

THE EFFECTS OF TWO ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIALIZATION STRATEGIES
ON JOB SATISFACTION, GENERAL SATISFACTION,
PARTICIPATION, AND WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT

By

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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The relationship of specific organizational socialization strategies to job satisfaction, general satisfaction, participation, and work/family conflict was studied in a natural field experiment. Subjects were sixty-four new employees at a manufacturing plant which was beginning operations. Half of the new employees experienced formal group socialization into the organization; the other half experienced informal individual socialization. Formal group socialization lasted from five to nine weeks, encompassed technical information as well as company policies and procedures, and occurred before employees began work. Employees who experienced informal individual socialization began work on the production floor immediately upon entry into the organization and learned on the job.

Personality and demographic measures were obtained when subjects were initially employed. These were measures of entry skill level, similar work experience, self-monitoring, and locus of control. During the first four months of work, the variety of job assignments was assessed by observation. Approximately four months after beginning work, job satisfaction, general satisfaction, participation, and work/family conflict were measured.

The mode of socialization appears to have some fairly strong effects. Those employees who were socialized by formal group methods had significantly higher job satisfaction and higher work/family conflict than employees who experienced informal individual socialization. Socialization strategy did not contribute to general satisfaction or participation.

The differential effect of socialization strategy was greatest for new employees with low job skills. Highly skilled employees were influenced slightly by the socialization strategy experienced.

Self-monitoring, the sensitivity to social cues and subsequent adjustment of self-presentation by individuals, was found to be negatively related to work/family conflict. Job variety, similar work experience, and locus of control, concomitant with socialization strategy, did not demonstrate significant relationships with job satisfaction, general satisfaction, participation, or work/family conflict.

CHAPTER I

THE MODEL AND HYPOTHESES

When I first went out on the floor to work, I knew what I was supposed to be doing because we had been taught about the equipment in class. We knew what was expected. I also knew who I could depend on and who I could trust because I had been in class with them for weeks. I knew who would help me. But I remember Sam's first day on the job. He was bagging and it was awful. He was sweating, making a lot of mistakes. He was just dropped in on the floor with no training. He didn't even know the people or who to go to for help. I know it was a rough day for him. I guess I did have an advantage after all. (Hourly Employee, 1984)

Socialization is the process by which individuals acquire the values, beliefs, and behaviors that are necessary for satisfactory membership in society. The socialization process occurs through many activities such as parental guidance, formal training, informal observation and role modeling, trial and error, apprenticeship, etc. (Caplow, 1964; Van Maanen, 1976; Wanous, 1980). The construct of socialization has been developed and researched extensively in sociology and developmental psychology but has only recently become an area of interest to behavioral scientists who study organizations. While there were some early theoretical articles concerning socialization in organizations, the construct was given its current definition and

empirical validation primarily through the work of Schein (1968, 1971, 1978, 1980).

Generic definitions of socialization are broad and non-specific. For example, Mead (1972, p. ix) defines it as "the process by which human children born potentially human become human, able to function within the societies in which they are born," and Williams (1972, p. 293) defines it as "the process of transmission of human culture." Organizational socialization is more restricted. Organizational socialization is focused on adults rather than children, who are often the subjects of sociological and developmental psychological socializational analyses. Work organization socialization is the "process by which a person learns the values, norms, and required behaviors which permit him to participate as a member of the organization" (Van Maanen, 1976, p. 67). An even more elementary conceptualization of socialization is that it is the process of "breaking in" (Van Maanen, 1976). Organizational socialization directs attention to the specific processes in an organization setting.

Socialization is the influence of the organization on the individual, as differentiated from the individual's influence upon the organization. It is recognized that individuals are not pawns, subject only to the organization's pressures. Organizations change because of individual influence; individuals change because of organizational influence. Bakke (1955) wrote of the newcomer

"personalizing" the organization; Porter, Lawler, and Hackman (1975) refer to the "individualization" process when a newcomer influences the organization; Schein (1971) describes the "role innovator" who influences the organization. Influence in both directions is important. However, this study is limited to the effects of the organization, as a total entity and as groups and/or individual members upon the newcomer.

A final point of clarification regarding the socialization construct is in order. The construct is defined in terms of both processes and outcomes. The word "process" is a part of most definitions of socialization with the understanding that process can be a multitude of procedures or behaviors used to bring about socialization. The particular procedures used to influence the novice are contingent on the situation, the individuals being socialized, and the socializing agents (those who attempt to influence the newcomers).

Socialization is also defined in terms of the desired outcomes such as "participating and effective members" (Feldman, 1981), or persons who "acquire the social knowledge and skills necessary to assume an organizational role" (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979), or "society creates persons suitable to carry out its functional requirements" (Brim, 1976).

The Bases of Socialization

The effects of socialization can be understood in terms of role theory and socialization theory. Specific models of socialization follow from socialization theory.

Role Theory

Not only is socialization theory founded in role theory; it uses the language of role theory. Social relationships are defined as any relationship between people in any situation, including work situations. Role theory provides a model for understanding and defining the structure of social relationships (Shaw and Costanzo, 1982). In their seminal book on role theory, Biddle and Thomas (1966) argue that there is no "one grand" theory of role. Instead, there are many hypotheses about roles which may or may not be related. They point out that these hypotheses are often difficult to test empirically. In general, researchers do not attempt to test complete theories of role. Instead, researchers study many role variables such as role conflict, role ambiguity, role reversal, or expected behaviors in roles.

Underlying constructs of role theory are best explained as categories and in relation to each other. Biddle and Thomas (1966) present exhaustive classification schemes which are used to partition persons, behaviors, sets of persons and behaviors, and to relate sets of persons and behaviors.

Persons are differentiated as to the actor (e.g. focal person, self, ego) and the "other" person (e.g. target person, alter-ego). Shaw and Costanzo (1982) explain that the "other" is a "generalized entity which the person utilizes as a reference point for his own behavior" (p. 297).

Behaviors may relate to performance, prescription, evaluation, description, and sanction. Behavior may be overt or covert; it may be individual or aggregate. Performance is classified in terms of ends or goals, not means to an end. Outcomes are the results of role performance.

Role prescription defines the expected behaviors. Norms are covert prescriptions and role demands are overt prescriptions, although some writers use norms and prescriptions interchangeably. Role prescriptions are often couched in phrases such as "ought to" or "should" or "expected." Prescriptions are generalized expected behaviors. Behaviors may be evaluated or judged against particular standards or values. Behaviors may also be described or sanctioned.

Concepts which involve sets of persons and behaviors are positions and roles. Position is a recognized category of persons with a common attribute, common behavior, or common reactions of others toward the individual or group. A general definition of role is that "role is the set of prescriptions defining what the behavior of a position member should be" (Biddle and Thomas, 1966, p. 29). Katz and Kahn (1966) call roles "standardized patterns of

behavior required of all persons playing a part in a given functional relationship" (p. 37). Bakke (1955) points out that roles are never in isolation. Persons always perform roles in relation to others or perceived expectations of others.

Actors have many sets of expectations imposed upon them simultaneously. For example, a particular actor may have a position of college professor, i.e. a category of people with many common attributes and behaviors who elicit common reactions from others in society. There are certain expected behaviors (norms or role demands) for the person occupying the position of college professor. Students expect the professor to lecture, assign grades, advise, etc. and perform the role of a teacher. Other professors expect the professor to act as a colleague, to discuss theories and research, to collaborate, and to act in accordance with their similar professional values. The department chairperson and dean expect the professor to teach and get good student evaluations, research and publish, get outside financial support in the form of grants and contracts, and be supportive of administrative practices. All "others" who interact with the professor expect specific behaviors from the professor. These behaviors define the roles which the professor enacts. It should be noted that this relationship is reciprocal. The professor also has a set of prescriptive behaviors for all of the "others" whom he or she encounters. In addition, the professor will have other roles in the

position of parent, lover, consultant, community leader, etc. Each of these roles carries sets of prescribed behaviors or norms.

The final role concept is one of relationships between sets of persons and behaviors. This covers such areas as similarity of behaviors, interdependence of behaviors and various combinations of similarity and interdependence such as conformity and adjustment. With the basic constructs of role theory delineated, it is possible to understand socialization theory.

Socialization Theory

The culture of a group can be expressed in terms of its values, attitudes, knowledge, and norms. In broad terms, individuals acquire the culture of their social groups through socialization (Brim, 1976). Learning the culture allows the individual to be a functioning member of the group or society.

Those people who do not learn the necessary norms, behaviors, values, and motives are deviants. They are punished physically or emotionally by society, and in extreme cases are removed from the general social group and isolated in facilities such as prisons or mental institutions (Brim and Wheeler, 1976).

Role prescriptions define the allowed deviance. Some expected behaviors allow no deviance. For example, college students must pay tuition if they wish to remain in the

role of students. The expected behavior must occur with no deviation. On the other hand, there is a great range of behavior and deviance from that behavior when evaluating the acceptable behavior of students at a school athletic event. The expected behaviors range from polite cheering to rowdy chants to obscene chants, gestures, and signs.

The norms and demands of roles define the behaviors as well as the range of behaviors and the amount of deviance allowed before punishment. Of course, the legal system of a society also defines expected behaviors and limits the range of those behaviors. When deviance occurs, society almost always continues resocialization efforts in an attempt to bring the deviant behaviors into generally accepted (i.e. conforming) behaviors. Most people choose to comply with society's values rather than become total deviates.

Deliberate socialization efforts are one method of effecting control. The more effective the socialization, the less the need for overt organizational controls (Simon, 1957). As individuals become socialized, that is they learn and perform the expected behaviors, less organizational control, less managerial effort and fewer organizational resources are needed to direct their behaviors within the organization. Socialization brings about the expected behaviors because many role demands (overt prescriptions) are internalized by the individual over time and become norms. For example, an organization might consistently tell employees that the primary production goal is a quality

product. After hearing this enough and after receiving positive reinforcements for quality production, employees may internalize this goal of a quality product, i.e. accept the goal as a personal one, and would then work to produce a quality product regardless of the organization's goals or reinforcements. Norms, in turn, can influence values which are used in evaluation procedures. In the language of role theory, socialization is concerned with having the newcomer learn the role prescriptions and with evaluations of the behaviors enacted.

Schein (1968) argues that the stability and the effectiveness of an organization is a function of the socialization of new members. The speed and effectiveness of the socialization process will determine the members' levels of commitment, loyalty, productivity, and turnover. All of these elements contribute to the quality and quantity of the organization's final output.

Etzioni (1964) points out that organizational control and socialization are related. Three types of organizational control exist. Coercive control is physical force, as in prisons. There is no selection of members. Utilitarian control is by the giving or withholding of material rewards. Most business organizations are in this category. They are quite selective, especially at the higher ranks. Normative control is control by symbols such as moral values. Organizations which use normative control vary as to the degree of selectivity of members. Churches are

examples of organizations which use normative control. There is a trade-off between selection and socialization (Etzioni, 1964). Organizations which are highly selective take in individuals who come close to meeting the organization's standard of the ideal member who will achieve the goals and objectives valued by the organization. Therefore, there is little need for intense socialization efforts and control is easier. On the other hand, less selective organizations take in a variety of people and have to invest organizational resources in socialization or teaching new members the necessary and expected behaviors. The military is an example of a less selective organization, particularly at the lower ranks. The military takes in enlisted personnel who do not conform to military standards. This means that the military must spend time and resources in basic training of recruits in order to inculcate the desired values and objectives.

Socialization is always defined in terms of the desired outcomes. The desired outcomes are usually not isolated behaviors. Instead, organizations want members to acquire and display particular values, motives, repeated behaviors or bodies of knowledge over the individual's tenure in the organization. For example, a utilitarian organization, such as a law firm, might desire that members exhibit certain standards of quality in courtroom performance or that members become committed to doing pro bono work. These are examples of values and motives that the law firm desires

each member to have. The organization expects these values and motives, establishes role prescriptions and then evaluates members against the prescriptions. Overall, the goal of socialization of any organization remains the transformation of a new member into a functioning, contributing member who can perform the desired activities.

Socialization theory describes outcomes and processes but places little emphasis on the content of socialization. The values and norms which the organization seeks to transmit are varied. It is specific to the individuals, groups and situations where socialization is occurring. The important aspect of socialization is that a process occurs. The process of socialization takes many forms such as training, apprenticeship, trial and error, etc., and is discussed extensively in the literature. (See Caplow, 1964; Wanous, 1980; Van Maanen, 1976; Maier, 1973 and others for exhaustive listings.) The process of socialization can occur by a formal organizationally planned procedure, by informal unplanned interaction with others in the organization, or by any combination of efforts between these two extremes. Socialization can take place by individual efforts, multiple efforts, interactive procedures or activities in isolation.

Socialization is a continuous process, occurring throughout a lifetime. In organizations, socialization is continuous throughout the individual's membership. However, many believe that early socialization experiences are a

major factor in the individual's acceptance of significant organization norms, values, behaviors, and motives (Van Maanen, 1976; Schein, 1980; Berlew and Hall, 1966; Irwin, 1970). Berlew and Hall (1966), in one of the few research efforts on initial socialization, found a strong relationship between early job challenge and later job performance for managers. They conclude that the first year of employment is "a critical period of learning." Van Maanen (1976) reviews research which shows that first offenders' long term orientations toward imprisonment were usually dependent upon early jailing experiences. The obvious conclusion is that the potential for organizational influence is greatest during transition periods, when the individual is moving from one role or set of expectations to another. The ambiguity and demands of a new role produce anxiety and individuals are usually motivated to reduce the anxiety by learning the requirements for the new role (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979).

Finally, organizational socialization does not occur in a social vacuum. Many organizations, groups, and individuals influence the newcomer at the same time. For example, a person may be employed by an organization and experience the influence of the formal work organization as well as the influence of the informal work group that is encountered daily. Simultaneously, he or she is a part of, and influenced by, a family group, various social and civic groups, such as churches and clubs, and is also a member of the

community where he or she lives. The socialization efforts of all of these entities are interactive and are difficult to separate.

A Socialization Model

Socialization can be described as a multiple stage process model. A multiple stage process model is one which has sequential stages or phases with specific processes in each stage. All members must pass through each stage, in the proper sequence, in order to become fully socialized into the organization. There are several socialization models which are very similar (Porter, Lawler and Hackman, 1975; Van Maanen, 1976; Feldman, 1976; Feldman, 1981; Schein, 1978; Wanous, 1980). They all describe sequential periods through which a novice must pass on his or her way to full membership.

The socialization model used in this study, derived from several recent models, contains the following sequential stages:

Stage 1--Pre-Entry/Anticipatory

Stage 2--Initial Entry

Stage 3--Maturation

Stage 4--Outcomes

Figure 1 compares the stages in this model with the stages in several of the more prominent socialization models.

Anticipatory/Pre-entry. This stage of the socialization process occurs before the recruit actually becomes a

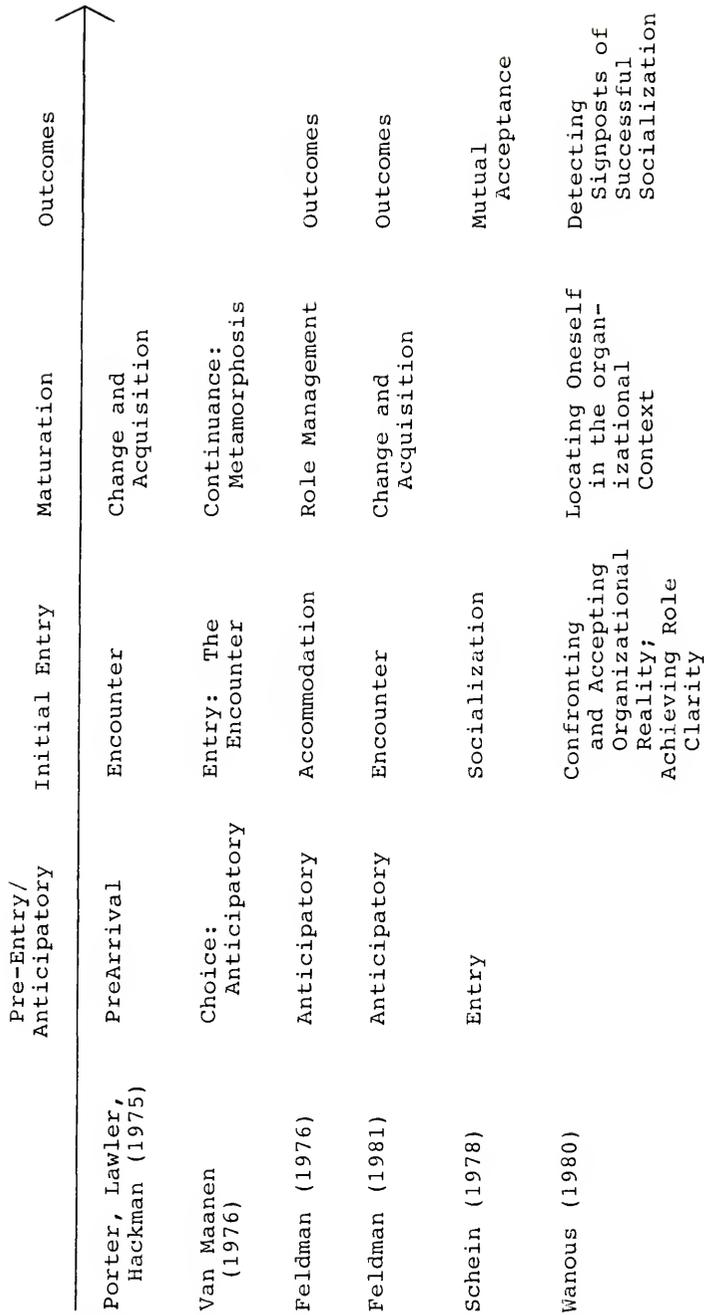


Figure 1. Models of Socialization

member of the organization. Individuals come to the organization with "a set of cultural baggage that they have acquired previously" (Porter et al., 1975). People have existing values, motives, knowledge and expectations that may color their views of the organization. Cultural values, education, and prior experiences are part of the anticipatory socialization phase. In addition, information about the organization influences the newcomers' perceptions. This may range from vague misinformation to specific details presented in realistic job previews. This is the period when applicants need to learn as much as possible about the organization. Feldman (1976) indicates two processes that should occur during this stage. They are acquisition of a full and accurate picture of life in the organization (realism) and the matching of the organization's resources and needs with the individual's skills and needs (congruence). Anticipatory socialization is viewed as "an imperfect and unfinished process" (Van Maanen, 1976). For this preliminary socialization to be meaningful, it must be supported and expanded by the organization.

Initial entry. This phase, termed encounter, accommodation, or socialization in some models, is a period in which new members must begin to learn the required tasks, learn the work group and organizational norms, learn to interact with others on the job, and define their roles within the group. Hughes (1958) calls this a period of "reality shock." The level of reality shock is a function

of how realistic the recruit's evaluation of the organization was prior to employment, and the level of congruence between the organizational demands and the individual's ability to meet the demands.

This initial entry stage is most critical to the socialization process for it is during this period that the new member is most susceptible to the organization's influence (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979; Brim, 1976; Irwin, 1970; Berlew and Hall, 1966). Initial placement and the associated challenge of that placement correlate strongly with performance and later success (Berlew and Hall, 1966). This phase is of a short duration, probably a few weeks or a few months. It is truly the initiation period. It is characterized by ambiguity and disconfirmation of expectations (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979).

Maturation. The third socialization stage can last from a few months to several years. This is a time for members to settle into roles, resolve conflicting role demands, and acquire necessary organizational goals and values. Wanous (1980) indicates that the recruit must "locate oneself in the organizational context."

The maturation stage is when the new member establishes to self and others what role or roles he or she will enact with respect to the organization. Compliance with or rebellion to the norms, values, and standards of the organization will occur. This will establish a pattern that will be recognized by the organization. This pattern will be

generally accepted and will be difficult to change, once established.

In his classic Principles of Organization, Caplow (1964) lists four requirements for the new member to become a "successful incumbent." Recruits must acquire a new self image, new involvements, new values, and new accomplishments. The new image will reflect the new member's organizational role and will include the values, status rankings and activities of the organization.

New involvements are required when the recruit interacts with an aggregate of individuals who compose the work group. This phase of the socialization requires more than the development of new relationships; old relationships are often changed and even abandoned. The acquisition of appropriate new values is a multifaceted process. Values of the new role are first communicated in such a way that the recruit understands them. They must then be accepted by the novice and, eventually, internalized if the newcomer is to be successfully socialized.

Finally, new accomplishments must occur that are unique to the particular role of the recruit. He or she must learn the necessary skills and then actually complete the specified tasks. By completing a task that is new, the recruit experiences the sense of accomplishment that is identified with the new role. The new accomplishments more firmly establish that the recruit is becoming a fully functioning member of the organization. The maturation stage is best

understood as the time when newcomers establish themselves as functioning and contributing members of the organization.

Outcomes. Even though some socialization models do not delineate the specific outcomes desired, the overall goal of all models is to explain the process which transforms the recruit into a satisfactory member. Most of the models discuss outcomes in a very general way. As Feldman (1976) notes, there is a difference between successful socialization and complete socialization. Successful socialization occurs at any time the individual becomes more proficient at any socialization task. Completed socialization indicates that the individual is contributing to the organization and has accomplished the tasks of the maturation stage. He or she has moved from "newcomer to insider" (Schein, 1978).

Outcomes may be organizationally or individually desired. The effects of socialization are assessed by such factors as general and job satisfaction, salary increases, positive performance appraisals, new job assignments, promotions, influence and participation in organization decisions, internal work motivation, job involvement, and work/family conflict. Instead of discussing outcomes, Wanous (1980) calls these factors "signposts of successful socialization." While theorists acknowledge that organizational socialization is a continuous process, there are definite milestones which signify that an individual is a member. The outcomes stage of a socialization model marks

the point where members are evaluated as to their contribution and their acceptability to the organization.

In general, organizations want their members to be satisfied, particularly with the job. Not only is this a humane attitude for management to take, but it is also a practical one. Overall satisfaction and job satisfaction lead to more pleasant working conditions, less absenteeism and tardiness, less turnover, and lowered production costs.

Some organizations want members to actively participate in decisions which influence the organization and its members. Higher levels of participation usually lead to higher commitment on the part of employees. Those employees with high organizational commitment are easier to control because they have internalized or adopted the organization's goals as their own. The organization does not have to expend a lot of time and effort trying to influence the member's goals.

Another desired outcome for organizations is minimal conflict between work roles and other roles, especially the family role. Many jobs can force the employee to take time and resources away from the family to devote to the job. This can lead to great conflict, and, in turn, to high dissatisfaction.

Socialization Strategies

Socialization can take many forms. The organization can shape and structure the socialization experiences in

varied ways. Socialization strategies are the "people processing" modes that the organization uses to bring new members into conformity (Van Maanen, 1978). The strategies used by the organization may be selected consciously or unconsciously; they may be planned innovations or rely on habit (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979).

The effects of socialization are cumulative and interactive. Each new socialization effort adds to the total lifetime socialization. Organizations usually use more than one strategy in the total socialization process. Van Maanen (1978) and Van Maanen and Schein (1979) suggest the most comprehensive list of strategies. Strategies of organizational socialization are

- collective versus individual processes
- formal versus informal processes
- sequential versus random processes
- fixed versus variable processes
- serial versus disjunctive processes
- investiture versus divestiture processes

Van Maanen and Schein (1979) list many propositions about each of these strategies but also point out that the strategies are interactive. Organizations will probably use several strategies simultaneously so it is difficult to test hypotheses about single strategies.

Collective Versus Individual Processes

Collective socialization occurs when a group of recruits go through a common set of experiences designed to aid them in becoming full members. Examples are basic training in the military or pledgeship in a fraternity. This collective process tends to strengthen group cohesiveness and camaraderie which, in turn, leads members to share problems and solutions to those problems. Through this process, newcomers "arrive at a definition of the situation, its problems and possibilities, and develop consensus as to the most appropriate and efficient ways of behaving" (Becker, 1964, p. 47). This group consensus then constrains the behaviors of individual members with respect to group acceptance or requirements.

The other end of the continuum is individual socialization. Recruits enter the organization singly and go through a unique set of experiences. An individual apprenticeship program where the novice learns alone with an expert and "on-the-job" training are examples of individual socialization. Results of this mode of socialization are quite variable and are largely a function of the specific socialization agent who trains and guides the novice. That is, one person experiencing individual socialization might become a fully functioning member very quickly through the guidance of a concerned mentor and friend. Another person in the same organization might be assigned to learn from a disinterested or negative employee who could hinder the

socialization process. The second newcomer may be poorly socialized and may never become a functioning member. This socialization tends to be an intense, value-oriented process and is most likely to be associated with complex roles (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979).

Formal Versus Informal Processes

Formal socialization occurs when newcomers are segregated from regular organization members while undergoing specific experiences designed to orient and train them. All members understand that the recruits have a "special" role (Wheeler, 1976) and that the special role entails the participation in a series of scheduled activities. "Special" roles for recruits entail such concepts as a lighter work load, permission to violate some of the group norms, or permission to make mistakes without the usual contingent reprimands and punishments. Scheduled activities are specific classes, orientation sessions, introductions to particular employees or suppliers, etc. Professional schools and company training courses are examples of formal socialization. This mode of socialization is often used when it is important for the novice to learn the "correct" values, attitudes, and behaviors required for the new role. By isolating the newcomer and making his or her role explicit and different from the existing members' roles, it is easier for the newcomer to know what the organization wants.

In contrast, informal socialization processes do not segregate the newcomer from more experienced members and the newcomer role is not emphasized. On-the-job training is the most obvious example of informal socialization. The recruit must negotiate his or her own way through the new situations although there are usually certain socialization agents to guide the newcomer. Sponsors or guides may be assigned by the organization or the newcomer may gravitate to those experienced members who give advice and aid entry into the organization.

Sequential Versus Random Processes

This socialization strategy refers to the specificity of the sequence of events which lead to the target or desired role for the newcomer. Sequential socialization reflects a "given sequence of discrete and identifiable steps" (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979) which the recruit must pass through. These steps are defined as to the content of the step and the particular order in which the experiences must occur. A medical education is an example of a sequential process where third year students experience certain activities that first and second year students do not. Similarly, interns and residents have experiences that students do not go through.

Random socialization occurs when there is no sequence to the steps in the socialization process. The route to being accepted as a functional member is ambiguous, unknown,

or constantly changing. The newcomer must discover the various methods available for becoming socialized and then try those methods to see which ones work best for him or her. The socialization of a highly skilled employee is often random. There is no sequential process since the employee already has many skills and can begin work immediately. He or she will learn about the culture of the organization in a random fashion and will probably "learn the ropes" as it becomes important.

Fixed Versus Variable Processes

Fixed and variable socialization are concerned with the established timetable for the socialization process. A fixed process has a definite timetable for the newcomer's passage from a recruit to an experienced member. Formal educational situations, such as public schooling or police training, have established periods of time for each step in the phases of socialization. Variable socialization processes have no set timetable for the newcomer to experience certain activities. Recruits can often move at their own paces. Apprenticeships, which may only require minimum training periods, are examples of variable processes.

Serial Versus Disjunctive Processes

This mode of socialization deals with the degree of intergenerational activity that occurs during the socialization. Intergenerational activity is activity that occurs

between employees of different work generations. For example, one group is hired, socialized, and the individuals become mature and experienced workers; then another group is hired and begins the same process. The two groups are two work generations and the learning about work by the second group from the first group is intergenerational. A serial socialization process is one in which an experienced member prepares the newcomer to occupy the same or a similar role. The role is established and recognized within the organization before the newcomer attempts to enact the role. Role occupants serve as role models for the recruits. An excellent example of this strategy is the seasoned politician who trains, protects, and guides a protégé.

When newcomers are to enact a role that is new in the organization or when there are no role models, the process is a disjunctive one. Newcomers must create the role and often the socialization is by trial and error. The first astronauts and the first woman on the U.S. Supreme Court were socialized by disjunctive processes.

Investiture Versus Divestiture Processes

This socialization strategy deals with the degree to which the organization attempts to confirm or disconfirm the existing values and behaviors of the newcomer. Investiture processes seek to strengthen and ratify the newcomers' existing identities and assure them that they bring valuable characteristics to the organization. This type of

socialization often occurs when the newcomer has been previously socialized into the profession. Recruits to upper-level management positions in an established firm go through an investiture process. Long time employees will reinforce the newcomer's self-image because he or she is bringing desired characteristics and capabilities to the organization.

Divestiture processes have a goal of removing certain personal characteristics of the newcomers. The intent is to destroy or remove certain aspects of the personalities and replace them with characteristics which are valued and desired by the organization. The priesthood and the Marine Corps are examples of organizations which attempt to destroy old values and behaviors and replace them with others.

The Proposed Research

The overall goal of socialization efforts is to convert newcomers into functioning organization members. One way to evaluate these socialization efforts is to assess how well the members achieve the organization's desired outcomes such as high job satisfaction, high worker participation in company decisions, minimal conflict between family and work, and high productivity.

Research Questions

The basic research question addressed in this thesis is whether the particular socialization strategies employed by

the organization do, in fact, influence the desired outcomes. Certainly the content and intensity of socialization efforts have an influence on outcomes. But do the different modes of socialization affect outcomes? Will the results of socialization be the same within an organization regardless of the methods of orientation and training imposed on the newcomers?

Another issue revolves around the specific situational and individual factors that contribute to outcomes, given different socialization strategies. Do situational and individual factors influence outcomes such as job satisfaction and participation differently when individuals are socialized by different means?

If significant differences in outcomes occur when newcomers are socialized by different strategies, one could argue that certain of the organization's strategies had different effects. If there are no significant differences in outcomes between individuals socialized in different ways, the implication would be that the mode of socialization does not influence desired outcomes. Regardless of whether differences in outcomes occur with different strategies, factors which influence outcomes are of interest to the organization. If certain factors significantly influence desired outcomes under one socialization strategy but not under another, predictions of adjustment may become more accurate and organizationally desired outcomes are more attainable.

Organization socialization strategies are often a complex case of several strategies. The interaction of strategies may render exact measurement of a single strategy impossible. For example, one person may experience informal, individual, serial, variable, and divestiture socialization processes while another person is socialized in a formal, group, fixed, sequential, investiture process. It is not reasonable to compare individual strategies for these two people. However, if groups of newcomers are socialized differently on one or two strategies only, it is possible to compare the groups to evaluate the effects of the one or two strategies.

This thesis examines whether formal group socialization and informal individual socialization have differential effects. All subjects experienced random, variable, disjunctive, and investiture socialization. There were only two strategies, group versus individual and formal versus informal, which were different for the new employees.

Relationship of Socialization Strategies and Outcomes

Van Maanen and Schein (1979) predict responses to socialization strategies either in terms of the way individuals will enact organizational roles or in terms of certain situations where different strategies will be used. However, not much is known about the effects of the various strategies. In only one situation do Van Maanen and Schein predict outcomes. They argue that individual socialization

is more likely to produce the specific outcomes desired by the organization than is group socialization. They believe that an individual strategy presents a greater opportunity for socialization without the moderating effect of the group processes which will occur during group socialization.

Satisfaction. While there is a paucity of evidence supporting a direct relationship between performance and satisfaction (Cherrington, Reitz, and Scott, 1971; Greene, 1972), business organizations usually desire employees to be generally satisfied, particularly with the job. High satisfaction is correlated with less absenteeism and tardiness, lower turnover and fewer grievances. These, in turn, lead to lower costs for the organization as well as a more pleasant environment.

If the Van Maanen and Schein argument is correct, newcomers who experience individual socialization will be more likely to achieve the organization's desired outcome of satisfaction. This leads to the following hypotheses about general and job satisfaction:

- H₁: Newcomers who experience informal individual socialization into an organization will report higher job satisfaction than will newcomers who undergo formal group socialization.
- H₂: Newcomers who experience informal individual socialization into an organization will report higher general satisfaction than will newcomers who undergo formal group socialization.

Participation. Employees who are involved in important decisions tend, in general, to feel more commitment to the organization and are more satisfied. Greater participation may bring enhanced motivation for certain employees (Locke and Schewiger, 1979; Steers, 1975). Employee participation is a desired outcome for many organizations.

Van Maanen and Schein's proposition would support higher participation among recruits who experienced individual socialization. However, research shows that members of groups learn the behaviors and attitudes of other group members, develop norms, and establish a cohesiveness which can lead to greater understanding of team members and to greater trust (Jewell and Reitz, 1981). Holding other variables constant, group members might feel a greater ability to participate than if they entered the organization as a single individual. Employees who experience group socialization are more likely to know the norms and could feel more comfortable with participation than individuals who are just learning the expected roles.

H₃: Newcomers who experience formal group socialization into an organization will report higher participation in organizational decisions than will newcomers who undergo informal individual socialization.

Work/Family Conflict. Most organizations prefer not to have dysfunctional conflicts, such as a conflict between the work role and the role as a family member. Results of

research efforts indicate that role conflict on the job is related to lower job satisfaction and lower levels of performance (Rizzo, House and Lirtzman, 1970; House and Rizzo, 1972; Schuler, 1977). If the demands of the job interfere with the family structure or activities, overall satisfaction, as well as job satisfaction, will probably be reduced.

The newcomers who are socialized as a group have an opportunity to develop social support systems quickly at work. Individual entrants will take a longer time to meet co-workers, learn the norms and values of the work group, and establish a social support system within the work setting. Supportive co-workers can help relieve the stress of conflict related to a new job or can comfort and advise about problems at home or on the job. In addition, formal socialization specifies the role expectations more definitively than does informal socialization, thereby reducing role ambiguity and stress. The cohesiveness of a training group can also contribute to stronger support systems. This leads to the following hypothesis:

H₄: Newcomers who experience formal group socialization into an organization will report lower work/family conflict than will newcomers who undergo informal individual socialization.

Contributing Factors to Outcomes

Both situational and psychological factors contribute to the achievement of desired organizational outcomes. While the particular organizational strategy of socialization is one situational variable, there are other situational variables which are unique to the individual recruits. Most recruits will experience some anxiety upon entering the organization and most have some level of ambiguity initially about the roles they are expected to perform. There are other variables which might influence desired outcomes, and which are the independent variables in this study. In this study, the following factors are considered: entry skill level, similarity of past work experience, job variety, self-monitoring, and locus of control.

Situational variables. The individual's level of knowledge which is required to complete the assigned tasks is likely to influence the socialization effort, as well as the desired outcomes. The recruit who has the required job knowledge at the time he or she enters the organization will have to spend less time learning and performing the task and can spend more time discovering the expected role and working toward desired outcomes. Conversely, the newcomer who has little or no knowledge of the task will have to invest personal resources in learning the task and will have less time to devote to the role and desired outcomes.

H₅: The influence of entry skill levels on desired organizational outcomes will be greater for newcomers who experience informal individual socialization into an organization than for newcomers who undergo formal group socialization.

A variable which is analogous to knowledge of the task is similarity of past work experiences. Again, employees with experiences which are similar or familiar should have higher performance than those with less similar work experiences. The novice who is accustomed to the situation can invest more effort in learning the desired role. A newcomer who has no or few similar experiences must expend more effort in analyzing the situation and becoming accustomed to the task instead of learning the expected role.

H₆: The influence of similar work experiences on desired organizational outcomes will be greater for newcomers who experience informal individual socialization into an organization than for newcomers who undergo formal group socialization.

A wide range of operations and the necessity of using a great variety of equipment and procedures to complete the task constitute high job variety. The variability of the task has been shown to significantly influence outcomes such as job satisfaction (Hackman and Oldham, 1980). However, the newcomer who is individually learning on-the-job might be distracted and/or disturbed by high job variety. Low job variety would give the novice an opportunity to learn the

task as well as devote some effort to the enactment of the expected role and discovery of desired organizational outcomes.

H₇: The influence of high job variety on desired organizational outcomes will be greater for newcomers who experience formal group socialization into the organization than for newcomers who undergo informal individual socialization.

Psychological variables. There are some psychological characteristics which may influence the socialization of individuals and the subsequent outcomes of socialization. There are many possible factors. Some which are of special interest here are self-monitoring and locus of control. Self-monitoring is the degree to which an individual is sensitive to others in social situations and the subsequent use of social cues to direct self-presentation (Snyder, 1974; 1979b). As Briggs, Cheek, and Buss (1980) point out, the three characteristics of a high self-monitoring person are concern for the appropriateness of social behavior, sensitivity to important cues, and self-regulation of behavior. Research has demonstrated that self-monitoring was "most important during the period of early tenure" for persons in boundary-spanning positions (Caldwell and O'Reilly, 1982a). Newcomers who enter individually and have an informal introduction to the job must rely heavily on their personal characteristics and capabilities. The novice who is trained formally in a group of newcomers can rely not

only on his or her individual capabilities, but also on the group capabilities, and on the formal socializing agent.

H₈: The influence of self-monitoring on desired organizational outcomes will be greater for newcomers who experience informal individual socialization into the organization than for newcomers who undergo formal group socialization.

Locus of control is a personality dimension which reflects the level of perceived control by the individual over pertinent events. People can attribute control over events to themselves (internal orientation) or to outside forces or luck (external orientation). Research supports the thesis that internals, in general, have higher job satisfaction and performance, seek more relevant information in complex tasks, and prefer participative management styles (Spector, 1982). However, locus of control is often a moderating or interactive variable in conjunction with many other personality and situational variables (Phares, 1976). Because internals perceive more personal control over their environments than do externals, individual socialization might strengthen the perception of control whereas socialization in a group might weaken the individually perceived control.

H₉: The influence of locus of control on desired organizational outcomes will be greater for newcomers who experience informal individual

socialization into the organization than for newcomers who undergo formal group socialization.

Summary

A multiple stage model of organizational socialization was presented in this chapter. The various socialization strategies available to organizations were discussed.

This study will assess the differential effects of socialization strategy on the organizationally desired outcomes of job satisfaction, general satisfaction, participation and work/family conflict. Some effects of the socialization strategies of formal group entry and informal individual entry are evaluated. In addition, the influence of entry skill level, similar work experience, job variety, self-monitoring and locus of control, concomitant with socialization strategy, will be assessed.

CHAPTER II
RESEARCH DESIGN

Socialization effects are most likely to be obvious when persons take on new roles. The research focus of this thesis is the socialization of new manufacturing employees. The socialization process was studied during the start-up of a new manufacturing facility. This chapter will describe the site, the subjects, the data collection, and the data analysis which was undertaken to test the hypotheses presented in Chapter I.

Research Setting

A new manufacturing facility was available as the research site; all of the employees were new and there were no existing organizational roles. After preliminary discussions with management, a study was designed to assess the effects of socialization on all employees. This site lent itself well to the study because all employees were hired within a few months while the plant was still becoming operational. Because of this, it was possible to study the establishment of roles and norms, the taking of roles, role outcomes, and relate this to socialization strategies.

The employees were oriented and trained in different ways. Half of the employees were oriented and trained in a formal group situation. The other half of the employees entered the organization individually and did not undergo formal orientation or training. They were initially trained and socialized on-the-job informally. Thus, there is an important difference in the way the two groups were socialized.

Research Site

The manufacturing plant uses a continuous process automated operation and produces a single product, an aluminum lid. This lid is used exclusively on one-piece aluminum beverage cans. This is one of four manufacturing facilities in the company. The company is wholly owned by a major corporation in the beer industry.

The nature of the production work is complex. The product requires narrow production tolerances. While there are some simple, routine jobs, employees at the lowest skill level have enriched jobs with several tasks assigned to each position. Some work assignments require that the employee perform equipment retooling, design and develop prototypic additions or changes to equipment, and train others to maintain, operate, or repair equipment. Team members also rotate the jobs of cleaning the break room and locker rooms, as well as clean up on the production floor. A janitorial service cleans the staff offices.

The work is dirty, noisy, and can be dangerous if safety precautions are not observed. The noise and speed of the equipment require that anyone on the production floor must wear safety glasses, ear protectors, and safety shoes with steel toe-protectors.

Workers are skilled at various functions. For example, some are trained electricians and mechanics; another is a welder with twelve years experience; others are hydraulics experts and master tool and die makers. All are expected to rotate jobs and become skilled in all tasks. No job is assigned permanently to a single person. All employees participate in cleaning their area and all are expected to be rotated into the quality assurance lab. This is particularly unusual in that quality assurance is usually a specialized task and separate from production.

There is a great amount of pressure to meet target production budgets. In some respects this was due to many unexpected problems in the start-up of the plant. The prototypic equipment presented more rework and redesign problems than had been anticipated. Production targets were rarely met during the first year of production. The plant began operating with one-third of the equipment and received other machinery over time. Workers had a two-fold task. They had to get the equipment operational, which often entailed down time for the machines, and they also had to produce a quality, marketable product. With the start-up problems, these goals sometimes produced a stressful

situation for the operatives on the floor as well as the managerial staff.

Innovation. The plant differs both technically and in management philosophy from other facilities in the company and the industry. From a technical viewpoint, the machinery is prototypic and was designed specifically for this plant. Similar equipment has been used in the industry but all of the equipment for this plant was specially designed. The equipment is high speed, highly automated and integrated, and has a production capacity which substantially exceeds existing levels in the industry.

Secondly, the management philosophy at this plant is very different from most facilities in the container industry. The industry is characterized by high-pressure management, low employee involvement, high levels of unionism, and specialized jobs.¹ In contrast, at the research site, the work force is non-unionized and the prevailing managerial culture is participative. Almost all of the employees are new to the industry. Quality of work-life is emphasized and supported by the parent company. The managerial concept for this plant was conceived and implemented by a corporate officer, the plant manager, and the plant employee relations manager. All management personnel at this plant had worked at traditional facilities in the container industry before

¹This characterization comes from in-depth interviews with staff members, other workers in the industry, and equipment suppliers.

coming to this plant. Because of this dramatic difference in management philosophy, and because all of the managers had practiced a more directive style of management that was generally typical in the industry, it would seem that there would have been a great amount of training and development undertaken to implement the particular philosophy at this plant. However, no specific management training occurred to facilitate implementation of this participative style although the philosophy was emphasized repeatedly during pre-employment interviews with staff and hourly workers and during the plant start-up.

Based upon the in-depth interviews with staff members, the management began the operation of this plant with the following approaches:

1. There will be a climate of trust, honesty, and openness at all times.
2. The work force will have much discretion in the performance of work. They will have a "license to fail." If there is a failure, it will be studied in order to learn how to prevent it later.
3. There will be semi-autonomous work teams. Each team is headed by a superintendent (managerial) who is supported by a team leader (hourly). The team leader assignment is to be rotated among several team members. The team leader may have managerial responsibility and authority in the absence of the superintendent. Each team is

- encouraged to work as a unit and to make team decisions, where relevant.
4. A person's potential to work in a highly participative environment and to work with the semi-autonomous work team concept is very important in selection. Communication skill is an important selection criterion.
 5. There will be an opportunity for workers to have a vehicle for discussing work and personal problems in strict confidence. (This was to have been accomplished through the creation of an "ombudsman" position, a liaison between management and hourly employees.)
 6. There will be, to the greatest extent possible, worker participation in the operation of the plant. The range of participation may be from total autonomy in some situations to simple input for consideration in other cases. The level of participation in various areas is emerging and is still being defined.
 7. Workers are to be cross-trained, up to each person's potential, in all skills required to operate the plant. The purpose of cross-training is to facilitate rotation of the workers through the different jobs in the plant.
 8. Compensation is skill-based; that is, pay level is determined by the number of skills a person has

rather than the specific job assignment. One purpose of this system is to support the concept of cross-training and job rotation. Pay levels are high for this geographical area.

There is an informal atmosphere around the plant. Formal lines of communication and authority exist but the overwhelming modes of communication and relationships are informal. Employees are encouraged to suggest improvements, look for solutions to problems, and interact freely with all staff members. Hourly employees, managers, and staff members use a single cafeteria/break room that looks out on the plant floor; staff and managers occasionally do production work on the plant floor.

From interviews, it appears that the management structure is "flat", relative to other firms in the industry. That means that many people report to one supervisor. (See Figure 2 for the organization chart by job titles.) There are fifteen managerial, staff, and supervisory personnel. First line supervisors report directly to the plant manager and have a great amount of responsibility. In other plants of this size, there is a level of supervision between the plant manager and the first line supervisors, usually a position such as "production manager." The eighty hourly employees report to one of the four superintendents. There are few staff specialists compared to other firms in the industry. There is a plant engineer, an employee relations manager, an accountant, and a quality assurance director.

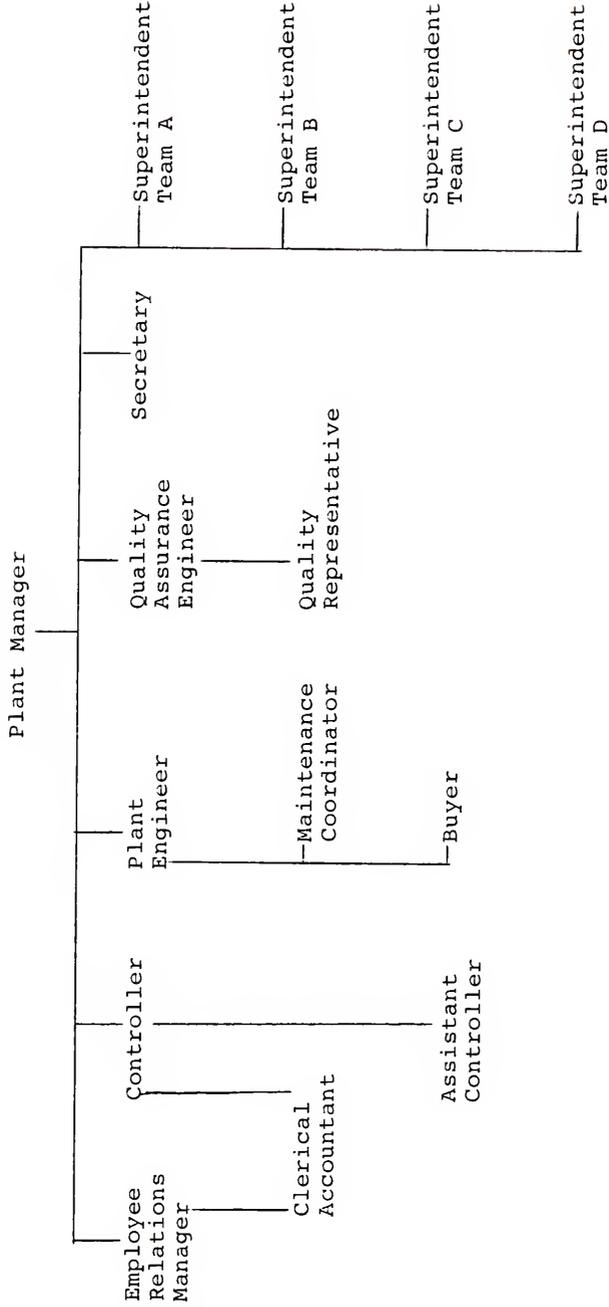


Figure 2. Organization Chart

Most plants have other specialists on staff such as a machine shop foreperson, shift quality control managers, shipping and delivery managers, etc.

Selection. The selection process at this plant was different from common practice. In most manufacturing facilities, selection procedures are usually limited to skill tests, interviews, and reference checks. In this situation there was an effort to select people both for their technical competence or potential for technical competence and for their perceived willingness and ability to work within the framework of a participative management philosophy.

Each job applicant was screened through staff interviews to assess technical ability or potential. Those who passed the initial screening were invited to attend a 42 hour course at the local community college. This course was designed by the company and covered areas such as blueprint reading, mathematics, safety, and mechanical design and repair. Applicants attended the class on their own time at night and received no pay. There was some competence testing during the course and individual scores were used in selection.

Job applicants who made it to the community college course were interviewed by at least seven of the managerial staff, including the four superintendents. Interviews were at least one hour long and, often, were longer. Staff interviews were intended to assess technical skills,

interpersonal skills, and the potential for working within the stated managerial framework. There was no interview protocol and staff members were free to ask questions and form opinions any way they chose. For example, one staff member asked everyone if he or she had ever been a member of a volunteer fire department in order to make a judgment about whether the applicant could work as a member of a team and make voluntary contributions. The ability to work in teams and in a participative environment was an important criterion. Staff members looked for initiative, good communication skills, the ability to work without direct supervision, high achieving work orientation, and a sense of personal responsibility for desired organizational outcomes.

These selection criteria were never formally disseminated in policies or in writing. Employment criteria emerged from discussions among key staff members. Selection of personnel was done by a consensus process. Periodic staff meetings were held and each applicant was discussed before hiring decisions were made. The employment offer was always made by the plant manager and was made both to the applicant and the applicant's spouse. This was an attempt to involve the spouse and to present the job in a realistic framework. Both applicant and spouse were told about the demanding schedule, the parent company's philosophy, the plans for a participative work environment with high quality of work life, and about the required training after employment.

Work team. The team concept was intended to be very important in the operation of this plant. There are four teams made up of twenty hourly employees and a superintendent. Assignments to teams are permanent. Teams are encouraged to work semi-autonomously; they are urged to work together as a unit, look for problems and solutions, help and train each other while producing high quality lids. Specifically, each team member is encouraged to accept personal responsibility for the operation and maintenance of equipment on his or her shift, and to accept responsibility for the quality of lids produced by his or her team. While there are certain people assigned to a quality control task, all team members share an aggregate responsibility for good production.

No one has a permanent job assignment. Workers are trained to do several tasks and rotate among job assignments. The ultimate goal is to have each team member capable of doing every job. Hourly workers rotate jobs according to their capabilities which are constrained by the skills they brought with them to the job and the skills they have acquired since beginning employment. Team members learn additional skills in formal classes and informally from managers and from their co-workers on the job.

Each team superintendent is assisted by a team leader, who is an hourly employee and who is selected by the managerial staff. Team leaders are highly skilled, have a working knowledge of all of the equipment, have additional

responsibilities such as record keeping, and often serve as superintendent in the absence of the superintendent. They are paid a small wage differential as team leaders.

Team members work at a particular task from a few days to many months. Job assignment and rotation is a function of the individual's skills, the time others on the team have to train co-workers, the smoothness of the operation of the equipment, and the specific team's needs at any one point in time. Assignments are primarily the responsibility of the superintendent, with varying degrees of input from the team leader, team members, and staff.

Schedule. The plant operates 24 hours a day, seven days a week. The normal shift is twelve hours long and operatives work three days or nights, then have three days or nights off. Every four months, the day shift changes to night shift and vice versa. This schedule is different from the traditional manufacturing schedule with three eight-hour shifts a day and 21 shifts per week. However, a twelve-hour shift appears to be typical in the container industry. Three days on and then three days off is not typical. Neither is the day/night rotation every four months typical in the industry.

There are no time clocks and employees record the time worked once a week on a time card and turn it in to the superintendent. Since the production process is continuous, certain tasks must be performed constantly. Team members relieve each other for breaks informally. In general,

employees receive four ten-minute breaks and a twenty-minute lunch break during a twelve hour work period. However, one team has modified this schedule and has two twenty-minute breaks and the lunch break. In addition, each team has an informal, non-required, non-paid meeting just before the work day starts. These meetings last about fifteen minutes and most employees attend voluntarily. The informality of the breaks and decisions on the structure of breaks, the lack of a time clock, and the voluntary attendance at daily team meetings represent ways to transfer responsibility to the work force.

Compensation. The plant uses a skill based compensation system. Employees are paid for their skill levels or what they know, not for the tasks they complete. For example, a highly skilled electrician might work at electrical jobs but he might be assigned to quality assurance or to the operation of a specific machine if there are no pressing electrical problems. Regardless of the assignment, the electrician is paid for the skill he or she possesses, not for the task he or she completes.

There are three basic skill levels, trainee, production technician, and plant technician. There are several pay grades within each level. The trainee level has five skill levels and five corresponding pay grades; the production technician level has five skill grades; the plant technical level has three skill grades. (See Table 1 for the skill levels.) The lowest trainee wage is \$11.43 an hour.

Table 1

Base Wage Progression Steps

PLANT JOB CLASSIFICATION	ENTRY RATE	1ST PROG.	2ND PROG.	3RD PROG.	4TH PROG.
MAINTAINER/PLANT TECHNICIAN	13.13	13.49	13.85		
MAINTAINER/PRODUCTION TECHNICIAN	12.60	12.84	13.08	13.32	13.56
MAINTAINER/PRODUCTION TECHNICIAN TRAINEE	11.43	11.61	11.79	11.97	12.15

A shift premium of \$.20 per hour will be added to the base rate for employees working the night shift.

The base wage rates will be reviewed quarterly and will be increased if significant increases have occurred in the industry wage rates, and if plant economic conditions warrant the increase.

Workers are paid only for the hours that they work. There is no paid sick leave. All employees are eligible for one paid holiday on a day of their choice if they complete a year of work with no absences or tardies. Hourly workers receive pay premiums after eight hours on the job, for the night shift, for overtime, and for holidays. The plant is occasionally shut down for major holidays.

Employees' skills are assessed for pay purposes by management at the time of employment. Informal training on-the-job and formal training on off-days lead to additional skills for promotion. Employees may request skill assessment for skill level upgrading at any time. Team superintendents also have regular schedules for skill evaluations.

Subjects

The eighty hourly employees are the subjects of this research. Only four of them had experience in the lid industry before coming to this plant. Hourly workers are divided equally between the four teams and there are no significant demographic differences between teams. (See Table 2 for demographic information.) Eight of the subjects are female and seven of them are racial minorities. The average age is 33 and 76 percent are married. Sixty-eight of the subjects have completed some education beyond high school. Three of the subjects have college degrees. Almost

Table 2

Demographics

Dimension	Organizational Entry by Group	Organizational Entry as Individual	Total
Average Age	32.28	33.10	32.68
Percentage Married	80	72	76
Percentage Women	7.5	12.5	10.0
Percentage Racial Minority	7.5	10.0	8.75
Percent with Education Beyond High School	61	77	68

one-third of them moved to this area specifically for this job.

Participation in this study was voluntary. The initial questionnaire, measuring personality and demographic variables, was completed during training classes at the community college or at the site. Later questionnaires, measuring attitudes toward work, were completed on the employees' own time, away from work.

Measures

The various instruments used to test the hypotheses are described in this section. The complete scales which are not copyrighted are presented in Appendix A, along with scoring procedures. Table 3 lists the scales, the number of items in each scale and the internal reliability scores, calculated by the coefficient alpha formula (Cronbach, 1951).

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables were chosen because they are all outcomes that are desired by the organization for its employees. These outcomes were measured approximately four months after the subjects began to work on the production floor.

Job satisfaction. A twenty item scale, a shortened and modified version of one developed by Weiss, Davis, England, and Lofquist (1967) as the Minnesota Satisfaction

Table 3
Internal Consistency of Scales

Scale	Number of Items	Coefficient Alpha
Job Satisfaction	20	.94
General Satisfaction	8	.90
Participation	9	.89
Work/Family Conflict	8	.93
Self-Monitoring	25	.71
Locus of Control	20	.74

Questionnaire, was used to assess satisfaction with the job. Subjects were asked to react to items which described aspects of the job. Responses were on a five point continuum, ranging from "very dissatisfied" to "very satisfied." Responses to items were averaged to obtain a job satisfaction score. Examples of the items are as follows:

The chance to do something that makes use of my abilities.

The working conditions.

My pay and the amount of work I do.

The chances for advancement on this job.

General satisfaction. Feldman and Brett (1983) developed an eight-item scale that measures satisfaction with many areas of life, including the job. An overall satisfaction measure is obtained by averaging items on this scale. Subjects are asked to respond on a five point continuum to various areas of their lives. Responses range from "very satisfied" to "very dissatisfied" and are in answer to questions such as

How satisfied are you
with your health?
with your friendships?
with your standard of living?

Participation. High employee participation was one of the major goals of management at the research site. It is a measure of the employee's influence on the job. An a priori scale was used to assess the participation in particular

areas where managers said they wanted employees to be involved in decisions. This scale was designed specifically for this plant and this study, and used some items from a participation scale developed by Vroom (1960). The scale has nine items and responses were on a five point Likert-type continuum from "none" (i.e. no participation) to "a very great degree." Sample items follow:

How much influence do you have over your daily job assignment?

How often does your boss ask your opinion?

How much influence do you have over the training of employees, including yourself?

Work/Family conflict. Because of the unusual work schedule, it was believed there was a great potential for conflict between the work and the family roles. An eight-item scale, developed by Kopelman, Greenhaus, and Connolly (1982), was used to assess this conflict. Subjects responded to statements on a five point continuum ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." Sample items are as follows:

My work schedule often conflicts with my family life.

My job makes it difficult to be the kind of spouse or parent I'd like to be.

Because my work is demanding, at times I am irritable at home.

Independent Variables

All of the independent variables except job variety were measured before employees began work. Job variety was assessed during the first four months of employment.

Group or individual entry. This is the major independent variable of the study. All of the hypotheses consider the effect of the socialization strategy imposed by the organization. Half of the subjects entered the organization in a group and received formal training; the other half entered the organization individually and did not undergo formal training.

The original plan for selection and training was to bring all employees into the organization in a group situation for formal training. After the first forty employees were trained in groups, and as pressure for production grew, management decided to hire forty people and bring them into the organization individually, let them learn on-the-job, and formally train them later. The first employees were in the groups; the later employees were in the individual situation. In general, the earliest applicants and those immediately available for employment were hired first. Later applicants and those with later availabilities were hired last.

The first twenty employees went through a nine-week training and orientation session together. They were trained in special classes at the local community college and in the plants where the equipment was being

manufactured. This plant was being completed and equipment was not in place, necessitating travel and a longer training period. During this training period, employees got to know each other fairly well, experienced some unique and bonding situations, and developed some close social relationships.

The other twenty employees who entered as a group began training about one month after the first group finished training. (See Table 4 for an employment and training schedule.) They were trained at the plant site for five weeks. Most of the training occurred in large conference rooms, although some of the equipment was on the production floor and the second group could view its operation. This was not so for the first training group. The second group of twenty had examinations and established study groups away from work.

Both of the training groups had occasions when they interacted socially. The first group went on training trips together. The second group had unofficial study groups after class. Members of both groups related experiences of having meals together and other social events.

While the second group of twenty employees was in training, management made the decision to drop the initial group training and orientation. Individuals were hired and began working on the production floor within an hour or so of first coming to work. Their only orientation was experienced during the pre-employment interviews. Most of the employees were hired within the first four months of the

Table 4
Schedule of Employment and Training

October	First Group Hired, Began Training		
November			
December	First Group Began Work		
January		Second Group Hired, Began Training	
February		Second Group Began Work	Individuals Began Work
March			Individuals Began Work
April			Individuals Began Work

plant's opening. There was no early systematic training or orientation for those employees who entered the organization individually and learned on-the-job. At best, newcomers were assigned to another employee to learn the task. There were no assigned sponsors or guides to help the new employee "learn the ropes."

During the year and a half after the plant opened, there were various training sessions in many different skill areas for all employees. These formal training sessions were systematic, covered most of the technical operations required to produce lids, were required for all employees who needed the skills or reviews of the skills, and occurred on paid overtime.

Employees who entered in groups and individually were assigned to teams equally. The only concern with who was assigned to which team was when management tried to balance the teams as to the skills of the team members. Each of the four teams has ten members who were socialized by a group strategy and ten members who experienced individual socialization.

Entry skill level. The skill level of each employee was determined when he or she was hired. This variable was assessed by the managerial staff, prior to employment, but after interviews and past job experiences were reviewed. Employees could enter at any one of thirteen skill positions since there were five divisions in the first two skill levels and three divisions at the highest skill position.

In actuality, new employees were initially categorized from the first trainee level to the first plant technician level, giving an entry skill level range of eleven positions.

Similar work experience. Similar work experience reduces the stress of a new job and allows the new employee to devote more time to learning the actual job. Employees were interviewed by the researcher to determine previous work experiences. The interview followed a strict protocol (See Appendix A). Subjects were asked how many years experience they had in making lids, in doing shift work, in doing shift work where the shifts were rotated (such as day and night), and in factory work.

To derive a composite similar work experience score, equal weight was given to experience in lid making, shift work, and work in a factory environment. This was done because those who had previous lid experience were familiar with the product and the production processes. Those with experience in lid making were usually the team leaders. Rotating shift experience was given less weight because this experience was already included in the shift experience. The derived score for this variable was estimated by the following formula:

$$\text{Similar Work Experience} = \text{Lid Making Experience} + \text{Shift Work} + .5 (\text{Rotating Shift Work}) + \text{Factory Work}$$

This formulation assumes that lid making experience is valuable in acclimating oneself to this particular facility. So is shift work experience or the experience of working in

some other factory. While these experiences may or may not have occurred at the same time, they are all facets of the new job that employees had to accept and become accustomed to. Thus, experience with shift work in a factory or a lid factory more closely resembles the operation of this plant than does other work experiences singly. Therefore, a decision was made to weight such experiences more heavily.

Job variety. Two dimensions were considered when determining this variable, average job variety and job rotation. Job variety is similar to the concept of task variety defined by Hackman and Oldham (1975). They define it as the number of tasks, while keeping in mind the number of pieces of equipment and the number of procedures required to do the necessary tasks. During interviews, superintendents and team leaders were asked to evaluate and rank the job variety of tasks that composed each of the job assignments.

The job that had the most variety was ranked the highest while the job with the least variety was ranked the lowest. The rankings of the superintendents and team leaders were averaged to obtain a single ranking of task variety for each of the assigned jobs. (See Appendix B for the rankings.)

The second dimension of this variable was the rotation of the actual job assignments of the employees. The researcher observed each team once during every other three-day shift. That is, employees were observed on the job one day or night out of every six days or nights they

worked. The job that each employee was doing was recorded. Later, the jobs were numerically coded according to the task variety rankings of the superintendents and team leaders. The ranked scores were averaged over the first ten observations, which was approximately four months of employment.

The number of different jobs that the employee had been assigned and the number of changes in job assignments were also summed over the first ten job assignments. Thus, a person who was a team leader or assigned to quality assurance for the first ten observations had one job assignment and zero job changes. The team leader would have a high average job variety score while the employee assigned to quality assurance would have a low average job variety score. Someone else, with many different jobs would have many job changes and a high number of jobs score. His or her average job variety score would be a function of the variety of the particular jobs assigned.

Correlation coefficients were calculated to determine the particular formula or score which would best represent job variety. As expected, the number of different jobs and the number of job changes were highly correlated ($.76$, $p < .0001$). However, neither the number of different jobs nor the number of job changes was significantly correlated with the mean job variety. A composite job variety score was devised which seemed to represent both job changes and average job variety. This was done because variety on a single job as well as the variety of moving to another job

should influence total job variety. A composite score of average job variety multiplied by the number of different jobs was calculated and defined as job variety.

Self-monitoring. This psychological construct measures the degree to which individuals exercise control over their expressive behavior, self-presentation, and non-verbal displays of emotion (Snyder, 1974). The twenty-five item scale evaluates the individual's concern for the appropriateness for social behavior, the sensitivity to social cues, and the subsequent regulation of behavior based on the social cues. Snyder reports internal reliabilities from .63 to .83 (1974). Subjects respond "true" or "false" in a forced choice format to statements about themselves.

Examples are as follows:

I would probably make a good actor.

I'm not always the person I appear to be.

I can only argue for ideas which I already have.

A factor analysis on the self-monitoring scale was performed since other researchers have found significant sub-factors within the scale. Briggs, Cheek, and Buss (1980) found three replicated factors which they named acting, extraversion, and other-directedness. They had two groups of subjects with over 500 people in each group. However, Briggs et al. changed the response format to a five point Likert scale rather than the original true-false format.

The self-monitoring scale was factor analyzed using an orthogonal rotation. The Statistical Analysis System (SAS) factor analysis package was used with a Varimax rotation. A Varimax rotation is used when the objective is to interpret the underlying factors or to understand the factor composition rather than to understand the variance composition (Weiss, 1976).

No clear factors emerged. This may be because of the small number of subjects relative to the number of items in the scale, because the rotation was orthogonal rather than oblique, because there is only one factor, or any combination of the above. Given the failure to replicate the factor structure found by Briggs et al. (1980), the total scale score is used as a single measure of social cueing and the desire to act upon the social cues.

Locus of control. Rotter (1966) conceptualized this construct as a measure of the individual's perception of the control over rewards. A person with an internal locus of control perceives rewards or outcomes as contingent on his or her own behavior; a person with an external locus of control believes rewards and outcomes are independent of his or her own behavior. Rotter (1966) reports many tests of internal consistency above .7 on this scale.

This twenty item scale consists of paired statements from which subjects must choose one. One statement reflects control of outcomes by self (internal), and the other statement indicates luck or the control of others brings

about outcomes (external). Subjects are asked to choose the statement which they more strongly believe. Examples of the items follow:

- a. What happens to me is my own doing.
- b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.
- a. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.
- b. In the long run, people get the respect they deserve in the world.
- a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
- b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

Schedule of Measurement.

The schedule of measurement of the variables is shown in Table 5. Entry skill level, similar work experience, self-monitoring, and locus of control were baseline measures, assessed upon entry. Job variety was measured during the first four months of employment. After four months on the job, employees rated their job satisfaction, general satisfaction, participation, and level of work/family conflict.

Subjects were asked to identify themselves on all measures so their scores could be matched later but were guaranteed confidentiality by the researcher. Subjects and

Table 5
 Schedule of Measurement of Variables

Entry	During First Four Months of Work	After Four Months of Work
Group/Individual Entry	Job Variety	Job Satisfaction
Entry Skill Level		General Satisfaction
Similar Work Experience		Participation
Self-Monitoring		Work/Family Conflict
Locus of Control		

researcher signed an agreement of participation and confidentiality. (See Appendix C for a copy of this agreement.)

Methodology

This study is a natural field experiment which the researcher was able to evaluate since she had previously gained access to the site. Data collection had begun before the plant opened as part of a large two-year research project which looked at a plant start-up, stress in the factory, strategies for coping with stress, and productivity with "non-traditional" management approaches. Subjects were observed systematically during training and on the plant floor. The researcher attended team social functions, interviewed staff and hourly employees, and even occasionally did unskilled tasks on the production floor to aid the employees.

The abrupt change in the mode of organizational entry for new employees presented an opportunity to study the differential effects of socialization strategy.

Natural Field Experiment

Field experiments have a major concern with the situation or context of the situation, rather than with the particular participants and their behaviors. As Katz (1953) notes, the field study is "unique in enabling us to observe and measure social processes in their natural occurrence" (p. 81). The reality and richness of the data in the natural situation have long been recognized as valuable

assets in predicting actual behaviors. And Kerlinger (1973) argues, "The more realistic the research situation, the stronger the variables" (p. 402).

In an experiment, one or more independent variables are manipulated. This is often difficult to achieve in actual organization settings since those who control organizations are often unwilling to allow an experimenter to intervene in the operations of the organization for the sake of research. In the natural field experiment the researcher can "opportunistically capitalize upon some on-going changes and study their effects in the experimental design" (French, 1953, p. 99). However, the manipulation of variables is a decision of the management or officers of the organization, not the researcher. Barnes (1967) argues that this is an advantage since research roles are divided. Management decides upon and implements the natural experiment, while the outside researcher collects and analyzes data. The outside researcher is not influenced by the desires of management and can independently develop hypotheses that may or may not be favorable to management. Barnes (1967, p. 104) believes that the "loss of experimenter control" in natural field experiments is greatly exaggerated. Most of the "relatively few controls available to an outside researcher" are also available under natural experiment conditions to an outside researcher.

One of the most positive views of natural field experiments is that of Daniel Katz (1953, p. 78). He writes:

The best opportunity for the use of hypothesis testing is on the occasion of the "natural experiment." The difficulty with the use of hypotheses in field studies is the inability to determine causal relationships with any definiteness, since most of our measures are not taken with respect to systematic changes in some ascertained independent variable. Now, a natural experiment is a change of major importance engineered by policy-makers and practitioners and not by social scientists. It is experimental from the point of view of the scientist rather than of the social engineer.

Experimental Design

The design of an experiment is concerned with the scheduling of observations, the choice of treatments and comparisons, the selection and measurement of control variables, and the assignment of subjects (Cook and Campbell, 1979). In this study, management took on the task of assigning the employees to different treatments, that of group or individual organizational entry. There is no reason to believe that management systematically differentiated between employees in either situation. In fact, the groups are fairly equivalent on demographic dimensions as shown in Table 2.

The design of this study is called the "Compromise Experimental Group-Control Group" design by Kerlinger (1973). The threat to internal validity is selection. This means that systematic differences between groups may occur because of the selection process. This might have direct effects on the outcomes which are assessed here. This design can only attempt to control for selection bias by evaluating the equivalence of the two groups on the independent variables.

The two groups are fairly similar on demographic dimensions. Still subjects were not randomly assigned to the formal group entry on the informal individual entry. Subjects were treated in the same manner by the organization up to the point of employment. The experimental treatment is the assignment to a formal group orientation and training or to informal individual entry. There were no differences in working conditions, task assignments, or team assignments based on the method of organization entry. As Kerlinger (1973, p. 331) points out, "Comparisons are essential in all scientific investigation." This research allows the comparison of desired organizational outcomes with only one major difference between the groups; the differentiation is the organizational mode of socialization.

Statistical Analyses

The major statistical technique used in this study was multiple linear regression. The regression formulae used are listed in Table 6.

Regression procedures are concerned with three main questions (Hays, 1981).

1. Does a statistical relation affording some description or predictability appear between the random variables X and Y?
2. How strong is the apparent degree of the statistical relation, in the sense of possible descriptive or predictive ability the relation affords?

Table 6

Regression Formulae

-
- (1) Job Satisfaction = f (socialization strategy, entry skill level, similar work experience, job variety, self-monitoring, locus of control)
- (2) General Satisfaction = f (socialization strategy, entry skill level, similar work experience, job variety, self-monitoring, locus of control)
- (3) Participation = f (socialization strategy, entry skill level, similar work experience, job variety, self-monitoring, locus of control)
- (4) Work/Family Conflict = f (socialization strategy, entry skill level, similar work experience, job variety, self-monitoring, locus of control)
-

3. Can a simple rule be formulated for predicting or describing Y from X, and if so, how good is this rule?

By using multiple regression equations, it is possible to determine whether there is a statistical relationship between the predictor (independent) variables and the outcome (dependent) variables. This is done by determining those variables which contribute significantly to the total variance. Then, by determining the regression formulation which accounts for the greatest proportion of variance in the dependent variables, the descriptive or predictive ability of this combination of independent variables can be assessed. The regression equation which has the highest R^2 would thus represent the combination of variables with the best descriptive or predictive ability. Stepwise regressions were performed to assess the predictive or descriptive ability of independent variables.

Hierarchical moderated regression techniques were also used to assess the extent to which various independent variables might interact as moderator variables, but not have a main effect on the dependent variable. In effect, this evaluates the extent to which dependent variables are influenced jointly by a predictor (or independent) variable and another moderating variable (Peters, O'Connor and Wise, 1984).

Finally, the coefficients of the independent variables were examined to evaluate the relative weights of each of

them. The strength of the relationship between the independent and dependent variables is demonstrated by the variability and significance levels of the coefficients. The signs of the coefficients indicate the direction of the relationships.

SAS programs GLM, STEPWISE, and RSQUARE were used to determine the models that explained the most variance and to calculate the coefficients for the independent variables. The calculated coefficients for the independent variables in the full models are partial regression coefficients. They measure the change in the dependent variable per unit change in the specific independent variable when all the other independent variables are held constant. Another way to express this is that the partial regression coefficients measure the change in the dependent variable per unit change in the specific independent variable when the linear association with all other independent variables has been removed (Green, 1978). Only in the case where the predictor or independent variables are totally uncorrelated will the partial regression coefficients equal the simple regression coefficients.

Summary

A natural field experiment was conducted at an innovative manufacturing facility. Subjects were new employees who experienced formal group entry or informal individual entry into the organization.

Multiple linear regression was used to assess the influence of socialization strategy, concomitant with other variables, on organizationally desired outcomes of job satisfaction, general satisfaction, participation and work/family conflict.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

This chapter contains the results of the data analyses performed to test the hypotheses presented in Chapter I. Statistical test results are presented with the relevant hypotheses. Tests which produced significant results will be briefly discussed.

The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients between all variables are listed in Table 7, with significance probabilities in parenthesis. Since socialization strategy is a dummy variable, coded zero and one, the correlations between strategy and other variables are analogous to tests for significant differences between means of those who had group socialization and those who were socialized individually. Significant correlations, or significant differences between strategies, occurred with the dependent variables of work/family conflict and job satisfaction. Independent variables which had significant correlations with socialization strategy were locus of control and previous work experience indicating a difference in mean scores on those variables between those who were socialized individually and those who were socialized as a group.

Table 7
Correlation Coefficients

	Strategy	Partici- pation	Work/ Family Conflict	General Satis- faction	Job Satis- faction
Strategy	----				
Participation	.212 (.063)	----			
Work/ Family Conflict	.388** (.002)	.175 (.142)	----		
General Satisfaction	.213 (.091)	.134 (.262)	.531**** (.0001)	----	
Job Satisfaction	.409*** (.0008)	.434**** (.0001)	.536**** (.0001)	.548**** (.0001)	----
Job Variety	.131 (.251)	.108 (.349)	-.041 (.747)	-.045 (.726)	.043 (.736)
Locus of Control	-.262* (.020)	.032 (.778)	-.047 (.711)	-.153 (.229)	-.089 (.483)
Self- Monitoring	-.072 (.528)	-.030 (.791)	-.223 (.076)	-.093 (.466)	.024 (.853)
Experience	.223* (.050)	.156 (.176)	.240 (.058)	.145 (.256)	.196 (.124)
Entry Skill Level	.207 (.067)	-.033 (.776)	.107 (.398)	.164 (.196)	.185 (.144)

* p < .05
 ** p < .01
 *** p < .001
 **** p < .0001

Table 7
Continued

	Job Variety	Locus Control	Self- Monitoring	Experi- ence	Entry Skill Level
Strategy					
Participation					
Work/ Family Conflict					
General Satisfaction					
Job Satisfaction					
Job Variety	----				
Locus of Control	-.035 (.757)	----			
Self- Monitoring	-.061 (.593)	-.096 (.398)	----		
Experience	.118 (.299)	-.078 (.495)	-.008 (.942)	----	
Entry Skill Level	.373*** (.0007)	.013 (.907)	-.246* (.029)	.325** (.004)	----

* p < .05
 ** p < .01
 *** p < .001
 **** p < .0001

The dependent variable of job satisfaction was positively correlated with the other dependent variables of general satisfaction, participation, and work/family conflict. Work/family conflict and general satisfaction also have a positive correlation.

The only independent variable which correlates with any dependent variable is socialization strategy. Other than the strategy correlations, there are only three significant correlations within independent variables. Entry skill level is positively correlated with job variety and similar work experience and negatively correlated with self-monitoring.

Socialization Strategies-Outcomes Relationships

Multiple regressions were calculated to determine whether there were significant statistical relationships between dependent and independent variables, and, if so, the degree and direction of the relationship. The influence of socialization strategy and the other independent variables on each of the dependent variables was assessed. The mean scores on the dependent variables for group entry and individual entry are reported in Table 8, along with the possible range of scores.

A basic assumption of multiple regression is that the dependent and independent variables have a linear additive relationship. The assumption that independent variables are not correlated is violated in the full model regressions

Table 8
Mean Scores on Dependent Variables

Variable	Mean Score Group Entry	Mean Score Individual Entry	Range
Job Satisfaction	4.344 (n=37)	3.917 (n=27)	1-5
General Satisfaction	4.298 (n=37)	4.032 (n=27)	1-5
Participation	3.016 (n=40)	2.697 (n=38)	1-5
Work/Family Conflict	3.935 (n=37)	3.323 (n=27)	1-5

because of the significant correlations between entry skill level and other variables. Also, the assumption that the disturbances in the regression have a normal distribution is violated in that the range of the dependent variables is limited from one to five. The variables are continuous over a limited range. However, estimated coefficients are likely to be fairly robust, given this departure from the standard assumption.

All usable data were included in the statistical calculations. Sample attrition occurred for various reasons, such as lack of interest in the research project, lack of time, or personal problems. Non-responses are random and are not related to other variables in this study. The censoring problem does not systematically confound the results.

While the alternative hypotheses to those tested are not stated, they are implicitly recognized in the analyses. The alternative hypotheses are that there is no significant influence of socialization strategy on desired organizational outcomes and that socialization strategy does not interact with the other independent variables to significantly influence outcomes.

Hypothesis 1: Job Satisfaction

The following hypothesis is concerned with the relationship between socialization strategy and job satisfaction.

H₁: Newcomers who experience informal individual socialization into an organization will report higher job satisfaction than will newcomers who undergo formal group socialization.

The results of multiple regressions, displayed in Tables 9 and 10, do not support this hypothesis. In fact, the opposite hypothesis seems true. Newcomers who experience group socialization have higher job satisfaction than those who undergo individual socialization.

Because the initial regression on the full model, shown in Table 9, approached a significance level ($p = .0712$), a stepwise regression, using a maximum R^2 improvement technique, was performed to determine the model which best explained the relationship between the independent variables and job satisfaction (Table 10). Variables are listed in the order they entered the model. This procedure demonstrates that a five variable model, with locus of control removed, reached a significant level ($R^2 = .1810$, $p \leq .05$). However, the only independent variable which was significant was socialization strategy, which contributed most of the explanation of variance (.1589 of the R^2). No other variable approached significance. The positive coefficient on the strategy variable and the mean scores in Table 8 indicate that those employees who entered as a group had higher job satisfaction than those who entered individually.

Table 9
 Job Satisfaction
 Regression Using Full Model

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.3808*	.0059
Similar Work Experience	.0132	.4353
Entry Skill Level	.0121	.5437
Self-Monitoring	.2606	.5662
Job Variety	-.0025	.8284
Locus of Control	.0724	.8457

Full Model $R^2 = .1816$

($p = .0712$)

N = 63

* $p < .01$

Table 10
 Job Satisfaction
 Stepwise Regression

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level	Contribution to R ²
Socialization Strategy	.3761**	.0053	.1589
Similar Work Experience	.0130	.4362	.0136
Entry Skill Level	.0124	.5302	.0032
Self-Monitoring	.2441	.5811	.0047
Job Variety	-.0024	.8333	.0006

Full Model R² = .1810*

(p = .0392)

N = 63

*p < .05

**p < .01

Hypothesis 2: General Satisfaction

The hypothesis detailing the relationship of socialization strategy and general satisfaction follows.

H₂: Newcomers who experience informal individual socialization into an organization will report higher general satisfaction than will newcomers who undergo formal group socialization.

The statistical data analysis produced no support for this hypothesis. Table 11 presents the regression results. The regression explanation of variance (the R²) was not significant and neither were any of the predictor variables. The modes of organizational socialization tested here do not appear to influence general satisfaction.

Hypothesis 3: Participation

The hypothesized relationship of socialization strategy and participation is discussed below.

H₃: Newcomers who experience formal group socialization into an organization will report higher participation in organizational decisions than will newcomers who undergo informal individual socialization.

Table 12 reports the results of the full model regression for participation. The data do not support the hypothesis. The regression correlation coefficient is not significant and neither are the independent variables. Only socialization strategy approaches significance ($p = .0691$).

Table 11
 General Satisfaction
 Regression Using Full Model

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.1815	.2869 (ns)
Entry Skill Level	.0188	.4539 (ns)
Similar Work Experience	.0132	.5402 (ns)
Self-Monitoring	-.3901	.4975 (ns)
Locus of Control	-.3821	.4165 (ns)
Job Variety	-.0103	.4910 (ns)

Full Model $R^2 = .0831$

($p = .5398$)

N = 63

Table 12
 Participation
 Regression Using Full Model

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.3401	.0691 (ns)
Entry Skill Level	-.0401	.1548 (ns)
Similar Work Experience	.0325	.1986 (ns)
Self-Monitoring	-.2461	.6897 (ns)
Locus of Control	.3564	.4634 (ns)
Job Variety	.0163	.2942 (ns)

Full Model $R^2 = .0995$

($p = .3798$)

N = 63

From these data and analysis, we can not predict that organizational participation will be influenced by group or individual entry into the organization. However, since employees with formal group socialization did have a higher mean score on participation (Table 8) and because socialization strategy approached a significant level when correlated with participation (Table 7), a relationship between socialization strategy and participation may exist and should be investigated in future research.

Hypothesis 4: Work/Family Conflict

The influence of socialization strategy on work/family conflict is hypothesized and discussed below.

H₄: Newcomers who experience formal group socialization into an organization will report lower work/family conflict than will newcomers who undergo informal individual socialization.

This hypothesis is not supported as shown in the stepwise regression results in Table 13. However, the converse seems to be the case. New employees who experience formal group socialization will have higher work/family conflict than those who enter individually.

The full model produced a significant regression ($p = .0179$) and a stepwise regression, using a maximum R^2 improvement technique, shows each individual variable's contribution to the variance. Socialization strategy is the only significant predictor variable with a contribution to

Table 13
 Work/Family Conflict
 Stepwise Regression Using Full Model

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level	Contribution to R ²
Socialization Strategy	.5810**	.0044	.1428
Self-Monitoring	-1.2394	.0668	.0428
Similar Work Experience	.0382	.1287	.0287
Job Variety	-.0152	.3804	.0138
Entry Skill Level	-.0155	.5941	.0038
Locus of Control	.1041	.8483	.0005

Full Model R² = .2323*

(p = .0179)

N = 64

*p < .05

**p < .01

variance of .1428. However, self-monitoring approaches significance ($p = .0668$) and has a moderate contribution of .0428 to the full model. The contributions of entry skill level and locus of control to the explanatory power of the model are negligible. The possible interactions of these variables with socialization strategy is discussed in the next section. By examining the direction of the signs on the coefficients and the mean scores for work/family conflict in Table 8, we can predict that group entry is positively related to higher work/family conflict. These data tend to support a negative relationship between work/family conflict and self-monitoring, within the parameters of this model.

Factors Contributing to Desired Outcomes

In order to test the interaction of independent variables and socialization strategy, hierarchical moderated regression was used. A regression was first calculated using socialization strategy and another independent variable. Then the interaction or cross-product term was entered into the equation after the entry of the variables which make up the interaction term. The significance level of the interaction term and the difference in R^2 between the two regressions were evaluated. The significance test on the interaction term is analagous to comparing the R^2 for the model with no interaction term to the R^2 of the model with the interaction term (Peters et al., 1984). If the

increment in R^2 due to the addition of the cross-product term is significant, then the two variables interact and the first variable is assumed to be a moderator variable.

The magnitude and direction of the regression coefficients in the two regressions were evaluated to assess the combination of variables. Also, residuals were plotted against the dependent variables in order to determine if there was a systematic bias in the combination of variables.

Interaction of socialization strategy and the concomitant variables was tested for job satisfaction and work/family conflict since they were the only outcomes significantly influenced by the independent variables. While it is possible that interaction terms might significantly influence general satisfaction and participation, the moderated regressions were not performed since socialization strategy had not attained significance in the simple regressions. Table 14 displays the mean scores on independent variables by group and individual entry, and the possible range of scores. The correlation matrix (Table 7) indicates that those subjects who entered as a group were significantly higher on similar work experience than those who entered the organization individually. Group entry subjects were also significantly lower on locus of control (more internally oriented) than those who experienced individual entry.

Table 14
Mean Scores on Independent Variables

Variable	Mean Score Group Entry	Mean Score Individual Entry	Range
Entry Skill Level	5.750	4.231	1-11
Similar Work Experience	4.370	2.622	0-20
Self-Monitoring	.327	.348	0-1
Locus of Control	.326	.426	0-1
Job Variety	11.635	10.067	1-29

Hypothesis 5: Entry Skill Level

The influence of entry skill level, coupled with socialization strategy, on organizational outcomes is discussed below.

H₅: The influence of entry skill levels on desired organizational outcomes will be greater for newcomers who experience informal individual socialization into an organization than for newcomers who undergo formal group socialization.

This hypothesis was supported somewhat and the results of the statistical analyses are presented in Tables 15 through 18. The model and the socialization strategy variable reach significant levels in all regressions (Figure 3). Entry skill level and the interaction of socialization strategy and entry skill level approach significance on job satisfaction only in the moderated regression (Table 16). Since the coefficients of socialization strategy and entry skill level both increased in the same direction in the moderated regressions from the simple regressions, the combination of the two variables is probably nonlinear. Plots of the residuals of the simple and moderated regressions are similar and suggest a meaningful combination of strategy and entry skill levels. Residuals are clustered in the upper right quadrant and have a positive linear slope (Figure 3). Entry skill level and the interaction term do not approach significance on the work/family conflict regressions, suggesting that the interaction may have more

Table 15
 Job Satisfaction
 Regression Using Entry Skill Level

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.4038*	.0020
Entry Skill Level	.0129	.4711
Model $R^2 = .1745^*$ ($p = .0029$)		

N = 63
 * $p < .01$

Table 16
 Job Satisfaction
 Moderated Regression Using Entry Skill Level

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.6567*	.0021
Entry Skill Level	.0445	.1020
Socialization Strategy X Entry Skill Level	-.0553	.1239
Model $R^2 = .2067^*$ ($p = .0030$)		

N = 63
 * $p < .01$

Table 17
 Work/Family Conflict
 Regression Using Entry Skill Level

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.6079*	.0025
Entry Skill Level	.0023	.9319
Model $R^2 = .1504^*$ ($p = .0069$)		

N = 64
 * $p < .01$

Table 18
 Work/Family Conflict
 Moderated Regression Using Entry Skill Level

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.8686**	.0080
Entry Skill Level	.0350	.4041
Socialization Strategy X Entry Skill Level	-.0570	.3045
Model $R^2 = .1653^*$ ($p = .0121$)		

N = 64
 * $p < .05$
 ** $p < .01$

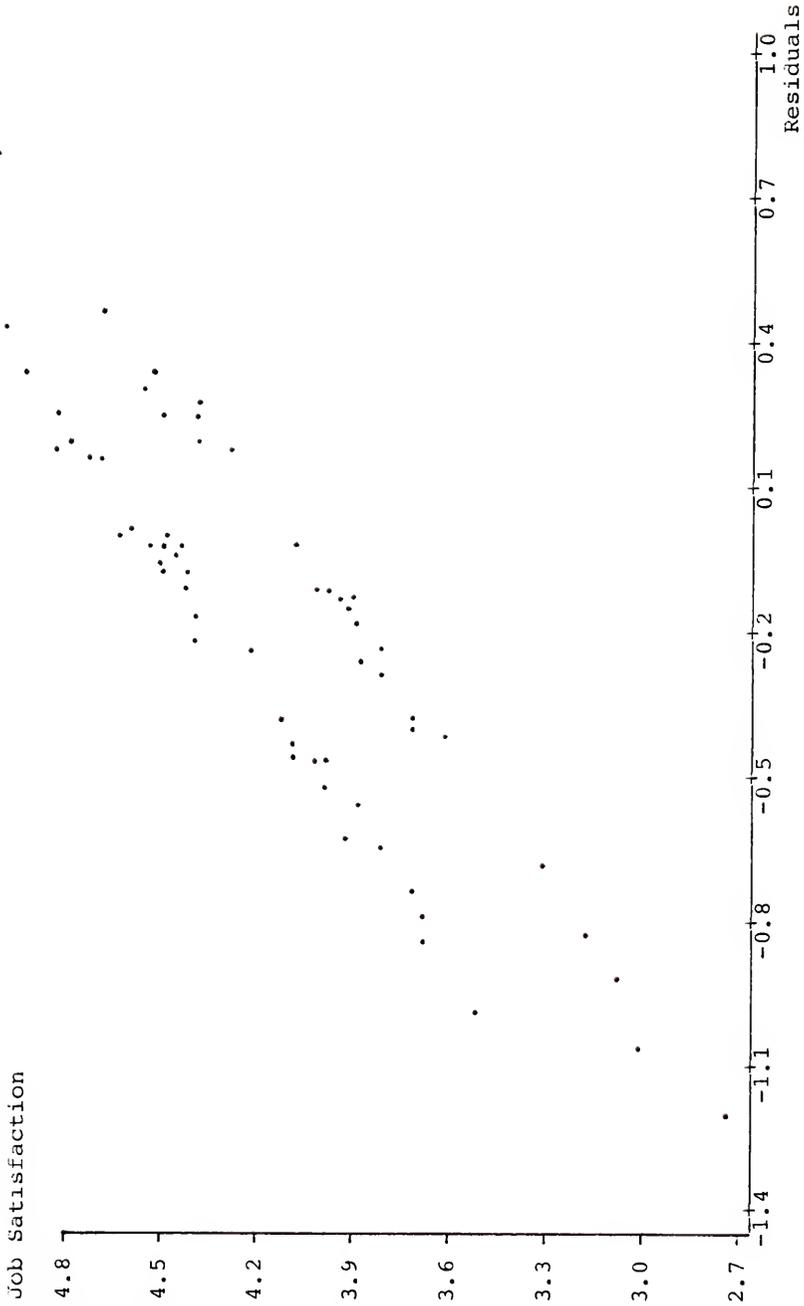


Figure 3. Plot of the Residuals of Socialization Strategy and Entry Skill Level Against Job Satisfaction Using a Moderated Regression

influence on job satisfaction. The explained variance (R^2) for job satisfaction increases substantially from the simple regression to the moderated regression, thereby explaining more variance in the model.

The positive signs on the strategy and entry skill level coefficients suggest that the influence of entry skill level is greater for those who entered the organization as a group. However, this can not be supported by the statistical test results.

Hypothesis 6: Similar Work Experience

The following hypothesis and discussion is concerned with the relationship of similar work experience and socialization strategy on organizational outcomes.

H_6 : The influence of similar work experiences on desired organizational outcomes will be greater for newcomers who experience informal individual socialization into an organization than for newcomers who undergo formal group socialization.

Moderated regressions produced no support for this hypothesis. The regressions are presented in Tables 19 through 22. While the model regression and socialization strategy variable are at significant levels for all regressions, similar work experience and the strategy/experience interaction never approach significance. Furthermore, the increase in explained variance from the simple regression to the moderated regression is slight and insignificant. Those

Table 19
 Job Satisfaction
 Regression Using Similar Work Experience

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.3860*	.0028
Similar Work Experience	.0157	.3243
Model $R^2 = .1725^*$ (p = .0034)		

N = 63
 *p < .01

Table 20
 Job Satisfaction
 Moderated Regression Using Similar Work Experience

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.4615*	.0077
Similar Work Experience	.0350	.2893
Socialization Strategy X Similar Work Experience	-.0252	.5022
Model $R^2 = .1788^*$ (p = .0085)		

N = 63
 *p < .01

Table 21
 Work/Family Conflict
 Regression Using Similar Work Experience

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.5402*	.0056
Similar Work Experience	.0349	.1518
Model $R^2 = .1718^*$ ($p = .0035$)		

N = 64
 * $p < .01$

Table 22
 Work/Family Conflict
 Moderated Regression Using Similar Work Experience

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.6632*	.0127
Similar Work Experience	.0660	.1975
Socialization Strategy X Similar Work Experience	-.0402	.4877
Model $R^2 = .1786^{**}$ ($p = .0085$)		

N = 64
 * $p < .05$
 ** $p < .01$

subjects who experience formal group socialization had significantly higher experience levels than did those who had informal individual socialization. This difference may have influenced the results.

Hypothesis 7: Job Variety

The influence of job variety, concurrent with socialization strategy, on organizational outcomes is hypothesized and discussed below.

H₇: The influence of high job variety on desired organizational outcomes will be greater for newcomers who experience formal group socialization into the organization than for newcomers who undergo informal individual socialization.

The results of moderated regressions on job variety are given in Tables 23 through 26. This hypothesis is not supported. The insignificance of socialization strategy in the moderated regressions is evidence of a linear combination of strategy and job variety, since strategy was a significant variable in the simple regressions. The change in explained variance (R^2) from the simple model to the moderated regression is slight, arguing that the interaction does not meaningfully contribute to the model.

Table 23
 Job Satisfaction
 Regression Using Job Variety

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.4303**	.0009
Job Variety	-.0020	.8551
Model $R^2 = .1679^*$ (p = .0037)		

N = 63
 *p < .01
 **p < .001

Table 24
 Job Satisfaction
 Moderated Regression Using Job Variety

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.3533	.1820
Job Variety	-.0058	.7154
Socialization Strategy X Job Variety	-.0074	.7393
Model $R^2 = .1694^*$ (p = .0106)		

N = 63
 *p < .05

Table 25
 Work/Family Conflict
 Regression Using Job Variety

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.6314*	.0013
Job Variety	-.0133	.4330
Model $R^2 = .1589^*$ ($p = .0051$)		

N = 64
 * $p < .01$

Table 26
 Work/Family Conflict
 Moderated Regression Using Job Variety

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.5800	.1573
Job Variety	-.0159	.5204
Socialization Strategy X Job Variety	.0049	.8864
Model $R^2 = .1592^*$ ($p = .0148$)		

N = 64
 * $p < .05$

Hypothesis 8: Self-Monitoring

The hypothesized relationship between self-monitoring, concomitant with socialization strategy, and organizational outcomes is discussed below.

H₈: The influence of self-monitoring on desired organizational outcomes will be greater for newcomers who experience informal individual socialization into the organization than for newcomers who undergo formal group socialization.

This hypothesis receives some support for the work/family conflict outcome but not for job satisfaction. Results of regressions are displayed in Tables 27 through 30. The regressions on job satisfaction show little increase in explained variance, the strategy variable becomes insignificant, and the sign on the self-monitoring coefficient becomes negative when the interaction term is added. These results would argue for high colinearity of the two variables.

Significant effects occur with the work/family conflict regression. When the interaction term enters the equation, the socialization strategy coefficient decreases and becomes insignificant. However, the self-monitoring coefficient increases substantially and becomes significant. If strategy and self-monitoring have high colinearity, the interaction term may draw enough variance away from the self-monitoring variable so that self-monitoring becomes significant. The decrease in the strategy coefficient is a

Table 27
 Job Satisfaction
 Regression Using Self-Monitoring

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.4291**	.0008
Self-Monitoring	.1610	.7028
Model $R^2 = .1694^*$ ($p = .0035$)		

N = 63
 * $p < .01$
 ** $p < .001$

Table 28
 Job Satisfaction
 Moderated Regression Using Self-Monitoring

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.2116	.4971
Self-Monitoring	-.1807	.7697
Socialization Strategy X Self-Monitoring	.6453	.4477
Model $R^2 = .1774^*$ ($p = .0081$)		

N = 63
 * $p < .01$

Table 29
 Work/Family Conflict
 Regression Using Self-Monitoring

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.6001*	.0016
Self-Monitoring	-1.1357	.0737
Model $R^2 = .1941^*$ ($p = .0014$)		

N = 64
 * $p < .01$

Table 30
 Work/Family Conflict
 Moderated Regression Using Self-Monitoring

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.1327	.7716
Self-Monitoring	-1.8698*	.0429
Socialization Strategy X Self-Monitoring	1.3969	.2671
Model $R^2 = .2106^{**}$ ($p = .0026$)		

N = 64
 * $p < .05$
 ** $p < .01$

movement toward individual socialization. The pattern of change, plus the negative coefficient on self-monitoring, support the hypothesis that self-monitoring significantly influences work/family conflict. Persons with lower self-monitoring scores (i.e. lower awareness of or action on social cues) have higher work/family conflict.

Hypothesis 9: Locus of Control

The hypothesis and discussion concerning the influence of locus of control and socialization strategy on organizational outcomes follows.

H₉: The influence of locus of control on desired organizational outcomes will be greater for newcomers who experience informal individual socialization into the organization than for newcomers who undergo formal group socialization.

The hypothesized interaction did not receive support from the statistical analyses. Tables 31 through 34 show the regression results. The insignificant coefficient for strategy in the job satisfaction regression is evidence of a linear combination of strategy and locus of control. However, since locus of control and the interaction term never approach significance, the hypothesis receives no support. Those employees who were socialized as a group were significantly lower on locus of control than those who were socialized individually. This may have contributed to the results.

Table 31
 Job Satisfaction
 Regression Using Locus of Control

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.4237*	.0011
Locus of Control	-.0464	.8939
Model $R^2 = .1677^*$ ($p = .0037$)		

N = 63
 * $p < .01$

Table 32
 Job Satisfaction
 Moderated Regression Using Locus of Control

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.4994	.0858
Locus of Control	.0611	.9041
Socialization Strategy X Locus of Control	-.2056	.7695
Model $R^2 = .1689^*$ ($p = .0108$)		

N = 63
 * $p < .05$

Table 33
 Work/Family Conflict
 Regression Using Locus of Control

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	.6210*	.0018
Locus of Control	.1268	.8097
Model $R^2 = .1511^*$ ($p = .0068$)		

N = 64
 * $p < .01$

Table 34
 Work/Family Conflict
 Moderated Regression Using Locus of Control

Variable	Coefficient	Significance Level
Socialization Strategy	1.1246*	.0113
Locus of Control	.8241	.2744
Socialization Strategy X Locus of Control	-1.3589	.1976
Model $R^2 = .1745^{**}$ ($p = .0090$)		

N = 64
 * $p < .05$
 ** $p < .01$

Summary

The results of the statistical analysis are presented in this chapter. Socialization strategy significantly influences both job satisfaction and work/family conflict.

The interaction of entry skill level and socialization strategy have a significant effect on job satisfaction. Work/family conflict is significantly influenced by self-monitoring and socialization strategy. Table 35 is a summary of the results of the tests of the hypotheses.

Table 35
 Summary Results of Tests of Hypotheses

Hypotheses	Results
1. Employees with informal individual socialization will report higher job satisfaction	Not supported - Higher job satisfaction for formal group entry
2. Employees with informal individual socialization will report higher general satisfaction	Not supported
3. Employees with formal group socialization will report higher participation	Not supported
4. Employees with formal group socialization will report lower work/family conflict	Not supported - Lower work/family conflict for informal individual entry
5. Influence of entry skill level will be greater for informal individual entrants	Supported for job satisfaction
6. Influence of similar work experience will be greater for informal individual entrants	Not supported
7. Influence of job variety will be greater for formal group entrants	Not supported
8. Influence of self-monitoring will be greater for informal individual entrants	Supported for work/family conflict
9. Influence of locus of control will be greater for informal individual entrants	Not supported

CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

These results suggest a number of implications about how socialization strategies, personality variables, and some situational factors are related to a set of preferred organizational outcomes. The basic research questions, presented in Chapter I, focused on whether socialization strategy, personality, and some situational factors influenced job satisfaction, general satisfaction, participation and work/family conflict.

The Influence of Socialization Strategy

Socialization strategy is related to some organizationally desired outcomes which occurred during the first four months of membership. These results show, generally, that newcomers who experience formal group socialization have higher job satisfaction than those who are socialized informally and individually. However, formal group socialization is also related to higher work/family conflict. Those employees who experienced informal individual socialization had lower work/family conflict during the period studied.

Influence on Job Satisfaction

The significance of the socialization strategy variable alone, in the full model and in the moderated regressions with other variables, is indicative of the strength of socialization strategy in influencing job satisfaction. Socialization strategy was significant in the moderated regressions with entry skill level and similar job experience. It was marginally significant ($p = .0858$) with the locus of control moderated regression. Socialization strategy accounted for sixteen percent of the variance in job satisfaction, but, when coupled with entry skill level, explained twenty-one percent of the variance.

Job satisfaction was significantly affected by socialization strategy during the early tenure of the employees in this study. Berlew and Hall (1966) and Van Maanen and Schein (1979) have argued that early socialization experiences in an organization have major consequences for later outcomes. These findings support that thesis and clarify the direction on the relationship between strategy and outcomes of socialization efforts.

The particular outcome of higher job satisfaction for newcomers who experienced formal group socialization may have occurred because of the content of the group sessions. Roles were more clearly defined, newcomers were taught specific skills that they would later use on the plant floor, and expectations of employees were presented to employees who received formal training. Newcomers who were

socialized individually did not receive clear role specifications, skill training, or knowledge of expectations. In addition, the intrinsic aspects of group socialization such as friendship, the feeling of belonging, and camaraderie may have contributed to the higher job satisfactions scores for those employees who were socialized by a group process.

These data and analyses indicate a strong socialization strategy effect on job satisfaction. This is important to researchers and practitioners. The implication is that researchers should include this variable in models and research on socialization. Practitioners can use these findings to design and implement better socialization experiences for newcomers.

Whether the relationship between job satisfaction and socialization strategy changes over time is another question. This research was concerned only with the first four months of employment. It may be that the influence of socialization strategy lessens over time as the newcomer learns the task, learns the expected roles, and becomes acclimated to the organization. An extension of this or a similar study could test the nature of the relationship over time.

The relationship between socialization strategy and job satisfaction reported in this study may be specific to manufacturing operatives or other blue collar employees. Furthermore, the reported relationship may be specific to white males, since a great majority of the subjects in this

study were white males. It is possible that women and racial minorities may experience different levels of job satisfaction in relation to formal group socialization or informal individual socialization than do white men. This possibility exists for two reasons. The feelings of cohesion and belonging to a group could be very important to a woman or black person who felt different from the majority of the work force. A group strategy of socialization may be more valued by an "outsider" than by someone who was like a majority of the employees.

Similarly, previous occupational socialization could influence the relationship between socialization strategy and job satisfaction (Nicholson, 1984). Women, particularly, have not been socialized in such a way as to encourage them to enter mechanical or technical blue collar occupations. Therefore many women and racial minorities may enter the organization with prior occupational socialization that may not be relevant to the job. This prior socialization may interact with the organization socialization strategy differently than this research indicates. It was not possible to test the differential effects of socialization strategy on women or black persons because there were too few of them in the subject pool. Similarly, the same relationship may not exist for managers or professionals. The pervasive and lengthy socialization efforts of professional schools, management training courses, and management experiences may be so strong as to weaken or

neutralize the formal socialization efforts of the work organization.

Influence on Work/Family Conflict

A strong socialization strategy effect on work/family conflict during the first four months of employment exists. Researchers and practitioners can use this relationship in future research and in implementation of socialization processes for newcomers.

Socialization strategy is related to the conflict between the work and family roles. Socialization strategy is a significant variable in the full model regression and in the moderated regressions for entry skill level, similar work experience, and locus of control. Furthermore, the direction and magnitude of the coefficients in the moderated regressions for job variety and for self-monitoring suggest linear relationships for socialization strategy and these variables. Because of the colinearity of socialization strategy and self-monitoring and the colinearity of socialization strategy and job variety, variance is transferred from the single variable to the interaction term in the moderated regressions, leaving the socialization strategy variable, itself, insignificant. However, the contribution of socialization strategy to work/family conflict remains significant in terms of future research on socialization.

High work/family conflict could lead to dysfunctional behavior on the job, such as tardiness, absenteeism,

careless work procedures, or reduced effort. If managers are aware that specific socialization processes such as formal group entry contribute to higher work/family conflict, management can implement other procedures to alleviate some of the conflict.

Higher work/family conflict for those newcomers who were socialized formally in a group situation may occur because of greater levels of organizational commitment due to the special orientation and training. The training group norms may impose additional work-related pressures or demands on group members which lead, in turn, to higher work/family conflict. Since individual entrants were socialized informally while they performed production tasks, commitment to the organization and awareness of group norms may take a longer period of time to develop. This would allow newcomers who experience informal individual socialization more time to resolve conflicts between the work and family roles. Furthermore, the individual entrant may experience less pressure for compliance because the organization, and not the group, is applying pressure.

The relationship between socialization strategy and work/family conflict may change over time. Family situations change, work roles change, and relationships with others change. Any of these changes could contribute to the level of work/family conflict over a period of time.

The influence of socialization strategy on work/family conflict reported in this study may be unique to this group

of subjects. It is conceivable that a relationship between these variables may not exist, or may be of a different magnitude or direction, for mothers of young children, managers, professionals, young people, or any other group.

These results suggest that organizations need to understand the differential effects of the various organizational socialization strategies. To the extent that these results can be generalized, organizations may have to choose between high job satisfaction and low work/family conflict. If formal group socialization is the chosen mode of bringing newcomers into the organization, management should be aware that an attendant effect may be higher conflict between the work and family roles. At the same time, informal individual socialization will not lead to the higher levels of job satisfaction that formal group socialization is likely to produce. If managers are aware of these effects, they can attempt to counteract the undesirable outcomes by modifying the initial socialization process or by other approaches such as providing employees with specific feedback about job-related matters, opportunities for social interaction with new employees and their spouse/partners, and Employee Assistance Programs.

Influence on General Satisfaction

Socialization strategies are related to job satisfaction, but not to general satisfaction. This is somewhat surprising since job satisfaction and general satisfaction

are positively correlated ($r = .55, p < .0001$) and this relationship has been reported elsewhere (Feldman, 1981). Socialization strategy contributed .16 to the explanation of variance on job satisfaction but had no significant influence on general satisfaction.

The factors hypothesized and variables tested in the model are not those which explain or predict general satisfaction. Variables such as entry skill level, similar work experience, and job variety are specific to the job and, logically, might not contribute to an explanation of general satisfaction. However, even the personality factors of self-monitoring and locus of control, which seem logically related to general satisfaction, did not add to understanding this relationship. A different set of variables, drawn from a broader spectrum of demographic and personality measures, may be more useful to explain general satisfaction.

Influence on Participation

The failure to predict participation from the regression model may be particularly useful to organization scientists. The influence of the work group, knowledge of the task, social cueing (such as self-monitoring measures) and locus of control are often used as predictors of participation in decision making. However, these variables did not contribute to an explanation of participation with these data and this regression model.

It is worth noting that socialization strategy alone approached significance ($p = .0691$) in the regression on participation, even though the full model did not approach significance. Newcomers who experienced formal group entry reported higher levels of participation than did those who experienced informal individual entry. However, the difference in mean scores between the two socialization processes was not significant. Because of the importance of participation as a theoretical and a practical variable these results suggest that the relationship between socialization strategy and participation should be the subject of further investigation.

Interaction Effects With Independent Variables

The independent variables had varying levels of influence on different outcomes. Table 36 reports the variance accounted for in the dependent variables of job satisfaction and work/family conflict by the full model, by socialization strategy alone, and by socialization strategy with each of the five other independent variables. All values in this table were significant. Socialization strategy alone contributes .16 to the variance on job satisfaction and .14 to the variance on work/family conflict.

Furthermore, the explained variance for the moderated regression with socialization strategy and entry skill level exceeds the full model explanation of variance for job satisfaction. The moderated regression explained variance

Table 36
Regression Results

	R ² for Job Satisfaction	R ² for Work/Family Conflict
Full Model	.18	.23
Socialization Strategy	.16	.14
Moderated Models:		
Socialization Strategy X Entry Skill Level	.21	.17
Socialization Strategy X Similar Work Experience	.18	.18
Socialization Strategy X Job Variety	.17	.16
Socialization Strategy X Self-Monitoring	.18	.21
Socialization Strategy X Locus of Control	.17	.17

for socialization strategy and self-monitoring approaches the explained variance for the full model on work/family conflict. The pervasive influence of socialization strategy argues that this variable should be considered in future studies of and in the development of future theory in socialization.

Socialization strategy, entry skill level and job satisfaction. Entry skill is the only situational variable which was studied which is meaningful when assessed with socialization strategies for job satisfaction. The variance accounted for in the moderated regression ($R^2 = .21$, $p = .003$), which is greater than that of the full model ($R^2 = .18$, $p = .0392$), suggests that one or more of the other variables of experience, job variety, self-monitoring, or locus of control counteract the effect of entry skill level. The variable which counteracts the influence of entry skill level is a suppressor variable which negates or weakens the influence of entry skill level. This is a plausible explanation, especially since entry skill level has significant positive correlations with similar work experience and job variety and a negative correlation with self-monitoring (Table 7).

In order to determine how job satisfaction is related to socialization strategy and entry skill level, the mean scores on job satisfaction for high and low entry skill levels by socialization strategy were calculated (Table 37). High entry skill level is defined as those employees who

Table 37
Mean Scores on Job Satisfaction by
Socialization Strategy and
Entry Skill Level

	Formal, Group Socialization	Informal, Individual Socialization
Entry as Production Technician or Above	4.33 (n=27)	4.13 (n=12)
Entry as Trainee	4.37 (n=10)	3.75 (n=15)

were classified as a production technician or higher (grades above 6 on Table 1). Low entry skill levels are assigned to subjects who entered the organization as trainees. It appears that socialization strategy has a greater effect on employees who entered the organization as trainees. There is little difference in mean scores on job satisfaction for those employees who have higher skill levels, regardless of socialization strategy experienced. Trainees who are socialized in a formal group situation are more satisfied than trainees who experience informal individual socialization.

This finding has significant implications for the socialization of unskilled employees. The organization can structure the initial socialization in such a way as to significantly affect the job satisfaction of unskilled workers much more than it can influence skilled workers. Prior occupational socialization of the skilled employees may minimize the influence of the particular organization's socialization efforts (Nicholson, 1984).

Socialization strategy, job variety, and job satisfaction. The finding that job variety has a negligible effect on job satisfaction is surprising. Researchers such as Hackman and Oldham (1980) and Turner and Lawrence (1965) have found positive significant relationships between job variety and job satisfaction. Since socialization strategy was not significant in the moderated regressions (Tables 24 and 26) and was significant in the simple regressions, a

linear combination may exist between socialization strategy and job variety. The possible linearity of the two variables in combination reduces the explanation of variance. However, these data would lead one to conclude that job variety should be dropped from the descriptive model. Perhaps the reason that job variety might not be significant in this study is that most employees at this plant have fairly high job variety. Even the job with the lowest variety rating is composed of several tasks and almost all employees are rotated, to varying degrees, among the jobs.

Another aspect of job variety that may be significant here is the specific group of subjects. These employees may not care as much about job variety as employees in other studies. In addition, the novelty of the new job at a new factory may have been more important than the effect of job variety.

Socialization strategy, self-monitoring and work/family conflict. Self-monitoring measures the sensitivity of individuals to social cues and the ability to react to those cues. The effect of this personality variable is as predicted. Thus, individuals who have low awareness of or few reactions to social cues will experience more conflict between roles. The negative coefficients for self-monitoring in Tables 29 and 30 support this interpretation. Table 35 clearly shows that work/family conflict is described better by socialization strategy and self-monitoring than by socialization strategy alone or by the

combination of socialization strategy and other independent variables. Furthermore, the moderated regression with socialization strategy and self-monitoring accounts for almost the same amount of variance as the full model ($R^2 = .21$ and $.23$).

Table 38 displays the mean scores on work/family conflict for each socialization strategy and for high and low self-monitoring individuals. The self-monitoring scores were divided at the mean for each strategy. The colinearity between socialization strategy and self-monitoring is evident since those employees who experienced formal group socialization have higher work/family conflict scores than do those who were socialized informally and individually.

It should be noted here that the subjects in this study tend to have low self-monitoring scores relative to subjects in other studies. Snyder (1974), Snyder and Monson (1975), and Ickes et al. (1978) report mean scores around 11 or 12 for undergraduates on the self-monitoring inventory. Snyder (1974) also reports a mean score of 18.41 for professional actors and actresses and a mean score of 10.19 for hospitalized psychiatric patients. The mean score for self-monitoring for subjects in this study was 8.44. The lowest score reported in the literature up to this point is that for the psychiatric patients. Perhaps the self-monitoring inventory is a measure of social sophistication or cosmopolitan orientation. Many studies using the self-monitoring inventory were with college undergraduates, although

Table 38
Mean Scores on Work/Family Conflict
By Socialization Strategy and
Self-Monitoring

	Formal, Group Socialization	Informal, Individual Socialization
High Self-Monitoring	3.92 (n=15)	3.31 (n=13)
Low Self-Monitoring	3.95 (n=22)	3.34 (n=14)

Caldwell and O'Reilly (1982a) tested field representatives in boundary-spanning positions. The self-monitoring scale should be tested and further validated with a broader range of subjects, including blue-collar operatives if it is to be used in further organizational research.

Overview

There is a strong relationship between socialization strategies and job satisfaction and work/family conflict. The explained variance in the regressions (listed in Table 36) range from .16 to .23, indicating that the regression models explain about one-fifth of the variance associated with both job satisfaction and work/family conflict.

Plots of the residuals from the moderated regressions of entry skill level and self-monitoring follow a similar pattern and suggest that all of the significant variables have not been accounted for. These plots also show that the functions are nonlinear (Figure 3). The residual plots were skewed to the upper right quadrant. That is, a disproportionate number of residuals appear in the upper right quadrant. This suggests a curvilinear, or concave, function to describe the relationship between job satisfaction, entry skill level and socialization strategy. Similarly, a curvilinear relationship is suggested for work/family conflict, self-monitoring, and socialization strategy.

Speculating about a curvilinear relationship is not unreasonable since individuals enter the organization with

varying levels of prior socialization and experience. Those individuals who already know the required task (i.e. have high entry skill levels) or who are aware of social cues (i.e. are high self-monitoring individuals) need less socialization in order to become functioning members. Prior socialization has prepared them for their organizational roles.

Implications

Socialization has a strong effect on desired organizational outcomes. The results of this study demonstrate that the different strategies are related to different outcomes. For example, formal group socialization is related to higher job satisfaction, particularly when combined with entry skill level. However, formal group socialization is also related to higher work/family conflict. This has some important implications for both theory and practice.

Theoretical Perspective

From a theoretical perspective, these results show that socialization strategy might interact with personality variables to affect some outcomes, but not others. For example, socialization strategy and self-monitoring have an obvious colinear effect on work/family conflict but only socialization strategy has a significant influence on job satisfaction. Even though personality characteristics are long-term orientations, those that were studied influenced

attitudes in different ways, especially when combined with socialization strategy.

The theoretical implications from the findings concerning socialization strategy and situational variables are that socialization strategy tends to dominate other situational variables except when combined with entry skill level. While it is not surprising that low skill workers have lower job satisfaction levels if they were socialized in an informal individual situation, this has some theoretical implications. Those theorists who study groups, socialization, training and development, etc. should be aware of the differential effects of socialization strategy and entry skill level in combination with each other.

For example, existing models of socialization do not consider the differential effects of situational variables. The acknowledgement that socialization occurs before an individual becomes a member (e.g. anticipatory socialization) is not an adequate representation of individual differences. Nicholson (1984) argues that individual differences and prior occupational socialization may significantly influence outcomes. Yet he does not delineate the variables which may be relevant. This study has shown that the differential effects of entry skill level or self-monitoring, particularly when combined with differing modes of organizational entry, can significantly influence the socialization process and subsequent outcomes. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) touch on this aspect of socialization but

Porter et al. (1975), Feldman (1976, 1981), and Wancus (1980) assume that the socialization process follows the same pattern for all subjects, regardless of the differences which new members bring with them to the organization.

Existing models of socialization should be modified to include situational variables which might influence the process and outcomes of socialization. For example, Nicholson (1984) suggests that previous opportunities for discretionary behaviors and the novelty of previous jobs be compared to the discretion and novelty of the new job. Jones (1983) points out that the interaction of the organizational socialization methods with the individual differences of the newcomer must be evaluated in order to predict the reactions of the new member. This research evaluated the interactions of different socialization modes with other variables to explain outcomes of socialization.

Existing socialization theories and models do not suggest that differential effects occur based on different socialization strategies. Only recently has Nicholson (1984) included the organizational-induction socialization processes in a theory of work role transitions. The theory is currently being tested by Nicholson. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) discuss the various socialization strategies but only once suggest a relationship to outcomes. Their theoretical argument is that persons who experience individual socialization into the organization will be more likely to achieve organizationally desired outcomes than

will those persons who experience group socialization. These data argue that their proposition is true for one situation, that of lower family work conflict associated with individual entry, but not for others. Socialization theory should specify which strategies interact with which personality and situational variables to influence different outcomes. Otherwise, the approaches which are current "Theories of Socialization" are purely descriptive of either the mode of socialization (Van Maanen and Schein, 1979) or the process (Feldman, 1976 and 1981). These descriptive theories might be considered otiose unless the different outcomes are considered.

Socialization theory may not be as simple as theorists have presented it. Perhaps certain models exist for particular groups of people. For example, one socialization model may be appropriate for professionals, while another is useful for blue collar employees. Socialization models may differ for minorities or for volunteer organizations. This research suggests that entry skill level is an important determinant of the effects of the socialization process for blue collar workers. However, entry skill level may not influence the job satisfaction of professionals, regardless of the socialization strategy experienced. More research is needed on socialization with groups other than managers and professionals to determine whether different socialization models operate for different occupational, professional, or demographic groups.

Theories of socialization should include socialization strategies. While this research only tested formal group and informal individual socialization strategies, other strategies should be studied. For example, Feldman (1976, 1981) lists process variables of initiation to the task, initiation to the group and role definition but does not consider the particular socialization strategy imposed. These processes of initiation to the task, initiation to the group, and role definition would occur regardless of the socialization strategy but they might occur in different ways as a result of the socialization strategy imposed. These data suggest that existing models of socialization tend to be too generic. In order to contribute to the body of knowledge about socialization, it is necessary to become, perhaps, more group specific in the models and in the research. Placing different occupational groups together in the same study on socialization processes assumes that all people are socialized in a similar manner.

It is not adequate to assume that one socialization strategy is used more frequently than others. Certain organizations may use one strategy, or a particular combination of strategies, more than others. However, as Van Maanen and Schein (1979) point out, most organizations use a variety of socialization strategies and often combine strategies, depending on the needs of the organization. For example, a firm may use formal training groups in management trainee programs for several employees in one functional

area but may turn to formal individual training for newcomers in another functional area. Research on the frequency of the various socialization strategies as well as the situations where certain strategies are used may contribute valuable information.

Practical Perspective

The most practical application of these findings is for the socialization of organizational members. There are differential effects of socialization strategies, particularly for employees who enter the organization with low skill levels and with particular personality attributes, such as low self-monitoring. If managers know that certain socialization strategies frequently lead to less desired outcomes, such as formal group entry leading to higher work/family conflict, they can compensate for this in other ways. For example, spouse/partners can be included in the organization in additional ways, such as newsletters or family and social gatherings.

Additionally, management may decide to use particular socialization strategies more often than others in order to achieve desired organizational outcomes. Modification and/or combination of existing socialization methods is possible.

The organization has many opportunities to design socialization strategies. The opening of a new facility or branch office and training of new employees are obvious

opportunities to design and test particular configurations of socialization strategies. Employee transfers within the firm and organizational development are other occasions when socialization strategies can be designed more carefully.

Qualifications

There are some qualifications to this study which should be discussed. First, the subjects, as a whole are fairly homogeneous on several relevant dimensions. Subjects have fairly high skill levels, have a substantial amount of job variety, have low sensitivity to social cues and/or few reactions to social cues, and believe that their behaviors contribute to outcomes and rewards (i.e. are internally oriented). Because the subjects are more homogeneous than many subject pools, a difference in one variable such as socialization strategy, may have substantial effects which are discernible. The similarity of subjects acts as a control of sorts. Research on a more heterogeneous group or on managerial personnel might have produced different results.

Secondly, the small sample size is a problem that cannot be avoided, yet must be considered. Statistical procedures are limited with this sample. The initial sample size was eighty and most subjects participated in the baseline survey on personality measures. However, after four months, some subjects dropped out of the study. Some were not as interested in the research effort, others lost and/or forgot questionnaires at home, and other subjects

returned questionnaires with unusable data. These subjects are not accustomed to completing questionnaires about attitudes and behaviors. Some subjects, in an attempt to be helpful, gave long written descriptions to questions rather than responses to the true/false or multiple choice format. As a result, 63 subjects provided data about job satisfaction and data from 64 subjects were obtained for work/family conflict.

There is always a concern for generalizability in a field study at one site. These results may be unique to this manufacturing facility. However, the intent of this research was to evaluate particular socialization strategies at a small manufacturing facility. Additional research with similar subjects will evaluate the generalizability of these findings.

Finally, it is not possible to know whether the significant outcomes are due to the socialization strategy or the effect of selection since the employees selected first were also those employees who experienced formal group socialization. However, in an earlier study on the first sixty-eight subjects hired (Tosi and Zahrly, in press 1984), there were few significant differences between persons hired and persons rejected for employment. Furthermore, Tosi and Zahrly did not discover any significant differences between the first forty people hired and the next twenty-eight people hired when compared to those who were not hired. In other words, there seemed to be no selection bias

within those people who were hired. This lends support to the conclusion that socialization strategy influenced the differential results rather than a selection bias.

The depth and realism of the data collected in a field study contribute to its validity as a research strategy (Luthans and Davis, 1982). The research was conducted in an on-going organization by a researcher/observer/participant who was familiar to the subjects. The full support of top management and complete access to the site contributed to the validity of the data. Knowledge of the specific site contributed to the design of the research, specifically the relevant variables. Research hypotheses were derived from theory, previous research, and site-specific observations and interviews.

A major strength of this research effort is that it tests different socialization strategies in the same organization with major organizational variables, such as company policy, management, and production process, unchanged. These strategies have not been compared previously in this manner.

Summary

This research tested the relationships of socialization strategies, personality and situational variables and desired organizational outcomes. Of the four outcomes tested, only job satisfaction and work/family conflict were

significantly related to socialization strategy and other variables.

Socialization strategy had a strong but differential effect on job satisfaction and work/family conflict. This situational or contingent effect was significant for the entry skill level-job satisfaction relationship and the self-monitoring-work/family conflict relationship.

These results suggest that socialization strategy should be considered in models of socialization and in future research on socialization. The variables of similar work experience, job variety and locus of control may not be significant when combined with socialization strategy.

APPENDIX A

INSTRUMENTS

JOB SATISFACTION (cont.)

	Very Dissat- isfied	-	-	-	-	-	Very Satisfied
11. The chance to do something that makes use of my abilities	1	2	3	4	5		
12. The way company policies are put into practice	1	2	3	4	5		
13. My pay and the amount of work I do	1	2	3	4	5		
14. The chances for advancement on this job	1	2	3	4	5		
15. The freedom to use my own judgement	1	2	3	4	5		
16. The chance to try my own methods of doing the job	1	2	3	4	5		
17. The working conditions	1	2	3	4	5		
18. The way my co-workers get along with each other	1	2	3	4	5		
19. The praise I get for doing a good job	1	2	3	4	5		
20. The feeling of accomplishment from the job	1	2	3	4	5		

GENERAL SATISFACTION
(Feldman and Brett, 1983)

IN GENERAL, HOW SATISFIED OR DISSATISFIED ARE YOU . . .	Very Dissat- isfied - - - - -				Very Satisfied
a. with your nonworking activities--hobbies and so on?	1	2	3	4	5
b. with your marriage?	1	2	3	4	5
c. with your health?	1	2	3	4	5
d. with the type of work you are doing?	1	2	3	4	5
e. with your family life?	1	2	3	4	5
f. with your friendships?	1	2	3	4	5
g. with your standard of living?	1	2	3	4	5
h. with your company as a place to work?	1	2	3	4	5

PARTICIPATION

As part of our MCC study, we would like to know how much influence you have over different aspects of your work. Please circle, on the scale below, the response which reflects your current situation.

	None	Moderate	A Very	Great	
	- -	Amount	- -	Amount	
1. How much influence do you have over your daily job assignment?	1	2	3	4	5
2. How much influence do you have over the job assignment of others?	1	2	3	4	5
3. How much influence do you have concerning company policy areas such as safety, vacation, shift changes, etc.?	1	2	3	4	5
4. How much influence do you have over how you do your job?	1	2	3	4	5
5. How much influence do you have over your long term job assignments?	1	2	3	4	5
6. How much can you influence the decisions of your boss regarding things about which you are concerned?	1	2	3	4	5
7. How often does your boss ask your opinion?	1	2	3	4	5
8. How satisfied are you with the present amount of influence you have on the decisions of your boss that relate to your work?	1	2	3	4	5
9. How much influence do you have over the training of employees, including yourself?	1	2	3	4	5

WORK/FAMILY CONFLICT
(Kopelman, Greenhaus, and Connolly, 1982)

BELOW IS A GROUP OF STATEMENTS WHICH DESCRIBE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT COULD OCCUR AT WORK AND/OR AT HOME. INDICATE YOUR EXTENT OF AGREEMENT WITH EACH OF THE STATEMENTS. REMEMBER, WE ARE INTERESTED IN THE ACTUAL SITUATION, NOT HOW YOU WOULD LIKE THE SITUATION TO BE.

	Strongly Agree		Neither Agree Nor Disagree		Strongly Disagree
1. My work schedule often conflicts with my family life.	1	2	3	4	5
2. After work, I come home too tired to do some of the things I'd like to do.	1	2	3	4	5
3. On the job I have so much work to do that it takes away from my personal interests.	1	2	3	4	5
4. My family dislikes how often I am preoccupied with my work while I am home.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Because my work is demanding, at times I am irritable at home.	1	2	3	4	5
6. The demands of my job make it difficult to be relaxed all the time at home.	1	2	3	4	5
7. My work takes up time that I'd like to spend with my family.	1	2	3	4	5
8. My job makes it difficult to be the kind of spouse or parent I'd like to be.	1	2	3	4	5

SIMILAR WORK EXPERIENCES

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

1. How many years experience did you have making lids before you came to work at Metal Container?
2. How many years experience did you have doing shift work before you came to work at Metal Container?
3. How many years experience did you have doing shift work where you were on a rotating shift or shifts before you came to work at Metal Container? That is, where you were required to rotate shifts, such as a day and night shift?
4. How many years experience did you have working in a factory atmosphere before you came to work at Metal Container?

APPENDIX B

RANKING OF TASK VARIETY

Ranking of Task Variety for Specific Assignments

Team Leader	9
Floater	8
Machine Shop.	7
Utility Person.	6
Conversion Press Operator . . .	5
Quality Assurance	4
Shell Press Operator.	3
Storeroom	2
Bagger.	1

This is an average ranking from 10 superintendents, team leaders, and acting team leaders.

APPENDIX C

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

Metal Container Corporation
University of Florida Study

The purpose of this research is to study work groups. This study involves completion of questionnaires and interviews. There are no anticipated risks associated with this study. Benefits may include improved work conditions. There will be no monetary compensation for participation in this study. Participation is voluntary and participants may withdraw at any time.

ALL INFORMATION WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL. No individual data will be available to managerial personnel. Only aggregate data will be provided to managers and participants upon request. Due to the need to match individuals' scores at different time periods, participants are requested to identify themselves. A special identification number can be arranged with the researchers if you do not wish to use your social security number. Individuals will never be identified to any other person either verbally or in writing.

In order to protect each individual, Metal Container Corporation, the University of Florida and the researchers, you are asked to sign the consent form below.

I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and to discontinue participation at any time without prejudice. I will authorize Metal Container Corporation to provide personnel information to the University of Florida researchers.

I have read and I understand the procedures described above. I agree to participate in the Metal Container Corporation/University of Florida study and I have received a copy of this description.

SIGNATURES:

Subject

Date

Witness

Date

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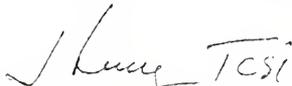
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

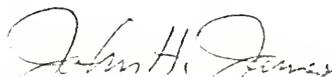
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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Henry L. Tosi, Chairman
Professor of Management and Administrative Sciences

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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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