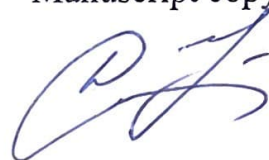


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**The role and institutional significance  
of Russian-National Slavic universities  
in the modern scientific and educational policy of Russia**

Specialty: 5. 5. 3 -  
«Public administration and sectoral policies»

**ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION**  
for the degree of candidate of political sciences

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**Relevance of the study.** With the beginning of the Special Military Operation of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation in Ukraine in 2022, Russia is undergoing an accelerated modernization of state policy in socially significant areas: educational, scientific, technical and humanitarian influence on foreign countries. In the context of a radical revision of relations with a number of elite groups of Western states and increased global competition, the need to create stable, independent of Western institutions, mechanisms of scientific and educational cooperation with strategic partners and friendly countries has sharply increased.

The need to ensure technological sovereignty within the framework of the new development paradigm, as well as the active promotion of alternative projects of influence by countries opposing the development of Russian projects, require a systematic and high-tech response from the state. In this regard, a new political course, pursued in the context of geopolitical confrontation and focused on dewesternization and reliance on traditional civilizational values, requires the improvement of instruments of foreign policy influence, including soft power mechanisms.

In order to preserve the Russian language as a language of interethnic communication in the post-Soviet space in the 1990-2000s. Russian-National Slavic universities (RNSU) were established – educational organizations of joint management of Russia and a number of CIS countries. As part of the transformation of Russian state policy in the scientific and educational sphere, it seems necessary to intensify the use of these institutions as tools for promoting the humanitarian influence of the Russian Federation.

The relevance of the study is due to the combination of foreign and domestic political factors that determine the need for a deep rethinking of the role of Russia's soft power tools in the new historical conditions.

In recent years, the state government has been focusing on the scientific and educational sphere and its foreign policy dimension: the President approved a set of strategic documents defining the priority task of state policy to increase the world

competitiveness of Russian education and science, as well as the use of best practices to develop new models of integration and ensure national interests in conditions of external pressure (National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation of 02.07.2021, Concept of Humanitarian Policy of the Russian Federation Abroad dated 05.09.2022, Strategy of Scientific and Technological Development of the Russian Federation of 28.02.2024, etc.).

It is Russian-National Slavic universities (RNSU) that are a private manifestation of international professional organizations, whose potential can be used in the formation of a modern model of educational, scientific and technical cooperation. In addition, since 2023 in Russia, a reform of vocational education has begun, aimed at the sovereignization of the Russian educational system and the development of modern approaches to the implementation of educational programs, which will undoubtedly influence the model of Slavic universities and further actualize the topic.

Thus, the relevance of the study is due to the urgent need to develop a scientifically based model for adapting Russian-National Slavic universities to the strategic challenges of our time, which is necessary for the successful implementation of the course to build a sovereign scientific and educational space. It is through the analysis of the activities of the RNSU as a specific institutional phenomenon that it becomes possible to identify new ways to implement Russia's strategic priorities in the new geopolitical conditions, which determines the scientific and practical significance of the work.

**The object of research** is the state scientific and educational policy.

**The subject of research** is the activities of Russian-National Slavic universities in the context of the transformation of Russian state policy in the scientific and educational sphere from 2022.

**The purpose of the study** is to identify the role and institutional significance of Russian-National Slavic universities in the context of the transformation of Russian state policy in the scientific and educational sphere.

**Research objectives:**

1. Consider the features of state scientific and educational policy.
2. Identify the factors and characteristics of the transformation of state policy in the scientific and educational sphere.
3. Identify the role and institutional significance of interstate scientific and educational structures in the state policy.
4. Explore the features and features of the scientific and educational policy of Russia.
5. Identify the factors and main directions of transformation of Russian state policy in the scientific and educational sphere.
6. Consider the role of interstate scientific and educational structures in the modern scientific and educational policy of Russia.
7. Identify the current directions of development of Russian-National Slavic universities in the context of the transformation of the scientific and educational policy of Russia.
8. Consider the features of the functioning of Russian-National Slavic universities in the educational systems of the countries where the organizations are located.
9. Identify the factors and effectiveness of the implementation of key areas of development of Russian-National Slavic universities in the context of the transformation of Russian state policy in the scientific and educational sphere.

**The main hypothesis of the study.** It is assumed that the institutional importance of Russian-National Slavic universities in the scientific and educational policy of Russia radically transformed after 2022: from instruments of cultural influence, they evolved into multifunctional platforms ("integration hubs"), focused on reorienting the national educational systems of the host countries to the Russian development model. At the same time, the effectiveness of the project directly depends on Russia's ability to overcome systemic institutional and legal barriers and offer partner countries a mutually beneficial model of cooperation, synchronized with their national interests.

### **The study corresponds to the passport of the scientific specialty 5. 5. 3**

"Public administration and sectoral policies" in p. 9 "Public policy, state sectoral policies (social, economic, migration, national, scientific and technical, educational, youth, information, etc.)," p. 18 "Public administration, public policy and sectoral policies in the context of globalization, glocalization and regionalization."

**Methodological basis of the study.** The fundamental basis was the provisions of the foundations of state policy, political management and management, reflected in the works of D. Easton, G. Almond, D. North, J. March, J. Olsen, B. Peters, A.I. Soloviev, L.V. Smorgunov, V.I. Yakunin and others.

The theoretical and methodological framework of the study is formed by the provisions of neo-institutionalism, a systematic approach and a theory of change management interpreted in relation to political analysis. In the first part of the work, a comprehensive analytical framework was formed that integrates a number of theoretical methods of domestic and foreign researchers.

The neo-institutional methodology was used to identify the main features of the Russian scientific and educational policy, the nature of its administration, as well as the main characteristics of its transformation. The theories of D. North, J. March, J. Olsen and B. Peters were used as a basis, taking into account the possibility of redistributing functions and powers between formal and informal actors and structuring their interaction in the context of institutions as formal and informal practices. Analytical criteria were formed taking into account the concepts of path dependence, logic of appropriateness and transaction costs.

The identification of universal characteristics of the transformation of public policy was facilitated by the use of neo-institutional concepts: the E. Freeman's theory of stakeholders, the concept of resource dependence of J. Pfeffer and J. Salancik, the S. Peyovich's model of interaction between formal and informal institutions. Exogenous and endogenous factors of the process were justified taking into account the provisions of the S.G. Kirdina's theory of institutional matrices and the concept of the "Muscovy matrix" by S. Hedlund.

Also, one of the main research tools was the system method (D. Easton, G. Almond), which provided an understanding of public policy as the activity of the political system that forms political decisions, and specific structures (institutions) as systemic elements interacting with the external environment. The application of this approach made it possible to present interstate structures as elements of the mechanism of scientific and educational policy of Russia and the countries of functioning of Slavic universities and trace their modern transformation.

In addition to these approaches, special methods of the theory of international relations were used to analyze the international dimension of the problem under study. Theoretical constructions of international cooperation by H. Milner and P.A. Tsygankov, the concept of «soft power» by J. Nye (including the models of A.A. Baykov and V.V. Sutyurin) made it possible to study interstate scientific and educational structures both as institutional mechanisms of cooperation and as instruments of foreign policy influence, and also provided an opportunity for comparative analysis and identification of the specifics of the influence of various types of structures.

The cross-cutting application of the historical approach helped to identify causal relationships between previous institutional decisions and modern challenges, explain the inertia and sustainability of informal practices, build periodization and highlight transformational stages.

The comparative method helped to identify common and special in the national priorities of the countries under study, methods and characteristics of public policy, as well as in the study of interstate scientific and educational institutions, was used to compare the stages of development of national models, compare specific institutional forms, identify differences and justify typology.

The regulatory approach was used for a formal analysis of the institutional environment and made it possible to distinguish between international and interstate levels of cooperation, as well as to record a change in the orientation vector and priority areas of intercountry cooperation.

Content analysis supplemented the methodology with tools for studying expert comments, intergovernmental agreements, charters and programs, as well as national legislative acts of the host countries and strategic documents. The case-stage method allowed to study in detail the transformational and organizational mechanisms, management changes and achieved results

The use of these approaches organically complemented the main methodological framework and was built into the logic of analysis of transformational processes. In addition, the author's understanding of the essence and natural conditions of the existence of the studied institutions is due to the use of the inclusive observation method used in the course of professional activities in one of the NSSS, which made it possible to verify the conclusions and take into account latent institutional barriers during the study.

Also, at all stages of the study, general scientific methods were actively used to systematize empirical material, formulate conclusions and build conceptual schemes: analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction, abstraction and modeling.

**The empirical basis of the study** was international, national, sectoral and departmental regulatory legal acts, programs and reporting official documents of institutes, domestic and foreign studies, analytical reports, statistical collections, materials of scientific and expert events, Internet sources.

**The scientific novelty of the study** is due to the low development of the subject of work in a scientific manner and consists in a comprehensive political analysis of changes in the institutional significance of a specific model of interstate structures in sectoral policy in the context of the transformation of the domestic and world political and historical context. The following results **were obtained:**

- the author's definition of the concept of "state scientific and educational policy" was formulated, developed taking into account the prevailing theoretical and methodological approaches in political science, and allowing to overcome a narrow-industry approach;

– the main characteristics and factors of transformation of the modern scientific and educational policy of Russia and the directions of development determined by them were revealed;

– the evolution of the institutional role of interstate scientific and educational structures in the context of the transformation of Russian state policy after 2022 is justified;

– for the first time, a qualitative transformation of the institutional significance of Russian-National Slavic universities in the system of state policy of Russia after 2022 was revealed and scientifically substantiated;

– a set of specific institutional barriers was identified and systematized that restrain the effectiveness of the development of Russian-National Slavic universities, as well as mechanisms for their differentiated overcoming;

– the functional duality of the RNSU hybrid status and the need to integrate them into the system of state policy of the countries of operation are justified.

**The following provisions are submitted for protection:**

1. State scientific and educational policy is a hybrid institutional complex that forms a system of strategic decisions based on the coordinated functioning of formal rules and informal practices of interaction between actors, and ensures the unity of education and science as a holistic process of production, translation and capitalization of knowledge to achieve the goals lying on their institutional intersection.

2. The transformation of the state scientific and educational policy of Russia after 2022 is a forced accelerated, but systemic response to a complex of external and internal challenges, the essential characteristic of which is a paradigm shift from the Western modernization model to the course towards sovereignty, technological independence and value consolidation. This process is determined by exogenous factors (geopolitical confrontation and sanctions pressure), as well as endogenous (including institutional dysfunctions of the previous model), and its uniqueness lies in the adaptive reproduction of the historically established institutional matrix,



which is manifested in the reactivation and modernization of proven patterns when they adapt to modern system conditions and new institutional forms.

3. In the context of international confrontation and fundamental restructuring of scientific and educational policy, a qualitative transformation of the role of interstate structures took place: from the tools of «soft power» and academic cooperation, they evolved into strategic multifunctional platforms for ensuring national interests, performing key functions in diversifying external cooperation, creating alternative Western systems of interaction, cooperation in the field of critical technologies, countering the influence of extra-regional actors in countries of vital interests of Russia and reorienting national scientific and educational systems to the Russian model of development.

4. In the course of modern modernization (considered on the example of the Kyrgyz-Russian Slavic University), Russian-National Slavic universities are evolving from a «cultural bridge» model (with elements of the export target model) to a «integration hub» model - a multifunctional platform that integrates education, science and the real sector of the economy, synchronized with the strategic priorities of partner countries and aimed at forming a single scientific and educational space under the auspices of Russia.

5. The dualistic nature of the development factors of Russian-National Slavic universities is expressed in a combination of internal (conflicting legal status, high degree of state regulation and ideological restrictions) and external (competitive opposition of extra-regional actors and multi-vector policies of partner countries) institutional barriers. The leveling of these restrictions is partly ensured by large-scale resource and political support from Russia, strategic synchronization with the national priorities of the host countries and the introduction of a network model of integration with leading Russian universities.

6. The unique hybrid status of Russian-National Slavic universities, determined by the need for simultaneous compliance with bilateral intergovernmental agreements and the national legislation of the host countries, is not only a key institutional barrier, but also the main source of their strategic stability

and legitimacy. The success of the institutions of this model directly depends on their ability to act not as an extraterritorial project of Russia, but as an organic element of the national educational system of the partner country, synchronizing its goals with its strategic priorities, which creates the basis for their political support from the host state.

**The theoretical significance of the work** lies in the development of scientific ideas about the mechanisms, determinants and institutional consequences of the transformation of the state scientific and educational policy of Russia in the context of geopolitical turbulence. The study proposes an integrated approach to analyzing the transformation of scientific and educational policy through the prism of the interaction of exogenous and endogenous factors, as well as the dichotomy of formal and informal institutions. The theory of «soft power» was also developed, proposing the evolution of traditional institutions within the framework of the concept of strategic multifunctional platforms. In addition, an original analytical toolkit has been developed to study hybrid institutions in conditions of overlapping jurisdictions and multidirectional pressure vectors. The theoretical results of the study can be used in the development of training courses and programs for the training of managerial personnel in the field of education, international relations and public administration,

**The practical significance of the study** is determined by its applied focus on identifying systemic problems and developing specific recommendations for government bodies and other domestic management structures aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the implementation of Russia's scientific and educational policy. Conclusions contained in the work (in particular, a set of measures to optimize the activities of Russian-National Slavic universities) can be used by national regulators in the field of science and education (Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation, specialized committees of the State Duma and the Federation Council of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, the Federal Service for Supervision in Education and Science, etc.) to adjust and detail programs to support and develop interstate structures, develop

legislative initiatives, and optimize programs to promote Russian humanitarian narratives. The identified model of factors and the hybrid nature of Russian-National Slavic universities provide management structures with an analytical basis for developing more flexible development strategies to balance the requirements of the founders, minimize institutional barriers and more effectively resist external competition. Also, the practical results of the study will be useful for the structural divisions of Russian universities that are building updated internationalization strategies.

**The structure of the dissertation** work includes an introduction, three chapters (three paragraphs each), a conclusion, a list of sources and literature.

**The main results of the dissertation** were published in thematic collections and periodicals:

**from the list recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission** (by specialty 5. 5. 3)

1. Denisenko V.V., Znamensky D.Yu. Factors and trends in the development of Russian modern scientific and educational policy // Management. 2026. Vol. 14. № 2. (article accepted for publication, certificate dated 02.06.2026 № 11-01/77)

2. Denisenko V.V. Prospects for scientific and educational integration of the Eurasian Economic Union in the context of the Russian Federation's state policy since 2022 // Management. 2025. Vol. 13. № 3. P. 152-163. DOI: 10. 26425/2309-3633-2025-13-3-152-163

3. Denisenko V.V. The institutional significance of the Kyrgyz-Russian Slavic University in the national higher education system of the Kyrgyz Republic // Politics and Society. 2025. № 2. P. 86-98. DOI: 10. 7256/2454-0684. 2025. 2. 74507

4. Omelchenko N.A., Denisenko V.V. Russia's scientific and educational policy in the Eurasian Economic Union countries: major tools and counteracting actors // Management. 2024. Vol. 12. № 4. P. 96-108. DOI: 10. 26425/2309-3633-2024-12-4-96-108

**from the list recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission** (for related specialties)

5. Denisenko V.V. Competitiveness of the Russian educational system within the EAEU // Polylogos. 2020. Vol. 4. № 2. URL: <https://polylogos-journal.ru/s258770110011479-8-1/> DOI: 10.18254/S258770110011479-8

**other scientific publications**

6. Denisenko V.V. Unified educational space as an element of the model of the Eurasian Economic Union. Trajectories of political development of Russia: Institutes, projects, actors: materials of the All-Russian Scientific Conference of RAPN, Moscow, Moscow State Pedagogical University, December 6-7, 2019/ed. O.V. Gaman-Golutvina, L.V. Smorgunova, L.N. Timofeeva. - M.: MOSCOW STATE PEDAGOGICAL UNIVERSITY, 2019. P. 127-128.

**Reports and presentations at scientific and expert events at the international level on the topic of the work:**

1. IV International Educational Forum «Altai-Asia 2024» (October 3–5, 2024, Belokurikha, Altai State University).

2. II Summit of Slavic Universities «Slavic Horizon – 2024» (September 26, 2024, Saint Petersburg, Peter the Great St. Petersburg Polytechnic University).

3. IV International Conference «The Global Majority in Contemporary International Realities: From Fragmentation to New Institutional Frameworks» (December 1–2, 2022, Moscow, Higher School of Economics).