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ISSN: 0193-4120 Page No. 3660 - 3665

Features of the Institutional Field of Functioning of the Higher School of Russia

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Article Info
Volume 81
Page Number: 3660 - 3665
Publication Issue:
November-December 2019

Abstract:
In modern conditions, the issue of transition to an innovative model for the development of the national economy becomes increasingly important, since the development of innovations becomes the determining factor in increasing the country's competitiveness and in solving social and economic problems. In accordance with the Global Innovation Index, the weak points of the Russian Federation in the field of innovative development are, first of all, the institutional environment and the investment climate. The statistical indicators of investment activity considered in this article are of considerable interest to investors, as they allow to see the current structure and dynamics of investments. Steady growth demonstrates the stability of the country's economy, while sharp fluctuations reflect the presence of problems and worsen the investment climate. Analyzed indicators demonstrate the presence of certain problems that limit the development of investment potential for the development of the innovation economy, which necessitates the search and classification of these problems.

Article History

Article Received: *5 March 2019*
Revised: *18 May 2019*
Accepted: *24 September 2019*
Publication: *18 December 2019*

Keywords: *investments, investment potential, innovations, financing, national economy, competitiveness, internal costs, budget financing, modernization, social and economic goals, science financing.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The institutional field of Russian regions in the education sphere is largely characterized by isolation, i.e. focus on servicing primarily their own territory (for example, diplomas of Kazan universities are mainly distributed in the region). Not a high degree of openness to the outside world entails a dangerous trend - the imitative nature of education [1, 2, 3]. Due to the dominance of the model subculture (as it is sometimes called “status civilization”), education often comes down to formal “pumping” through certain educational institutions of certain layers and high-status groups of the population. Moreover, the selection criteria can range from purely market (financial status) to purely protectionist (administrative resource of the guarantor of the "successful completion" of the educational process is considered as a source of reducing "transactional" educational costs).

In the context of replacement of the "competition of minds" by the "competition of statuses", higher education is too tough in its well-functioning Soviet version; therefore, it is

imitative in relation to applicants who profess the values accepted in their "status communities".

The situation is also complicated by the heterogeneity and divergence of interests within the identified status groups. The insufficiently formed “national value scale” (which is, in a sense, a national ideology that ensures the “substantive rationalization” processes) has predetermined the fact that different layers of education consumers are guided in their attitude to it by their own ideas about its role in their lifestyle. At the same time, an interesting paradox arises: a high degree of demand for formal education in the province is due to its real achievements and prestige in world centers. Thus, the latter dictate a fashion for a certain quality of lifestyle, which is being transformed and degenerating on the periphery largely due to the fact that elites of outsider regions are trying to adopt its attributes, rather than significant features.

On the other hand, world education centers form a certain information environment, which serves as the basis for “incorporating” peripheral universities into it, where there are communities of specialists being able to recognize this environment, i.e. educated ones, trying to educate based on relevant values in turn. The creation of such information clusters is perhaps the only way for education to withstand the confrontation mentioned above. Unfortunately, such a clustering of regional intellectual centers is quite noticeable only at the micro level in the field of science (creation of international research teams based on grants) now.

2. METHODS

One way or another, but university science represented by its carriers, professing common sense in teaching, is experiencing tremendous institutional pressure, which shall be understood (at least in the first approximation) as the degree of dependence (and, above all, conscious dependence) of an individual (institution, industry, social layer, etc.) from the entire spectrum of institutions [4, 5, 6, 7]. This is a question of both the system of institutions as a whole, and individual organizations and their aggregates in various configurations.

Without dwelling on a detailed analysis of the system of institutions, we can evaluate their performance by outlining a number of manifestations of the mechanisms behind it in relation to the education sphere.

1. *"Vertical integration": school - university.* As already noted, the universities themselves are now responsible for preparing the object of their professional activity - students - under whose auspices multilevel and branched systems of preparatory courses and rehearsals are being created. Within the framework of this organizational design, it takes place the actual transition of higher education to a paid basis. The trend leading to the actual expansion of control time by the universities over the movement of demographic flows will intensify, and the role of the school and its qualification document - school certificate - will apparently decrease and be reduced mainly to the formation of an array of unskilled labor resources.

This development of events is also supported by the growing institutionalization of university admission by creating a conductive environment for the reproduction of the “status landscape” of the region, as well as a special place in this landscape for this institutionalization. The latter leads to the allocation of specialized consortia in the universities on the basis of some part of their personnel potential. They are organized as "virtual corporations", "affiliated with the university", having the appropriate attributes and built into the local traditional way. Being essentially an incomplete production cycle and weakly connected by their interests with the ultimate education goal - qualified personnel and knowledge, such consortia have become a barrier

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to the reproduction of human capital in the scientific and teaching corps of their universities.

It is this institutionalization that is the spearhead of regional institutional pressure on research teams and real education. It is interesting that the situation of international clustering of real education is repeated here, but just the opposite. The foster business exploits the authority of the latter, and therefore exploits the world's educational and scientific centers for microinclusion into the existing "status landscape". This repetition is an example of a "landscape-network inversion".

If the foster business reflects the structure of the "nursing-landscape", then the universities seek to influence it through the graduate school. However, the institutional pressure noted above, alienating the control over the admission "sieve" from education, forces the graduate school to deal either with completely substandard material or marked with the seal of "initial second-rate", which narrows the field of internal incentives for the scientific work. Thus, control over a substantial part of the "entrance" into graduate school is "closed" to the same "status corps", and the graduate school itself becomes a tool for the reproduction of its "senior staff".

2. *Army and university: double trap.* Both the university in relation to the school, and the graduate school in relation to the university has the character of an elitization tool, in particular, protection from mass recruitment technologies. First of all, we are talking about the compulsory recruitment of creative youth in the field of activities associated with the risk to lifestyle - military and law enforcement. The concept of the "army-education" tandem has already formed the basis for a universal alternative when choosing a future field of activity for a young man. At the same time, the growing momentum of the development of the principles of contract army continues to play only the role of a valve for "steam release". The current recruitment policy is likely to remain unshakable in its foundations and principles. In other words, the "fabric pattern" of institutional pressure of this kind may be replaced, rather than the "fabric" itself.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

An analysis of the situations discussed in the above examples suggests a number of ways in which opposition to institutional pressure on education is possible.

1. Clustering at the international and federal levels to create balances to local, largely closed to "imitation" clusters.
2. Counter-institutionalization - the search for "allies" in local landscapes, reconfiguration of these landscapesin the future.
3. Organization of direct access of university science to the preparation, movement and selection of the contingent of school students [8].
4. There is a state reform of control over socialization and preservation of the gene pool at the macro level, in particular - recruitment technologies [9].
5. Distancing the information space of universities from the surrounding urban landscapes.

One way or another, the overriding task of education as a way of reproducing university and academic science is to return to the trajectory of strengthening its dominance through the development of a certain autonomy and protection mechanisms from the "arbitrary interpretations" of the usefulness of certain educational structures.

In assessing possible scenarios of further "institutional drift" of higher education, it is useful to follow some already emerging trends obtained on the basis of observations.

The institutional space of the regions of the Russian Federation in the scientific field has (despite the very high results achieved in recent

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years) the signs of insufficient efficiency, expressed primarily in its inertia, heterogeneity and incompleteness.

In our case, inertia is understood as the trajectory of the institutional development of the scientific sphere without significant changes, according to the laws for the provision of scientific products and services to the consumers without noticeable changes. At the same time, globalization and technological development of the world economy dictates the need for transformation and reform of the established forms of organization of the scientific space that are adequately consistent with the principles of adaptability to new emerging technological structures and the development principles of socio-economic systems.

The scientific school in the region is represented, first of all, by its leader. Therefore, the main stages in the development of a scientific school are the milestones of the scientific biography of its founder. As noted earlier, when the leader leaves the professional arena, the activities of his/her school, as well as the system of the corresponding educational and scientific areas, gradually transforms into imitation, and further institutional drift occurs within the remaining organizational forms, which does not exclude, however, bursts of new innovative activity.

The *incompleteness* of the scientific space means the lack of conformity of existing training programs with the needs generated in the economy and society. This is not just the absence of leading positions, but the complete absence of any significant positions. A young talented student is forced to be content with the things available in his/her university, other universities and scientific institutions of the city, and cannot choose a specialty according to his/her personal tastes, inclinations, etc. In the conditions when the student's movement to another city, region, is associated with very tangible financial and social costs, the absence of a real choice of training direction essentially takes away part of the future from science.

Heterogeneity of the scientific field is understood as uneven organization of the learning process to the existing composition of training areas. Thus, a Kazan student has the opportunity to become a mathematics student, but he/she is deprived of the opportunity to be a Kazan student topologist or to professionally study an algebraic geometry.

Of course, the last two signs, characterizing the scientific field of any region as a rule, are a problem of prestige first of all. However, (especially applied) science to a certain extent depreciates the entire human capital of the region, and not just the "residual" human resources of other scientific specializations. In fact, the sub-cluster of heavy hydrocarbons that has developed over Kazan, together with the ill-conceived urban planning policy in this direction, clearly "specializes" the city as hazardous production center.

Unlike basic science, where the main investments are made in the form of grants organized by special funds, applied science has great potential for flexible development, although its demand also takes the form of "status trading" in some aspects. For example, calculations made by the specialists in probability theory and mathematical statistics for insurance companies are really needed by the latter only to meet certain global or federal standards, i.e. to demonstrate the existence of a formal rationale for their financial policies.

The main problem of investing in scientific research is the problem of selecting and evaluating the relevant transactions by the customer, as well as the choice of a range of specializations for the scientists to connect to the emerging resource opportunities. The role of

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investing in fundamental areas is increasing, since it is they that provide specialists with the ability to switch to entire blocks of specializations (usually applied), modeled by one fundamental block. The quality of innovations in this production sphere of intellectual products can be formalized by the program "Fundamental Modeling of Applied Innovations".

An appropriate contribution to education can be innovative (primarily state) financing, which shall be deployed in the direction of innovation in the field of consulting fundamental disciplines, combining them into the program "Ideologies and Strategies for Scientific Search".

Similar programs (including reprogramming technologies discussed in the previous section) will help strengthen and fill in the new real content of the above-mentioned universalization processes of technical and technological universities and, thereby, the clustering processes of the corresponding educational and scientific complexes.

4. SUMMARY

In general, it should be noted that a situation has developed in the system of domestic higher education when the structural reorganization of both the educational system and the system of scientific activity is requiredat present. First of all, these transformations shall affect the system of views of society on the activities of higher school. Thus, for example, the higher school, to a large extent, is aimed at the commercialization of the learning process at present. Most likely, the main reason for this process shall be considered as the fact that the higher school has adapted to a certain extent to the interests of modern Russian society, for which prestige and social status (at least formal) are more significant than real correspondence to the rank of scientist (as from the point of view of their professional qualities and value system). Such a prevalence of the subjective interests of society over the interests of higher education negatively affects the development of the latter, demoralizing its representatives and depriving it of the possibility of intensive, effective development in the future due to a decrease in the quality of human capital.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The development of higher school, as well as its adaptation and harmonious integration into the system of social relations, implies not only the development of a value system, but the formation of new mechanisms for the functioning of higher school as institution. This means the need to create modern technologies for the practical implementation of scientific and educational activities. Perhaps, we should consider the processes of clustering of higher education as one of these technologies, within which the national system of higher school is divided into many elements - innovative clusters - that imply a spatial concentration of human capital, which forms a certain "critical scientific mass" within the clusters, sufficient for a qualitative change (jump) in the innovation effectiveness. Moreover, these innovative clusters, on the one hand, shall have intensive ties with industrial clusters, which ensures the development of science within the framework of the system of social needs and the creation of a socially significant scientific product; on the other hand, we need a system of intensive ties within innovation clusters, which makes it possible harmonious development of theoretical and practical layers of scientific activity and generation of a better scientific product. Moreover, all interactions arising in the process of innovation shall be facilitated due to the formation of a developed innovation infrastructure.

6. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This work is performed at the expense of the subsidy allocated to Kazan State University for the fulfillment of the state task in the field of

scientific activity (No. 26.9776.2017/BCH (Russian: 26.9776.2017/БЧ)

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