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**IDEOLOGY OF REFORMS: JOINT PROGRAMS IN THE FRENCH
AND RUSSIAN EDUCATION SYSTEMS**

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Abstract

The article examines the ideological foundations of the education systems of Russia and France, the expectations of society and the individual's needs in this area, using the example of the content and implementation of dual programs at the second and third levels of education. The authors proceed from the systemic approach, in which any element is the result of the ideological foundations of the system and the vectors of its dynamics and transformation. Joint programs are at the epicenter of educational reforms, since they correspond to the main vectors of transformations: modernization of the educational space, internationalization, professionalization, competitiveness. Programs of this type also meet the individual's needs for his or her self-realization and receipt of a quality educational product.

A comparative study of the educational ideology and policies of the two countries confirms the idea that unidirectional nature of the development vectors of national education systems create a favorable climate for the integration and internationalization of universities. Such ideological foundations as egalitarianism and meritocracy are fundamentally important for the two comparable education systems, and the type and nature of the reforms reveal a certain similarity and movement towards each other. The implementation of joint programs balances these principles and reveals the advantages and disadvantages of each of the two education systems. Despite the formal similarity of the educational space and the convergence of reforms, long-term forecasts of their results may prove to be different. In this case, joint programs play a key role in the harmonization of educational transformations.

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1. Introduction

The existence of joint educational master's and postgraduate programs with dual academic advising is one of the important and necessary factors for increasing the prestige of the modern university, since it meets such key requirements for a modern university as openness, internationalization, professionalization, quality and competitiveness in the market of educational services and labor. This type of programs addresses both the requirements of society and the needs of the individual and is able to satisfy his or her needs for self-development and self-realization.

Successful functioning of joint university programs working on a parity basis of students' mobility presupposes not only a high degree of conformity of the organizational structure of education, including mock-ups of master's and postgraduate programs, curricula, a control system, a grade rating system and other substantive and formal criteria, but also a certain complementarity of the ideological foundations of national education systems. For example, Anglo-Saxon education models, based primarily on neo-liberal values, are less suited to mass joint programs with Russian universities.

As for the organization and implementation of joint Franco-Russian second- and third-level programs, they generally do not imply encountering insurmountable obstacles. The reason for this is the fact that the two education systems are similar in terms of ideology, formal criteria and, to a lesser extent, the principles of the formation of the content of educational programs. The latter makes the implementation of these programs especially valuable and interesting.

The national education system (hereinafter referred to as ES) cannot be considered outside the society. It is in response to its ideological, political, economic and other requests and challenges that a certain ES type with given boundaries, poles and vectors of development is formed. The education system consists of many components, each of which is resultant of a common state and public ideology, a response to the demands of the economy of the country and the region, a reflection of the socio-psychological and cultural climate in a society of a particular era. The essence of this phenomenon is accurately reflected in the quotation from A. Rutkevich, which is virtually applicable to any national education system:

"The Soviet education system should be considered as a whole <...> Higher education used to correspond to the economic and political system of that time, it satisfied the needs of industry, health, and culture. (...) The economy sent signals to the education system, which led (albeit sometimes with a long delay) to a change in programs, the opening of new specialties" (Rutkevich, 2004).

2. Problem Statement

Of particular importance is the analysis and assessment of the adequacy of specific measures taken by higher educational institutions to develop and implement programs for comprehensive modernization of educational services and their relevance for the objectives of state educational reforms within the priority areas of the socioeconomic development of Russia and France. The analysis should be conducted "from above", rely on the recognition of the importance of value orientations, specific requirements and expectations of both the society and the individual, take into account the social and psychological climate that has developed in society and historical traditions in the field of education.

At the same time, a clear idea of the advantages of certain types of educational programs and potential problems (the "from the bottom" point of view) will help to determine whether the general vector

of the development of education has been chosen correctly, to what extent it corresponds to the challenges of modern society, what the significance of concrete steps taken to respond to new challenges of time and satisfy the individual's personal needs is.

The analysis of measures should be carried out taking into account a complex of external and internal conditions for the formation of ES, which can be depicted schematically (Figure 01):

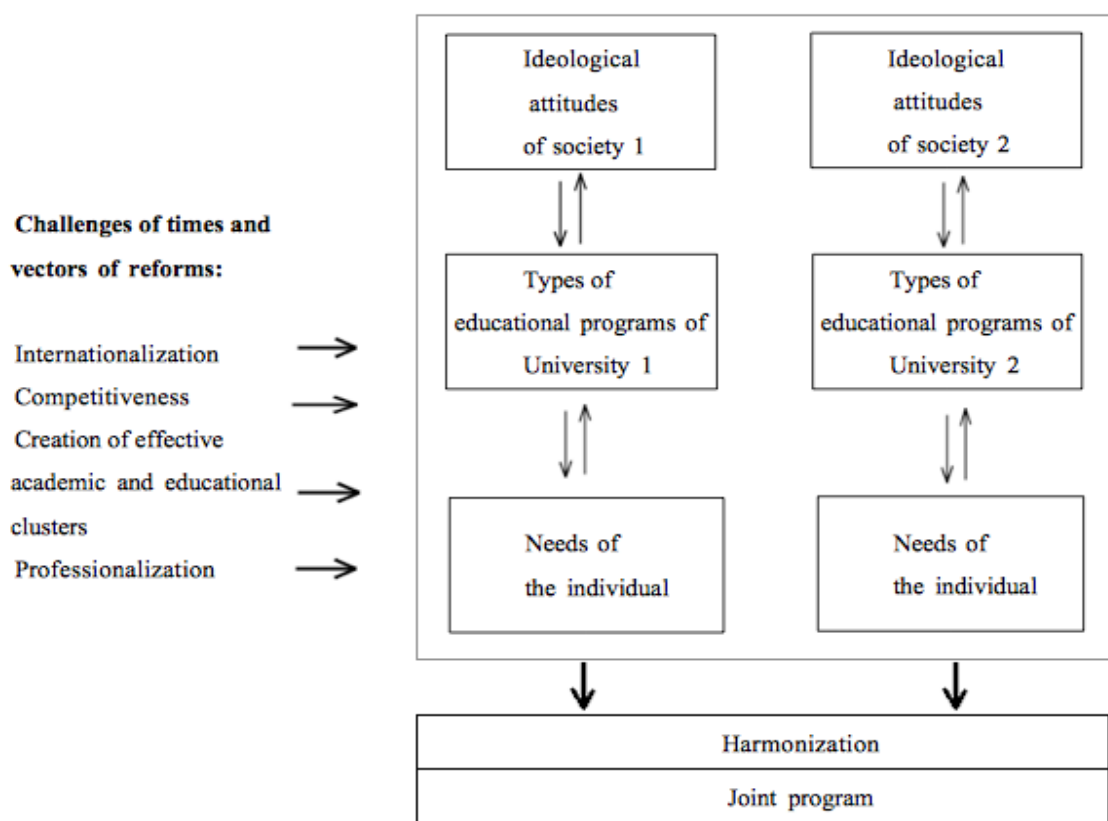


Figure 01. Complex of conditions forming national ES implemented in educational programs

3. Research Questions

This article primarily focuses on the analysis of experience in the implementation, development and management of joint master's programs and postgraduate programs of the dual academic advising in philology with French universities (Bordeaux Montaigne and Toulouse Jean Jaurès) implemented at the RUDN Philological Faculty. The first master's program was opened in 2005, the latest one in 2017; the postgraduate program with dual academic advising has been in action since 2008.

Turning to the experience of these programs is important because their implementation fell and is still falling on a period of reforming and modernizing education systems both in Russia and in France, that is, an era of instability, inconsistency of old models of education with new tasks, and search for an adequate response to the challenges of the time.

In this work, we propose to consider the place of joint educational master's and postgraduate programs in the structure of modern educational reforms, as well as their role in the educational policy of

a particular university (RUDN). In this regard, the following issues are particularly important, in our opinion:

- 1) how the implementation of joint programs is correlated with common values and the type of reforms in the context of transitivity and uncertainty;
- 2) whether such programs meet the socio-economic demands of the society for the training of professionals in socially significant areas;
- 3) whether they correspond to the individual's psychological attitudes to the satisfaction of his or her need for self-development and self-realization, as well as his or her goal of achieving personal success;
- 4) to what extent the implementation of such programs can contribute to the efficiency of modernizing the education system in line with a changing ideology;
- 5) how and to what extent they are integrated into the world education system.

4. Purpose of the Study

Determining the place of joint educational master's and postgraduate programs in the structures of modern dynamically developing education systems of the two states and their role in the ongoing processes of the modernization of education will make it possible to approach the answer to the globally important question, i.e. how justified the many reforms so painfully experienced by members of the academic community and society as a whole are. The study is intended to clarify the significance of the steps being taken towards the integration of national education in the world system, not only for the society as a whole, but also for an individual against the backdrop of a crisis of the value system caused by large-scale egocentrism.

The movement from the private to the general, from the analysis of concrete steps already taken in the sphere of education to understanding the ultimate goal of its development is absolutely necessary. This is the attempt we are making in this study.

5. Research Methods

To understand the ideological foundations influencing the formation of the general structure of French and Russian higher educational institutions, as well as to identify the extent to which the realities of the existing education systems of the two countries correspond to the expectations and challenges of modern society, it is necessary to conduct a comparative analysis of the establishment of the two ES in the diachronic aspect. An analysis of a corpus of sources (texts of legal nature (laws, decrees and resolutions) and those of academic and journalistic nature) on educational reforms in France and Russia will help determine the vector of changes in the general ideology and public values and attitudes in the field under study. In turn, an analysis of concrete measures taken to modernize educational programs in universities will make it possible to judge, firstly, how efficiently and promptly the academic community responds to rapidly changing demands from society; secondly, to what extent active cooperation in higher education can contribute to the intensification of modernization processes along the lines of a common ideology; and thirdly, whether the new forms of implementing higher education programs correspond to the individual's expectations and requests.

The analysis of concrete measures relies, among other things, on the personal experience of authors who have been directly involved in the opening, introduction, implementation and modernization of joint master's and postgraduate programs for fifteen years.

6. Findings

6.1. Ideological foundation of the two higher education systems

The modern French system of higher education in its main features was formed in the 19th century and is fixed in three decrees (of May 10, 1806, March 17, 1808 and November 17, 1808) of Napoleon's government. The history of the French education of the 19th century is described thoroughly and in detail in the work by S. Kozlov (Kozlov, 2013). We will focus only on two aspects (egalitarianism and meritocracy), essential for understanding our subject.

Being in many ways a product of the revolution, French education could not fail to carry the ideology of "Freedom, Equality and Fraternity". So far, anti-liberalism, solidarity, egalitarianism (the equality of opportunity), meritocracy (the principle of personal merit) have remained socially significant principles in this field (Friant, 2013). It is obvious that the last two principles come into conflict with one another, which has become especially acute and crucial in the reforms of F. Hollande and E. Macron.

The previously stated principle of egalitarianism, proceeding from which access to higher education should be provided to all categories of the population, certainly works in France, but with a number of reservations. Somewhat simplifying, we can say that the HE system consists of universities and the so-called "grandes écoles". The latter have always been and remain an elite, specialized and highly professional sector of education (Felouzis, 2012; Christophe, 2013). The competition there is very tough, the diploma is prestigious, and upon graduation, employment is practically guaranteed, which cannot be said about the university diploma. Ever since the Napoleonic reforms, the *grandes écoles* have been intended for the selected few, and the faculties for everyone else" (Kozlov, 2013). However, one should not underestimate the role of universities in France. First, a number of very prestigious areas of training are carried out only on the scope of universities, e.g., law and economics. Secondly, university education is mostly focused on broad knowledge in what is called "common culture". The organization of full-fledged double-diploma programs with *grandes écoles* and similar institutions with high professionalization and narrow specialization (School of Journalism, Translation School, etc.) is a very difficult task. The first obstacle is a high competition at admission (one does not enroll in a university, but signs up for it), and the requirements for applicants in France and in Russia are extremely different. The second serious problem is the difficulty of harmonizing the curricula, which differ significantly in the principle of formation.

The French system of university education is spiritually anti-neoliberal. This manifests itself in the principled position of society that does not accept the transformation of the university into an appendage of power, in a broad sense, and of the capital and the use of the university to serve the needs of the latter. One consequence of this position is the autonomy of the university and the protection of the principles of solidarity, accessibility and free education. The Russian education system of recent decades largely focuses on Anglo-Saxon neoliberal models, but the notions of mass consciousness that go back to the Soviet past with its ideology of accessible education, equal chances, positive discrimination in pronounced meritocracy compensate for the neoliberal policy vector. Thus, it can be said that the values shared by the majority of

the society are largely similar, and the common ideological climate of the two countries does not create serious obstacles to the use of joint forms of implementing university educational programs.

6.2. Vectors of HE reforms in France and Russia

The crisis state of the Russian and French HE systems of the last two decades, caused by both external and internal causes, is evidenced by a series of reforms affecting various aspects of university life. Let us consider several issues of reforming fundamental to the problem under consideration and show that the nature and direction of the reforms in Russia and France have many similarities. More complete data on the number and nature of French reforms are presented in the work by S. Tagirova (Tagirova, 2015).

Under the 1968 reform in France, the single big universities were decentralized, and the traditional faculties were transformed into Units of Education and Research (UER, to become UFR as of 1984). The main consequence of the reform was the large autonomy granted to universities in both financial and academic activities (Picard, 2009). The state controls the work of universities: any educational program undergoes examination and validation, the ministry issues a license for its implementation, but the program is fully prepared by the university, there are no state standards, nor is there a mandatory block of disciplines in the master's program curriculum. However, autonomy has the opposite side: the university diploma itself is not sufficient to get a job in most state institutions. Thus, to become a university professor, one needs to pass a rather complicated competition in the Commission of the National Council of Universities (CNU), and to have the right to teach on the secondary level, one needs to obtain the so-called CAPES (*Certificat d'Aptitude au Professorat de l'Enseignement du Second degré*, a secondary school teaching certificate) or pass an aggregation.

In Russia, the expansion of opportunities aimed at the autonomy of universities occurred much later than in France. It is conditioned by the reform of education conducted with the passing of the federal law "On Autonomous Institutions" of November 3, 2006, No. 174-FZ (Federal'nyj zakon 2006), the new version of the Federal Law on Education, the systematic introduction of changes in the educational standards of higher education from 1994 (GOS VPO), 2000 (GOS VPO-2), 2011 (FGOS) to 2012-2016 (FGOS 3+), with the appearance of the right for the leading Russian universities to develop their own educational standards, as well as to independently award the academic degrees of candidate and doctor of sciences.

Such systemic changes contribute to the integration of Russian universities into the European educational space and facilitate the organization and implementation of joint programs. For example, it will become much simpler, to defend dissertations under dual academic supervision. It will be possible to organize a joint commission (jury) on defense, which will lead to the possibility of one defense and the issuance of a diploma of two universities. At the moment, the defense procedure is very complicated, the presence of the Higher Attestation Commission virtually brings it to two defenses and two texts.

It seems to us that the autonomy of Russian universities and, in particular, the right to award an academic degree independently will significantly ease the system freed from a number of bureaucratic links, which will favorably affect the programs of joint supervision. However, there is one serious "but" concerning the form of state control over the quality of diplomas.

The candidate's diploma (PhD), issued in Russia, is de jure at the expense of the Higher Attestation Commission and de facto national, while in France it is nothing more than a university diploma, that is, at

the moment they are not symmetrical from an institutional point of view. When defending a thesis in France, one does not deal with codes and ciphers of specialties, there are no Dissertation Councils that have the right to carry out defenses only in 1-2 areas. It is the university itself that formulates (extremely broadly) the areas under which defenses are carried out and doctoral programs work. The very fact of defending a dissertation in France does not have the prestige that exists in Russia. A dissertation is a qualification work for certain fields of activity, it is written and defended if one's further career is planned in the academic or teaching sector. And as soon as the candidate leaves the academic path and embarks on a professional one, he or she is immediately subject to stringent checks by the state. In the case of teaching activities, it is necessary to pass a CNU competition with a certain list of specialties (sections 07 – 15 for language and literature), to which the dissertation must correspond formally and essentially. The CNRS (National Center for Scientific Research) has one section on language, 34 "Language Sciences". The requirements in these commissions are such that no dissertation with an undefined methodology and unconvincing conclusions will have a chance of being accepted. Such an indirect control system leads to high responsibility of universities for the quality of their products. Let's hope that the new defense system in the leading Russian universities will bring about the responsibility of universities for quality, stronger competition between universities.

If we transfer these arguments to the plane of ideology, then we will be dealing with a contradiction between egalitarianism and meritocracy. In France, the university diploma of the 2nd and 3rd cycles is theoretically available to everyone, but one can really find its practical application only if the quality of the work is high. Modern French reforms are clearly aimed at strengthening the principle of meritocracy. In this regard, both countries are similar. But the mechanisms of its control and evaluation are very different: the self-sufficiency of university diplomas in Russia, with the hope that the professional world will select the best candidates, and the French system of strict state competition for the right to hold the position. We will now move on to the analysis of the implementation of joint master's programs. Reforms associated with the entry of France and Russia into the Bologna process led to a certain freedom of universities in the formation of curricula, equal number of credits, similar requirements and procedures for the monitoring and assessment of knowledge (Apkarova, 2011). A serious difference in the ES of Russia and France is the fact that Russia has a compulsory state examination. A certain difficulty lies in the choice and approval of the topic of the master's thesis, which in Russia is tied to the code of the specialty, and in France to the broadly formulated areas of training within the Units of Education and Research (UFR). Reforms have not yet ended either in Russia or in France, but their logic and vectors are similar, and it seems that upon their completion they will lead to a certain harmonization of the educational environment, at least formally at the level of the 3 cycles of HE.

In conclusion, we will briefly dwell on several general issues related to the situation in the ES of Russia and France. By the end of the 20th century, French universities had stumbled into a number of systemic problems:

- 1) low professionalization in comparison with *grandes écoles* (Chambard, 2014), relatively low competitiveness in the labor market;
- 2) dispersion of funding due to a great number of small universities;
- 3) lack of communication with the professional community;

4) relatively weak academic potential (like in the USSR and then in Russia, academia were concentrated in the Academy of Sciences, the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) was the properly academic structure in France) (Monet, 2013).

The problems of the Russian higher education are very close to those listed above.

In the same period, the world educational landscape underwent a radical change, which manifested itself in such global processes as "the internationalization of higher education, increased competition and the emergence of new players in the international education market, the merging of academic institutions and the formation of educational clusters, increased attention to the quality of services provided by various participants in the market of educational services, creation and development of network structures" (Galichin, 2013, 101-102).

These challenges were addressed by the French and Russian higher education systems by means of a series of reforms. In France, first of all, it was the reform of 2002, the main goal of which was the European integration of the educational space, in particular, the introduction of a three-stage training system, Licentiate – Master's program – Doctoral program (LMD). Almost simultaneously, the Bologna Process was joined by Russia (2003). In addition to the transition to the new training system, France launched the process of expansion of universities (the University of Strasbourg became the first of them in 2008) (Picard, 2009). Similar processes, with the ultimate goal of consolidating education, have also been observed in the Russian educational space (Tyapin, Mal'tseva, 2016): since 2007, a number of major Russian universities have been unified through divisional management, absorption or merging. The consolidation of universities, initially aimed at concentrating the scientific and technical base, de-bureaucratization, reduction of the administrative apparatus, higher effectiveness of scientific and educational activities of university departments, caused a high public resonance. The Education Act of 2013 (Loi N 2013-660, 2013) in France began a new stage of reform, which is currently far from being completed. Almost simultaneously, the Federal Law "On Education in the Russian Federation" of 2012 (Federal'nyj zakon "Ob obrazovanii v Rossijskoj Federatsii", 2012) was passed, which is amended annually, which, like in France, testifies to the long-term nature and complexity of the reform process.

The main vectors of reforms underway in France and Russia include the following important principles of the development of education:

- democratization of education;
- professionalization and orientation on practice;
- integration of research and education (including through the expansion of universities and the creation of large research centers on their basis), in particular, simplification and standardization of the licentiate and master's programs;
- increased competitiveness through the introduction of English-language training programs, mandatory professional internships for all specialties, mandatory availability of e-courses, the development of information systems in education.

The analysis of the implemented joint master's programs "Russia – Europe: Languages and Cultures" of RUDN and Bordeaux Montaigne University and RUDN and University of Toulouse-Jean-Jaurès, as well as postgraduate programs with dual academic advising between of RUDN and the indicated French universities, has revealed some results concerning the efficiency of the process modernization of ES within the framework of reform. We will further dwell on each of the vectors of the development of modern education, declared as priority ones.

Table 01. Advantages of educational programs in the integration and modernization of national education systems

University of Toulouse-Jean-Jaurès, Bordeaux Montaigne University	Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (RUDN)	Joint Programs
1. Professionalization and orientation on practice		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - practice-oriented lecture series within the framework of learning modules; - recruitment of the business world representatives, successful in their fields, for lecturing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - compulsory research and teaching practical training (no less than 33 credits of practical training in the curriculum of post-graduate courses); - creation of a bank of practice-oriented research subjects for postgraduate students; <li style="padding-left: 20px;">- work on attracting employers interested in research of postgraduate students; <li style="padding-left: 20px;">- introduction of research results in fields of professional activity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - high chances of employment due to differentiated experience, bilingualism, broad competencies; - possibility of using practical courses of French universities during long and labor-consuming practices at RUDN
2. Standardization		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - synthesis of the principle of interdisciplinary nature of training and specialization in a narrow field; - absence of a state standard, contributing to the creation of unique programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - division of curricula of master's and postgraduate programs into the basic and variable parts (e.g., compulsory disciplines in the postgraduate program – into a foreign language and history and philosophy of science); - as a consequence, a partial unification of the requirements for graduates - possibility of mastering modules from the programs of the partner institution in the variable part 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - harmonious complementarity of highly specialized French programs and the cycle of general disciplines that are mandatory in the RUDN plan
3. Integration of research and education		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - integration of students into research activities within the framework of mixed academic units uniting researchers of the CNRS and the University 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - compulsory preparation of academic publications and participation in academic conferences for graduate students (preparation of 3 articles in peer-reviewed journals and as of 2018, in journals indexed by international databases); - encouraging the research activities of students and postgraduate students in the form of competitions with financial support; - the system of annual attestation of postgraduate students, focused on the implementation of research with approbation and publication of its results 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - academic cooperation of RUDN with partner universities in France as a reason for the creation of joint programs, which stimulated its further development (e.g., the opening of a joint research laboratory); - encouraging students from France to participate in scientific events and their experience in writing research papers at RUDN
4. Informatization		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - availability of computer programs for conducting research; - information support of courses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - launch of the Telecommunication learning and information System, containing all the necessary teaching materials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - defense of master's theses via videoconferences; - possibility of mastering disciplines that cannot be followed on a face-to-face basis due to differences in the schedules of the educational process and curricula

7. Conclusion

Joint educational programs of the master's and postgraduate programs of RUDN and universities of France are harmoniously integrated into the state ideology of the two countries in an era of reforms dictated by the need to resolve an education system crisis.

The reliance on the same socially important principles in education, the unidirectionality of the main vectors of the reform of the national education systems under comparison and their complementarity in close cooperation are the main reasons for the success and effectiveness of the implementation of joint Russian-French educational programs.

The fundamental theoretical base formed in students due to the compulsory component of the Russian education standard, supplemented by a narrow and very deep specialization of the French system programs, the forced use of new information means of learning and, as a result, the constant advancement of the academic personnel, the students' early experience of conducting research at Russian universities and the orientation on practice, and thoughtful methodical training at universities of France complement each other, which unmistakably leads to an increase in the level of professional training so necessary in the current socio-economic conditions.

Opportunities for academic mobility which open to students, familiarization with different approaches and methods in academia and education, increasing competitiveness and personal growth correspond to the increasingly widespread liberal views and psychological attitudes of the individual to meeting his or her own needs.

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