

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION: REFORM AGAIN

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The issues that are now facing the vocational education system, with all the diversity, can be reduced to two: 1) does the structure of personnel training correspond to the demands of the labor market; 2) is it possible to ensure the transition to an innovative economy on the basis of the existing personnel base, to modernize not the education system, but the country.

The situation in vocational education has been difficult for several years. The demographic decline already in 2003 reached the system of primary vocational education. Since then, the number of students in NGOs has decreased by more than 37%, and graduates by 30%. It is not surprising that business is sounding the alarm - there seems to be a really shortage of workers. Given the fact that the number of the working-age population in Russia is beginning to decline, there is a double cause for unrest. And Mikhail Prokhorov at the meeting of the State Council on Education held on August 31, 2010 says that the vocational education system does not meet the demands of the labor market - only 10% are graduates with primary vocational education, 20% - with secondary education and 70% - with higher. But the opposite is necessary - 80% with primary and secondary, and only 20% - with higher.

However, according to the Federal State Statistics Service, in the 2009/10 academic year, graduates from NGOs amounted to 538 thousand people, vocational education - 631 thousand people, HPE - 1442 thousand people. Thus, we find that university graduates make up a little more than 55%, and that of NGOs and vocational schools a little less than 45%. The proportion is normal for post-industrial countries.

Now let's see what happens to the graduates of the NGO. According to sociological research, 25% of them enter the labor market (these are mainly workers in the service sector and trade - hairdressers, waiters, cooks, salespeople), 16% are waiting for conscription, about 53% want to continue their studies in vocational schools and universities, and another 6% intend to immediately change their profession. Accordingly, 59% already after leaving a vocational

school or lyceum do not intend to work in the profession they have acquired, another 16% of graduates - those who go to the army will not always work in the field for which they were trained. So, the efficiency of the NGO system is currently about 25–30%, i. E. Steam locomotive efficiency. And the transfer of NGO institutions to the regional level, when it was assumed that now they would be more focused on local labor markets, As we can see, it did not give the desired effect. And, what is more important, I could not give it, since the matter is not in what budget the given level of professional education is financed, but in the army conscription and the ideas of young people about a worthy job. Research by the Levada Center in recent years has shown that only 6% of respondents aged 15–35 consider the worker's profession attractive.

In VET, the situation is not much different from the situation in primary vocational education: 76% of those who graduate from secondary vocational schools intend to continue their studies, while 91% - in universities. In recent years, in connection with the full-scale introduction of the Unified State Exam, the number of VET institutions began to grow, despite the continuing decline in the contingent. They began to be created at universities so that their graduates could immediately be enrolled in a higher educational institution, bypassing the Unified Exam.

All these years we have constantly talked about the fact that more than half of the graduates of universities do not work in their specialty, not paying special attention to the fact that an even more serious situation has already developed in primary and secondary vocational education.

The second question is - can the vocational education system provide personnel for the modernization of the economy, innovative production? In Russia, there are universities and vocational schools that train personnel whose qualifications are at a high level or can be brought to such a level. The priority national project "Education" made it possible to allocate about 10% of educational institutions of higher professional education, secondary vocational education and NGOs, which have the ability to implement innovative educational programs, provided them with an update of the material and technical base. But their teaching corps has largely remained the same.

At the same time, the material base of other educational institutions of vocational education is outdated, aging and obsolete. delivery building. Recently, the rector of a famous Russian university said with a sad smile: "Well, 60 years old is still a young professor!"

Another problem of universities, vocational education institutions and NGOs is that the majority of their teachers either still, or already "do not know

life." More precisely, they know that life and those industries that can hardly be called modern. They can teach those who should support what was created 20-25 years ago, but they either do not know anything about innovations, or they know by hearsay.

Ya. Kuzminov and I. Frumin in their article "Professional Education: Russian Master Plan" note that "with the help of competitive mechanisms, a group of research universities has been formed with a clear goal - to become the locomotives of innovative development. More than 100 billion rubles have already been allocated for the development of this network. But among this money there is no funds for actual research, which should become the basis for new technologies. " But the question is not only about money, but above all, who will conduct this research, even if funds are allocated for this purpose? The state of Russian academic science has long been alarming, but the state of university science is by no means better, if not worse: since Soviet times, it has been inferior to academic science. Yes, measures are being taken to change the situation, much is said about the invitation to research universities of leading scientists, including foreign ones. But the leading scientists are successful people, they have the funds for research, and they are unlikely to en masse want to move to universities, even if they received the status of NRU.

In the systems of CVT and VET, the problem of personnel is no less acute. Rosstat data on wages in primary and secondary vocational education for January – May 2010 are disappointing; it is 55.9% of the average for the Russian economy in NGOs, and 74.1% in secondary vocational education.

It is unlikely that this level of remuneration can lead to a significant change in the teaching staff of institutions of primary and secondary vocational education. Therefore, NGOs and VETs will not train workers for an innovative economy, but those they can - with the available staff and on the material and technical base that they have. It seems that it is easier to renew the material base than to change the personnel corps. The proposal voiced at a meeting of the State Council from the lips of the Governor of Kress that university professors go to work in NGOs and VET institutions, since the number of students will be greatly reduced in the coming years and more than 100 thousand teachers will be released, most likely it will not find support in the university environment.

To improve the situation, it is necessary to have sufficiently reliable forecasts of staffing requirements. Now they are gone. The Ministry of Economic Development develops forecasts of the socio-economic development of the Russian Federation for three years, while the main parameter of these forecasts is the price of oil, and not structural changes in the economy. And it is quite diffi-

cult to foresee these shifts in such a short term. Thus, we get: forecast - separately, innovations - separately and separately - determination of the structure of personnel training. In order for this to converge into a single whole, it will be necessary to change the forecasting methodology, involve regions and business in this matter, take into account migration flows both within the country and from abroad, and also increase the forecasting time by at least 2–2.5 times.

The transformation of the structure of training in primary, secondary and higher vocational education should be based on a long-term investment program agreed by the regions, business, and the education system, which implies mutual obligations. In addition to the investment program, a retraining program for the vocational education system is needed, based on fundamentally new programs. If you implement this entire chain, then the output can be a system of continuous professional education, which has been so much talked about recently, but which no one has seen yet.

An innovative economy, in contrast to an industrial one, requires different skills from an employee. It is technologically complex and expensive, and, accordingly, assumes that the employee will be socially mature, aware of all the risks and responsibilities associated with the use of expensive equipment. This is not a teenager sixteen or seventeen years old, this is a man in his twenties. It is this moment that should determine the transition of the school education system to the twelve or even thirteen years. It is hardly possible to reform vocational education without reorganizing general education. Training of workers for innovative industries should be deployed on a different system of vocational education. Admission to a vocational school should not begin at the age of 15, as is the case at present, but at 19–20.

The main difficulty in the modernization of education, which we have observed over the past ten years, is the lack of comprehensiveness of measures, on the one hand, and poor consideration of the consequences and risks, on the other. In complexity leads to a sharp decrease in the effectiveness of those measures that are being implemented, as well as to obtaining results that were "not expected". As a result, society becomes disillusioned with reforms, treats them with apprehension and even becomes immune to innovations. And this, by the way, is very harmful to the perception of an innovative economy. The second point is to embellish the final result. It is seen in rosy tones, and risks and negative consequences are obscured and downplayed. As a rule, we first get involved in a battle, and then we begin to calculate the consequences and real resources required for transformation. Due to the inertia of the education system, negative phenomena do not appear immediately, however, as well as positive ones. And

this complexity of modernization of the education system in general, and vocational in particular, cannot be ignored.

The complex and contradictory situation in higher education in Russia is largely due to the preservation of the sectoral approach to solving problems, an attempt to breathe life into an industrial model that is irrevocably becoming a thing of the past. This model is inextricably linked with the administrative system of university management, the appointment of rectors, it is aimed at patching holes, and not at strategic prospects and not at creating conditions for creativity and professional growth. To overcome the intellectual and technological backwardness of Russia, it is necessary to build up the potential of creativity. Creativity is a special dimension, for its formation special conditions are needed, first of all, freedom of creative search, research, freedom to think, design, try, make mistakes ... It's not that the knowledge of university graduates working in the industrial model is weaker, than creative. The fact is that they have - "the sky is as tall as the tail of a dog." This figurative expression of the Khanty accurately reflects the essence of the problem - is it possible to move to an innovative economy with an industrial model of universities?

For all the similarities between the decisions made in Europe and Russia, the principles on which these decisions are based often turn out to be opposite. In moving to the new Performance Funding Models, European countries have based their actions on a concept that maximizes support for strategic decisions while minimizing government interference in university affairs. It was widely recognized that autonomy is becoming one of the main factors contributing to improved quality and competitiveness. Autonomy is expressed in the fact that universities own assets, decide investment issues themselves, university management is fully responsible for financial activities and exercises its control, including long-term programs, hires university staff and is responsible for them, pays severance pay and pensions, as well as unemployment benefits. Outwardly, Russian laws on autonomy are very similar to those established in European countries, but in essence they do not provide the promised freedom in strategic decision-making and resource allocation, do not protect against petty tutelage and vigilant control, and do not guarantee sustainable long-term development. Even the recently adopted FZ-83 on the legal status of budgetary institutions, already at the stage of preparation for its approval, obliges universities (as well as budgetary institutions in other areas) to annually develop and approve in the ministry with the Deputy Minister a plan of financial and economic activities for fractional items of the economic classification of expenditures. those. actually claim the same Outwardly, Russian laws on autonomy are very similar to those

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In the course of an empirical study of the economic behavior of universities in the context of reforms in the period 2006-2009. the following trends were identified:

- rapid extensive financial growth; concentration of financial resources in large and super-large universities; the formation of giant universities; polarization of the economic positioning of universities.

In 2006, there were only 3 universities among 332 Rosobrazovanie universities, in each of which the amount of budgetary funding exceeded 1 billion rubles. Their share in the total amount of funding was only 2.5%. In 2009, there

were already 28 such universities, and their share in the total funding increased to 31.7%. The number of universities with funding of more than half a billion rubles a year has increased in a similar way. In 2006, there were 14 such universities, and their share in the total volume of funding was 14.7%. In 2009 there were 72 of them, and the share increased to 30%. Therefore, today 100 large universities of Rosobrazovanie draws on more than 60% of the total funding. However, this concentration of financial resources did not at all lead to systemic changes. We are witnessing the lag in institutional reforms, the lack of scale of the existing project management in large universities, the growth of financial resources, low sensitivity of universities to external threats: financial and economic crisis, demographic decline, decrease in effective demand, especially in the regions of Russia. But the critical situation is that there is a freeze in the development of human resources and outdated management technologies. We called this the Leviathan effect: as you know, the Leviathan is structurally the same fish, but only huge and vicious. The "short" money received by the universities according to the estimate cement the industrial model of universities, they cannot play the role of a catalyst for reforms. The autonomy resource is not used. that there is a freeze in the development of human resources and outdated management technologies. We called this the Leviathan effect: as you know, the Leviathan is structurally the same fish, but only huge and vicious. The "short" money received by the universities according to the estimate cement the industrial model of universities; they cannot play the role of a catalyst for reforms. The autonomy resource is not used. that there is a freeze in the development of human resources and outdated management technologies. We called this the Leviathan effect: as you know, the Leviathan is structurally the same fish, but only huge and vicious. The "short" money received by the universities according to the estimate cement the industrial model of universities, they cannot play the role of a catalyst for reforms. The autonomy resource is not used.

For education, management methods are more adequate, which are characteristic of modern network management, rather than a separate institution or organization. This is much more complicated, since it requires a multidimensional focus, a flexible combination of the principles of administrative leadership, indirect economic and financial impact, and delicate incentives. The conceptual basis of this approach is the theory of signals and filters. University management is focused on activity principles, on actualizing the future in the present, on what is commonly called action-education & action-research

To do this, an educational institution, of course, must have the freedom to pull and transfer resources, and master fundraising technologies. This does not

abolish the principles of transparent budgeting and public control, but, on the contrary, forces us to use these mechanisms as efficiently as possible. Currently, the most successful in terms of ensuring the innovative nature of the development of educational activities are those educational institutions in which processes of three types are simultaneously developed:

educational technologies that ensure the integration of design and research tasks into the educational process;

projects related to the development of various technologies, sectors and sectors of the economy;

research of both fundamental and applied nature.

The effective combination of all three processes in the creation and updating of educational programs ensures their competitiveness.

In the context of conflicting signals from the labor market, vocational education has been oriented towards consumers of its services and training in those specialties that consumers want to receive. Thus, young people and parents began to combine two roles in relation to the vocational education system: they act as both its consumers and customers. The education system is locked in to their needs and is poorly guided by signals from the labor market. The lack of established feedback channels between the education system and labor markets resulted in inconsistencies in the actions of the state, the educational system and employers. Employers do not have strategic plans for the development of their business for ten years ahead in order to act as a responsible customer for the graduation of students in their specialties. They know what they need today or tomorrow, but not ten years later. Professional standards, which could become the basis for new educational standards, are being developed extremely slowly, and they are not yet available for key sectors of the economy. In such conditions, the area of permissible solutions is outlined by a well-thought-out policy of supporting partnerships between universities and the business sector - companies, corporations, firms, organizations of the non-profit sector, as well as by the high rate of updating of curricula that guarantee the quality of education that meets the modern challenges of the economy and society, and not at all by guessing demand for professions in 5-10 years. Yesterday you could hear about the uselessness of engineers, and today - about the overproduction of economists and lawyers. To avoid such an imbalance, you need to invest in the students themselves, in the quality of education, in new curriculum development, based

on scientific research. The creative potential of future university graduates is the main guarantee of creating new high-quality jobs.

In modern conditions, the demand from students is presented not only for the knowledge that is offered by universities in the form of courses, disciplines and subjects, but also for those competencies and cultural standards that the process of learning and staying in the atmosphere of the university gives itself. We are talking about large-scale training for the service sector, which in the new economy makes new demands on the general cultural level of workers. In order to ensure the development of this sector of vocational education and at the same time give impetus to improving quality, it is necessary to move from the management of educational institutions to the management of educational programs. Studies show that the younger generation of Russians is highly mobile: many of them change jobs after graduation within two to three years. Joining a new team, young people create a new point of development for themselves, move easily if they see a perspective. Mobility is a resource for development, as a result of which a generation is formed that significantly differs from their parents in their great social experience. Today, significant creative potential is concentrated in universities, and not only in elite ones, but in those that are open to new things and develop dynamically. Horizontal mobility and the movement of human capital necessarily change its quality, make it possible to quickly displace the obsolete, master the new. Today, significant creative potential is concentrated in universities, and not only in elite ones, but in those that are open to new things and develop dynamically. Horizontal mobility and the movement of human capital necessarily change its quality, make it possible to quickly displace the obsolete, master the new. Today, significant creative potential is concentrated in universities, and not only in elite ones, but in those that are open to new things and develop dynamically. Horizontal mobility and the movement of human capital necessarily change its quality, make it possible to quickly displace the obsolete, master the new.

A modern university can be viewed as a micro-model of a new society with a new economy, as if an incubator of a society based on knowledge. Academic freedoms, student self-government, the organization of research teams, including both professors and students on the principles of project self-organization, the dynamism of the rapid generation and development of new knowledge and competencies, the ability to concentrate intellectual and financial resources on key points of growth - all these are the desirable characteristics of a modern university. ... The same description can be applied to a knowledge-based society.

Therefore, by giving universities the freedom associated with long-term, self-directed funding mechanisms,

Today the fact that the Russian higher education system is in a state of deep crisis no longer requires proof. A huge number of Russians have a university degree, but many of them do not even know how to write competently, let alone more complex forms of education. How could this have happened? Is the transformational recession, underfunding of education, or some exogenous reason to blame for this?

In our opinion, this phenomenon is based on the prevailing practice of mass, if not total, higher education in the country. This practice itself is the result of a fundamental error. We are talking about the ideological setting that the educational services market should strive for equilibrium. Indeed, in the absence of any restrictions, the supply of educational services grows due to the increase in the number of universities and the expansion of the scale of their activities. This, in turn, leads to a drop in the cost of education in universities, which leads to its maximum availability. What's wrong with that?

Today, a diploma is no longer a source of positive information. For example, what can a certified university graduate do? As it turns out, having an educational certificate does not give any guarantees that he can do anything. This leads to complete disorientation of employers: they do not know who should be hired and who should not. After employment, almost all graduates require not just completing their education, but serious retraining or training from scratch.

In an era of innovation, the main resource is the workforce capable of generating that innovation. Who will do this in Russia? The answer seems obvious: people with higher education or advanced degrees. However, the overwhelming majority of them cannot do this. But at whose expense, then, will the progressive evolution of Russian society be carried out?

The higher education system is incapable of solving this problem. What is the way out?

In our opinion, it is necessary to quickly build a system for monitoring the quality of education with a strict linking to it of the mechanism of financial support for universities. This will lead to the fact that universities that are outsiders of the education market will gradually self-liquidate (or will they be liquidated?). Moreover, we are talking about reducing their number not by 10-20%, but several times. Such a measure will lead to a corresponding increase in the competition, which, in turn, will allow universities to select applicants. Thus, it is necessary to make a conscious movement towards increasing the imbalance in the educational services market, which will increase the tension of the system

and its innovative potential. At the same time, the imbalance will help to maintain high earnings of the teaching staff, creating motivation for work in the field of education. Large contests will make it possible to create student reserves and, at their expense, implement a policy of large student dropouts in the learning process. At the same time, all training can become free, i.e. at the expense of the state; commercial education fees should rise substantially. All these measures will make it possible to control the quality of education both on the part of students and their parents and on the part of teachers.

How reasonable is such a policy of maintaining the higher education deficit seems to be?

First, the available figures show that the achievement of complete equilibrium in this market can completely and finally destroy the domestic education system. So, in terms of the saturation of the society with students, Russia is one of the world leaders. For example, in 2009–2010. Russia had 52 students per 1000 population (Federal Service, 2010), which is equivalent to the level of Australia and slightly below the level of New Zealand (58) and the United States (59). But these three countries are leaders in the export of education, which explains their exaggerated performance. The same states as Great Britain (39), France (36), Switzerland (28) and Japan (28) lag significantly behind Russia - 1.3-1.9 times. However, these figures cannot be directly compared. For example, according to our estimates, in Australia, the share of foreign students among students is 20.3%, and in the UK - 21.8; in the USA in the specialties "Business" and "Management" their share is also more than 20%; in Russia this the value is negligible. On postgraduate programs in Britain, the share of foreign students in the specialty "Business and Administration" is 83%, in sociology and social studies - 73, in biology - 72, in technical disciplines - 621... Obviously, the pumping up of quantitative indicators in our country occurs due to a decrease in quality. But the figures given are far from the limit. Statistics show that in Russia the pent-up demand for higher education continues to grow, increasing from 1.72 people per place in 1993 to 2.08 in 2008 (Federal Service, 2010). Consequently, in order to satisfy all the current demands for education in Russia, it is necessary to increase the number of universities and students, if not twice, then at least by 25-30%, which is beyond reason. In this case, we risk getting an already open trade in diplomas (and not veiled, as now).

Second, the equilibrium of the market is tantamount to the complete impoverishment of higher education. Today, financing of higher education in Russia is noticeably worse than in developed countries. For example, the share of such financing in GDP in France is 5.6%, and in Russia - 4.1% (Federal Service,

2010). However, when recalculating the indicator of the provision of the population with students, France finances its higher education almost twice as much as Russia ($[5.6: 37] / [4.1: 52] = 1.97$). If we maintain the current size of Russian higher education, then, in order for its funding to meet the French standard, the share of GDP allocated to education should be increased to 8%. Such a figure was recorded only in Denmark, but for Russia it is beyond the limits of the possible (Federal Service, 2010).

Third, the maintenance of artificial market imbalance has positive examples in other industries. For example, many banks carry out the so-called credit rationing, setting the interest rate for the loan deliberately below the equilibrium one. This allows them to create excess demand for their product and, due to this, move on to strict selection of their customers according to the level of reliability. Thus, banks deliberately go to the loss of income in order to reduce risks. In fact, they are losing money today in order not to lose it tomorrow; they sacrifice tactical interests in order not to lose strategic positions. As for higher education, it has always been characterized by a system of rationing, which consists in maintaining a reasonable competition for higher educational institutions. The only question is which competition can be considered "reasonable". Today, the availability of education in Russia, when even the weakest applicant can graduate from a university, has led to a decline in its quality and prestige. This is in stark contrast to the experience of developed countries. For example, the competition for a master's program at the London School of Economics is up to 1000 people per place, while in leading Russian universities, even for a bachelor's degree, there are about 100 people; the competition for the Russian master's program is either absent at all, or is at the level of several people per place. At the same time, leading Western universities do not go for a primitive increase in the cost of education in order to cut the excess demand for their services and balance the market. On the contrary, they maintain this position in order to be able to control the quality of applicants and students. led to a decline in its quality and prestige. This is in stark contrast to the experience of developed countries. For example, the competition for a master's program at the London School of Economics is up to 1000 people per place, while in leading Russian universities, even for a bachelor's degree, there are about 100 people; the competition for the Russian master's program is either absent at all, or is at the level of several people per place. At the same time, leading Western universities do not go for a primitive increase in the cost of education in order to cut the excess demand for their services and balance the market. On the contrary, they maintain this position in order to be able to control the quality of applicants and students. led to a

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Thus, the key to an effective system of rationing for higher education is the imbalance in the market for the corresponding services. Otherwise, the emergence of an intellectual elite capable of generating and implementing technological and social innovations is blocked in the system. This position is a special case of the well-known thesis of I. Prigogine that only those systems that are in a state far from equilibrium evolve.

The modernization of the sphere of higher education should go in two directions - its rigid rationing and the normalization of attitudes towards it. Both require very careful action, but there is no longer any doubt about their necessity. Let us emphasize that all these measures should be aimed not at undermining the demand for education as such, but at undermining the desire to receive a degree without a corresponding desire to study.

Rationalization of education, in our opinion, should be structured as follows. First, to tighten the system of quality control of education at universities, including not only the quality of the courses taught and the professionalism of lecturers, but also ergonomic indicators when universities that are not located in

the rightplace must be deprived of their licenses and accreditation. Secondly, the system of state-recognized diplomas should be abandoned, which in one way or another equalizes all universities. It is necessary to move on to assessing the quality of a specific diploma, depending on the prestige and reputation of the institution that issued it. Thirdly, it is necessary to launch a large-scale work on the systematic compilation of university rankings. This work involves changing the role of ratings, their quality and the system of interaction between rating agencies, universities, government and employers. Fourth, the state should provide substantial financial support to a limited number of advanced universities (for example, the first 50 universities in the national ranking of universities). It is possible to use a system of decreasing coefficients for the participation of the state in case of lowering the place of a university in the ranking.

This entire system should lead to the fact that universities-outsiders will be left without government support, and without it and without a worthy position in the rankings, such universities will be of no interest to anyone. Those who want to buy their diplomas on the cheap can do this, but the effect of such a deal for them is likely to be dubious. It is possible that in the future it will be necessary to expand the higher education system again, but for this, the appropriate conditions must mature.

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