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Institutional transformation of children's extracurricular education
in the countries of the former Soviet Union

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List of scientific conferences where the results of the thesis research were presented	<p><i>All-Russian Scientific and Practical Conference (with international participation) "Designing strategic priorities for the development of education as a response to the challenges of the third millennium" (Online, November 27, 2020). "The extracurricular education sector and the risks of social inequality in post-Soviet countries".</i></p> <p><i>XVIII International Scientific and Practical Conference "Trends in</i></p>

	<p><i>the development of education" Global Challenges and Unequal opportunities (Online, February 18, 2021). "Educational inequality of extracurricular education: post-Soviet transit".</i></p> <p><i>IX International Scientific and Practical Conference "Problems and achievements of additional education in the Eurasian space" (Cholpon-Ata, Issyk-Kul region, Kyrgyzstan, July 16-19, 2021). "The development of extracurricular education in the post-Soviet space".</i></p> <p><i>III St. Petersburg International Conference on Inequality and Diversity (IDC 2021) (Online, November 13, 2021). "Risks of inequality in the extracurricular education sector in Post-Soviet countries".</i></p> <p><i>VIII International Forum on Teacher Education "Education, Professional Development and preservation of teacher's health in the XXI century" (Kazan, Russia, May 26, 2022). "Extracurricular education in the post-Soviet space: inequality, diversity and national identity".</i></p> <p><i>XVI Conference of the Society for Institutional and Organizational Economics (SIOE 2022) (Online, June 25, 2022). "The Dream of the Institute: Transformation of the extracurricular leisure sector for children in post-Soviet countries" (in English).</i></p> <p><i>7th Summer Conference of the Society for Central Eurasian Studies (CESS 2022 Summer Conference) (Tashkent, Uzbekistan, June 26, 2022). "The extracurricular education sector in post-Soviet countries and the risks of social inequality" (in English).</i></p> <p><i>Conference of the European Association for Educational Research (ECER 2022) (Yerevan, Armenia, August 25, 2022). "Transformation of extracurricular education in post-Soviet countries: from universal coverage to inequality" (in English).</i></p> <p><i>V Russian Economic Congress (Yekaterinburg, Russia, September 13, 2023). "Institutional transformation of extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union".</i></p>
<p>List of presentations at practice-oriented events (workshops, webinars)</p>	<p><i>HSE University's Open Seminar on Education (Moscow, Russia, October 6, 2021). "Extracurricular Transit: how extracurricular education systems developed in the post-Soviet space".</i></p> <p><i>VIII All-Russian meeting of workers in the field of additional education for children (Online, December 2, 2021). "Extracurricular education in the post-Soviet space".</i></p> <p><i>X International scientific and practical conference "Historical memory, traditions of peoples and innovations in additional education". (Cholpon-Ata, Issyk-Kul region, Kyrgyzstan, July 8, 2022). "Management of extracurricular education, experience of post-Soviet countries" (master-class).</i></p>

	<p><i>Open seminars for school and extracurricular education specialists and Edu Dialogues at ADA University (Baku, Azerbaijan, January 24, 2023. “Extracurricular education in the countries of the former USSR, trends and opportunities” (in English).</i></p>
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Table of contents

Key concepts and defenitions of the study.....	6
Introduction.....	7
Relevance and level of development of the topic	7
Scientific research apparatus.....	9
Theoretical significance and scientific novelty of the research.....	12
Research methodology and data.....	13
The results of the research.....	16
Conclusion.....	22
References.....	24

Key concepts and definitions of the study

The list of key concepts and definitions is formed in relation to the research based on the analysis of scientific papers presented in the dissertation.

Extracurricular education is a structured, voluntary activity of children aimed at developing personal and social skills, in its content going beyond the basic school curriculum and carried out with the support or guidance (leadership) of an adult¹.

System (sector) of extracurricular education is a group of interacting or interrelated elements that act in accordance with a set of rules, forming a unified and stable structure that ensures the functioning of contractual relations between providers and consumers of extracurricular education services. The concepts of "sector" and "system" are used as synonyms. The "sector" is used as a definition of a homogeneous part of the [education] system in terms of its main goals and objectives.

Institution of extracurricular education is a system of formal rules that ensure the functioning of the extracurricular sector, its sustainability, fairness and transparency of interaction between various actors within the framework of the processes of organization, management and use.

The **institutional transformation of extracurricular education** is Institutional transformation of extracurricular education is the result of changes in the national system of extracurricular education (in this study concerning the years 2019-2021, 30 years after the collapse of the USSR) in relation to its initial state (in the late Soviet period 1985-1991) of the main elements of the Soviet system of extracurricular education..

The **transformation model** (in the context of the institutional transformation of extracurricular education) is a form of the national system of extracurricular education in the post-Soviet period (2019-2021), reflecting changes in the elements of the Soviet system of extracurricular education.

¹ In the countries of the former Soviet Union, various definitions are normatively fixed: additional education, extracurricular education, extracurricular upbringing, interest-based education, hobby education, non-formal education, etc. In 10 of the 15 countries of the former Soviet Union, "extracurricular education" is used and consolidated (Knyaginina et al., 2022). In this regard, in this study, in order to ensure the unification of the use of the conceptual apparatus in describing and comparing national systems of extracurricular education, "extracurricular education" is used.

Introduction

Relevance and level of development of the topic

The increasing attention towards extracurricular education is being observed worldwide [O'Brien & Rollefson, 1995; OECD, 2013] and in Russia [Zolotareva, 2015; Poplavskaya, Gruzdev, & Petlin, 2018; Kosaretsky et al., 2019]. This trend is significantly driven by dissatisfaction with the narrow scope and formalism of school education [Nathan, 2012; Sanina et al., 2021]. In a broader context, it reflects an ongoing transformation in the educational model: from an "adaptive and universal" model, wherein the state ensures nominal universal access to a standard set of educational services and strives to create conditions for achieving unified outcomes within a specified period, to a "non-adaptive, personalized, and continuous" model, driven by the needs and interests of individuals, based on their own motivation and freedom of choice. In this evolving model, the state is expected to create conditions that facilitate grassroots initiatives throughout an individual's lifetime [McGinn & Welsh, 1999; Shelton, 2002; Asmolov, 2014; Rozhkov & Ivanova, 2017; Yasvin, 2021].

The increased focus on extracurricular education by policymakers and researchers [van Griethuijsen et al., 2015; Akareem & Hossain, 2016; Alhadeff, 2019] is not merely a passing trend; discussions about the "preventive" or compensatory potential of extracurricular education have been ongoing since the 1950s [Van Nice, 1950; Shatsky, 1964; Coombs, 1973; Cropley, 1977; Ballyasnaya, 1978]. Participation in extracurricular activities is associated with a wide spectrum of effects, both traditional and new: academic performance and development [Holland & Andre, 1987; Seow & Pan, 2014; Aleksandrov et al., 2017; Kravchenko & Nygård, 2022]; motivation and engagement [Feldman & Matjasko, 2005; Durlak et al., 2010]; socially approved behavior and social norms [Eccles & Barber, 1999; Chambers & Schreiber, 2004; Kremer et al., 2015]; critical thinking and problem solving [Barker & Ansoorge, 2007; Rajan, 2012; Southgate & Roscigno, 2009]. Additionally, extracurricular activities hold great potential for the upbringing of children and adolescents [Popova & Loginova, 2022], the formation and development of national identity [Minsabirova & Garaeva, 2020], as well as the realization of ideas related to an expanded educational experience and the creation of a productive and safe childhood environment [Demakova, 2016; Golovanov, 2017].

The non-compulsory and non-guaranteed nature of extracurricular education exacerbates the problem of accessibility and educational inequality [Coleman et al., 1966; Lareau, 1987; Kosaretsky & Ivanov, 2021]. In contrast to general (school) education, where almost complete coverage is ensured in the vast majority of developed countries [Hanushek, 2013; Damon et al., 2016], researchers of educational inequality since the second half of the 20th century have focused on the differences in academic performance among various student groups, which are attributed to differences in their social backgrounds [Coleman, 1968]. However, in extracurricular education, the focus is on the inequality of access and the peculiarities of children's participation depending on their level of education, income, and place of residence [Logan & Bian, 1993; Posner & Vandell, 1999; Lareau & Weininger, 2008; Ivanyushina, 2014; Kosaretsky, Kupriyanov, & Filippova, 2016; Meier et al., 2018; Baiborodova, 2018; Pavlenko et al., 2019]. Extracurricular activities are also considered in the context of the effective use of cultural capital by families [Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Kaufman & Gabler, 2004; Dumais, 2007; Coulangeon, 2018].

Extracurricular education constitutes a unique system that typically does not imply normative boundaries, guarantees, and standards [Knyaginina et al., 2022]. It represents an ecosystem [Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Eccles & Roeser, 2010; Frumin et al., 2016; Narkabilova, 2021; Utkin & Shevchenko, 2022; Koroleva et al., 2023; L'vova, 2023], which is complex for description and analysis, including cross-country comparisons, due to the absence of universally recognized approaches to defining the framework, content, and obligations of the state in the context of extracurricular education.

Extracurricular education, encompassing extracurricular activities and additional education, has traditionally been a subject of research in the USSR and Russia. Despite the existence of individual studies on the development of extracurricular education in the USSR and Russia [Brudnov, 1995; Golovanov, 2006, 2009; Deich, 2013, 2014; Kargina, 2013; Kupriyanov & Kosaretsky, 2014; Kosaretsky & Frumin, 2019] and in the countries of the former USSR [Bjornavold, 2000; Molokov, 2013; Povolyaeva et al., 2015; Esenova, 2015], there remains a lack of understanding of extracurricular education as a system and institution, particularly during the Soviet period. This deficit complicates subsequent comparative studies of the countries of the former Soviet Union. The uniqueness and even to some extent the exclusivity of the Soviet system of extracurricular education (even compared to the school system), along with an understanding of its key elements and characteristics that ensured its stability and reproduction, including the period after the collapse of the Soviet Union, underscores the significance of the results of this study.

At the national level, there are studies that describe the system of extracurricular activities in historical retrospect [Belyaeva, 2009; Jautakytė, 2013; Kestere, 2017], as well as its changes and reforms [Merilova, 2015; Bykovskaya, 2018; Akhundov, 2020], the quality of extracurricular education and teacher training [Bykovskaya & Karichkovskaya, 2013; Khamraeva, 2016; Buraga, 2017; Abizada et al., 2020], and issues of accessibility and inclusivity in extracurricular activities [Mansurova, 2018; Musneckienė, 2020; Cosumov, 2021]. However, the region of the former Soviet Union practically remains unexplored in terms of the inventory of extracurricular education systems, and the identification of internal (demographic, economic, political) and external (21st-century challenges) factors that have influenced and continue to influence its development, especially at the systemic or comparative levels. Research is most often conducted in national languages or in the format of dissertations [Kenzhebekov, 1994; Tuloberdiev, 2019; Moldalieva, 2022]. In the meantime, the focus of the present study lies in the interest of scholars and practitioners in the Soviet system of extracurricular education, seeking and disseminating models and the emergence of retro-innovations [Boguslavsky, 2018].

Cross-country comparisons of out-of-school education systems in the post-Soviet space have not been conducted to date. Efforts to study out-of-school education systems, national policies, and trends are few in number and tend to be more contextual descriptions rather than unified case presentations or data-driven analyses [Alieva, 2012; Adem, 2015; Kenzhegaliev, 2018; Musina, 2019; Sher, 2023]. Researchers have predominantly focused on historical retrospection, which, important as it is, often employs a narrative approach in describing the system [Ermolich, 2007; Kniga, 2016; Kasimova, 2023]. Hence, the relevance of the present study is highlighted by the lack of theoretical frameworks and tools for the comparative analysis of out-of-school education systems and their transformations, both within the post-Soviet space and globally (unlike, for example, studies on higher education [Smolentseva & Platonova, 2023]).

A promising focus of analysis is the nature of the transformation of the Soviet out-of-school education system under transitional (transition) conditions and various country and regional contexts. This aspect has traditionally attracted considerable attention from researchers [Raymond et al., 1995; Godon et al., 2004; Silova, 2010]. National out-of-school education systems in post-Soviet countries have historically inherited characteristics of the Soviet out-of-school system, which were common across all Soviet republics [Ivanov, Kupriyanov, & Kosaretsky, 2021]. This inheritance allows us to view the transformation of national out-of-school education systems in independent states of the post-Soviet space as a unique natural experiment with a single starting point (the Soviet model in the late Soviet period – 1985-1991) and 15 distinct end points (2019-2021).

The transformation of the Soviet out-of-school education system after the dissolution of the Soviet Union can be examined as an illustration of the patterns of the so-called "path dependence" effect associated with post-communist transition [Knight & North, 1997; Auzan, 2015], and the types of relationships between the content of dismantling old and new institutions [Tool, 1994; Ellison, 2006; Timoshenkov, 2005]. This creates an additional perspective for

studying the out-of-school education system – the transformation processes after the common ideology and unified model ceased to exist, and etatism, which was an integral part of the Soviet social sphere [Yarskaya-Smirnova & Romanov, 2008; Egorov, 2015], became impossible due to external and internal circumstances (geopolitical, socio-political, and economic) [Kolossoy, 2016; Kalimullin & Gafurov, 2024].

The study of out-of-school education as a system and the processes of institutional transformation of national systems in the former Soviet Union is of not only theoretical but also practical significance, particularly in countries developing and implementing concepts and strategies for the development of children's out-of-school education. These strategies aim at achieving wide coverage and improving the accessibility of out-of-school activities, as well as the development of new content directions, enhancing the efficiency of management processes, and organizing systems.

Based on the aforementioned, several factors underscore **the relevance of this study**:

- the growing role of out-of-school education in the modern educational ecosystem;
- the uniqueness of the Soviet out-of-school education system and the conditions for studying its post-Soviet transition: a natural experiment with a single starting point and 15 end points;
- the lack of data on national out-of-school education systems and cross-country comparisons of out-of-school education;
- the need to understand and identify best practices and policies for developing the out-of-school education system, including responses to global educational and socio-economic challenges.

Thus, the results of the present study are significant in the context of attaining the goals of ensuring the competitiveness of Russian education, particularly the national goal "Opportunities for Realization and Development of Talents" (Presidential Decree of the Russian Federation "On the National Development Goals of Russia Until 2030"), as well as the universal accessibility of out-of-school (additional) education as declared at the governmental strategy level, specifically in the Concept for the Development of Additional Education for Children until 2030, adopted by the Government of the Russian Federation in 2022. The findings of this study are reflected not only in the aforementioned scholarly articles but also in practical recommendations, analytical notes, seminars, workshops, and programs of additional professional education for practitioners in out-of-school education at the regional and municipal levels in Russia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, and Moldova.

Scientific research apparatus

The object of this study is the institutional transformation of extracurricular education for children in the countries of the former Soviet Union.

The subject of this study is the trends and models of institutional transformation of extracurricular education for children in these countries.

The research aim of this research is to identify and describe the trends and models of institutional transformation in national systems of extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union.

To achieve this aim and respond to the research questions, it is necessary to address the following objectives:

1. Identify and describe the universal and systemic characteristics of children's extracurricular education.
2. Systematize the existing data on the Soviet system of extracurricular education and conceptualize the Soviet model of extracurricular education.
3. Identify universal (transnational) trends in the development of children's extracurricular education across the countries of the former Soviet Union.

4. Describe universal (transnational) models of institutional transformation in children's extracurricular education within these countries.

The primary scientific problem addressed by this study pertains to the lack of tradition in applying institutional approaches to the examination of extracurricular education as a system and its comparative (cross-national) studies. To resolve this issue, it is necessary to develop a theoretical framework for cross-national comparison and analysis of the transformation of extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union.

The solution of this scientific problem is hindered by the complexity of collecting and interpreting quantitative, including statistical, data on national systems of extracurricular education, as well as the current level of theoretical exploration of the issue from an institutional perspective. To date, attempts to identify and describe organized extracurricular activities within a systemic framework are nearly non-existent. Furthermore, there has been a lack of efforts to justify such approaches to examining extracurricular education, including at a cross-national level. Another significant challenge lies in the exceptional diversity of country cases, where the unification and identification of transnational trends and models of transformation present separate research tasks.

To achieve the objective of the research, it is necessary to answer several research questions.

Research Question 1. What are the universal and systemic characteristics of children's extracurricular education?

The answer to this research question will allow us to systematize the field of available literature regarding the possibilities of considering extracurricular education in the context of a systematic approach and highlighting universal characteristics of extracurricular education that can be used in the methodology for analyzing data on national systems of children's extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union.

The results are displayed in: Ivanov I. Y. Extracurricular education in foreign studies: definitions and characteristics // Domestic and foreign pedagogy. 2021. Vol. 2. No. 6. pp. 112-124.

Research Question 2. What are the main elements of the Soviet model of extracurricular education (in the late Soviet period)?

The answer to this research question will provide evidence that the system of extracurricular work in the USSR (extracurricular education) had institutional features, a universal and stable framework, the elements of which can serve as a basis for analyzing the transformation of the Soviet system of extracurricular education after the collapse of the state at the national and supranational levels (in the countries of the former Soviet Union).

The results are displayed in: Ivanov I. Yu., Kupriyanov B. V., Kosaretsky S. G. Collective and conscious: an institutional view of Soviet extracurricular education // Educational Policy. 2021. Vol. 2. No. 86. pp. 76-86.

Author's contribution: problem statement, literature review, model development and conceptualization, data interpretation.

Research Question 3. What are the universal (supranational) trends in the development of the extracurricular education sector in the countries of the former Soviet Union?

The answer to this research question will allow us to understand how the transformation of the Soviet system of extracurricular education took place in the former Soviet republics, as well as to identify universal (supranational) trends in the transformation of extracurricular education, which will be used as the basis for a comparative analysis of the institutional transformation of extracurricular education in the countries of the former USSR.

The results are displayed in: Ivanov I., Zvyagintsev R. Transformation of extracurricular education in post-Soviet countries: from universal access to inequality // Children and Youth Services Review. 2023. Vol. 155. Article 107221.

Author's contribution: problem statement, literature review, collection, systematization, analysis, interpretation of data.

Research Question 4. How have the national extracurricular education sectors changed in the countries of the former Soviet Union? What are the universal (supranational) models of institutional transformation of the extracurricular education sector?

The answer to this research question will allow us to correlate the national extracurricular education sectors in the countries of the former Soviet Union according to the key system characteristics described in task 1 and the elements of the Soviet model of extracurricular education highlighted in task 2. As a result of the answer to this research question, universal (supranational) models of institutional transformation of extracurricular education will be identified and described, allowing us to record and describe supranational processes of institutional transformation of extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union.

The results are displayed in: Ivanov I. Yu. Whose children? Extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union // Education issues. - 2022. – No. 4. – pp. 184-207.

Theoretical significance and scientific novelty of the research

The scientific novelty of the research is as follows:

1. The concept of extracurricular education has been conceptualized, with universal and systemic characteristics of extracurricular education identified and described.
2. The feasibility of applying an institutional approach to the analysis of the children's extracurricular education system has been substantiated, including in the context of comparative and historical-comparative studies of extracurricular education systems.
3. The Soviet system of extracurricular education during the late Soviet period (1985-1991) has been described using the institutional approach (viewing the system as a formal institution). Key elements of the Soviet model of extracurricular education have been identified and described. The institutional approach has been applied to describe the Soviet system of extracurricular education, revealing fundamental institutional elements and characteristics of extracurricular education during the late Soviet period.
4. Universal (transnational) trends in the development of extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union have been identified, along with country-specific and regional characteristics of the development of children's extracurricular education systems in these countries.
5. Universal (transnational) models of the institutional transformation of the Soviet system of extracurricular education have been identified and described.
6. The characteristics of the institutional transformation of extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union have been identified.

The practical significance of the research

1. The identified and described national practices in the regulation, organization, and reform of extracurricular education, which have various effects on its development, provide opportunities for educational policymakers at both national and regional levels to make optimal managerial decisions in the field of extracurricular education.
2. The comparative characteristics of the models of institutional transformation of extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union, as described in this study, can be utilized to develop programs and projects aimed at increasing the accessibility of extracurricular activities, overcoming the risks associated with educational inequality, and leveraging the compensatory potential of extracurricular education.
3. Based on the collected country-specific case studies, tools to support the development of the human resources capacity of the system and organizations of extracurricular

- education, as well as approaches to enhancing the qualifications of extracurricular education educators, have been identified and described.
4. Practices in the implementation of extracurricular programs for various categories of children, including those with special educational needs, have been collected and described. These can be implemented in Russia at both the municipal and regional levels.

In this study, the main **theoretical framework**² utilized was *the theory of institutional changes* [Hanson, 2001; Tina Dacin, Goodstein, Richard Scott, 2002; North, 2018], along with *the concept of "path-dependence"*, emerging from these changes [Hacker, 2002; Kay, 2005]. These frameworks allow for a systematic analysis of the organization of structured extracurricular time for children during the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, enabling macro-level analysis and cross-country comparisons of institutional transformation, which may follow various scenarios: from conservation and restoration to modernization and even dismantling [Tool, 1994; Ellison, 2006; Timoshenkov, 2005].

The Soviet system of extracurricular education in this research is considered both as a formal institution [North, 1990] and an institutional environment [Davis, North, Smorodin, 1971; Williamson, 2007], where a set of fundamental political, social, and legal rules governing the organization of children's extracurricular time exists, along with the internal and external context where these rules are fixed and implemented.

Our attempt at institutional analysis is based, on one hand, on the concept of an institution as "the rules of the game in a society" [North, 1990], which represent formal, including normative, frameworks shaping and facilitating the emergence and development of a social system in response to real "uncertainty" in society - in the context of this study, this pertains to children's extracurricular time, issues of social incorporation, such as the transmission of social norms of behavior, civic attitudes, and the development of human capital (security, health, physical development, and education).

Post-Soviet transit is primarily associated with market reforms and democratic processes [Antonovich, 2014]. In this regard, the processes of transforming the Soviet system of extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union are considered through the prism of the concept of the welfare state and Esping-Andersen's typology [Esping-Andersen, 1990; Esping-Andersen, 1996; Chandler, 2001], which is linked to the degree of promoting or counteracting social inequality. The transformation processes of post-communist and post-socialist countries within this context involve changes in ideology and stakeholders as part of significant institutional changes [Polese, Morris, Kovács, 2015], as well as a decrease in paternalism, etatism, or state control of the social sphere [Yarskaya-Smirnova, Romanova, 2008; Egorov, 2015]. In our study, post-Soviet transit is considered as a comprehensive period - from the collapse of the USSR until 2019-2021 (30th anniversary of the dissolution) and as a static result - an interim outcome - of the transformation (up to the indicated period after the Soviet Union's demise), rather than a sequence of institutional changes, i.e., not as a dynamic process [Schroeder, 2016; Kudaibergenova, 2020].

Therefore, the analysis of the institutional transformation of extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union is based on institutional analysis and the theory of institutional changes, considering the specificity of transit processes for welfare states and the influence of market reforms, including the search for tools to establish and develop national states.

² A fragment of the publication is quoted here: Ivanov I. Y. Whose children are they? Extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union //Education issues. – 2022. – No. 4. – pp. 184-207, prepared in the framework of this study.

Research methodology and data

The study was conducted in three main stages from November 2019 to December 2021, and included all former Soviet republics (15 independent states of the former USSR: the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, Georgia, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Lithuania, the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Republic of Uzbekistan, Ukraine, Republic of Estonia).

As part of the study, a large corpus of quantitative and qualitative data was collected. The general characteristics of databases, procedures for their collection and analysis are presented below for each of the research areas. You can find out more about the data used and the analysis procedure in separate articles.

The empirical base of the study is presented by the following **data**:

1. Statistics of coverage (participation), infrastructure, personnel of extracurricular education in the Soviet and post-Soviet periods, I. Statistical collections. Departmental statistics.
2. Regulatory and legislative framework in the field of extracurricular education in 15 countries of the former Soviet Union. In total, there are 42 normative legal acts and conceptual documents (concepts and strategies) approved at the level of national governments.
3. Data from 30 interviews with former heads and deputy heads who held their positions in the period from 1985 to 1995 (i.e. heads of the organization during the collapse of the Soviet system of extracurricular education and the formation of the national system) of national (republican) and regional (regional) organizations of extracurricular education; the survey was conducted in 2020-2021.
4. Data from expert interviews with heads and deputies of national organizations of extracurricular education, researchers of extracurricular education, as well as authorized and responsible specialists of national educational authorities in the field of extracurricular education (a sample of 25 people in 15 countries of the former Soviet Union; the survey was conducted in 2019-2021).
5. Data from the survey of heads and deputy heads, as well as senior methodologists of extracurricular education organizations in the countries of the former Soviet Union (the sample includes 85 people in 15 countries of the former Soviet Union, the survey was conducted in 2020-2021).

The study utilized qualitative and quantitative methods, including semi-structured in-depth interviews and descriptive statistical methods [Loeb et al., 2017]. The research is comparative, with its distinctiveness lying in the dual (combined) comparison: cross-country (comparing systems) and temporal (using a historical approach in comparative studies) [Nóvoa, Yariv-Mashal, 2007]. It is important to note that the study does not aim to compare countries or national systems; the collected data are used for supra-national level comparisons.

It is important to emphasize that the research's goal is not only the creation of a typology of countries in the context of the transformation of extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union but also includes interpretive research involving territorial and comparative analysis and systematization [Bereday, 1964]. The general (Soviet) legacy (system) as the starting point of the research makes the comparison and analysis of differences convincing [Bray, 2004; Steiner-Khamsi, 2009]. The combination of approaches helps reduce the risks of interpretational biases.

The majority of the study is dedicated to so-called primary or descriptive inquiries, as well as identifying and describing the research object [Crossley, Vulliamy, 1984]. This is a classical approach for comparative research, including studies on countries of the former Soviet Union [Silova et al., 2007]. The comparative nature of this study is based on a variational-oriented approach, where commonality (trends) takes precedence over complexity (patterns) and enables

testing hypotheses derived from theory [Ragin, 2014]. Simultaneously, a case-oriented approach is used to fulfill the task of country comparison and typology creation since it facilitates historical interpretation and the identification of significant causal factors.

In the course of addressing the research objectives, four actions were undertaken: 1) *conceptually defining (conceptualization)* the concept of extracurricular education to establish the boundaries of the research object and describe extracurricular education as a system; 2) collecting, systematizing data, and describing the system (institution) of extracurricular education during the Soviet period, highlighting and describing elements of the Soviet model of extracurricular education; 3) identifying and describing *supra-national trends of development*; and 4) identifying and describing *models of transformation in extracurricular education* in the countries of the former Soviet Union.

The *clustering method* was used to conceptualize the concept of extracurricular education³. It allows you to arrange objects into homogeneous groups [Perianes-Rodriguez, Waltman, Eck, 2016; van Eck, Waltman, 2017]. To solve the problem of conceptualization, the analysis of the "co-use" of words (co-word analysis) contained in the headings, annotations and keywords of scientific publications was used. Such an analysis is based on the assumption that the words contained in the title, annotation and in the list of keywords in the publication adequately describe the main content of the article and the problems solved by the authors [Cambrosio et al., 1993]. The analysis was carried out using the VOSviewer program, which allows grouping bibliographic data based on citation relationships, keyword matching, or co-authorship relationships [Perianes-Rodriguez et al., 2016]. Bibliographic data were collected from periodicals included in the core of the Web of Science and included articles, book chapters, and preprints published from 1928 to 2020 inclusive. Publications were selected based on the search for matches by title, annotation, author or keywords (Title, abstract, author keywords and Keywords Plus). The search dictionary includes the following words: "Extracurricular activities" (n = 2959), "Extracurricular education" (n = 2670), "After-school activities" (n = 1690), "Non-formal education" -> "Children" (n = 288), "After-school education" (n = 1308), "After-school programs" (n = 1847), "Out-of-school activities" (n = 976), "Out-of-school programs" (n = 1016). A total of 12,754 publications containing information in English (title, abstract and keywords) were selected. After data aggregation into a single format, cluster analysis was performed using the VOSviewer program version 1.6.10. The analysis was performed on the basis of "word pairs" (co-word analysis), as a result of which a conceptual map (scientific map) was built.

Based on the cluster analysis, the publications (n = 997) that were the most cited in the entire sample were identified. Further, using the exploratory method, an analysis of these publications was carried out and all definitions related to extracurricular education (extracurricular activities), including extracurricular education, as a system or sector, were selected in order to identify common characteristics of the organization and content. The mentions were grouped and ranked. On their basis, the definition of extracurricular education was formulated.

To describe the Soviet system and institution of extracurricular education, *historical-political analysis and historical reconstruction methods* were applied, which are actively used by Russian researchers in extracurricular education [Golovanov, 2009; Kargina, 2013; Kupriyanov, 2016, 2018]. Heuristic methods of data collection and analysis were also employed, obtained through interviews and expert assessments in a free-form manner, as well as incorporating elements of the Delphi method, enabling the systematic organization of expert knowledge. The analysis was based on open data sources - scientific and analytical materials from Soviet and Russian researchers spanning 1930-2019, as well as the normative-legal framework of the Soviet period.

³ A fragment of the publication is quoted here: Ivanov I. Yu. Extracurricular education in foreign studies: definitions and characteristics // Domestic and foreign pedagogy. 2021. Vol. 2. No. 6. pp. 112-124, prepared in the framework of this study.

To determine and describe universal (supra-national) trends in the development of national extracurricular education systems, the *qualitative comparative analysis method* (QCA) was utilized [Bingham, Dean, Castillo, 2019; Cilesiz, Greckhamer, 2020], representing a method of multiple cases that allowed for capturing and comparing existing outcomes and trends (the corpus of qualitative data answering the questions "What?", "Where?", and "How?" about the system) in a complex configuration, such as the national system of children's extracurricular education.

For identifying and describing transformation models, country profiles⁴ and elements of the QCA tool were used, providing a foundation for scientific analysis of highly complex and diverse institutions [Ménard, Shirley, 2014]. The application of this framework enables a comparison between the Soviet and national systems, as well as systematization, subsequent analysis, and comparison, highlighting supra-national transformation models. This task resolution is based on quantitative data analysis methods (data statistical analysis about educational organizations) and qualitative source analysis, particularly content analysis of educational policy documents (concepts, strategies), legislation analysis in the field of extracurricular education, conducted within the framework of addressing the second main task, and expert interviews with system specialists, gathered and analyzed to prepare country profiles. Statistical collections from the Soviet period, issued by the State Committee of Statistics of the USSR and republican statistics committees during 1988-1990, were also analyzed. Cumulative assessment was used for several parameters, incorporating limited statistical data and expert evaluation. In some countries, expert indicators are provided for some parameters, for instance, Georgia and Turkmenistan.

The following **statements** are put forward for defense:

1. Extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union has universal characteristics that are not tied to specific national features, allowing extracurricular education to be regarded as a system.
2. During the Soviet period, extracurricular education exhibited all the characteristics of a stable system and a formal institution.
3. Post-Soviet transit in extracurricular education is characterized by the erosion of the formal institution of extracurricular education, the extent of which varies depending on the national context.
4. Extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union is evolving along several common directions and is characterized by universal (supra-national) trends, including a decrease in coverage and accessibility, urbanization and privatization of the extracurricular education system, a rise in the share of school-based extracurricular activities, and the emergence of the private sector.
5. The institutional transformation of children's extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union can be described by universal (supra-national) models distinguished by the basic criterion of state involvement in regulating and developing the children's extracurricular education system. Based on this criterion, the following models are identified: the post-Soviet model – situated within the paradigm of state paternalism; the convergent model – where there is a policy of dividing responsibility between the family and the local community, with the state acting as an arbiter of the institutional environment; the liminal model – where the family is the primary operator of the child's extracurricular time, and the state provides support to the system on a non-priority basis.

⁴ Countries' profiles: Ivanov Ivan, Kersha Yuliya, Zviagintsev Roman. Extracurricular education project // Mendeley Data. 2023, V1. doi: 10.17632/t3mt4v3c6k.1

The results of the research

The correspondence of research questions, tasks and publications reflecting the main results is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Correspondence of publications, tasks and results of the dissertation research

	Paper 1 (Ivanov, 2021)	Paper 2 (Ivanov et al., 2021)	Paper 3 (Ivanov & Zviagintsev, 2023)	Paper 4 (Ivanov, 2022)
Research Questions	1	2	3	2, 4
Objectives	1: identify and describe the universal and systemic characteristics of children's extracurricular education.	2: systematize the available data on the Soviet system of extracurricular education and conceptualize the Soviet model of extracurricular education.	3: identify universal (supranational) trends in the development of extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union.	4: describe universal (supranational) models of institutional transformation of extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union.
Sampling	997 publications, 25 experts	85 publications, 14 regulatory documents, 30 experts	15 country cases, 42 legal acts, 85 experts	15 country cases, 30 experts
Methodology	1. Cluster analysis of publications. 2. Expert interviews.	1. Analysis of scientific and analytical materials of Soviet and Russian researchers 1930-2019. 2. Analysis of the regulatory framework and statistics of the Soviet period. 3. Expert interviews	1. Analysis of country cases (based on the collected data). 2. Analysis of normative legal acts of the countries of the former USSR. 3. Expert interviews. 4. Expert surveys.	1. Analysis of country cases. 2. Expert interviews.
Key results	There are two groups of characteristics of extracurricular education: organizational and	The system of organized extracurricular time of the Soviet child represented an institutional environment.	Universal (supranational) trends in the development of extracurricular education in the post-Soviet space include: declining	Three universal (supranational) models of institutional transformation of extracurricular education in the

	Paper 1 (Ivanov, 2021)	Paper 2 (Ivanov et al., 2021)	Paper 3 (Ivanov & Zviagintsev, 2023)	Paper 4 (Ivanov, 2022)
	<p>participation-related.</p> <p>Extracurricular activities are structured or organized activities.</p> <p>The systemic characteristics of extracurricular education are related to the regulation, development, management and provision of processes for the implementation of extracurricular education programs.</p>	<p>The elements of the Soviet system of extracurricular education are: integral coverage; indoctrination; availability; infrastructural; public-state character; package content.</p>	<p>enrollment; "scaling up" of the extracurricular system; privatization and urbanization of extracurricular education; an increase in territorial inequality in the availability of extracurricular activities, a decrease in the quality of extracurricular activities in rural areas.</p>	<p>countries of the former USSR are distinguished: post-Soviet – the system is in the paradigm of state paternalism; convergent – the policy of sharing responsibility between the family and the local community is implemented, the state acts as an arbitrator of the institutional environment; liminal - the family is the main operator of the child's extracurricular time, state support is not a priority educational policy.</p>

Research Question 1: What are the universal and systemic characteristics of children's extracurricular education?⁵

The question of defining or framing the concept of extracurricular education is significant in the discussion of extracurricular education as a system: there is a common understanding, but no common approaches. The complexity also lies in the fact that extracurricular activities are not exclusive to school-age children; they are actively integrated, for example, into university life. Therefore, the research predominantly focuses on "extracurricular" (beyond the curriculum) rather than "after-school" as a key characteristic of activity, where the former reflects substantive autonomy and independence, while the latter denotes only spatial separation. Following an exploratory analysis, common characteristics of extracurricular activities were identified to gain a clearer insight into the field or the segment of the educational ecosystem that plays a significant

⁵ A fragment of the publication is quoted here: Ivanov I. Yu. Extracurricular education in foreign studies: definitions and characteristics // Domestic and foreign pedagogy. 2021. Vol. 2. No. 6. pp. 112-124, prepared in the framework of this study.

role in the lives of children and possesses fundamental compensatory properties [Trice, McClellan, 1993; Acacio-Claro et al., 2017].

Two groups of characteristics are distinguished - organizational and related to participation. In the first place, extracurricular activities have the nature of structured or organized formal activities. These activities imply a mandatory departure from the core curriculum. The activity may not necessarily be oriented towards a product (project), but it should broadly entail educational outcomes - i.e., knowledge and skill acquisition or personal and social development. An important characteristic is the mandatory leadership or mentoring of an adult, educator, or specialist overseeing the activity, which is a consequence of its structured nature. Other fundamental characteristics include voluntariness and a focus on development, both personal and social.

The common characteristics are sufficiently consistent and allow for the establishment of a hierarchy reflecting the organization and content of extracurricular education. The identified common characteristics help reconstruct the definition of extracurricular education: structured, voluntary activities of children aimed at developing personal and social skills, extending beyond the scope of the school curriculum and supported or guided by an adult. The systemic elements of extracurricular education include regulation, financing, personnel, management, content (directions) of activities (extracurricular sessions), formats and types of activities, infrastructure, providers, agents (consumers), openness, and strategic activity planning.

These identified characteristics are universal for various extracurricular education systems, including those in the countries of the former Soviet Union; they facilitate the implementation of fundamental principles in extracurricular education, such as structuredness, voluntariness, developmental orientation, and contribute to achieving fairness and accessibility in extracurricular education for children with various educational needs.

Research Question 2: What are the main elements of the Soviet model of extracurricular education (in the late Soviet period)?⁶

As a result of the research, key elements of the Soviet extracurricular education system were formulated and described, enabling us to speak not only about a stable system but also about an institution of extracurricular education. Specific objectives were identified, addressing the costs of the state and individual users, particularly focusing on the prevention of spontaneous socialization and social incorporation. The formation of the system did not occur instantaneously but throughout the entire existence of the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, in various key elements and characteristics, the system remained "stable" and monolithic over time, preserving its institutional framework throughout the existence of the Soviet state.

The extracurricular education system in the USSR represented a highly complex combination of elements that allow us to speak of the model of Soviet extracurricular education:

- integral coverage,
- indoctrination,
- accessibility,
- infrastructural,
- public-private character,
- package content.

At the state level, a diverse range of formats (types of activities) for interacting with children and adolescents were supported. From the multitude of possibilities, specific formats were selected in each specific territory, in each school - sometimes naturally and evolutionarily, based on the necessary conditions. Simultaneously, there were mandatory formats implemented by the Pioneer and Komsomol organizations, as well as a well-developed fractal network of extracurricular organizations and associations. Despite the existence of a party mechanism for

⁶ A detailed description of the elements of the Soviet model of extracurricular education is presented in the publication Ivanov I. Yu., Kupriyanov B. V., Kosaretsky S. G. Collective and conscious: an institutional view of Soviet extracurricular education // Educational Policy. 2021. Vol. 2. No. 86. pp. 76-86, prepared in the framework of this study.

regulating and developing the system, there were also tools to support public initiatives. The fate of such initiatives could vary (be short or long-term, local or interregional, one-time or scalable, etc.).

In the context of building communism, extracurricular education in the Soviet Union became a specific, purposeful, and systematic "influence on the psychology of the individual to instill in them qualities desirable to the educator" [Kalinin, 1945]. The system introduced a particular worldview, morality, and rules of human society, developing certain character traits, willpower, habits, tastes, physical attributes, and more. In this regard, indoctrination, as a key element of the system, is an important part of the model deserving separate study. Accessibility, while not explicitly postulated separately, was also a significant feature of Soviet extracurricular education, where the profitability of organizations was not considered in the system's efficiency context; instead, free access and a "basic package" of content were ensured throughout the system's existence: children's art school (music, choreography, drawing), sports school for children and youth, Pioneer camp, naturalist station, young technicians station. Another element of the Soviet model is infrastructure, with the emergence of specialized spaces for activities (palaces of creativity, Pioneer clubs, music schools) outside of regular school settings.

All elements of the model are parts of a clear and complex hierarchy of processes aimed at achieving the goals and objectives that the Soviet state implemented through extracurricular education means.

Research Question 3: What are the universal (supranational) trends in the development of the extracurricular education sector in the countries of the former Soviet Union?⁷

The Soviet extracurricular education system can be viewed as a formal institution that helps reduce the costs of managing not only extracurricular time but also the diversified network of extracurricular education providers. Numerous and diverse extracurricular education organizations, while embedded in organizational and managerial hierarchies, remained relatively independent - a "non-systemic" system or loosely connected system [Weick, 1976], maintaining significant pluralism coupled with high social status [Meyer, Rowan, 2006]. The entire system represented a developed institutional environment and performed various functions. The collapse of the USSR and market reforms led to institutional changes reflected in the once unified extracurricular education system, which now undergoes different transitions at the national level in post-Soviet states. These changes result in a loss of institutional subjectivity (loss of understanding of one's own unique "rules of the game") and erosion of the formal institution. The transformation - institutional changes - gets stuck in a path dependence; breaking out from this path allows for both neoliberal or market reforms [Hursh, 2007; Collier, 2011] and activities of international organizations, as well as integration processes (Baltic region countries), but ultimately, the path dependence affects all countries. The transformation of extracurricular education after the collapse of the USSR is characterized not only by "de-Sovietization" but also by the implementation of a neoliberal course (market reforms) that have led to an increased influence of the family, market mechanisms, and inequality [Ivanov, Kosaretsky, 2021], which has become one of the most significant challenges for national education systems.

Accessibility (territorial and financial accessibility) was one of the key elements of the Soviet extracurricular education model. All activities, except for music schools, were free of charge. This approach cannot be considered market-based: the system could afford not to consider the costs of providing access, especially in remote areas. The collapse of the USSR led to a significant reduction in the network of extracurricular education organizations. However, amidst the decrease in overall accessibility, there is an emergence and growth of inclusivity (launch of

⁷ The results of this part of the dissertation research are reflected in the publication: Ivanov I., Zvyagintsev R. Transformation of extracurricular education in post-Soviet countries: from universal access to inequality // Children and Youth Services Review. 2023. Vol. 155. Article 107221.

programs for children with disabilities). At the same time, inclusive approaches to education are currently being enshrined at the legislative level, which was not the case during the Soviet period.

External factors such as neoliberal reforms and the globalization of education, political influence from major neighboring countries like the European Union, Russia, and Turkey, and maintaining close professional relationships among extracurricular education specialists have played a decisive role in shaping extracurricular education systems in some former Soviet Union countries. Meanwhile, internal factors such as military and civil conflicts, rapid demographic growth or migration processes, and the increasing influence of religious organizations have also had a significant impact on national systems. The transformation of extracurricular education across the former Soviet Union can be considered within the framework of the concept of glocalization, as the quest for national identity in extracurricular education systems does not exclude global integration and influence (glocalization) [Robertson, 1995; Willems, Bossu, 2012].

The post-Soviet transition has led to an enhancement of the efficiency and competitiveness of extracurricular education programs that seek to address the needs of families and children and integrate them into the global and national education development agendas. In particular, co-financing tools (vouchers) in Lithuania, Russia, and Kazakhstan enhance the system's focus on the child, making programs more attractive to children and families by actively responding to market changes.

The post-Soviet transition of extracurricular education is characterized by a sort of abandonment of the "universality" of access to extracurricular activities: general guarantees are reduced, and states can no longer ensure universal coverage without considering costs ("not counting the money"). The "basic package" of the Soviet extracurricular education system limited the choices for families but ensured territorial and financial accessibility, minimizing, and in some years even equalizing family differences and their involvement in organizing children's extracurricular time. Three common trends in extracurricular education in all 15 former Soviet Union countries are identified.

The first trend is related to the so-called "schoolification" of extracurricular education systems. It involves an increase in the share of school-based extracurricular activities (additional programs). One reason for this is the reduction of specialized extracurricular organizations [Kosaretsky, Ivanov, 2024], especially in rural areas, where the school becomes the sole service provider. Schools also compensate for the decrease in the number of extracurricular education teachers. At the same time, "schoolification" involves the formalization (standardization) of activities and programs, integrating extracurricular education into the school system as a complement to the regular curriculum (expanded school education). Additionally, the deficit of resources for developing inclusivity in extracurricular education is also more effectively compensated by schools, as inclusivity in school education is a higher priority for national education systems. We can observe varying degrees of infrastructural "schoolification," for example, in some countries where the share of school-based extracurricular activities is relatively low (Azerbaijan, Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, and Estonia), and others where the school segment prevails (Georgia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan).

The second trend is the privatization of extracurricular education. This trend includes processes related to the reduction of extracurricular organizations' network and the emergence of the private sector, which compensates for the traditionalism and conservatism of content and formats of extracurricular activities in state organizations in some countries (where the share of private organizations is low in most countries and high in Azerbaijan, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia). The introduction of paid activities in the public segment is also notable, reducing the accessibility of activities for families with low socioeconomic status facing financial and informational constraints in choosing programs. A significant outcome of privatization is the strengthening of the family's role in selecting activities, especially in urban areas where the options are more diverse.

Finally, the third trend is the urbanization of extracurricular education, characterized by increasing territorial inequality in access to extracurricular activities and a decrease in the quality of extracurricular activities in rural areas (for instance, in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan), where programs are implemented based on residual principles concerning resources and teachers. The development of content and formats, including inclusive programs, is shifting towards urban environments where there are more resources and demands from families for diverse programs.

A particular feature of these identified trends is that they are present in each of the former Soviet Union countries but vary in their degree of prominence. National policies also aim to reduce these trends or respond to them, depending on local interests and national specifics.

Research Question 4: How have the national extracurricular education sectors changed in the countries of the former Soviet Union? Is it possible to combine them into universal (supranational) models of institutional transformation?⁸

The post-Soviet transition of extracurricular education occurred in complex socio-economic and political conditions for the former Soviet republics. However, there was not a complete "collapse" of the system, which indeed faced significant challenges, particularly in terms of financing, leading to substantial changes in infrastructure and personnel. National systems in the first decade also lost their direction and development framework, losing their institutional subjectivity, which in turn led to turbulence and erosion of the Soviet extracurricular education institution: there is a lack of a unique rule-governing situation, a rejection of indoctrination, and a reduction in the network of providers resulting in the emergence of new players and growth in the role (share) of the school segment. Finally, a key (universal) trend becomes the decrease in coverage and accessibility of extracurricular activities, positioning extracurricular education within the field and discourse of educational inequality.

Various elements of the Soviet model of extracurricular education are undergoing changes. The most dramatic relate to infrastructure: reduced funding, privatization, and loss of buildings, such as palaces and clubs affiliated with enterprises. All of this impacts, in particular, the decrease in coverage, including within the extracurricular organizations system: there is a general decline in coverage (around 44% compared to 1989 with changes in the share of school-aged children), as well as coverage within extracurricular organizations – averaging 30% according to official statistics and expert assessments. Changes in the socio-state funding nature also affect the volumes and capacities of national systems. Enterprises are divesting cultural palaces and clubs where extracurricular activities took place, reducing or completely ceasing support for extracurricular education, as it is not their obligation in the new economic conditions. Private organizations, commercial, and charitable, begin to emerge, providing extracurricular education services; the tutoring sector (private and organized) is growing. On average, the private sector accounts for about 18%, but significantly varies in specific countries: Estonia at 76% and Uzbekistan at 2%, representing the extremes of the distribution. The private sector – especially charitable funds – are becoming prominent players in promoting new content and formats, such as STEM education, programming, and robotics. Overall, the package content is retained, the direction nomenclature remains common throughout the entire former Soviet Union space, with only some country-specific and regional peculiarities [Ivanov, Kosaretsky, 2022]. Lastly, there is a decline in ideological and political education. Indoctrination is being replaced by the development of national identity and incorporation (civil upbringing) and education, including patriotic education. However, in some countries, ideology remains in a simplified form.

The Soviet system of extracurricular education is undergoing changes in general directions common to the entire post-Soviet space. Country-specific features are identified, where a particular element of the Soviet model of extracurricular education takes on an "anomalous" value, for example, the growth of the private sector in Azerbaijan or Turkmenistan. Regional trends can also

⁸ A detailed description of the models of transformation of extracurricular education in the countries of the former USSR is presented in the publication Ivanov I. Yu. Whose children? Extracurricular education in the countries of the former Soviet Union // Education issues. – 2022. – No. 4. – pp. 184-207, prepared in the framework of this study.

be observed, which are connected both to political processes (the "neighboring gravity") in the Baltic countries, where integration with the European Union has had a significant impact on all social processes, including education, and to sociocultural characteristics, as in the countries of the South Caucasus and certain Central Asian countries, where the traditional role of the family and its patriarchal order are regaining their positions after the compulsory Soviet collectivism and communist socialization. At the same time, three universal (supra-national) models of transforming the Soviet system of extracurricular education stand out, which have common grounds: coverage and availability, the degree of regulation and indoctrination (incorporation), as well as the level and quality of market changes within the system (private providers, tutoring, payment for extracurricular activities). The basis for distinguishing models is chosen based on the analysis of the conceptual framework of the Soviet system: the degree of state presence and market freedom, the system's diversification, and the "preservation" of the Soviet system and approaches.

The direct "heir" of the Soviet model is *the post-Soviet* one: countries in this group are characterized by high coverage and availability coupled with a high level of system regulation, the state's involvement in educational matters through the official declaration of its interests (concepts, strategies), and a low share of the private sector. The post-Soviet model is represented in Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine.

In other countries, the transformation of the Soviet system occurred in a modernization key: there was no complete rejection; furthermore, the state maintained a high level of involvement in the system through various financial and regulatory instruments. The most significant characteristic of the convergent model can be considered the use of the best practices from the Soviet period – the systemic nature of extracurricular interventions and the created infrastructure, while this model is characterized by the de-communization of the legacy [Tarifa & Weinstein, 1995], including among educators and system managers, a high share of private providers, and a noticeable role of municipalities in determining the directions of extracurricular education development at the local level. Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia belong to the *convergent* model.

In a large group of countries, the transformation of the Soviet system resulted in its partial or complete collapse with fragmentary presence of certain elements, which, even if combined into a system, do not play a significant role in children's extracurricular education at the national level. The *liminal* (threshold) model is characterized by low coverage and accessibility of extracurricular activities, infrastructure reduction, and weak development of the private sector. Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan belong to this group of countries. In this context, the level of regulation may not influence the system's development, for example in Tajikistan. The transformation processes in Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan, it appears, are not yet complete and may take a convergent direction or a "softened" post-Soviet one.

The transformation models provide a basis to discuss the nature of post-Soviet transit in the extracurricular education system and more broadly – about institutional changes regarding children's extracurricular time, the role of the family and the state in its organization and content.

Conclusion

As a result of the research:

The concept of extracurricular education for children has been *conceptualized*, allowing us to consider extracurricular activities and programs within a unified paradigm and focusing on the structured extracurricular time of the child. Two groups of characteristics are distinguished – organizational and participation-related. Extracurricular activities involve structured or organized activities that require going beyond the main curriculum and mandatory adult leadership or tutoring by a teacher or specialist who manages the children's activities. Extracurricular education is characterized by voluntariness and orientation towards development. These fundamental principles of extracurricular education are ensured by systemic elements of extracurricular education related to regulation, development, management, and implementation processes, which

are enshrined in national legislation and strategic planning documents. Systemic elements can be formalized through direct normative means in laws, as well as indirectly through strategies and concepts of parenting and extracurricular education development.

The Soviet model of extracurricular education (out-of-school activities) for children has been *conceptualized* and described from a systemic and institutional perspective. The state-established system aimed to replace family upbringing with social upbringing, reduce the costs for families and society involved in children's education due to the increasing labor force participation of parents, and mitigate the risks of spontaneous socialization in situations of patriarchal family disruption. From the very beginning of the USSR, the state formed a system of extracurricular activities or extracurricular education (in the terminology of this study), which during its formation already exhibited all the characteristics of a social institution, fulfilling a legalized social function.

The formal institution of Soviet extracurricular education addressed both the coordination and cooperation issues by standardizing the selection of agents and ensuring the consistency of decisions made by the "producers" of structured extracurricular time content. The comprehensive content packaging characteristic of the Soviet model of extracurricular activities was a tool for balancing demand and supply and reducing the costs for agents (families and local communities) when choosing how to utilize extracurricular time. The entire structured extracurricular time system of Soviet children constituted an extensively developing institutional environment that defined the context of "proper" and positive child leisure, allowing them to develop in accordance with the principles of the communist builder's code.

Data on national extracurricular education systems in 15 former Soviet Union countries have been collected and analyzed. Information on extracurricular education systems was obtained through a comprehensive empirical study combining quantitative and qualitative methods, relying on developed and adapted tools and frameworks for data collection, analysis, and comparison. Data collection was accompanied by the development and description (adaptation) of a framework of institutional change theory (directly institutional approach) to extracurricular education, allowing for the development of discourse on the fundamental rule of the system or its institutional subjectivity in the Soviet period and its subsequent loss in the decades following the collapse of the USSR. The institutional approach provides an opportunity to consider extracurricular education both at the national level and at the macro level of the post-Soviet space, obtaining answers to systemic questions regarding the quality and accessibility of extracurricular education.

Universal (cross-border) trends in the development of extracurricular education in the post-Soviet space *have been identified*: 1) "schoolization" ("oshkolivanie") of the extracurricular education system, including an increase in the share of activities (additional programs) implemented by general educational organizations, their formalization, and the nature of complementing the school program (school system); 2) privatization of extracurricular education, involving processes such as the reduction of the network of state extracurricular organizations, the emergence of the private sector, and paid activities in state (municipal) organizations; 3) urbanization of extracurricular education, characterized by an increase in territorial inequality in the availability of extracurricular activities, a decrease in the quality of extracurricular activities in rural areas, where programs are implemented on a residual basis: in terms of resources and teachers.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, there was a significant decrease in the coverage of extracurricular activities, primarily associated with socio-economic factors. Reduction in budget income, inflation, and economic crisis led to a decrease in the network of extracurricular education organizations and a crisis in the system's infrastructure, which was a significant part of the Soviet model of organized extracurricular time for children. Extracurricular education, like all institutions, undergoes market transformation. State reforms aimed at increasing efficiency, strengthening the role of the market, and reducing funding contribute to a decrease in the coverage and accessibility of extracurricular education. Although this trend has been leveling out in recent years, the involvement of children and adolescents in extracurricular education in most countries significantly lags behind the Soviet level.

The "schoolization" ("oshkolivanie") of the system (an increase in the share of school-based extracurricular activities (additional programs)) compensates for the reduction in extracurricular education provider networks. A decrease in infrastructure (presence of extracurricular organizations) resulted from educational privatization processes, increased costs for building maintenance due to worsening economic conditions, resource constraints, and partially due to system urbanization, which exacerbated the issue of educational inequality in rural areas.

A *comparative analysis* of the processes of institutional transformation in extracurricular education in the former Soviet Union countries was conducted, and universal models of institutional transformation in extracurricular education in the former Soviet Union countries were identified and described: post-Soviet, convergent, and liminal.

The models of transformation provide a basis for discussing the nature of post-Soviet transition in the extracurricular education system and more broadly - institutional changes regarding a child's extracurricular time, the role of the family in its organization, and the state's aspiration to play a role in organizing extracurricular time. The analysis of the identified models (post-Soviet, convergent, and liminal) shows that post-Soviet systems continue to be in the same paradigm of state paternalism; convergent systems implement a policy of dividing responsibility between the family and the local community, where the state acts more as an arbiter of the institutional environment; and finally, liminal systems, where the family, not the state, is the primary operator of extracurricular time, making decisions based on their socio-economic status and cultural capital. The identified trends and models of development in national extracurricular education systems allow for a new perspective on the causes of educational inequality, particularly in extracurricular education, and a more objective discussion of the possibilities of extracurricular education, including compensatory mechanisms, in response to the challenges of human capital development in childhood (school age).

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