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EDUCATIONAL ORIENTATIONS OF PROVINCIAL YOUTH

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Abstract

Based on the results of an empirical study, the article presents an analysis of educational orientations of the youth residing in the Belgorod and Kursk regions, Russia and describes its specific characteristics. The place of education in the life plans of youth and the role they assign to the education perceived as a life value are noted. The main educational trajectories characteristic of provincial youth in recent years are identified. The significance of the territorial choice of a place of study for provincial youth is demonstrated. The consequences of educational migration for the social status of youth and the regional socio-economic situation are analyzed.

Keywords

Educational migration – Educational orientations – Educational trajectories – Provincial youth

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Introduction

In the majority of cases, education presents a crucial life plan component in Russian youth. This fact is reflected in the studies of life design in youth where the education is viewed as a vital component of the system of life strategies and is represented by educational strategies¹, educational trajectories², and educational orientations³. Considering the prevalence of the short-term planning horizon in the majority of Russians diagnosed recently based on nationwide surveys⁴, in the present article, we proceed from the fact that examining the educational orientations of young people that determine not the specific and conscious plans but only the directions and proposed steps in the field of education, is more advisable.

Educational orientations are a personal choice of a young person but they bear certain social significance associated primarily with the product of their implementation. This fact is determined by every region being interested in highly qualified specialists with high-quality professional education. The non-capital regions, however, can usually only rely on indigenous young specialists, which increases the social significance of the educational choices of youth and determines the use of a spatial approach to its analysis. The spatial approach is in turn composed of two aspects: the regional, or geospatial, aspect that considers the region as single integrity within the framework of its socio-economic and socio-cultural situation⁵ and the spatial aspect that focuses on the location types (metropolis, city, town, village)⁶.

Although the educational orientations of youth from various regions and locations have already been studied, the relevance of their research is practically infinite, first, due to the rapid changes in the social reality that generate new questions and issues both in the sphere of education and from the point of regional development, second, due to the socio-

¹ G. A. Elnikova, Sh. I. Aliev, Zhiznennye strategii molodezhi: teoreticheskii i metodologicheskii analiz (Belgorod: Kooperativnoe obrazovanie, 2008); T. A. Kotova, "Obrazovatelnye strategii rossiiskoi molodezhi: sotsiologicheskii diskurs", *Obshchestvo i pravo* Vol: 1 num 15 (2007): 38-44 y D. Konstantinovskii; M. A. Abramova; E. D. Voznesenskaia; G. S. Goncharova; V. G. Kostiuik; E. S. Popova y G. A. Cherednichenko, *Novye smysly v obrazovatelnykh strategiakh molodezhi: 50 let issledovaniia: monografiia* (Moscow: Center for Social Forecasting and Marketing, 2015).

² G. A. Cherednichenko, *Obrazovatelnye i professionalnye traektorii rossiiskoi molodezhi (na materialakh sotsiologicheskikh issledovani)* (Moscow: Center for Social Forecasting and Marketing, 2014).

³ D. L. Konstantinovskii, *Sistema pokazatelei dlia issledovaniia neravenstva v obrazovanii. Sotsiologiia i obshchestvo: sotsialnoe neravenstvo i sotsialnaia spravedlivost* (Ekaterinburg, October 19-21, 2016). Materials of the V All-Russian Sociological Congress. Moscow: the Russian Society of Sociologists (2016): 6579-6585.

⁴ *Gorizont planirovaniia budushchego*. 2018. Retrieved from: <https://www.levada.ru/2018/11/08/gorizont-planirovaniya-budushchego/>

⁵ T. A. Kotova, *Obrazovatelnye strategii rossiiskoi molodezhi: sotsiologicheskii analiz* (Rostov-on-Don: Publishing house of the Rostov State University, 2005) y E. V. Nedoseka, "Obrazovatelnye strategii molodezhi Murmanskoi oblasti (po dannym empiricheskogo issledovaniia)", *Problemy razvitiia territorii* Vol: 6 num 80 (2015): 143-156.

⁶ A. A. Vialshina y S. T. Dakirova, "Faktory formirovaniia obrazovatelnykh orientatsii vypusknikov selskikh shkol Saratovskoi oblasti", *Problemy razvitiia territorii* Vol: 3 num 101 (2019): 134-151 y Iu. A. Zubok y V. I. Chuprov, *Zhiznedeiatelnost molodezhi malykh gorodov: obshchee i osobennoe v sferakh obrazovaniia i truda*. In Markin V.V., Chernysh M.F. Chernysh (eds): *Malye goroda v sotsialnom prostranstve Rossii* (Moscow: Federal Sociological Research Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2019).

economic and socio-cultural differences between the regions and, third, due to the changes in the youth itself, in their mentality, values, and life meaning notions. Focusing on the latter factor we should note that, based on the generational theory by William Strauss and Neil Howe⁷, the new generation called Generation Z, the centennials, or the digital natives are beginning to enter adult life⁸. Generation Z is substantially different from the earlier generation, which inevitably reflects in the specifics of their educational orientations that, therefore, require further analysis.

The present article is devoted to the analysis of educational orientations of the modern youth, particularly the youth residing in the Belgorod and Kursk regions, Russia. The nature and specifics of the educational orientations of provincial youth are revealed, their value content is examined, the main educational trajectories and the territorial choice of a place of study are determined, and the components of migration are established. The provincial youth is viewed as a segmented group with the following subgroups: regional center youth and small-town youth, 9th and 11th-grade graduates, and university and vocational school freshmen.

The group under examination is the youth of the Belgorod and Kursk regions. Said regions possess characteristics that are fairly typical for the regions of central Russia. However, these regions are located approximately 500-700 km away from Moscow and 1,000-1,200 km away from Saint Petersburg, which significantly limits the ability to travel to and from the megacities both in terms of time and material costs.

The present research is based on the results of the study “Life Self-Determination of Provincial Youth” conducted by the authors in April and October, 2019 (N=1,040). Surveying was used as the predominant research method. The sample was composed of young people aged from 14 to 18 years old and residing in two regional centers (Belgorod and Kursk, N=391) and eight small towns (population under 50,000 people) of the Belgorod and Kursk regions (N=338), including 347 9th-grade graduates and 382 11th-grade graduates (187 and 204 respondents from the regional centers of Belgorod and Kursk, respectively; 160 and 178 people from the small towns of Belgorod and Kursk regions), and first-year university and vocational school students from Belgorod and Kursk (N=311). Focused interviews with school graduates and employees (N=29) were conducted to verify the obtained results.

The value of education in the life plans of provincial youth

Education presents one of the most significant social phenomena of today and has numerous representations, among which the decisive role for young people is played by the idea of education as a value and a social institution implementing the functions that determine the life activity of young people.

The value of education for youth is determined through an understanding of the purpose and place it occupies in their life plans and the system of life meaning values.

⁷ N. Howe y W. Strauss, *Generations: The History of America's Future, 1584 to 2069* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1991).

⁸ N. V. Shalygina, “Igreki i centenialy: novaia mentalnost rossijskoj molodezhi”, *Vlast* Vol: 1 (2017): 164-167.

Following the research⁹ the attitude of youth towards education as a value is analyzed based on the theory of terminal and instrumental values by M. Rokeach¹⁰ where terminal values are described as the ones generally representing life values and the instrumental values are viewed as the ones “representing the socially approved means of achieving said goals relevant for the society in question”¹¹. With all the conventions of such a distinction within the value component of education, the terminal values refer to the aspiration of young people to become educated and comprehensively developed, achieve self-realization, satisfy their need for knowledge, and fulfill their duty towards their parents while the instrumental values are associated the desire to get a well-paid job, make a career, work in the chosen profession, and “be no worse than others”(i.e., have a diploma).

The results of the conducted study illustrate that the instrumental values prevail over the terminal ones in the perception of education by provincial youth in the ratio of 52.2% to 48.8% (Table 1), which corresponds to the realistic view of the surrounding reality as a distinct characteristic of the new generation of youth.¹²

Values		Regional centers of Belgorod and Kursk		Small towns		Total	Rank
		9th-grade graduates	11th-grade graduates	9th-grade graduates	11th-grade graduates		
terminal	Being an educated and a comprehensively developed person	24.6	25.3	26.2	26.6	25.7	4
	Developing one's abilities, self-realization	29.7	31.8	32.2	32.4	31.5	2
	Pursuit of knowledge	11.6	12.8	12.1	14.2	12.7	7
instrumental	Getting an interesting job	38.4	48.1	38.2	49.6	43.6	1

⁹ Iu. A. Zubok y V. I. Chuprov, Zhiznedeiatelnost molodezhi malykh gorodov: obshchee i osobennoe v sferakh obrazovaniia i truda. In Markin V.V., Chernysh M.F. Chernysh (eds): Malye goroda v sotsialnom prostranstve Rossii: [monografiia] [Small towns in the social space of Russia: (Moscow: Federal Sociological Research Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2019), 174-188; Iu. A. Zubok y V. I. Chuprov, Smyslozhiznennye tsennosti v kulturnom...; D. L. Konstantinovskii y E. S. Popova, “Molodezh, rynek truda i ekspansiia vysshego obrazovaniia”, Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia Vol: 11 (2015): 37-48; D. L. Konstantinovskii y E. S. Popova, “Otnoshenie molodezhi k obrazovaniiu v sovremennoi Rossii”, Obshchestvennye nauki i sovremennost Vol: 1 (2016): 5–19 y A. L. Temnitskii, “Dinamika terminalnykh i instrumentalnykh tsennostei ucheby u studentov MGIMO”, Vestnik MGIMO Vol: 40 num 1 (2015): 226-235.

¹⁰ M. Rokeach, The nature of human values (New-York: Free Press, 1973).

¹¹ Iu. A. Zubok y V. I. Chuprov, Smyslozhiznennye tsennosti v kulturnom...

¹² D. L. Konstantinovskii, “Formirovanie orientatsii molodezhi v sfere obrazovaniia”, Sociology Institute Bulletin Vol: 19 (2016): 13-27; D. L. Konstantinovskii, Novaia molodezh v novoi realnosti obrazovaniia. Obrazovanie i nauka v Rossii: sostoianie i potentsial razvitiia. A collection of scientific works (Moscow: Center for Sociological Research, 2016): 106–162 y D. L. Konstantinovskii; E. D. Voznesenskaia; G. A. Cherednichenko y F. A. Khokhlushkina, Obrazovanie i zhiznennye traektorii molodezhi: 1998–2008 gody (Moscow: Sociology Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2011).

	Having a highly paid job	28.6	32.1	27.6	28.3	29.5	3
	Importance of education for building a career	11.1	13.4	12.7	18.1	13.8	6
	“Being no worse than others” (having a diploma)	17.1	18.3	19.1	18.6	18.3	5

*The sum exceeds 100% since the respondents were provided with the multiple-choice answer option

Table 1
Education values, in %*

The ability to get an interesting job due to education gained the most importance among the provincial youth (43.6%), taking the first rank among the values of education. This value was a priority in all studied youth groups. The spectrum of ideas about “an interesting job” appeared quite wide, ranging from a job that one “liked since childhood” to working as “anyone but a salesperson”. Moreover, within the confines of this value, students try to resolve two of the problems most pressing for them – the problem of employment and a choice of profession.

The problem of employment, the solution of which youth sees in obtaining the necessary education, presents a global problem since youth represents the most vulnerable population group in the labor market with the highest unemployment rate¹³. This problem is also highly relevant in the regions of Russia, most importantly due to the reduction of industrial production. In small towns, it has a truly life-defining nature both for school graduates and the small towns themselves¹⁴. In our study, the majority of respondents reporting their main educational value to be the ability to “get an interesting job” was composed of the small-town youth (49.6% of the 11th-grade graduates of small-town schools). The same predominance of said value was found in 11th-grade graduates of regional center schools (48.1%). The 9th-grade graduates, however, did not perceive the problem of employment as having that much importance, probably due to it being prolonged for them. In their case education was primarily viewed as a way of getting an interesting job. The priority of this value was reported by 38.4% of regional center youth and 38.2% of small-town youth.

The notion of “an interesting job” in youth also includes the choice of profession, therefore reinforcing the position of education as a way of achieving a goal, i.e., as an instrumental value, in the mind of young people.

¹³ Global Employment Trends for Youth 2017: Paths to a better working future International Labour Office (Geneva: ILO, 2017); A. A. Petrochenko, “Problemy zaniatosti molodezhi stran Evraziiskogo ekonomicheskogo soiuza”, Science Journal of VolSU. Global Economic System Vol: 20 num 1 (2018): 127-135; I. V. Virina, “Molodezh i bezrabotitsa: situatsiia v mire”, Nauchnye trudy Moskovskogo gumanitarnogo universiteta Vol: 5 (2016): 52-56 y V. G. Grechikhin, “Bezrabotnaia molodezh na sovremennom rossiiskom i mirovom rynke truda”, Society: sociology, psychology, pedagogy Vol: 2 (2018): 1-5.

¹⁴ Iu. A. Zubok y V. I. Chuprov, Zhiznedeiatelnost molodezhi malykh gorodov: obshchee i osobennoe v sferakh obrazovaniia i. In Markin V.V., Chernysh M.F. Chernysh (eds): Malye goroda v sotsialnom prostranstve Rossii: (Moscow: Federal Sociological Research Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2019), 174-188.

The 2nd rank (31.5% of the full sample) among the values of education is presented by its ability to promote self-realization and the development of one's abilities. The pursuit of self-realization presents an essential characteristic of modern youth and relates to basic life meaning values¹⁵. Although the importance of education as a way of self-realization was generally high, its estimates differed across the sample groups. The highest degree of importance of education for the development of one's abilities was found in small-town young people (9th and 11th-grade graduates, 31.2% and 32.4%, respectively) who mainly related their self-realization in the public sphere to professional activity. Regional center youth (9th and 11th-grade graduates, 29.7% and 31.8%, respectively) considered self-realization to be the realization of their aspirations in professional and leisure activities, which somewhat reduces the position of education as the only way of achieving it.

The respondents' rating of the ability to get a well-paid job through education was high as expected. This educational value ranked 3rd, receiving the preference of 29.5% of respondents in total. This function of education was most important for 11th-grade graduates from the regional centers (32.1%), which may indicate their awareness of the high requirements of modern employers to the level of employees' education most typical in the conditions of regional capitals.

Among 18.3% of respondents, education, primarily higher education diploma, was viewed as a possibility to "be no worse than others", as a door to the future life ("one can not do without a diploma these days"). Reducing the importance of education to having a diploma is typical for Russian youth as a whole¹⁶ and reflects one of the aspects of the mass character of higher education¹⁷.

The instrumental nature of the value of education is also explicated in the desire of young people to build a career. This function of education was viewed as its value by 13.8% of respondents. The provincial youth, having a fairly realistic idea of the personnel policy in the regions, focused not on the quality of education and the status of the educational institution but on having as many diplomas as possible (master's, postgraduate, second higher education). The 11th-grade graduates from small towns valued the importance of education for building a career the most. Based on the realities of their hometowns, they objectively assessed the chances high level of education provides for career advancement with extremely limited local offers. Despite the explicit demonstration of the perception of education as a way of achieving one's life goals, the perception of education and the accumulation of knowledge as a terminal value traditional for Russia was also found in the provincial youth in the course of the study¹⁸. From the viewpoint of 25.7% of respondents, being well-educated and highly cultured can be considered a life goal affecting the formation

¹⁵ Iu. A. Zubok y V. I. Chuprov, Zhiznedeiatelnost molodezhi malykh gorodov... y G. S. Zhukova y Ia. S. Kramer. Klasterizatsiia aktorov po socialnoi rezistentnosti na osnove nechetkikh otnoshenii. Sovremennye tendentsii razvitiia nauki i obrazovaniia: Teoriia i praktika. Materials of the I International Scientific and Practical Conference (Moscow: 2017).

¹⁶ Iu. A. Zubok y V.I. Chuprov, Zhiznedeiatelnost molodezhi malykh gorodov...

¹⁷ P. G. Altbach; L. Reisberg y L. E. Rumbley, Trends in Global Higher Education: Tracking an Academic Revolution A Report Prepared for the UNESCO 2009 World Conference on Higher Education. Retrieved from: https://www.cep.edu.rs/public/Altbach,_Reisberg,_Rumbley_Tracking_an_Academic_Revolution,_UNESCO_2009.pdf; K. Murph y F. Welch, "Wage Premiums for Vocational school Graduates: Recent Growth and Possible Explanations", Educational Research Vol: 18 num 4 (1989): 17-26 y

¹⁸ A. L. Temnitskii, "Dinamika terminalnykh i instrumentalnykh tsennostei ucheby u studentov MGIMO", Vestnik MGIMO Vol: 40 num 1 (2015): 227

of positive self-awareness and increased self-esteem. Moreover, while education as an instrumental value is based on its symbolic component, a diploma, and realized in the field of educational institutions, the terminal value and, primarily, erudition are associated by the respondents with such information channels as books, the Internet, and communication with “smart people”.

The same channels predominantly allow satisfying the “need for knowledge” – another goal value achieved through education. “The pursuit of knowledge” ranked 7th among the values of education in provincial youth. It was important for 12.7% of respondents. Such a low rank can be explained by a not reflexive enough understanding of the formulation of this value. In personal conversations, the respondents noted that the pursuit of knowledge was to a certain extent satisfied in the educational process, both at school and university and in a vocational school. However, the desire to be a well-educated person also involves the personal pursuit of knowledge. Therefore, only a small portion of respondents identified the “need for knowledge” as an independent, separately considered value of knowledge.

Overall, the meaning of knowledge conceptualized by youth through the terminal and instrumental values demonstrates its decisive role in the lives of young people graduating from schools supported by their convincing demonstration of the choice to continue education.

The choice of educational trajectories by the provincial school graduates

In the course of the conducted study, the respondents demonstrated high importance of education in their life plans considering it a required condition of success in life. Overall, 98% of respondents reported having a desire to continue their education in the future (Table 2).

	Regional centers of Belgorod and Kursk		Small towns		Total
	9th-grade graduates	11th-grade graduates	9th-grade graduates	11th-grade graduates	
I am going to enter a university	–	92.7	–	93.4	93.0
I am going to enter a vocational school	27.1	3.4	21.6	3.0	13.8
I am going to continue studying at school	72.9	-	78.4	-	75.6
Other option	-	3.9	-	3.6	3.8

Table 2
The graduates' choice of the form of continuing education

The data presented in Table 2 demonstrate that 100% of the 9th-grade graduates expressed a desire to continue their education; 24.4% of them were going to enroll in vocational schools. The increase in the number of 9th-grade graduates choosing to study in the system of vocational education is an apparent trend of recent years¹⁹. The reasons of

¹⁹ D. A. Aleksandrov; K. A. Tenisheva y S. S. Saveleva, “Mobilnost bez riskov: obrazovatelnyi put “v universitet cherez kolledzh”, Voprosy obrazovaniia Vol: 3 (2015): 66–91; T. Khavenson y T. Chirkina, “Obrazovatelnyi vybor uchashchikhsia posle 9 i 11 klassov: sravnenie pervichnykh i vtorichnykh effektov sotsialno-ekonomicheskogo polozheniia semi”, Zhurnal issledovaniia sotsialnoi politiki Vol: 17

graduates' choice of vocational education identified by the researchers include: difficulty and lack of interest in studying at high school; lower tuition fees compared to a university; the opportunity to get a specialty allowing to find a job easier, start working earlier, and have a higher salary; enrolling a university is easier after getting a vocational education degree²⁰. Another reason for choosing vocational education was voiced by the respondents in our study – the unwillingness to take the Unified State Exam (USE). Respondents noted that in the course of the USE, students experience serious psychological pressure and emotional stress, preparation for the exam requires additional financial resources to spend on tutors, and in case the choice of specialty is not final, one has to take several elective exams.

At the same time, there is a clear difference in the choice of the “school – vocational school” educational trajectory between the 9th-grade graduates from regional centers (27.1%) and small towns (21.6%), which can be explained by the small-town students being less informed²¹, the limited choice of vocational schools in the regions, and the unwillingness of graduates to live an independent life outside the parental family in case of moving to study in another city.

Despite choosing vocational education over continuing to study at school, the vast majority of 9th-grade graduates (81.2%) expressed the desire to continue their education at a university after finishing vocational education.

Among the 11th-grade graduates, 96.2% decided to continue their education, 93.0% of that number expressed their desire to enroll in a university (92.7% of the regional center school graduates and 93.4% of the small-town school graduates) and 3.2% planned to enroll in a vocational school. No significant differences were found between the 11th-grade graduates from regional centers and small towns.

The data on the provincial youth choice of continuing education along with the main trajectories (“school – vocational school”, “school – university”, and “school – vocational school – university”) obtained in the course of the study generally correspond to the results of similar studies²² and allow us to consider such an attitude towards education as a “characteristic feature of youth”²³. The specific characteristics of the educational orientations in different youth groups are usually found in their content, foremost in the choice of a place of study. The place of study is understood both as a specific vocational school or university and as the city chosen as a location to continue education. In modern Russia, in almost every regional center, school graduates are provided with the widest range of professions and specialties to learn; therefore, the choice of a city desirable to continue education is often decisive for provincial youth. This is especially characteristic of small-town youth that constitutes the substantial flow of educational migration.

num 4 (2019): 539–554; G. A. Cherednichenko, “Rossiiskaia molodezh v sisteme obrazovaniia: ot urovnia k urovniu”, *Voprosy obrazovaniia* Vol: 3 (2017): 152-182 y

²⁰ P. Bourdieu. *Economic Capital, Cultural Capital, Social Capital. Social inequalities: Special Volume 2 of the Social World*. Göttingen (1983): 183-196.

²¹ D. A. Aleksandrov; K. A. Tenisheva, S. S. Saveleva, “Mobilnost bez riskov: obrazovatelnyi put’ v universitet cherez kolledzh”, *Voprosy obrazovaniia* Vol: 3 (2015): 66–91.

²² D. A. Aleksandrov; K. A. Tenisheva y S. S. Saveleva, *Mobilnost bez riskov... y G. A. Cherednichenko, “Rossiiskaia molodezh v sisteme obrazovaniia: ot urovnia k urovniu”, Voprosy obrazovaniia* Vol: 3 (2017): 152-182.

²³ D. L. Konstantinovskii y E. S. Popova “Molodezh, rynek truda i ekspansiia vysshego obrazovaniia”, *Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniia* Vol: 11 (2015): 38

The choice of a place of study and the migration component of the educational orientations in provincial youth

The first step in the process of educational migration is selecting a city to continue one's education (Table 3).

	Regional centers of Belgorod and Kursk		Small towns	
	9th-grade graduates	11th-grade graduates	9th-grade graduates	11th-grade graduates
I am staying in my town	89.3	67.1	18.4	-
I am going to the regional center	-	-	73.2	72.4
I am going to Moscow	3.1	15.8	1.2	14.5
I am going to Saint Petersburg	2.2	9.1	0.3	8.7
I am going to a different city	5.2	3.7	6.9	2.6
I am going to study abroad	0.2	4.3	-	1.8

Table 3
Preferences in the choice of a place of study, in %

The data presented in Table 3 illustrate that the 9th-grade graduates are less mobile and seek to leave their region to continue their education to a lesser extent. The low rate of 9th-grade graduates' educational migration is primarily explained by their age. The majority of this group is still underage, not independent enough in the social and household sense, and easily susceptible to others' influence; therefore, their parents are naturally trying to sustain stable control over them. As a result, 89.3% of the regional center 9th-grade graduates and 91.6% of small-town 9th-grade graduates preferred to stay in their region. That group includes 18.4% of graduates who decided to continue their education in vocational schools in their hometown and 73.2% of graduates who chose to move to the regional center. The decision to move to study in a different region (Moscow, Saint Petersburg, and other cities) after the 9th-grade expressed by 9.4% of respondents was motivated primarily by the presence of relatives in that region.

It was also found in the course of the study that the majority (73.6%) of the 9th-grade graduates would like to enroll in a vocational education faculty at a university to facilitate the opportunity of getting a higher education there. In this case, the educational trajectory of choice is "school – vocational education faculty at a university – university" viewed as a way of getting a higher education and minimizing the risk on the way. In reality, this trajectory proves to be effective and is becoming more and more reminiscent of a nationwide trend in recent years²⁴. The proportion of 9th-grade graduates who expressed a desire to continue their education abroad turned out to be low to the point of insignificance (0.2%). Moreover, this group was composed entirely of regional center youth. This result corresponds to the fact that small-town youth is informed about studying abroad poorly, does not always possess enough financial resources, and experiences increased anxiety due to the lack of experience living outside their hometowns.

²⁴ D. A. Aleksandrov; K. A. Tenisheva y S. S. Saveleva, "Mobilnost bez riskov: obrazovatelnyi put "v universitet cherez kolledzh", *Voprosy obrazovaniia* Vol: 3 (2015): 66–91.

The 11th-grade graduates' choice of the place of study had more variability. The majority of the graduates (a total of 69.7%; 67.1% – from the regional centers, 73.2% – from small towns) decided to study at universities in their regional capitals. This decision was justified by them by the accessibility of the enrollment, proximity to their home, financial abilities, the presence of the desired specialties at the universities of Belgorod and Kursk, and “the ability to get an education of the same high quality at the regional universities”.

The universities of Moscow were chosen as a place of future study by 15.8% of regional center graduates and 14.5% of small-town graduates; the universities of Saint Petersburg were a choice of 9.1% and 8.7% of the graduates, respectively. The choice of the universities of capital cities²⁵ by provincial youth can be seen as quite natural. First, higher education in capital city universities is a priori positioned as having the highest quality. Second, capital universities provide an opportunity to obtain a wider range of professions. Third, after graduation, there are more employment opportunities in Moscow and Saint Petersburg. Fourth, the provincial youth is attracted to the lifestyle, related to living in Moscow and Saint Petersburg that can be obtained by studying at the universities in these cities.

“Different cities” were only chosen as a place of getting a higher education by 12 people (3.1%), 7 of which decided to enroll in higher military schools located outside the capitals and regional centers. Another 12 graduates decided to continue education abroad, 9 people out of that group being from the regional centers and 3 being from small towns. The primary motives for choosing to study abroad included the opportunity to learn a foreign language well, live abroad, and get familiar with living in other countries. At the same time, provincial youth demonstrated a lack of sufficient and objective information about the conditions of getting an education abroad. Moreover, based on the local situation and the regional labor market, they did not propose any advantages of having a foreign university diploma.

As illustrated in Table 3, educational migration is generally typical for provincial youth reaching 100% in small-town youth. Despite it being widespread and natural, it is difficult to give an unambiguous assessment of educational migration. The increased accessibility of education and young people's ability to acquire the desired profession can be attributed to its positive aspects. At the same time, for provincial youth, especially the small-town youth, educational migration becomes the primary source of one of the most important functions of education – the “social lift” function. In this regard, the graduates of provincial schools enrolling the universities in Moscow and Saint Petersburg possess obvious advantages. In 2019, however, only 52 people out of the study participants (13.6% of the sample of freshmen) enrolled in the universities of the two capitals, although the desire to do so was expressed by 92 people (24.1%). According to the respondents, the reasons why graduates abandoned the previously made decisions to enter universities in the capital cities included: lack of financial resources (58.1%), family circumstances (19.2%), insufficient USE scores (18.4%), “I only need a diploma anyway” (2.8%), and others (1.5%). It follows from this that the primary factor restraining the provincial youth from entering the capital city universities is the financial status of the family, the educational migration, therefore, being quite strictly limited by the economic and oftentimes social inequality associated with it. In turn, according to P. Bourdieu's theory, the limited opportunity of enrolling in prestigious capital city

²⁵ In this case, the universities of capital cities refer to the universities in Moscow and Saint Petersburg as the two Russian capitals.

universities due to the social and economic inequality leads to reduced access to resources forming the economic, cultural, and social capital²⁶.

The ambiguity of the consequences of educational migration in resolving the life tasks of provincial youth corresponds to its ambiguity for the regions themselves. The possibility of the regions acquiring specialists with high-quality education graduating from the leading universities of the country can be viewed as positive. However, in reality, the problem of youth not returning to the regions after graduation is highly acute.

In the course of our study, vocational school and university freshmen were provided with a survey question: “After completing your education at the university or a vocational school, you are planning to...”. The results of this question are presented in Table 4.

	Regional centers* of Belgorod and Kursk		Small towns*	
	Vocational school freshmen	University freshmen	Vocational school freshmen	University freshmen
Return to my home town	-	-	2.7	0.5
Stay in the regional center	62.4	39.6	68.7	53.8
Stay in Moscow	2.9	8.3	1.1	6.4
Stay in Saint Petersburg	1.8	6.9	0.3	5.5
Stay in a different city	1.4	3.6	3.5	2.4
Stay abroad	-	2.1	-	0.7
Move to Moscow	16.3	18.9	15.4	17.3
Move to Saint Petersburg	9.1	12.5	5.1	7.9
Move to a different city	3.1	0.8	2.0	0.4
Move abroad	3.0	7.3	1.2	5.1

*Referring to the natives of regional centers or small towns

Table 4

After completing your education at the university or a vocational school, you are planning to in % of the total number of the enrolled students

Among the vocational school freshmen, who are typically aimed at continuing education after graduation, the desire to stay in the regional center and enroll in local universities was predominant (65.5%). A significant portion of this group (23%) planned to move to Moscow or Saint Petersburg. Only 2.7% of small-town young people enrolling in vocational schools in the regional centers expressed a desire to go back to their hometown after acquiring vocational education. However, these plans of vocational school freshmen referred primarily to the further realization of their educational orientations and did not yet contain an answer to the question of whether the youth was going to tie their future life to the region or not.

²⁶ P. Bourdieu, “Economic Capital, Cultural Capital, Social Capital. Social inequalities: Special Volume 2 of the Social World”, Göttingen (1983): 183-196.

A more reasonable judgment can be made based on the plans of university freshmen about the consequences of the realization of youth educational strategies for the regions. According to Table 4, 49.9% of the freshmen planned to stay in their region after graduation, 39.6% of them being regional center school graduates and 54.3% being from small towns. The number of young people from small towns expressing the desire to stay in their region, primarily in the regional center, greatly exceeded the number of regional center youth making the same decision. Small-town youth usually considers moving to the regional capital as a real advancement in the quality of life and self-realization opportunities. Only 0.5% of small-town youth planned to return to their hometown.

The specifics of the political and social attitudes existing in the Belgorod and Kursk regions have affected the desire of young people to go abroad. This desire was expressed only by 6.2% of respondents, which is significantly lower than the results acquired by the Levada-Tsentr (41%) in the course of a nationwide survey²⁷.

Moscow and Saint Petersburg were found to be the most attractive places for provincial youth. Almost all the participants studying in the universities of the two capitals decided to stay there and 28.3% of the participants studying in the universities in different cities were going to move there after graduation.

In other words, the existing educational migration trend does not leave any hope to the regions for getting an inflow of young specialists with high-quality education acquired in the capital universities. Moreover, the educational migration being the first step of the realization of migrational attitudes of youth enhances the problems of small towns related primarily to the population outflow.

Conclusion

Similarly to other groups of the Russian youth, provincial youth predominantly strives to continue education after graduating from school. Education is perceived as its primary life value. At the same time, the results of the present study demonstrate that provincial youth perceives education mainly as an instrumental value, as a way of achieving such vital goals as financial well-being, interesting and highly paid job, prestige, and desired social status. Education as a terminal value is represented by youth through the terms of “erudition”, “pursuit of knowledge”, and “self-realization opportunity”. The educational trajectories typical for provincial youth are the ones common for Russian youth as a whole: the “school – university” trajectory for the 11th-grade graduates and the “school – vocational school – university” trajectory for the 9th-grade graduates. An increase in the tendency to follow the “school – vocational school – university” trajectory was also observed. Simultaneously, more popularity is being gained by the “school – vocational education faculty – university” trajectory where the vocational school step is represented by a university vocational education faculty. In this track, young people find the minimization of risks on the way of acquiring higher education. For the provincial youth, great importance is found in the choice of not only the educational strategy and future profession but also the territorial location of the educational institutions selected as a place of continuing one’s education. The vast majority of 9th and 11th-grade graduates from regional centers and small towns choose regional vocational schools and universities justifying this by proximity to home, financial abilities of the family, and adequate quality of education in these institutions. Almost every

²⁷ Emigratsionnye nastroeniia. 2019. Retrieved February 12, 2020, from: <https://www.levada.ru/2019/02/04/emigratsionnye-nastroeniya-3/>

fourth 11th-grade graduate chooses universities of Moscow and Saint Petersburg that, according to the young people, provide a greater range of specialties, high-quality education, and wide opportunities for self-realization. Educational migration is generally characteristic of provincial youth, and for small-town youth, it presents a necessary condition for getting a higher education. However, the consequences of educational migration of youth are controversial from the regional perspective. On the one hand, due to the educational migrations, the regions can obtain specialists with high quality of education. On the other hand, when moving to study in other cities, especially Moscow and Saint Petersburg, youth seeks to take root and get a job there. Moreover, getting a higher education diploma presents a starting point of implementing their migration strategies for the majority of provincial youth which along with the educational migration leads to the outflow of youth from the regions. This process is especially harmful to small towns, taking away their opportunities for development and, in some cases, even existence. Overall, the results of the present study demonstrate that in different youth groups, the educational orientations have both the common base factors and the variations of individual-specific components determined by a set of reasons, among which the territorial factor plays a leading role. In turn, the analysis of the effect of the territorial factor on the educational orientations demonstrates the perspectives for change in the status of provincial youth.

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