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Глобальная и национальная траектории мобильности выпускников образовательных организаций России

Введение. Включенность в глобальные информационные потоки, проведение крупных международных мероприятий на территории России, акцентирование внимания на взаимодействии с иностранными университетами и партнерами создает условия для формирования у современной молодежи направленности на глобальную траекторию мобильности – поступление в образовательные организации иностранных государств. При этом развитие российского образования, интернационализация и сетевое взаимодействие свидетельствуют о повышении роли и качества образования в России на глобальном рынке. Столь явные тенденции повышения мобильности в образовании закономерно требуют исследования распространенности идей мобильности в целом и по отдельным направлениям среди школьников, студентов университетов.

Цель исследования – выявить распространенность идей мобильности (потенциальная мобильность), как внутри России, так и за ее пределами среди выпускников образовательных организаций (разного уровня).

Материалы и методы исследования. В исследовании приняли участие 1136 выпускников образовательных организаций г. Екатеринбурга, из них 30% выпускников общеобразовательных школ, лицеев и гимназий, 60% выпускников бакалавриата 4-х университетов, 10% выпускники магистратуры 3-х университетов.

Результаты исследования. Проведенное в 2020–2021 годах исследование обозначило следующие тенденции: чем выше уровень образования, тем выше ценится образовательная среда в стране проживания, тем более масштабно представлена национальная траектория мобильности (школьники – 46%, бакалавры – 51%, магистры – 54%). Среди глобального рынка образовательных услуг для всех выпускников образовательных организаций России приоритет отдается Европе. Среди бакалавров больше тех, кто уверен, что сможет найти желаемую работу в России (21%), чем в другой стране. Магистранты еще более уверены в возможностях работы по своей специальности в России (36%). Очевидно, что чем старше становится выпускник, тем преобладают более рациональные мотивы в траектории мобильности.

Заключение. Исследование потенциальной мобильности позволяет сделать вывод, что преобладание национальной траектории мобильности прямо пропорционально взрослению, чем старше респондент, тем более рационально он подходит к выбору дальнейшего места учебы и проживания с учетом возможностей, как интеллектуальных, так и финансовых. Тем самым становится очевидным, почему достаточно высокие цифры потенциальной мобильности не становятся столь же высокими показателями реальной образовательной и трудовой эмиграции.

Ключевые слова: глобальная траектория мобильности, национальная траектория мобильности, образовательные организации России, рынок образовательных услуг, потенциальная мобильность

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Global and national tracks of mobility of graduates of educational institutions in Russia

Introduction. Involvement in global information flows, holding major international events in Russia, focusing on interaction with foreign universities and partners creates conditions for the formation of modern youth's focus on the global track of mobility – admission to educational organizations of foreign countries. At the same time, role and quality of education in Russia in the global market are increasing through the development of Russian education, internationalization and networking of universities. Such tendencies to increase mobility in education naturally require a study of the prevalence of the ideas of mobility in general and in certain areas among schoolchildren and university students.

The aim of the study is to reveal the prevalence of the ideas of mobility (potential mobility), both within Russia and abroad, among graduates of educational institutions (at different levels).

Materials and research methods. The study involved 1136 graduates of educational institutions in Ekaterinburg, of which 30% are graduates of secondary schools, lyceums and gymnasiums, 60% are graduates of bachelor's degrees from 4 universities, and 10% are graduates of master's degree from 3 universities.

Research results. A study conducted in 2020–2021 indicated the following trends: the higher the level of education, the higher the value of the educational environment in the country of residence, the more broadly represented the national track of mobility (schoolchildren – 46%, bachelors – 51%, masters – 54%). Among the global market of educational services for all graduates of educational institutions in Russia, priority is given to Europe. Among bachelors, there are more of those who are confident that they can find the desired job in Russia (21%) than in another country. Master students are more confident in the possibilities of working in their specialty in Russia (36%). The older the graduate becomes, the more rational motives prevail in the track of mobility.

Conclusion. The study of potential mobility allows us to conclude that the predominance of the national track of mobility is directly proportional to growing up, the older the respondent, the more rationally he approaches the choice of a further place of study and residence, taking into account the possibilities, both intellectual and financial. Thus, it becomes obvious why sufficiently high figures of potential mobility do not become as high indicators of real educational and labor emigrations.

Keywords: global track of mobility, national track of mobility, educational organizations of Russia, market of educational services, potential mobility

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Introduction

Globalization and digitalization for the modern generation of schoolchildren and students is a natural habitat, which is why it is easy for them to perceive the world in which they build their strategy of personal development, regardless of the territorial boundaries of their permanent residence. Education and employment can be not only within Russia (moving to other cities and regions), but also outside its borders (any foreign counties).

Within the framework of this work, the internal or national tracks of graduates' mobility is distinguished (thanks to the introduction of the Unified State Exam as a mechanism for entering universities, the mobility of applicants between regions of Russia has increased), external or global (the global educational market and the labor market). The high level of digital culture, knowledge of foreign languages (the study of one or two foreign languages is included in the programs of schools and universities) prepared graduates of educational organizations for training outside Russia.

In general, the tracks of mobility can be traced at the next stages of decision-making by graduates of educational institutions. On the one hand, this opportunity opens up during the transition from the system of secondary complete education to the system of higher education (from school to university). On the other hand, the two-level system of higher education opens up opportunities for graduates of bachelor program to continue their studies in a master program at another university, and graduates of a master program in postgraduate or doctoral program. Moreover, this is facilitated by the availability of programs for academic mobility of universities, as well as the internationalization of higher education in Russia.

The results of a survey by the Russian Public Opinion Research Center (WCIOM, September 2019, the sample was 1600 people) confirm the global track of the mobility of graduates of educational institutions in Russia, and this trend is clearly pronounced among young people and people under 34 years. From 40% to 48% of Russians aged 18 to 34 indicate that they have acquaintances, friends, relatives with diplomas from foreign countries. Between 35% and 41% of young people surveyed between the ages of 18 and 34 have thought about sending their children or grandchildren to pursue higher education abroad. At the same time, 27% of Russians believe that studying abroad is better than in Russia, and among people aged 18 to 24 this indicator is higher – 52% [1].

In general, in order to get a higher education at a foreign university, there is no need to leave your own country. The active development of online platforms for higher education has made diplomas from foreign universities more accessible.

Let us separately designate the possibilities of mobility of university graduates seeking to find work outside Russia (and not to continue their education) – the so-called "brain drain". In general, in order to increase employment opportunities, Russians are actively exploring Internet sites for obtaining additional education (individual courses can be taken as part of training at a university with a corresponding entry in a diploma).

For example, Coursera, the largest international open online education platform, has about 1.98 million students from Russia. Russia is in the top 10 countries in terms of the number of students on Coursera, and the average age of Russian students is 30 years [2]. The Russian language segment on Coursera is the fastest growing.

In the field of our research, one of the territories of Russia is the Urals, Sverdlovsk region, Ekaterinburg. Despite the implementation in the Urals of the national project "Education", the national project "Science", active involvement in the life of the region of the Ural Federal University, a significant proportion of talented young people leave the region. Over the past 8 years, 250 thousand young people have left the region (young people in this case are people aged 14 to 30). The number of young people decreased from 968 542 to 706 206 people [3]. All this aggravates the problem of retaining and inflowing talented youth into the region and raises questions about the direction of the mobility of graduates of educational organizations.

Literature Review

The modern market of educational services has crossed all borders, it exists not only locally (in the city, country), but also virtually (on the Internet – teachers and courses from anywhere in the world). The tracks of mobility of graduates of educational organizations are actively discussed, and within the framework of our research they are divided into national – within the country, and global – outside the country. Modern Russia is characterized by a high level of intergenerational educational mobility, when in different territories, including rural areas, there is an obvious increase in the number of people with higher education, in contrast to the generation of parents and grandparents, where secondary specialized education could prevail. Getting a higher education is the optimal period of migration, when the cost of moving and the cost of lost opportunities are not high. Thanks to research led by Gorshkov M.K., 42% of Russians have a migration biography, most of them have one experience of moving [4].

It is important to consider the main approaches and experience of empirical studies of national track of mobility of graduates of educational institutions in Russia. Even within the country, with an uneven distribution of resources – graduates with the necessary specialization – there is a loss of the able-bodied population. For example, it was this problem that was devoted to the work of Vandyshev M.N. on the loss of the active able-bodied population of medium and small towns in Russia. In the study conducted in the towns of Nizhny Tagil, Revda, Krasnoturinsk (sample 740 in 2014), schoolchildren in grades 8, 9, 10, 11 indicated an intention to leave the city – 64%, the main directions of migration are Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Ekaterinburg [5]. It is important to realize that education, the totality of competencies of university graduates are the foundation of innovation and economic growth in the region [6].

It is interesting to analyze educational routes in the work of Nikiforova T.G., where professional mobility is understood as the ability to master new things and adapt to new working conditions. In this work, the emphasis is shifted to taking into account the continuity of educational programs on the example of the Cheboksary Polytechnic Institute. The process of professional mobility also includes teachers who, in a competitive market of educational services, must engage in self-development in the system of lifelong education, which will become an advantage of the university, and will constantly improve the quality of education and the level of training of graduates [7]. Continuing the idea of continuity of education and Cherednichenko G.A. based on the analysis of rich empirical material. She notes that modern professionals, specialists in the labor market periodically return to the education system – formal, informal or informal – alternately or in parallel with the

fulfillment of labor obligations [8]. Education becomes an investment, and a graduate's professional track allows converting it into a position in the labor market.

It is necessary to highlight the main approaches and experience of empirical studies of global track of mobility of graduates of educational institutions. Experts note more and more that education is becoming a market process [9], where a document on graduation from prestigious universities has value in the labor market. If the benchmark is in the search for a future workplace outside the country of residence, then it is logical to get an education and have a diploma from a foreign university. Europe is attractive for Russians, where in Western Europe alone there are more than 2500 higher educational institutions, 18 million students from different countries of the world are studying [10]. Moreover, the internationalization of higher education in Europe is also associated with the high mobility of teachers, the presence of ties between EU universities [11].

Let us also highlight the original works devoted to the comparison of the national and global tracks of mobility of graduates of educational institutions in Russia. For example, Muzychuk T. L., Anokhov I. V. Zykhova V. A. propose to consider two categories in relation to university students, namely: "nomad", "sedentary" [12]. The research was carried out in 2017 among students and graduates of the Baikal State University. "Nomads" are aimed at the transnational labor market, and "sedentary" – at the in-country. In the field of attention are students of the double degree program, which reduces the barriers to accepting a diploma both in the Russian market and in the labor market of a foreign country.

Materials and research methods

The aim of the empirical study was to analyze the opinions of graduates of educational institutions about their intentions to continue their education inside or outside Russia.

The object of the research is the motives of future graduates of educational organizations (graduation classes of complete secondary education, graduation courses of higher education).

The subject of the research is potential tracks of mobility, namely national or global.

Comprehensive schools, lyceums and gymnasiums of Ekaterinburg (graduation classes) became the basis for the study of graduates of complete secondary education. The sample size of schoolchildren was 340 people. Moreover, 31% are secondary school students, 40% are lyceum, 28% are gymnasiums. An interesting regularity, among school students 92% are ordinary classes and only 8% are specialized classes, among students of the lyceum the opposite situation is: 8% are ordinary classes, 92% are specialized. The picture is different in the Gymnasiums, where 51% are regular classes, 49% are specialized. In general, schoolchildren of different profile classes took part in the study, the following profiles were named: physical and mathematical, physical and chemical, chemical and biological, socio-economic, mathematical, architectural, historical, social and humanitarian, polytechnic, humanitarian. We emphasize that 80% of them are residents of Ekaterinburg (from birth), 18% have been living in Ekaterinburg for the last 5–7 years, and only 2% have been living in Ekaterinburg for the last 1–2 years.

The basis for the study of university graduates (at the bachelor's level) was four universities of Ekaterinburg – Ural State University of Architecture and Art (USUAA), Ural State University of Economics (USUE), Ural State Mining University (UrSMU), Ural Federal University named after the first president of Russia B. N. Yeltsin (UrFU). The sample

size of undergraduate graduate students was 690 people. Moreover, the distribution by universities is as follows: 44% – UrFU, 33% – USUE, 15% – USUAA, 8% – UrSMU. Students are characterized by high mobility, which is confirmed by the fact that among the respondents, only 31% are residents of Ekaterinburg, 20% have lived for the last 5–8 years, and 48% have lived for the last 1–2 years.

The basis for the study of university graduates (at the master level) was made by three universities – Ural State University of Architecture and Art, Ural State University of Economics, Ural Federal University named after the first president of Russia B. N. Yeltsin. The sample size was 106 people, with an approximately equal distribution across the universities represented. And again, only 40% are the indigenous population, 60% are recent migrants.

Gathering information included two periods: from October 6 to November 10, 2020 and from February 10 to March 10, 2021. A mixed strategy of collecting information was used, in the form of a handout questionnaire among schoolchildren, bachelors and a semi-formalized interview among masters. The selection of respondents was carried out by the "snowball" method, which allows to cover a significant number of research participants through the chain of those who have already taken part in the research. Selection quotas were primarily associated with the type of educational organization. Even due to the absence of other quota signs, it is obvious that the students are a more heterogeneous group than schoolchildren, since among the former there are more of those for whom the place of study is not their hometown, while for the majority of schoolchildren the place of study is the place of permanent residence. It is interesting to record the extent to which the identified trend will be associated with the potential (global or national) mobility of graduates of educational organizations in the future when moving to subsequent levels of education.

Research results

The results of the study demonstrate a variable picture of the potential migration of graduates of educational institutions. Obviously, an inversely proportional relationship works, as it was previously recorded that among school graduates the majority of the indigenous population, while it is among them that the national track of mobility is the least represented (Table 1). While among university graduates (two levels – bachelor's and master's degrees), where most of them are educational migrants, the national track of mobility is approximately equally expressed (51% and 54%).

We emphasize once again that in this case intentions and potential vectors of mobility were investigated, which is associated with some assumptions of not transforming intention into action. So, 30% of schoolchildren found it difficult to express their intention, among bachelors and masters the indicator is lower to 24%. But it is important to record that, in reality, an increasing number of modern youths are realizing the possibility of choice not only within national borders, but also outside, which is confirmed by the previously cited research by experts.

Consider the global track of mobility, it is obvious that it is dominated in all groups by Europe – on average 27,4%, in second place is the United States – on average 8,8% (interesting is the significant reduction of this track for masters – more than 5 times in comparison with other groups). Quite low, but stable interest in Asian countries in all groups – an average of 4,7%.

Table 1

Migration potential of graduates of educational institutions of Ekaterinburg (in % by column)

Route	Schoolchildren	Bachelor students	Master students
Russia	46,4	51,2	54,3
Europe	20,7	33,1	28,3
USA	10,7	13,4	2,2
Asia	4,3	5,5	4,3
I do not know yet	30,0	22,0	23,9
<i>The sum exceeds 100%, since the respondent could have chosen several answer options</i>	112,1	125,2	113

If we consider the schoolchildren, it will be interesting to fix the level of the national track. Thus, among the indigenous residents of Ekaterinburg, 23% intend to continue their studies in another city, and among those who have lived in the city for the last 1–2 years, this number is already 25%, but among those who have lived in the last 5–7 years, there is an obvious increase in those who want to make a move – 36%. Note that among the indigenous people, the national and global tracks of educational mobility are as follows: 40% – prefer to stay in Russia for further education, 20% – to go to Europe, 9% – to the USA, 3% – to Asian countries. Among those who have lived in Ekaterinburg for the last 5–7 years, the picture is different: 50% adhere to a national track, while among the global ones, competition between Europe and the United States is obvious (11%, respectively), and 7% prefer Asia. Among those who have been living in Ekaterinburg for the last 1–2 years, half found it difficult to answer, and the other half prefers a global track: 25% will choose European education and 25% – American.

It is important to note that among those who intend to study outside the place of their permanent residence, there are twice as many of those who do not intend to return to their hometown. The trend of irreversible mobility has common features for both the indigenous population and those who have been living in Ekaterinburg for the last 5–7 years.

Let us turn to the motivation of schoolchildren regarding the most pronounced areas of mobility – a comparison of the reasons for choosing Russia and Europe. Remind that according to Table 1, it can be seen that almost every third schoolchild is ready to go abroad to obtain higher education. Such a high percentage is supported by the mythical notions of modern schoolchildren about the ease of obtaining higher education abroad (almost all comparison indicators have a higher acceptance rate in relation to European education). Schoolchildren are far from always aware of both their capabilities (personal, financial) and objective factors: not all countries accept schoolchildren from Russia to study for undergraduate studies. This is due to differences in the systems of obtaining general education. If in Russia they study for 11 years, then in many European countries they study at school for 12–13 years. Often, admission to European universities immediately after leaving school in Russia is closed without compulsory education in one-year or half-year language courses. Accordingly, Russian graduates find it an easier way – first to enter Russian universities in order to acquire the necessary competencies to continue their studies in Europe (to pass certified language exams at Russian universities).

The study showed that among the motives for obtaining higher education among groups of schoolchildren with a national and a global track of mobility, there are both common motives and special one's characteristic of each group separately.

Table 2

Motives for schoolchildren to choose universities in Russia or Europe (in % by column)

Motives of choice	Direction	
	Europe	Russia
A wider range of specialties for training	75,0	66,7
Desire to get a higher level of education	67,9	65,0
More opportunities to work in a specialty after graduation	67,9	41,7
Higher salary	67,9	41,7
More opportunities for interesting communication	57,1	30,0
Easier to find the job you want	57,1	38,3
More prestigious universities	42,9	48,3
The highest value of the university diploma of the city in which I want to study	42,9	35,0
There will be an opportunity to enter the intellectual elite	35,7	21,7
My abilities allow to study at universities in other countries	32,1	8,3
There are financial opportunities to study in another city	17,9	13,3
Other motives (specify)	0,0	8,3
<i>The sum exceeds 100%, since the respondent could have chosen several answer options</i>	564,4	418,3

The leading motives for both groups of schoolchildren are a large selection of promising specialties, as well as the value of a high level of higher education (Table 2). For these reasons, no significant statistical differences were obtained between the groups of students ($\text{sig} < 0,05$). This suggests that the higher education market in Russia offers really popular and promising specialties for training, and also meets high standards of education quality.

Unfortunately, schoolchildren are less likely to think about the correspondence of education to existing abilities. Among both groups of schoolchildren, such a motive as conformity to abilities occupies the penultimate 10th place in the hierarchy of motives for obtaining higher education. Although, among schoolchildren who are focused on continuing their education in Europe, it is significantly higher ($\text{sig} < 0,05$) and amounts to 32,1%, compared with those who plan to stay in Russia (8,3%). This suggests that the most talented school graduates are ready to leave for Europe.

It is worth paying special attention to the fact that schoolchildren wishing to get education in other cities of Russia, as well as abroad, have more pronounced rational educational and professional orientations than those who plan to stay in Ekaterinburg. Those schoolchildren who plan to stay in Ekaterinburg are more often guided by social and psychological motives.

Compared to schoolchildren, bachelors have much more opportunities to continue their studies or work abroad. But the share of those who want to continue their education abroad is significantly reduced in comparison with schoolchildren.

After graduating from the bachelor's degree, only half of the graduates plan to stay and work in Ekaterinburg. Of these, 33% would like to continue their studies in a master program in Ekaterinburg. The rest are planning to work. More detailed plans of bachelors are presented in Table 3. Among bachelor graduates, 16,2% of bachelor graduates are ready to leave Ekaterinburg to continue their studies in a master's program, 27% of them plan to study in other cities of Russia, and 45% would prefer European universities. Also, about 30% are ready to leave in search of a more prestigious and highly paid job.

Table 3

Plans for bachelors and masters of universities after graduation (in % by column)

Future plans of university graduates	Bachelors	Masters
Find a job by specialty in Ekaterinburg	34,6	49,1
Find any highly paid job in Ekaterinburg	27,2	11,3
Find any job with career prospects in Ekaterinburg	19,9	11,3
Study for a master's (postgraduate) program at the universities of Ekaterinburg	33,1	11,3
Move to another city where the salary is higher	12,5	13,2
Move to another city where career opportunities are higher	18,4	17,0
Move to another city, where it is better to study in a master's (postgraduate) program	16,2	5,7
Not decided yet	16,9	15,1
Other	7,4	4,2
<i>The sum exceeds 100%, since the respondent could have chosen several answer options</i>	186,20	138,20

Let's consider the differences between groups of students with different experience of living in Ekaterinburg. Thus, those who have been living in the city since birth show the highest percentages of global migration, 38% are oriented towards Europe, 18% – towards the USA, 5% – towards Asian countries, and only 25% – towards Russia. Among those who have lived in the city for the last 5–8 years and the last 1–2 years, there is a high level of national track: 63% and 55%, respectively.

The study also identified two groups of bachelor students: those who want to stay exclusively in Russia, and those who nevertheless link their educational and professional future with European countries (Table 4).

Table 4

Motives for choosing universities in Russia or Europe for bachelors (in % by column)

Motives of choice	Direction	
	Russia	Europe
Hope to get a higher salary	33,9	51,4
Better ecology	31,7	45,9
More opportunities for interesting communication	23,2	43,2
Better living conditions	32,1	37,8
Better conditions for recreation and entertainment	19,6	27,0
More choice of workplace	17,9	24,3
More opportunities to work in specialty	19,6	24,3
There will be an opportunity to enter the intellectual elite	10,7	21,6
Easier to find the job you want	21,4	16,2
My abilities allow to study at universities in other countries	5,4	13,5
There are financial opportunities for living in another city	17,9	10,8
What else (specify)	8,9	8,1
Abilities allow to study in the postgraduate program of the best universities in Russia	7,1	2,7

Bachelors who connect their future with Europe hope for higher salaries, more comfortable living conditions, and opportunities for communication and entertainment. The need for comfortable living conditions is complemented by the need for a favorable environmental situation. Today young people understand that it is possible to study or work while maintaining their health only in an ecologically clean environment. And according to these indicators, Europe seems more attractive to graduates.

The same situation is repeated as with schoolchildren, when compliance with abilities, financial capabilities and employment opportunities are practically not appreciated by graduates. Which testifies to the illusion of ease of study or employment abroad. Only 13,5% indicated that they have the ability to study in universities in other countries.

The results of the study show that the interest in continuing education after master's degree both in Ekaterinburg and beyond is not so high. And this is quite understandable, by the end of the master program, many masters have already been employed. In addition, Russian employers already distinguish between the qualifications of masters and bachelors [13], and the level of payment for masters is significantly higher than for bachelors. Masters more often than bachelors are already inclined to look for work in their specialty (Table 5), 5,7% of masters are ready to leave to continue their studies.

Table 5

Motives for further education or employment among graduate students (in % by column)

Motives of choice	Direction	
	Russia	Europe
Easier to find the job you want	21,7	45,5
More opportunities to work in specialty	39,1	36,4
Hope to get a higher salary	34,8	36,4
Better living conditions	30,4	36,4
More choice of workplace	26,1	27,3
More opportunities for interesting communication	21,7	27,3
Better ecology	26,1	18,2
My abilities allow to study in postgraduate program at the best universities in our country	8,7	9,1
My abilities allow to study at universities in other countries	8,7	9,1
There will be an opportunity to enter the intellectual elite	4,3	9,1
Better conditions for recreation and entertainment	4,3	0,0
There are financial opportunities for living in another city	4,3	0,0
What else (specify)	8,7	0,0

Let's point out the differences between undergraduates with different experience of living in Ekaterinburg. It is interesting that a direct relationship with the period of residence has been revealed. That is, the longer a master's student lives in a city, the more inclined he is to stay or will prefer the national track of mobility (52%). Among those who have been living in Ekaterinburg for the last 1–2 years, 38% are focused on continuing their studies or looking for work in Europe.

Those masters who link their future with Europe are confident that they can easily find the desired job in Europe (45,5%). This motive ranks first in the hierarchy. Among those who plan to stay in Russia there are almost half of them (21,7%). During the interview, the masters

talked about *"having studied for six years in general, having received knowledge, I already want to realize myself, I want to see the results of my work"* (Master of Informatics, UrFU), *"I want to apply knowledge, it's not in vain that I worked hard, I want to be useful"* (Master of Humanities, UrFU), *"I would like to realize the knowledge and skills that I have received during my studies, solve urgent problems"*, (Master of Economics, USUE). As we can see, masters have a more developed need for the results of their work in demand and benefited society. The motive of communication is also important for masters. Communication itself becomes a value for them, and this communication is associated with both common humanity and professional topics.

Discussion

The empirical data obtained indicate that modern youth clearly expresses intentions to participate in educational mobility, both within the country and abroad. Empirical data are consistent with the works of Shaidenko N. A., Orekhova E. Ya., Sergeeva A. N., Polunina L. N. [14], which describe migration mobility from countries of the "periphery" to more developed and prosperous regions. As part of our work, it is obvious that for many graduates of educational organizations, well-being is associated with Europe, the European way of life. Our research in the wake of the works of S. Ya. Batyshev, Ya. M. Novikov [15] analyzing modern education as creating space for expanding mobility only if economic literacy, psychological preparedness is taken into account and interact in a different environment, proves that without taking into account financial component and a rational approach, it is impossible to turn potentiality into action.

The national track of mobility is inherent in 46,4% of schoolchildren, 51,2% of undergraduate students, and 54,3% of graduate students. Such high rates are associated with the recognition of the quality of Russian education. Russian education is actively involved in the processes of modernization and transformation: there are local educational standards to take into account regional specifics, project training [16] to attract employers and analyze real cases from business and industry, and much more makes education in Russia competitive in the international market. And evidence of this is the strengthening and increase of the positions of Russian universities in international rankings [17], the process of internationalization is the growth in the number of foreign students and teachers in universities. For example, in 2019, foreign students from 81 countries of the world (3260 people) studied at UrFU, and foreign teachers from 17 countries (26 people) worked [18].

The global track of the mobility of Russian graduates of educational institutions is on average 37,5%, with a predominance of orientation towards the European direction. Such a high interest is consistent with M. Poore's opinion about digital literacy of modern youth, who, using online platforms and social networks, is ready to interact on the Internet with representatives of foreign universities, and is interested in new pedagogical technologies that take into account the developed digital environment. Universities in China, Europe and the United States are actively positioning themselves in the network space, offering to get acquainted with vivid photographs, success stories, the possibility of interactive interaction, with an emphasis on building a career in a networked society [19]. This is also consistent with the work of Nicholson J. and Galguera T., who demonstrated a reciprocal request for digital interaction through Twitter in the classroom to receive regular feedback from students [20]. The active communication strategy of foreign universities creates a more open and positive image for future applicants.

Today young people want to be competitive not only domestically, but also in the global labor market. This conclusion is consistent with the work of N.V. Dubiv, who noted that the students at Tyumen State University participated in academic mobility tend to look for work in international corporations and become part of the world labor market [21]. They strive to expand their opportunities in the process of obtaining education. According to the results of the study, it was recorded that one of the motives for mobility is interesting communication, obviously in a different socio-cultural environment, to be part of the intellectual elite. This confirms the conclusions of experts that studying abroad is not only an opportunity to increase one's human capital, but also social one [22]. In this case, this is naturally associated with the passage of the process of intercultural adaptation, which is consistent with the works of Wang Y., Li T., Noltemeyer A., Wang A., Shaw K. They note the rapid acquisition of socio-cultural skills among students studying outside their permanent place of residence, in a different cultural environment, such as Japanese students in New Zealand [23].

As indicated earlier, graduates of the master's program, to a greater extent than in other groups of graduates, think about working in their profession in the global labor market. That is why they consider the opportunity to continue their education outside of Russia as an experience of acquaintance with the values of a different environment and the peculiarities of communicative activity. This conclusion is consistent with the work of E. Putilova and A. Shutaleva, which proves the idea that the development of corporate culture as a part of national culture becomes a factor of competitiveness and non-financial assessment of the efficiency of a future employee [24] with developed language skills, aware of other requirements of foreign educational environment and labor market.

Conclusion

The market of education is characterized by high competition, where graduates compete not only at the local level, but also nationally and even globally.

The analysis of empirical material and expert opinion testifies to the interest of young people in various forms of student mobility. Foreign education does not seem "forbidden", thanks to an active policy of informational influence through social networks, universities are becoming more understandable and open to Russians, conferences and educational exhibitions are strengthening the trend, showing success stories.

The analysis of the materials allows, on the one hand, considering the features of the motivational structure of the choice of the track of mobility of graduates of educational institutions – national (rationalization) or global (idealization). More than half of undergraduate and graduate students prefer the national track of mobility. On the other hand, let us highlight some features of the orientation of different groups: for example, the lower the level of education, the higher the percentage of the global track of mobility. Moreover, the global track is most inherent in the most prepared and successfully mastered the programs of complete secondary education.

Let us single out a feature in the form of age-related changes in tracks, namely, the older the participant in the educational process, the more rational motives are inherent in choosing a development strategy. For example, graduate students think more about the economic parameter of mobility, the ability to have a decent income to support themselves in their place of residence and the possibility of further development. We emphasize that we are talking about potential mobility, so it is obvious that this is not an indicator of a real "brain drain".

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