

## **SYSTEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION: A COMPARATIVE INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS**

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The institutional elements of the system of higher education (HE) in Ukraine have been studied on the basis of concepts of comparative analysis and institutional complementarity of socio-economic systems (SES). The research of B. Clark which contains a comprehensive analysis of a special nature of the HE system, the achievements of the French Regulation School, the concepts of the Variety of Capitalism, Institutional Matrices, Institutional Complementarity have been used as a theoretical basis. The theoretical principles of the institutional architectonics of SES as a complementary integrity have been defined. The fundamental principles of the complementary comparative analysis of the institutional models of HE have been presented. The elements of the institutional architectonics of HE in Ukraine have been described. On the nanolevel, the specificity of such elements as needs, styles of thought, values, individual knowledge, institutional forms and functions, collective conventions have been researched. Their influence on the formation of institutes of HE has been traced. Attention has been focused on the peculiar impact of socio-cultural factors on the formation of the HE institutional structure. The findings of the research on the Ukrainian students' system of values according to G. Hofstede's method have been presented. The socio-cultural origins of the difference between the English-American and the European models of HE have been demonstrated with the concept of campus taken as an example. Its role as an instrument of the "lateral study" initially oriented to the assistance in the achievement of the primary objective of teaching in a college, i.e. "character forming", the development of personality of a student has been described. The parallel division of HE into disciplines and departments has been presented. The interrelation and complementarity of the elements of the institutional block of teaching and training of personnel with other institutional blocks of SES have been analyzed. At the level of basic institutes, the prerequisites for the formation of HE specificity of SES and their association in the socio-economic model (the model of capitalism) have been traced. The preconditions for the integration of the Ukrainian HE system in the global educational space and limitations on this integration have been shown.

*Keywords:* institutional complementarity, higher education, institute, institutional architectonics of social and economic systems, the institutional block of teaching and further training of personnel, the system of higher education.

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## **СИСТЕМИ ВИЩОЇ ОСВІТИ: ПОРІВНЯЛЬНИЙ ІНСТИТУЦІОНАЛЬНИЙ АНАЛІЗ**

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Розглянуто інституціональні елементи системи вищої освіти в Україні на підставі використання концепцій порівняльного аналізу й інституціональної комплементарності соціально-економічних систем (СЕС). Як теоретичну основу використано підхід Б. Кларка, що містить глибокий аналіз специфіки систем організації вищої освіти (ВО), досягнення французької школи регуляції, концепції різноманітності варіантів капіталізму, інституціональних матриць, інституціональної комплементарності. Розкрито теоретичні основи інституціональної архітекtonіки СЕС як комплементарної цілісності. Описано основи порівняльного комплементарного аналізу інституціональних моделей ВО. Подано елементи інституціональної архітекtonіки ВО в Україні. На її нанорівні розглянуто специфіку таких елементів, як потреби, стилі мислення, цінності,

індивідуальне знання, інституціональні форми та функції, колективні конвенції. Простежено їх вплив на утворення інститутів ВО. Акцентовано увагу на специфіці впливу соціокультурних чинників на формування інституціональної структури ВО. Подано результати дослідження ціннісних орієнтацій українських студентів за методикою Г. Хофстеде. На прикладі концепції кампусу розкрито соціокультурні витоки відмінності англо-американської та європейської моделей ВО. Показано його роль як інструмента "побічного навчання", початково орієнтованого на сприяння в досягненні головної мети навчання в коледжі – "вихованні характеру", розвитку особистості студента. Розглянуто паралельний розподіл структури систем ВО на дисципліни й кафедри. Проаналізовано взаємозв'язок і комплементарність елементів інституціонального блоку навчання й підготовки кадрів з іншими інституціональними блоками СЕС. Досліджено передумови формування на рівні базових інститутів специфіки систем ВО СЕС, їх об'єднання в соціально-економічній моделі (моделі капіталізму). Наведено передумови та обмеження інтеграції української системи ВО у глобальний освітній простір.

*Ключові слова:* інституціональна комплементарність, вища освіта, інститут, інституціональна архітектоніка соціально-економічних систем, інституціональна комплементарність, інституціональний блок підготовки та підвищення кваліфікації кадрів, система вищої освіти.

## **СИСТЕМЫ ВЫСШЕГО ОБРАЗОВАНИЯ: СРАВНИТЕЛЬНЫЙ ИНСТИТУЦИОНАЛЬНЫЙ АНАЛИЗ**

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Рассмотрены институциональные элементы системы высшего образования в Украине на основе использования концепций сравнительного анализа и институциональной комплементарности социально-экономических систем (СЭС). В качестве теоретической основы использован подход Б. Кларка, содержащий глубокий анализ специфики систем организации высшего образования (ВО), достижения французской школы регуляции, концепции разнообразия вариантов капитализма, институциональных матриц, институциональной комплементарности. Раскрыты теоретические основы институциональной архитектоники СЭС как комплементарной целостности. Описаны основы сравнительного комплементарного анализа институциональных моделей ВО. Представлены элементы институциональной архитектоники ВО в Украине. На ее наноуровне рассмотрена специфика таких элементов, как потребности, стили мышления, ценности, индивидуальное знание, институциональные формы и функции, коллективные конвенции. Прослежено их влияние на образование институтов ВО. Акцентируется внимание на специфике влияния социокультурных факторов на формирование институциональной структуры ВО. Представлены результаты исследования ценностных ориентаций украинских студентов по методике Г. Хофстеде. На примере концепции кампуса раскрыты социокультурные истоки отличия англо-американской и европейской моделей ВО. Показана его роль как инструмента "побочного обучения", изначально ориентированного на содействие в достижении главной цели обучения в колледже – "воспитания характера", развития личности студента. Рассмотрено параллельное разделение структуры систем ВО на дисциплины и кафедры. Проанализирована взаимосвязь и комплементарность элементов институционального блока обучения и подготовки кадров с другими институциональными блоками СЭС. Исследованы предпосылки формирования на уровне базовых институтов специфики систем ВО, СЭС, их объединений в социально-экономической модели (модели капитализма). Представлены предпосылки и ограничения интеграции украинской системы ВО в глобальное образовательное пространство.

*Ключевые слова:* институциональная комплементарность, высшее образование, институт, институциональная архитектоника социально-экономических систем, институциональная комплементарность, институциональный блок подготовки и повышения квалификации кадров, система высшего образования.

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Intensification of international cooperation extends possibilities of borrowing the experience of the most effective institutes. The sphere of higher education (HE) does not stay aside from this process. The study of foreign experience, searching and revealing effective institutional forms of organization of teaching, determining the possibilities and limitations of their institutional transplantation have become topical. The process of integration of the national systems of HE has brought particular importance and complication to this problem. The comparative institutional analysis and the concept of institutional complementarity (IC) have a substantial research potential and have gained wide recognition. *The goal of the study* is research into the possibilities of the comparative complementary analysis of the institutional component of HE systems in the context of determination of transformation trends of HE in Ukraine.

The comparative analysis (CA) of the educational systems of different countries has long been in the focus of attention of professionals. It is enough to mention the research of one of the founders of the economic science, rector of St. Andrews University in Scotland J. St. Mill. The scientist compares the English and Scottish systems of university education [1]. The turn of the millennium was marked by a surge of interest in CA of HE models in post-transformation countries. Comparative descriptions of the key features of the Atlantic and Continental models can be found in many published works [2 – 5]. B. Clark turns to a comparative research into the experience of successful transformation of five European universities related to substantially different traditions and models of organization of the systems of HE [6]. The condition and prospects within the framework of the program "International initiative" of Stanford University for transformation of the systems of HE in Brazil, Russia, India and China were investigated [7]. A collection of materials on the analysis of the academic profession, salaries and contracts in the countries of BRIC and USA deserve attention [8]. A collection of papers devoted to the investigation of the theoretical aspects of making contracts on the academic market of labor and the analysis of concluding such contracts in some national educational systems, aroused interest of experts [9]. Another comparative research initiated by the Higher School of Economics, compares the systems of reward of the university teaching staff. The models of labour remuneration of professors in more than twenty countries of the world were investigated [10]. The study commissioned by the European University Association compares institutional diversity of five higher education systems (England, France, Norway, Slovakia and Switzerland) and seeks to understand the complex interplay of factors that drive diversification or convergence of HE institutions (HEI) [11]. A comprehensive research on the state systems of HE in Eastern Europe and Central Asia was done by the experts of the World Bank [12]. The article by O. Krasovskaya can serve a typical example of the used methodological approaches. The questions of comparative estimation of competitiveness of the national systems of HE and their contribution to strengthening the competitiveness of national economies on the whole were examined based on a vast statistical material [13].

Emphasis on CA of the national systems of HE is a common feature of the mentioned studies. However, as a rule, they are limited to empiric description of the examined systems and comparison of statistical data, which characterize their functioning. The goals, the object, the methodology and research tools used for analysis and comparison substantially differ. CA was replaced by a successive description of HE models. Different methodological approaches were used. The origins of the distinctions mostly remained out of eyeshot of the researcher. At the best, they are related to the effect of dependence of the way of development. The essential preconditions for their formation were ignored. Mere observation of the phenomena that lie on the surface and are easy to define, classify and analyze appears to be not enough to identify them. Accordingly, the possibilities of CA were only partly used.

This is caused by the features of CA as an instrument of economic research [14]. The problem of comparison in scientific research lies in the fact that the declared comparison of real objects is always replaced by the actual comparison of

their models, as seen by the researcher. The choice of the grounds for their formation and differentiation of the *general*, *specific* and *single* in them is of key significance. The necessity of combinations of inductive and deductive methods of research is a barrier which hinders the active use of CA in the mainstream of the economic theory. CA implies contrasting the objects of comparison, search of the opposition in that *general*, which makes institutional systems what they are, determination of a *special* in its correlation with both the *single* and the *general*. The criterion for estimation is the similarity or difference of objects of comparison exactly in the special. The subjects of comparison are homogeneous phenomena or only those parts of them which have general principles. The specific properties, which appear permanent and unchanging are disregarded. The assumption "All other things being equal" comes into action. A small part of the objects chosen for comparison are only examined. It is keeping to the principle of selection of the single, specific and general that can serve a key attribute of CA.

The fundamentals of *comparative institutional analysis* were formulated by M. Aoki [15]. The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Institutional Analysis contains fundamental generalization of its modern state [16].

CA has some peculiarities in the research on HE systems. They are caused, firstly, by specific features of the institutional arrangement of the system of HE, and, secondly, by special nature of the institutional arrangement of the national economy models in which HE systems are integrated and the needs they have to meet.

Within the framework of the first line of CA, the research by B. Clark is of particular interest [17]. It contains deep analysis of the specificity of the HE systems organization and management. The scientist distinguishes some key elements of HE systems, which make it possible to describe the distinctions between their national models. They include peculiarities of *organization of work* (after the academic disciplines/departments), maintenance of stable beliefs (values and norms), *distribution of authority* (methods of legitimization of power), providing their internal integration (co-ordination on the basis of hard bureaucracy, professional oligarchy or free market) and changes (differentiation and transfer of academic forms in the process of fighting of the interested groups). Another scientific paper deserves attention. It describes the criteria for comparison of university transformation strategies aiming to make them work in an entrepreneurial way. Five key elements are attributed to them: a strengthened steering core; an extended developmental periphery; a diversified funding base; a stimulated academic heartland and a computer-integrated entrepreneurial culture [6].

The advancement according to the second line is based on the use of the French Regulation School (RS) achievements [18], the concepts of the Variety of Capitalism (VoC) [19] and the Institutional Matrices (IM) [20; 21]. The economy models have been classified as follows: the Liberal market economy (market capitalism (MC), the Anglo-Saxon countries), the Coordinated market economy (social democratic capitalism (CDC), countries of central and northern Europe), the Mediterranean model of the market economy (public capitalism (PC)). Further researches have pointed out a Mezo-corporative (MCC, Confucian countries) and a whole group of post-transition economy (PTC) models of capitalism.

The novelty of the offered approach consists in the emphasis on the analysis of complementary conditionality of institutional models of the economic systems. Selection of the following analytical units is very important: *institutional matrices* (Eastern, Western), *spheres* (ideology, politics, economy), *blocks* (labor relations, corporate management, financing, models of production, education and further training of personnel, innovative activity, social support). Education and further training of personnel, including HE, have been examined as an element of the multilateral system of mutual institutional relations covering all the elements of the public reproduction system. The collective research of M. Estevez-Abe, T. Iversen and D. Soskice initiated the use of the analytical tool of the VoC in CA of the personnel education and training systems [22].

Comparative research on the personnel training systems in Austria and Switzerland were conducted in the same way [23]. Attention was focused on the influence of the business scale on the priority of the general or special professional knowledge.

Substantial limitation of the methodological tools and the research object is characteristic of both of these lines. It results from the emphasis on the inductive (RS, IM) or deductive (VoC) methods of analysis. The causes of the difference of the institutional organization models of HE systems (B. Clark), and capitalism (RS, VoC) have been out of sight. Research into the institutional complementarity in the latter case has been limited to the economic sphere. At the best, the influence of political institutes has been taken into account. The concept of IM helps to overcome these limitations. It focuses attention on the material and technological preconditions for the formation of institutions. Three interrelated *institutional spheres* (ideology, politics and economy) have been selected. At the same time, the teleological nature and institutional development models limited to only two IM types substantially narrow the possibilities of this concept.

The combination of advantages of these approaches allows researchers to substantially extend the methodological tools of research and deepen the theoretical ideas about the sources, essence, mechanisms of formation of IC of socio-economic systems, HE systems in particular, possibilities and limitations of institutional transformations and transplantations.

IC of HE systems implies structural and functional cooperation of its institutional components so that while remaining relatively independent, they appear interdependent and complementing each other in the process of functioning of the HE system as a single social organism [24]. *Structural complementarity* (SC) implies interrelation of the institutional forms. It is based on the similarity and mutual complementarity of institutes in the social orientations of the system of values and provides stability, integrity and quality invariability of the system. *Functional complementarity* (FC) characterizes the procession integrity of the HE system in the realization of its functions. It rests upon the principles of integrity, connectedness and coherence. *General complementarity* provides unity of institutional forms and functions. It should be noted that in 1996 a research on the improvement of complementary cooperation between the EU integration policy and the development of HEI was conducted under the aegis of the Agence des Relations Internationales de l'Enseignement Supérieur [25].

The following methods can be used as a methodological base of *comparative complementarity researches* into the *institutional architectonics* of HE systems: *qualitative* analysis (analysis of the influence of values on the character of SC of HEI), *quantitative* analysis (analysis of indexes which characterize IC of HE institutes, systems, models as parts of the system), *measured* analysis (the measure of complementarity of HEI within the framework of SES), *structural* analysis (SC of institutes at different levels of HE systems), *functional* analysis (FC of the HE elements), *system* analysis (HE systems on the whole, their elements as integral phenomena), *dialectical* analysis (dialectics of IC of HE systems as an element of the basic institutes of SES), *historical-genetic* analysis (evolution of the HE system complementary grounds), *graphic* analysis (the figure which characterizes structural and functional interrelations between HEI), *econometric* analysis (measuring the IC of HE systems as an element of SES), *ethnometric* analysis (using the results of ethnometric researches on the system of values of national cultures), the *method of construction of matrices* (the morphology of institutional cooperation within the framework of HE systems). The advantage of the comparative complementary analysis consists in the possibility of prognostication of HEI quality characteristics, peculiar to certain models of SES. It is based on the understanding of the key principle of their functioning. Comparative complementary analysis makes it possible to reveal the necessity of integration of compensating institutes able to fill the institutional tension and lacunas arising as a result of adoption of institutes opposite to IM in the case of institutional heterogenization (coexistence within the framework of the united system of HEI, different in the values of social orientations).

Research into the complementary foundations of institutional systems is complicated by their multilateral aspect and multilevel nature. Emphasis on the structural aspect of complementarity makes it possible to arrange the elements of the institutional systems in a hierarchy of their bases which being united make the institutional architectonics (Table 1) [26, p. 31].

Table 1

The institutional architectonics of the socio-economic systems

The level	The element of the institutional architectonics
Nano	Needs, styles of thought, values, individual knowledge, abilities, skills, organizational routines, interests, protoinstitutions, institutional forms and functions, collective conventions
Mico	Institutes, institutional organs, forms of co-ordination and management of transaction costs (households, local community, state, market, network structures, relational contracting, hierarchies)
Mezo	Institutional blocks within the framework of social spheres (in the economy these are the financial systems, corporate management, labor relations, education and training of personnel, innovative systems, systems of social support etc.), social systems of production, modes of accumulation and development, branch and regional institutional systems
Macro	Basic institutes of social spheres (ideological, legal, political, economic), socio-economic systems
Mega	Socio-economic models (MC, CDC, PC, MCC, PTC), integration unions (EU, NAFTA), civilizations, global economy

The *nanolevel of the institutional architectonics* includes the elements which predetermine the specific nature of the institutes. Preconditions for peculiar features of the national HE systems can already be seen at the level of needs. Suffice to mention A. Maslow's "Pyramid of needs". The possibilities, the potential and tasks of HE systems, their institutional structure depend on the level of satisfaction of citizens' needs in society on the whole, the degree of inequality in the income distribution, the goals they set. A radical drop in the living standard of most citizens of Ukraine put many of them on the edge of physical survival and changed the reasons for receiving HE. While professions involving creative self-expression were popular among prospective university students in the early period of transformation, professions providing stable jobs and material success have recently got absolute priority.

The development of educational systems of the countries of Asia, which preserved the hieroglyphic written language, has raised the problem of the influence of the dominant way of thinking on the formation of HEI, i.e. either left-handed, analytical, or right-handed, intuitional, spatially-vivid perception of the world. They differ in the principles of organization of contextual connections, methods of treatment of information. In the first case, they are based on words, in the second one, they involve images. With a left-handed thinking unity is perceived as a certain structure of logical connections, while with the right-handed one it is seen as a mosaic. The proportion of the ways of thinking is determined by the features of the material and technological environment, the stage of the modernization process which society is on (from the dominance of the left-hand cerebral hemisphere in a traditional society to the priority of right-hand thinking), cultural traditions. Thus, the methods of transferring information (connection between the object and its image (pictogram)/phonetics of the word designating it (letter)) activate the alternative ways of thinking, and therefore perceptions, realizations of the world, the motion of ideas from part to whole or from whole to its parts. The dominant way of thinking predetermines the character of contextual connections between part and whole. It is seen in the language structure, the way of perception, processing of information, methods of exposing it [27].

The necessity to take into account the features of the dominant way of thinking sets limits to the methods and tools of the educational process. There has appeared a need to form skills in alternative ways of thinking, switching from one way

to another, taking into account professional propensity of future students for either analytical (exact sciences) or vivid thought (spheres of activity requiring intuition, creative imagination). Taking into consideration the specific nature of styles of thought is especially important in the work with foreign students. The problem of insufficient knowledge of the language of education is aggravated by the problem of conflict of styles of thinking in the groups of students with alternative styles of thought.

Values are a stable, environmentally objectified, subjective-psychological, regulative internal attitude of a personality to the outward world. They form the world outlook and predetermine the goals, character and intensity of economic activity [28, p. 66]. According to B. Clark, values along with norms form the basis of stable beliefs i.e. symbolic perceptions, culture, social structures determining the fellow feeling and helping to form the essence, goal, reasons for activity of organizations and the way they are perceived by society [17, p. 72–106]. The features of perception of such values as justice, freedom, competence and loyalty predetermine the specific nature of the institutional architectonics of the national HE systems.

Vast material about cultural preconditions for the formation of HE systems is provided by the findings of global comparative researches on values by R. Inglehart [29], F. Trompenaars, S. Schwarz, G. Hofstede [30]. R. Inglehart and C. Welzel note the departure from the conquests of modernization in culture because of the transformation crisis in post-soviet states [29, p. 76]. In Ukraine, it is represented by the rise of the importance of the values of survival. By the degree of their intensity, Ukraine ranks third among 80 countries-participants as testified by the results of the World Research of Values 1999 – 2001 with only Russia and Moldavia being ahead. A growing number of groups with particular interests and their economic success can also testify to the drift of society from secular-rational to traditional values [29, p. 91]. The findings of the cross-cultural research conducted by students of economic faculties in Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Turkey and Pakistan contain interesting data about the evolution of the values, studied by G. Hofstede (Figure) [31, p. 67].<sup>1</sup> Information on Ukraine on the whole is taken from the research of GE Medical Systems, to which V. Latov and N. Latova refer [31, p. 66].

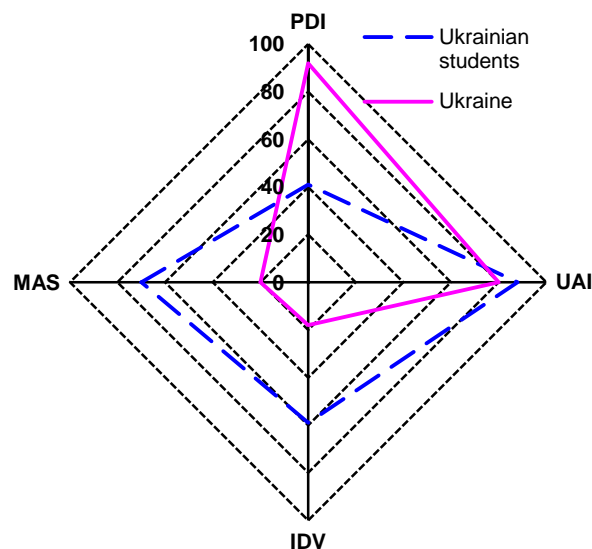


Fig. Values according to G. Hofstede. Ukraine on the whole and the Ukrainian students of economic faculties

The dynamics of values of the Ukrainian students shows a substantial reduction in the *Power Distance* (from 92 to 41), a considerable growth in *individualism* (from 14 to 59), *Masculinity* (from 20 to 70). At the same time the growth in *Uncertainty avoidance* is observed (from 80 to 88). The values of the Ukrainian students, as well as students of other investigated countries have westernized. At the same time, the comparison of answers of students of different years of study seems paradoxical on the face of it. Junior students appeared most westernized. In the process of studies students seem to partially return to the values peculiar to the national culture. How can it be explained? When studying at school, preparing to enter a University, future economists study economic literature orientated to the western model of thought of an "economic man". It, certainly, does influence the formation of their own values. When students start the real economic life, they correct the theoretical notions, taking into account the accepted national economic practice. It is possible to explain the rise in the negative attitude toward uncertainty avoidance by the stress, caused by the procedures of entering the university.

The emphasis on the value bases of the institutional structure of HE makes it possible to explain the *paradox of the difference between the organization of the student's way of life in Anglo-Saxon countries and continental Europe* [32, p. 54]. In Europe, with its spirit of corporativism, students mainly rented rooms in private houses, they were dispersed. In individualistic England and in colleges, which were founded in colonies, they were concentrated together in a *campus*. Why so? The idea of a college was borrowed by Protestants from the Christian concept of a monastery. The etymology of the concept of a collegium (society, association) explains it. The idea of a college was caused by the necessity of forming student's experience and skills in a common way of life. A campus was a place where they united in the single rhythm of studies and social life (joint attendance of lectures, divine worships, collective games, dinners). In fact, it was an original compensative institute, which provided socialization of students in the process of the "*lateral study*".

The experience of life in a campus was called to form skills at collaboration of independent individuals. They learned to respect and appreciate interests and abilities of each other, consult and turn to mutual help. Moreover, the possibility of development of critical thought, exchange of opinions during a discussion, perception, acceptance and development of new ideas was provided by these conditions. These were things

<sup>1</sup> **The Power Distance Index (PDI)** is the degree of inequality in the distribution of power in a society or organization which is perceived by its members as normal and taken for granted. **100 is high.** **The Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI)** is the description of a socio-economic conduct showing the possible degree of social instability and ambiguity perceived in this culture as normal, making members of society feel comfortable. **100 is considerable.** **The Individualism Dimension Value (IDV)** is a tendency toward self-perception as an individuality or part of a group. **100 is high.** **Masculinity (MAS)** is adherence of society to such values as records, heroism, persistence, material success etc. As a rule, it prevails in societies where social roles differ. **100 is high.** **Femininity (F)** is adherence to such values as even relations, propensity for compromise, modesty, caring about a fellow creature, comfort, quality of life etc. **0 is high.**

which, according to J. Goldstone, became preconditions for the rise of the West.

It was not by accident that, as a rule, it was the president of the college who gave lectures on the philosophy of moral in the last year of studies. In this context it should be noted that "An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations", the book, that laid the foundations of the modern economic theory, was preceded by another work by A. Smith – "The theory of Moral Sentiments" [33]. Being an economist, the scientist was first of all a moral philosopher. It is in this book that we find the real owner of the "Invisible hand", that *provides harmonious collaboration of all the participants in the economic process* [34, p. 14–29]. And it associated with *the Divine Providence* rather than with *the market* [33, p. 168].

Orientation to the values of individualism, typical of the Anglo-Saxon countries stipulated the necessity for the formation of institutes able to compensate centrifugal tendencies, which create a threat to the existence of society. According to A. Smith, their agent in society on the whole is the Divine Providence, moral norms of the Legal Divine. In turn, life in a campus appears to be the instrument of the formation of practical skills in social cooperation.

For continental Europe, oriented to corporative values, this problem was not so actual. Corporativism impregnated everyday social life of almost all social groups of society: peasant communities, handicraft workshops, merchant guilds, religious, knight's orders, feudal, aristocratic structures. Accordingly the functions of the campus in a greater degree could be reduced to solving domestic problems of students.

The situation with predominantly collectivist values of the East generates a problem, which is both opposite and similar to that facing Anglo-Saxon countries. A. Delbanco explains it through a description of a Chinese student, who hardly perceives the educational situation related to the necessity of participation in a collective discussion, critical estimation of its content, switching on the "bullshit meter", stimulating the search of truth in the process of dialog and dispute. An excessive focus on individualism or collectivism limits possibilities of collective cooperation. In these circumstances, the importance of what A. Delbanco calls "*lateral study*" and what in his opinion is the primary objective of HE, namely, "*character forming*", development of the personality of a student grows high.

For Ukraine, this aspect of the problem of reformation of HE has special significance. In fact, further heterogenization of the value foundations of the existence of society, a contradictory combination of collectivist and individualist values have formed as a result of the transformation of the economy on the market principles. However, a growing institutional tension caused by their collision is poorly compensated by corresponding institutional transformations.

M. Albert demonstrated the connection between the dominant social systems of values and peculiar features of HE systems. The long quotation to be cited is justified by the scientist's wish to show interdependence between social orientations, educational systems and the model of production relations: "If only because it is a factor in determining company loyalty, training is of the utmost importance for both models of capitalism. It is an issue that can no longer be ignored: it concerns literally every worker and every workplace. To sum up, the "battle" pits two rival systems against one another:

The Anglo-American model of employment, in which a company seeks to maximize its competitiveness by sharpening the competition between individual employees. This entails a relentless drive to recruit the best and brightest, whatever the cost, and then to keep them by paying the "going rate" as dictated at any given time by market forces. Salaries, like jobs, are fundamentally individualized, and highly negotiable.

The Rhine-Japanese model has an entirely different set of priorities. It rejects the notion that employers have the right to treat staff as so many productive units or raw materials to be bought and sold on the market. The company-as-community has an obligation to ensure a certain level of job

security, to earn its members' loyalty, and to provide educational and training opportunities – which do not come cheaply. As a result, it may not be able to pay each worker at his or her current market value; what it can do is lay the ground for a lasting career, and smooth out some of the rough spots along the way. In this model of employment, there is no virtue in promoting cut-throat (and ultimately destructive) in-house competition" [35, p. 117].

Individual knowledge, abilities and skills are a purpose and instrument of functioning of HE systems. Analysis of the institutional architectonics of HE systems has a double context. They are both the foundation for the formation of a corresponding system of institutes and a product of their functioning, their quality displaying the quality of the system itself. It pre-determines a specific nature and, moreover, paradoxicality of the HE system institutional structure as a sphere of public reproduction. While any other sphere (industries, service business) deals with a limited spectrum of knowledge, higher education embraces all of it. Thus, the branch, special professional knowledge and the institutional provision of training of corresponding specialists are becoming more and more differentiated and autonomized. However, success of this process is only possible with the use of the HE potential as a united system. Extending knowledge, being one of main objectives of HE, implies openness of the system to new ways. It is only possible if university staff is given free rein in the professional activity. However, the effectiveness of openness and freedom is based on maintaining and using the luggage of knowledge accumulated by previous generations.

What knowledge, abilities and skills are formed in the process of teaching? What consumer is the producer of this specific commodity oriented to? Do they satisfy employers, meet their specific demand? Both, the employer and the employee appraise the received knowledge and skills. The former looks for graduate's ability to be competitive in carrying out the tasks set to him. From the employee's point of view, professional qualifications are a capital, which can be offered to the employer in exchange for a corresponding salary. The decision is made based on the ratio of expenses on the acquisition of knowledge and potential profit it can bring as well as the risks connected with the unpredictable prospects for applying it effectively during the whole period of labor activity [36, p. 118–119].

Researchers distinguish between the categories of professional knowledge, *oriented to a specific firm or industry* and *universal*, transferable knowledge. Professional knowledge and skills, *oriented to the specificity of a firm* are acquired within the framework of the HE system and in the process of productive activity. They are least transferable and of interest to a limited number of enterprises relying on specific technologies of production, and have no value for others. Their uniqueness provides a value for an employer, but, being strictly specialized, they can only be attractive to a concrete enterprise. Having lost a job, the person having this kind of skills faces difficulty looking for employment due to lack of demand for them on the labor market. His individual professional capital depreciates. Knowledge and skills, *needed at the branch level*, provide a greater labor market for those mastering them. A diploma or certificate and work experience make their use possible at enterprises related to a corresponding sphere of public production. The employee, the enterprise and the state share expenses on the formation of a skill. *All employers acknowledge universal knowledge and skills*, although their value can vary depending on a firm or industry.

The transformation crisis significantly changed the pattern of demand for professional knowledge offered by the Ukrainian system of HE. Deindustrialization made most industrial enterprises close, substantially reduce or reorient their activity. Their desire, possibilities and willingness to participate in financing the process of training specialists decreased. The huge potential of branch higher education institutes, oriented to training specialists for concrete enterprises, indus-

tries of economy turned out unclaimed. Training economists, managers on the basis of universal knowledge, increased [36].

Differentiation between the *institutional forms* and *functions* demonstrates the unity and opposition of the *structural* (organizational, formal) and *functional* (processual) elements of the complementarity integrity of the institutional systems [24, p. 114–126]. The former shows interrelation of forms of existence of institutes, the latter represents cooperation of functions which they execute in the system. The combination of social materiality (the form of an institute) and processuality (its function) embodies the unity and opposition of the components. The form of the institute serves to provide its function. An institutional function is impossible without forms it is embodied in and cooperates with [37]. The same institute (institutional form) can execute different functions; different institutes (institutional forms) can perform the same function. In the same institutional system, these correlations can change at different times. In different systems, the same function can be performed by different institutes. One thing remains unchanged: the stability of institutional connections implies the embeddedness of separate institutes in the architectonics of the system, availability of an inverse dependence, when the system cannot exist any more without this complementary connection. IC presents the system nature of the institutional cooperation. It embraces all the organizational levels and functional spheres of the institutional systems, including HE. Taking it into account makes it possible to reveal the causes of the problems arising in the process of formation of a united educational space, correct the ideas about it and find more adequate ways to form it. *Collective conventions* are universally recognized agreements about the acceptance of institutes. Perhaps, international agreements about mutual recognition of diplomas can serve a most known example of them in HE.

*Institutes* are norms of cooperation. In the systems of HE, their spectrum varies from the informal norms of cooperation of teacher and student to the laws regulating different parties of the educational process. *Organizational forms* provide coordination of activity of economic subjects and optimization of transaction costs. They are functioning complexes of complementary institutes. The structure and functions of basic organizational forms can substantially vary in different institutional models. *States* and *households* can act as basic consumers, suppliers of resources, owners, a managing and supervisory authority and a financier of HEI. Relations between suppliers and consumers of the educational product, between them and the state, *local communities* can be built in different ways. The role of the latter in the educational process, similarly, can also be rather varied. The opposition to the *Socialistic educational system*, based on a *hierarchical collateral subordination*, is the *Anglo-Saxon* system, oriented to the priority of *market relations*. A widespread use of the *network form* of organization of the educational systems has become the result of the information revolution.

The specific nature of the institutional organization of HE systems consists in the parallel division of the structure of education into two *basic organizational forms* – *academic disciplines* and *departments*. In the former case, the foundation for selection is the commonality of the field of knowledge researched and retransmitted by corresponding specialists. The academic discipline, as a specialized organizational form, provides integration of professionals in a certain field of knowledge regardless of their organizational, territorial, national belonging. The activity of public methodical, coordinating, supervisory organs, scientific and other associations and various public funds for support of certain areas of science adds partial formalization and hierarchical nature to the process of interaction within the framework of the academic discipline. The system of formation and support of scientific authorities also serves this purpose. However, overall, cooperation within the framework of the academic discipline is built on the principles of a horizontal network interaction. But work of a department is based on the formalization and hierarchical

relations within the framework of the territorial, organizational and disciplinary localization.

The post-transformation period of the HE development in Ukraine is characterized by some special features, such as a greater disciplinary differentiation, a growing number of the fields of knowledge (directions), specialities and specializations of professional training, instability, high level of formalization and strong state regulation of this process. Thus, since 2006 the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine has reapproved the corresponding list four times and has adopted 15 amendments to it. The situation is partly justified by high dynamism of the modern economy development and the HE system attempts to quickly react to changes.

*The institutional blocks* are relatively stable associations of institutes and organizational forms providing implementation of the key functions of public reproduction within the framework of some of its sectors [38]. The researcher's attention has been focused on, first of all, *the institutional block of teaching and training of personnel* (TTP). It includes institutional elements, providing the process of retransmission of knowledge from one generation to another. They include various formal and informal norms regulating the activity of HEI (rules, regulations, instructions, statutes, laws), *organizational forms of providing the educational process* (department, section, faculty, college, institute, university, campus), *management, co-ordination and control* (ministry, government, department, private fund, commission, committee, council, conference, meeting), *financing* (budget, grants, subsidies, privileges, scholarships). It is the level of the institutional blocks where the complementary interconditionality of the elements of different HE models can be most vividly observed.

*The institutional block of corporate management* executes the functions of providing the effective use of resources and distribution of results between the participants in the productive process (proprietors, managers, hired workers). Different understanding of the essence of the corporation predetermines the differences in the models. In the countries of MC the corporation is perceived, foremost, as an aggregate of capitals. In the countries of CDC it is seen as a group of participants, voluntarily uniting part of their resources and rights and expecting an additional benefit from sharing them. In MCC countries, the corporation is associated with traditional patriarchal family where the relations of paternity dominate. The prevalence of one of these approaches, firstly, predetermines the role and the place of each of the participants in the process of productive activity, the principles of relations between them, why and how much the participants are interested in the formation of professional knowledge as a specific capital. Secondly, it sets the goal and the internal organizational principles of a HE system on the whole and some HEI (colleges, universities) as corporations. The differentiation of the productive process subjects' participation in capital, incomes, management ultimately predetermines the differentiation of professional qualifications as a *public, corporate* or *personal capital*. Accordingly, the understanding of the *content, descriptions* (universal or special knowledge, abilities and skills) and *sources of financing of TTP* (state, private, budgetary financing, tuition fee and profits from capital assets) changes.

The development of the Anglo-Saxon idea about corporations as an aggregate of capitals got priority in Ukraine. Therefore, their participation in the training of personnel, intercorporate cooperation in this sphere at the level of branches has minimized. Professional knowledge is interpreted as a *private capital*. Moreover, private commercial HEI became widespread at the beginning of the 90th. State institutes of HE joined in the process of commercialization with some delay. The receipt of profit, directed to the development, payment for work of professors is considered to be one of the major aims of their activity. As a result, state HEIs, operating on a commercial basis, under the conditions of reduced admission, outcompete private universities in the market of educational services in



contrast to the countries of BRIC, where private HEIs have found their niche in the HE system [7].

The *institutional block of financing* is designed to provide the advancement of financial resources from households to the sphere of public production, the effective reallocation and use of the funds. It predetermines specific relations between the owners and those who use financial resources, the nature of activity of the latter, the sources and mechanisms of financing HEI. Both of them set the reference points of functioning of a HE system. Priority instruments, mechanisms, principles of work of the financial systems provide management guidelines for both individual HEI as corporations and HE systems on the whole. First of all, they include the mechanisms of the transfer of money resources from the state or households to HEI. They can come as *capital resources* (through a bank, an exchange, or both) or *circulating assets* (budgetary financing, tuition fee, grants from noncommercial funds), show the mode of *state intervention* (high, insignificant, possession, participation, management, control), or the *level of development, principles and features of activity of financial mediators* (pension, insurance, investment funds), the *degree of protection of minority shareholder rights*.

Commercialization of HE in Ukraine, creation of private institutes of HE opened alternative ways for financing. The main source is still a tuition fee. Participation in grant schemes, applied research, profits from realization of scientific development results, make an insignificant share of resources.

The *institutional block of labor relations* serves to provide constructive social cooperation and consent between all the participants in the productive process. The character of mutual relations of employers and hired workers, specific features of the productive process organization, criteria of payment for work, a possibility of participation in management, the level of requirements to the professional qualification, job security, perks and benefits, predetermine the attitude of the hired workers to professional qualifications as to the *personal* (MC countries), *corporate* (CDC, MCC) or *public* (socialistic system) *capital*, orientation to universal, *transferable* or *specific knowledge* and *skills*. Interrelation between the kind of knowledge as a capital and the systems of labor relations is shown in Table 2 [36, p. 119).

is oriented to the combination of teaching with creation of new knowledge, the higher is the required degree of freedom.

The ambiguity of the influence of the systems of labor relations on the kind of knowledge in demand in Ukraine is stipulated by the crisis economy, rapid deindustrialization, incomplete transformations. It shows up in the dualization of the labor market. In the large-scale industry the influence of trade unions has been saved, the system of collective agreements operates. However even here the enterprises aim to minimize their obligations before workers. The model of labor relations accepted in MC countries has been given priority. In small business, workers' rights are even less protected. Transfer to market economy has substantially weakened the positions of hired workers overall. *Transferable professional knowledge providing more opportunities for employment has grown in demand*.

The *institutional blocks of the models of production and innovation* aim to provide technological cooperation of participants in the productive process and innovative development of the national economy. They are directly connected with the block of labor relations which specify the model of relations between the participants, orienting them to teamwork cooperation, collaboration and cooperation, or to individualization of efforts and competition. Priority is given to corresponding *technologies* (complex/cooperative, productive/professional) and *their changes* (incremental/radical, integral/partial, technical/organizational, centralized/decentralized). In the global economy, the national economy industries which use the technologies providing a competitive edge on the world markets are developing and increasing the demand for this kind of knowledge.

HE systems aiming to meet the demand of potential students and employers react to the specificity of financing, corporate structure, labor relations, models of production and switch to training specialists of corresponding professions and qualifications. In the case with priority of cooperation, professional qualifications can be formed as a branch (CDC), or *corporate* (MCC, Japan) *capital*. Some corporations or even industries agree to finance the formation of this kind of capital. In the case of individualization of labor relations, professional qualifications are formed as *private capital* (MC). At the same time, popularity of team sports in the English-American HEIs testifies that perception of professional knowledge as private capital does not deny the necessity of forming the skills in teamwork. These peculiarities lead to establishing the fundamental principles of organization of the educational process which can be built on both cooperation of participants and individualization, competition between them.

The contradictory nature, inconsistency of reforms, their destructive consequences for economy, actual deindustrialization have led to disorientation of the Ukrainian system of HE. With a mixed market (tuition-fee) and budgetary financing system of HE private employers can hardly act as potential consumers of the product of the HE system and participate in the formation of this product. Even the organization of students' job training turned a serious problem for most universities. A powerful system of sectoral HEI oriented to the needs of concrete enterprises, branches of industry, special professional training is experiencing crisis. They are forced to reorient to training specialists having universal knowledge. Most HEI, being state, formally oriented to the formation of knowledge as a public capital, have to commercialize their activity. As a result, knowledge is offered as a private capital. Both positive and negative aspects of this process should be taken into account. The perception of professional knowledge as private capital stimulates the development of competitive relations between the participants in the productive process, its individualization. However, this results in the possibilities of introduction and perfection of technologies, based on cooperation of its participants. Limitations are imposed on the future development of technologies based on deep specialization of professional knowledge. Professional specialization of this kind implies the use of expensive, complex, centralized productive technologies and radical, centralized methods of changing these technol-

Table 2

**The influence of labor relations on the content of professional knowledge as a capital**

Support of employment	Protection of labor rights		The level of labor contracts
	Strong	Weak	
High	Specific knowledge, needs of an industry. Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark	Specific knowledge, needs of firms and industries. Austria, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, FRG. Differentiation of pay-envelopes is minimum	State, branch
Low	Universal knowledge. Anglo-Saxon countries. Differentiation of pay-envelopes is maximal	Specific knowledge, needs of a firm. Italy, France, Japan, Finland	Firm, individual

The specific features of labor relations within the system of HE result from dualism based on the necessity to combine the discipline within the framework of the organizational hierarchy with academic freedom. In addition, the more the HE system



ogies. They are able to bring success on the markets of new products. However, the formation of such technologies and methods requires considerable material expenses. On the other hand, introduction of budgetary, cooperative, process technologies providing incremental, partial, organizational, decentralized changes is restricted. Thus, the current situation can substantially restrict the development of national economy overall in the long run.

*Basic institutes* are historically stable social relations constantly reproducing themselves and providing a vertical integration of society (in the ideological, political and economic spheres) and a horizontal one (within the framework of each of them). The function of the basic institutes is the regulation of these public subsystems within the framework of the integral social organism. The basic institutes are embodied in particular institutional forms. The influence of the basic institutes as implicit, non-obvious knowledge, limits the possibilities of the institutional borrowings in the field of HE. And this is the main barrier to the formation of a unified educational space.

The practice of labor relations and the dominant productive strategy (the model of production) directly predetermines the kind of the professional knowledge and skills in demand. In turn, they appear to be dependent on the institutional blocks of financing, corporate management, social support. Overall, basic economic institutes and their concrete forms interrelate with the basic legal, political and ideological institutes. It is at the level of basic ideological institutes that the causes of the internal inconsistency of Ukrainian transformations on the whole and transformations in the sphere of HE, in particular, can be found. In fact, the material and technological environment (non-communality, a possibility of separate use) stimulated the formation of basic ideological institutes of subsidiarity. However, the specific historical way of development (acceptance of the orthodox branch of Christianity, integration in the Russian empire and the USSR) promoted the spread of the basic institutes of the communitarian ideology.

Heterogenization at the level of ideology can further be traced in the political, legal and economic spheres and the institutional heterogenization of the socio-economic system overall. The attempt to rapidly pass to the market model of economy, undertaken at the beginning of the 90s, was caused by the necessity of substantial revision of the norms of social cooperation in all spheres of social life. Its failure meant demoralization of society. In turn, the deficit of legitimacy of moral norms and institutions led to a limited distance of trust. Fragmentation of society into separate groups took place. *Nepotism*, *clannishness*, *favouritism*, *clientism*, shading of economy were widespread. This resulted in a whimsical combination of hierarchical in-group relations, build on the communitarian bases with horizontal market intergroup relations. According to F. Fukuyama this kind of mode is caused by a sub-zero distance of trust [39].

Ukraine has inherited, as a starting-point, the educational system in which individual professional knowledge and abilities were considered as a public capital. The state and enterprises were interested in the investment in the formation of professional qualifications of workers. The hired workers were also interested in the acquisition of professional knowledge. Crisis, deindustrialization, privatization, limited financing on the part of the state, brought substantial changes in the system of HE. Professional knowledge and skills became the values of individual and public capital. The state turned to be unable to cover the financial needs of the educational sphere. Enterprises lost stimulus for investment in the formation and perfection of professional knowledge of the hired personnel. The orientation to the Anglo-Saxon model of MC stimulated minimization of mutual obligations of employers and hired workers. For employers investment in training workers appears to be superfluous costs. In fact, under the conditions of the MC model, knowledge and ability get the importance of private capital. Costs, which enterprises were ready to bear, were shifted to workers. Growing personal

expenses of workers complement moderate government expenses. Substantial part of government expenses is allocated for the acquisition of specific, nontransferable knowledge, enhanced professional training in the field of technical disciplines. This index sets Ukraine close to the CDC model. It advantageously distinguishes our system of HE from the systems of many developed countries oriented to the acquisition of universal knowledge. However, the situation reveals the needs of the economy and the potential of the Ukrainian system of HE of the soviet period. The ability of Ukraine to use this advantage remains in question. The complementarity of the HE system to the model of the Ukrainian economy is becoming of prior importance.

The comprehensive discussion of the concept of institutional complementarity has come into notice of specialists in different spheres of social cooperation [40]. The CA of the institutional complementarity of HE systems makes it possible to systematize the information about preconditions for the formation of their specific features.

A structural and functional approach to the analysis of the complementary bases of the socio-economic systems' institutional component has been proposed by the author to be applied in the research [24; 26]. Thus a hierarchy of the institutional architectonics elements of HE systems has been developed and applied by the author in an integrated manner. The logic of arranging the institutional constituent of HE systems has been described and substantiated. The interdependence of the elements of its institutional architectonics has been traced from the nanolevel (specific needs; style of thought; values; professional knowledge, abilities and skills; institutions and organizational forms of the educational process support) to the mega-level (national models of HE systems). The approach applied in the research has made it possible to provide a more comprehensive analysis of prerequisites for the formation of specific features, condition and development prospects of Ukraine's national system of HE. It opens a way for deeper learning of possibilities and limitations on the borrowing, transplantation, transfer, layering, translation, recombination, cultivation of the institutional elements and systems of HE.

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