development of a human-being. In spite of the different judging indexes adopted in the two countries, their cognitions on the functions of education are more comprehensive.

(3) The Relationship between Government and Market, and the Attributes of Education (Non profit-making and Industrial)

Both China and Russia are confronted with the shortage of educational finance. Although Chinese government has affirmed the strategic status of education and has made great efforts to increase educational appropriations from government, the proportion of fiscal educational funds in GDP is only 2.79%. Some measures are introduced, for example, building a multi-channel educational funding system in which the governmental funds will remain as the main body, but people should be encouraged to care about education, developing non-government funded education, and reforming education provision system for public schools. Having realized the primary stage of socialism, China carried on the system reform of sharing educational expenditure. In 1997, higher schools began to reform on student recruitment and fees-charging, and perfected finance education system. In the new century, the function of government will transfer from economic construction to pro-

viding public service, the public finance system will be perfected, and well-off society and the socialism harmonious society are under comprehensive construction. Therefore, the non-profit making feature of education will be further stressed.

Education status in Russia is much more complicated. The promise of ensuring the priority of developing education has actually been moved away from Russian Education Law in 2004. In the 1990s the increasingly worsen situation of economy and educational financing made education status more complex. Furthermore, appropriating funds in terms of the remaining principle seems to be a heavy strike for higher schools. In Russia, it's considered that market mechanism can not only resolve the problem of the shortage of educational funds, but also promote self-development of education and improve education quality, i.e. if the state was the only payer for higher education, a large number of specialists in the labor market would not be able to find a job, while there would be a lack of professional persons the economic development really need. The advantage of fees-charging education is making demanders of educational service more aware of the quality of educational service. Thus, a new problem in the future for Russia shall remain, that is how to define the responsibility of the government in educational funding.

To sum up, although there are several *different features* of educational reforms in Russia and China, there is still *one common ground*, that is, education reform accords with the domestic economic, political and social reforms. Being a subsystem of society, education cannot develop beyond laws of social macro system. In a historic view point, the gradual reform in China has made significant historic achievements. The sustained rapid growth of economy and the stability in society and politics have gained recognition of the whole world. However, some cumulative deep conflicts, which were not touched in the former reform, should be studied and settled in the future. Researching and analyzing the experience and lessons from Russia's education reform are helpful for our government, education and society to prepare for the new century.

Chapter 2.

EDUCATION GOVERNANCE REFORM

VIEW FROM RUSSIA

V. I. Eroshin

1. Comparative Analysis of Reforms In Process

Reforms of education governance in Russia and China at the juncture of the XXth and XXIst centuries *pursue similar objectives and tasks*, such as: to modify the role of the center – that is, to strengthen its *consolidating* function and to eliminate the pressure caused by *daily administration* of the education system; to expand the powers and to strengthen the responsibility of local government bodies for development of *territorial education complexes (TEC)*; to create proper conditions for actual autonomy of educational institutions (EI) in their academic and economic activities; and, to involve the public in the governance of the education.

At the same time, substantial differences are evident between the courses of reforms in the two countries. In China modernization of education governance is being conducted in the *phased and planned* fashion, and the center is doing quite well in sustaining the consistency of governance. In Russia initial years of reform were marked by the prevalence of *radical* tendencies. The market of education services was oriented almost entirely to adjust the needs of *individual* consumers while government regulation was painfully insufficient, and in the essence, the *consistent unity of governance* in the given sector was actually *lost*. The entire system of general education almost entirely has become the responsibility of municipal authorities, while no procedures were drawn and no legislative platform was built for their interaction with the federal center and regional authorities. On the other hand, most of institutes of higher education as well as institutions of secondary vocational education remained in direct subordination to the federal government bodies and meanwhile acquired considerable and, in a sense, excessive autonomy, which added to the tangible imbalance in the system of education and use of specialists.

As a result, considerable effort was required in the next stage of educational development in order to form an *efficient vertical governance* that would be built under new principles and provide for a balanced and clear distribution of prerogatives and responsibilities among the different tiers and chains in the sector-governance system. This task was fulfilled in part during the administrative reform of 2004–2005, as a result of the new demarcation of responsibilities in the field of education among the federal center, the RF constituent subjects and local government bodies.

Therefore, a comparative analysis of the contemporary process of decentralization in the realm of education in the two countries allows not only to state the similarity of the set objectives, but as well to present the certain advancement towards one another – that is,

while consistent work for decentralization of the *sector governance* continues in China, measures are being taken in Russia in order to consolidate the role of *government macro-regulation* in the sphere of education.

2. Comparing the Rights and Duties of the Center and Local Bodies

The educational governance systems, both in Russia and China, are structured in three levels, yet at the same time are remarkably different from one another. In China all education governance bodies are included in the rigid and unified government structure, while in Russia, the lower-ranked education governance bodies administratively depend much less on the higher level bodies. In fact, the regional education-governance bodies, which are incorporated in the government vertical governance, are regarded *first and foremost* as the structural components of the respective regional administrations, and only then as the links in the education governance system at the sector level. Besides, in the absolute majority of Russia's regions the education governance bodies of the *municipal* level function within the system of *local community self-governance* and are not included in the federal government governance system for education.

In the vocational education (VE) governance system, the *more modern mechanisms* are operating in Russia. The state controls the situation in the given area with the standardization of curricula, the setting of certain requirements for the process of education, the enactment of norms for the system development, and by defining the government order for training specialists. Under such circumstances, the administrative interference by the federal center in the activities of TEC subordinated to the regional authorities is unnecessary. Territorial bodies resolve the tasks connected with development of VE on the basis of available funds and other material factors.

At the same time, in order to realize such model of government participation in the VE governance, it is necessary to resolve a difficult imperative – that is to consider the interests of all groups who consume education services in drawing the respective social order. At the present time however even in the RF the state is the only active participant in these processes. By all evidence, interests of other consumers, such as workers and employers are considered insufficiently – at least for the reason that the necessary mechanisms (in particular, the legal ones) are simply non-existent.

3. Comparing the Public Participation in Education Governance

There are considerable differences between Russia and China in the area of public participation in education governance. While the Russian Law «On Education» proclaims the *government-and-public* nature of education governance (art. 2, § 6), the respective Law of China simply allows the public «to take part in the governance of educational institutions». Therefore apparent, the lawmakers of each country approach the issue of educational governance in entirely *different way*. Not only the Russian laws allow for the participation of the public in self-governance of EI, but they detail the public involvement in the *resolution of the very broad range of issues* connected with development of education.

In practice, however, such functions of the public in education government in the RF are quite limited. Multiple «public» councils, founded under the executive authorities, function as *consultative* bodies. As proved by experience, use of such public councils *within the framework of the bureaucratic system* does not generate positive results in either of the two countries (while effectively discredits the idea of government-and-public governance of education in Russia). For the public governance bodies to operate in a productive fashion their formation must be made transparent and they must be provided with the

power to influence the decision-making process (such as expert assessment of important decisions taken by administrative bodies, the right of veto, etc.). At this point, measures are not in place to allow for the productive operations of public bodies in the educational governance neither in Russia nor in China.

In the sphere of EI self-governance, the Russian attempts seem more promising. As early as in 1990s the higher-education institutions and later the schools as well set up a number of self-governance bodies such as student councils and boards of trustees. At the present time this process reached the new phase, as public self-governance is becoming an inalienable part of intra-school governance.

In China, these processes proceed in a passive fashion. Executive or trustees' council are organized in non state-run EI. In the state-run EI, self-governance is limited by the activities of pedagogic and parent's councils, which proxies are rather limited.

4. Comparing Domestic Governance Within EI

In terms of EI *autonomy*, as well, Russia appears to be ahead of China in matters pertaining to the pedagogical and house-hold activity of EI. While China is making just the initial steps toward academic autonomy, this autonomy in Russia is stipulated by laws and is a structure-forming element of the policy underway in the sphere of education. At the present time Russian EI are autonomous in realization of the teaching process, selection and appointment of personnel, as well as in academic, financial, economic activities. Such autonomy is exercised within the borders set by the laws, general provisions and statutes of the given EI, with the sphere of EI responsibility being expanded respectively.

Simultaneously, in both Russia and China we are witnessing the trend to search the optimal ways to transition from the *standard* administrative governance of EI to the governance systems based upon the maximal possible attraction of persons concerned with the building up the resource potential of EI. Overall, these new systems will make the process of education more efficient and the quality of education that much better.

5. Comparing the Methods of Control and Assessment

The comparison between the education quality-control systems in Russia and in China demonstrates that in the PRC modernization of the sector governance proceeds through the improvement of methods *within the traditional forms* first and foremost, inspection of EI. In Russia, on the other hand, the emphasis is made on such global trend as standardization, that is verification of whether the suppliers of education services comply with provisions of laws and by-laws; control of realization of education standards, requirements for organization of the process of education, established social norms, etc. In our view, the further developments of standardization would offer the best prospects for both Russia and China.

Summing up, the Chinese model of educational government reform contains advantages such as *consistency* of transformations and the *balance* of decisions. On the other hand, the Russian education reforms are quite often conducted in a haste, probing the road ahead by trials and errors, which makes the progress less effective. At the same time, the modernization of the Russian governance system proceeds more rapidly than its Chinese counterpart and such pace corresponds better to the rapidly changing socio-economic realities of the contemporary world.

VIEW FROM CHINA

Sunhua Tan, Weiling Shi

The comparison of educational administration system between our two countries is based on the common background of economic system transition from the planned — to market economy in recent ten years. The analysis of both countries' reform paths in terms of process, management structure, power construction and supervision system is aimed at providing experience and lessons for the tentative educational administration reform in China.

***1. Comparison of the Process of Educational Administration Reform:
Gradual Reform V.S. Radical Reform***

Although both China and Russia have experienced the course of empowering the authority of educational administration from highly centralization to a balance of power distribution, they adopted different paths. China has adopted the way of gradual reform, while Russia has chosen the way of radical reform¹. The differences are stated as follows.

Firstly, there is a difference in the distribution of central and local authority in educational administration between China and Russia. China adopts the administration mode of *combined* central authority with the local one. Namely, basic education is mainly the responsibility of local governments, adopting the system of managing basic education at various levels. Higher education is administrated by both the central and provincial governments, with the latter as the main administrative body. While in Russian laws the school autonomy is specified among the most important issues, in fact it has loosened the governing functions of the center.

Secondly, the process of decentralization is different in the two countries. In China, the reform was conducted along with unceasing groping and experience summarizing. The reform was advanced *gradually* from preliminary empowering to the establishment of a frame of reference to guide local administration, then to the change of supervision mode or improvement of the level of local administration. While in Russia, nearly all the power of educational administration was devolved to local authorities, on condition that the local authorities took full charge. This action made a strong impact on local administration. After the replacement of the status of being absolutely controlled by boundless sovereignty, local administration sectors came across many obstacles because of power ambiguity and no rule to follow.

In the comparative analysis of the reform process in the two countries, we can conclude that educational reform must accord with the character of education. Currently, educational expenditure from government is limited. The government should

¹ Gordon M. Han, *Russia's Revolution from Above: Reform, Transition, and Revolution in the Fall of the Soviet Communist Regime*, Transaction Publishers, 2002.

take main responsibility for inputting in basic education, because basic education is non-competitive and massive. In the course of decentralizing power of basic education, the central government and local authorities should make joint efforts to take the responsibility for funding basic education. That is why Russia has to resume central government's power over education in the next stage of educational administration reform. This has further improved the necessity for China to continue the way of gradual reform.

2. Comparison of Powers and Responsibilities of the Central Government and Local Authorities

Both China and Russia adopt a three-level system of educational administration. However, the management structure and the scope of power are of great differences in the two countries. Firstly, independence of administrative institutions is different. Levels of educational administration in China are not isolated with each other. Educational authorities at the municipal, county and township levels are subject to and led by the provincial bureau of education. In some areas of Russia educational administration levels are independent and self-governed, even with varied names and numbers of staff. Secondly, the extent of centralization and decentralization of power and responsibilities is different in the two countries. In terms of China's educational administration, the combination extent of centralized and decentralized power is higher than that of Russia. Referring to the concrete responsibilities, besides supervising, administrating basic education and formulating education policies, basic institutions and standards, the Ministry of Education is also responsible for managing higher education jointly with local governments (the latter must follow the directive recruitment planning made by the Ministry). What is more, without the authorization of the Ministry of Education, local governments have no power to examine and approve any university or college. The basic education is managed by local governments in both countries, but unlike in China, the governing bodies of the subjects of RF is entitled to establish, rebuild and put down any educational institutions subordinated to them.

The comparison indicates that the combined mode of centralization and decentralization of educational management power has mobilized the enthusiasm of both the central government and local authorities and improved the efficiency of educational administration. But, such mode also suffers some obvious disadvantages. For example, it is difficult to define what problems should be administrated by central government under full consideration, and what decisions should be made by local authorities. On one hand, the administration system of basic education at the county level seems to be ambiguous in distributing powers and responsibilities. As a result, the functions of county-level educational administration sectors are hard to fulfill. Some of the management functions of school principals and teachers are attached to organization sectors, while some to personnel departments. This kind of multi-headed management and the divorce of personnel and management regulations hinder the development of compulsory education. For example, due to the change of system, some schools that were under administration of townships are not taken over by county in time, resulting in the cutoff of some programs and projects. On the other hand, the lack of legal guarantee has hindered the actual fulfillment of the autonomy of institutions of higher learning. Currently, the expansion of autonomy of higher schools is still determined by governmental sectors through administrative procedures. In the future, all the above issues should be taken into consideration in the educational reform in China.

***3. Comparison of Social Participation in Education Administration:
Differences in Democratized Basis of Law***

Social participation in education administration reflects the principle of sociality and publicity for citizens to engage in administration, and is helpful to build a sound deliberation system and to supervise and correct the warp of decision-making made by educational administration services. In terms of the participating form, there are some prescriptions in laws and regulations both in China and Russia. Referring to the content of participating form, the related statement in Russia's laws is more detailed than that of China. Education Law of the PRC indicates that citizens can participate in administrating schools by appropriate means. However, there is no indication, except for the only form of Teacher's Representative Committee adopted in educational system. While in Russia, laws like the Federal Law on Education gives clear definition for several self-management modes. It is obvious that the form of social participation in education administration is too general in China and needs to be further specified and clarified by the law.

We should notice that in the two countries no actual proxy is given to social sectors for their participation in educational administration. The problem is concerned with the common background of the transfer of the formerly centralized state management and should be taken into consideration in the process of democratization.

***4. Comparison of Intra-School Management:
Differences in Specialization of Management Services***

Comparison of intra-school management reflects the differences in specialization of management services between China and Russia. Keeping schools having proper autonomy is a prerequisite for specialization. In this regard, educational authorities in Russia give enough authority to schools by means of educational legislation. Regarding school autonomy as a basic political principle, Russia has adopted some measures to improve the level of specialization of intra-school management. Nowadays, China has been gradually weakening the unitary system of administration. We should draw lessons from the experience of Russia's intra-school management, such as studying and analyzing the needs of students and parents by statistics, learning the idea and methods of systematic management, paying more attention to communication and participation, and so on.

We should also notice that the independence of administration services is not equal to complete self-governance. In Russia, in terms of the characteristics of education in various stages and types of school, the extent of independence is varied. It's another proof of the principle that reform of administration services must accord with the characteristics of education.

***5. Comparison of the Form of Supervision and Evaluation of Education:
Differences in Professionals***

There are some differences in the transformation of the form of educational supervision and evaluation between China and Russia. In order to prevent any interference and protect participants' rights in educational process, Russia is abandoning the former supervision system called «approaching every class and every teacher» and moving to the monitoring of adopted standards, i.e. the system of authentication, assessment and certification of school license. While in China, supervision and evaluation of education are executed by special administration services, with professionals doing researches and evaluations. All the assessments are made by developmental evaluations step by step. China

and Russia can learn from each other to perfect the system of educational supervision and evaluation.

To sum up, the common background of reform on education administration modes makes it possible to compare the education administration system of China with that of Russia. By comparison, we can learn some lessons from Russian reform, for example, adhering to the gradual reform on education administration, accelerating to adoption of relevant laws to support reform of administrative power, delivering more decision-making power to the local authorities, inducting social groups to engaging in education administration through laws, and realizing the democracy and socialization of education administration. In return, China's experience in gradual reform, the centralized and decentralized powers and responsibilities between central government and local authorities, and the mode of educational supervision and evaluation could be useful for Russia to further improve the level of education administration.

Chapter 3.

REFORM OF EDUCATION FINANCING

VIEW FROM RUSSIA

A.B. Vifleemskiy

In the last two decades the reforms introduced in the sphere of education funding in Russia and China have been geared towards activating the new economic mechanism that would provide for financial and economic autonomy of educational institutions (EI) as well as for the transition from administrative to economic methods of governance. These reforms were determined largely by the transition of both countries from the administrative command system to market economy.

Unfortunately, because of political instability and economic crisis in Russia in 1990s, these reforms did not reach their target. Moreover, the regulation of EI activities became even more difficult because of the additional bureaucratic structures set up to control the financial flows in the field of education. Early 2000s marked a new phase in the reforms which attempted to transfer education onto the market basis in order to save budget funds. However, instead of combination of budget funding with offers of payable services, the reform resulted in substitution of a considerable portion of budget funding with charged tuition fees. As a result, government spending on education was substantially reduced.

Both in Russia and in China budget funding of EI is insufficient and its share of GDP is quite small. The difference between the two countries, however, is characterized by the fact that the latter is growing in China (although the set target of 4% has not yet been attained). As for Russia, the figure for minimal spending on education set by the Law on Education of 1992 at 10% of GDP was revoked in 2005 under the pretext that that figure did not correspond to the world standards, and as of today a new figure has not been set. Meanwhile, in the last several years spending on education in Russia has amounted only to 12% of its consolidated national budget, while in China the counterpart figure has reached the set level of 15%. The given difference amply illustrates the actual (rather than declared) attitude of the state with regard to education.

Another cardinal difference between the two countries is seen in the government attitude to granting tax benefits to educational institutions. In Russia, tax benefits as stipulated by the Law on Education of 1992 were drastically reduced in the early 2000s. In formal terms, this was done in order to provide equal conditions for all economic players, but in reality the measure reveals that the development of education is not properly recognized as a priority. Attempts at activating the earmarked tax for the needs of education also failed (largely because of the obviously insufficient sum of such collections). China, on the other hand, after some initial setbacks in its taxation policies, now once again considers it a high priority to stimulate investments in education through tax preferences. While in Rus-

sia the EI pay more and more taxes every year, in China the list of tax benefits for education is growing. Thus, in China tax benefits are applied to entrepreneurial activities of educational institutions, for instance marketing of their products and services, while in Russia such benefits have been sustained only in relation to the value-added tax.

At the same time, both in Russia and in China measures are being taken in order to increase teachers' salaries. However, Chinese teachers, whose salaries are higher than the national average, find themselves in a more comfortable financial position than their Russian colleagues whose salaries amount to about a half of the national average and are barely above the established minimum.

Russia and China have many similar trends in *decentralization of funding*. At the initial stage, in view of the economic difficulties, both countries placed responsibility for the bigger part of *compulsory education* financing on the lowest local tier. A considerable difference between the two countries is seen in the fact that in China such tier is incorporated within the structure of the government authorities while in Russia it is included in local government bodies. Distribution of responsibility for financing of different levels of education between the levels of power in both countries was initially quite unsuccessful as neither of the two countries had the necessary mechanism for distribution of government revenues due to the fact that such revenues were concentrated mainly in the central budget. As a result, both Russia and China chose to return to co-funding of education (first and foremost, compulsory education) by all levels of the budget system. Such redistribution of the financial responsibility is theoretically a correct measure, but regrettably neither country has supported it by introducing comprehensive changes of the entire budget mechanism. Such unsatisfactory reforms generated new problems of funding not only for specific EI, but even for the whole cluster of education in several administrative regions of both countries. The extremely low level of central government spending on education in the two countries is evidence of weak macro-regulation of compulsory education on the part of the state.

Such measures as putting a great number of educational institutions mainly on the payable basis – especially in China – appear rather controversial (and socially dangerous).

Reforms of education funding in China were designed to increase the general volume of funding through a build-up of government and non-government allocations as well as to diversify the sources of investments. As in Russia, the main emphasis was put on increasing the amount of funds from sources other than budget revenues, while direct tax collections for needs of education were reduced. The key difference in this area is seen in the fact that in China the growth of non-budget spending was accompanied by the related (although slower-paced) growth of government spending, while in Russia, as noted above, the non-budget funds *substituted* the resources allocated by the government.

In Russia, the standards for financing EI had not been developed nor enacted during the reform years although some regions and municipalities have been applying their own procedures. Introduction of education vouchers (although in each country vouchers are directed to different types and levels of EI) so far is at the experimental stage in both countries. As was the case before the reforms, the system of education in Russia continues to be financed on the item-by-item basis; at the same time the break-up of expenditures has been made more detailed, and control over their distribution tightened. In other words, with the declared decrease of the state control in education, the government control over the economic activities of EI has been tightened while the share of budget funding has been considerably reduced. In China, on the other hand, the reforms were driven by the idea

that financial investments from other sources could not and should not be a substitute for budget allocations.

With the declared expansion of public involvement in control over education funding (in conformity with the world experience), no real success has been attained along the given direction in Russia. In China, meanwhile, the nation-wide system of control over education financing is being introduced in the planned and systematic way.

Both countries, making their selection among different types of organizational and financial models in the system of education, have not yet decided on any single model, and each country applies a peculiar *combination* (predetermined largely by national traditions and world trends as they are subjectively understood by the authorities) of the *government-funded and market models*, with the tendency towards expansion of fee-based education. Meanwhile in Russia, with its traditionally high level of education, the latter has become less available for many population strata, while in China, where at the start of the reforms availability of learning for population was incomparably lower than in Russia, introduction of tuition fees helped many people to get access to education – especially in the recent years, when many pupils from needy families have been exempt from all sorts of fees. Also, China acts more thoughtfully than Russia by introducing the system of loans for students in the sphere of higher education. As for Russia, very few practical steps are being taken in order to keep the free-of-charge education as available as it used to be in the Soviet period.

In general, the conclusion can be drawn that notwithstanding the difference in the political systems, it is the state that is the major initiator of the reforms in both countries. Strong position of the state in China and weakening of the same in Russia in the 1990s largely predetermined the difference in the extent of the reforms' accomplishments.

In our view, commercialization of education in the context of the formation of post-industrial society would be detrimental for the future development of any country (and in Russia, the revenues from commercialized education are to a bigger extent controlled by bureaucracy and used as a substitute for budget funding).

Education Funding Systems in the RF and PRC: Aspect of Comparative Analysis

Country	Budget Funding	Contracting (mainly for institutions of professional education)	Earmarked taxation	Donations by individuals and legal entities	Entrepreneurial activities	Tax benefits
RF	+	+	-	+	+	+(reducing)
PRC	+	+	+	+	+	+(expanding)

VIEW FROM CHINA

Xibin Jin, Bingming Wang

In the late 20 century, the restructuring of economic system resulted in the significant reform on education in China. Even in early 21st century, the deepening of the reform has shown many new features and caused great changes in education in China. In the same period, a similar transform occurred in Russia. Social and economic reforms also brought Russian education a new look.

Referring to the reform of educational funding system, there are some common trends and features in the two countries. For example, the shortage of educational fund in both countries forced the governments to find out new ways to marketing the fundraising system for educational development. In the two countries, new approaches and methods for educational funding have been adopted, and the new educational funding system of collecting funds through various channels has been established. However, there are also some differences in the reforms between China and Russia as a result of the different economic and social situations, especially the different reform modes, approaches and methods.

1. Comparison of the Backgrounds of the Educational Funding Reform

The change of the educational funding is highly correlative with the social and economic reform, along with the consequential education reform. The series of changes in the educational funding in the two countries have deep social backgrounds of their own. In the two countries, education has experienced extensive reform since the economic transformation to market economy since 1990s. The view that education plays a fundamental and precursory role in the economic and social development has been recognized and reinforced. Both Chinese and Russian governments both gave priority to the development of education and regarded it as the most important way to promote economic and social development. But, the shortage of education resources could not afford the preferential development of education. Even in some aspects, the normal funds for schooling could not be guaranteed. The single-input system, in which the government worked as main body, was challenged. Influenced by market economy, education set foot on the way of marketization. From then on, the education market has been opened to corporations, non-government sectors and individuals. Non-government sectors and individuals are encouraged to run schools. Profit is allowed in the provision of educational services. The charging of tuitions has become a popular practice. As a result, multi-channel system to raise educational funds has founded and highly developed.

Except for the similarities mentioned above, there are also some other differences in the social backgrounds between the two countries. In China, influenced by the gradual economic reform, the reform on educational funding presented the obvious feature of step-wise and phase. But in Russia, the sharp transformation from planned economy to market economy and the stupendous fiscal difficulty, which the social and economic transformation brought to education, pushed education into the tide of market economy. The attempt to marketize educational funding and many other reform measures were put into practice

quickly, without sufficient consideration. Consequently, some reform activities did not produce the desired effect.

For all that, the reforms of educational funding in the two countries are deeply rooted in the social backgrounds, especially related to the appearance of market economy.

2. Comparison of the Policies on Educational Funding Reform

Reform on educational funding is inseparable from educational policy guidance. In view of the policies related to the educational funding reform these years, there are many similarities between the two countries in terms of policy orientation. Firstly, they both confirm priority to the development of education and recognize that educational appropriations from the State are the main channel of educational funding. In the Outline for China's Educational Reform and Development, it is identified clearly that the gradual increase of the proportion of educational appropriations in the gross national product must reach 4% by the end of the 20th century. Russian Education Law also indicates clearly that the proportion of educational appropriations in gross national product shall not be lower than 10% each year. Secondly, in the process of identifying multi-channel system of fundraising, both countries have promoted the approaches and methods of marketization. By several years' efforts, China has primarily established a multi-channel educational funding system in which the governmental allocations remain the main body and supplemented by levying educational taxes, charging tuition fees for non-compulsory education, developing school-run enterprises and services, encouraging social and individual donations, and establishing educational foundations. Russian Education Law also prescribes other channels of educational funding besides governmental allocation such as incomes of educational services and dealings, social and individual investment on education and schools, and so on. Thirdly, the reform on educational funding is coupled with education administration system reform. Similar trends appear in the reform on education administration system in the two countries in recent years. Centralized administration system has been decentralized and a tiered educational administration system has formed step by step. Local authorities and schools have gained more autonomy in running schools. Contemporarily, obligation for educational funding is divided. Regarding the type and the level of schools, the central government and local authorities share different responsibilities. Compulsory education is mainly the responsibility of local governments.

Surely, there are some differences between the two countries. In China, the change of educational funding policy is closely related to education reform. A new policy is usually promulgated to solve the prominent problem in the education reform. For example, at the threshold of the XXIst century, to the reform on policies of compulsory educational funding in rural areas became a hotspot. Faced with the serious problems in the development of compulsory education, especially the rural compulsory education, the central government has adopted a series of policies. Differently, educational funding policy reform in Russia was systemically organized at the beginning. The Russian Education Law, the Outline for Russian Education Development and other rules have ordained the content of the policy reform, which is the chief source of the following related policies.

3. Comparison of Educational Funding Approaches

In recent years, China and Russia both have established the multi-channel funding system with the government playing the main part. In terms of the concrete approaches of funding, there are still some differences. First of all, the proportion of the appropriations from the State in the total educational funding is higher in Russia than that of in China.

There are probably two reasons: Free education in Russia covers a larger area than that in China, and the new funding system is better developed in China than in Russia.

Moreover, China and Russia act quite differently in charging tuition fees. According to the Russian Education Law, citizens who receive education in any national and local educational service for the first time are entitled to benefit from the policy of free tuition. Citizens who enter non-government schools often need to pay. If it is the first time for a citizen to go to school, and the school is authorized by the government and implements the Outline of General Education and the Outline of Vocational Education, the citizen will receive compensation from the government in accordance with the tuition standard applied in national and local schools. What is more, according to the Russian Higher Education and Post-university Vocational Education Law, by competing through exams, citizens can study in the state-sponsored universities and colleges without paying any tuition. It is obvious that free education in Russia is very popular, covering elementary education even to post-college education, with an essential precondition that it's the first time for people to receive education of that level. While now in China, free education is only provided in the stage of compulsory education, and certain tuitions are charged for non-compulsory education.

In the end, in terms of the channels for collecting non-fiscal funds, the two countries have emphasized different aspects. In order to solve the shortage of educational fund, both China and Russia have made some progress in enhancing non-fiscal educational funding channels in recent years. The proportion of non-fiscal funds in the total amount of funds has improved year after year. Nevertheless, there are still some differences between the two countries in what they emphasize particularly on, referring to the channels of collecting non-fiscal funds. In China, the proportion of non-fiscal funds in the total funds has increased rapidly, mainly due to the rapid increase of tuition fees. And it is chiefly the expansion of higher education and the policy of sharing educational expenditure by charging tuition fees that result in the fleet increase of tuition fees. Compared with charging tuition fees, other kinds of non-fiscal educational funds rise relatively slow. In future, China should make great efforts to seek other kinds of non-fiscal finance to increase the total educational funds and ease the economic burden of families. Comparing with China, the proportion of tuition fees in the total educational fund in Russia is much lower because of the large-scale implemented free education system. Therefore, non-fiscal educational funds are basically raised by means of marketization. Educational organizations are given the utmost economic autonomy, and provided the condition and the right to carry on economic activities. The primary non-fiscal funding approaches include increasing the proportion of school self-financing, encouraging educational services to make use of their own resources to provide students and society with supplementary educational service, developing toll educational system beyond government, permitting schools to lend their properties and to accept donations, and establishing educational foundations and so on. Speaking of higher education reform in Russia, for national higher schools, the former distribution system according to quantity has been replaced by the principle of quality-based distribution. That is, the way and amount to appropriate funds for universities and colleges depends on both the number of students and their achievements. First-class universities can undoubtedly gain more appropriation by attracting excellent students, the number of whom has become the scale of making educational allowance. As a result, ordinary universities, which are in a relative inferior position for appropriation, have to strive for other financing resources. In order to raise more money, national universities and colleges improve the proportion of commoners and contract students one after another. Attracting and recruiting more foreign students has become another popular way for Russian institutions of higher learning to raise educational funds.

4. Comparison of Trends of Educational funding Reform

On the basis of an analysis of the educational funding status quo in China and Russia, some comparative forecast can be made. As mentioned above, education holds the strategic position of preferential development both in China and Russia. It can be estimated that the amount of fiscal educational funds and the proportion of fiscal funds in gross national product will greatly increase in the two countries in the future. In Russia, particularly, the recovery of domestic economy will make government's input in education sharply increase and the shortage problem of educational funding will be basically solved. The multi-channel system of raising educational funds will be further developed, with better and more reasonable approaches and methods. With the intensifying of economic reforms, new approaches and methods will come into use and the proportion structure of non-fiscal funds will be more rational.

After all, China and Russia are two countries with different economic and social conditions. Besides, the two governments emphasize educational reform and development in different ways. Therefore the trends of educational funding reform in the two countries must take on some respective characteristics. China, with education of a relatively low level, should chiefly ensure funds for the development of elementary education, especially for bettering the condition of running compulsory education and improving quality of education. For Russia, educational funding should be used to increase teachers' salary and improve education quality. Furthermore, considering the different situations of the two countries, the concrete approaches to and methods of inputting will surely differ from each other. However, diversification of development is one common trend shared by China and Russia.

Chapter 4.

REFORM OF REGIONAL POLICY IN THE SPHERE OF EDUCATION

VIEW FROM RUSSIA

T. L. Klyachko

In order to juxtapose the regional strategies for education development in both countries, it is necessary to identify the following aspects.

1. Development of the specifics of general education systems under the responsibility of local and regional authorities. It should be taken into account that as for availability of education and chances of getting education, Russia and China find themselves in different positions (in 2006, the task was set in Russia to implement the transition to universal full secondary education on the compulsory basis). In all regions of Russia, the level of youth education, as calculated by the UN methodology, amounts to no less than 97%. Hence, the regional strategies of the two countries are different: China's strategy is to narrow the regional gaps in availability of *junior secondary* education, while in Russia, where such education is available to almost 100% of children, and about 70% get senior secondary education (in schools or in the PPE system), in the last five years the emphasis has been made on *quality enhancement* of general basic education and on *leveling* of regional disparities in training graduates of senior secondary schools (including the urban-rural disparities). In China the latter problems are obviously less acute than the disparities caused by the illiteracy among the young.

Delegating of the general education governance to the local level in both countries (in Russia, to the level of municipalities – that is, local self-government, and in the PRC – to the level of districts) was adjoined with decentralization of its financing. As municipalities even within one constituent subject of the RF, as well as districts and counties even within one province of the PRC were in different (in some cases, up to 10 times different) financial and economic positions, the given disparities generated both inter-regional and intra-regional differentiation of the budget funding for education. As a result, after some time, the pendulum in both countries again shifted to the more centralized governance of general education. In Russia, the responsibility for its funding was returned from municipalities to federation subjects (municipalities were left in charge of nothing else but maintenance and construction of school buildings). A certain similarity is seen in the fact that governance and funding of school education in China was also raised to a higher level, from districts to counties. In addition, in Russia the target programs started to be developed at the regional level, both as a supplement to the Federal Program for Education Development and independently. Similar processes were underway in the PRC too, where the center and provinces were made responsible for some aspects of funding for basic education.

The RF constituent subjects received additional instruments to exercise influence on the general education systems such as explicitly regionalized programs for restructuring of village schools, and gradual implementation of the Standard State Examination thanks to which regions acquired the necessary leverage to control general education systems through assessment of their quality.

In the recent years both countries dealt with a common and timely problem of increasing the availability of high quality education by raising teachers' salaries and reducing differentiation in the budget funding of education (per pupil) among regions as well as macro-regions (7 federal districts in Russia and 3 major regions such as East, West and Center in China). As made evident by this similarity, decentralization of education and regionalization of financing gradually produce a situation in which quality of education starts to depend even more strongly on the economic condition of the given territory rather than on national and cultural specifics (although the latter factor, undoubtedly, is very important).

2. In Russia and China the seemingly similar situation is observed in the sense that there is a disparity in the general (school) education levels between the urban and rural areas. In both countries, the quality of education in villages is lower, and rural schools are in need of teachers. This, however, is the only point of similarity. In China, the problem of rural schools is also connected with the big numbers of school pupils and shortage of school premises, while in Russia the number of rural school pupils accounts for less than 30% of the total in the country. At the same time, the number of small schools is quite impressive in both countries (in the RF, there are no more than 10 pupils per school in 5.5 thousand rural schools). Hence the need to organize transportation of pupils to schools in bigger villages or even small towns, where the classes tend to become overcrowded. Another difference should be noted – that is, in the recent years, the share of college students from the rural areas is growing in Russia, although such growth is not a consequence of the better quality of rural education, but rather an implication of the rapidly growing number of vacancies in institutions of higher education. The latter phenomenon is connected with the worsening demographic situation and decreasing numbers of school graduates (the SSE, among other factors, contributed to this process). In China, on the other hand, the growing numbers of college students from rural areas indicate the improvement in the quality of school education and introduction of specific government policies rather than any changes in higher education institutions as such.

3. Differences between Russia's and China's regional policy are more pronounced with regard to professional education (PE) than to general education. As far as institutions of primary professional education (PPE) and secondary professional education (SPE) are concerned, in Russia the PPE were transferred under the responsibility of regions in 2005, and the responsibility for educational institutions of SPE system is to be delegated to the regional level by 2008. In China, the institutions of PE have been placed on the regional level quite some time ago.

In Russia, the governance and financing of higher PE is concentrated at the federal level. Regions sought to set up regional institutes of higher education (IHE), and in some cases even municipal IHE were established, but the share thereof did not exceed 2% of the total number of the state-run and non-state IHE, with the number of students amounting to 1% of the same. Sharp differences in the number of students per 10,000 residents in Russia's regions are not related to the differences in governance or budget funding of IHE in various regions, but rather to the specifics of *socio-economic situation* in the constituent subjects of the federation. In most cases, the number of students in the highly-subsidized

regions with high-rate unemployment is bigger than the national average index as such regions cannot offer jobs to young people, while their migration opportunities are quite limited. The similarity between Russia and China is that in both countries the young seek to enroll in IHE in major cities.

In China, IHE are in double subordination to the center as well as and to a greater extent to the provinces. Such differences in the pressure on the regions in respect to PEI are related to the fact that at present China *tends to regionalize its labor markets*, while in Russia preference is given to *free migration* of IHE graduates in search of jobs.

4. *Both countries try to implement a government policy of cross-regional leveling in the system of general education.* As far as compulsory education is concerned, this policy can be considered a world trend. As for financing in China, the center's regional policy in the sphere of education appears more orderly and is put on the longer-term basis than in Russia, because in China we see the more clear-cut identification of results, which, having been attained, signal the transition to the next stage of action. (Other aspects related to quality, availability, and use of resources are hardly if ever comparable). Also evident, however, is the more stable situation, which has taken shape in the PRC regional education system in the recent years. It is undoubtedly a result of the efforts intended to create generally more stable socio-economic conditions in China's regions. In Russia, the more spontaneous character of the policy for leveling of regional disparities is most probably related to the rapid decentralization of governance in the sphere of education, as well as to the radical nature of general transformation of state and society.

*VIEW FROM CHINA***Qingfeng Li, Weihe Xie*

According to the connotation of regional education and the completed research results, the comparison focuses on four aspects: a historical exploration to regional education models and policies in China and Russia; a description and analysis of regional education opportunities and education quality; a comparison of important issues on rural education at present; and an illustration of the role of the central government in the development of regional education.

I. A Comparison of Regional Education Development Models and Policies

The comparison has undergone three historical phases: the centralized period of planned economy, the decentralized period of market economy and the period during which local government's autonomous management was combined with central government's macro-level control.

1) *Regional Education Development Models and Policies in Centralized Period, with Indistinct Regional Education and Policy Differences.* China experienced the period of planned economy from 1949 to 1985, while for Russia it was from the end of the 1920s to late 1980s. In China the economic development level for the whole nation was lower, with the smallest development gaps among different regions. Therefore, they shared similar educational resources, with little sharp regional educational issues. The central government was responsible for education and put forward unified teaching plan and guideline, while characteristics of regional education were indistinct as a whole.

Meanwhile in the former USSR, a centralized strict education model was carried out. A Bureau under the Ministry of Education was in charge of educational matters of all the Republics and the states, including some of school management institutions and activities, with specific or thorough investigations conducted and characteristics of regional education also indistinct at the period.

Although the concept of regional education development actually did not exist in basic education field at the period in both China and Russia, the central government of China conducted educational design and planning in the field of higher education as a whole according to different education departments and regions. The distribution laid a solid human resource foundation for regional economic and industrial development and enhanced the possibility of potential regional gap of higher education after economic reforms and opening up.

2) *Economic and Cultural Differences in Regional Education Development Models.* China and Russia shared the same decentralized period of market economy, which lasted in China from mid 1980s to 2003 when the policy of Five Overall Planning enacted. The period for Russia was from the end of the XXth century to 2004, when the amendments to the Federal Law of Education were formulated. In China, such form of decentralization of

* Translated by Hu Ling.

power, which is mainly based on economic background, has undergone two stages of development: the «township-based» and «county-based» regional educational models. In the two stages, the whole state was divided into three regions according to the economic development levels (varied policies and targets for the popularization of nine-year compulsory education were adopted). In addition, in those ethnic minority areas, there are special administrative authorities. However, things were different in Russia. Decentralization was carried out both from the perspective of regional economic and cultural development and resources, and the government gave special considerations to the politics and national cultures, but after the Soviet Union was disintegrated that entailed regional education development model that could be called «Sovereignty Parade». It was demonstrated by setting up specific national management institution for regional education system in the Ministry of Education, Leading Committee for Regional Education Institution and minority nationality Regional Policy Management Bureau were also established, to enact relevant laws and policies for nationhood education development. Within the period, according to social economy and national cultural characteristics and the direction of education policy, educational policy was designed according three types according to different types of regions.

The common feature of the two countries in the period is to decentralize power to local government and push forward regional development according to different types. The difference lies in that China has most complicated regional education problems, such as education inequity in the enrollment opportunities in rural areas (i.e., shortage of rural education resources), and a widespread trend of school-choice in urban areas in pursuit of higher quality under the lack of excellence education. While in Russia, without the problem of lack of education resources, its main problem lies in regional difference related to education quality.

3) *Towards A Balanced Regional Education Development.* The regional education development model and policy integrating autonomous management of local government with macro-control of the central government was carried out almost at the same time in China and Russia. On the basis of the «five unified plans», China put forward and implemented two development strategies of «science-based development» and «harmonious society» in 2003 and 2004 respectively. Such strategies were reflected in education as development unification of various kinds of education at all levels and in different regions. In the CPC Decision (2004) the concept and policy on the balanced development of regional education were further intensified.

In Russia, the department in charge of regional policy issues in the Ministry of Education and Science was restored in 2004; in the RF Constitution and the new edition of its Law on Education, it is provided that Russian regional governments while having the authority of self-management are primarily responsible for the social and economic self-development as a system. It gave an impetus for searching a new cooperative mechanism to solve federal and regional problems.

A common feature shared by the two countries was that they both regarded *balanced regional education development and upgrading educational equity* as their regional development objectives for the future.

II. A Comparison of Regional Education Opportunities and Education Quality

The comparison is conducted from such aspects as regional education investment and the number of college students per ten thousand populations.

1) *Regional Education Investment.* The average education funding/per student in a comprehensive school was chosen as the comparative indicator. From the statistics, both

China and Russia had a significant education investment gap in ordinary educational periods.

In China, from late 1990s to early 21st century, the provincial regional education investment (the average education funding/per student) gap among comprehensive primary, middle school and college was 3.7-9.1 times, with two distinctive features: on one hand, that gap tended to expand from 1996 to 2001; on the other hand, the gap from the level of primary school to college was decreased progressively. Namely, the gap between primary schools was bigger than that between middle schools and the latter was bigger than that among colleges.

While in Russia, the regional gap was also quite big in obtaining comprehensive compulsory education opportunities, though funding mechanism had been changed positively in allocating investment to regional levels by the central government. The Ministry of Finance had adopted a regional balanced development policy in education services from 1990s, which helped to some extent cut the regional gap in education investment, but it actually increased in both statistics and practice due to inconsistent implementation of the policy since 2003.

As for the gap between China and Russia in regional education investment from 1996 to 2001, the one in China was lower than 10 times, but in Russia it exceeded 10 times. This data manifests that the investment gap in comprehensive education between regions is bigger in Russia than in China. However, there existed an essential difference between the two countries. The regional education investment gap in China was on the level of compensating the shortage of educational resources and improving school enrollment, but in Russia it is within the area of ensuring quality education for all. A common feature for Chinese and Russian regional education development gap was a significant intra-regional difference, which was mainly caused by resident structure and economic development level, especially, reflecting a striking gap in rural and urban education.

2) *College Student Number/Per Ten Thousand Population.* Another gap for Chinese and Russian regional education is that in education quality. The two countries are experiencing a quick development in higher education from late 20th century to early 21st century.

In China, according to three development levels in the East, Middle and West, as well as intra-regional different development levels in higher education, investigations in selected provinces indicated a significant regional gap in college student number/per ten thousand population¹.

In Russia, the college student number/per ten thousand population in some regions was lower than that of RF average level, but in others it has surpassed the average indicator. The intra-regional gap was also distinct.

Comparatively speaking, a similarity lies in large cities, where the percentage of college student number/per ten thousand population is much higher than that in other districts. Take Chintst Beijing and Shanghai as examples, the percentage was twice than that of other regions in 1990 and in 2000. It was also the case with Russian Moscow and St-Petersburg. Making a comprehensive analysis, we find that higher education in these regions is highly developed as the population here keeps growing, meanwhile young people do not migrate a lot. From above, it can be seen that higher education system in such megapolyses plays a unique role of safe-box for cultural values.

¹ In 1990, the gap between Beijing Municipality (930 persons) and Guizhou (78 persons) was 11.9 times. Ten years later, the gap had decreased to 8.9 times (1684: 190).

III. A Comparison of Rural Education (School) Problems

There is a common feature in the development and policy readjustment concerning regional education in China and Russia, i.e. to narrow the educational gap between rural and urban areas or the development of rural education (schools) education. This problem is mainly reflected in the structural readjustment of the distribution of rural schools and the improvement of rural education quality as follows:

1) Readjustment of Rural School Distribution Structure. In late 1980s, two important things happened in China that closely related to rural education development status: first, the implementation of policy and management system, which took town as the basic regional unit for basic education development¹; second, the family planning policy was strictly carried out and birth rate was effectively under control. After 20 years' efforts, great achievements had been made in rural areas, with gradually decreased number of school-age children. Therefore, there appeared a lot of small-sized village primary schools with a dozen and even several students. Due to township enterprises' breakdown, township government's financial pressure and compulsory education funding difficulties since the 1990s, the important task of readjusting rural school distribution structure started to be carried out in 2001 for fulfilling the State Council's Policy on Basic Education Reforms and Development: the integration of primary schools was accompanied by the demotion of secondary schools to primary schools². Such a result led to the improvement of township-level school conditions, promotion of school efficiency and funding management efficiency by the government (e.g., to increase student-teacher ratio and decrease the expenditure of public fees for education) and the curtail of government's school-running cost etc. However, on the other hand, some educational resources (e.g. primary and middle school classrooms) were wasted: student number going beyond the normal in some central schools, teacher overloaded and teaching quality hardly ensured; family was added pressure and cost for child's education (e.g. traffic fees, lunch and accommodation, parents' traffic fees to pick up their child); new problems emerged, such as some students' dropping-out.

In Russia, with rural schools cover 68.9% of all comprehensive schools, the federal government gave priority considerations to the development of rural education. The Federal Program of Educational Development for 2000-2005 called for the transformation of rural schools into «the breeding ground of knowledge and culture» and «the unique education field» and a series of measures for the structural reform of rural schools were designed so as to improve the popularization of high quality education. Thus, the reform produced similar results as those in China such as closing some schools that were not well-equipped. In some 5500 schools in Russia, student number is less than 10 people and some secondary schools were changed into primary schools.

In the process of structural reform, the common issue facing both China and Russia is the increase of schooling cost for rural children. Russia does better in solving the traffic problem. The well-equipped transportation facilities concentrate in large villages and almost 90% schools own school buses and other transportation facilities. Additionally, schools

¹ Encouraged by the policy of letting grass-root (township) authorities run local education for the benefit of local development, almost every village ran a village primary school; every town had a junior middle school; every 2-3 towns had a senior middle school so to meet the needs of children's school enrollment.

² In the year 2004, as indicated in the Ministry of Education Report from 2005, 31700 primary schools were disbanded and integrated. Including junior middle schools, altogether more than 40,000 middle and primary schools disappeared.

in large villages won most positive assessment (59%) in picking up students, whereas in smaller county, people had respectively cautious attitude (32%). However, in China, the main problem remains to ensure the enrollment of students. School bus is far from being included into agenda.

2) *Issues of Rural School Education Quality.* In the process of China and Russia rural school structural reforms, issues of rural school education quality was increasingly noticed. According to relevant survey in China, reasons, such as irrational curriculum design, dull schooling life, tense teacher-student relations, poor accommodation, bad school distribution, inconvenient transportation, difficulties in accommodation and schooling cost, led to students' dropping-out and further affected Chinese rural education quality. There is a significant difference in the length of schooling between urban and rural areas as well (in 2000, the difference was nearly 3 years on the average for the students above the age of 15).

In Russia, people have a higher level of assessment of rural education quality. From assessment of school equipment, people from large villages viewed they had a good material foundation; on assessment of school quality, most students viewed their schools «good» or «quite good».

As a whole, Russian rural education quality is higher than that of China. The main reason is that Chinese rural education as a priority development field has not been carried out in a true sense or just on the starting point. Rural education in China is lagging far behind urban education in terms of both equipment and professional teaching staff. The Chinese government has been increasing investment in rural education since 2005 and in March

2006 Premier Wen Jiabao pointed out clearly in his government report that rural compulsory education would be thoroughly included into the fields of nation's financial guarantee and rural compulsory education funding guarantee mechanism would be gradually set up, for which both central and local governments are responsible. In the coming five years, the newly increased compulsory education funding in national financial plan would add up to 218.2 billion RMB and a free compulsory education would be realized in rural areas.

IV. The Role and Measures of Central Government in Eliminating Regional Education Development Gap

1) *Comparing The Role of Central Government in Regional Education Balanced Development.* At the beginning of the 21st century, the central government in China and Russia respectively adopted upgrading balanced development of regional education as the important mission and integrated it into regional education policy system.

In China, the educational development objectives for overall planning of rural and urban education and coordinated development of regional education were clearly put forward in many documents¹. Accordingly, specific measures and deadlines for fulfilling the above objectives were also clarified. In Russia, when the minimum budget ensuring standards was carried out in May 1996, the President signed an order to set up national minimum social standards. In 2000, Federal Educational Development Plan said that «its

¹ See 2003–2007 Plan for Vitalizing Education, the State Council's Decision on Further Strengthening Rural Compulsory Education and documents adopted at the Fourth Plenary Session of 16th National Congress of CPC; Premier Wen Jiabao's Government Work Report at the fourth National People's Congress in 2006, the Program Outline for the Eleventh Five-Year Plan of National Economic and Social Development (Draft) and the Draft for Revision of the Compulsory Education Law.

basic aim and task have to be developed according the regional plans which stress national culture, social economy, ecology, culture and population and other characteristic features of certain regions». The policy emphasized definitely the obligation and role of the federal government in promoting regional development balance.

2) *Measures and Ways in Balanced Development.* In China, under the guidance of general policy, the central government takes various kinds of measures in different periods to promote educational development in poor areas and narrow the gaps as follows: first of all, to revise compulsory educational law and identify government's obligation and role in promoting regional education, esp. the balanced compulsory education development by means of law. Secondly, flexible system arrangements such as to make a breakthrough of system innovation by means of maintaining local resident's ID when migrating to other places, free-coming and going, long-time living and regular-living, to encourage college students to work and serve in the western areas, offering financial rewards by either local government or their mother schools to those volunteers from developed areas who work and serve in the western areas, with their ID place maintained and those who have passed the entrance exams keeping their rights to pursue post-graduate study. Thirdly, specific funding support offered to such projects as «National Poor Area Compulsory Education Project», «Rural Primary and Middle School Dangerous Classroom Reconstruction Project», «Rural Teaching Staff Salary Payment Specific Funding» etc. for improving conditions in western, rural and poor areas. Fourthly, to promote regional cooperation, including «Eastern Schools' Support to Western Schools Project», «Large and Medium City Schools' Support to Poor Area Schools Regional Project» etc.

In Russia, two measures have been taken. Firstly, the Russian Ministry of Education firmly carried out national unified exams, which offers all middle school graduates opportunities to receive any kind of secondary and higher education, giving middle school students from different regions equal opportunities to be admitted to higher education. Secondly, relevant policy and measures have been worked out to encourage different regions to conduct cooperation in education so as to realize an organic whole development in education.

Chapter 5.

REFORM OF EDUCATION CONTENT

VIEW FROM RUSSIA

M. V. Ryzhakov, N. E. Borevskaya

As a whole, the current reforms connected with the content of learning, and in particular with the curricula, proceed in both countries along one and the same vector with some differences in emphasis. This is explained by the fact that both in Russia and China the authorities have addressed the problem from a global position. There are many shared points in their understanding with regard to objectives and values of education in the current period of modernization and the related need for systemic and systematic renovation of curricula, which has actually been underway in both countries since 1990s. Not only has this process affected the content of education and curricula, but also and to a larger degree their purposeful orientation, structure, realization and governance.

The reforms are oriented along the similar general directions, namely transition to the personality-oriented education and diversification of educational programs with the view of instilling in the young new qualities as necessary for the post-industrial society; overall development of the students' creative talents, abilities and skills; autonomous education; emphasis on how to adapt to the rapidly changing social conditions; etc.

Differentiation of the contents of education for the purposes of training more skilled personnel and their individualized development is the key task of the reforms in both countries. Both China and Russia have proceeded from a concentration of prerogatives for the development of standard curricula in the center to the three-level administration of curricula – nation-wide, regional (with a nuance of *nationality-oriented and regional component* in the RF) and school level (in Russia, the latter was activated much earlier than in the PRC as educational institutions were provided with more independence by the Law on Education of 1992). Basic curricula (BC) was already in use in Russia in the early 1990s. China, too, has been seeking to establish the curricula for compulsory education, both basic and long-term (that is, aimed at life-long learning).

Profile learning at the level of secondary school is another important and shared step towards differentiated education. At the first stage of the reform China took the approach towards profile learning thus facilitating proper coordination between school curricula and the requirements for entry examinations at institutes of higher education. However, since the late 1990s, the system of *modules* introduced in teaching of compulsory disciplines at this level of learning has blurred the division between the humanities and science cycles of learning. The experience of introducing profiles in the PRC schools was disappointing: while the differences in teaching for every group were based on the common numbers of class hours and common contents as a whole, the model which was supposed to facilitate

the pupils' progress in a certain field of knowledge, in practice turned out counterproductive, because for those who did not yet decide on their future profession, the selective study of disciplines was detrimental rather than useful. As for the system of modules, it allows pupils to arrange a set of disciplines according to their respective interests and affinities, and it greatly contributes to their professional orientation in the future.

It behooves Russian schools to consider the Chinese experience. The new basic curriculum of 2004 offers an opportunity to construct combinations of various learning courses (basic, profile, general education, and elective). Its indirect advantages also include the correlation of profile courses with the set of disciplines included in the Standard State Examination for entry into a tertiary-education institution (as used to be the case in China earlier), that is bringing the structure of basic curriculum for schools closer to the same for tertiary education. China seeks to break away from the tradition of «exam-oriented education» as the prevailing opinion therein is that the secondary school curricula must pursue its own autonomous purposes. In Russia, the problem of «exam-oriented education», although present, is less acute owing to the much broader proliferation of the secondary and tertiary education.

(1) Another point of similarity is in the search of ways to introduce integrated (or comprehensive) learning courses in the curricula. Both countries give preference to such courses at the level of *junior secondary school* (in China, complexity was laid in the *basis* of curricula at the primary school level, except for the native and foreign languages and mathematics), while the discipline-based structure has been sustained in high schools (although in Russia this applies mainly to profile courses, as the construction of integrated courses is still under consideration in respect to the basic curricula).

The changing correlation of disciplines in the new curricula also reveals many common tendencies caused by the global trends of humanization and increase in the humanitarian component in the process of learning. In the basic curriculum of 2004 in Russia, the volume of class hours for the cycle of social science disciplines, foreign languages and computer science was considerably increased, while the number of hours for natural and exact sciences reduced; as for the humanities cycle – arts, career education and physical culture – it remained unchanged. The most important changes include introduction of foreign language courses in the 2nd year of primary school and the earlier start in learning of social sciences. In the Chinese curricula, study of foreign languages also begins at an earlier stage, while at the high-school level the much bigger share is taken by both engineering disciplines and art, which are included in the compulsory program.

Scholars and pedagogues of both countries seek to depart from the traditional subject-based nature of the curricula with the view of stimulating cognitive abilities of children and providing them with opportunities for healthy and comprehensive development. In both countries, the situation is marked by enrichment of the learning content with such new components as designing and research activities (in China, this discipline is called «comprehensive practical activity»).

(2) Both countries consider development of the government standards for education (GSE) an important vector of the reform. In Russia, the present generation of GSE is oriented to education purposes connected with acquisition of *knowledge and skills* while leaving aside such important tasks as socialization, upbringing and development of children (in the world practice, such standards used to be called «content standards»).

The GSE of both countries have as a common feature their correspondence to the standard basic needs of all students rather than to the highest requirements. In both countries these standards are instrumental in resolving a problem of school students' overload.

In the PRC, the new standards appear to be more expressive with regard to the variety of teaching methods and forms of assessment.

(3) Both countries devote a good deal of attention to the search of new methods for control over the learning success of school students. In Russia, such search *did not produce any tangible positive results* so far, and in some cases (introduction of the «average score», «progress percentage», etc.) even turned out counterproductive. Aimed at verification of the *reproductive level* of knowledge digestion and at a wide range of pupils, the so-called «normative» assessment of learning results has not yet been adopted. The five-point system of assessment has been criticized seriously and repeatedly as an outdated one, but no transition to another system and scale of scoring has been made so far.

By all evidence, China is acting more successfully in forming the system of scores that would facilitate comprehensive development of students. New curricula of the early 2000s put an even stronger emphasis on *differentiated methods of assessment*. In particular, the well-known portfolio method – one of the methods for quality assessment – is being used ever more often. The final assessment contains *an attempt to combine the qualitative methods* (reviews, notes, etc.) with *quantitative ones* (the quantitative assessment may be based on the system of ranking – such as 100-point, ABC or system of credits in the junior-and-senior secondary school). This experience, too, should be of interest to Russia.

(4) Humanization of the learning content is related to the transition from the curricula oriented to mass perception by all students to the individually-oriented learning. In Russia, where measures for democratization of society started earlier and were more resolute, these trends can be traced back to the curricula of the early 1990s and seen in the proliferation of such innovative methods as «cooperative learning». Introduced in China, the variance methodology of learning can stimulate and fully unfold the initiative of pupils. Unlike the case in Russia, cooperative learning is clearly posed counter to individual contesting. With the advent of the 21st century the new curricula for Chinese schools set forth such objectives as personality-oriented humanitarian education, based on the postulate of «human being is a root of everything» as well as on the awareness of multiculturalism, openness to the world, etc.

(5) The moral aspect of the pedagogical process and the related structure of curricula has become an especially acute issue, which, however, is not addressed here as it is discussed at length in Chapter 9.

In the course of the education-content reforms, both countries will have to resolve quite a number of problems (in particular, a difficult task of building the basis for informed learning in primary and secondary schools). Another serious problem is how to deal with professional and post-professional training of teachers.

VIEW FROM CHINA

Qiquan Zhong, Zhaocun Li

From the 1950s, the theories and practice of basic education in China were deeply influenced by the former USSR. Russia, as the major successor of the disintegrated Soviet Union, has the direct «one-blood» connection with the Soviet education. For this reason, despite certain differences both countries are confronted with many problems in common. A comparative study of the existing problems and solutions in the two countries is very helpful for the on-going curriculum reform.

1. Emphasis on students: common value orientation of curriculum reform

In the works of the Soviet pedagogue I. Kairov, the impartment of systematic knowledge was overestimated, which greatly covered the importance of «human» factors in school curriculum. As a result, individual learning of knowledge was separated with the spiritual development and curriculum was, to certain extent, alienated as the power to hinder students' spiritual development. Under such circumstances, the curriculum reforms in China and Russia have demonstrated the value orientation of «emphasis on students' individuality». In China, it is stressed as the guiding principle that the new curriculum must divert the emphasis on the pure impartment of knowledge to the efforts to guide students to learn, to be and to behave, thus breaking through the narrow orientation of traditional curriculum for improving promotion rate and emphasizing students' development for becoming a «comprehensive talent». In Russia, although the present reform is called «content reform of school education» instead of «curriculum reform», the concept of «emphasis on students' individuality» is still reflected. As a matter of fact, this orientation was established before the disintegration of former Soviet Union in the late 1980s. In the *Proposition for General Education Reform* adopted by the 1988 All-Soviet Conference of National Education Workers, the long-existing malpractice of «separation between schools and the society, students and school as well as between teachers and students» was pointed out and the authoritarian and personality-killing education was required to change for humanistic education. The curriculum reform in Russia exactly followed this direction. Such orientation can be clearly found in such documents as *Basic Teaching Syllabus from 1993 and that from 2004*, *Outline for Educational Modernization in Russia 2001–2010 (2001)* and *National Education Standard (2004)*.

From a global perspective, if the world movement of curriculum reform during the period of 1950s and 1960s reflected the orientation of knowledge-based and elite education featured by structuralism, discovery method and new teaching materials, the current curriculum reform from 1980s shows more respect to the value of emphasis on students and focuses on promoting students to develop creativity, emotional and value orientations in addition to mastering the basic knowledge. In this sense, the personality-emphasized orientation reflected in the curriculum reforms in China and Russia is in line with the trend of global curriculum reform and in conformity with the substantial requirement for education as a kind of activity for «adults».

2. Management at three levels: similar modes of curriculum management

In the new-round curriculum reform, both China and Russia adopted the three-level mode for curriculum management, i.e. the central government, local authority and schools. Comparatively speaking, Russia took the lead in decentralizing the power for curriculum management. Specifically, in the *Basic Teaching Syllabus* of 1993, the three-level mode of national standard courses, region-compiled courses and school-based courses was clearly set up. In China, although the structural reform of curriculum management was attempted in late 1980s and early 1990s, the three-level mode for curriculum management was officially implemented during this round curriculum reform. In view of the course proportions at three levels, the local-compiled courses and school-based courses make up 16% to 20% of the general curriculum for compulsory education in China, but in Russia correspondingly 20% to 25% (in the *Basic Teaching Syllabus of 2004*).

Viewing from the current situation of global curriculum reform, the curriculum management modes reflect certain trends in common, i.e. those power-decentralized countries have started to strengthen central government's control over decision making and management of curriculum, while those power-concentrated countries have begun to devolve the power of curriculum management to local authorities. The two trends are aimed at designing a dynamic balance between the centralization and decentralization of power and improve the effect of curriculum management. The three-level mode of curriculum management resonates with the global trend, but in its implementation, both China and Russia are confronted with such common problems as the improvement of teachers' capacity to present a new curriculum, designing the regular standard for the local courses etc.

3. Module and division: differences of senior secondary education curriculum

Senior secondary education suffers the pressure of graduates' promotion and employment. It is one of the desirable objectives of curriculum reforms in different countries to handle the relations between the two goals for overcoming the tendency of instrumentalism of education and promoting students all-round development. The up-to-date curriculum plans and standards in China and Russia reflect the international trend. In Russia, the curriculum for senior secondary schools is aimed for promoting students to become qualified citizen for modern society and meet the requirement of the future labor market. By means of integrating the dual-task of academic promotion and employment, China is trying to redefine the role of senior secondary education from providing institutions of higher learning with qualified new students to cultivating students to become a qualified citizen for the society. The aim of new curriculum has to be realized by the *new curriculum structure*. A comparison of the curriculum structure at senior secondary stage between China and Russia shows that the two countries have certain similarity in terms of ideas and features.

In China, the new curriculum for senior secondary education is structured by three spheres, that is: disciplines, subjects and modules, with modules as the final aim. Such module-based curriculum structure, which has changed the traditional discipline-sequenced curriculum contents into independent contents focused on the theme, is likely to remove the barriers among different disciplines and realize the integration between disciplinary knowledge and life issues. Together with the system of credit, this structural module will make it flexible for students to choose courses. In Russia, the curriculum structure for senior secondary education is based on the disciplinary teaching. The curriculum is divided into basic courses for regular education, disciplinary courses and elective courses. Basic courses are mandatory for all students to reach *the minimum* educational level; disci-

plinary courses are specialized for improving students' knowledge and capacity and prepare them for tier future career activities; and elective courses are offered to deepen students' knowledge learned in disciplinary courses and satisfy some students extensive interests outside the disciplinary courses.

Therefore, the curriculum structure for senior secondary education in China is somewhat similar to that of Russia. Firstly, both countries have noticed the curriculum's basic aim to cultivate each student to become a qualified citizen. Secondly, the curriculum structures in both countries give prominence to the variety of courses so as to satisfy students' different interests and promote their diversified career development. Of course, there still exist certain differences. The disciplinary teaching in Russia is more focused on those contents, which help students enter universities and colleges and are closely linked up with their future career activities. This is very close to the teaching plans of universities or colleges. But, in China, the module courses do not have so obvious career orientation, but reflect the relation between disciplinary integration and daily life, i.e. the image of comprehensive public education is emphasized instead of early professionalization.

4. Unification and diversification: college entrance examination reform

The system of examination-based evaluation, college entrance examination in particular, is always an unavoidable topic for educational reform. It is also the concern of curriculum reforms in China and Russia to find the best way to use college entrance examination as a «baton» for promoting students' development to the maximum. In view of the current reform practice, China and Russia follow quite different ways. The college entrance examination system in China is transmitting from national unified examination papers and admission to autonomous examinations and admission by provincial authority and some universities. The subjects of examination is also changing from the national unified «3+2» mode to the coexistence of different modes as «3+2», «3+x», «3+x+1» and etc. By the end of 2005, the practice of autonomous examination papers had been followed in half of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in China. Unlike China, Russian college entrance examination system has been changing in the opposite direction, i.e. universities' power to give entrance examination and admit students is being taken back by the central government and the national unified college entrance examination will be implemented in all universities by 2008. There are several rationale behind this trend: (1) to reduce students' burden by combining the secondary graduation examination with the college entrance examination; (2) to improve the objectiveness of college entrance examination; and (3) strengthen the fairness of college entrance examination.

The practice demonstrates that both autonomous enrollment by universities and national unified college entrance examination system have strong points and drawbacks. In China, college entrance examination will be given in more flexible ways so as to offer more chance for candidates to choose and increase universities' autonomy in this regard. But it may not be able to solve such problems as heavy burden to students and fairness of examination. Similarly, relevant authority in Russia should pay much attention to the abuses and problems that China has suffered for years and the national unified college entrance examination in 2008 may bring about.

As to the overall evaluation of students and examination reform, both countries have emphasized the developmental function of evaluation, but weakened the function of selection. The *Method of Standard-based Evaluation of Achievements*, which is currently advocated in Russia, is an example in this regard. At the same time, the evaluation system of students' achievements in Russia seems to put more emphasis on *the objectiveness* of the

evaluation, but the evaluation system in China stresses the qualitative assessment and such evaluation forms as open homework, behavior record, learning diary, achievement demonstration and «portfolio» are advocated as effective means for evaluation. As a result, written examination is only one of the means of diversified evaluation. Although there is no inevitable contradiction between qualitative evaluation and the objectiveness of evaluation, it cannot be denied that the former one is in a more advantageous position to facilitate the evaluation activities from «selecting appropriate children for education» to «creating suitable education for children». In practice, the qualitative evaluation is likely to result in subjective and even optional standards for evaluation. Therefore, the emphasis upon the objectiveness of evaluation in curriculum reform in Russia is very significant for us.

Chapter 6.

REFORM OF HIGHER EDUCATION

VIEW FROM RUSSIA

V. M. Zhourakovskiy

Both in Russia and in China, reforms of the higher education, caused by the socio-economic changes having no precedent in the contemporary history of the two countries, take place in the context of the worldwide formation of knowledge-based global economy. In terms of contents, know-how and organization, the systems of higher (tertiary) education in both countries were built on the similar principles, and therefore the transformations taking place in the given sphere in the last 15–29 years are as well marked by the shared principles while preserving considerable specifics predetermined by the realities of the two countries.

Among the points common for both countries, we may refer to substantial growth in the number of tertiary-education institutions, formation of non-state sector of tertiary education, and considerable expansion of autonomy for state-run institutes of tertiary education. The changes in the sphere of employment were matched by the similar changes in the structure for training of specialists with higher education; the number of students specializing in humanitarian and socio-economic disciplines has grown considerably while the share of such vectors as natural-science, engineering and agricultural education has been reduced.

In the circumstances of market economy growth, labor market formation and growing freedom of mobility for professionals, both countries are proceeding from narrowly specialized training to broader education reflecting the regularities observed in the development and integration of various fields of knowledge. While in the PRC reduction in the number of specialties has been selected as the means for such transformation, in Russia the same trend has been realized in a form of introduction of the multi-level learning under the Bachelor-Master system within the framework of 110 rather broad vectors. In both countries the intention to match the real demand of the labor market has led as well to the bigger freedom of the tertiary-education institutions in structuring of curricula and educational programs.

At the same time, however, it is necessary to note the considerable difference between the PRC and Russia in the sphere of government policy for education and in the conditions for its realization. While the impressive dynamics of the higher education development in China was predetermined by high-rate growth of national economy and the respectively elevated level of government support for the higher education, Russia, beginning from the 1990s, experienced a prevalence of quite myopic approaches, expressed in funding of education under the so-called residual principle. Fortunately enough, the powerful vitality of the Russian school of higher education enabled it to survive in the difficult

reform years and, notwithstanding the multiple unresolved problems and crisis phenomena, to sustain the potential for development provided that the transformations are reasonable, brought in compliance with the world trends and are conducted with due attention to national specifics and the best of academic traditions. As the socio-economic situation has been changing for the better in the last several years, the transformations in the Russian school of higher education have become more systemic and are carried out within the framework of the clearly articulated education policy.

Together with above-cited common trends in Russia and PRC, other points worth noting include among others measures to combine the state-level and tertiary-school assessments of knowledge for the purposes of student enrollment; to build the national and in-school systems for monitoring and quality assessment of higher education; and to delegate a number of prerogatives in resource allocation and governance of professional education to local authorities. Having been under way in Russia since 2006, The National Project of Education, which provides for creation of national universities and gives priority to innovation-oriented institutions of higher education, ideologically corresponds to projects 211 and 985 that are being carried out in the PRC.

Faced by both countries, such common problem as modernization of material and technical base in the bulk of universities became especially acute in connection with the rapid growth of the education systems in the circumstances of limited resources. Diversification of resources for financing of higher education, too, is typical of both countries. However, in contrast to introduction of fee-based higher education in the PRC, the access to free-of-charge learning at the expense of the government budget is not only sustained but tangibly expanded in Russia. Also worth noting is the fact that Russian institutes of tertiary education have more administrative and academic freedoms and autonomy in running the matters of structure and governance, drawing of curricula, as well as interaction with partners in the academic and business sphere including international cooperation.

In order to enhance competitiveness of their systems of higher education and to integrate with the global economy of knowledge, Russia's and China's schools of tertiary education could and should cooperate in timely resolving problems of learning. In particular, both countries can contribute considerably to the realization of the educational initiative set forth by Russia while it chaired the G-8 in 2006. The objectives laid in the contents of this initiative – to build an international system for juxtaposition of competencies, principles and tools for quality assessment of professional training and to expand international networks of academic mobility – mirror one of the key problems of higher education both in Russia and in China. Cooperating with one another as well as with other members of the global educational community, our two countries will be able to gain maximum benefit from the reforms of their national systems of higher education.

VIEW FROM CHINA

Jianhua Hu

Since 1980s and 1990s, great changes have taken place in higher education both in China and Russia, promoting the development of higher education into a new era. In comparison, there are many similarities in the reforms and development of higher education in the two countries.

First of all, these reforms have similar social backgrounds and institutional basis. In early 1950s, taking the Soviet Union's higher education system as example, China carried on a thorough reform on higher education to adjust to the needs of the planned economic system. Before 1980s and 1990s, the higher education systems in the two countries were featured by the central government's direct control over universities and colleges, the planned development of higher education, and the organized and designed teaching system. However, the social situation has changed a lot, since 1980s – in China and since 1990s – in Russia. Although the social changes in the two countries are different in terms of nature, mode and extent, they both put an end to the planned economy and adopted market economy. These fundamental transformations made a profound impact on every area of the society, including higher education. Reforming the traditional higher education system and building a new operation mechanism to adjust to the market economy has become a corner-stone of the reform and development of higher education in both countries.

Secondly, the direction of China's higher education reform is generally the same as that of Russia. They both aim at establishing a higher education system adapting to market economy. In China, the reform includes the following contents. Firstly, as for higher education management system, the reform is to transfer more power from central government to local ones, devolve more power of education provision from government to universities, enhance universities' autonomy of running school and make university an entity independently providing education to meet the social needs. The PRC Higher Education Law (1998) has clearly identified seven aspects of school-running autonomy for universities and colleges. Secondly, the reform of funding resources for school running is to change the situation of entirely governmental funding of tertiary education and form a structure of diversified investment system including budget funding, tuition fees and fundraising by schools. Thirdly, for graduate employment, searching for jobs by graduates themselves has replaced assigning work by government, and labor force market has become an important factor influencing graduate employment, student recruitment and teaching activities. That presupposed that higher schools have to consider how to help students to adapted to the social need and to be competent in the labor market.

In Russia, market has also influenced on the reform of higher education. In order to make the quality and quantity of graduates meet the need of labor market, the federal government adopted relevant laws, requiring that employers' association must participate in the federal government's forecast and follow-up surveys of labor market and join efforts with institutions of higher learning to shape a specialties' list. The federal government also set up an Inter-universities' center for interacting with a labor market, coordinating

among end-users, universities and students, and promoting employment of college graduates.

Thirdly, there are many similarities in the rate of higher education development and reform between China and Russia. For instance, the scale of higher education expanded to a great extent in late 1990s in both countries¹.

Furthermore, China and Russia shares a common trend in the *diversity of the structure and content* of higher education. In China, a system of universities and colleges has taken shape, including research universities, teaching and research universities, undergraduate colleges mainly for teaching, and vocational short-time high schools (with a proportion of 60% in the total numbers of universities and colleges) etc. Secondly, non-government universities and colleges and non-government «independent colleges» are developing rapidly. The diversity of Russia's higher education is reflected in the multi-level and multi-form of cultivating talents. The Amendment to the Education Law of Russia and the Higher Education and Post-university Education Law of RF determined two kinds of post-graduate education, master education (2 years) or specialists' training education (1–1.5 years). This kind of multi-level system is better in reacting to the needs of economic and social development, according with personal benefit, and creating a flexible and personality-oriented education.

Fourthly, both China and Russia have taken active measures in the development and reform of higher education. Take the development of key universities and colleges for example. After the reform and disintegration in 1990s, a number of pilot universities and colleges in the system of Russia's higher education has forming a junction of modern teaching, scientific research and innovation. The junction owns strong research and education services, necessary substances, high-level internationalization, and grand prestige in the world. The Russian federal government gives priority to supporting these pilot universities and colleges. As the Draft of Russia's Educational Development Outline (2006–2010) states, for the benefits of the nation, the society and individuals, higher vocational education system should be divided into nationwide universities and colleges and system-constructing ones in different fields of science so as to improve the utilization efficiency of talent potential of universities and colleges and concentrate the material and financial resources. In China, the government also adopted policies to support a group of high-level innovative schools. In early 1990s, the government started the «211» Project which aimed at giving key support to the development of 100 universities and colleges for the 21st century. In late 1990s, another national project «985» Project was also launched, aiming at «concentrating the nation's limited fund and mobilizing the enthusiasm of different social sectors to increase input for key construction of a certain number of universities and colleges and some disciplines *at or nearly at the international advance* level so as to help them become world top class universities and disciplines in the coming ten to twenty years».

Fifthly, after more than ten years' endeavor, both countries are still confronted with many challenges in the development of higher education. As one of the common problems, the reform on higher education administration system is not sufficient. In Russia, administrative limitation is obvious and serious in the aspects of academic, financial and

¹ In 1995, the number of Russia's institutions of higher learning increased from 762 to 1046, with the number of sub-schools increased by 5 times to nearly 2000. In the same period, the scale of China's higher education expanded strikingly as well. In 1998, altogether 1,083,600 students were enrolled by regular full-time universities and colleges. Seven years later, in 2005, the number reached 4.75million, 4.4 times of that in 1998. The total number of students studying at various kinds of universities and colleges in between the years 1998 and 2004 increased nearly 3 times.

economic activities. The limitation has hindered the formation of effective administration, and the constitution of universities and colleges strategic planning or even the medium-term planning. In China, since the market is still in the stage of initial development and improvement, the long existing fixed mode of thinking and the traditional system concerning the relation between government and universities and colleges are exerting influences and the traditional ideas and behavioral mode developed under the highly centralized administration of the government are still hindering the present authorities in handling the relationship between the government and universities and colleges. Such behavioral mode is symbolized by the lack of restriction and limitation upon power and government's direct involvement and leadership in all aspects of universities and colleges' life. Above all, how to ensure and improve the quality of higher education is an important task both for China and Russia. In Russia, there is a lack of effective system for managing and evaluating the quality of professional cultivation. In China, the sharp expansion of higher education scale resulted in the lack of resources and the worsening of education provision conditions, influencing the quality of higher education. Additionally, universities and colleges in the two countries are confronted with the problem of adjusting the structure of cultivating professionals to the needs of the society and labor force market.

In was in the 1950s that universities and colleges in China and Russia began to develop close relationship. In the 1980s and 1990s, on the stage of reforms both countries, while having many things in common, have their own practices in many aspects. In this sense, a comparative study will facilitate both countries to deepen the understanding of and find out the most appropriate way of higher education development adapted to the national conditions.

Chapter 7.

REFORM OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

VIEW FROM RUSSIA

I.P. Smirnov, E. V. Tkachenko

As evidenced by the juxtaposition of specific strategic and tactical measures, in the sphere of secondary vocational education (VE) both countries share similar difficulties, objectives and tasks and take similar approaches towards their resolution.

In both countries, we find:

1. The unbalanced structure of personnel training – that is, the actual proportion of personnel with tertiary, secondary and primary vocational education does not comply with the required one.
2. Absence of proper communication between vocational EI and employers.
3. Shortage of funding for VE institutions and unsatisfactory procedures for its distribution.
4. Qualification of teachers of engineering subjects in the system of secondary and primary VE does not correspond to the current requirements by employers.
5. Expansion rates of PVE and SVE systems lag behind the growth rates of student enrollment at institutions of tertiary education.
6. Acute shortage of highly qualified workers and weak competitiveness of workers as a whole.

In this connection, professional exchange in the field of VE between Russia and China would be useful and necessary while publication of the given volume could be considered the first step in this direction.

Both countries – PRC in 2002 and 2005, and RF in 2001 and 2006 – passed important government decisions (at the central and regional levels) for *systemic resolution* of problems pertaining to modernization and development of VE.

Both countries have set the objective to bring professional training of cadres in correlation with employers' requirements, and both are restructuring the VE institutions accordingly. At present, the *forms* of such restructuring could be a point for discussion, as in the PRC it proceeds with *differentiation* of VE institutions aiming to adapt them to the market requirements and to enhance the education quality in the long term, while in the RF the same goals are being pursued through integration of different level institutions within the VE system.

A special sphere of shared interests is seen in specialized training of pedagogical cadres in engineering (professional) specialties for PVE and SVE institutions. Unless this key issue is resolved in both countries, it would hardly be ever possible to provide the proper quality of education in institutions of the given subsystems.

In the context of China's and Russia's transition to market economy, it is significant

that China has set the task to integrate its VE in the market under the leadership of the state without giving the market all levers for *full* regulation of the given system. The RF Government, too, abides by the similar rules, while suggesting, however, that market-oriented forms of governance should replace gradually the state governance.

What is interesting is that today both China and Russia are working on the process of *coordination* between the *demand* of the labor market and the type of professionals graduated by VE institutions. In both countries, positions of factory workers account for about 2/3 of total employment, and it is in this category of employees that an acute deficit is being felt. Statistics show that in 2005 China was able to provide jobs for 95% of its VE graduates. With such impressive figure (in Russia the same index amounts to about 50%), the experience gained by the PRC in the given sphere is extremely valuable for our additional consideration.

In both countries the process is underway to form a new generation of curricula and learning programs and to proceed with their module structure. In China, it is recommended that, with regard to each discipline, 10% of class time should be used at the discretion of a given educational institution. In Russia, such freedom is divided between the regional component and the given school component, which, taken together, produce a higher index, in some cases amounting to 30%.

Both countries quite naturally experience a deficit of government funding for VE. In China, however, financing by the government accounts for about half of all funds, while in Russia – the figure is at about 80% (the rest 20% is raised by VE themselves). Unlike China, Russia does not have the practice of funding VE by private enterprises, and therefore it would be interesting and useful to study China's experience in the given sphere more thoroughly (although in China, too, corporate funding makes up only 10% of the total budget for EI).

No less interesting is the Chinese colleagues' approach to building the model of multi-channel funding for VE by which the responsibility is divided among the government, students, employer organizations and the society as a whole.

China's experience of enhancing workers' competitiveness in connection with its entry into the WTO (an important incentive factor for the development of VE) is of special importance to Russia.

China devotes special attention to the training of faculty for the VE system. Both countries, however, face an omnipresent problem in this sphere: teachers of specialized disciplines have insufficient practical skills while supervisors or mentors in charge of industrial training do not have a proper theoretical background; both shortcomings are rooted in the absence of specialized professional training. In this connection China has chosen to train «double-profile» pedagogues (that is, teachers of specialized disciplines and supervisors of industrial training must have certain practical skills in their respective spheres), and the share of such teachers is planned to grow up to 60% by 2010. This approach appears quite unusual and its possible application to Russian conditions is worth investigating.

The most important conclusion is that scholars of both countries have quite a similar understanding of the prospects for the development of VE. In the PRC as well as in Russia the VE governance is being delegated to the grass-root level and an experiment is underway for *co-founding* of VE institutions (in which case the government would retain such functions as macro-regulating of cadre training and monitoring of their professional quality). This experiment is instrumental for getting rid of a single founder, state-controlled model. Both China and Russia are gradually forming market-oriented differentiated systems

of founding, in which the state would retain the leading role, but various agencies, companies, and public structures would also be able to participate actively in the governance.

Non-government educational institutions for training of skilled workers are more common in China than in Russia. After China's entry into the WTO, diplomas (certificates) of VE have become more important in the process of employment and are becoming a mandatory precondition for being hired for certain positions, especially at foreign enterprises or companies operating in China. In Russia, too, it is necessary to be prepared for such turn of events.

* * *

General juxtaposition of VE development models leads to the conclusion that the processes of modernization in the given sphere proceed along similar directions. China, however, is marching more *rapidly and confidently* towards the integration of vocational schools into the market economy, as it has conducted more radical reforms related to founding, multi-channel funding and development of new curricula and programs. Almost all the questions outlined in the article by the Chinese colleagues are related to our situation in terms of both tasks and objectives as well as the nature of difficulties and essential administrative measures to be taken for the resolution of the problems (the only feature of purely national character relates to the specifics of vocational education in the rural areas of the PRC).

VIEW FROM CHINA

Changchun Wang

Since 1980s and 1990s, under the similar economic backgrounds, reforms of vocational education (VE) were carried out in China and Russia. This analysis highlights such three aspects as concept, system and policies on macro-level educational development.

1. Comparison of the Concept

In the Chinese Vocational Education Law (1996), the concept of «vocational education» was adopted. The term refers to education initiating a kind of vocational or production skill, including (1) introduction education of professional technical ability conducted by general education; (2) occupational preparation for finding a job in a certain area; (3) the vocational continuing education as a part of long-life education. In Russia, vocational-technical education is a system of vocational schools to train skillful workers for economic sectors. As the primary successor to the heritage of the former Soviet Union, Russia has made progresses in VE in the radical social and economic reform. Now the notion of «vocational education» is regarded as a sub-system fostering skillful workers and experts to meet the needs of market economy.

As can be seen, the Chinese concept for VE gives prominence to its *content and purpose*, while the Russian concept emphasizes VE *as a system* taking *school as a form* and industry-production team as an approach while informal vocational education is much less significant. Unlike Russia, China stresses both *formal* VE at schools and *informal* vocational training.

2. Comparison of Institution

In China, the school system of VE includes primary vocational schools, secondary vocational schools and higher vocational schools. The common points and differences between China and Russia in the field of primary VE are reflected in the schooling system. Because of low productivity and poor education conditions in rural areas, China has established junior secondary schools for offering primary VE, which cannot be found in Russia. In fact, China's secondary VE corresponds to Russia's primary one, mainly recruiting graduates from those 9-year compulsory education schools. China's higher VE corresponds to Russia's secondary one as the latter is in fact post-high school vocational education (also recruiting graduates of 11-years comprehensive secondary schools, with a curtailed length of 1–2 years' teaching). Russia's secondary vocational school corresponds to American community college, meeting the educational needs of individuals and the society.

3. Comparison of Laws and Policies on Macro-development of Vocational Education

1) Both China and Russia highly emphasize VE by working out relevant laws and policies.

Stepping into 21st century, China and Russia have promulgated a series of laws and policies to ensure the development of vocational education. China promulgated Voca-

tional Education Law (1996), which entailed some important official documents¹. In Russia, the Federal Education Law (1992) and some governmental documents² clearly defined the market-oriented character of VE and promoted opening-up and prior development of this sub-system. Particularly in 2001, Russian federal government published the Plan for Education Modernization by 2010, setting up the task of «putting priority on developing primary and secondary vocational education».

2) *Different choice of VE development strategy*. In China, the Ministry of Education proposes to take the development of *secondary* VE as a strategic task, with the rural areas as a focus and a growth point for its development aimed to improve the labor force quality. In Russia, the Plan for Education Modernization by 2010 clearly proposes the strategy of outstripping development of primary and secondary VE. Russia's primary VE is based on the development of industrialization and made great progress in the former Soviet Union. In 1999 the Russian federal government promulgated the standards of primary VE, but currently it pays special attention to the development of secondary VE to meet the needs of economic and social development.

3) *Similar orientation appears in the reform of VE administration system and education provision system*. In the reform, China and Russia by various means have formed a multi-education provision system in which the government dominates, with the active participation of professional associations, enterprises, and social resources. Due to the earlier transition of economic system, China has established a VE administration system of «having the government leading and planning as a whole, managing at various levels, taking the locals as the main body, and encouraging social sectors' participation». The system strengthens municipal governments' responsibilities in planning VE development as a whole, promotes public vocational schools to accept non-governmental and foreign funds, and explores the education provision system of «taking public ownership as the mainstay, with the existence of multi-ownership, and with clearly established property rights». Russia is trying to break through the abuse of highly centralized VE administration under the planned economy, paying more attention on promulgating *educational standards*, and gradually devolving administration authority to constituent subjects of the RF and even to local governments as needed³.

At the beginning of 21st century, great domestic and international changes have taken place in both China and Russia, bringing about the rigorous challenge to VE. In both China and Russia this educational sub-system will enjoy self development while meeting the challenge.

¹ The State Council's Decision to push forward the reform and development of vocational education (2002) and Decision on Vigorous Development of Vocational Education (2005), Training Plan for Rural Migrant Workers 2003–2010 (2002).

² See Decisions of Russian Federal Government on Primary Vocational Education Reform Plans (1997), Further Perfecting Primary Vocational Education Reform (2003), and the Demonstrative Statutes for Secondary Vocational Education Services.

³ Since January 2005, 94% of primary VE institutions and 55% of secondary one are taken over by the constituent subjects of the RF.

Chapter 8.

FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN EDUCATION

VIEW FROM RUSSIA

A.L. Wilson

Since 1992 China has been aiming for legal equality of its educational institutions, whether state or privately owned: the «Law on Stimulating Non-government education» defined private education institutions (PEI) as being socially beneficial, stating clearly for the first time that «the people's education», including professional retraining and upgrading, is part of socialist education. The law gave «the same legal rights status» to non-government and government institutions, their teachers and students, giving the latter «the same rights as the students of state school at the same level and of the same kind in continuing education, receiving social benefits as well as in choosing best employees». The law made it imperative for the state to protect «the lawful rights of the founders, leaders, teachers, officials, and students in non-government schools», and, what is really important, the independence of PEIs.

Russia in the Law on Education of 1992 also gave legal equality to government and non-government education institutions.

According to the Law on Education of 1992, Russia took upon itself some fairly stringent responsibilities in financing the private sector in education. Study fees for licensed PEIs that followed the state curriculum were to be refunded to the citizens, the amount being determined by the government standards on education spending based on state or municipal PEIs, and the corresponding PEIs were freed from having to pay tax, including land tax. The law also had a special system of tax benefits for enterprises and individuals who were investing their money into education.

However starting in the second half of the 1990s Russia consistently slid down from the level it had aspired to, and today non-government education has the same status in the eyes of the law as any business activity, such as trade or any other commercial services. To wit, as the former PEIs tax benefits had stopped corresponding with certain points in the federal tax laws, by 2005 all mention of PEI tax benefits disappeared from the text of the law.

China is consistent in switching to civilized ways of managing the private education sector, «managing based on legal right» (here it is important to note the change in the last part, which in the 1993 Program of Reform and Development said «strengthening management»).

In general at the present moment «the people's education» in China cannot count on financial or personnel support from the state, only on political support. The people's governments may give PEIs financial support, but they do not have to.

The development of PEIs in China varies from region to region. It is closely woven together with the social and economic development of any given region, its cultural tradi-

tions, especially with the politics and management behavior of the local authorities. However, as is apparent from our Chinese colleagues' material, there is a negative side to it as well: many of the local authorities pay little attention to the management of PEIs.

In Russia financing licensed PEIs has now become a regional or a municipal responsibility. In most regions there is a lack of money and PEIs are cut off from state financing.

Today most of the private schools in China are preschools. The percentage of professional middle schools is the lowest.

In Russia it is the opposite. The private sector today is noticeably represented only in the system of higher professional education. 36.9% of all colleges are non-government with 13% of the nation's students enrolled in them. The reasons are low birth rate since 1991 and the fact that only this type of learning institutions is solvent (meaning institutions with a high number of students and low cost learning process) without actual state support.

The main difference has to do with the way PEIs are registered. China supports enterprises that set up schools for their employees. In Russia the law sees no difference between schools founded by individuals and schools founded by enterprises. State schools may not take part in setting up or participating in private schools, though private colleges are usually funded with the help of state ones, which has to do with the problem of floor space and high profit from their main line of work.

In China most of non-government schools are of the «founded by the people with state support» type, though there are also those «founded by the state with the support of the people» and shareholding schools created by enterprises and companies. There are few schools that are founded with private capital alone or together with foreign learning institutions. In other words, co-founded PEIs dominate over independent schools.

The state attitude towards non-government colleges clearly indicates that for a certain period in China's future, independent institutions will become the main form of development for non-government higher education.

As for donations, in today's China the situation is not ripe for this way of founding PEIs. Their part in creating college funds is extremely small, and if we keep in mind that their social status is not high either, it turns out that social funds are used mostly on government colleges. Besides social donations do not have a strong enough stimulating effect.

The 2002 law of stimulating non-government education defines the right of the sponsors to a «reasonable compensation», though from the materials provided by the Chinese author it appears that the comments that followed the law's publication and other relevant documents practically ensured that this statement would be true on paper only.

In Russia donations do not play a significant part in financing non-government schools or colleges, as sponsor funds also go toward charity in the state sector, for orphanages, children's homes, hospitals, etc.

As for the teaching staff at PEIs, mostly it is comprised of retired state school and college teachers, or part-time teachers working on a short-term contract basis. PEIs do not take responsibility for improving their professional level or development, nor do they provide social security or benefits.

In China's opinion, the state should legalise the commercial nature of the PEIs, admitting that business and the good of the people are not mutually contradictory, adopt a compensation for the founders, and encourage the latter.

It is important for both countries that the non-government and the government sector in education complemented each other in fair competition and mutual development. Up

until now the actual development of non-government education turned out to be limited by political risks. Thus, in the course of Russian reform the opportunity for a good education became more diversified, and PEIs contributed to dividing the system into elite and popular.

In China higher education is not free, which leads to the introduction by the state the same financing, control, and benefit mechanisms for both state and private colleges. It is evident then that for a long time in the future the latter will have a good chance of becoming an important complement to the state system of higher education.

In Russia, unless there are changes in the law in the nearest future, private schools are facing a period of stagnation. A process of gradual swallowing of successful private schools directly or via go-betweens by powerful financial or industrial corporations has already started. This leads us to postulate that private learning institutions in Russia will survive in any case albeit experiencing a change of ownership. Possibly some of them will be transferred into the state sector. At the same time possible changes in the legal system might give impetus to increased numbers of these institutions. The fate of privately owned higher education institutions will largely depend on the policy of the state in general. Compulsory one year army draft for all young men regardless of whether they are students will decrease their interest in entering college and make it less imperative for them to try and enter a university or college right after school. The trend in increasing the number of feed openings for students in state institutions will also lead to a closure or a re-profiling of some private institutions that have a weak financial base. In the next few years the worst-case scenario seems to be a decrease in the number of private institutions by 30% to 50%.

VIEW FROM CHINA

Daguang Wu, Xuelian He

China and Russia are both in a stage of transition and have a tradition of private education. In China, private education institutions (PEIs) began to recover almost three decades ago in 1978 while in Russia the recovery of this sector has been 17 years since 1989. The transition of China is a kind of improvement of PEIs under the former political system, while that of Russia is a reconstruction of the whole society under a new political system, making the recovery of private education more complicated and more difficult.

In China, non-governmental education sector is regarded as an important part of the whole educational system and the government has published a separate law for private education. In Russia, there is no such a law but only some related items stated in Education Law for private education. Similarly, both in China and Russia legal items on PEIs are more or less inconsistent with each other. Although there are some legal prescriptions on the equal status and effects of private education, the above-mentioned conflict makes the implementation of these items full of confusion. Differently in development trends, the Chinese government is paying more and more attention and expectation to private education, because China will concentrate on the limited finance in developing rural compulsory education and education in western areas. Unlike China, the Russian government's attitude towards private education is becoming more and more uncompromising.

The orientation and development of private education is to a great extent influenced by the government's attitude. Ever since the recovery of PEIs, the Chinese government has adopted a consistent attitude towards them, i.e. to give an impetus to private education development while regularizing its legal foundation. The main problem is the unbalance between promotion and regulation. The Russian government's approach experienced a process of transition from passion (Education Law of 1992) to moderation (amendments to Education Law in 1996), and finally to inhospitality (new edition of Education Law in 2004). Impelled by thoughts of democracy, the 1992 Education Law stipulated the government's responsibility for investment in private education. According to the law, the authorized PEIs of all levels can benefit from various favorable policies including national appropriation (it was difficult to fulfill this promise because of economic constraints in the 90s), including various favorable policies on land use and taxation. The 1996 edition of Education Law was more practical to put forward the idea of «guaranteeing public education and releasing private education». While guarantying equal funding for public and private primary and secondary schools, the government greatly reduced its concern about private higher education. Nevertheless, the 2004 edition of Education Law has changed the situation radically. The law has withdrawn all the support and guarantee from private education, deprived this sector of all the preferential revenues (PEIs seem to be regarded as commercial organizations like banks and gambling joints), and resulted in the more obvious discrimination in private education.

Development of private education is *regional-oriented* both in China and Russia. In

Russia, considering resources such as students, teachers and transportation etc., PEIs are mainly concentrated in Moscow and St.-Petersburg, which are political and economic centers of the country. In China, regional development of PEIs is not especially linked with the local political, economic or cultural life. The difference of private education administration sectors between China and Russia results in the different characters of regional concentration. In China, PEIs are under the administration of local governments above county level and its development benefits from the ability of local governments to adjust their own policies on private education to those of the central education administration. Therefore, private education in China is microcosmic, while in Russia before 2004 private education was administered by the central government and its development was hindered by the national policies and guidelines.

It should be also noticed that, there is no definition of the *status of founder* of legal private service in Russia. Even institutions of national authority and local administration departments can initiate PEIs. Discussions are needed to make clear that whether the education held by organizations of public ownership and by government sectors is non-governmental education or another form of public education. In China, it's strictly prescribed by law that only social organizations or individuals beyond national sectors could be the initiators of private education, and that the state could not fund PEIs, so as to guarantee the non-government nature of private schools. In reality, a phenomenon of «famous schools initiating private schools» has been very popular in and even to higher education. This kind of non-public and non-private so-called private school makes use of the resources of public schools in entitling, enriching teachers group, and constructing facilities. The phenomenon has drawn attention from all circles and need further discussion.

In both China and Russia, private sectors are considered as non-profit sectors. But in Russia, besides social tax, private services have to pay a great deal of additional tax, primarily profit tax. Private sectors are actually equated to profit-making sectors. Similarly in China, in view of the basic situation of investment on education, the government allows private schools to gain reasonable return as profit. For private education, making profit is indirectly acquiesced. It is obvious that the policies and their derivational environment are not good for the development of non-profit private education and more efforts should be made to clear up the inconsistency.

In Russia, the rise of private education rooted from the tide of democracy and the mass demand for a *qualitative* education, as well as the will and passion the teaching staffs have on education reform. The flexibility of the curricula and the individual-oriented innovative pedagogy are the most characteristic features of the Russian PEIs. In China, private education springs up primarily to meet the educational demand under the conditions of the *deficiency of schools*. Therefore, the motive for innovation was not so strong. Only private schools providing compulsory education conduct individual teaching, but PEIs that provide post-secondary education are very similar to each other.

In terms of the level of education, the proportion of private kindergarten in private sector ranks the first, followed by high schools and higher education. The proportion of PEIs providing compulsory education is very low. Similar to Russia, in China, most of the private elementary and secondary schools do not have fixed classrooms of their own, especially in rural areas. The classrooms are mainly rented from others and many PEIs are short of teaching equipment and facilities. What is more, private schools on all levels are faced with problems such as lack of good students, unbalanced teacher structure, low social identity and so on. In Russia, private sector is focused on higher education. Private universities and colleges provide popular private education for fulfilling social demand.

The proportion of private universities and colleges in the whole higher education system is quite high. For improving educational standards, the government puts strict control on private universities. In China, private higher education is regarded as a part of vocational education, accordingly, institutes are administrated in accordance with the establishing conditions and evaluating standards set for higher vocational schools.

In private higher education of the two countries, specialties are set to fit concrete posts and to provide direct service to the society, and are of strong practicability. At the moment, the expansion of public universities and the introduction of market mechanism into public universities have made it hard to expand private higher education. In Russia, the 1992 Education Law allowed public educational institutions to recruit self-sponsored students. Now, the proportion of tuition fees in the total fund of public universities is just next to that of appropriations from the government. Furthermore, many other ways are permitted for public universities to raise funds, such as leasing facilities, accepting appropriations from international foundations and donations, research funds, providing short-term courses etc. Currently, earnings from deals account for 50% or more of the total budget in many universities. It is obvious that the sideline between public and private education is gradually becoming unclear. It is predicated that private schools are losing their advantages.

Both in China and Russia, private education is growing and changing. Basically, high sensitivity and frailness to market and policies are two factors restricting its development. Russia's PEIs are confronted with the crisis of the cut down lot in the market, because of the worsen policy environment and the decrease of population. For most private schools, tuition fees are the primary resource of income. Therefore, the decrease of population becomes the chief problem challenging the development of PEIs as the decrease of new students means a process of elimination of many of them. What is more, instability of policy also influences the development and the status of private education to a great extent. In China, the family planning policy adopted since late 1970s stopped the increase of new students of junior middle schools. The impact will move up to higher education. Nationally, there is a large space for private education to develop. As is known, China is supporting a huge educational system accounting for 22.9% of the world's population under education with merely 1.4% of the world's public education expenditures. In the transition period, the government is under fiscal shortage, while domestic savings deposit is increasing up to 10 trillion. Educational expenditure ranks the first in the saving intentions while currently, private education in China is concentrated in pre-school education and non-degree education and training, with a small scale in basic and higher education. Thus, in China education is still a scarcity resource. The potential of public schools has nearly exhausted so the increment of education in the future will mainly focus on private education. Therefore, the government has promulgated a series of documents, affirming its potential and development trend. It's clear that great educational demand, substantive domestic idle fund, and the favorable policy orientation provide private education a huge space to develop.

Both in China and Russia, the average tuition fees overstep the paying ability of low-and-middle-income families. Russia is experimenting on Education Voucher to promote education equity and competition between private and public schools. Some areas of China (such as Changxin in Zhejiang Province etc.) are also experimenting on Education Voucher. However, neither China nor Russia has established a loan system for students. Consequently, new measures are expected to resolve the problem of education equity for those disadvantaged group in China and Russia and PEIs could be useful in that respect.

Chapter 9.

REFORM OF MORAL EDUCATION

VIEW FROM RUSSIA

A.Ya. Danilyuk

1. The period of transition currently experienced by both countries made more urgent the search for optimal ways to modernise the system of education. Considerable progress in both countries has been achieved in the development of theoretical foundation for child education. A comparison between Russian and Chinese concepts yields the following commonalities:

- a view that the child is the highest value, the center of the education space, the «root of everything»;

- student-centered character of education – returning the initiative to the child in ethical education; orientation to the individual in order to realise his/her potential; focusing on the good of the child in its widest sense;

- dialogue as a universal form of organising education; the equality of all the participants of the education process;

- education as process harmonious with nature and culture; connection between education and life;

- rejection of the monopoly of the knowledge-data approach to education; centering education on childhood values.

Of paramount importance for both countries are the issues of patriotism in education. They currently hold the top place in the education policy of both countries with related state projects and programs.

Great attention is also paid to the issue of bringing up a healthy nation. This goes for both physical and moral health. Some causes for concern are the decrease in the number of healthy children, the growth of deviancy among children, low sustainability. In this respect both countries are working on programs of valeological education focusing on health-supporting technology. At the same time solving the problems of how to bring up a healthier generation of young people is directly connected to formation of a new system of values in which human being is the key element.

The work that is being done in reforming the curriculum of ethical education in Russia and China is of great interest as well, particularly the creation of a new education ideology for the transitional period – one that takes into account the effects of globalization and the development of IT integrating them with national traditions and humanistic values.

However a closer look at the reform shows some *differences* in the education process of the two countries. In particular, education institutions in Russia with the beginning of the reform tended to depoliticise the process of education excluding party education and any

party activity from school curricula. In China, there is no separate subject for Ethical Education. The issues of ethical education are presented through integrating extracurricular activities, the work of extramural educational institutions and cultural institutions. It is possible that China's experience in introducing Ethical Education into the curriculum as a common thread that runs through the whole curriculum could also be useful in the Russian education practice, especially as there are precedents of this kind: a course in Ethical Grammar, Ethical Dialogues etc.

Bringing up youngsters in both countries shows a combination of national and universal experience. The tendency to humanise education follows from the acceptance of universal human values. Another universal tendency is the widespread use of information technologies as a result of globalisation. On the other hand, the Chinese system of education is to a great extent steeped in the national tradition. Likewise the Russian system of education is considering a return to promoting once rejected national values as one of the possible approaches in moral education.

In our opinion, the Chinese system of managing ethical education has a distinctively national character. Without detracting from the need for ordered management, it proclaims the necessity of paying attention to the renewal of management philosophy and to managing quality presupposing not so much strict control as the creation of the right conditions for an individual to grow and for those in the educational field to work towards self-improvement and an equal distribution of education responsibilities.

It is the nature of the Chinese political order that determines its community-centered education, although a certain degree of recognition is given to the new idea of focusing on individual personalities.

VIEW FROM CHINA

Xiaoman Zhu, Nanxing Zhang

Over the past more than ten years since the disintegration of the former Soviet Union, the changing society and ideas in Russia have been making the Russian culture in a status of considerable freedom while absorbing and clearing up some ideas and concepts. Only because of the special characteristics of the social transformation and the changing ideology in Russia, has it neither formed a unified understanding of the correct orientation of educational development, nor emerged a group of experts representing a socially acknowledged sound. «*Moral Education in Modern Russia*» written by O.B. Gukalenko and A. Ya. Danilyuk is a report on moral education in Russia, reflecting the perspective of two Russian experts of moral education. However, the book is quite different from chapter 9 entitled «*Moral Education in the Transformation Period in China*» written by Chinese scholars. Rather than a personal-perspective-based article on moral education, the Chinese part of the chapter was written by a task force after investigating, digesting, analyzing, summarizing and sorting out all relevant facts and data concerning the overall situation of moral education in the country. Despite the differences, many common issues can still be found between the book and the report for a comparative analysis and study.

1. Issues for Comparative Analysis

1.1. Sense (Will) of State in Moral Education. The position of the CPC as the ruling party and the domination of Marxism as the guiding ideology in China have made it very clear that the orientation of moral education must be guided by the sense of state. This concept has been clearly elaborated in all the documents about moral education from the *CPC Decision on the Reform of Educational System* (1985), and it has been stressed that moral education plays the function of grasping and guiding the macro orientation of the country.

However, along with the deprivation of Russian Communist Party of the ruling position in Russia, the system of Communist moral education was destroyed and the sense of state in moral education has been weakened. While readjusting the orientation of the liberalist economic reform, there appeared in Russian some signs of state's returning back to educational system at the beginning of the 21st century, such as the formulation and approval of the state program entitled «*Citizenship and Patriotism Education in Russia during 2001–2010*» which was to develop the system of patriotism education for all citizens on the basis of cultivating the feelings and sense of patriotism, so as to guarantee the fulfillment of the task of uniting all social sectors, supporting social and strengthening the unification and friendship among all ethnic groups.

1.2. Guiding Ideology for Moral Education. In China, moral education has a very clear guiding ideology: insisting on the stand of Marxism, persisting in the Communist outlook on life and values and upholding the theory of «three-represents», etc.

In Russia today, the communist ideology is no longer the unified ideology for moral education and Marxist ideology is not taken as the sole guiding ideology. The new mode of moral education in Russia is based on the ideas of humanitarianism, human-centered

theory, liberalism, lofty ideal and national dignity, which lays emphasis on individual-oriented education, national education and religious education.

1.3. Theoretical Research on Moral Education. Over the past ten years, very rich and deep-going changes and extension have taken place in the theoretical research of moral education in China.

Firstly, *the concept of «emphasizing human beings»* became an objective of moral education. The human beings' need is both the fundamental driving force and the ultimate goal of people's moral creation and defending.

Secondly, *the diversification of moral education functions* is made clear. People's understanding of these functions has changed from a unitary political orientation to a deeper comprehension.

Thirdly, it is the reconstruction of the *basic position for emotion*. Clearly taking emotional development as an important objective of moral education, China emphasizes the students' emotional feeling and experience in order to enable the students to have the value of spiritual enjoyment and produce intimate feeling and charm in the teaching and cultivation activities at school.

Fourthly, *moral education in daily life* is advocated. It must be started with and based on students' daily activity for solving students' problems and puzzlement and encourage them to master the life skills for lofty social lives.

Fifthly, establishment of the *mutual «dialogue»* process in moral education. In that process, such activities as discussion, questioning, mutual expression and acceptance are encouraged to avoid the practice of teacher's domination of the class with one-way teaching.

Sixthly, treating *learners are the subject*. The initiative of moral development must be given back to learners. Moral education is committed to encourage and support students' moral motive for good, emphasize their independent activities and self-promise and respect their unique learning mode.

The above summary basically reflects Chinese scholars' overall viewpoint on moral education and gives a birds-eye view of the development status of theoretical research on moral education in China. In comparison, the results of Russian scholars' research in that field are basically personal perspectives instead of a unified viewpoint. However, the theoretical depth of Russian scholars' research on moral education can still be noticed in the following three aspects:

Firstly, searching for *the fundamental basis* for moral education. According to Russian scholars, the important basis for the necessity of moral education lies in the concept that the imperfect (evil) human nature can be rectified.

Secondly, searching for the roots of moral education. Russian scholars believe that there exist two basic principles of moral education, which can be conditionally called «love» and «law». The first principle is associated with the family life of human beings. Since children can enjoy care, attention and love from in their families, it is here that each child starts to get access to social ethics and cultural value. As the other principle of moral education, law determines people's social lives and entrusts meaning to human beings' social behaviors. If the personal or individualized attitude dominates a family, law will restrict such dominating attitude by imposing necessary social norm and code of conduct.

Thirdly, searching for *the citizenship education*. The Russian scholars assume that this is the type of education to cultivate the citizenship values in the mind of each child, i.e. to create necessary conditions for developing child's respect to laws and social norm, forming a positive life stand and citizenship stand and making preparations for participating in social and political live.

1.4. Moral Education by Non-state Power. Along with the accelerating progress of social development in China, on the one hand, China emphasizes the importance to the construction of bases for patriotic education and takes active steps to construct a socialized educational system, which integrates schools, families and communities. On the other hand, some non-governmental financial groups have also taken active participation in the programs of moral education, such as Tian Jiabing Moral Education Foundation. At the same time, the Communist Youth Leagues, Women's Federations and schools are also making joint efforts to promote the development of family education.

In Russia, the authorities are committed to restore and strengthen the role of the Orthodox Eastern Church in moral education. On the other hand, they have made energetic efforts to reinforce the significance of family education for moral education. After the social educational system was destroyed, families have taken up the mission of helping new generations to be socialized and cultivating children's personality.

Parents are required to assist school authority in moral education because family education in China is considered as a supplementary force for school education, while in Russia it serves as an independent force of moral education with equal importance as school education. However, the unsatisfactory economic development in Russian has put many Russian families in financial dilemma and it has become very difficult for them to fulfill the mission of moral education in an integrated manner. It should be admitted that Chinese parents are also confronted with many problems in family education, such as the moral education of left-behind children and single children along with the social changes.

1.5. Management System of Moral Education. There has developed an independent but unified management system of moral education. In each school this system consists of teaching sections and administrative departments and the basic contingent includes secretaries of CPC and Communist Youth League, head teachers and advisers of Young Pioneers. Meanwhile, there are many part-time and full-time teachers involved in moral education at primary schools and secondary schools in China.

In Russia there is no longer a unified and regularized management system of moral education, which can only be strengthened by relying on supplementary education system. In 2002, there were in Russia 18,100 institutions of supplementary education, including 8,900 ones belonging to moral education system.

1.6. Curriculum for Moral Education. At present, China is undertaking curriculum reform of basic education. On the one hand, the New Curriculum integrates emotional attitude, values, knowledge, skills, process and methods as the development objective of each discipline, requiring each discipline to make full use of the curriculum resources of its own and realize the goal of moral education. On the other hand, both the form and contents of moral education curriculum are being reformed, at schools it consists of such parts: *Moral Character & Life and Moral Character & Society* for primary school students, *Ideology and Moral Character* for junior secondary students and *Ideology & Politics* for senior secondary students. In China, the policy of «one standard and multiple texts» is adopted.

In Russia, there is no curriculum clearly named as «moral education curriculum». But actually, the humanistic social curriculum with varied names for students at different levels contains the significance of moral education curriculum. For example, the curriculum «*Surrounding World*» for primary pupils has different syllabus, but they are offered for the same purpose of enabling pupils to cultivate love for materials, people and themselves by means of linking curriculum content with pupils' lives.

2. *Inconclusive Conclusion of Comparison*

Moral education usually has very close relations with such factors as the history of a nation, value, dominating ideology, state power, government system, mass psychology and religious belief. Similarly, the guiding ideology, theoretical basis and implementation means of moral education cannot be separated from the existence and change of the above-mentioned factors.

There are huge differences between China and Russia in many aspects of moral education, including the different orientation of moral education. Although we can believe that the difference result from different understanding of moral education, the above-mentioned factors are in essence the reason for the difference. In certain sense, it shows that the meaning of comparison is aimed at *understanding and practice* in order to better seek the cultural continuity and the development road of moral education.

Some convergence points of moral education in the two countries are listed below.

2.1. Consensus of Patriotic Connotation. In Russia, the concrete objective of patriotism education are put forward: to help young people cultivate the values of traditional culture and history of the motherland, the sense of pride for the motherland and sense of respect for the constitution, the national symbol, the national language and the people's traditions. It can be seen here that the above objective of patriotism education in Russia is basically the same as that in China.

2.2. Equal Emphasis on the Value of Citizenship Education. Citizenship education in Russia is required to help children with the sense of citizenship values and show respect to laws, regulations and social norms and to ensure the conditions for children to have a positive stand of life and citizenship and prepare themselves for the future participation in social and political lives. This is identical with the practice of emphasizing the value orientation of citizenship education in the period of basic education in China.

2.3. Concern with Children's Personality Development. According to Russian scholars, due concern must be shown to the development of children's personality and children must be offered moral education in proper forms according to their individual features so that their talent and capacity can be comprehensively and fully developed. The goal of educational system is to create appropriate social and cultural environment and humanistic atmosphere for children to express their various interests and attain self-realization. It is also the case in China.

2.4. Common Concern with the Negative Influence of Mass Media upon Moral Education. In recent over ten years, the mass media in Russia has been increasing the influence upon the formation of many children and young people's world outlook, life objectives and values, but also has brought about some negative influences. Therefore, the Russian Federal Government has adopted a series of measures, including the implementation of the program entitled «*Moral Education – Spirit of Children and Youth*» jointly issued by educational, cultural and publishing authorities in order to exert an active influence on the moral education.

In China, the adoption of the new national-level network management and the implementation of Internet ethics education at schools are aimed at improving the environment of mass media and strengthening the students' media capacity.

Chapter 10.

REFORM SYSTEMS OF TEACHER EDUCATION

VIEW FROM RUSSIA

N. H. Rozov

1. Both in Russia and in China there is a single undisputed point of view that the teaching staff at schools and colleges and the administrators and heads at all stages of education must have an extensive preparation both in the psychology of teaching as well as their own subjects.

The history of development of both education systems shows that both countries unswervingly followed the transition from short forms of teacher training to full-length teacher education.

2. Thus China sets itself a goal of increasing the number of teachers who hold a PhD (a candidate degree) while in Russia the idea of a change from a full-length 5-year teaching course to a four-year bachelor degree program is gaining ground.

3. In China there is a clear tendency to gradually transform specialised teaching universities into classical universities while keeping teacher training as their function.

In Russia there is a lot of discussion at different levels on whether we need teacher's colleges, but the key question here is purely economical while the question of how to train schoolteachers is left unanswered.

4. The issue of retraining and making teachers more qualified is viewed by both countries as highly important. However a real and effective solution to this problem needs complex government planning with the use of the most qualified teaching professionals and sufficient financial support. It appears that in China this problem is being solved by a carefully planned centralized approach, whereas in Russia it still largely depends on the views and capacities of the regional governments.

Because both countries cover large areas of land, in order to make teachers more qualified and continuously provide help with methodology and professional development it is especially necessary to focus on distance learning technologies.

5. One of the burning issues of today in the field of education is the total and in-depth integration of IT into the study process. Unfortunately it is still unclear how much the Chinese schools managed to achieve in terms of integrating IT and computers into the learning process. In Russia, there is a state program whose aim is installation of computers in Russian village schools, but the issue of the creation of high quality learning materials is unfortunately left unattended. Without them, however, there is little point in computerisation alone.

Particular attention must be paid to the future schoolteachers becoming more confident in their use of IT and computer products as part of the learning process in the classroom, extracurricular work or homework, in children's creative or research projects, in-depth specialised study, etc.

6. Any discussion about the importance of education and the urgent need for making a country more civilised will always remain hollow until the state provides adequate salaries to school teachers and college staff as well as decent scholarships to graduate and postgraduate students. In China there is a sharp rise in the salaries of teachers, especially in key learning institutions. In Russia it is still a slow process, though the raise in salaries for some groups of school teachers in 2006 provides some hope for the future. However as of today the state's neglect of financial, social and other issues that teachers face in their work and everyday life still constitutes a serious problem.

7. For both China and Russia one of the hardest problems to solve is staffing schools in villages, small towns and farming communities located far from major educational and industrial centers. It is not quite clear how this problem is being solved in China since the program of assigning students jobs after graduation was aborted.

In Russia staffing such schools will definitely mean moving towards a contract system of education, where a student receives a decent scholarship, may earn extra income only in teachers' colleges as part of internship and/or practicum and must spend 2 years after graduation working where directed by the institution.

8. The content and methodology of higher teacher education, its correspondence to the psychological and professional requirements for teachers today deserve further discussion. Of special importance are real measures in developing viable and scientific methodology and a realistic approach for differentiated teaching of school students.

VIEW FROM CHINA

Anbang Xie

China and Russia are two great influential nations from both historical and contemporary perspectives. Teacher education (TE) plays an important role in the national and international knowledge exchange, political life and academic activities in China and Russia. The status, functions and achievements of teacher education in the two countries are witnessed by people all over the world. Social development in China and Russia has deep historical roots with respective national cultural tradition and realistic needs. Accordingly, teacher education, as the historical legacy and an important component of contemporary society, has much commonness and disparities in the two countries.

1. Traditionally, both China and Russia pay much attention to cultivation and training of teachers

Russia's good tradition of attaching state importance to education can be traced back to the 16th century, when education was considered as the root of making a country rich and powerful. As a large number of schools began to appear in Russia in the 19th century, cultivation and training of teachers as a profession gradually obtained broad space. In the period of former Soviet Union, the government attached great importance to the cultivation of teachers for the purpose of satisfying needs of developing «education for people». Various kinds of organizations of TE were transformed into a single type of specialized normal institutions and therefore, the postwar system of teacher education in the Soviet Union was gradually formed whose main body was national specialized normal institutions with middle and higher TE as the two poles. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, national education in Russia was restricted in development scale and speed under the influence of societal, political and economic factors, but the Russian government kept the tradition of paying attention to TE, the status of specialized institutions of national higher teacher education can not be replaced completely.

Chinese people usually regard teachers as parents. Besides, their social and political status and requirements of teachers are very high because of the ancient cultural tradition of «if you are a good official then you can go to school, and if you can study well then you can be an official». Therefore, the emphasis on TE had a good social foundation in China. Its current system originated in 1951 («Decision on Reforming Educational System» by the State council) and gradually improved. In a word, based on experience of the Soviet Union, independent cultivation and training system of teachers was founded in 1950s, including both *pre-service* and post-service training. The former was mainly carried out by specialized public full-time normal institutions including secondary and higher TE, which fall into the scope of national education. Post-service training was mainly carried out by local educational institutions (higher TE in general) and schools offering advanced courses (secondary TE in general), which belong to adult education. Since the 1980s, some changes took place as the advance of reform. Many comprehensive universities and institutions of

science and technology began to carry out cultivation and training of teachers which plays a positive role in broadening channels of TE, especially in secondary vocational and technological schools. In fact, normal institutions also cultivate talents who are not supposed to be teachers for satisfying developmental needs of economic and society. The always of normal institutions and makes them the main body of teacher education. In a word, the governments both in China and Russia attach great importance and support development of TE while undertaking their basic responsibility for it.

2. Characteristics of teacher education in Russia

There is two-level TE in Russia. Teachers in primary schools are trained by secondary normal institutions and teachers in middle schools are trained by higher normal institutions (in which the department of preschool also trains some primary school teachers) which are the main body of TE system. Compared with China, specialized national higher normal institutions in Russia have the following characteristics/

1. *Length of schooling is relatively long (5 years)*, which guarantees students' systematic learning of specialized knowledge and teaching practice. Teachers at normal institutions are so highly professionalized that most of them have doctorate and post-doctorate degrees.

2. *Putting emphasis on systematization of specialized knowledge.* There are a large number of courses related to this kind of knowledge and the learning period is long. At the same time, general knowledge is paid attention to with numbers of courses related to humanities, economics and general mathematics and natural sciences.

3. *Courses related to the profession of teachers are extensive* and there are a large number of those courses, which lays a good foundation for students to adapt to the profession of teachers and the continuous improvement and development of professionalization level of teachers.

4. *The periods of probation and teaching practice are long.* Development of professional skills and cultivation of professional spirit of students in normal institutions are emphasized.

5. *There is a sound system for teachers to go on studying and accept re-training* (every five years). There are institutions (centers) for people working in the field of education to go on studying in both the central and local governments where middle school teachers can be trained. The establishment of website and distance education makes it possible for teachers in remote areas to accept training and new information.

In China, length of schooling in normal universities lasts for four years which is relatively short to prepare students for becoming teachers in great need. In addition, China pays much attention to cultivation of scholarly teachers through enhancing study of specialized knowledge, but time to learn specialized knowledge and corresponding skill training is limited and then teachers need training and improvement later.

3. Teacher education system in transformation in China

In order to meet the needs of the rapid development of socialist market economy and the reform of educational system, to continuously improve quality and level of TE, that system in China faces the challenges of continuous revolution and perfection. Some changes gradually take place with the following features.

1. *TE system gradually becomes open.* Regular universities which have conditions can train teachers and normal universities can train students who are not supposed to be teachers.

2. *The level of teacher education gradually becomes high.* Secondary institutions of TE are basically abandoned or upgraded to higher institutions. In many cities or developed regions, non-university tertiary colleges of TE are upgraded to universities and there is also a transition from secondary-level higher institutions to first-levels.

3. *The objective adaptability of TE is enhanced.* In order to satisfy the needs and improve the level of teaching, masters of education aiming at teaching of each discipline are increased.

4. *Educational system is integrated.* Pre-service education and post-service education are closely related. In recent years, in-service and post-service training are especially emphasized in China. In addition to designing the uniformed training plan, all kinds of effective measures are encouraged to be adopted with creativity and diversity. For example, curriculum learning, lecture, workshop, seminar, public class, observation, experience exchange, reading report, learning on Internet, teaching competition, help in pairs, project research, self-learning and reflection, etc. Continuous education center in some regions are founded to coordinate normal universities, departments of educational administration and inspection, and local departments of educational research. Independent normal institutions carry out the main tasks of training teachers and actively involve themselves in activities carried out in local areas, which guarantees the training quality.

China is actively exploring modern new system of teacher education with Chinese characteristics as well as time and local characteristics.

4. Prospects of teacher education in both countries

Nowadays, Russia faces challenges brought by great reform. Although the government has good reform plans such as TE reform of multi-level with continuity, the shortage of governmental funds influenced its realization. The consciousness of market requires students to freely choose jobs for sufficient money. Teachers' wages are low so that fewer people want to be teachers. Lower payment in national educational system makes competition of the profession of teachers weaker and weaker. There is an inconsistency between low social status and professional reputation of teachers and high requirements of teachers' professional skills and needs of re-training. In addition, weak sensibility of teacher education system to the external needs and the shortage of skilled administrators reflect that the current situations of national management system does not in accordance with the responsibility of creating an impetus to develop educational system. If these problems cannot be solved effectively, education in Russia and its national development would be impeded.

Similar situations occurred in China. Educational system and teachers were greatly destroyed due to the Great Cultural Revolution. At that time, teachers had low income and social status so that few people wanted to be school teachers while they were in great demand in basic education. Therefore, there's a great shortage of eligible teachers. After the opening policy, our country invested more and did a lot of work in improving teachers' social status, income and stabilizing the group of teachers such as establishing Teachers' Day, reforming recruiting system (enlarging recruiting ratio of students in poor and minority areas), regulating teachers' wages which by legislation have to be equal or higher than average level of civil servants' wages, and regulating all kinds of rewarding policies (e.g. excellent teachers in primary and middle schools, «Chang Jiang» stimulating project for universities' scholars and national labor models), which were welcomed and had good effects.

Although there are great achievements in TE in China, there are many problems. For example, imbalance between the teaches in urban and rural areas (few people are willing to

go to the rural areas so that there is a shortage of teachers there, especially competent teachers); although there's the hardware of information and technology, it is problematic to make it effective; teachers do not have strong professional spirit and consciousness of continuous learning. Nowadays, measures are taken to guarantee the quality of open TE system by taking an active part in curricular reform, perfecting certification system, strengthening cooperation between universities and schools, and combination of plan and practice.

Chinese government has already proposed «human-centered» scientific development view in the new five-year plan. Teachers' professionalization, «whole person» development of teachers and enhancing teachers' «happy life» are important tasks of TE in China.

Chapter 11.

BREAKTHROUGH TO THE INTERNATIONAL MARKET OF EDUCATION SERVICES

VIEW FROM RUSSIA

Yu. S. Davidov, A. Yu. Davidov

1. The policies for Russia's and China's integration in the single world education space are predetermined by the new role of education in both countries' current conditions. Russia and China, fully aware of the fact that the 21st century shall be the «era of education», consider it necessary to learn from each other's experiences. This is significant for the rest of the world as well, because today every eighth student in the world is either Russian or Chinese.

In the contemporary world, the ability to adapt rapidly to the circumstances of international competition is becoming one of the most important factors of successful and sustainable development. This is true of the sphere of education as well. Therefore both countries are actively seeking paths of access to the international market of educational services thus facilitating the international mobility of personnel, improvement of its training, and expansion of financial flows channeled to the sphere of education. This was China's position when it joined the WTO in 2001, and during the five years of its membership therein managed to use globalization as a catalyst of its development in both the economic and education spheres.

In 2003 Russia joined the Bologna Process whose aim was to enhance international competitiveness of the European system of higher education. Signing of the Bologna Declaration by Russia paved broader avenues for the integration of the Russian system of education within the framework of the European education, its participation in the academic programs within the European Union, opportunities for student employment, as well as enhancement of international competitiveness of Russian tertiary education. The forthcoming Russian entry in the WTO will continue to serve further the named objectives.

2. Significance of the PRC Experience for Russia's Entry in the WTO

The commitments to be undertaken by Russia as a WTO member are two-fold. The first one includes general and unconditional commitments under General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). The most important of those is connected with the requirement to provide all WTO member-countries with MFN regime in the trade of services including the educational ones. In practice, this means equal opportunities for all foreign suppliers admitted into the Russian market. On the other hand, a need to protect the national rights of domestic producers is beginning to be discussed as well as the question of how broadly should the doors be opened for infiltration of WTO into our home market. This question

is equally difficult for both Russia and China, because in one and a half decade of transition to the market economy the domestic markets of educational services have not yet been completely formed in either of the two countries. It is not without a reason that by the present time only 40 of 146 WTO members have signed the agreement on opening of their education markets and offer of educational services, while 30 of those limit the given process to adult education and training of technical personnel.

China has chosen not to undertake commitments for integration in the open market within transnational supplies of educational services because of its apprehensions connected with the possible loss of control over the contents and governance of learning process, which in the given circumstances would mean absence of any chances to guarantee the quality of education as well as to control whether its contents runs counter to Chinese national mentality, state security and national tradition.

Services in the sphere of compulsory and specialized education, too, were not included in the scope of the PRC–WTO agreement.

China did not grant foreign organizations the right to create educational institutions of whatever kind in its territory on the *unilateral basis*.

In order to protect the market of educational services from poor quality teaching China put forward strict requirements for teachers arriving in China as regards to their competence and length of service. Foreign teachers may arrive in China only if they received an invitation from or were hired by educational institutions of the PRC.

All in all, Russia should consider the experience of the PRC in opening its market of educational services more widely, but only to the extent as the proper conditions become ripe enough in Russia.

3. Prospects for Russia-China Cooperation in the Sphere of Education

The current state of cooperation between the two countries can hardly be qualified as active. While the number of Chinese students and trainees studying annually in Russia is 10–12 thousand, no less than 150–200 thousand of them study in the United States.

At the present time direct partnership ties are established between 50 Chinese and Russian institutions of higher education but this number accounts for just about 2% of all such institutions in the two countries. At the same time, however, over 400 institutions of higher education in China have foreign student enrollment.

The absolute majority of Chinese students (93%) intending to study abroad are admitted in Russian institutions of tertiary education through the mediator agencies. This form is quite convenient as it does not involve big costs of advertising, and by paying small commissions Russian institutions of tertiary education can have a secure supply of students from the PRC who, what is even better, come in groups rather than individually. However, such middlemen structures should undertake responsibility for learning progress of their clients as the latter in most cases are graduates from secondary schools who failed to gain the required score for entry in Chinese universities. Therefore, according to the representatives of Russian institutions of higher education, about 30% of such students are not able to pass through the full course load of Russian university curricula. In view of most Russian experts, direct cooperation with Chinese counterpart institutions would be the optimal form for enrollment of Chinese students.

China's experience of supporting its students studying abroad is worth of close consideration. The PRC Ministry of Education publishes recommendations for those going to study abroad and has a special center offering services to such students. In addition, a

multifunctional system has been developed in the PRC to offer services for repatriating specialists, which includes assistance in their employment as well as financial aid in starting their own businesses, supply of information on opportunities for capital investments, etc.

Construction of the similar system in Russia would considerably facilitate the opportunities for Russian students to get education abroad as well as their future repatriation.

Cooperation with the CIS member countries is a priority vector of cooperation in the sphere of education. Considerable contribution to formation of the single education space of the CIS is brought by the Eurasian Association of Universities, whose proposals are coordinated and synchronized with the CIS countries. Consolidation of ties between universities of China and the Eurasian Association of Universities would facilitate the expansion of programs aiming at academic mobility of students and faculty, building single information environment, and assisting the proliferation of cultural values and mutual enrichment of cultures on the Eurasian territory. To this end, however, it is imperative to continue promoting Chinese language studies in Russia and Russian language studies in the PRC.

VIEW FROM CHINA*Mansheng Zhou***1. Common Point of Chinese and Russian Governments' Attitude toward International Market of Education Service**

1.1. Both China and Russia Take an Active Part in the Internalization Process of Higher Education. The economic globalization has given impetus to the educational one, strengthened the exchange of educational resources among countries, forced different countries to open their educational market to other countries, thus making it possible for all countries to benefit from the international education market. The driving force of internalization of higher education not only originated from the demand of cultural exchange, but also concerned with such factors as mission and interests of the state. In this regard, both China and Russia are well aware of this point. In Russia, it is put forward that the mission of the State is while «taking into consideration the national experience and traditions» to «take an active part in the international market of education service so as to enable all educational institutions and educational practitioners to be extensively involved in the educational events sponsored by international organizations and groups». China intends to actively participate in the process of economic globalization by adopting the practice of «learning successful experience from other countries and introducing Chinese practice to the outside world» and gradually establish the international development strategy with the characteristics of active participation and simultaneous progress with international pace.

1.2. The Two Countries Pay Due Attention to the Nations' Sovereignty and Implement Limited Opening-up Policy. When having negotiations for service trade, Russian delegation insisted in such principle as «if any foreign service provider wants to enter the Russian market of primary and secondary education, it must abide by all the requirements provided by the current Russian federal laws on the institution forms and service ways as well as all those requirements for Russian educational institutions in terms of import & export license, qualifications, educational quality and syllabus. In accordance with the obligations for Russia to join WTO, the only educational condition for Russia to fulfill is to offer equal treatment to foreign providers of education services as that to Russian domestic ones. Especially, Russian federal government must follow this logic in the field of higher education. While allowing Russian consumers to enjoy the education services offered by foreign providers freely without restriction, the Russian federal government shall not have any obligation to foreign education institutions and shall reserve the right to make any additional restrictions upon foreign providers of education services, including total prohibition of foreign education service to enter the Russian market».

When making promise for education service trade, the Chinese government has adopted a reasonable choice for integrating the interaction between the educational sovereignty and the opening up of education market. According to this principle, China should take bold action to absorb the beneficial experience of other countries in the development of educational cause, including advanced educational ideas, teaching modes, teaching contents and teaching methods, for speeding up the cultivation of talent in demand. At the

same time, the Chinese government must also safeguard the basic political, cultural and economic interests of the country and its leadership and control over educational cause. Moreover, the Chinese government has also made different requirements for foreign providers of education service to enter the Chinese market so as to meet the characteristics of education of different kinds in all stages in China.

1.3. Both Countries Emphasize the Quality Improvement of Transnational Education by Giving It Priority Position. According to Russian government, the teaching quality must be improved for attracting more students from abroad to study at Russian universities and colleges. The quality of higher education will hinder the progress for Russia to join Bologna Treaty. Just like other countries in Asia and the Pacific Region, China hopes to strengthen the cooperation with other countries within the UNESCO framework for the mutual recognition of degrees and schooling records of higher education and set up a universal system of qualification approval and quality guarantee for post-secondary education institutions to protect consumers from the poor education quality and to make transnational higher education more transparent.

1.4. Both Countries Are Much Concerned about the Study of the Nature of Educational Industries. Since the 1990s, heated discussions on the nature of education and the industrialization of educational cause took place in China. Recently the society has more demand for higher education and its size is expanding very fast, but the limited governmental investment contradicted this process. In this regard, one of the major solutions is to reform the charge system, to introduce a cost-recovery system and collect students' fees. In China, higher education is a non-compulsory one, so with both natures of «public» and «private» product, it is not a pure public product and welfare consuming commodity. As non-compulsory education forms, both higher and vocational education provide a kind of semi-public product. The public part is bought by the government and the private part is bought by individual beneficiaries in the form of self-investment. At present, the educational authorities have consistently been very careful with the concept of educational industry, let alone the idea of «industrialization of education». Nowadays, market economy has been developing to such an extent that education has acquired *certain nature of industry*. The public has accepted the idea that education must introduce some market-based mechanism for intensifying its vitality and efficiency by letting individuals share part of the educational costs. No matter the concept of «industrialization of education» is accepted or opposed, there are some social understanding in common.

According to an analysis report published in Russia, two kinds of perspectives on education are fighting with each other in the world. Some people consider education as a kind of social welfare, while others treat it as a component part of the market. So far, the latter has taken a dominant position. The Russian part of the chapter reflects those documents of the Bologna process in 2001, 2003 and 2005, which point out: «education must be considered as a kind of social welfare and social responsibility». In a report published by the UNESCO International Education Commission, it is also pointed out: «education is kind of collective welfare and it can never be the object of pure market readjustment».

In Article 11.1 of Russian Federal Law of Education (2004), it is provided that foreign legal persons and foreign individuals may set up educational institutions in Russia. In its negotiations on education service trade, the Russian delegation could make full use of China's experience and had enough strength and time to cope with the demands put forward by the USA, Australia and European Union. It is one of the Russian delegation's bottom lines that «while allowing Russian consumers enjoy the education services offered by foreign providers freely without restriction, the Russian federal government shall not have

any obligation to foreign education institutions and shall reserve the right to make any additional restrictions upon foreign providers of education services, including total prohibition of foreign education service to enter the Russian market». Another bottom line is that «Russian government will neither make any provision on the standard for the allocation of the state funds nor designate the sectors (including sectors of education service) to enjoy the state funds. The only thing we do is to reserve the right to provide financial allowance to Russian educational institutions instead of giving such allowance to foreign institutions». This is the stand of Russian Federal Ministry of Economic Development and Trade.

1.5. Both Countries Lay Emphasis on Solving the Problem of Talent Drain out in the Opening up Process of Service Trade Market. A fact mentioned in a Russian sociological report has caused serious uneasiness among Russian government officials. The conclusion of the report is that a considerable proportion of the college students surveyed expressed their intention to work abroad, with one forth to one third college students in Russia want to leave their motherland. Meanwhile, the college students' dominant motive to learn knowledge and techniques is to get payment. The result of an on-line questionnaire survey conducted in the academic year 2000/2001 indicated that those overseas Russian students who wanted to return back to Russia after finishing their study abroad only accounted for 20% to 25% of the total number. Relevant statistics reveal that the basic orientation of Russian college students is to receive higher education in the USA, which is becoming an increasing tendency¹. As a matter of fact, the talent drain-out peak in Russia occurred during the period of 1989–1992. Altogether 10% of the people (about 75000) from various social sectors went abroad for settlement in that period (only in Moscow University, 10% of the in-service teachers went abroad). Even now, three to four thousand experts are leaving Russia for other countries each year.

It was also the case in China during the period of 1978–2003. In 25 years, more than 700,000 people went abroad for study through channels of state-sponsorship and self-sponsorship, but only 180,000 people returned back to China after completing their study abroad, accounting 26% of the total. In this aspect, the statistics in China are similar to those in Russia.

2. Features of Cooperation between Russia and Other Countries in Education

2.1. Russian Government Always Give Priority to Its Educational Cooperation with Other Member Countries of the Federal Union. Due to historical reasons, the cooperation among Commonwealth Independent States (CIS) has been enjoying the priority of Russian government's policy on educational cooperation with other countries. The whole conception of this core policy is also called as «unified educational space». The basic feature of this conception is to emphasize «the unity of the states' policy on education, the consistency among states' standards for education, syllabus and criteria for cultivating and evaluating talent people in the field of science and technology and citizens' right to enjoy equal chance for education on the land of all CIS». The agreement among the CIS in the field education includes such aspects as establishing sub-campus of universities and colleges, setting up united universities, cultivating experts through joint efforts, and mutually recognizing the certificates of regular secondary education, primary and secondary vocational education. To promote the in-depth cooperation among member countries, the Congress of the CIS

¹ In the year 1992/1993, there were only 654 Russian students studying in the USA, but the number increased to 6643 in the academic year 2001/2002.

has adopted a series of demonstration laws¹. Since the decision on such cooperation was made at the meetings of state heads and the implementation of the decisions was guaranteed by administrative organs, it has a very strong authority. But, there are still a series of problems to be resolved, including the mutual recognition of certificates, degrees and academic titles of higher education. Continuous efforts are required for in-depth study of the reasons.

2.2. Active and Careful Promotion to the Bologna Progress. In June 1996, the education ministers of 29 European countries signed the Bologna Declaration (BD), including the following contents:

- (1) To carry out a clear, transparent and comparable degree system to make degrees and schooling records in all European countries have equal value and comparability;
- (2) To implement two-level system of higher education: bachelor degree (3–4 years) and master's degree (1–2 years) and recognize the certificate of bachelor's degree among European countries;
- (3) To carry out the unified credit system;
- (4) To encourage students, teachers, educational administrators and researchers to flow freely and create conditions for their circulation;
- (5) To strengthen the cooperation in the field of quality supervision so as to work out comparable standards and methods.

In 2003, Russia has signed the BD for the belief that the joining Bologna Progress would provide for it more extensive possibility to enter the European education space and participate in the academic exchange and education projects among European countries. Russia reaffirmed the stand of European Union of Universities and the European Chancellors of EU Universities and stressed that the member countries of the BD are voluntary to fulfill the obligation to reform their higher education system. Russia also stated that the Bologna Process is aimed at enabling higher education in different European countries to get closer instead of «standardization» or «unification». Meanwhile, Russia also expressed its high respect to the basic principle of autonomy and diversification in the BD.

In order to create conditions for the smooth entry into the Bologna Process, in 2004 the Russian government issued the document entitled «Priority Orientation of Educational System in Russia», which presupposed that its Law of Education, the Law on Higher Education and Post-College Vocational Education and other regulations be revised and replenished by means of legislation. The revision must guarantee: (1) the establishment of the two-level system of higher vocational education; (2) the development of continuous vocational education; (3) the attraction of enterprise owners to participate in educational policies; and (4) the further integrating of science and education. All the above points are quite similar to China's practice in 2001 when China joined the WTO and made relevant promises on education service trade and on gradual opening up of service trade by means of legislation and policy readjustment.

2.3. Russia Has a Reasonable Attitude Toward the Rights, Interests and Potential Harms to Be Brought by Joining the WTO. Russian educational experts have made very reasonable analysis of the rights and interests to be brought by joining the WTO, including unlimited consumption of foreign education services, improvement of Russian education providers'

¹ Including Laws On Education, On Higher Education and Post-college Vocational Education, On Adult Education, On Education for Disadvantaged Groups. In addition, the following laws are under preparation: On Regular Secondary Education, On Out-of-School Education, On Teachers' Position and On Preschool Education.

competitiveness in the market, and protection of individuals' (teachers') right to flow. At the same time, prediction was also made as to the potential harms, including the entry of a large number of foreign education institutions into Russia, the disadvantages in some disciplines as that of economics etc., where the unbalance between import and export could appear.

Now, the WTO is having the Doha round negotiation with the focus on agriculture, but the opening up of service market is not given priority. The rationale behind that is that the opening up of such a market involves the mutual opening up of both importing and exporting countries which forced the developed countries to loosen their control over the issuance of visa for the inflowing service people from developing countries, but this is a very hot and sensitive problem for the USA and other European countries which are strengthening their efforts against terrorism after the «September 11 Event».

It has always been the concern of *education export countries* to start a new round negotiation on education service, in the hope that developing countries further open up their market of service trade. For the lack of strong capacity and the experience in formulating regulations in the aspect of education service trade, China has no saying in the formulation of service trade regulations. In particular, China has actually given up too much in opening up her service trade market for the success of joining the WTO. In view of this, it is one of the key concerns of the Chinese government to fulfill the promise made when joining the WTO. However, both China and Russia have a common understanding that they must take an overall part in the formulation of the WTO rules on service trade.

3. Bright Future and Huge Potential of Sino-Russian Educational Exchange

There is a long-term and good tradition of cooperation in the field of education between China and Russia. The close similarity of educational systems has made it possible for the two countries to have in-depth and further cooperation and learn from each other. In recent years, the total number of exchanging students between China and Russia is increasing steadily and China is one of the top five countries in terms of overseas Chinese students in Russia. It is repeatedly mentioned in a study report in that volume that the total number of Chinese students in Russian regular universities was about 12,400 in 2006, a considerable percent of whom were enrolled via intermediate institutions authorized by both the Ministries of Education and the State Security of China. According to relevant statistics on the Chinese side, the total numbers of Russian students in China during the period of 2001–2004 were 703, 1056, 1492 and 2288 people respectively, increasing by more than three times in three years. All the statistics show that there exists a very solid basis and very huge space for further cooperation in education service trade between China and Russia.

At present, the Chinese students in Russian universities are suffering the following major obstacles: (1) some students are not sufficiently competent; (2) a considerable number of students have to learn preliminary course of Russian language because only few of them had the chance to learn Russian on the basic education level; (3) some unqualified intermediate institutions offer poor service; and (4) the role of distance education has not been brought into full play. It is believed that the last two obstacles can be effectively overcome. About two years ago, China and Russia signed the Agreement on Mutual Recognition of the Effectiveness of Diploma and Degrees. In 2000, the two countries set up the Russian-Sino Commission of Educational, Cultural, Health and Sports Cooperation, which has played a very active role in promoting the all-round exchange between China and Russia. Such cooperation is of far-reaching strategic significance for both countries. Therefore, the educational cooperation between China and Russia has a very bright future and very feasible market.

SUMMARY OF THE BOOK: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

VIEW FROM RUSSIA

N. E. Borevskaya

The object of our comparison, Russia's and China's education strategies during a transitional period, is directed at activating their role in the fifth phase of technological development in the future. Like most modern scholars, we compare national educational systems mainly because «the nation-state from the 19th century onwards became a primary unit to organize and govern social, political and economic life» [Bray & Kai, p. 127]. At the same time, I concur with those scholars who suggest comparing multiple educational systems, which often hide within the national ones, like public and private etc. [Bray & Kai, p. 128], which is why one of the chapters highlights regional educational strategy. Because of the limitations imposed by the space of this conclusion, I summarize the key issues of the two countries' national strategies analyzed in the volume (decentralization, democratization, privatization and differentiation of the education systems) through the prism of the new role and functions of the state and its potency in solving the educational problems in the transitional period.

1. The validity of comparative objects

The choice of Russian and Chinese educational systems as objects for comparative study, with both countries being large-scaled and complex as they are, and each having a very specific millennia-long historical and cultural traditions of their own, may look not quite correct at first glance. Both countries exhibit great contrasts with respect to their geography, demographics, society and politics, economy, education and primarily, civilization. But during the last decade of comparative education, much greater attention has been given to the comparisons of countries with different cultures and identity [i.e. Hayhoe and Pan]. Both Chinese and Russian authors of the volume were quite aware that «the cross-cultural comparison could fully demonstrate the truth about the cultural characteristics of each educational system only if it is made sensitively and carefully» [Mason, p. 186].

While both countries are considered large as far as area and demographics go with an unbalanced distribution of population on the territories, there is a noticeable difference between them in population, with Russia's figures being 10 times lower than China's, despite the fact that Russian territory is twice that of her neighbor's (i.e. this makes the management problem especially current). China's population growth tendency, though contained by one-child policy since the beginning of the 1970s, puts serious demographic pressure on the Chinese system of education. On the other hand, Russia has been experiencing a demographic slump for the last 15 years, which is also causing changes in its educational infrastructure (for example, in the next 10 years the number of college students in state colleges and universities is predicted to decrease by nearly 20%).

The stages of economic development in the 1980s (the start of current reforms) were different too. China, mostly agrarian, was in the first stages of industrialization and urban-

ization, whereas the USSR was a relatively developed industrial society. Consequently the cultural, scientific and industrial background of the reforms was radically different. One-fifth of China's population was either illiterate or had a low level of literacy and the implementation of universal primary level education was incomplete in contrast to the USSR which was disseminating 11-year education for all citizens, with its high academic standards acknowledged throughout the world.

However, the close interaction of the two countries in the 1950s laid the foundation of the *strategic similarities* in their political and economical regimes - state socialism with a totalitarian slant (with some tactical differences) and a common ideological basis – that of Marxism-Leninism. The common past defined the similar outline of the current stage of modernization – that is, the conservation of socially-oriented policy with the added impetus of marketing economy levers and a certain democratization of the political regime. In general, the main goals were very similar for both countries: breaking into the post-industrial information society and successfully taking part in the world race for leadership in the innovative societies' club. And at this point there was another historical twist that somewhat evened out the economic differences: China, having received a harsh lesson in volunteerism and isolationism during its «Cultural Revolution», got a new leadership, a new direction and a powerful impetus to develop, from both inside and outside, whereas a new Russian Federation (RF) at the beginning of the 90s lost both area and economic power in comparison with the former USSR. It turned out that both countries had similar economic constraints: financing stringency where education was concerned. This was why the range of problems both countries faced during the transition period contained some common features. For example, China launched the process of making a nine-year junior middle school compulsory, whereas Russian made obligatory the same level (in 1992 Law on Education, art. 19) instead of the previous 11-year system, taking into account the low financial solvency of the latter.

Both countries unexpectedly met up at the stage of «late modernization», though each reform had its own specific features. China is building a socialist «society of medium wealth» (so called «*xiao kang*»), but realizing the greatness of its civilization, it is ambitious enough, as former Chairman of the PRC Jiang Zemin formulated, «to catch the initiative in international cooperation and competition» and take its place among those countries that *provide* the world market with innovative technologies. Russia is quite concerned about the restoration of its power and prestige at the zenith of the Soviet era, and at the same time is doing its best to conserve and stabilize its place in the world as a leading «brains trust».

This is when it became clear that the comparison of two countries' transition to the post-modern era is not only possible, but necessary, as comparative education studies are considered to be most productive when we compare systems that possess both striking disparities and similarities. In this case, a comparison provides great potential for demonstrating objective laws of societies during transition periods.

2. Concerning the specific character of education reforms in China and Russia

a) Correlation between reforms and stability. Complex changes in the education systems of both countries set off in the 1980s had a character of *fundamental* reform accompanied by a total or at least partial change of the educational paradigm. It presupposed a root-deep restructuring of the whole educational system, modernizing educational content, setting up new types of links between education and the labor market, between the state and the school. The most important point to note is that while the Russian reform was initiated by the national educational community, the Chinese one was planned and designed at the top government level (with Deng Xiaoping as its architect). In their comparative comments to the book's

chapters, both Russian and Chinese authors unanimously and correctly note that while the reform in China took the pace of *evolution*, in Russia it was marked by *radicalism*, generated by the fact that not only the economic system but also the political system changed in Russia, as a result of the bloodless revolution which took place there following the collapse of the USSR. Hence, the more resolute elimination of outdated and progress-impeding dogmas, and what is typical of such historic epochs – the discontinuity of tradition. While in China modernization was based on the triangle of such notions as *Reform, Development, and Stability*, the situation in Russia of the 1990s would be qualified as extremely unstable and only the beginning of the new century saw the initiated process of stabilization.

b) Correlation between reforms and «openness». The new leaders of China, while breaking with the isolationism of the previous decade, have realized that the success of the country's innovational development depends by and large on its interaction with the world and its participation in globalization. That is why the above-mentioned triangle was transformed into a «rectangle» upon obtaining the notion of «openness». In both countries, this approach became apparent in their furthering active communication and cooperation with such international organizations as the World Bank, UNESCO etc., that have supported many of the two countries' educational projects with multimillion investments and qualified expertise. Meanwhile in the USSR, openness developed a wider meaning from the second half of the 1980s when it presupposed the substitution of class values by universal human values.

The two countries' educational openness is manifested in the long and complex process of the formation of their domestic educational markets as a precondition for entering the global market of educational services. Both countries are especially concerned with internationalizing higher education to make their graduates more internationally mobile and competitive. As a first step, openness presupposed the simplification of the scientific and cultural exchange programs procedure, by providing Russian and Chinese universities and research centers with the right to establish direct links with foreign universities and research institutions. Individuals also received the right to study abroad financing themselves or being financed by their source organizations. The next step for both countries was their entrance into international organizations, which could promote their activity in the global education market. In chapter 11 of this volume, Chinese scholars analyzed what impetus the domestic educational system got after joining the WTO (compensation for the brain drain by importing education services on a legal basis, collective brainstorming and active participation in international innovative projects etc.) and what regulative measures, including legislative, a country should undertake to protect and guarantee the sovereignty of its school system in the global market. This experience may prove useful for Russia.

Russia is looking to find its own way of educational globalization by forming a united educational CIS space and joining the Bologna process in 2003. This gives an impetus to Russia's education system to collaborate with the systems of developed European countries. But there is a key difference in the approach taken by the WTO and the EU. GATS documents view educational development as part of the services sphere, while the Bologna declaration highlights the necessity of viewing education as a social good. These differences cannot fail to influence the position of China and Russia, in particular, on accessibility of equal chances for quality education. As it is stressed in the book, in spite of the fact that the quality of education services in Russia today is higher, in both countries there is no distinctive approach to how to market them.

c) Priority of strategic positions of education in modernization. The top priority of education in the whole set of reforms was formally understood in the policies of both countries and it was underlined in their appropriate laws in the early 1990s. However, Russia's

deep economical crisis in the 1990s, with the GDP falling by more than 50%, forced the government (after the first few years of democratic reforms) to remove itself from solving the problems of education. Power structures, both central and local, were oppressed by financial difficulties and at the same time lulled into complaisance by the former achievements of Soviet schools, and so they failed to implement the importance of education as a social institution to ensure changes in all the other spheres. China, on the other hand, followed its *historical tradition* in beginning any social changes from the crucial sphere of education. Moreover, in China, the role of education in the process of modernization was strengthened manifold by the officially stated 1997 slogan «Science and Education will make the country flourish».

However, on its own, a formal statement of educational priority is worth little without financial guarantees. This is where China and Russia encountered similar obstacles. They included economic stringencies, bureaucratic resistance to reform and conservative («leftist» in China) resistance entailed in the State's curtailing of its financial commitments toward education and the measures aimed to put this burden on the population and to devolve it to the lower tiers of governance. As a result, up till now neither Russia nor China has so far managed to provide the necessary state expenditures for education as a percentage of GNP (4% in China as set by 2000; in Russia in recent years the data on GNP percentages is fully taken out of any law texts). The shades of difference are in fact that the Chinese government, though unable to guarantee free education on a level higher than the compulsory one, has never interrupted its efforts in fulfilling those financial responsibilities, which it considered capable of ensuring the «strategic top priority status of education development». I made an assumption that international and internal indicators China had introduced to determine the scope and the rate of state educational allocations formed the legal foundation for the priority of education and became important leverages in approaching some of the intended benchmarks (for example, education allocations already constitute nearly 15% of total budget expenditure). I concur with those scholars who conclude that many developing Asian countries, and the PRC among them, «demonstrated capacity for valuing strong educational institutions as requisites for attaining economic and social goals» [Adams, p. 72].

The Russian government followed a somewhat illogical course of action: on one hand, during the reform the RF conserved free education practically on all its levels (and only partly introduced cost-recovery principle for tertiary education), and since 2000 there has been a constant prioritized growth of federal expenditures on education leading to their 4 fold increase by 2005. On the other hand, if compared with 1992, at the beginning of the new century there was a different system of educational funding, so the previously unrealized benchmarks which marked educational priority (the share of educational expenses in the state revenues, the share of federal budget allocations for tertiary education) were excluded from the Law in its 2004 edition along with some others which pertained to «state guarantees of educational financing», while new ones were not delineated.

The educational priority in both countries was guaranteed by legally based policy of benefits and preferences, but it came up against the resistance of tax and financial organs, which led to some major difficulties in its implementation. Nevertheless, China is overcoming the forces of resistance and in the last few years it defined a system of benefits for both state and private education institutions. Russia was less successful in adjusting its educational legislation to a new tax code, which entailed canceling all tax preferences for education institutions in 2004. Thus, the education priority status in Russia has been implemented only during the last one to two years.

So, I conclude that not only economic or political conditions, but cultural traditions

as well determine the state approach to the status of education.

d) Concentration of resources along the breakthrough directions. China, while testing this education system development model since the beginning of reforms in the 1980s, which is quite widely proliferated in Asia, focused on introducing full general secondary education in a number of *developed* coastal provinces, on building a group of «key» (pilot) schools and universities equipped at the world level, and reconciled the sharp aggravation of regional disparity in terms of quality and availability of education. In the middle of the 90s, priority funding was established for innovative institutions of tertiary education and innovative scientific projects. Russia, being more concerned by the problems of social inequality, has stepped on this road only recently.

3. The choice of educational model during the market economy formation process

This choice of educational strategy was presupposed by many circumstances with financial predicaments being one of them. The domination of the economic imperative became very transparent in Chinese educational reforms, when Chairman Mao's formula «Education serves proletariat politics» was changed to «Education serves socialist modernization» and strengthening the economy. While in China democratic pursuits looked rather weak and unclear for the option of the educational strategy, the New Russia in the 1992 Law on Education placed the concept of democratizing and humanizing first in the educational sphere. However the RF, being at that time in the throes of radical political and economic change after the first few years of democratic euphoria, in practice, exactly like China, implemented a technocratic interpretation of educational reforms, which treated society and human-beings as building material. In both countries, economic determinism was derived from the vulgar juxtaposition of the basis and the superstructure. I concur with the outstanding Russian theorist of education, Edward Dneprov, who said: «As a result, economic monism presents itself as a child of Marxism and a technocratic approach, as a system of thinking deprived of socio-cultural basis and cultural intuitions» [Dneprov, p. 25].

The difference was that China took the theory of «human capital» seriously, viewing education as a key factor of economic growth, and implemented it stage by stage. I assume, that a new goal for all reforms — «elevation of the nation's qualitative characteristics» was in harmony with both the human capital theory, the postmodernist A. Pecchei's ideas (his book «Human-being Characteristics» was popular in China) and with the Confucian notion of «self-cultivation» [Borevskaya 2002, p. 262]. In the 1990s, having seen the futility of «late modernization», China instead manifested the concept of «comparative advantages» offered by the WTO. In the case of China, it would mean transforming the excess of labor resources into such a resource advantage as «human capital».

In Russia, this theory was used as far back as 1988 in working out the first draft of education reform, however it was never fully utilized in the 1990s, and it was only in the 21st century that the government began to understand its real role in modernizing education, science and technology.

The option of the education modernization model was correspondingly complex in both countries. As all the book's chapters demonstrate, at the first stage of reform, both countries overestimated the role of market mechanism, which is in fact rather ambiguous, and the State inadequately curtailed its functions in the educational domain. The units in this book show that the marketing mechanism entailed commercialization of school, which was treated the same as «a productive unit». The theory behind this overestimation was backed by the primitive interpretation of the fact that education is a «service» that an individual might purchase by receiving money from the State as well; no wonder that the essence of education as a socially

meaningful benefit decreased. It is significant that both countries were eventually alarmed by this approach. Recent global investigations in educational policy proved that «we must not analyze “globalization practices” in terms of a one-dimensional movement from “the state” (understood as non-market and bureaucratic) to “the market” (understood as non-state and corporate). Rather, we must analyze the interaction between a range of critical shaping factors in the local context and the impetus for a change driven by global trends» [Mok, p. 214]. The authors of this volume have chosen this very approach.

Both Russia and China faced several models of educational structure as they were delineated by the Russian scholar, A.P. Valitskaya, [Valitskaya, p. 3–8] as options for their educational strategies: 1) the outdated purely «State model»; 2) the market-oriented educational model, typical for many developed Western countries which proved to be inconsistent both with Russian and Chinese traditions, with its dedication to spiritual values; 3) the culture-orientated educational model, which is congruent with the Chinese and Russian educational traditions as well as with the global tendencies of humanization and introduction of humanities to all universities. The authors of the Russian part of chapter 3 were right to point out that «neither country has so far chosen a clearly defined model: in each country there is a strange combination of the market and the administrative models, determined for the most part by national tradition and world tendencies as understood by the administration».

I assume that in the future the rational combination of all three models, with the priority of the cultural-oriented one, will lead to the best results. The restoration of the cultural function of education in both countries has become the ever more evident (i.e. in China the recent motto «the human-being is a root of everything» is evidently characterized by a humanistic approach). I concur with those Chinese scholars who assume that while Russia is moving from the «human development approach as a priority» to a more socialized concept of the reform, China is slowly proceeding in a reverse direction, therefore, they may have the chance to meet.

4. Comparing changes in the State functions of financing and governing the educational system

a) Defining the sphere of State financial commitment to education. Chapter 3 of this monograph demonstrates that both Russia and China have shared concerns about a new role for the State in generating and redistributing educational allocations and its correlations with market mechanisms, i.e. implementing a new type of management, which meant creating a system that would make possible the transfer from administrative to economic methods of management, financial and managerial independence of educational institutions and the introduction of a cost-recovery system in the educational domain. In spite of all financial stringencies, China clearly delineated the role of the State as the main provider of educational services on the level of compulsory education, which were made free, while multi-channel extra-budgetary financing provided successful functioning of higher levels of education. Within the revitalization of peasants’ «production responsibility system» in the 1980s, the government promoted a policy defined as «the people’s education is created by the people», which meant fairly hefty sums from the people, in the form of tuition and current fees, educational surcharges, and «voluntary» collective donations for school repairs and construction in the farming communities. It was only with the strengthening of its economic position at the end of the 1990s that the state managed to restore its own financial commitments at all governmental levels while stressing the funding role of the central and provincial governments (however, it absolved itself of any obligations regarding the private sector of education, understanding its unfeasibility).

Russia, being at a different stage of development from the outset, took a different route: at the first stage of reform it officially tried to keep funding of education *completely the State's responsibility* (including its full support of tertiary education). Moreover, even during the deepest financial crisis, the first version of the Russian Law on Education of 1992 based on equal rights for all taxpayers, confirmed budget financing for non-government education institutions, which passed the accreditation procedure. But, it soon became apparent that the State had taken upon itself unrealistic obligations that it would be unable to fulfill. Consequently, beginning in the second half of the 1990s, the State gradually curtailed some of them (i.e. defining tertiary education in state institutions free for not fewer than 170 students per 10 thousand people on a competitive entrance exam basis), trying to place as many as possible on extra-budget financing. But, unlike China, Russia pursued to increase government control over these funds, at least at state education institutions. In proportional terms, the government-allocation share of the total spending for education in Russia is higher than in China, as in Russia the sphere of free-of-charge education is much wider, while the level of multi-channel collection of funds is lower. The comparative study helps to find serious disparities in the width and depth of such channels, partially predetermined by local traditions, in either country. So, apart from tuition fees, China, owing to the powerful mobilization resource of the government and the *vivid charity tradition*, managed to organize sizable "people's donations" and sponsorship contributions including those coming from business and overseas Chinese. In Russia at this point, entrepreneurs donate monies for school purposes mainly under pressure from local administrations as during the 70 years of the state socialism the sponsorship tradition has vanished.

Both countries' experience confirmed the thesis that extra-budget allocations for education in developing countries could not fully compensate for the curtailment of government expenditures.

b) Redistribution of State responsibility: specific features of vertical governmental management. Both countries have chosen the model of decentralizing responsibility as one of the most important elements of education reform, as opposed to a centrally planned model, popular in the past.

World experience offers rare cases of thorough decentralization, but rather serves as a basis for discussion of its «mixed forms» (Lauglo, p. 6) — that is, the search for an optimal balance between the central and local tiers of education governance for any country. As the center lost its earlier unlimited powers in the transition from the unified administration to macro-control, Western comparative analysts identified the following major prerequisites for successful decentralization: strong position of a central government, stability and economic prosperity of the nation, as well as economic autonomy of the regions. Furthermore, if such factors are not present, these authors consider it necessary to create the above-mentioned prerequisites (Bray; Hanson). From such a perspective, China, with its successful economic growth, expanding economic autonomy of the regions (in particular, enactment of the special «open» zones) and relative political stability, since the end of the 20th century, has been manifesting the ever stronger prerequisites for successful decentralization. In our view, however, one more vital precondition was not mentioned in the above formula, that is, political autonomy of the regional government. This element was missing in China, while at the initial stage of the reforms, Russian regions had too much of it in the framework of the lack of stability.

I'll try to figure out the character of decentralization in Russia and China based upon the classification designed by M. Bray: the de-concentration of power, which still keeps the authority with the central government; delegation of decision-making authority (since powers

still basically rest with the Central authority); and the devolution of power, when the local units can act independently [Bray, p. 209]. Both in Russia and in China for reasons of tradition and recent heritage, some of the authority for the second and the third levels of educational management is in essence a derivative of the central power and is directed at realizing its policy, while the local government's other responsibility is to complement and define the center's norms and standards. I assume that the first stage of Russian decentralization could be evaluated as the devolution of rights, while the Chinese one was closer to the delegation of rights (it was initiated by the Center, a fact that had a heavy impact on its character). In China, the governance model is called «the model of combining unity and separation of the powers of central and local authorities» while keeping a strong macro-regulating role for the central government. As the Chinese authors of this volume concluded, the governing authorities on different levels «are not autonomous to each other while in Russia they are independent» in decision-making activity (that is, the creation, reorganization and liquidation of educational institutions subordinated to them etc.). As previously noted, decentralization «reforms were less dramatic in China, partly because the State remained unitary rather than federal» (Bray & Borevskaya, p. 355). In China, decentralization was primarily economically underpinned whereas in Russia it was also supported by a democratic ideology.

Both models have demonstrated their strong and weak points. Experience had showed that the two countries came up against similar objective difficulties in decentralizing education management: the lack of a distinct definition of power and the weak financial basis of the lowest levels of governance that did not allow them to fulfill the new responsibilities etc. The Chinese model is characterized by more coordinated activity of all levels of power, but the local authorities are not independent enough to make many of their decisions. In contrast, in Russia in the 90s, the powers of regional and local management levels were rather differentiated with a wide space for democratic changes, which resulted in weakening of the central government's macro-regulating functions, because some local educational regulations contradicted federal laws. That caused the trend called «strengthening the vertical of power» which is in fact a step back towards the model of delegation of power.

The tendencies of the new century in Russia lean toward overcoming the central-local gap and setting up contract forms of cooperation and unifying efforts within coordinated goal-oriented programs. New statements in the 2004 Education Law narrowed down the sphere of responsibility of federal authorities in educational management, limiting their capacity to directly regulate the work of the regional education systems. The reorientation of the controlling activity of the Center toward those functions of the educational system, which are most important from the point of view of final results, i.e. law-keeping and monitoring the quality of education, caused the 2004 creation of a separate structure – a Federal Science and Education Monitoring Service.

Using M. Bray's definitions, I assume that on their way to democratization countries in transition should consequently pass the last two stages of decentralization of educational governance, not missing the second one, but not dwelling on it.

c) On the macro-regulating functions of the State. The volume demonstrates that during the educational modernization process, both in China and Russia, some of the State's functions were curtailed, while at the same time new functions such as the design of the legislative foundation, the coordination of inter-regional development plans, the monitoring of educational quality, information services etc. enriched the State's commitments toward education. The State's macro-regulating functions were hindered by many contradictions such as those between the state order for personnel training formulated in educational standards, goals and powers, and real educational resources (financial, material, human etc.); between the chang-

ing content of educational governance and the competence of the governing staff etc.

In China, the abolition of the direct state control to some extent led to the weakening of the Center's coordinating and macro-regulating functions, but due to the political regime they were quickly restored. This is evident in the recent regulating measures of the central government in equalizing the inter-regional education disparities, fixing the balance between the different types and levels of educational institutions, narrowing the inequalities of educational chances (see chapter 4). This policy demonstrates that the new strategy is aimed, not so much at Center's support, but at intra-regional cooperation and development of human capital resources inside the poor regions (to make education the main leverage of their prosperity). The State in China has legally defined its role as «the main guarantor» of coordinating and stimulating educational reforms.

Unlike China, the autonomy of regional and local authorities led to the substantial weakening of the State's macro-regulating functions in Russia. All of the above-mentioned coordinating measures as well as programs are less effective in the RF.

Same as the financial and economical position of municipalities within the Russian federal subjects, the intra-provincial disparities in China are very evident. In both countries it entailed the differentiation in budget financing of education not only by regions but within regions as well. In general, the quality of education in the RF and in the PRC is more and more dependent not only on the ethnic and cultural background of the local population, but on the economics of the area and the State is still unable to balance the educational development.

5. Comparing changes in the interaction between State, Society and School

a) Correlations between decentralization and democratization. Comparing the forms and methods of decentralization in China and Russia supports the widely accepted thesis in world studies that there is no direct correlation between the degree of decentralization and democratization in society, on the one hand, while showing that the latter influences the forms of decentralization on the other. According to some Western scholars' perception, during the transition to the democratic civil society «decentralization encapsulates increased control by the individuals as opposed to the state's» [Cummings, Riddell, Rondinelli. See Cummings & Riddell, p. 769], while others argue that decentralization is «no more than the shift of control from one interest group to another» [McGinn and Street, restatement in: Cummings & Riddell, p. 754]. Evidently the core problem in that dispute is the form of decentralization, as different forms refer to different values: the distribution of power, the quality of educational services or the effective use of the resources [Lauglo, p. 9].

The political structure of each state in its restructuring management system determines the *status of the Center*, the setup of its interaction with the local authorities and the relationship between the State and the educational institutions. The system of education in both countries was a combination of *hierarchical* executive power organizations. There are, though, key differences as far as *vertical* management concerns: China kept the three level system (central – provincial – local authorities), whereas in Russia the fourth level – school – received equal rights. Education institutions' (especially higher education) autonomy was legally defined as one of the cornerstones of Russian state policy. The different manifestations of this sovereignty include the election of the head of the universities by the faculty staff. The independence of educational institutions provides and guarantees that the inner resources of the education system will develop on their own. A key factor in evaluating the relationship between the three levels is the difference in the legal status of the levels of management: 1) the federal subjects of the RF received far more authority and independence than the provinces in

China; 2) the county and township in China are state organs, whereas Russian municipalities are local self-governing authorities. In other words, I assume that in Russia decentralization is more tightly linked with the public participation in educational governance.

b) On the autonomy of educational institutions. The above-mentioned thesis can be confirmed by a new status of educational institutions designed during the reforms. Despite some obvious globalizing tendencies, this status is rooted in the *indigenous traditions* of each country. From the moment China was formed as a state, schools became a state institution and a part of the bureaucratic establishment, which is evident in the traditional priority given to education in the structure of the State and the special relationship between the State and the school. This is different from the traditional status of Russian schools, which had always been the responsibility of society and the Church. It is only since the time of Peter the Great at the edge of the 18th century, that the state started paying attention to this institution and incorporating it into the state system. But, in the 20th century, specifically in the 1920s, both the Chinese and the Russian school systems experienced a kind of «educational renaissance», stimulated by revolutionary movements and in part by J. Dewey's pragmatic pedagogical theory, which helped to open the door of school to society. This is why «the modern Russian education reform attempted to accept not only the challenge of modern times, that is overcoming the crisis of the totalitarian school system, but also another historical challenge, overcoming the incompleteness of creating its democratic school in pre-revolutionary Russia» [Dneprov, p. 11]. This definition of the key question appears to be true for China as well, as China too, had barely started on school democratization at the beginning of the 20th century and then in the 50s. As for the USSR, during the 70 years of socialism, the school, along with other cultural institutions, became a part of the all-encompassing integration into the State system. That is why with the start of the 1980s reforms, the key task was to *remove* these institutions from under the state's control. In my view, at the moment the academic autonomy of educational institutions in Russia is higher than that in the PRC.

c) Public participation models in education. During the period of transition to market economy and postindustrial society the role of the State in administrating and providing educational services in most of the countries was curtailed, but compensated by the growing participative activity of society and its members as a whole in managing the field of education [Welch]. All the social organizations and structures involved in education today can be divided into two groups: structures formed within the system and outside it. Judging from chapter 2 of this volume, this process is in progress in both countries, if one counts the number of educational unions, councils and associations created in the years of reform. But, it is far more important to point out that most of them are not chosen by the people, instead being *appointed* by the executive power and thus *built into* the administrative (state and municipal) management hierarchy, often serving its interests. In both countries, which are weighted down with the traditions of a paternalist centralized state, this practice does not allow for true democratic education management. That is to say, at best the social organization have the right to counsel, although in Russia this right is often rather influential (for example, the opinion of the Union of the Universities' Chancellors often puts strong pressure on decision makers). Still, neither in the Russian nor in the Chinese system of education does *independent (social) control* exist. Achieving its goals may be directly connected to the boards of trustees, which are so far lacking in Chinese state schools and scarce in the Russian ones (about 10%). I concur with the authors of the chapters that in both countries, social unions do not have the necessary *proxy* for making management decisions needed for the participants in the education process to do their part.

Almost the same can be said about social organizations' functioning *within* education

institutions of both countries: teachers' associations, parents' committees, and school councils in Russia. All these organizations are still nothing but *consulting* bodies, which keeps them from becoming the highest self-governing bodies.

A whole chain of factors obstructs the development of truly social forms of education management in the two countries. Comparison shows that without the corresponding legal basis that defines the activity of social management structures (in Russian laws only the autonomy of educational institutions is defined clearly) and without real public concern, these structures will never be able to express the urgent demands and aspirations of different social layers and will remain no more than one of the mirages of democratization. Both in Russia and in China, many researchers see the development of *social bodies outside the system* as a way out. These organizations, in their opinion, will be able to act more freely as they will not be sharing the interests of the officials. However their legal position outside the system of education alone will preclude these structures from being seen neither as a self-governing body for education institutions, nor as their governing organs.

d) Democratization of students' socialization process. As a notion, this aspect of democratization is rather typical of transitional societies, though, its forms and levels can be quite different, as it is highlighted in chapter 9 of this volume.

Both in Russia and in China at the early stage of reform, the privileged position of the function of upbringing was interrupted. However, China was the quickest to regulate the situation. A comparison shows efforts that are far more consistently and rigidly directed by the ruling party, to raise «*essential quality-oriented*» characteristics (EQO) of the students, combining the demands of the post-industrial society with the goals of “socialist modernization”, producing a creative individuality with an emphasis on its social functions. Thus, an independent and united system of managing ethical upbringing as part of the curriculum was created in China. Meanwhile, in the beginning of the 21st century the EQO education was supported by the dictum «a human-being is the root of everything» which contained the potential for developing the humanistic aspects of modernization.

In Russia, there is still no statewide ideology, which is why the education and upbringing of the growing generation is moving haphazardly in several directions at once: humanistic self-development of the personality, national-patriotic socialization and/or religious upbringing.

e) Concerning the correlation between privatization and democratization. The materials presented in chapter 8 show different approaches of the states to a private sector in education, which entailed disparities in the role and the place of non-governmental educational institutions (NGI) in each country. Comparison of this data will help to answer the question of how much the existence of this sector is connected to the democratization of society and the state of its economy. The primary cause of the restoration of the non-government sector in China in the 1980s was the *excess demand* of the population for education services, which could not be satisfied by a developing country¹. This statement does not contradict the fact that in the course of the fast development of the State sector in education by the middle of the 1990s, there already was some *differentiated demand* from the young «new Chinese» that first of all targeted private preschool². On the whole, the

¹ By that time China had just set a goal of fighting illiteracy at least among the 15 to 50-year-olds and introducing compulsory basic education, in a state where the senior middle school enrollment ratio was 12% and for the tertiary institutions the figure was 2–3%.

² Depending on the demand, NGI in each country have a different niche. In China, their focus is primarily kindergartens, with second place held by senior middle schools and colleges with shorter curricula in contrast to Russia where the focus is on tertiary education institutions.

Chinese NGI, with the rare exception of some elite schools in big cities, are targeted to provide an education to middle and lower classes of society, including peasants although the quality of education provided is not high and they are hardly prestigious institutions.

In Russia at the beginning of the 1990s, the construction of non-government education became one of the most evident markers of democratization and de-monopolization of education, «a part of the innovation process in education in general, originally being an alternative to the monolithic and conservative government school» [Dneprov, p. 173]. On this background of compulsory and fairly high quality state middle school education, the only way for the NGI to develop was by cresting the wave of differentiated demand for individual-oriented, innovative and creative schools. This is why NGI in Russia on the whole become more prestigious than state schools and are oriented mostly towards the wealthier social groups.

As for the ideological function of this sector, to begin with the government of China did not view it as an *alternative* to that of the State. For this reason, NGI have to choose from the same curricula as the State schools. That is also the reason why the non-government educational sector, positioned as a component of the nationwide system of education, did not incorporate religious education institutions, and the government limits the ratio of NGI at the stage of compulsory education, which is where early civic and moral views of the child are formed. The same applies to the foreign schools. The future collaboration with foreign universities in the framework of the WTO could give the Chinese private sector an additional impetus, yet foreign schools could not receive the status of NGI in the PRC.

As we have pointed out, private schools in China are not usually alternative in character (although the state does not finance them, as often happens in this type of case), though in Russia the alternative nature of NGI is mostly in the sphere of teaching innovations and humanistic trends while these schools are mostly regulated by the State and implement its goals. Denominational education institutions, which unlike China, in Russia are incorporated into the private sector, in reality (especially Eastern Orthodox Christian schools which are the most numerous) receive huge benefits from the state in different payments and have to follow the ideology of the state.

The preliminary approach of both countries' authorities with regard to NGI, which initially means political support in China, and both political and financial in Russia, offer an explanation for its gradual change in the future. The Russian government with a better economic situation but some of the democratic ideals being discarded in the new century, was gradually losing interest in private schools, curtailing its financial support. At present there is practically no state funding of NGI, tax benefits were eliminated and, unlike in the PRC, a special law on non-government education was never demanded. The Chinese government, on the other hand, as its economy strengthens and population wealth grows, has enlarged its support of NGI, even including financial assistance in the way of tax benefits and potential subsidies from local governments, whose active position encourages the development of private institutions. Here is one of the key differences in the development of the non-government sector during the reform period: in China this process was much more a part of decentralization and regionalization than in Russia.

The official non-profitable status of private schools, which became an impediment for their development in both countries in the 90s, was slightly corrected in China by the «Stimulating Law on Peoples' Education» (2002), which permitted some dividends for the founders. But this timid step does not remove the root of the contradiction, although so far neither country has firm grounds to state officially that the non-government sector or some of those schools can be *commercial*.

At the same time both countries, as well as in many other states, show the merging of state-private boundaries, but each of the two states (and Russia even more than China) is much more concerned about this process. It is important to underline that privatization of state schools is illegal in both countries. While both Russia and China have recently eliminated the state organizations' right to set up NGI (see China's Law on Stimulating Non-government Education of 2002 and Russia's law #122, 2004, which made co-founding of NGI illegal¹), both countries officially claimed that the State is the main provider of educational services and clearly defined the character of the private educational sector as a quite *active but peripheral* (i.e. the PRC officially declared that it would never admit «two-roads' model» for the basic education).

I assume that the both countries' NGI, especially high education institutions, which experiment with public participation governance, chancellors' personal responsibility (not so rigidly restricted by the party control) etc., foster competition with the state schools (albeit mostly in the sphere of higher education) and give an impetus to the democratization of the educational system as a whole. Basing on the data presented in the book I assume that the resurgence of the private sector in education can be connected with the democratic tendencies (as it happened in Russia), albeit the correlation is far from being a direct one.

f) Democratization and educational differentiation. The revival of private schools in both countries has become part of implementing another basic principle of modernization: differentiation in education, which together with the freedom of choice has imported some negative consequences, raising the inequality of the chances for a quality education and the quality of education itself. China, despite the socialism it professes, has chosen a pragmatic strategy of stressing priorities and concentrating resources on breakthrough trends. This has stimulated the differentiation of the level of development and quality of education between the provinces and social groups, which had already been growing under market economy and decentralization. China has openly declared, that at this stage of development, it can provide for the principle of educational equality only at the level of compulsory education. At the higher levels, efficiency dominates, although future planning includes a fair distribution of quality education at all levels as the country continues its economic growth.

The problem of equal opportunity in receiving quality education in Russia is becoming acute and elite non-government schools and prestigious state colleges mirror social inequality. Nevertheless, Russia, due to the tradition of socialist equalizing, initially said «no» to concentrating education resources, and only in the second decade of the reform process did it start to select nationwide innovative universities for priorities in government funding.

Due to the aggravated contradictions and inequity in the educational domain, both countries recently focused on supporting groups of the population (like ethnic minorities, migrants etc.) which have been discriminated against and rural education as the priority.

Resume

The results of investigations presented in this volume elucidate such core problems of comparative education as *correlations* between the dissemination of education and the democratization of the society, educational and economic development, private education and democratization etc., and have confirmed its complex mutual dependency.

¹ Albeit in China State schools more and more often found affiliated «people's schools», which is a hidden form of privatization, and some state schools recently were even auctioned off to individuals and organizations.

The comparisons have also demonstrated that the main trends of modern educational reform in Russia and in China have much in common with each other and with global tendencies, i.e. in spite of the great differences in their political regimes, both states have a strong paternalistic tradition that is evident in many aspects of educational development. The data in the chapters has also demonstrated the complex dynamic of the reformist movement with the progressive and regressive tendencies at different periods, so in many aspects the two countries are moving towards each other. As the material in the volume has highlighted, *the very recognition* of the serious nationally determined disparities in the forms and methods of implementation of educational modernization have opened up *new prospects* for Russian-Chinese collaboration in that area as well as for international educational integration.

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VIEW FROM CHINA

Mingyuan Gu

As a friendly neighbor, Russia has been keeping a close cooperative and exchange relationship with China for a long period of time. Especially, during the period of the USSR and the early days of the PRC the Chinese government required the country to learn from the Soviet Union in an all-round manner. Since China adopted the Soviet educational model, both countries had many things in common in the field of education. Even though the Chinese government decided to follow the characteristic way of its own and adopted many measures to reform the educational system after 1958, there had been no substantial change in the basic educational model. The reason is that both China and the USSR followed the system of planned economy and the basically same ideology. At that time, the Soviet education had especially influenced the Chinese one in the following two aspects: (1) emphasis on the imparting and learning of systematic knowledge and on the teacher's leading role in the teaching-learning process; and (2) emphasis on the multi-sector leadership – institutions of higher learning under the specialized leadership of competent ministries and commissions. In the early 1950s, the Chinese government readjusted the system of colleges and departments for the purpose of reforming the universities in the model of universities and colleges of the Soviet Union. As a result, comprehensive universities were divided into different independent and specialized colleges and poly-technical universities. Except some universities and normal universities under the direct leadership of the Ministry of Education, all specialized universities and colleges were under the leadership of ministries and commissions of the corresponding field. In the middle of the 1950s, many institutions of higher learning were set up in different provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities under the leadership of local governments. Such situation was totally the result of China's practice of copying the educational system of the Soviet Union.

In 1978, however, things began to change substantially. The Chinese government adopted the policy of reform and opening up to the outside world. In the economic field, the socialist market economy system was adopted while many educational theories and ideas were also imported from the West, which greatly vitalized the situation of education in China. At the same time, China did not forget the influence of the Soviet Union. Such excellent theories as L. Zankov's development-based teaching theory, V. Suhomulinski's ideas of harmonious education and J. Babanski's theory of educational optimization were also introduced into China. Even today, the above-mentioned educational theories are still popular among teachers in China.

Along with the rapid expansion of socialist market economy since the adoption of the opening-up policy, Chinese education has been enjoying a great development, especially in the reform of educational system. The remarkable achievements of educational reform and development over the past two decades can be summed up as follows/

1. Unprecedented expansion of educational scale. Since 1985 when the Chinese government announced the plan to popularize nine-year compulsory education, the aim had

been achieved only within 15 years. Furthermore, by the end of 2005, the coverage rate of the school-aged children for nine-year compulsory education had reached 95%, the gross enrollment rate of senior secondary and high education had increased respectively to 53% and 21% in 2005 – the latter comparing with 9.8% in 1998, with the total enrollment of college students reaching 23 million. The fast development of educational cause has made important contributions to the *competence improvement* of the national citizens, i.e. the average school years of those citizens above 15 increased from 5.3 in 1982 to 8.3 in 2004.

2. Important breakthrough in the reform of educational management system. Under the planned economy system, in both countries the central government had a strict control over educational cause. The reform of educational management system has decentralized the power and responsibilities for educational development to local governments both in China and Russia. In China, by adopting such measures as «joint sponsorship, readjustment, cooperation and merge», the long-existing barriers between central ministries and local authorities in the field of educational management have been basically removed. Accordingly, the total number of regular institutions of higher learning under the leadership of Ministry of Education has decreased from 310 to 38. Except a small part of the universities and colleges are still under the control of the Ministry of Education, all the rest institutions of higher learning are sponsored and managed by *provincial* governments, thus forming a new system of «two-level management by central ministry and local governments, with the latter playing the main role».

3. Notable change of educational investment system. In order to meet the needs of market economy, the practice of sharing the costs for receiving education is followed, though in China this area is wider than in Russia. Although all Chinese high schools' students have to pay tuitions, those students with financial difficulties are provided with scholarships and student loan. At the same time, the reform of educational investment system has greatly encouraged social organizations and individuals to sponsor education through different channels. As a result, more than 600 000 private schools and kindergartens, including 1279 private institutions of higher learning with a total enrollment of over a million students have been established.

4. Reform of the distribution system of graduates. In both countries, the traditional practice of distributing graduates by the state has been abolished. Now, college graduates enjoy the right to have direct negotiation with employers or employing institutions for their jobs and this has made competition in the labor market more intense.

5. Structural readjustment of specialties and courses at universities and colleges. Such readjustment has changed the traditional model of talent cultivation and broadened the scope of specialties for making college graduates have stronger adaptability to the requirements of market economy.

6. Ongoing reforms of curriculum and teaching mode at primary and secondary schools took place in China and Russia. In the PRC, ever since 1949 the curriculum for primary and secondary schools have been reformed for several times. The eighth round reform of curriculum for primary and secondary schools started at the beginning of this century and is now in progress along with the on-going change of teaching modes and methods. Such change is oriented for emphasizing students' needs through discarding the practice of saturation lecturing and encouraging the young generation to have creative thinking, thus strengthening its ability to create and innovate and improving their moral, intelligent, health and aesthetic capacities.

In China, the transition from planned to market economy, which is bound to bring about great shock to education, was achieved in an orderly sequence and the unified leader-

ship as the correct arrangement by the Communist Party of China has guaranteed the stability of economic development. But the economic reform in Russia was undertaken in the manner of «a shock therapy» and its education system was really shocked. In the 1990s, the shortage in educational fund and the drain out of qualified teachers put the educational development in Russia in a very difficult position. Over the past few years, educational cause in Russia under the leadership of President V.V. Putin enjoyed a recovery and stable development side by side with the economic readjustment and progress. The progress has been achieved on the basis of the initial Russian Federal Education Law, which greatly stimulated educational reforms in Russia. These reform measures focus on the following aspects.

1. As to the concept of school running, the *humanistic nature of education* is emphasized by attaching priority attention to the universal mankind values, life and health of individuals and free development of personality.

2. Those «*non-party-based*», «*non-political*» and «*non-ideological*» concepts are adopted as guiding principles for educational development.

3. The educational management system has changed from the centralized leadership in former Soviet Union to the «*socialized, democratic, decentralized and autonomous*» management. The graded management system is taken for the administrative control over education and the intra-school management is adopted in an independent and autonomous manner.

4. Same as in China, in educational investment necessary funds are provided through different channels to guarantee the needs of those state-run schools and the policy on non-nationalization is adopted to encourage social forces to sponsor schools.

5. The structure of higher education is readjusted. Under the Russian Education Law, higher education falls into the scope of higher vocational education and joins the Bologna process. In some universities and colleges, the original diploma certificate system has been changed as bachelor's and master's degree. While keeping the system of specialized diploma and certificate, the advanced degrees consist of bachelor's degree, master's degree, Ph. D. degree and post-doctoral degree.

6. In the «National Education Standard» and «National Education Syllabus» for basic education, the development of students' personality is emphasized and considerable space is reserved for local and school courses besides the national courses.

A comparative study of the educational reforms in China and Russia over the past two decades shows that *the two countries have many common trends* of educational development and many differences as follows.

1. Both countries attach due importance to the development of education as the basis of national progress and place education in the strategic priority position. What is different, education in China used to suffer a worse foundation but enjoy a rapid expansion over the past two decades, while educational development in Russia is not so fast due to the economic difficulties in the 15 years.

2. In terms of concept for school running, both countries have reconsidered the traditional practice of emphasizing unity but ignoring personality development and adopted reform measures to emphasize students as the main part of education and give full play to the development of students' personality. Accordingly, flexible and appropriate curriculum and teaching modes are taken to emphasize students' subject role.

3. Both countries have given up the practice of governments' overall responsibilities for all educational expenses and applied the practice of raising educational funds through different channels.

4. In the system of educational management, both countries have decentralized the power of educational management to local authorities at different levels and let universities and colleges have more autonomy.

5. As a result of different political systems, the two countries are quite *different from each other in school-running system*. In China, the leadership of the CPC and the guidance of Marxism for educational development are adhered. In Russia, the «non-party-based», «non-political» and «non-ideological» concepts are emphasized in the field of education. In this sense, the most important difference between the education of former Soviet Union and the present education in Russia also lies in this point.

In any country, the system of education is decided by the political and economic system. However, education is a kind of activity for cultivating people and there exist objective laws for human development. Different countries have many points in common. What is more, the traditional culture in a country has important influences upon education. In this sense, *change of political or economic system in a country does not necessarily bring about the change in educational tradition*. A comparative review of Chinese education and Russian education reflects the above features in educational development. Although great change has taken place to the system of government in Russia, the traditional pattern of Russian education is still kept as a whole. It is the similar case in China. Despite the great socioeconomic and educational changes, many traditional features in the field of education are well kept. For example, the education of Chinese traditional culture heritage, the emphasis on moral education and strict requirements for academic training still occupy a dominant position in the field of education. This shows that *the change of cultural factors in education is always in a slow pace* and that *the change of educational ideas always follows the reform of system*. However, stability is comparative but change is absolute. Along with the change of times and the progress of society, education must be reformed and innovated in a continuous manner to catch up with the progress of the time and adapt itself to new situations.

Although the two countries have different systems of government, the objective laws of educational development are the same and the influences of former Soviet Union can still be found in the field of education in China. Therefore, it is of great necessity for the two countries to exchange and cooperate with each other. Let us wish a long life of the friendship between the scholars in China and Russia.

A GLOBAL VIEW

*Mark Bray**

A few years ago, I worked with one of the co-editors of this book on an article which was published in English in the journal *Comparative Education* (Bray & Bor-evskaya 2001), and which, like this book, compared patterns of educational development in Russia and China. These countries had not often been compared in the field of education. It is a great pleasure for me now to see the further scholarship presented in this book, which brings together the work of multiple scholars under the guidance of three very distinguished and capable editors. I am also delighted to be associated in this book with the China National Institute for Educational Research, by which I was indeed honoured when made a guest professor in 2003.

Reflecting on the experience of writing the article mentioned above, in a separate commentary I wrote (Bray 2001, p. 43) that:

Many meaningful themes could of course have been chosen for such an article. Russia and China are both large countries with socialist histories and deep educational roots. Indeed, a huge agenda awaits comparative educationists who have the energy and expertise to undertake it.

It is a pleasure to observe the way in which this book embarks on this agenda. Of course much remains to be done; but the book certainly goes far beyond the focus of our article on the financing of education during the 1990s. It covers multiple aspects including management, curriculum, moral education and teacher education. The book also covers multiple levels of education, from primary to tertiary. In the mid-1990s I co-authored an article with Murray Thomas which considered ways to conceptualise comparative studies (Bray & Thomas 1995), and which presented a cube in which such studies could be classified (Figure 1). In the diagram, the small shaded cube within the larger cube portrays a comparative study of curriculum serving the entire populations of two or more states/provinces. The present book is conceived more at the country level than at higher or lower levels. It does include comparison of curricula for entire populations at the country level (which on the diagram would occupy the space above the one which has been shaded). If the other chapters of this book were to be mapped onto the diagram, many parts would be shaded.

During the preparation of our 2001 article, we found very few comparative studies of education in these countries, in any language. While some people had written in Russian about education in China, within the last decade nobody, at least in the sources that my Russian collaborator checked, had actually made comparisons. The Chinese-language literature was little different. For example, over the decade 1991 to 2000, Beijing Normal University's *Comparative Education Review* contained 22 articles on education in Russia, but none of them actually compared education in Russia and China. The only item which might be considered an exception was a piece by Davydov (1996); but that article occupied only 11 lines

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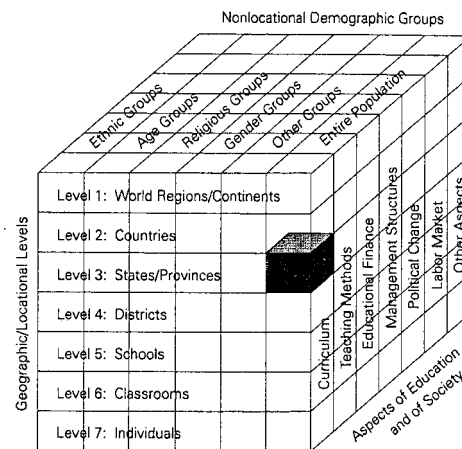


Figure 1: A Framework for Comparative Education Analyses

Source: Bray & Thomas (1995), p.475.

and took the form of an announcement rather than an academic analysis. In English the comparative work of Ronald Price (1977; 1987) had been a notable contribution to the literature, but by the turn of the century had become dated; and no articles compared the two countries in the Chicago University Press Comparative Education Review between 1991 and 2000. Earlier decades had included articles in that journal by Bigelow (1961) and Whyte (1974); but, like the work of Price, they were contributions from a very different era in history. The present book is therefore a very welcome addition to the literature.

Among the major themes of the book are questions about the role of the state. This matter has concerned many scholars in the field. The chapters in the present book provide very instructive insights into the possible changing roles for the state in two large countries during the processes of political transition. Russia's transition was particularly dramatic with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, and in the new era the state had to find its appropriate mode of operation at national and sub-national levels within financial and other constraints. The state in China has had much more continuity, but has also had to address evolution at national and sub-national levels within economic changes.

At the same time, the fact that both Russia and China show some features in common, despite little interaction between them during recent decades, to some extent reflects the forces of globalisation. Supranational organisations such as the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) have had increased influence at the policy level, and both Russia and China have taken leadership in hosting meetings such as the High Level Working Group on Education for All (Beijing, November 2005) and the G8 Summit (St. Petersburg, July 2006) which had a significant educational component. Thus both Russia and China are not only following other countries but also to some extent leading.

Nevertheless, both Russia and China may be taken as examples to support Green's (1999, p. 56) assertion that:

there is very little evidence across the globe that nation states are losing control over their education systems or ceasing to press them into service for national economic and social ends, whatever the recent accretions of internationalism. In fact the opposite may be true. As governments lose control over various levers on their national economies they frequently turn to education and training as two areas in which they do still maintain control.

Elaborating on such perspectives, it is instructive not only to compare Russia and China with each other, but also to take them as a pair to contrast with countries in other parts of the world. These may be among the next stage for the project on which this volume has embarked.

In style, the present book fits well into the classic framework presented by Bereday (1964). This approach pays great attention to context, particularly historical, political, economic and social. Bereday emphasised the need for comparison to be both systematic and balanced, and he demonstrated the power of methodological tools, when used with care and discernment, to illuminate the forces which shape education systems and the reasons why those systems resemble or differ from each other. The four steps for comparison envisaged by Bereday's model in practice perhaps do not fit the real world of procedures for scholars in the field. However, the model remains useful several decades after it was first presented because it stresses the value of systematic and balanced enquiry. The model further emphasises the importance of viewing education phenomena within their broader contexts, in the way that has been achieved in the present book.

The present book is a great contribution to the literature in many ways. It presents a systematic comparison of education in a pair of countries which have significant commonalities and, at times, intertwined histories but which have been rarely been given the comparative attention that they deserve. The two countries are an excellent pair for comparison, since they have enough in common to make comparison meaningful while having sufficient differences to expose contrasts. The themes investigated are wide-ranging, and address multiple components of the education systems. The methodological and conceptual insights will be of great value to scholars beyond Russia and China as well as within it. The authors and editors are indeed to be applauded.

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