

COMPETENCY AS A UNIT OF HUMAN CAPITAL MEASUREMENT: SOCIOLOGICAL DIMENSION

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Abstract

The study of such objects as "human capital" or "typical graduate model", as a rule, is carried out from general to particular. In the first case, macrosocial countrywide indicators are the starting point; in the second, collective creative initiatives of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation (hereinafter referred to as the Ministry). In the first case, the data used as variables for calculating human potential are reliable, but the formula for calculation is debatable. In the second case, the epistemological value of the concept of higher education reform due to modal characteristics is generally beyond truth and lies and is formed only by a collective belief in the infallibility of the reform drivers. Partly the strength of collective faith is due to the correlation of forming a new "competency" model of a university graduate and the problem of human capital.

In sociology, the method of "ascent from general to specific" even if used is only seen as secondary and optional. Chiefly, knowledge is formed here in an inductive way - from the concrete to the abstract. The article proposes a theoretical and methodological analysis of the content problem of the competency model of a university graduate imposed on Russian higher education in the form of capitalized content.

Moreover, we propose to begin the discussion of this methodological strategy with the situation in a provincial rather than a metropolitan university. It is in the province that the problem of finding and supporting those who possess truly human (as well as social and cultural) capacities is most acute. Metropolis needs to be saturated with human capital far less than the vast expanses of the motherland. And it is difficult to overestimate the role of a provincial university in this. Therefore, the article offers a look at what is happening "from grassroots," through the eyes of a sociologist installed in the life of a provincial university.

Specific material is analyzed, which allows a wide range of interpretations - regulatory documentation, wording of federal educational standards, expert assessments of the problem. Therefore, the content of the article is built on the principle of a pendulum moving between two antagonistic paradigms - "skeptical" and "optimistic".

The main problem that is dealt with in the article is the conceptual compatibility of the competency-based approach implemented by the current reform of higher education and the formation of human capital as the declared goal of this reform. The issues of the organic nature of human capital issues for the Soviet and Russian education systems, the ontological nature of social institutions involved in reforming higher education using the example of a provincial Russian university are revealed.

Keywords: human capital, higher education, competency-based approach.

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INTRODUCTION

It is obvious that for a sociologist who works in a university, especially a provincial one, the Federal State Educational Standard (henceforth FSES) in all its various forms is, first and foremost, a means of administrative enforcement; while his vocation to regulate and direct the educational process in the university is not that obvious but is presupposed.

Any empirical research in any empirical science should be based on facts. Administrative, structural violence against universities, accreditation and license blackmail is an indisputable fact.

At the same time, it is quite obvious that the effectiveness and benefits of the FSES imposed on a university are only hypothetical. Its speculative character is manifested not even in the future benefit of future graduates but in the annoying frequency of the introduction of numerous editions of educational standards: GOS, GOS-2, FGOS-3, FGOS-3 +, FGOS-3 ++. The concept of "standard" is usually used in relation to something stable, established, invariant, while Russian educational standards are changed once every 3 years.

There is no science outside of paradigms. The subject that is now being analyzed, among others, also exists in the plane of the skepticism/optimism paradigm dichotomy. On the one hand, as noted by R. Merton, science is organized skepticism; as the great W. Ockham bequeathed, the most correct explanation of what is happening will be the most prosaic. It is

easy to see that life itself inclines the provincial university sociologist, who is trying to understand the institutional nature of the FSES reform, to a skeptical paradigm.

On the other hand, social and humanitarian science of the postmodern age is unthinkable without the prognostic function; it is responsible of setting the goal for development and creating an algorithm of its achievement. Science in this sense in an organized optimism. This type of mindset in accordance with its function automatically befalls those who make management decisions.

If you look at it from the point of view of managers of the education system, a university - especially a provincial one, really needs some organizational shake-up, some culling. Deprived of the functional load, characteristic of the Soviet model, higher education - especially in the provinces, is too slow, awkward and reluctant to change. One can recall the "loose nineties" (1990-2000s), when a university could still support its resources by accepting extra-budgetary students, when non-state universities appeared like mushrooms after the rain, they could even be called "anti-state universities" because of their quality of education. It was the time when its function of the social filter gradually began to be edged out under the influence of blatant economic cynicism, and it really brought higher education to the verge of degradation.

Therefore, the direction of the reform, designed to compensate and disavow the morphological imbalances of the

transforming higher education, was to some extent predetermined.

In our opinion, the only conceptual construct capable of providing an optimistic view on the competency-based content of the FSES from the institutional positions of a provincial university is the formula "the sum of a graduate competencies constitutes his human capital." The university works not so much to transmit knowledge, not so much to provide the teaching staff with work, not so much to report to the accreditation commission, but first of all to form the human capital (hereinafter HC) needed for the region.

To do this, it will be necessary to delve into the essence of the theory of HC and the specifics of its application to Russia as a whole and its province in particular.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The branching of the skeptical and optimistic paradigms outlined above continues in the genetic aspect of research. It will be appropriate here to conditionally designate the evolution of the HC problem development in two directions: official and unofficial. Let us start with the well-known officially optimistic strand.

The theory of HC in modern science has appeared relatively recently. The following researchers, the Nobel Prize laureates in the field of economics, are considered its founders: T. Schulz, G. Becker, S. Kuznets. Schulz defined HC as "valuable qualities acquired by a person that can be enhanced by appropriate investments" [24]. He played an important role in consolidating and popularizing the concept in the minds of the scientific community. HC as a socio-economic phenomenon can accumulate and be considered as a result of a person's investment in his future, in effective creative activity in society, in maintaining health, etc.

G. Becker defines human capital: "as a stock of knowledge, skills, motivations that everyone has; and education, accumulation of industrial experience, health protection, geographical mobility, and the search for information can be seen as investments in it" [2].

S. Kuznets also considered HC in the structure of industrial relations and noted its decisive role in increasing labor productivity [15].

E. Denison attributes one of the reasons for the qualitative economic growth in the USA in the post-war years to HC, namely, the influence of the education of the worker on the growth of his labor productivity. So, he explains the increase in per capita income in the USA in the post-war years by an increase in the level of education of workers [5].

P. Bourdieu identifies HC as concentrated human resources (competencies), which give advantages in obtaining social benefits and power, he distinguished different human capitals: economic, political, social, cultural. HC is not only knowledge, acquired abilities, skills and experience, but also the ability to apply them at the right time and in the right place [3].

In the interpretation of E. Dolan and J. Lindsay, HC is defined as the capital of mental abilities acquired through formal training or education, or through practical experience [7].

A. Marshall connects human development with the accumulation of human capital; he considers it as a means of maintaining a person's life, satisfying his physical, mental, implicit (hidden) needs; and the man himself is the main means of wealth production and its ultimate goal [17].

According to P. Heine, HC is knowledge and skills acquired through education, training or practical experience that allow them to provide other people with valuable productive services [28].

A Russian researcher of the theory of HC M.M. Kritsky states that the basis of HC lies in the movement of an economic entity, the new strength of social progress and intellectual

activity [14]. L.G. Simkina, who developed the views of M. M. Kritsky, considers HC as an enrichment of life based on time saving and as the basis of modern innovative economic system [22].

Another Russian researcher S.A. Dyatlov formulates HC as a person's accumulated through investment stock of health, knowledge, skills, abilities, motivations used in the field of social reproduction, contributing to the growth of labor productivity, production, and affecting income growth [9].

Now we shall look at it from position of the skeptical paradigm. The above review shows a surprising unanimity of the Western and modern Russian expert community regarding the content of the concept of "human capital". The idea, it would seem, just hung in the air; and different scientists at different times and in different places simply saw it with their "mind's eye" in the Platonic way.

But once we include a slightly broader substantive context, a slightly broader set of economic, socio-philosophical theories and ideological doctrines, that the thesis of the fundamental novelty of HC theory immediately loses its originality. Indeed, could the founding fathers of this theory be unaware of the research of Western neo-Marxists, especially representatives of the Frankfurt School? Was HC theory a kind of answer to the theory of the "one-dimensional man" by H. Marcuse?

It is no secret that from the end of the 19th century there was a more or less intense convergence of Marxist and liberalist theoretical platforms. The theoretical core in Marxist theory is the idea of the alienation of man and capital. The human part of man is his tribal essence, which is squeezed out and enslaved by economic conditions governed by the movement of capital. Change the conditions - and the creative energy of the employee will be released. During Marx's lifetime, workers were poor, tattered and dirty; and by the middle of the twentieth century they washed, dressed up, acquired some cash and even stocks. Starting with Hawthorne, the theory of "human relations" began to gain credibility. In other words, what the radical Marxists thought could only happen as the result of a bloody revolution started to be implemented peacefully and gradually. And so imperceptibly that it became possible to hide the obvious genetic connection between the Marxist concept of "tribal nature" and the liberal concept of "human capital". Although even through this camouflage one can see the elementary conceptual symbiosis "man + capital".

The skeptical paradigm skeptically answers the question of why the priority of Marx was hidden. Because it was the priority. Another question is what does education have to do with human capital?

DISCUSSION

For a long time, the educational component of human capital was considered to be only a social, that is, an expensive development factor. It was believed that investments in upbringing and education are nonproductive and extravagant.

For a libertarian type of economy, such a characteristic is akin to accusation. Education in this kind of social system is not an urgent need and, moreover, not a means of production like a machine or a tool. It is a luxury item, an object of prestigious consumption or a means of creating prestige. The revolutionary nature of the HC theory is apparently also due to hidden reasons: the prospect of attracting investment to education from the state, which considers education to be only a way to increase social status.

Hence, it appears that the argument is in favor of the skeptical paradigm: the point is not only that education really makes it possible to extract surplus value from its fruits, but also to inculcate this idea to the state and encourage it to intensively finance the sphere that previously had to exist in uncomfortable conditions of self-financing.

G. Becker argued that education is the foundation of increased income for both wage earners, employers, and the state as a

whole. As a result, politicians, financiers and entrepreneurs began to consider investment in education as a promising one, one that brings income. Which is what we set out to prove: the hype surrounding human capital led to increased funding for the education system. And this fact raises the question in a new way: is the increased relevance of the problems of HC a veiled application for increased funding?

The functional role of education, especially higher professional education, was completely different in the Soviet Union and, later, in the "changing" Russia. Russian higher education already had that what the founding fathers of the theory of HC were fighting for and because of which they were forced to mask the obvious borrowings from the "hostile" Marxist ideology – that is state funding. The state, in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist ideological program, thus created a selfless alternative of human capital - the liberated tribal nature of man.

But the other two financial pillars of HC which had priority in libertarian social systems - family and business – did not exist in the USSR. Free education officially excluded the family from the list of investors. But at the end of the era, the family joined in unofficially, even illegally, with the help of nepotism (this almost coincides with the concept of social capital) and corruption. There was no business in the narrow sense of the word in the USSR, therefore, employer-sponsored enrollment in universities fit into the framework of state investment in human capital.

In addition, the problem of capitalization of a professional career was not relevant in the USSR. Firstly, a graduate of a Soviet university did not have to worry about employment, and secondly, a person with a higher education had guaranteed earnings, but they were so small that it was difficult to call a specialist's qualification capital.

It cannot be said that in the post-perestroika period the situation changed dramatically. Of course, liberal reforms took place in the economy, but classical capitalism did not come about, rather, state-monopoly capitalism, and the size of financial flow into culture, healthcare and education was minimal.

Reformed education in accordance with the "optimistic concept" should focus primarily on the practical applicability of its "products". Knowledge, extensive reading, general refinement should make room and give way to real competence. The socio-institutional position of the Employer has fundamentally changed: He is no longer obliged to employ a graduate, but a) is directly related to the construction of educational standards and b) can directly participate in the educational process.

Now we have to be skeptical again. Let us look at the outcome. The participation of the Employer in educational process, which was supposed to hypothetically strengthen the practical orientation of higher education, empirically led to another blow to the teaching staff, due to the fact that one of the requirements of the Federal State Educational Standards was the attraction (and therefore employment in a university) of specialists representing employers.

At the same time, in practice one can rarely meet a part-time employer who, participating in the educational process, is engaged in the development of teaching materials for students' courses.

At the same time, the question if the employer's representatives comply with the qualification requirements and professional standards of a teacher is not considered. Probably a teaching employer measures up to the highest standards per se, by his status alone.

The content of the Federal State Educational Standard should reflect the interests of the Employer, and each subsequent FSES should reflect them more and more exactly. Does this mean that this transcendental Employer (we intentionally

write it with the capital letter) personally formulated the provisions of the FSES?

An analysis of what and to what extent reflects the competence content of the FSES will be conducted below. In the meantime, let us make an intermediate conclusion. In the system of higher education in relation to the problems of HC, three main social institutions should be distinguished: the Ministry of Education, the University and the Employer. The latter should be divided into a real employer and a transcendental one. For convenience, the first one shall be written in the lowercase, and the second one shall be capitalized: Employer. He does not conduct training sessions, like a real employer, does not take exams, and does not supervise internship. An Employer is one who voices the needs of the national economy. Therefore, we will talk about the needs in more detail.

It is generally accepted that the modern education system should contribute to the development of general cultural competencies, fundamental knowledge and personal competencies, as the modern labor market places rather high demands on the level of specialist training.

The demands of the labor market, which imposes ever-higher demands on the competencies of the employee, must again be divided according to the "optimism / skepticism" paradigm. The optimistic paradigm, through the mouth of the Employer, insists on the progress of technology and the change in the spectrum of professions that a new type of specialist must meet. Skepticism objects: the restructuring of the labor market in connection with technological progress, even if we really have to face it, is a matter of the future. But what is obvious now is that there are signs of an economic crisis - overt and hidden unemployment. And in these conditions only such competencies can help a person that will allow him to successfully compete in the labor market and provide the opportunity for the widest professional maneuver.

It is true that a crisis in the economy creates difficult conditions for the formation of HC and determines the relationship between an individual's income level and his desire to develop his HC. The growth of income expands the possibilities for the formation of human capital, and its decrease causes a downturn in the contribution to one's HC. However, on the other hand, a person in the current situation wants to increase his income, therefore, strives to increase his HC in order to be more demanded on the labor market.

It would seem that this fact would make the role of higher education in the formation of HC even more significant, because it provides employment and is one of the conditions for vertical and horizontal mobility. The argument here is that, according to statistics, only a small part of university graduates are employed within their specialty or in the field they have studied, at the same time having higher education becomes the main requirement when applying for a job. Currently, according to the Russian Public Opinion Research Center, more than half of the working population is engaged in a sphere other than their major specialty [1]. In the depressed region, from which the provincial university sociologist is looking at life, this figure is even higher.

If you think about it, more than 50% of employees showed alacrity and competency-based flexibility and more or less successfully work outside their major specialty. The qualities they showed and the competencies they used almost exactly coincide with the conceptual definitions of human capital.

One may wonder, why does this situation dissatisfy the Ministry? These workers were creative and industrious, they adjusted to the situation, underwent a retraining, got a new job, i.e. showed qualities that were declared as goals by higher education reformers. There is only one answer: the Ministry would like these qualities to be manifested within the framework of one's major specialty. That is, the Ministry, which now has no influence on the labor market anymore.

Now about the sociological meaning of the competencies themselves. Modern higher education is meant to form the following key competencies: intercultural - to respect representatives of other cultures, traditions and religions; competencies of lifelong education - that is, the ability to learn continually during one's personal, professional and social life; social - the ability to make decisions, take responsibility, resolve conflicts; communicative - having a good command of one's own and a foreign language; information competencies - being skilled in information and communication technologies. The latest edition of the FSES distinguishes universal, general professional and strictly professional competencies.

These key (core) competencies should be considered as tools of HC that allow a graduate to increase his competitiveness and be in demand in the labor market. Moreover, for the competency model of a university graduate it's important not only or not so much the "input" parameters (the content of the curriculum, the number of credits, the teaching methodology), but the expected results that must be obtained at the "output" (knowledge and skills, personal qualities, that is, student competencies).

Almost all competencies mentioned here are developed by a complex of humanitarian and socio-economic subjects as a component of curricula of almost all areas of undergraduate and graduate programs. Here, human capital is closely linked to the concept of cultural capital: the wider the world outlook adopted during training, the more organic the erudition - the wider the range of possibilities for professional self-realization of the human capital holder.

If we talk about a typical model of a graduate who is ready to make the widest possible maneuvers in the labor market, then it would seem to capitalize on his knowledge and skills of a wide cultural reach, so that a graduate of the Moscow Aviation Institute, for example, could easily fulfill himself in the genre of comic literature. By the way, this graduate is the most famous Russian comedian Mikhail Zadornov. However, from the point of view of the logic of the higher education reform M. Zadornov is a failed student of the Moscow Aviation Institute, since he did not find a job in his specialty. But from the point of view of the HC theory, M. Zadornov is the pride of the Moscow Aviation Institute, because the added value extracted from him as from capital is hundreds of times higher than the cost of an average aircraft engineer. Not to mention his moral dedication. This example clearly shows that the competency model in the form in which it is now being implemented is conceptually incompatible with the idea of human capital.

Here, administrative and pedagogical optimism puts forward another scholastic argument: the previous system of higher education gave only formal qualifications, while we are talking about competence, which has concrete and practical meaning.

The differences in the concepts of "qualification" and "competence" consist in the fact that in addition to characteristics such as knowledge and skills that characterize qualifications, competence presupposes aspirations and willingness to apply knowledge, skills and personal qualities for successful activities in a certain field.

Knowledge and skills have already been cultivated by previous versions of educational standards. The key formula here is "aspiration and willingness". This means that in an exam on a subject that develops a specific competency, a student must show the aforementioned "aspiration and willingness". It would be extremely interesting to look at the wording of the exam questions detailing such a competency. Apparently something like this: "Demonstrate the desire to apply knowledge in such and such a practical situation", or "Show the willingness to apply the skill in solving such a problem." Therefore, the success of simulating readiness and aspiration is the main criterion for mastering this competency.

The development of higher education from a qualification model to a competency model involves a change in educational paradigms; such modernization should affect three aspects:

- the content of knowledge itself;
- the role of the teacher, who instead of the carrier of knowledge becomes an organizer / tutor / consultant of the student;
- the role of a student who is actively developing his HC, implementing his interests and goals.

The paradigmatic nature of the changes means a fundamental change in the concepts of "higher education" and "higher education institution". This is most clearly seen in the second and third of the items listed. A teacher who is now "not so much a carrier of knowledge" is gradually turning into a psychologist-manipulator with optional erudition. This means that a typical standard for a university teacher of the new formation is not the D.S. Likhachev, but a business coach Tim Robbins, who did not transfer any knowledge at all to the great number of students (gathered at the Olympic Stadium in Moscow) but only motivated them and was as successful as possible earning several million dollars in a couple of hours.

If what we are heading towards is the flawless teacher T. Robbins then the educational process at a university is turning into a series of motivational trainings, less and less related thematically. Thus, a university as a place that accumulates knowledge becomes organizationally redundant - after all, specific practical competencies can be obtained not only by wholesale, but also by retail. And retail seems to be more economical.

As for the changing "student position", there was created a formula which reflected the speculative models of a student and a graduate developed by collective administrative intellect and incorporated into the education reform strategy (if there is any). The speculative nature of these constructs is especially obvious "from the ground" when one observes the life of a provincial university with the eyes of a sociologist.

Sociology begins with the axiom "all people are different", including students. Among them there were (in the era of "qualification" education) and will be (in the era of "competency" education) the active and the inert, the smart and the commonplace, those relying on their own intelligence and those relying on their smartphone. Previously, while the function of the social filter was working in the university system the sheep were somehow or other separated from the goats, and the wheat from the chaff. Now, even if the selective function will work, the separation criterion becomes unclear. Do modern universities need a student with deplorable knowledge but with a brilliant ability to portray "aspiration and readiness"?

Judging by the fact that the preservation of the number of students is one of the most important and grave accreditation indicators, the reformer does not see any goats or chaff in the future at all. A hundred per cent of students without exception will be declared to be active intellectuals. It is logical to assume that the selective function will change its target and will filter (and is already filtering) not the students, but the teachers who are guilty of not observing the principle of "student preservation". Thus unnatural selection occurs: those teachers survive who agree to accept the imitation of the student's "aspiration and readiness" instead of real competency, and the carriers of the "commitment-to-principles-gene" are rejected.

If Russian universities want to successfully integrate into the European educational space, it is necessary to change educational technologies and goals. Professional knowledge and skills are becoming valuable not by themselves, but as a step to achieve the more important task of forming an active creative person who knows how to apply the knowledge gained in practice, that is, realize his HC. Thus, HC is both the knowledge itself, the skills of university graduates as well as the ability to apply them in professional activities.

Understanding HC as a combination of knowledge, skills, abilities, motives, actions allows us to highlight indicators of the contribution of higher education to the development of human capital, such as the level of knowledge, skills acquired

by specialists in the learning process, personal orientation, the mobility of specialists, income level and quality of life.

But integration somewhere, including into the "common European educational space" is a mutual process that requires transformations on both sides. Otherwise, it is necessary to use the terms "adaptation", "adjusting", "mimicry", etc. Moreover, the very need for adaptation which we have repeatedly mentioned above and which the expert community constantly insists on is highly doubtful. Many arguments were expressed about this, we add only one: in Soviet times, the 1970-1980s European and American universities, not to mention third world universities, quite often invited Soviet professors to read their courses. And they did that without referring to any kind of "Bologna process". If this is not international recognition, then what is? If this is not integration, then what is?

If you recall the difference between a bachelor degree course and a specialist's program, skepticism only intensifies. When we aside all administrative delight about the Bologna process, the only thing left is to do the math: 4 years of study are cheaper than 5.

Considering all this, a comparison of a bachelor degree course and a Master's program in terms of their human orientation seems even stranger. Let us construct a syllogism: a Master as capital-capitalist is better equipped than a Bachelor; a Master, in contrast to a more practically oriented Bachelor, is more of a theorist. Consequently, human capital as the result of education depends on a theoretical orientation.

Modeling the personality of a graduate with the help of vaguely formulated competencies ultimately makes the future of the university as a social organization as vague. Probably this is what is meant when the paradigm nature of the reform changes is declared.

CONCLUSION

In an optimistic pro-reform discourse, the proportion of regulatory utterances noticeably exceeds the proportion of reflective ones. A regulatory statement addresses the future, and it predetermines the future. But a reflective, scientific one addresses the past which has already borne fruit.

However, there is another explanation: regulatory statements usually pertain to an order that must be followed without any analytical reflections. Because regulatory discourse can be neither true nor false – this modality does not apply to it.

Therefore, when a teacher is still trying to discuss the meaning of the actions of the bureaucratic corporation, he must be aware of how redundant his analysis is. It is a different matter that empirically a teacher is more competent than a Minister or a transcendental Employer and even real employers. Only the teacher knows for sure and in practice what competencies did each graduate acquire.

What will allow a real graduate to become wealthy and successful in specific situations is not the competency as the text of the Federal State Educational Standard, but the competency as an interpretation, as a construct. But the wording, specification and implementation of a competency as a part of the curricula and programs is complicated by a number of circumstances.

The first one is the problem of its fundamental nature. The slogan of higher education reform is its practical orientation. However, the scope of professional activities and the requirements for them are changing ever faster. A man who was yesterday quite affluent professionally is at risk of not being so tomorrow. Thus, a question arises: which of the forms of specialist training is more efficient - a university or a month-long qualification course?

A university as a form of organization is aimed at fundamental education. And what value in the eyes of the employer does the knowledge of Aristotelian entelechy add to an engineer, a doctor or an accountant? Fundamental knowledge from an

economic point of view is a burden. The objective social reality is such that the idea of the redundancy, unnecessary of the university as a social ballast will inevitably come to the collective administrative mind.

Fundamentality is not a burden only for those social institutions, which are practically, not only rhetorically, interested in a student (graduate) as a special capital. We want to emphasize: practically, and not rhetorically. Only in this case the general cultural and communicative competencies will not only increase the competitiveness of the graduate, but also serve as a float preventing the university from drowning as a social institution and organization.

The second one is the definability of competencies. A monthly qualification course can easily boast the desired specificity of the declared and achieved results.

A person comes to a university for 4 or 6 years. It is not clear what the model of a specialist's will look like at the end of these terms, so it is not obvious what he should be when he graduates.

The third is the prospect of accountability. Testing the efficiency of continuing education courses is also much simpler than a similar procedure for a university.

The most odious from a socio-functional point of view seem to be such indicators as "graduate employment" and "preservation of the number of student". A provincial university that does not have any leverage opportunity over employers and can only "trump" with the quality of its "products," that is, human capital. But such a university will never equal an employer in his laboratory and production facilities. Therefore, only the real employer himself can most effectively form professional competencies.

Thus, the logic of the "competency revolution" inevitably leads to the fact that the university is turning into a kind of advanced training course. In this capacity, not the employer should blend into the structure of the university, but vice versa.

The only conceptual model that gives the university a chance for social survival is the one where the university is the basis for the formation of HC. But with all the ensuing structural and administrative consequences, that is, handing over to the the university the function of general higher education.

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