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**Looking beyond - socialization tactics: The role of human resource systems
in the socialization process**

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Abstract

Previous research questions whether the association between socialization tactics and human resource systems has been properly explored. Based on theory, we present a framework that links socialization tactics and human resource systems for various groups of newcomers. In doing so, we contribute to academic theory by exploring the under-researched areas of the content and context of socialization tactics, while illustrating helpful practices to retain key newcomers in organizations. The article provides new insights into socialization tactics and human resource systems by bridging the two theoretical areas, opening up this conceptual space for examination by organizational scholars. We also discuss the theoretical and practical implications for human resource scholars and practitioners accordingly.

Keywords: Socialization tactics; Human resource systems; Newcomer; Organizational socialization

1. Introduction

Organizational socialization is “the process by which an individual acquires the social knowledge and skills necessary to assume an organizational role” (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979, p. 211). Scholars have shown growing interest in understanding this process because the effective socialization of new entrants has two significant practical implications: i) protecting and maximising the return on investment made in the recruitment and training of new employees and ii) leveraging the potential competitive advantage of human capital. First, ineffective socialization is a primary cause of premature voluntary and involuntary employee turnover (Fisher, 1986). Consequently, this disrupts work and reduces productivity (Shaw, Gupta, & Delery, 2005), resulting in increased costs and wasted investment in the recruitment and training of newcomers (Kammeyer-Mueller & Wanberg, 2003). Second, effectively socialized newcomers may be better trained, more skilled and more loyal, providing a source of competitive advantage in the marketplace. This advantage could be important given recent economic and demographic changes and the mobility of today’s workforce, with a subsequent decline in organizational loyalty (Bauer, Bodner, Erdogan, Truxillo, & Tucker, 2007).

In a seminal work, Van Maanen and Schein (1979) proposed six bipolar socialization tactics that are at managers’ disposal to enable better structuring of newcomers’ experiences. Since this work, research has linked socialization tactics to several adjustment outcomes: employees’ role orientation; newcomers’ role ambiguity; role conflict; organizational commitment; job satisfaction; intention to quit (e.g. Ashforth, Sluss, & Saks, 2007; Bauer et al., 2007; Jones, 1986; Saks & Ashforth, 1997b). Research in the last 30 years on socialization has mainly focused on exploring additional adjustment outcomes, such as job performance and perceived job and organizational fit (Cable & Parsons, 2001; Kim, Cable, & Kim, 2005).

Unfortunately, the more nuanced questions appear unanswered. For example: are some socialization tactics more effective than others in facilitating newcomers’ adjustment in

certain contexts; are some tactics more important than others for the adjustment of certain newcomers, such as knowledge workers (e.g. Saks & Gruman, 2012; Saks, Uggerslev, & Fassina, 2007)? Furthermore, despite speculation connecting socialization tactics with organizational strategy, structure and human resource (HR) management strategies (e.g. Baker & Feldman, 1991; Saks & Gruman, 2014), connections have been somewhat indirect and superficial (Ashforth, Sluss, & Harrison, 2007). This is reflected in inconclusive empirical and theoretical evidence of how socialization can be linked to HR management (Saks & Gruman, 2014).

We intend to make two key contributions to the socialization and HR literature, based on the HR architecture model (Lepak & Snell, 1999) and the job characteristics literature (Hackman & Oldham, 1980). The former highlights that not all employees possess the knowledge, skills and abilities to make them of equal strategic importance for the organization; the latter looks at the influence of task design. First, we propose that the HR architecture model (Lepak & Snell, 1999) and job characteristics literature may provide useful theoretical underpinnings for socialization tactics. This is important, as it gives organizations clues that, based on task design for different newcomers, provides them with different values of human capital. As such, they might benefit more if they are exposed to different socialization tactics, making the process quicker and resulting in mutual benefits – for the organization and the newcomer. Second, we consider that providing HR systems with specific socialization tactics and initiatives could prevent turnover among various groups of newcomers. Literature suggests that not all tactics are equally efficient in socializing newcomers under different contextual conditions (e.g. Saks & Gruman, 2012; Saks et al., 2007). Providing suggestions that may benefit newcomers more than others is thus an important next step.

This paper starts by providing a general overview of socialization tactics and the HR architecture model. Moving forward, we provide an integrated view of the two fields and suggest which specific activities may be appropriate to socialize various types of newcomers in organizations. We conclude with some theoretical and practical implications.

2. Socialization tactics and the human resource architecture model

We try to integrate three literature streams, namely, job characteristics, human resource architecture and socialization tactics literature. Figure 1 provides an overview of how conceptual relationships derived from these three streams unfold. Our process model of connecting job characteristics, socialization tactics and HR systems starts with task design, which leads to specific knowledge, skills and ability needed by the new position. Newcomers in new roles then benefit the most with specific HR systems, which can further enhance the value of knowledge, skills and abilities, which in turn may be reflected in using specific and more beneficial socialization tactics in order to socialize newcomers more effectively and retain them in the organization. We start by discussing the relationship between human capital, HR systems and socialization tactics and finish with the job characteristics model as it presents the underlying mechanisms that inform the use of HR systems and selection of different socialization tactics.

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

2.1. Human resource architecture model

Boxall (1998, p. 268) suggests that organizations differentiate between an inner “core” of employees who are “responsible for value innovations or for successful imitations” and an outer core of employees who are more instrumental in maintaining process efficiencies and

capacity. This concurs with the resource-based view (RBV) (Lepak & Snell, 1999, 2002), which suggests that not all groups of individuals provide organizations with outstanding value. Lepak and Snell (1999) attest that there are some critical “core” individuals in all organizations, with others being less critical or more peripheral. Drawing on RBV, economic and human capital theories, they develop an HR architecture model, utilizing two dimensions. The first dimension looks at the extent to which the particular form of human capital represents a valuable resource for the organization. Thus, strategic value is determined by the skill sets of individuals that positively influence efficiency and effectiveness, that enable an organization to exploit market opportunities and neutralize potential threats (Barney, 1991; Wright & McMahan, 1992). The second dimension focuses on the extent to which this human capital is unique to the organization, with uniqueness being the degree to which knowledge and skills are specialized or specific (e.g. Williamson, 1975). Such human capital may be especially valuable by consisting of tacit knowledge or deep experiences of individuals that can neither be found in an open labour market nor easily transferred to other organizations. Managing the strategic value and uniqueness of human capital results in different employment systems, referred to as a bundle or cluster of HR practices, at the disposal of organizations to achieve different goals (e.g. Wright & Boswell, 2002). Such systems exist within organizations to serve different categories of employee (e.g. Boxall, 1998; Osterman, 1987), resulting in variations of employment relationships or psychological contracts (Delobbe, Cooper-Thomas, & De Hoe, 2015; Rousseau, 1995; Tsui, Pearce, Porter, & Hite, 1995).

The empirically supported HR architecture model (Lepak & Snell, 1999) leads to four types of HR systems, which fit different categories of employees based on the differing value and uniqueness of their human capital. These four systems are commitment-oriented, productivity-based, compliance-based and collaborative.

Organizations need *commitment-oriented HR systems* for individuals who hold vital knowledge and whose skills are critical to a firm's core or distinctive capabilities. Such HR systems aim to mobilize motivational resources (Bowen & Ostroff, 2004) that will build strong ties with these types of critical individuals (Gottschalg & Zollo, 2007) in order to retain them. Enhancing the motivation, empowerment and development of such employees produces relationships between individuals that are longer-term and more relationally focused than short-term and transactional (Rousseau, 1995).

Productivity-based HR systems may be appropriate when work is valuable but is not unique to one organization: an example could be accounting staff. In other words, individuals within this system can make a significant contribution to an organization while possessing skills that are widely transferable. As a consequence, organizations will focus on standardizing jobs and selecting people from the external labour market who can contribute immediately (Tsui et al., 1995). This emphasises hiring individuals who can be productive quickly and rewarding them on a short-term, results-orientated basis, with less emphasis on their development (Lepak & Snell, 1999).

Compliance-based HR systems are fitting for individuals whose skills are generic and low value. Lepak and Snell (1999) suggested that organizations with compliance-based HR systems are most likely to establish short-term contractual arrangements for tasks that are of limited strategic value and uniqueness. In such cases the focus is more on short-term productivity and the efficiency of tasks with limited scope, purpose or duration and transactional rather than relational employment relationships (Lepak & Snell, 2002). To achieve this, the emphasis will be on compliance with rules, regulations and procedures.

Finally, *collaborative HR systems* suit employees with idiosyncratic knowledge who possess unique know-how, but this is of limited strategic value for the organization. Lepak and Snell (1999) suggested that because their knowledge is not central to value creation and

strategy, employees with this type of human capital may be externalized. However, as this specialized knowledge is not easy to find in the external market, organizations need to build long-term relationships with these external partners. The aim is to preserve continuity over time, enhance trust among partners and safeguard reciprocity and collaboration (Lepak & Snell, 2002). Thus, organizations do not invest in the human capital itself, but rather in the relationship with these individuals, for example through group incentives and cross-functional teams, which may ensure greater integration and stronger relationships with the organization and the partner employees.

2.2. Limitations of human resource architecture research

We believe that two key aspects of the HR architecture model remain unclear. First, turnover for various categories of employees can be very problematic, especially amongst core individuals who bring unique and high strategic value to organizations (Nyberg, Moliterno, Hale, & Lepak, 2014). Losing such core employees prematurely might incur costs associated with socialization (Kammeyer-Mueller & Wanberg, 2003) and create performance problems (Glebbeeck & Bax, 2004; Guthrie, 2001). To attain human capital-based advantages, incoming employees must fulfil two important criteria for the organizations (Nyberg et al., 2014; Ployhart, Nyberg, Reilly, & Maltarich, 2014): a) the human capital value must exceed the total costs of searching for, recruiting, socializing, developing and compensating the employee; (b) the use of such human capital to the focal firm must be greater than that gained by a typical competitor (Campbell, Coff, & Kryscynski, 2012; Lepak & Snell, 1999). In this sense, organizational socialization seems to be important, especially for the first criterion. We argue that understanding and preventing core employee turnover as a consequence of unsuccessful socialization and the role of the broader organizational context in this process needs more exploration. Moreover, researchers have suggested that HR practices applied to specific groups of employees, or employees in general, may differ in their effects on

organizational outcomes (Gerhart, Wright, McMahan, & Snell, 2000; Jackson, Schuler, & Jiang, 2014).

However, research remains fragmented, failing to provide a strong theoretical foundation to advance our understanding of how different groups of employees should be managed and what HR practices might be more beneficial in socializing each cohort. We assert there is value in expanding our thinking, with specific theories from the socialization field, to better capture how HR subsystems can add value. As Cooper-Thomas and Anderson (2006, p. 508) point out: “The responsibility lies with employers to ensure that all new employees receive appropriate support, which may require tailoring organizational socialization processes to suit newcomers from different backgrounds”.

2.3. *Socialization tactics*

One of the most researched theoretical perspectives of organizational socialization remains the tactics typology. Socialization tactics are defined as “the ways in which the experiences of individuals in transition from one role to another are structured for them by others in the organization” (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979, p. 230). These tactics can be used by managers when socializing new recruits in the organization or at various boundary points (e.g. promotions). The literature describes how the tactics can affect newcomers’ custodial, content-innovative or role-innovative responses. The six proposed tactics exist on a bipolar continuum with considerable range between the two poles.

Collective (vs. individual) socialization refers to grouping newcomers and putting them through a common set of experiences, rather than through an isolating and more unique process. *Formal (vs. informal)* socialization is the practice of formal training, in which newcomers are separated from co-workers and trained in a particular skill or procedure, as opposed to learning on-the-job from existing employees. *Sequential (vs. random)* socialization involves a fixed sequence of learning steps, compared to randomly learning

about tasks as and when they appear during work. *Fixed* (vs. *variable*) socialization provides newcomers with a specific timeline for learning various activities, versus a variable process without a prescribed time period. The *serial* (vs. *disjunctive*) approach is one in which newcomers are socialized by an experienced staff member, assigned to work with them and serve as a role model or mentor, compared to a process without such formal support. Finally, *investiture* (vs. *divestiture*) builds on the identity and personal characteristics of the newcomer, rather than denying, disconfirming and stripping them away.

In the first empirical investigation of socialization tactics, Jones (1986) described how, at one extreme, the six bipolar tactics could form what he called *institutionalized socialization*. In his opinion, collective, formal, sequential, fixed, serial and investiture tactics together may encourage and motivate newcomers to accept predefined roles passively, reflecting the organizational status quo. Institutionalized socialization provides newcomers with a structured and formalized experience that reduces perceived uncertainty. At the opposite end of the continuum sits *individualized socialization*, comprising individual, informal, random, variable, disjunctive and divestiture tactics (Jones, 1986), which may stimulate newcomers to question the status quo and develop their own unique approach to their roles. An *individualized socialization* process lacks structure, with newcomers socialized by default rather than by design (Ashforth, Saks, & Lee, 1997) and might result in greater uncertainty and anxiety (Jones, 1986).

Based on factor analysis, Jones (1986) also found that the six bipolar tactics can be grouped into three broad factors: social, content and context. The social factor consists of serial and investiture tactics, which are considered most important because “they provide the social cues and facilitation necessary during learning processes” (p. 266). He suggested that the next strongest predictor of adjustment was the content factor, comprising sequential and fixed tactics, which focus on the content of the information given to newcomers. The last and

least important factor is context, formed by collective and formal tactics, which emphasize the way in which organizations provide information to newcomers.

Since Jones (1986), there have been more than a dozen further studies on socialization tactics. Two recent meta-analyses found that institutionalized socialization tactics are negatively related to role ambiguity, role conflict and intention to quit and positively related to fit perceptions, self-efficacy, social acceptance, job satisfaction, organizational commitment, job performance and custodial role orientation (Bauer et al., 2007; Saks et al., 2007). It was found that social tactics were most strongly related to socialization outcomes, whereas context tactics had the weakest relationship (Bauer et al., 2007; Saks et al., 2007). Simultaneously, and perhaps in reaction to tactics, newcomers can be agentic and engage in proactive behaviours. For example: they take control to make things happen (Parker, Bindl, & Strauss, 2010) and are anticipatory or future-orientated and self-initiating in seeking information that complements socialization tactics to aid their adjustment (Saks & Ashforth, 1996). Newcomers are more likely to engage in proactive behaviours when socialization tactics are institutionalized (Gruman, Saks, & Zweig, 2006), with institutionalized tactics being related to newcomers' learning (Ashforth, Sluss, & Saks, 2007) and on-the-job embeddedness (Allen, 2006).

Past research has mostly combined the six tactics and conceptualized them along one single continuum, ranging from individualized to institutionalized, as they are highly and positively inter-correlated (Bauer et al., 2007; Kim et al., 2005; Lueke & Svyantek, 2000). However, we concur with Bauer et al. (1998), who warned that it might be premature to drop the original six bipolar socialization tactics, for two reasons. First, high correlations may reflect overlap in the items that Jones used in his sub-scales rather than insufficient conceptual distinction between the various dimensions (Saks & Ashforth, 1997b). Second, even if institutionalized tactics are seen as more beneficial for the socialization process, some studies

show that they might be negatively related to role innovation and turnover (Ashforth & Saks, 1996; Riordan, Weatherly, Vandenberg, & Self, 2001). In response, our integrative framework in section three will continue to focus on each of the specific socialization tactics.

2.4. Limitations of socialization tactics research

Three key limitations have been identified in socialization tactics research. First, the tactics provide little guidance, other than to tell newcomers about what may happen through the process of socialization and when it will end. Indeed, we do not know much more today than we did 25 years ago, other than that “institutionalized socialization tactics result in more positive socialization outcomes than individualized socialization tactics” (Saks & Gruman, 2012, p. 37). Second, little research has targeted the contextual factors that facilitate and constrain socialization practices and outcomes (Ashforth, Sluss, & Harrison, 2007; Bauer et al., 1998; Saks & Ashforth, 1997a). Part of this problem may be that there is no widely-recognized theory of organizational context (Johns, 2006). Finally, the learning perspective of socialization, where the newcomer learns “the ropes” of the new work, “cannot be separated from the social and physical context within which it occurs” (Sonnentag, Niessen, & Ohly, 2004, p. 261).

To address these concerns theoretically we turned to the HR and job characteristics literature, specifically the HR architectural model (Lepak & Snell, 1999), to provide the content for socialization tactics. Moreover, HR systems are aligned with broader organizational strategies, providing the necessary rigorous context for socialization tactics to be employed (e.g. Baker & Feldman, 1991). Also, the HR architecture model acknowledges that not all individuals possess comparable levels of human capital; thus it may address calls, in the socialization tactics literature, for exploration into the influence of different tactics on different types of new employees (e.g. Saks & Gruman, 2012). In the next section, we turn to

job characteristics literature, as the more complicated task design is, the more effort organizations need to put in the socialization process (Ashforth, Sluss, & Harrison, 2007).

3. Job characteristics – an underlying mechanism bridging human resource architecture model and socialization tactics

To better join together socialization tactics and the HR architecture model, we look at the job characteristics literature (e.g. Hackman & Oldham, 1980). This suggests that five core job characteristics (skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy and significance) will lead to favourable personal and work outcomes, such as efficiency and effectiveness. Job characteristics literature provides a finely grained mechanism to bridge the HR and socialization literature in two ways. First, it provides an underlying mechanism to better group newcomers into different cohorts, based on varying work dimensions, and provides organizations with a list of knowledge, skills, and abilities newcomers may need in order to fit successfully in the new position. Thus, we argue, value and uniqueness of newcomer human capital may derive from job design prerequisites. Second, it provides suggestions about which HR system may be used in order to further develop newcomers' knowledge, skills and abilities (Lepak & Snell, 1999), as well as which socialization tactics may be more beneficial for newcomers and match the HR system, as “the greater the need for hard-to-master knowledge, skills, and abilities, the more complicated the socialization process” (Ashforth, Sluss, & Harrison, 2007, p. 32).

To explore the complexity of organizational job design, we looked at the framework proposed by Morgenson and Humphrey (2006), who expanded previous research and grouped work characteristics into three dimensions: motivational, social and contextual. The basic principle of the motivational approach is that jobs will be enriched, and more motivating, if high levels of core job characteristics (skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy

and significance) are present. The social dimension looks at interdependences, feedback from, support of, and interactions with others (i.e. leaders, co-workers, peers). The last category comprises contextual characteristics within which work is performed, thus focusing on the physical and environmental context.

This classification provides an important message of how task design may lead to different human capital and related knowledge, skills and abilities needed for a new position, and how the latter two may be complemented by different HR systems and socialization tactics. Thus we believe that job characteristics theory informs our process model in three different ways. First, it suggests that value and uniqueness of human capital needed may depend upon task design (Gibbons & Waldman, 2004; Murphy, 2012). Task design, based on different combinations of motivational, social and contextual dimensions may be based upon specific knowledge, skills, and abilities newcomers need to possess as prerequisites even before entering a new organization. For example, a task that requires a collaborative design may emphasize the importance not only of problem solving but also of interactions with other insiders, in order for knowledge sharing to be successful (Kaše, Paauwe, & Zupan, 2009). This suggests that organizations may group newcomers in different cohorts based on how complicated the combination of overall work characteristics is for a specific position (as we have suggested, some positions require high motivational, social and contextual work characteristic combinations and some do not). As such, these positions seem to require different combinations of human capital that newcomers need (namely, knowledge, skills and abilities). Gibbons and Waldman (2004) argue that task design should lead to minimization of human capital underutilization, thus it seems that task design informs what human knowledge, skills and abilities are needed to fill a given role.

Second, it suggests that, once they join an organization with a specific value and uniqueness of human capital, based on task design, newcomers will benefit from specific HR

systems that will further enhance and develop newcomers' human capital in order that the firm may achieve competitive advantage (Chadwick, 2015; Kaše, Paauwe, & Batistič, 2014; Kryscynski & Ulrich, 2015; Lepak & Snell, 1999). Human capital is created from the emergence of knowledge, skills, abilities, or other characteristics and this development is dependent on the complexity of the task environment (Ployhart & Moliterno, 2011). The more coordination and interaction among employees a task demands, the more likely it is that human capital will be enhanced (Fagan & Ployhart, 2015). This will ultimately reflect in selecting the correctly complementing HR system for the right cohort of newcomers with specific human capital. For example, when value and uniqueness are high organizations may prefer to use commitment-based HR systems in order to strengthen the relationship with such key employees in the long run, provide them with development opportunities and lower the chances of their departure.

Third, it suggests that, once HR systems are in place, different socialization tactics can be used to socialize newcomers. It seems that what specific socialization tactics can be used will be dependent upon already established formal contexts, such as HR systems (Cooper-Thomas & Anderson, 2006). It has been speculated that socialization tactics not only should complement HR systems in delivering a strong message to newcomers, effectively putting HR systems into action (Batistič & Kaše, 2015; Cooper-Thomas & Anderson, 2006), but also dependent upon organization strategy (Baker & Feldman, 1991). This leads to the conclusion that, if HR systems like compliance-based ones build upon the premise of short-term transactional relationship between employees and newcomers, then organizations may want to use complementary socialization tactics.

In our framework we refer to complicated work characteristics, avoiding the term complexity. This clarification is important in this paper as one of the motivational sub-dimensions is referred to as task complexity. We use the term complicated work

characteristics when referring to situations that combine high levels of all three sub-dimensions (motivational, social and contextual). For example, there are job roles where quality of communication and task interdependency is high, such as research and development and thus the work characteristics can be complicated. In contrast, there are jobs such as production line roles with a lower level or quality of communication and task interdependency; accordingly, the job characteristics are less complicated. Such classification may underpin what value and uniqueness of human capital is needed for newcomers.

Figure 2 shows a cumulative framework of socialization tactics that could potentially be used in various HR subsystems. We believe that not all tactics are relevant to all categories of employees and thus we have focused only on the key one for each group. Also, our classification does not suggest that the institutionalized or individualized end of the continuum is better, but rather that the suggested tactic might be more beneficial for one newcomer category than the other.

[Insert Figure 2 about here]

3.1. Commitment-oriented HR system

In the human capital literature, this cohort is the most important and beneficial to organizations (Lepak & Snell, 1999); thus, ineffective socialization of these employees would be most costly in the short and long term (Kammeyer-Mueller & Wanberg, 2003). This perception is reinforced by the work characteristics needed for such jobs, which are inherently complicated, effectively suggesting that the socialization of such employees might be more difficult and involved (Ashforth, Sluss, & Harrison, 2007). We posit that a more individualized, tailored approach might be the most beneficial for this cohort, incorporating *investiture* and *serial tactics* to provide newcomers with access to social capital that is

embedded in the organizational communication network (Fang, Duffy, & Shaw, 2011). Serial tactics enable experienced insiders to act as role models or mentors, with investiture tactics providing newcomers with positive feedback and social support. Both may help develop strong relationships and feelings of competence and confidence (Allen, 2006). Such positive interactions with supportive organizational insiders may provide newcomers with opportunities to build interpersonal relationships and develop social networks that produce feelings of greater acceptance (e.g. Bauer & Erdogan, 2014). These opportunities are critical if newcomers are to develop relationships with other organizational insiders to increase their sense of competence and confidence. Such opportunities are also very important for newcomers to obtain resources (e.g. information) from their social network, facilitating more effective work (Fang et al., 2011; Jones, 1986).

Individual and informal tactics provide newcomers with a specific tailored experience that may result in better adjustment. Chao (1997) suggested that much tacit knowledge about the organization (i.e. goals, strategy, history) is implicitly learned and fleshed out through individualized immersion in rich, specific contexts. Such beneficial individualized and informal activities, where knowledge about the organization and specific task is learnt, may include individual training or orientation and on the job training. To enhance the likely success of individualized experiences organizations may focus strongly on the recruitment and selection process to maximize value alignment (Brymer, Molloy, & Gilbert, 2014; Fisher, 1986; Wanous, 1992). For example, a better initial alignment between the values held by accounting firms and by new auditors upon entry was found to be related to quicker work adjustment (Chatman, 1991). Values alignment provides newcomers with specific clues as to the kind of behaviours expected and rewarded in the organization. This allows a less rigid and formal socialization experience, while still reinforcing the HR system message that newcomers are valued and long-term relationships should be built. As organizations cannot

possibly provide all the information and activities needed to fully socialize new employees, newcomers might need to act proactively if they are to reduce uncertainty. We believe this is especially true when a less formalized context is in place and thus newcomers will be motivated to be more proactive in their learning and positively reflect on their role innovation (Ashforth & Saks, 1996; Jones, 1986).

Using more institutionalized tactics to socialize newcomers in high-turnover positions leads to problematic results and can backfire (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). This was highlighted by Riordan et al. (2001) who found that collective tactics were positively associated with turnover at a large bank six months after entry. We believe that some newcomer learning will happen through *random* and *variable tactics* rather than more institutionalized forms, and more formalized training is not strictly necessary, especially when hiring high-quality individuals, such as knowledge workers. As the training of such employees is very complex, it tends to occur on-the-job and just-in-time (Chao, 1997). Random tactics ensure skills are learned when they are needed and have high value for newcomers (Kramer, 2010), which might be especially important for such employees. Ashforth et al. (2007) noted that learning in localized contexts can provide information about the broader environment, so that more institutionalized practices may be unnecessary for certain types of newcomers. Importantly though, the success of more informal learning is enhanced by personal attributes (Saks, 1994), which are worth seeking in new employees (Anderson, 2001). One such personal attribute could be, for example, proactivity, which will mitigate the lack of more formalized socialization experiences.

The literature suggests that some newcomers might benefit more from variable tactics. Giving time estimations of when certain activities will be completed or how long learning will take is very difficult for both specialized tasks and more general knowledge and skills (Ashforth, Sluss, & Harrison, 2007; Klein & Heuser, 2008). Moreover, if newcomers are

more proactive in their nature, variable tactics may support them in building networks, resulting in better adjustment, as they will be more likely to seek information and feedback from their supervisors and other organizational experts (Griffin, Colella, & Goparaju, 2000). This may provide newcomers with opportunities to start interacting and building relationships with others.

In other words, greater individual proactivity can mitigate – and to a certain extent replace – more institutionalized organizational practices. This could be enhanced further by the use of more loosely defined jobs to allow for change and adaptation and by basing staffing decisions on newcomer potential (e.g. cognitive ability, aptitude and so on), rather than simply current knowledge and skills (e.g. achievement testing). In addition, organizations can structure pay systems to focus on key newcomer learning (e.g. skill-based pay) and information-sharing (e.g. team-based pay) to encourage newcomers to develop and master specific competencies (Delaney & Huselid, 1996). Thus we propose:

Proposition 1: Newcomers in commitment-oriented HR systems will exhibit more positive adjustment outcomes when socialization tactics are individual, informal, random, variable, and serial.

3.2. Productivity-based HR system

Human capital in productivity-based systems is valuable yet widely available in the labour market, with most newcomers hired to do a specific task. Managers for this group of newcomers might be hesitant about investing in training or development for fear of losing generic skills to other firms. Snell and Lepak (1999) argue that because the knowledge of such employees is more readily available, organizations should focus on the staffing process rather than training (e.g. buy versus make). The organization must still provide some “initial training” (Kramer, 2010, p. 72) to deliver company-specific knowledge (Brymer et al., 2014),

but more institutionalized tactics will provide newcomers with such information for immediate use in a more cost-effective way. Similarly, work characteristics in this system might be less complicated than in the commitment-oriented HR system. This is because tasks are related to less complicated work characteristics, suggesting that the strategic value of such employees is still high, but their uniqueness is low. Still, socialization for this cohort is important as most employees will be sourced internally.

Collective and *formal tactics* provide newcomers with fast, relevant information about task, group and organization, providing structured opportunities for salient and relatively intense learning. Yet, the level of general training and development provided to the newcomer will be less than in the commitment-based HR system. Newcomers are segregated from other insiders, leading to greater opportunities to ask questions and build relationships with other organizational members (Mignerey, Rubin, & Gorden, 1995). Such tactics enable newcomers to find resources and approach the right people to get action within the formal organizational structure (Klein & Heuser, 2008). Activities in collective and formal tactics may support newcomers in developing maps of key contacts in different departments for coordination and communication that broadly suits the need of productivity-based HR system employees. A common instrument in such tactics is the orientation programme, found to be positively related to learning about goals and values, organizational history and people (Klein & Weaver, 2000). Such programmes foster overt information-seeking and reduce covert information-seeking, thus lowering costs (Teboul, 1995).

Sequential tactics are often part of formal training and might be very important for supportive job roles, such as those in productivity-based HR systems. The highly specified nature of jobs typical in this system (e.g. bank tellers) suggests that sequential learning is very important. Newcomers cannot move on to the next task before mastering the current one and there is a high need for conformity. Cable and Parsons (2001) found that newcomers shifted

their values towards those of the organization when they were exposed to sequential tactics. If such tactics positively influence person–organization fit and provide task learning, we suggest they are suited to newcomers in productivity-based HR systems.

Investiture tactics will work in a similar way in commitment-based HR systems. Such tactics signal the value and importance of newcomers to the organizations, thus strengthening commitment and the HR system message. These newcomers might still be given discretion, thus providing greater person–organization fit (Cooper-Thomas, van Vianen, & Anderson, 2004).

Overall, more formalized approaches (collective, formal and sequential tactics) enable newcomers to start work more readily, while still providing a positive socialization experience. Again, organizations that focus on the selection process, choosing newcomers who match the organizational strategy, values and job requirements (Rose, 1994), may buffer the absence of more structured development (Griffin et al., 2000). In addition, organizations should provide career prospects for newcomers in these contexts as stimulation and challenge will prevent voluntary turnover (Boxall, 2003). This lead to the following preposition:

Proposition 2: Newcomers in productivity-based HR system will exhibit more positive adjustment outcomes when socialization tactics are collective, formal, sequential, and investiture.

3.3. Compliance-based HR system

This system focuses on newcomers that provide generic human capital of limited strategic value for organizations. The abundance of alternative sources for these skills often leads to outsourcing (Rousseau, 1995) with employees having a limited association with an organization but explicit performance expectations. The result is a transactional contract between the organization and the newcomer and, in the case of temporary workers, less

training (Rousseau, 1995). It is likely that job design for such roles will reflect this and complication will be low. In such cases, socialization tactics that are aimed at providing key information to allow newcomers to be integrated as soon as possible would be most appropriate.

Nevertheless, even if work is outsourced, *collective* and *formal tactics* could be important as they are strongly related to job performance (Bauer et al., 2007; Saks et al., 2007), which is the main goal of organizations with this HR system. These tactics provide newcomers, who might join as a cohort, with a common message about the tasks and groups with whom they will work (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). Grouping newcomers and training them separately from other employees can be a cost effective mechanism for organizations (Riordan et al., 2001), with Snell (2006) noting that an organization can achieve savings of \$2.3 million for an optimal socialization process. Training in this HR system is based on providing newcomers with the bare minimum levels of information to speed them in their work, with systems in place to provide more information if required (Klein & Polin, 2012).

Sequential and *fixed* tactics will complement the collective and formal tactics in place and the discussion in the previous section also applies to the compliance-based HR system. Sequential tactics especially provide newcomers with rigorous training when they need to master one task before moving on to another one. Knowing the right procedures for task completion in such working environments (e.g. in a production line) can enhance productivity. Given the transactional nature of the exchange and heavy emphasis on conformance, fixed tactics will provide newcomers with important clues when certain events happen (Kramer, 2010). For example, a pay rise will be related to a time period or the accomplishment of a specific task (Lepak & Snell, 2002), thus clearly communicating to newcomers how the relationship between them and the organization can be reinforced.

Divestiture tactics encourage newcomers to conform to organizational values and strengthen the message of the compliance-based HR system. Divestiture practices discourage the use of extant belief systems, replacing them with organizational attitudes and beliefs (Ashforth & Saks, 1996). To ensure compliance, the emphasis is on enforcing rules and regulations, upholding work protocols and ensuring conformance to pre-set standards. This tactic can be depicted as negative, for example resulting in ethical conflict (Kammeyer-Mueller, Simon, & Rich, 2012). However, we believe that this might not be the case for non-specialized workers.

To mitigate the negative effects of divestiture tactics, *disjunctive tactics* might be used to stimulate role innovation and greater individual performance. Divestiture tactics have been positively linked with ethical conflict, and in turn related to higher emotional exhaustion (Kammeyer-Mueller et al., 2012). This might then result in undesired high turnover. Thus, disjunctive tactics could buffer or attenuate the negativity of the divestiture message, at least in the short term. Such a scenario might be more common in technical jobs if nobody is assigned to assist in the learning process or perhaps because of turnover in such positions resulting in no-one knowing exactly how to perform the job (Kramer, 2010).

Some have suggested that pre-socialization experience provides newcomers with clues of what to expect in the future work environment. For example, in a sample of manufacturing workers, Gibson and Papa (2000) found that anticipatory socialization began in adolescence, preparing future employees for organizational entry years before it occurred. This long, albeit informal, socialization process generated an occupational identity centred on hard physical work. This scenario might be especially relevant for technical skills, where school will teach future organizational newcomers what to expect in a working environment, resulting in more compliant behaviour.

To summarize, compliance-based HR systems are suited to low-skilled individuals. In such cases organizations could use more institutionalized tactics, executed with bigger cohorts to keep costs as low as possible, which suggest the following preposition:

Proposition 3: Newcomers in compliance-based HR system will exhibit more positive adjustment outcomes when socialization tactics are collective, formal, sequential, fixed, disjunctive, and divestiture.

3.4. Collaborative HR system

The collaborative HR system presents organizations with a paradox, as the value of human capital in employees is low; however, the uniqueness of such capital is high. In these cases, organizations either use internal or external labour employment modes, based on their size. To address this paradox, Lepak and Snell (1999) suggest a viable option is for organizations to form alliances with other companies, which require information-sharing, trust, engendering reciprocity and collaboration to be successful (Dyer, 1996). Work characteristics in this system can be regarded as complicated, as the work demands collaboration and inter-organizational relationships between employees. We suggest that, based on this, a more individualistic approach to socialization is needed.

An *individual and informal tactics* approach could be used to build a stronger relationship between the two organizations and between the newcomer and the organization. Providing such initiatives: a) allows newcomers easy access to resources and a confidant to help facilitate sense-making, particularly in terms of understanding unwritten rules and learning tacit information; b) further facilitates the development of work and social relationships (Rollag, Parise, & Cross, 2005). In most cases, the most beneficial form of such individual tactics would be mentoring (Klein & Weaver, 2000).

Newcomers in this system might have high specific human capital and so on-the-job training would be more appropriate; some areas of socialization cannot be mastered by formal tactics, with certain norms and unwritten rules only learnt informally (Klein & Polin, 2012; Klein & Weaver, 2000). Individual tactics mean that newcomers receive quick explanations of duties from a supervisor, mentor or peer, then work and learn as they go (Kramer, 2010). This informal training ensures they understand how things really work, who is really important and how to get things done (Klein & Weaver, 2000).

The complicated nature of these jobs means learning cannot be quick and a more protected socialization process might be needed (Ashforth, 2012). Therefore, *variable* and *serial tactics* might be needed to complement the individual and informal modes, as variable tactics allow flexibility. This message of no time pressure, transmitted by the organization, may be interpreted positively by newcomers and will build trust. Finally, such newcomers hired to undertake complex projects will benefit from the more experienced guidance of role models. Research has generally found a positive relationship between mentoring and socialization outcomes (Chatman, 1991; Lankau & Scandura, 2002). The psychosocial support provided by mentors includes counselling, affirmation and friendship (Kram, 1985), which engenders trust, guidance and encouragement (Lankau & Scandura, 2002). We believe that serial tactics will complement the collaborative HR system and result in better adjustment and performance of the newcomer.

The overall message of this HR system is that socialization processes need to boost information-sharing and trust between newcomers and other insiders. Therefore, any training done is likely to focus on process facilitation and team-building rather than building upon previous newcomers' knowledge. Thus we suggest:

Proposition 4: Newcomers in collaborative HR system will exhibit more positive adjustment outcomes when socialization tactics are individual, informal, variable, and serial.

4. Discussion

Integrating literature on socialization tactics (e.g. Jones, 1986), HR architecture subsystems (e.g. Lepak & Snell, 1999) and job characteristics literature (e.g. Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006) we provide a systematic theoretical framework that connects all three fields. Despite an intuitive connection between these fields with socialization tactics providing content for HR systems which in return provide context for socialization tactics, they have rarely been brought together (see Baker & Feldman, 1991; Cooper-Thomas & Anderson, 2006 for exceptions). In response, we expand both fields with the proposed framework (see Figure 2), which indicates that different cohorts of new employees might need different tactics to become socialized more effectively. The differentiation of newcomers into different groups is based upon their human capital importance to the organization in two ways. Firstly, the strategic value of their human capital, or the potential of newcomers to improve efficiency and effectiveness of an organization. Secondly, the uniqueness of their human capital, or the degree to which such capital is rare and specialized for the organization (Lepak & Snell, 2002). The two dimensions are dependent on different work characteristics. Low strategic value and uniqueness generally relates to less complicated work characteristics, whereas high strategic value and uniqueness is linked to more complicated work characteristics. Below, we discuss the theoretical implications of our framework for the HR, socialization and job characteristics literature and suggest future directions for research, alongside potential limitations of our work.

4.1. Theoretical implications

This article has several important implications for the socialization and HR management literature. It contributes to the socialization literature by underpinning the notion that socialization tactics need a broader context, which we provide with HR subsystems. By using a context aligned with the broader strategy of the organization, we achieve two important things. First, we move beyond the “structural side” of socialization tactics (Saks & Gruman, 2012). In basing socialization tactics on the HR systems in place, a more rigorous content for the “black box” of what specific activities might be used in the socialization process is revealed (Ashforth, Sluss, & Harrison, 2007). To this end we have suggested activities for each socialization tactic in each system that we believe can provide newcomers with a better organizational entry experience. Such activities may benefit newcomers, lowering their perceived uncertainty, and the organization may gain through the speedier integration of newcomers. This moves our understanding of socialization tactics beyond a “general approach” that describes them purely as a process (Klein & Polin, 2012, p. 269).

Second, we emphasize the assertion of Ashford and Nurmohamed (2012, p. 18) that “all newcomers are not created equal”. Organizations can and do have different cohorts of newcomers joining them and based on the value and uniqueness of their human capital; we propose some socialization tactics might be more beneficial than others. Acknowledging this can provide newcomers with a more tailored experience, resulting in a more effective socialization process that enhances individual and organizational performance. Additionally, when organizations design socialization activities, they should be aware that newcomers come with different goals – for example some will want to expand their network or impress, others will not – and this results in different levels of proactive behaviours (Ashford & Nurmohamed, 2012). This suggests that designing activities for different groups of newcomers should be based not only on the organizational need (e.g. strategic goals), but also

on the expectations newcomers have of the organization (Ashford & Nurmohamed, 2012; Wanous, Poland, Premack, & Davis, 1992).

However, it should be noted that differentiating employees in different cohorts can sometimes backfire, particularly if newcomers perceive low procedural justice or unfair treatment as a consequence of categorization. This may cause intergroup conflict (Yzerbyt & Demoulin, 2010) and lead to various undesirable proximal and distal outcomes, such as lower commitment (e.g. Liao & Rupp, 2005). Thus, organizations should try to use fair and transparent methods to categorize newcomers and tactics should be used coherently with all employees in the same category. This may enhance perceptions of procedural justice and build greater trust with the organization, resulting in better alignment and cooperation (Leonardelli & Toh, 2011; Scott, Montes, & Irving, 2012). Of course this is less easy in the case of complicated work characteristics, where such equal treatment (e.g. providing the same training for all newcomers) is not recommended. An alternative in such cases is procedural training to enhance the perception of fairness of supervisors (Skarlicki & Latham, 1996).

We also contribute to the HR literature. First, we expand the original Lepak and Snell (1999) typology of HR systems by incorporating more focused content. Socialization tactics can enhance newcomer adjustment reducing employee turnover, and go beyond traditional HR practices related to: job design; recruitment and selection; training and development; performance appraisal; and compensation. Such addition is especially important for “core” employee turnover (Nyberg, 2010; Nyberg et al., 2014), which not only results in lower organizational performance but also in losing human capital that is hard to replace. The literature suggests that inadequate socialization is one of the primary reasons for this unwanted turnover (Bauer et al., 1998). Overall, socialization tactics create opportunities or stimulation for individuals to develop relationships with other organizational members and ultimately facilitate human and social capital development. The specific tactics provided in

our framework are aimed at providing newcomers with greater on-the-job embeddedness and increased organizational and community fit (Allen, 2006), but in a targeted and therefore more effective way. Overall, socialization tactics create opportunities or stimulations for individuals to develop communication relationships with other organizational members and ultimately facilitate human and social capital development. We also provide some examples of these targeted activities that organizations can use under specific socialization tactics and HR systems. These activities may provide a basis for the better measurement of organizational socialization, responding to calls in the HR literature that this needs consideration (Saks & Gruman, 2014).

Second, in adopting the human architecture approach, we add to the growing body of literature which recognizes that different HR practices could and probably should be applied to different groups of employees (Gerhart et al., 2000). Scarce empirical evidence links such literature to greater firm performance (Lepak & Snell, 2002). This finding raises two important considerations: first that the employees possessing human capital in each system might be socialized in a different way. Second highlighting the importance of combining various types of HR systems and using them in conjunction with others, providing complementary (socialization tactics carry over to two or more systems) or additive (tactics complement each other in the same system or between systems) effects (Jiang et al., 2012; Wright, Dunford, & Snell, 2001). Even if such an approach is not always viable, especially in small organizations, we still believe it carries important implications for theory. Therefore, our framework uses the HR architecture approach and differentiates four HR systems that may use different or complementary socialization tactics. Such an approach, if implemented fairly and carefully, can lead to a much more tailored and focused experience and may lead to better results than a more general approach in which all newcomers go through the same set of predefined activities with only minor differences.

4.2. Practical implications

Our framework provides insights for practitioners by providing a bridge between two disjointed fields, which are in reality very connected. When joining a new organization, newcomers can be part of different HR systems and consequently they can benefit from different socialization tactics.

One important implications is that we provide organizations with suggestions about which socialization processes might be used most effectively with certain groups of newcomers. Although our framework seems to suggest that organizations may use more individualized and personalized approaches based on the high uniqueness and high value of human capital, this may not be always the case. Which selection or combination of socialization tactics will be the most beneficial to the organization will mostly be related to three important steps (Klein & Polin, 2012). First, organizations need to think about how they inform newcomers, for example using practices such as having a dedicated section for newcomers on the organization's intranet or mentoring roles. These practices are especially important in addressing the ambiguity and uncertainty that is present upon entering a new organization. Second, welcoming activities (e.g. formal and informal meetings) may be aimed at motivating newcomers to build relationships and provide emotional support when needed. Third, guiding activities provide newcomers with the necessary resources to work on a day to day basis and various forms of training, supported by more traditional HR activities (i.e. reward systems), can be used to provide guidelines. These three steps provide organizations with raw suggestions in terms of which socialization tactics might be used more effectively. Overall, independently of the tactics used in the socialization programmes, the main goal of these activities might be to reinforce the organizational culture and to give newcomers a sense of purpose, reflected in lower turnover and higher newcomer performance (Klein & Polin, 2012).

Nevertheless, if possible it makes sense for organizations to put newcomers into different groups and target activities accordingly, as not all newcomers provide organizations with the same strategic value. This can dramatically reduce the costs involved in both training newcomers and on-going management of employees (Snell, 2006) and organizations might seek additive effects from various HR systems in place (Jiang et al., 2012). However, as already noted, such categorization can be problematic if perceived unfairly by newcomers. To ensure that categorization is fair, newcomers can be grouped based on already established models such as the “shamrock model” (Handy, 1989). This suggests the presence of three types of people in organizations with different expectations who therefore need to be managed and rewarded differently. If such categorization is built into normal business procedures then newcomers are more likely to perceive this as transparent and fair. Based on such categorization, our framework suggests that newcomers in commitment-based HR systems might need the most “attention” from organizations to build a long-lasting relationship of mutual benefit resulting in greater commitment. In contrast, newcomers in compliance-based HR systems still need to go through a socialization process, but with rather lower intensity, as their strategic value is less.

4.3. Limitations and future research

Despite its contributions, this paper also has limitations. By adopting Van Maanen and Schein’s (1979) framework and the bipolar socialization typology, we do not address problems associated with the continuum or the sequence of such socialization tactics (Ashforth, Sluss, & Harrison, 2007). The literature suggests that the boundary between the institutionalized and individualized spectrum is thin and sometimes a clear transition is not possible (cf. Ashforth, Sluss, & Harrison, 2007; Kramer, 2010). For example, newcomers may be trained individually on some things but collectively in others. Our framework does not

implicitly address nor explicitly ignore the fact that newcomers might first be exposed to institutionalized tactics from broader training initiatives and later be moved to their department where they are exposed to more individualized practices (cf. Myers, 2005).

We see two possible directions here. The first is to look at the onboarding literature, which views the content rather than the process behind socialization tactics; thus, the specific activities that newcomers may need to be better socialized (Klein & Polin, 2012). The second path might be to look at a set of wider specific HRM practices (Saks & Gruman, 2014). Such effort might be beneficial as it will complement our view in providing a more nuanced picture. We accept that programmes and policies can be differentiated along many dimensions (purpose, scope and content of the activity and the organizational level at which activity is aimed). Research into this might involve looking at collections of HR activities in relation to the following: a) job design; b) recruitment and selection; c) training and development; d) performance appraisal; e) compensation perspective. Such an approach could provide a more rigorous and measurable way to assess the content of socialization tactics. In both cases, the exploration of various activities will further enrich our understanding of which specific ones can be part of different socialization tactics.

A second limitation relates to time dynamics. Ashforth et al. (2007) have noted several temporal issues in the socialization process, including, but not limited to, the changing rate of learning of newcomers and important time lags before socialization effects occur. Knowing the timing of when certain initiatives or tactics are more beneficial could be very valuable. The findings of Chan and Smith (2000) suggest that newcomers are concerned about different issues as tenure increases and they change their information seeking behaviour accordingly. Building upon this premise, it seems that most socialization practices are executed during organizational entry (Ashforth & Saks, 1996; Saks & Gruman, 2012), which leaves many questions unanswered. Once newcomers feel more secure and comfortable in their new roles,

are they likely to be less receptive to institutionalized tactics and more receptive to other stimuli, such as opportunities to challenge and grow (Ashforth & Saks, 1996)?

We see two possible research avenues, the first being experience-sampling techniques or diary studies. Such daily measurements would improve our understanding of the optimal timing of different socialization tactics. As there are limitations in terms of how much information individuals can take in at one time, going beyond this limit may result in misunderstanding or frustration (Rollag et al., 2005). Delivering information on a “just-in-time” basis may be beneficial for newcomers as they will learn more effectively (Klein & Heuser, 2008). Second, going beyond socialization literature, to incorporate other findings in the socialization process to enhance suggestions on methods and timing. For example, work group literature suggests that timing is crucial in non-routine events; the sooner the team reprioritizes and redistributes the task among group members, the better the performance (Waller, 1999). This suggests that the timing of activities needed by newcomers may be dependent on specific (time) events rather than (clock) time per se (Ashforth, 2012). Such non-routine events may be particularly relevant to employees in complicated work characteristic environments who are more likely to have strategic value and so such research could be very useful.

Finally, we focus on only one aspect of the socialization process – organizational tactics – whereas recent literature highlights the importance of the interactional perspective and which highlights the significance of both the organization and the individual (Batistič & Kaše, 2015; Kammeyer-Mueller & Wanberg, 2003). Future endeavours can look at how different aspects of work design, such as job enjoyment, can drive proactive behaviours and complement or undermine the effects of socialization tactics.

5. Conclusion

Numerous authors have implied or stated that socialization tactics need further development in terms of their content and context (e.g. Ashforth, Sluss, & Harrison, 2007). However, the research to date has focused overly on looking at various outcomes. We frame our arguments on HR systems and job characteristics literature to provide the content and context for socialization tactics. We provide argumentation how task design and human capital value and uniqueness may inform how newcomers can be grouped and which HR systems can be used with various groups of newcomers in different ways. Our objective was to theorize the most beneficial socialization tactics that might complement each HR system, to enhance the impact on organizational strategy, while reducing turnover intention and speeding up newcomer productivity. We provide scientific and practical utility for anyone considering the socialization process in the broader organizational context (e.g. Baker & Feldman, 1991). It is our hope that this work will serve practitioners and socialization and HR scholars alike as they develop their research in the new directions this article encourages.

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FIGURE 1

The proposed relationships between task design, human capital, HR systems and socialization tactics

FIGURE 2

An integrative framework connecting socialization tactics and human resource systems

		<i>Commitment-oriented HR system</i>	<i>Productivity-based HR system</i>	<i>Compliance-based HR system</i>	<i>Collaborative HR</i>
	Work characteristics:	<i>Very complicated work characteristics</i>	<i>Complicated work characteristics</i>	<i>Less complicated work characteristics</i>	<i>Complicated to very complicated work characteristics</i>
	Example of job:	<i>research and development employees, research scientists</i>	<i>accounting</i>	<i>technical jobs</i>	<i>management consultants</i>
Organizational socialization tactics	Collective				
	Individual				
	Formal				
	Informal				
	Sequential				
	Random				
	Fixed				
	Variable				
	Serial				
	Disjunctive				
	Investiture				
	Divestiture				

Note: Shaded boxes show match between the corresponding HR system and the socialization tactic.