Organizational Cultures of Vocational Schools and Firms in Russia, China and Iran as Perceived by Students and Teachers

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Translated from Russian by I. Zhuchkova. Abstract. This study examines the problems of getting vocational students ready for modern innovative work en-

vironments and ensuring their organizational socialization within the changing technological paradigm. Research methodology was based on the organizational culture framework proposed by Kim S. Cameron and Robert E. Quinn. A survey was conducted to find out how vocational students and teachers in Russia. China and Iran perceived the organizational cultures of vocational schools, firms envisaged as the most probable employers, and firms that could be the most effective under the existing conditions. Organizational structure of vocational schools was found to be related to the socioeconomic situation in the country. The most well-balanced examples were observed in Chinese vocational schools, where students were convinced that they would be working for effective companies. Students and teachers in China are united in their assessments and want everything to stay as it is. In the long run, such attitudes may result in stagnation rather than development. Russian students believe that their vocational schools have a clan culture and would like to strengthen the clan component at the expense of hierarchy. They tend to overestimate the innovativeness component and disregard it largely, being convinced that they will most probably work for an ineffective organization. Teachers see hierarchy as a dominant culture in the existing situation and want to weaken it along with market and strengthen a clan-type culture instead as much as possible. Such attitudes will naturally result in a lower quality of human capital. Vocational teachers in Russia have a quite clear understanding of effective organizational cultures, yet they exert no relevant socializing influence on students and even agree with them on preferring the dominance of clan values. In Iran, vocational students assess the culture of effective businesses more adequately than teachers, while the latter seek to preserve the unquestioned prevalence of hierarchical values and minimize the innovative ones, which prevents anticipatory organizational socialization in vocational education. Limitations of the study are discussed, and approaches to developing organizational socialization programs are worked out. **Keywords:** Industry 4.0, vocational schools, students, teachers, organizational culture, values, innovations, organizational socialization.

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According to Russia's Ministry of Economic Development's projections for up to 2036, the situation in Russia's labor market will be driven by economic development in the context of transition to an innovative economy as well as by integration of innovation, technology and new communication formats¹. In the Global Innovation Index 2019, Russia was ranked 46th (as compared to 45th in 2017)². A good deal of effort will be required to bring the Russian economy to a sustainable innovative development. Meanwhile, OECD experts expect Russia's economic growth in the upcoming years to be rather moderate and below the global average. Low labor productivity induced by low levels of innovative capacity of many Russian organizations was mentioned as one of the most powerful factors inhibiting economic growth [OECD2017].

Socioeconomic transformations associated with the advent of Industry 4.0 are more rapid than those faced by economies in earlier periods and require a higher level of flexibility and proactive adaptation of all socioeconomic institutions, including vocational schools. The new economic context brings fundamental changes to the labor market, introducing new forms of employment, driving out familiar occupations and giving rise to new ones [Fossen, Sorgner 2019]. Employee requirements are being changed, too. Readiness to innovation, both in technology and management, is a key mental characteristic demanded from employees in Industry 4.0. The new economy wants workers who are responsible, resourceful and personally involved, who can de-

¹ Ministry of Economic Development of the Russian Federation. Projecting the Socioeconomic Development of the Russian Federation for up to 2036: http://economy.gov.ru/wps/wcm/connect/9e711dab-fec8-4623-a3b1-33060a39859d/prognoz2036.pdf? MOD=AJPERES&CACHEID=9e711dabfec8-4623-a3b1-33060a39859d

² Dutta S., Lanvin B., Wunsch-Vincent S. (eds.) (2019) *Global Innovation Index 2019. Cornell SC Johnson College of Business.* Available at: https://www.globalinnovationindex.org/gii-2019-report

velop together with the working process and assume responsibility for their learning and professional development [Kalendzhyan, Kuzmina 2017; Kvachev, Yudina 2017]. Such qualities hinge upon commitment to innovation, but employees in Russian businesses still largely share values of the past rather than the future [Temnitsky 2014; Zakharova, Leonova, Korobeynikova 2017; Vnutskikh, Komarov 2019].

Readiness for change, innovation and creativity have been traditionally associated with the young age. However, modern Western employers tend to be reluctant to hire young people as long as they can find someone who is older and more experienced. Stereotypes of ageing are giving way to negative stereotypes about youths, who are believed to be incompetent, disengaged, inactive and relying too much on social networks [Bowman 2014]. The young generation is believed to be unable to stay focused for a long time; they are oriented toward personal growth in a comfortable work environment with a flexible schedule and a famous brand; they are inward-looking; they want no career growth, a liberal workplace, a flat organization and a lot of incentives [Brazhnikov 2016; Kucherov, Zamulin, Tsybova 2019]. Clearly, employers are unhappy with this portrait of a young worker, especially in organizations with great distances between managerial levels, standardized operating procedures and strict liability requirements.

Unemployment rate among vocational training graduates in Russia is nearly 1.5 times higher than the national average, about 70% of them being mismatched to their jobs, largely overeducated and underpaid [Dudyrev, Romanova, Travkin 2019:131]. Experts associate employment and organizational socialization issues experienced by vocational school graduates with insufficient internship hours in learning programs. In Russia's present-day model of transition from study to work, successful placement of vocational graduates implies combination of work and study and active cooperation between vocational schools and employers to allow students to have paid part-time jobs as part of their learning programs [Ibid.:129, 131].

Because there is strong statistical evidence confirming the high significance of combining work and study for future careers of vocational students, it probably makes sense to look at companies in which internees learn their new trades and familiarize with work environments. Some Russian businesses have adjusted successfully to new digital technology, but there are still entire sectors whose technological and organizational cultures are "stuck in the past century"³. Research findings show that a large proportion of industrial workers in Russia have not yet adapted to market economy conditions—such as job uncertainty, instability of income as a function of qualifications

³ Putin V. Nam nuzhna novaya ekonomika [We Need a New Economy]. Vedomosti. January 30, 2012. Available at: https://www.vedomosti.ru/politics/articles/2012/01/30/o_nashih_ekonomicheskih_zadachah

and employee contribution, and competition in the labor market—and still rely on government help [Temnitsky 2014:47].

There arises a legitimate question: what are the organizational cultures that vocational students are prepared for? The system of vocational education and training should provide effective organizational socialization of students so that they are ready to pave the way towards an innovative economy with their effort and involvement instead of adding to employee resistance to the ongoing innovative market reforms.

1. Organizational Socialization as a Prerequisite for Readiness to Work for a Modern Firm

Research on socialization as a process by which an adult individual learns the social norms and values and develops their personality has a long history [Giddens 2005]. However, no answers have been found to a number of questions that are key to providing effective socialization as a multivariate process that represents a hierarchically structured synthesis of such heterogeneous phenomena as culture, society and personality [Karpov, Perevozkina 2019].

In the late 1970s—early 1980s, Western scholars embarked on research into organizational socialization (OS) as a prerequisite for producing effective employees. Company's organizational culture was regarded as a framework for organizational socialization. Traditional social culture and lessons that employees learn from their prior socialization experience rarely contribute to a growing company's performance. The pioneering studies of John van Maanen and Edgar H. Schein, who formulated the main ideas of OS, show that productivity of any organization depends on how quickly its recruits learn the functional and social requirements of their new role as well as the behavioral patterns and styles appropriate for their position in the organization. Since the process of OS involves a transfer of information and values, it is based on internalizing the company's organizational culture [Van Maanen 1978; Van Maanen, Schein 1979].

Present-day researchers and practitioners elaborate various types, strategies and methods of OS and compare their efficiency. Some recent findings indicate that organizational socialization is contingent on the company's mission and strategic goals [Jaskyte 2005; Desmidt, Prinzie 2019]. The first studies on anticipatory socialization have been produced [Farag, Elias 2016; Fetherston 2017], showing that managers want to get employees who have already internalized the company's values and their functional role so as to reduce essentially the cost of newcomer fault and training. In Russia, where a number of firms experience difficulty transitioning to innovative market-oriented development and making relevant changes to their organizational cultures, organizational socialization could not be more urgent both as a factor of company performance [Dyrin 2006; Temnitsky 2014; Zakharova, Vlaskin, Orlova 2017] and as an objective for the system of vocational education [Dyrin et al. 2017].

As vocational graduates get employed, they enter a certain socio-psychological context, which is employer's organizational culture (OC). It is a manifestation of the company's organizational conditions based on the values shared by the majority of employees, i.e. their attitudes to the company's development and the relevant models of work and organizational behavior. Values are a strong predictor of behavior, so the value component of organizational socialization is of paramount importance [Zdravomyslov 1986; Scott, Herbst, Houmanfar 2009; Schwartz 2012]. Successful organizational adjustment of firms to the new digital era of Industry 4.0 suggests adopting a market-oriented hierarchical model of OC with strong adhocracy and clan components. Market orientation motivates employees to achieve success in a competitive environment; the hierarchical structure of OC in industrial settings ensures strict compliance to standardized operating procedures; adhocracy facilitates acceptance of innovations that keep the company viable and competitive; and the clan component provides the necessary level of humaneness in work environment [Zakharova, Leonova, Korobeynikova 2017]. Most institutions of vocational training pay considerable attention to student motivation and curriculum [Nagimova, Fakhretdinova 2019], while applying little conscious effort to prepare their students for organizational cultures of modern innovative firms.

Comparative analysis of organizational socialization in vocational schools across countries with different levels of economy innovation could be helpful for identifying the patterns of preparing vocational students to work for modern organizations in different socioeconomic and cultural contexts. China, for instance, is among the world's fastest-growing economies, innovation being its absolute priority. The country climbed from 22nd in 2017, through 17th in 2018, to 14th in 2019 in the Global Innovation Index⁴. Chinese firms use an array of effective tools to boost their own innovative performance [Zavyalova 2018]. Contrastingly, Iran is facing considerable hardships in terms of economic growth, its economy being dependent on oil revenues and suffering from a long-lasting sanction pressure. Iran has worked out and adopted an "economy of resistance" which largely resembles a wartime economy [Mamedova 2015]. The country is currently ranked 61st in Global Innovation Index. China and Iran thus choose different ways to enhance and accelerate their innovative development-the goal that they share with Russia. It could be expected that differences in socioeconomic and cultural situations will translate into differences in the quality of vocational education systems and their effectiveness in providing organizational socialization of students.

⁴ Dutta S., Lanvin B., Wunsch-Vincent S. (eds.) (2019) *Global Innovation Index 2019*. Cornell SC Johnson College of Business. Available at: https://www.globalinnovationindex.org/gii-2019-report

This study seeks to compare organizational cultures of Russian, Chinese and Iranian vocational schools. Analysis of how teachers, who are the key agents of student socialization, and students themselves perceive the organizational cultures of effective companies will allow assessing vocational graduates' readiness to work for a modern firm and determining the specific objectives of anticipatory organizational socialization.

2. Research Design
 2.1. Goal
 This study was aimed at identifying the perceptions of vocational students and teachers in Russia, China and Iran about organizational cultures of firms—prospective employers of students—as a basis for developing organizational socialization programs.

The study was performed in 2019 as part of independent research and development initiatives administered by the Faculty of Social Sciences of Lobachevsky State University of Nizhny Novgorod.

- 2.2. Respondents The sample consisted of 310 male students who had completed two years of vocational study and 92 teachers with at least two years of vocational teaching experience. Respondents from Russia, China and Iran are represented by equal proportions. The study involved nine vocational schools in Nizhny Novgorod, Nanning (Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region of China) and Tehran (Iran), three in each region. These cities have largely industrial profiles typical of their countries. Local vocational schools train industrial workers in mechanical engineering technology, operation and maintenance of electrical and electromechanical equipment. *Kardani* programs in Iran are similar to Russian and Chinese vocational programs in student age, educational objectives and curricula.
- 2.3. Methodology Theoretical frameworks used in this study include Schein's theory of organizational culture, which posits that OC functions consist in external adaptation and internal integration [Van Maanen, Schein 1979], the conceptions of Andrey Zdravomyslov [1986] and Shalom H. Schwartz [Schwartz, 2012] about values as predictors of behavior, and the concept and typology of organizational cultures proposed by Kim S. Cameron and Robert E. Quinn [Cameron, Quinn 2011]. The latter distinguish among clan, adhocracy (innovative), market (business) and hierarchy (bureaucratic) cultures depending on which of the four respective values they are founded on. Clans prioritize stability of relationship, adhocracies—innovation and creative self-actualization, markets—success in a competitive environment, and hierarchies—formal rules, discipline and standardized operating procedures.
 - 2.4. Method A modified version of the Organizational Culture Assessment Instrument (OCAI) introduced by Cameron and Quinn [Cameron, Quinn 2011] was used to diagnose the organizational cultures of the voca-

tional schools and the OC preferences of teachers and students. The student questionnaire contained the following questions:

What kind of organization would you like to work for?

What kind of organization do you think you will most probably work for?

What kind of organization will be the most effective in the modern economic context?

How would you describe your vocational school right now? What would you like your vocational school to be like?

The teacher questionnaire contained the following questions:

How would you describe your vocational school right now?

What would you like your vocational school to be like?

What kind of organization do you think your graduates will most probably work for?

What kind of organization will be the most effective in the modern economic context?

The non-parametric Mann–Whitney and Wilcoxon tests were used for statistical data analysis.

3. Organizational Cultures of Vocational Schools as Perceived by Students and Teachers

Organizational cultures of vocational schools differ essentially between the perceptions of students and teachers (Table 1).

In Russia, differences in OC perceptions between vocational students and teachers are centered around the clan and hierarchy components. Students perceive the organizational culture of their school as a clan, while teachers believe it to be more of a hierarchy. Teachers place emphasis on compliance with the curriculum, various instructions and performance standards, which grow in number from year to year; they are strict and demanding with students—who, in their turn, are convinced that everything is negotiable and they can always find an excuse or a reason to postpone a deadline. As in many organizational cultures of Russia, rigidity of rules is mitigated by the possibility of non-compliance. Teachers themselves would like to reduce the hierarchy component from 33 to 20% and strengthen the clan culture from 28 to 33%, desired changes being statistically significant in both cases ($p \le 0.05$). The data obtained allows suggesting that vocational school teachers are oriented toward internal integration and want to achieve psychological safety and a subjectively comfortable organizational life by reducing bureaucracy and confrontation with students.

The survey participants—both teachers and students—appear to overestimate the adhocracy (innovativeness) component, rating the emphasis placed on it to be 23–24%. Meanwhile, adhocracy culture has been at the level of 14–15% in the majority of Russian organizations for many years, whereas managers would like it to be at least 26% [Zakharova, Leonova, Korobeynikova 2017:91–92]. Such assessments are very likely to indicate the respondents' desire to show the situation in their college in a favorable light. In general, students seem

			С	ompor	ients o	f vocati	ional s	chool d	organiz	zationa	l cultu	ire	
		Clan			Adhocracy (Innovativeness)			Market (Business)			Hierarchy		
Vocational schools		0	D	W	0	D	W	0	D	W	0	D	W
Russia	Stud.	34	36	(-)	23	24	(-)	21	22	(-)	22	18	*
	Teach.	28	33	*	24	29	*	24	18	*	33	20	*
	U	*	*		(-)	*		Т	*		*	-	
China	Stud.	27	27	(-)	22	23	(-)	26	25	(-)	26	25	(-)
	Teach.	27	27	(-)	22	22	(-)	25	24	(-)	26	27	(-)
	U	(-)	(-)		(-)	(-)		(-)	(-)		(-)	(-)	
Iran	Stud.	32	33	(-)	10	29	**	19	11	**	40	27	**
	Teach.	27	26	(-)	17	17	(-)	23	23	(-)	33	34	(-)
	U	*	**		*	**	•	*	**		*	*	
U RVS-CVS Stud.		*	**		(-)	(-)		*	*	•	*	*	
U RVS-IVS Stud.		(-)	Т		*	*		(-)	*		*	*	
U CVS-IVS Stud.		*	*		*	*		*	*		*	(-)	
U RVS-CVS Teach.		(-)	*		Т	*		*	*		*	*	
U RVS-IVS Teach.		(-)	*		**	*		Т	*		(–)	**	
U CVS-IVS Teach.		(-)	(-)	-	**	*		Т	(-)		*	*	

Table 1. Organizational cultures in Russian, Chinese and Iranian vocational schools and the OC preferences of students and teachers

In Tables 1 and 2: *Stud.*—students, *Teach.*—teachers, *O*—observed emphasis on OC component, *D*—desired emphasis on OC component; *RVS*—indicators in Russian vocational schools, *CVS*—indicators in Chinese vocational schools, *IVS*—indicators in Iranian vocational schools; statistical significance of differences measured using *U*—Mann–Whitney test; *W*—Wilcoxon test. *-p ≤ 0.05 ; **-p ≤ 0.01 , T—trend; (-)— no statistically significant difference.

to attach little value to innovation. If they want any changes to their school's organizational culture at all, those should not affect the adhocracy component. Both teachers and students agree that hierarchy should be reduced and the clan component should be strengthened as much as possible, but teachers would also like to decrease essentially the market component and increase considerably the level of adhocracy.

It follows from the above that teachers are more likely to recognize the existing low level of innovativeness than students. At the same time, a decrease in the market component along with reduced hierarchy and intensified clan culture will naturally lead to degradation of the quality of human capital created by vocational schools as a result of lower personal responsibility of students, higher levels of negligence to learning, operating rules and regulations, and pseudo-innovation generated by low requirements to objectivity of performance measures in a clan-driven culture. Organizational culture orientations of Russian vocational teachers and students provide ground for suggesting an urgent need to emphasize organizational socialization of students as part of educational programs in order to provide strict and full compliance to engineering operating procedures along with innovation readiness and removal of psychological barriers to new technology and management solutions.

Chinese vocational students and teachers are unanimous in their perceptions—no statistically significant difference is observed for any component of existing or preferred organizational culture. Moreover, organizational cultures of Chinese vocational schools appear to be well-balanced, with adhocracy being rated at the level of 22-23%, slightly lower than any of the other three components (25-27%). The clan component accounts for 27% of organizational culture, which is considerably lower than in Russia (34%, $p \le 0.05$), where respondents would like an even more clan-oriented culture (36%, $p \le 0.05$). Chinese students, meanwhile, perceive the existing relationship as quite comfortable psychologically, probably realizing that a stronger emphasis on the value of relationship stability is only possible at the expense of other important OC components that provide a high quality of vocational training. Even unanimity between students and teachers' perceptions is achievable with such a strong emphasis on the market component. However, such a rigidity of assessments suggests that development is likely to sink into stagnation in the longer term. Nevertheless, China demonstrates the best organizational culture indicators of all the three countries studied.

In Iranian vocational schools, the hierarchy component naturally prevails, reaching 40% in the perceptions of students and 33% in those of teachers. It is usually manifested in rigid discipline, attendance, home assignment, compliance and accountability policies. Students believe that such organizational culture standards stifle creativity and prevent a truly businesslike atmosphere from developing, in which order would not be ensured by administrative pressure but by recognizing the need for it and adopting the proper algorithms of learning organization. Students look for compensation in supporting the clan culture. They would like to change the existing OC structure by intensifying significantly the adhocracy component from 10 to 29%, reducing the already low (much lower than in Russia and China) market component from 19 to 11% and cutting down hierarchy from 40 to 27%, while preserving the existing level of clan orientation. In this case, the hierarchy component in Iranian organizational cultures would come close to that of Chinese vocational schools. Most probably, this data indicates that Iranian students are tired of excessive bureaucratization in education, which they believe to curb creativity—the quality indispensable for learning new technology, boosting economic growth and reducing dependence on extractive industries.

A strong emotional reaction of students to bureaucratization of education, manifested in their desire to modify organizational culture of vocational schools essentially, may entail a considerable weakening of businesslike atmosphere in education, as it is perceived as just another layer and expression of hierarchy. Iranian students and teachers agree in rating the level of adhocracy in vocational schools as low (10 and 17%, respectively). The difference is significant between the assessments of students and teachers, as is the difference between Iranian and Russian statistics on the adhocracy component. However, students would like to increase adhocracy essentially, while teachers consider it reasonable to leave the level of innovativeness as it is. Students would also like to reduce hierarchy, whereas teachers want the hierarchy and clan components to remain as they are. As we can see, Iranian vocational teachers are as determined in their perceptions of organizational culture as their Chinese colleagues but differ fundamentally in their preferences: Chinese teachers seek to maintain a balanced OC with great emphasis on innovativeness, while Iranian teachers stick to the hierarchy-clan type of organizational culture which was typical of Soviet enterprises and which modern Russian managers are anxious to leave behind [Dyrin 2006; Zakharova, Leonova, Korobeynikova 2017]. Iranian students are craving for considerable changes but expect the market component to be reduced as part of such changes, which can hardly be regarded as reasonable.

4. Organizational Cultures of Firms as Perceived by Students and Teachers

Analysis of students and teachers' perceptions about organizational cultures of effective firms and prospective employers will provide a more comprehensive understanding of students' readiness to work for a modern organization (Table 2).

In Russian students' perceptions, organizational cultures of effective firms differ dramatically from those of the most probable employers in the emphasis they place on values of succeeding in a competitive environment-23% in real-life organizations vs. 26% in effective ones ($p \le 0.05$)—and their level of hierarchy-24% in prospective employers vs. 19% in effective firms ($p \le 0.01$). Adhocracy and clan components are perceived as equal in real-life vs. effective firms and close to those in vocational school organizational cultures, and the level of clan orientation peaks at 32%. These findings allow a conclusion that vocational students are not prepared to deal with levels of adhocracy other than in their school or to face the fact that the values of relationship are subordinate to those of innovation and competiveness in successful firms.

Teachers assess organizational cultures of effective firms quite adequately as oriented more towards adhocracy and market and less

Vocational schools		Perceptions about effective firms and prospective employers												
		Clan			Adhocracy (Innovativeness)			Market (Business)			Hierarchy			
		PE	Ef	W	PE	Ef	W	PE	Ef	W	PE	Ef	W	
Russia	Stud.	32	32	(-)	22	23	(-)	23	26	*	24	19	**	
	Teach.	31	28	Т	21	26	*	19	22	Т	28	24	*	
	U	(-)	*		(–)	Т		*	*		*	*		
China	Stud.	27	28	(-)	22	22	(-)	25	24	(-)	26	27	(-)	
	Teach.	28	28	(-)	22	21	(-)	24	25	(-)	26	26	(-)	
	U	(-)	(–)		(–)	(–)		(-)	(–)		(–)	(-)		
Iran	Stud.	19	22	*	24	28	*	27	16	**	31	35	*	
	Teach.	26	26	(–)	17	17	(–)	23	23	(-)	34	33	(-)	
	U	**	*		**	**		T	*		(–)	(-)		
U RVS-CVS Stud.		(-)	(–)		(–)	(–)		(–)	*		*	**		
U RVS-IVS Stud.		*	*		(–)	*		*	*		*	**		
U CVS-IVS Stud.		*	*		(–)	*		(-)	*		*	*		
U RVS-CVS Teach.		*	(-)		(–)	*		*	Т		(–)	(-)		
U RVS-IVS Teach.		*	(-)		*	*		*	(-)		*	*		
U CVS-IVS Teach.		(-)	(-)		*	*		(-)	(–)		*	*		

Table 2. Organizational cultures of modern firms as perceived by vocational school students and teachers in Russia, China and Iran

Note: *PE*—perceptions about the OC of prospective employers, *Ef*—perceptions about the OC of effective modern firms.

towards clan and hierarchy than those of prevailingly ineffective firms that are likely to hire their graduates. Perceptions of Russian teachers are very similar to those of their Chinese colleagues, except for the level of innovativeness (26% in Russia vs. 21% in China, $p \leq 0.05$). Chinese teachers probably regard innovation as a more familiar organizational phenomenon and don't focus on it as much as Russian respondents.

Chinese teachers and students agree in giving equal assessments to organizational cultures of prospective employers and effective firms, describing them as well-balanced with statistically insignificant prevalence of hierarchy and clan characteristics. Obviously, both teachers and students are convinced that graduates will work for effective firms, which indicates that innovativeness is an immanent feature of Chinese industry. Similar to their Russian peers, vocational students in Iran expect to be employed by firms that could hardly be seen as effective. They describe effective organizations as featuring much more adhocracy, hierarchy and clan and less of the market component (all differences being statistically significant). Teachers, meanwhile, see no difference between effective firms and prospective employers of graduates. This paradoxical finding means that teachers, as key agents of socialization, have no essential influence on young people's perceptions of problems faced by the Iranian economy. While Russian vocational teachers evaluate organizational cultures of effective firms more adequately than Russian students, the reverse is true for Iran. Perhaps, a high level of hierarchy in Iranian society impacts the behavior patterns of teachers, making them produce assessments that would be regarded as socially acceptable today.

By no means does this study claim to give an exhaustive overview of organizational cultures in modern vocational schools, particularly in different sociocultural contexts. In Russia as well in the other two countries, one may find other types of organizational cultures as well, some of which are close to those of innovative firms. However, the findings do suggest that a number of vocational schools need dedicated organizational socialization programs. In the Russian schools analyzed here, such programs could be targeted at improving students' understanding of the requirements to young employees imposed by the new economy, identifying the key organizational roles that students will undertake in their future career lives and filling those roles with specific personal and functional competencies. Special emphasis should be placed on teaching students innovations in economics: they should learn to understand the latest developments in technology, engineering and management, the requirements to industrial employee competences imposed by the innovative economy and the consequences of falling behind in innovative areas. There is a clear need for training teachers and tutors to design and implement such programs. A critical task faced by vocational school administrators today is to arrange student internships in firms that have adjusted successfully to the new technology paradigm and provide relevant organizational cultures, so that students not only learn their occupational roles but also engage in effective organizational socialization.

5. Conclusion Our findings demonstrate efficiency of assessing vocational student readiness to work for a modern firm by analyzing the organizational culture values adopted in vocational schools. They also indicate a certain correlation between the socioeconomic context and student readiness to work in organizational cultures of specific types.

Since vocational schools represent social institutions, their vision of educational process can not only follow the goals of economic development but also involve anticipatory action initiatives. In particular, organizational socialization of students may be designed to develop psychological readiness to organizational cultures of innovative firms. With regard to vocational schools, it appears especially significant for organizational socialization programs to resolve the conflict between the value of full compliance with operating procedures on the one hand and innovation readiness on the other.

Practices adopted by Chinese vocational schools can be regarded as a positive example of ensuring organizational socialization of students to prepare them to work for modern firms. However, the existing organizational culture characteristics of vocational schools in China involve the risk of growth inhibition.

Russian vocational colleges demonstrate considerable reserves for preparing students to work in the new economy, including the development of anticipatory organizational socialization programs. Teachers have an adequate overall idea of how effective firms are organized but fail to implement their knowledge to the full extent in teaching. One of the possible reasons for that consists in limited opportunities for vocational graduates to get a job in a modern innovative company.

In Iran, there is little possibility to create and implement organizational socialization programs due to predominantly and persistently conservative orientations among vocational teachers.

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