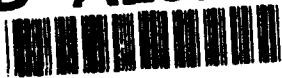


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U.S. Army Research Institute
for the Behavioral and Social Sciences

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Research Report 1630

Feasibility of Using Realistic Job Previews in the Army Recruiter Training Process

Samuel B. Pond, III, Thomas E. Powell, Jennifer J. Norton,
and Paul W. Thayer

North Carolina State University

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A Field Operating Agency Under the Jurisdiction
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FOREWORD

The U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences (ARI) conducts research to enhance recruiting success and to develop more cost-effective recruiting policies and practices for the Army. The research reported here explores the applicability and potential value of a specific job orientation technique--the realistic job preview--to efforts to improve the performance and retention of U.S. Army recruiters. Effective recruiters are the critical element in the Army's efforts to maintain a quality force.

This report is part of the mission of the Manpower and Personnel Policy Research Technical Area of ARI's Manpower and Personnel Research Division, which is to conduct research to improve the Army's ability to recruit its personnel effectively and efficiently. Results of this research were briefed to the U.S. Army Recruiting Command in January 1992. These results will form the basis for decisions about further research in this area and provide a foundation for future investigations.


EDGAR M. JOHNSON
Technical Director

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FEASIBILITY OF USING REALISTIC JOB PREVIEWS IN THE ARMY RECRUITER TRAINING PROCESS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Requirement:

The U.S. Army devotes a substantial amount of effort each year to recruiting sufficient numbers of qualified personnel. Effective recruiter performance is a critical activity in maintaining a quality force. Although Army recruiters are selected from among the most capable of all soldiers and are provided with thorough and detailed training, they remain susceptible to stress, low productivity, job dissatisfaction, and "burn-out." Consequently, it is necessary to investigate additional methods and techniques that will enhance recruiting performance and reduce recruiter attrition.

In this report, we are primarily concerned with whether or not using a realistic job preview (RJP) in the Army recruiting training process will improve recruiter performance, retention, and ability to deal with job stress. To this end, we (1) briefly describe Army recruiter training and the recruiting job itself, (2) describe how and why RJPs work, (3) consider whether RJPs would help in the Army training process, and (4) discuss the issues involved in implementing and evaluating an Army recruiter RJP program.

Procedure:

We reviewed literature published from 1956 to 1991 that we identified using the following computer search systems: PsychLit, ERIC, MATRIS, and Management Contents. The review primarily focused on RJP theory and practice. However, the computer search was expanded to include literature about socialization processes and the Army recruiter specialty.

Findings:

Our research revealed that the recruiting job is very stressful, high-pressured, and often unrewarding. Because of this, it attracts few volunteers. We conclude that RJPs could be quite useful in helping to retain and possibly attract recruiters. However, our recommendation hinges on provisions that the Army (1) determines appropriate RJP outcomes, and (2) takes steps to reduce negative job features.

Regarding the first of these provisions, we report that self-selection is the least obtainable of all outcomes reviewed. The selection ratio for the recruiting job is very high, and viable job alternatives are not presented to the job candidate. RJPs, however, could help realistically emphasize performance issues that could enable recruiters to develop better start-up strategies. By clarifying performance strategies, RJPs could do much to prevent job stress brought on by the ambiguity of the job situation.

In reference to the second provision, we maintain that though some negative job features (i.e., time pressures) cannot be changed, others may and should be. It is difficult to explain negative job features to recruiters in an RJP and then ask them to bear with a system that may really need repair.

This report considers single and multiple administrations of RJPs and, though our preferences are indicated, no firm recommendations are offered. Of the single RJP administrations considered, we assert that the Recruiter Exercise (RECEX) in the last week of the Army Recruiter Course (ARC) could, with modifications, serve as an effective RJP. We suggest administering RJPs in an interactive video format.

In addition to using recruiter RJPs, we suggest that other interventions might prove useful, including (1) RJPs for spouses of recruiters, (2) realistic recruiter previews for station commanders, and (3) the teaching of relapse prevention methods in the Station Commanders Course (SCC).

Utilization of Findings:

The information presented in this report should serve as a basis for decisions regarding implementation of an RJP for Army recruiters. Further research is needed to determine which possible outcomes of the recruiter RJP are desired and which job features can be improved. Additional decisions will need to be made regarding how to determine and develop the RJP content and how to evaluate the effectiveness of the RJP intervention.

FEASIBILITY OF USING REALISTIC JOB PREVIEWS IN THE ARMY RECRUITER TRAINING PROCESS

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FEASIBILITY OF USING REALISTIC JOB PREVIEWS IN THE ARMY RECRUITER TRAINING PROCESS

Introduction

It is well known that a recruiter's job is one of the most stressful in the military service (Baker, 1990; Maxfield, 1990). The following statements made by different recruiters give us insight into some of the reasons why this job causes dissatisfaction and stress:

USAREC [U.S. Army Recruiting Command] talks about quality of life issues. That's all it is is talk. Accomplish mission or your career will be destroyed. This is the most ruthless organization I have ever worked with. USAREC must have one of the highest divorce rates in the Army. Families are destroyed constantly with no compassion from USAREC (Love, Jex, Richard & McMullin, 1991, p. 26).

We are all soldiers, NCOs and human beings out here in this job with a lot of pressure from all sides, from our leadership to the people we are processing (Love et al., p. 26).

We are picked to recruit because we're in the top 10 percent. But when we get out here we're treated like privates. We don't need to be abused. We're still soldiers even if we might not be good salesmen (Hull & Nelson, 1991, p. 18).

Because of problems such as these, it is difficult to recruit and retain well-qualified soldiers to volunteer to work in this position. Aware of these problems, researchers have examined this job to try to identify ways to enhance recruiter performance and retention. Particular attention has been focused on recruiter training. Recent surveys indicate that recruiters feel they lack realistic preparation for the job (Maxfield, 1990). Taking note of these survey results, researchers have suggested that a realistic job preview (RJP) as part of the Army Recruiter Course (ARC) might be a way to counter this problem (Hull, Kleinman, Allen, & Benedict, 1988; Hull & Nelson, 1991).

Essentially, an RJP is a job orientation technique designed to provide a realistic impression of a job. It presents explicitly and concisely both positive and negative job information. With the RJP, newcomers would have a chance to gain a realistic impression of life as an Army recruiter. Some suggest that the RJP might enhance recruiters' learning during the training program, in addition to influencing retention and performance (Benedict, 1989).

Some training experts believe, however, that using an RJP approach may not be a practical solution. They point out that a realistic exposure to the job might increase school failure rates

because soldiers might self-select out of recruiting by purposely failing during the training process (Benedict, 1989). Those who do not support the use of an RJP believe that if recruiting is not a desirable job in the first place, then when faced with a realistic description of the job, the newcomers may be provided with all the evidence they need to justify failing training. Given that 70% of recruiters do not volunteer but are selected into recruiting, this concern is understandable.

Research Purpose and Method

This report reviews and evaluates civilian and military research on RJPs and has two primary objectives:

1. To describe how and why RJPs work, and
2. To address the question of whether implementing an RJP would be an appropriate and practical intervention for improving Army recruiter performance, retention and ability to deal with job stress.

In regard to the second objective, this report focuses especially on the feasibility of employing RJP technology within the context of the Army recruiter job and training.

We review literature published from 1956 to 1991 which we identified using the following computer search systems: PsychLit, ERIC, MATRIS and Management Contents. The review primarily focuses on RJP theory and practice. However, the computer search was expanded to include literature about socialization processes and the Army recruiter specialty.

Report Structure

This paper has four parts. In the first part, we briefly describe Army recruiter training and the recruiting job itself. In the second part we define RJPs, describe how they have been used and look at theories explaining why they work. In the third part we suggest ways an RJP could be used in the recruiter training process. Finally, in the fourth part, we discuss the issues involved in implementing and evaluating an RJP program.

Description of the Army Recruiter Training and Job

In this part of the report, we briefly review and evaluate the type of training Army recruiters receive and briefly describe the job stress Army recruiters experience. This section of the report aims to provide an understanding of the context within which the RJP might be implemented. We refer the reader to Benedict (1989) and to Hull and Nelson (1991) for a more thorough description of recruiter training. Other recent military literature provides a good description of the recruiter's job and job environment (Borman, Russell, & Skilling, 1987; Love, et al., 1991; Nelson, 1987).

Army Recruiter Training

The new recruiter goes through two phases of training (Hull et al., 1988; Hull & Nelson, 1991). The first phase of training, called the Army Recruiter Course (ARC), is conducted at the Recruitment and Retention School (RRS). It is a formal six-week course that teaches job rules, regulations and techniques for recruiting. This course is comprised primarily of simulation exercises, but also uses lecture and group work.

The second phase of training, starting when the recruiters begin work (zero-production month), is called Transitional Training and Evaluation (TTE). Unlike ARC, this phase involves a loosely structured, on-the-job training format. TTE is supervised by the recruiting station (RS) commander, who is also responsible for the administration and mission of the recruiting station. This segment of training lasts for nine months. The first six months of the training are designed to prepare the recruiter to perform essential recruiting tasks. By the end of nine months the recruiter is expected to be fully proficient at the job. New recruiters who do not perform up to standards are given remedial training. This training, generally called "zero-roller" training, involves analysis of recruiting skills, counseling to improve motivation, and inspection of the recruiters' techniques (Hull & Nelson, 1991).

Our research indicates problems with both ARC and TTE, especially TTE. According to a recent study, most of the new recruiters report that though ARC is very helpful with its accurate simulations, the overall program lacks realism. This became evident when they moved to recruiting stations to begin TTE (Hull & Nelson, 1991). The paragraphs below will highlight some of the problem areas we identified.

In an evaluation of the new recruiter training program, Hull et al., (1988) state that the TTE causes the most problems for the new recruiters. The new recruiters complain that while the training simulations and other exercises they performed in the ARC were realistic enough, they were not put into the context of the job. For example, although the ARC provided simulated phone calls, trainees reported that these calls did not realistically portray the negative responses from prospective recruits. Many recruiters expected the procedures they had been taught would prove effective; consequently, they say they were not prepared for the procedures to fail (Hull & Nelson, 1991).

It is possible that the reinforcement ratio (i.e., successful calls/unsuccessful calls) implied in the simulation exercises promotes unrealistic expectations. ARC training in general may be establishing a belief system that says "if you fail, keep trying; the next call is bound to be a successful one." In such a situation, the recruiter may be led to believe that the likelihood of a successful contact increases with each additional contact. In other words, the training may be creating

expectations similar to those that exist in the gambler's fallacy (Kahneman & Tversky, 1973). However, while the gambler's fallacy may drive recruiters to make additional calls, the unpleasantness of being rebuffed by a prospect degrades the recruiters' sense of self-efficacy. It also decreases their desire to continue making calls. This approach-avoidance situation is quite stressful and in the long run is detrimental to successful performance.

Additionally, recruiters come out of the ARC expecting that the TTE will further refine the techniques they have just learned. They also expect a program that is highly structured yet flexible enough to be adjusted to meet individual training needs. Instead, they find little time for formal training at recruiting stations, few standardized procedures for implementing the TTE and very little in the way of training or procedures to build on what they learned in ARC. In fact, they feel that instead of providing additional training, the TTE simply gives their superiors an opportunity to evaluate their performance of skills they have not fully learned (Hull & Nelson, 1991). One recruiter described his TTE experience this way: "The training that I received generally took the form of having the station commander tell me that I was doing wrong and then he would merely turn around and ask if I knew what to do now" (Hull & Nelson, 1991, p. 16)

The quality of training available in the TTE stage really depends on the station commanders. There is some evidence that the commanders themselves are uncertain of what to expect of the new recruiters. Some believe that new recruiters should come out of the RRS fully trained and ready to perform (Benedict, 1989).

It should be noted here that recruiting station (RS) commanders have been formally trained at the RRS to administer and implement the TTE training program. They attend the Station Commanders Course (SCC) that currently lasts three weeks. We are concerned that the training skills acquired during the SCC might not be transferring back to the station setting because mission pressures at the station are competing with the implementation of these new training skills. We are also concerned that the station commanders in their training role are being asked to perform activities for which they may not be well trained or for which they may have no aptitude: personal counseling, for example (Feldman, 1989). As one recruiter has said, "Most station commanders know how to be a recruiter, but are very weak in their ability to teach another how to do the job" (Love et al., 1991, p. 28).

Another problem is that the remedial training given to recruiters not meeting performance standards seems to be viewed by the new recruiters not as a form of assistance but instead as a form of punishment. One complaint is that recruiters often must travel long distances for the program, a drive some feel is made simply for the purpose of being berated (Hull & Nelson, 1991; Love et al., 1991).

Finally, other concerns about TTE involve both the location and the timing of recruiter assignments. There is a feeling that recruiters would perform better if assigned to a geographic location with which they are familiar. Another common problem involves a one- to two-month interval between the RRS and the recruiters' station assignments (Hull & Nelson, 1991). Recruiters say they come out of RRS ready to go, but their knowledge fades if they must return to their original duties and wait before being assigned to their station.

The Recruiter's Job

In general, the recruiter job is described as highly stressful, with constant pressure to meet mission, little positive reinforcement and a great deal of rejection and failure (Baker, 1990; Hull & Nelson, 1991; Maxfield, 1990). There are complaints of a general lack of support, particularly in the case of recruiters stationed long distances from military bases. Also cited are difficulties of making it financially in a non-military setting and problems using the military health insurance program in the non-military community (Love et al., 1991).

Further, recruiters say the job has a detrimental effect on their family life. One complaint is that the RRS program seems to give the message that movement into a recruiting job will have a positive effect on family life. However, many recruiters report that their marriages are being torn apart because of long hours and job stress (Hull & Nelson, 1991). "Men lose their wives out here," one recruiter has said; "there's no respect for a person's life or family" (Hull & Nelson, 1991, p. 19). A study of stress among Navy recruiters quoted recruiters who found ship duty more favorable to family life than recruiting duty (Baker, 1990).

Thus, in looking over the training the recruiter receives and at the job itself, we note that it is mostly in the second (TTE) phase that the recruiters' initial high job expectations begin to fade. It is in this phase that they become increasingly aware of the demands placed on them by their stressful "swim or sink" job--a job for which they are not realistically prepared.

Realistic Job Previews

A realistic job preview is a job orientation technique designed for new or prospective employees (Wanous, 1981). Wanous (1978) has made a distinction between RJPs and "realistic socialization" by noting that RJPs are given before a job is accepted. The "realistic socialization" is received after job acceptance. If one held to this distinction, however, the existing RJP literature would be diminished substantially! In practice, the realistic job preview is almost always administered after the job has been accepted (Breaugh, 1983; Premack & Wanous, 1985; Rynes, 1991). Thus, we will define the RJP in this report as an intensive realistic orientation or job summary given during

organizational entry. In the subsections below we attempt to answer relevant questions about RJPs, namely

1. What information do RJPs contain?
2. What forms can RJPs take?
3. Where have RJPs been used?
4. How do RJPs work?
5. When do RJPs work best?

What Information Do RJPs Contain?

The job preview presents detailed information about the job being filled. Quite often the material presented in the RJP has been formulated from analyses of organizational survey data obtained from job incumbents, from critical incident statements generated by these employees, or from some combination of these two techniques (Dean & Wanous, 1984; Reilly, Tenopyr, & Sperling, 1979; Wanous, 1981). Researchers have not been emphatic about whether or not the RJP should be based on formally collected diagnostic data (Wanous, 1989). Reilly, Brown, Blood, and Malatesta (1981) have advised that RJPs should be developed like content-oriented tests; however, many RJPs have not been so carefully constructed. (Louis, 1980; Rynes, 1991). Only recently have a few empirical studies seriously addressed questions about RJP content (Colarelli, 1984; Dilla, 1987; Miceli, 1985; Meglino, DeNisi, Youngblood, & Williams, 1988). Summarizing these studies, Wanous (1989) suggests that the content of an RJP should involve information about the job that is

1. judgmental (as opposed to purely descriptive),
2. moderately negative (rather than so negative as to repel newcomers), and
3. fairly intensively oriented to a job (rather than broadly oriented to the organization as many orientation programs tend to be).

This disclosure of negative as well as positive aspects of the job is particularly characteristic of the realistic job preview. The main goal of the RJP, however, is to provide an objectively balanced description of the job and its context. Thus, in addition to information about the specific job being filled, the RJP usually contains some general background information about the organization or unit in which the job is to be performed. In other words, the RJP is designed to reveal not only the actual tasks involved in a job, but also some of the "insider" information. This information typically gets transmitted informally to newcomers over the first few months of work.

What Forms Can RJPs Take?

The information in the preview has been presented in a variety of ways: booklets (e.g., Dean & Wanous, 1984), audiovisuals (e.g., Horner, Mobley, & Meglino, 1979) and

interviews (e.g., Colarelli, 1984). No one method has been found to be superior in all situations. Wanous (1989) believes that audiovisual and booklet previews are probably the methods of choice. However, providing the information during a structured interview session, especially through someone currently employed in the job, is an approach with notable theoretical appeal.

Colarelli (1984) argues that the RJP interview approach should be explored further because it has a number of possible advantages over the other approaches, including the following:

1. It is a face-to-face presentation that helps the newcomer pay attention to and comprehend the material being presented.
2. It allows the newcomer to acquire personally relevant information, including sensitive "insider" information that might be obtained as a result of the newcomer feeling more comfortable about asking sensitive, "off-the-record" questions.
3. Finally, the information can be provided by a job incumbent. This might not only add credibility to the preview, but also help to establish an immediate personal contact in the new work setting.

Presently, it is hard to assess the efficacy of the RJP interview. Research evaluating the effects of this approach has been confounded with the effects of using an informally constructed preview (Wanous, 1989). Also, a possible weakness is the difficulty of assuring a balanced, comprehensive RJP because different interviewees with different biases are involved. But the theoretical rationale behind using something like an interview RJP is appealing. This is particularly true in light of socialization and communication theories that stress the importance of presenting information to newcomers in a way that makes it personally relevant (e.g., Jones, 1983, 1986; Louis, 1980; Miller & Jablin, 1991; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979). We will discuss these theories in more detail later in this report.

Where Have RJPs Been Used?

In the field, the RJP primarily has been used in entry-level positions. It has been used with hospital technicians (Zaharia & Baumeister, 1981), clerical workers (e.g., Dean & Wanous, 1984), military cadets (e.g., Ilgen & Seely, 1974), military recruits (e.g., Horner et al., 1979; Meglino et al., 1988), phone operators (e.g., Reilly et al., 1979; Wanous, 1976), and sales personnel (e.g., Weitz, 1956; Youngberg, 1963).

How Do RJPs Work?

Research shows that the RJP can produce a number of positive outcomes (McEvoy & Cascio, 1985; Premack & Wanous, 1985; Reilly et al., 1981). For example, Premack and Wanous (1985) note that the RJP can reduce turnover and the impact of on-the-job stress,

and increase job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and job performance. Traditional theories about the RJP process, however, have primarily been focused on how it increases job survival (Popovich & Wanous, 1982). This is true even though the impact of RJPs on job survival has not been large (McEvoy & Cascio, 1985; Premack & Wanous, 1985; Reilly et al., 1981).

Yet even if a particular RJP produces small job survival effects, the collective benefits and savings to the organization can be quite large. For example, consider that the Army not only provides six weeks of training (with pay, housing, etc.) but also moves each recruiter's household to the duty location and moves it again if the recruiter fails at recruiting duty. These expenses are significant and realistic job previews are relatively inexpensive to design and implement (McEvoy & Cascio, 1985).

Theories of the RJP process addressing outcomes other than job survival have not been as steadily pursued (Breaugh, 1983; Rynes, 1991). Perhaps this helps to explain why so little is actually known about why RJPs might bring about any of the outcomes listed above. Although RJP literature in the early 1980s called for more research designed to understand the RJP process (e.g., Breaugh, 1983; Popovich & Wanous, 1982; Reilly et al., 1981), it seems that RJP research in the field has been driven more by practical concerns than by theory (Rynes, 1991; Wanous & Colella, 1989). Also, we should note that much of the recent research on RJP process has been conducted in the lab with college students (Dilla, 1987; Miceli, 1985; Pond & Hay, 1989; Saks & Cronshaw, 1990). We further note that much of what we do understand about the RJP process has also come indirectly from research and theory addressing organizational entry and socialization and communication.

Traditional Theories

Traditional theories describing how the RJP works have primarily focused on self-selection and employee turnover. They, of course, contribute to our understanding of the RJP process. We believe, however, that overemphasis on these traditional theories has possibly inhibited the development of other theories that might do a better job of explaining how the RJP can also bring about other important outcomes.

This section is divided into discussions of the four explanations routinely provided concerning how RJPs work (Wanous, 1981). In each of these four subsections we summarize and critique the research on the explanation being examined. These hypotheses are listed below.

1. RJPs promote self-selection by allowing applicants to make more informed decisions about taking or rejecting the job.

2. RJPs reduce inflated job expectations and prevent turnover caused by the disappointment resulting from unmet and unrealistic expectations about the job.
3. RJPs increase employee commitment so that the employee will choose to stay when hard times hit on the job; this increased commitment occurs because the organization is perceived as being sincere and fair because it gives the "straight story."
4. RJPs promote coping behavior by describing some negative aspects of the job, therefore "inoculating" applicants against future adverse situations.

Other explanations that seem complementary to these traditional hypotheses or that appear to be viable in and of themselves will be presented after the traditional explanations.

Self-selection. The "self-selection" hypothesis (Breaugh, 1983; Wanous, 1981) suggests that applicants will use RJP information to make more informed job decisions, letting them self-select out of unappealing jobs. Rynes (1991), however, prefers to call this the "drop out" hypothesis. She notes that most of the studies supposedly testing this hypothesis have presented the RJP after job acceptance. Since all of these newcomers are already on the job, their only real choice is to drop out physically (or psychologically).

Most research addressing the self-selection hypothesis has neglected to assess the impact of the availability of alternative work on newcomers' decisions (Breaugh, 1983; Rynes, 1991). Usually it is implied that the newcomer stays with the job because the RJP helped assure a good match between applicant needs and organization resources. However, in actuality, it may be that the new employees stay in the job because either (1) they do not see any other job alternatives, or (2) they are under contractual obligation and cannot easily leave their job (as in the military).

The distinction between self-selection and dropping out is an important one. The explanation of the RJP process and ultimately the design and implementation of the RJP hinges on the kind of outcomes one is trying to achieve. We would prefer to describe the RJP process in terms of reducing dropout rates among newcomers. This conceptualization seems most appropriate for the Army recruiter job as it currently exists.

Reduces inflated job expectations. A second explanation for why the RJP reduces turnover (or alternately, increases newcomer survival) is that it reduces inflated job expectations and thus prevents disappointment resulting from unmet and unrealistic expectations about the job. Underlying this hypothesis is the belief that newcomers will be satisfied and will remain on the job when they perceive their needs are being met by the organization. The validity of this model for newcomers has been supported by Vandenberg and Scarpello (1990). However, their

study did not assess an RJP intervention. Only two studies (Avner, 1980; Youngberg, 1963) have been able to demonstrate both lower turnover for RJP recipients and an RJP effect on expectations. A number of researchers, however, have found one or the other of these effects (Dean & Wanous, 1984; Dugoni & Ilgen, 1981; Horner et al., 1979; Wanous, 1973).

Researchers attempting to confirm the linkage among RJPs, met expectations, job satisfaction, and job survival have been unsuccessful (Colarelli, 1984; Dugoni & Ilgen, 1981; Horner et al., 1979; Reilly et al., 1981; Stumpf & Hartman, 1984). In fact, Rynes (1991) points out that there is a discrepancy between the statement of the hypothesis and the way the hypothesis typically has been operationalized and tested. For example, much of the RJP research has evaluated the impact of the RJP on initial job expectations and shown that they were reduced by the RJP (Premack & Wanous, 1985). However, as Rynes (1991) notes, reducing initial job expectations may not always be the way to increase met (or realized) expectations. Early literature defined "realistic" as meaning accurate or congruent with the realities of the job (e.g., Weitz, 1956; Youngberg, 1963). Increasing met expectations might involve both reducing and increasing initial expectations. Pertinent to this point is a comment made by Breaugh (1983). He notes that there is no information in the literature describing how the RJP impacts upon those rare job applicants coming in with unrealistically low expectations. Chances are that the RJP does not serve to make them lower.

In summary, although there is research and theory supporting the link between met expectations and job satisfaction (Lofquist & Dawis, 1969), the link between RJP reception and met expectations has not been strongly supported (Rynes, 1991). Nor has the link between job satisfaction and newcomer survival been a strong one. There are so many additional factors that can contribute to one's decision to stay with or leave a job, including the freedom to move and the availability of other desirable jobs (Hulin, Rozmowski, & Hachiya, 1985; Mobley, 1982). When one looks at the big picture of job turnover, it is not at all clear from the data that the survival of newcomers is enhanced because RJPs reduce unmet expectations and thus improve person-job congruence.

Increases employee commitment. The third traditional explanation for why RJPs reduce turnover emphasizes that by describing both the negative and positive aspects of the job, employers are perceived to be more honest and fair (Mirvis & Kanter, 1989; Wanous, 1981). It has been shown that employees who perceive that they have been treated fairly will often reciprocate by expressing greater organizational commitment and support during rough times (Folger & Konovsky, 1989). It has also been shown that RJP recipients report increased organizational commitment (Premack & Wanous, 1985). And while it does stand to reason that these employees would not be as likely

to seek other jobs, strong empirical support for the role the RJP plays in this process does not exist (e.g., Colarelli, 1984; Horner et al., 1979). Overall, while research shows that RJP can influence certain initial job attitudes of newcomers (e.g., job satisfaction, organizational commitment, climate perceptions), it does not fully support the kind of linkages that have been suggested by the traditionally proposed RJP process hypotheses (Rynes, 1991).

Promotes coping behavior. This last explanation of why the RJP reduces job turnover is related to the commitment hypothesis just presented. Instead of focusing on the theme "fairness produces commitment," this hypothesis suggests that "forewarning produces endurance." This "coping" hypothesis postulates that by providing a job preview that describes some negative aspects of the job, the newcomer will be "inoculated" against adverse situations that could arise in the job (Breaugh, 1983; Popovich & Wanous, 1982; Wanous, 1981). Presumably, this kind of forewarning leads to a more committed work force. The employees should be better prepared to deal with and endure job stressors. They should be less likely to be caught off-guard when unfavorable circumstances arise (Janis & Mann, 1977).

As with the other three explanations, there is only weak support for the notion that the RJP increases job survival because it improves coping skills. Research addressing the relation between RJP reception and coping ability is inconclusive (Colarelli, 1984; Horner et al., 1979; Premack & Wanous, 1985). Behavioral and cognitive theory suggests that the idea is still viable (Miller & Jablin, 1991; Nelson, 1987; Wanous & Colella, 1989), particularly if the RJP is built to specifically address coping strategies (e.g., Horner et al., 1979). We will in fact defend this belief in the next section.

As a final summary comment about traditional RJP process explanations, we offer an observation which is shared by others (Meglino & DeNisi, 1987; Rynes, 1991): Theories focusing on job survival as a primary RJP outcome have not promoted the kind of research necessary to understand fully the RJP process. The predominant focus on turnover in RJP research has overshadowed the importance of understanding how the RJP impacts on the other outcomes important for their own sake (e.g., job satisfaction, organizational commitment, work performance, and coping skills).

Other Theories

There is a new initiative in RJP research which attempts to understand how RJP works. Much of what has been proposed about the RJP process has been interpolated from theory and studies that have not directly assessed RJP interventions or focused specifically on newcomer survival. Much of what we think goes on in the RJP process comes from studies of organizational entry and socialization issues that have been conducted to take advantage of rich theoretical bases in organizational socialization (Allen

& Meyer, 1990; Feldman, 1981; Jones, 1983, 1986; Miceli, 1987; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979; Weiss, 1978), social cognition and information processing (Ashforth & Fried, 1988; Louis, 1980;), and communication (Eagly, 1981; Miller & Jablin, 1991; Wanous & Colella, 1989).

Studies of the organizational entry process have focused on many other outcomes besides job survival (e.g., role orientation, coping skills and stress reduction, job performance strategy). These studies have not considered these other outcomes as simply contextual variables or as precursors to job turnover. Effective RJPs can be built now, but building them will be easier once we know more about what it is they can do and recognize that RJPs have the potential to do much more than reduce turnover. Past researchers have explicitly stated that the content of the RJP depends on what purposes organizations are trying to achieve (e.g., Dean & Wanous, 1984; Horner et al., 1979; Wanous, 1978). Of these different purposes or desired outcomes, we will first consider organizational socialization.

Organizational socialization. A large amount of literature suggests that RJPs can play an important role in organizational socialization (Feldman, 1981; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979; Weiss, 1978). Some empirical work in this area has evaluated how the type of orientation procedure influences the role orientation to which a newcomer subscribes (Allen & Meyer, 1990; Jones, 1986). Jones' research (1986), based on the work of Van Maanen and Schein (1979) and on some of his own conceptual work (Jones, 1983), empirically demonstrated differences between institutionalized and individualized socialization tactics on newcomer role orientation. His findings have been replicated by Allen and Meyer (1990).

In general, Jones' definition of institutionalized tactics includes training and orientation procedures that are formally structured and presented to newcomer groups. For example, Tannenbaum, Mathieu, Salas and Cannon-Bowers (1991) comment that training is often a common entry point for new employees and that major socialization takes place during this training. Also, Louis (1980) explains how formal orientations typically process several newcomers at one time and how they tend to present a great deal of general information. However, the information often concerns official policy rather than actual practice.

In the discussions below we will refer to the Army Recruiter Course (ARC) as a type of institutionalized socialization tactic. The Transitional Training and Evaluation (TTE) process appears to be more of an individualized tactic that relies on personal mentoring. Each socialization tactic produces different outcomes that might alternately be seen as positive or negative. Institutionalized socialization tactics appear to produce greater organizational commitment and more rigid conformity to the role expectations often referred to as a "custodial orientation." On the other hand, individualized socialization tactics seem to

result in more role tailoring (sometimes referred to as role innovation). In some cases, however, they also produce a significant amount of role confusion and anxiety.

An obvious advantage of the individualized tactic is that it socializes newcomers so that they quickly pick up what they need to know to perform their job well soon after they have been put on assignment. The information that newcomers receive is tailored to their personal needs and is provided in the context of their work site. The obvious disadvantage is the role confusion and personal anxiety that often accompanies this very informal, loosely structured approach. Much of this anxiety is augmented by the entering perceptions newcomers have about their job, and their resistance to or fear of asking for help. As Jones observes, when the "newcomer is overwhelmed by the experience of entry ... the entry process is perceived as threatening and anxiety-producing, but the newcomer is afraid to test the parameters of the organizational context in order to locate his or her position in the organization" (1986, p. 470).

Presently, the Army has a formally structured socialization program in the ARC and an informally structured, individualized socialization program in the TTE. What is needed is some sort of procedure to bridge these two approaches to socialization and training in order to reap the benefits and to avoid the pitfalls of each (Feldman, 1989). Perhaps a carefully constructed RJP could help serve this purpose and thereby facilitate the complete training and socialization process.

This bridging of training programs might also be facilitated by providing a clearer picture to the station commanders about their important role in the training and socialization of new recruiters (Feldman, 1989). As described below, RS commanders have received instruction at the RRS that teaches them how to implement the TTE field training. At their stations, however, the RS commanders are faced with the conflicting demands of being good trainers and accomplishing mission. As will be discussed in more detail later, perhaps RS commanders could benefit from behavioral and cognitive techniques that prevent them from relapsing into ineffective training strategies when they come under mission pressure (Marx, 1982).

It should be noted here that RJPs and "relapse prevention" programs can help facilitate the transition from classroom to field setting. They cannot, however, fix a training program that has some real deficiencies with respect to content and implementation. We will specifically address these deficiencies later.

Developing coping strategies and dealing with stress. In many respects this purpose of the RJP goes along with socialization as described above. A number of researchers have addressed the relationship between receiving the RJP and developing better coping skills (Colarelli, 1984; Githens &

Zalenski, 1983; Gomersall & Myers, 1966; Meglino et al., 1982; Nelson, 1987; Popovich & Wanous, 1982; Wanous, 1978). However, this research has not been designed to make conclusions about the RJP's effect on stress and coping, per se.

Most of the work in this area of research has been predicated on the belief that providing a clear understanding of the job is one of the best ways to reduce newcomer stress and anxiety (Miller & Jablin, 1991; Popovich & Wanous, 1982; Wanous & Colella, 1989). Information processing models and socialization theory have been used extensively to explain how RJPs might produce these results.

Researchers have differed in their opinions of whether newcomers should be presented early on with a realistic or idealistic view of the job. Reilly et al. (1981) proposed that the presentation of realistic information removes most reasons for disliking the job. If the newcomers perceive that they have made a "fully informed" choice, they will express positive attitudes consistent with their behavior of choosing the new job (Meglino & DeNisi, 1987). This social information processing view is consistent with the traditional coping explanation noted above. Miceli (1985; 1987), however, has made a most radical departure from traditional explanations of the RJP process by presenting evidence that RJPs might actually hamper coping ability. Miceli proposes that one should present a very favorable view of the job to get the newcomer through the first few hard weeks. The idea is that by the time the newcomer realizes that these extremely favorable expectations are untrue (or as Miceli prefers, as the highly favorable expectations "fade out"), the newcomer will be strong enough to go it alone anyway. Miceli's work is interesting and points out the need to explore more fully both the role an RJP plays in shaping coping ability and in showing how negative and positive information is really processed.

Consistent with an information processing view, Louis (1980) discusses the need to help newcomers deal with "reality shock." She estimates that this affects newcomers for six to ten months after taking the job. She points out that newcomers often attach meanings to action, events, and surprises in the new job setting. Sometimes they make faulty self-attributions on the basis of these cues. Louis calls for RJPs that would consider the various "scripts" (Ashforth & Fried, 1988) a newcomer might bring to the job. This implies that RJPs could facilitate coping by providing specific job information according to the newcomer's sense-making needs rather than according to what is considered organizationally efficient.

In constructing such an RJP, one would have to take individual differences quite seriously. Although the importance of individual differences has been acknowledged by some researchers (Colarelli, 1984; Horner et al., 1979; Wanous & Colella, 1989; Popovich & Wanous, 1982), not much field research

has specifically addressed their role in RJP reception (Rynes, 1991; Reilly et al., 1981). Research involving organizational socialization points out that such factors as uncertainty about the work situation, self-esteem and perceptions of rewards and costs of asking questions all influence information-seeking behavior (Miller & Jablin, 1991). One would expect that such individual differences would affect attention during the RJP process and the success of different types of RJP as well. In this regard Breugh (1983) points out that RJP should be thought of as persuasive communication devices. It has been suggested that an RJP has the potential to affect all three components of attitudes--affect, cognition and behavior intentions (Popovich & Wanous, 1982). All three components are likely to vary because of individual differences. This supports the idea of viewing an RJP as a persuasive communication that can improve coping strategies by changing attitudes. This outcome can be best achieved when individual needs and differences are considered.

Job performance. Conceptually, it would be reasonable to hypothesize that a carefully constructed RJP should be able to improve the job performance of newcomers (Wanous, 1978). It stands to reason that any information that explains what work is expected of an employee and how job incumbents deal with these expectations should favorably influence newcomer job performance and preparation to perform. Empirical support of this job performance hypothesis, however, is weak (Premack & Wanous, 1985); in fact, one lab study suggests that an RJP might even decrease task performance (Miceli, 1985).

On the other hand, most studies of the relationship between RJP reception and job performance have not looked at whether RJP might influence how long it takes for a new employee to meet performance expectations. A study by Gomersall and Myers (1966) provides some evidence that a realistic job preview might produce faster performance gain among newcomers.

As it stands now, it seems that the RJP is typically built with job survival in mind, then tested in shotgun fashion to see how it might affect other job variables. The goal seems to be to collect information on a number of variables in an attempt to explain why the RJP might increase job survival. But the extent to which an RJP affects overall socialization of newcomers, coping abilities, job performance or some other outcome variable is very much a function of how the RJP is constructed. RJP should be designed with a specific purpose in mind. If the purpose of the RJP is to increase coping skills, for example, then the preview should include illustrations of how job incumbents cope with common job difficulties. If the RJP is aimed at producing faster performance gain among newcomers, then it should be designed to enhance the development of performance strategies.

In addition to considering specific purposes for building a realistic job preview, there are a number of conditions or

boundaries that must be considered if one is to expect good results from this type of intervention. In the next section, we present a compilation of boundaries that have been described by RJP researchers.

When Do RJPs Work Best?

Not surprisingly, most of the boundaries mentioned are recommended for improving the RJP's ability to inspire self-selection and newcomer survival on the job. Accordingly, researchers point out that RJPs work best when

1. the RJP is administered before the job is offered (Wanous & Colella, 1989),
2. the selection ratio for the targeted job is low (i.e., relatively few applicants are hired) (Breaugh, 1983),
3. the job is an entry level position (Breaugh, 1983; Vandenberg & Scarpello, 1990), and
4. there is low unemployment (Breaugh, 1983; Miceli, 1985; Horner et al., 1979; Reilly et al., 1981).

But the boundaries differ when the RJP is not being used for self-selection. Some have suggested that such RJPs work best when newcomers are already attracted to or otherwise "bound in" to the organization during a critical period shortly after entry (Meglino & DeNisi, 1987; Meglino et al., 1988). In their study of RJP effects on military recruits, Meglino and DeNisi explain that a number of factors can "bind" an employee to the job during this critical period, including explicit written contracts, high unemployment and lack of attractive job alternatives, and even a strong psychological contract founded on pride, professionalism and career commitment.

The type of situation in which the RJP is used can also affect its successful implementation. Many researchers believe the RJP is most effective at entry-level positions. It is here that the RJP might be able to supply information about the new job or new job setting that the newcomers do not already possess. It is also more likely that someone new to an organization would have more unrealistic expectations to be addressed and would benefit most from a formally presented preview. As Jones (1986) points out, informal, unstructured and individualized orientation methods often increase newcomer role confusion and anxiety. Carefully constructed RJPs might help newcomers develop better coping strategies during this early phase of their work life.

There are other reasons to believe that RJPs probably work best in entry-level positions and in new job settings. For example, Reilly et al. (1981) propose that some threshold level of unrealistic expectations might be necessary for RJPs to work well. And Popovich and Wanous (1982) note that dissatisfaction following unmet expectations is most likely to result when these expectations are strongly believed in and they concern something of high personal value. This is most likely to be the case among

people in the entry phase of their career (Feldman, 1981). This also may be the case with employees at later stages of entry if they have been led into certain unrealistic expectations through training or false recruitment. For example, Army recruiters have said they think ARC may actually create some unrealistic expectations about the recruiting job (Hull & Nelson, 1991).

Expectations aside, many researchers indicate that RJPs will not work particularly well for self-selection in situations where the applicant cannot be selective about accepting a job (Breagh, 1983; Horner et al., 1979; Miceli, 1985). As Reilly et al. (1981) explain, self-selection can probably only occur "when multiple RJPs are given for multiple job openings and candidates have several options" (p. 828).

Broadly speaking, it is clear from the literature that realistic previews are not received the same way by all applicants (Pond & Hay, 1989). Moderators of the RJP effect are mostly implied in the RJP and organizational socialization literature. Research on moderators of the RJP effect has not been encouraged, and this type of research is not often conducted in the field (Rynes, 1991).

A number of variables have been nominated to be moderators of the RJP effect. Some of these variables represent job characteristics; others represent individual characteristics. Among the job characteristics, researchers have explored variables such as job complexity, that is "the extent of mental and physical demands placed on employees" (Reilly et al., 1981, p. 831), the nature of the occupation, and the visibility of the job (Premack & Wanous, 1985; Wanous & Colella, 1989). Among the individual characteristics, researchers have explored such variables as the newcomer's knowledge of the job, newcomer's past job experience, context-dependent job perceptions (Louis, 1980), personal relevance and trustworthiness of the RJP source (Colarelli, 1984), employee self-esteem and cognitive complexity (Miller & Jablin, 1991), intelligence, type of information-receiver the applicant is (Popovich & Wanous, 1982; Wanous & Colella, 1989), newcomer's tolerance for ambiguity, and field dependence (Wanous & Colella, 1989), and one's self-efficacy expectations (Jones, 1983; 1986).

RJPs in an Army Recruiter Context

Up to this point in the report we have briefly reviewed important components of the Army recruiters' job and the nature of the training they receive. We have also described RJPs and reviewed different explanations of how and why they work. In this next part of the report we address the question of whether the RJP would be an appropriate and practical intervention to improve the recruitment and retention of Army recruiters, their performance, and their ability to cope with job stress. We conclude that RJPs could be helpful for Army recruiters, provided

that (1) the Army clarifies its desired RJP outcomes, and (2) the Army takes steps to begin eliminating negative job features.

Using information based on job and training descriptions gleaned from the Army recruiter literature, we make some recommendations about which outcomes we believe can and cannot be obtained with a well-constructed RJP. We should emphasize, though, our opinion that many of the issues that surfaced in the Army recruiter literature cannot be overcome by simply administering an RJP to newcomers.

What Can the RJP Do for the Army Recruiter Job?

Let us say first what the RJP cannot--or should not--do for the Army recruiter job. Self-selection is the least obtainable of all the outcomes reviewed. Given the current nature of the recruiter job and the way the Army staffs this position, we cannot recommend developing and using the RJP for the purpose of self-selection. Because the selection ratio for the recruiter job is very high (i.e., almost all new job candidates are retained to be recruiters) and viable alternate job assignments are not presented to the job candidate, self-selection is not really an outcome worth pursuing.

Although the RJP may not help the Army in self-selection of recruiters, it may have other valuable applications. Some researchers have suggested that RJPs work best during a critical period immediately after an employee has agreed to work for an organization (Meglino & DeNisi, 1987; Meglino et al., 1988). Both of the studies referenced here used a military sample. Meglino and DeNisi discuss a strong psychological contract founded on pride, professionalism and career commitment that most likely occurs in a military sample; this is in addition to their explicit written contract. Given this insight, we believe that the RJP has the potential to influence many other very important outcomes besides self-selection and job survival among military recipients.

For example, new Army recruiters are asked to do work that is very often different from that which they have been used to doing. Essentially, in order to be good recruiters these soldiers are trained to be salespersons, a task for which they may or may not have any real aptitude or interest. Aside from developing better selection devices (Weiss, Citera, & Finfer, 1989), it may be that exposing new recruiters to an RJP can influence how smoothly they can be integrated into the job. RJPs can provide a formal means for effectively communicating the kind of information needed to quicken the rate the newcomers become proficient in their jobs. RJPs that realistically emphasize performance issues should help recruiters build better start-up strategies. RJPs cannot, however, make salespersons out of people who do not have the aptitude or the desire to sell.

By helping to clarify performance strategies, RJPs should do much to prevent job stress that is often brought on by the ambiguity of the job situation. A carefully constructed RJP would provide instruction on how to cope with foreseeable problems in the field setting. It would allow the new recruiters to build realistic coping strategies much like they would develop realistic performance strategies.

Coping strategies are influenced by attributions. In this context, attributions are explanations people make about why they do or do not perform well on a job. Research has shown that it is important for people to make accurate attributions for their performance. Generally, more internal attributions should be made for success and more external attributions should be made for failure. RJPs may help by influencing the kinds of attributions new recruiters make about themselves and their work setting as they experience varying degrees of success and failure. In other words, by providing a more realistic picture of prospecting, the RJP may prevent new recruiters from summarily attributing a missed prospect to personal failure (i.e., an internal attribution) and from falling into a downward spiral of self-condemnation and job deprecation. Instead, the RJP could help foster the view that some aspects of prospecting are not always within a recruiter's personal control.

What Recruiter Job Design Issues Need To Be Addressed?

All of the desirable RJP outcomes described above cannot realistically be achieved unless the Army begins taking steps to redesign the recruiter job so that negative job features are reduced or eliminated. In the short run, an RJP could be used as a tool to put training in perspective with the job. Providing realistic job information to new recruiters might also help some of them make a smoother initial transition from ARC to TTE. However, using the RJP without job redesign is not likely to influence longer term outcomes such as improving a new recruiter's coping ability. We believe that the most effective approach would be to use the RJP as a supplement to other job improvement efforts rather than as a sole intervention.

As we have noted, the literature clearly indicates that the recruiter job is a tough one: Time pressures are great, much role ambiguity and conflict are present, and there are a number of factors in the recruiter job that are apparently not directly controllable by the recruiter or the recruiter's RS commanders. Some of these negative job features probably cannot be avoided. However, there are also probably many that can be. Should it be the case that there are some negative job features that can be deleted or diminished by job redesign, then job redesign should be undertaken. Explaining negative features to recruiters in an RJP and then asking them to bear with a system that needs repair is not feasible if repair is not on the way. Implementing an RJP, or any similar intervention, is not feasible without first considering those things that can be done directly to improve the

recruiter job and training system. For example, we believe the whole recruiter training program would be more effective if the time interval between the end of ARC and the beginning of TTE could be reduced (Hull & Nelson, 1991).

More work needs to be done to determine job features that can and cannot be changed to make the recruiter's job (and the RS commander's job) more tolerable and motivating. Perhaps the jobs can be evaluated with regard to suggestions made by Hackman and Oldham's (1980) Job Characteristics Model which basically describes the dynamics of features of work that contribute to worker motivation and job satisfaction. These include work autonomy, responsibility, feedback, task meaningfulness, and task identity.

How Can RJPs Be Administered to Army Recruiters?

Assuming that job deficiencies mentioned above are addressed, we maintain that an RJP could significantly help retain and possibly even eventually help attract new Army recruiters. With this in mind, we now consider the ways an RJP might best be administered.

Typically an RJP is administered once during early organizational entry. Accordingly, in this section we will first discuss two points in the entry process where it appears that a one-time administration of an RJP could affect recruiter start-up performance and coping skills. However, we will also consider the advantages and disadvantages of administering an RJP more than once during organizational entry. We will discuss socialization strategies involving these multiple RJP administrations. In these discussions of the various forms the RJP could take, we do not recommend one particular form over another. Given the present nature of the Army recruiter job and training we believe it would be premature to make a recommendation in this report.

Administering RJPs only once. Once a soldier has been selected into the recruiter job, there appear to be two points where the administration of an RJP would be appropriate: (1) immediately before ARC training or (2) after ARC and before station assignment and TTE. Of the two choices, we favor the latter, especially in the context of the Recruiter Exercise (RECEX).

Administering the RJP before training may sensitize a newcomer to the recruiter job, thereby making subsequent ARC information appear more relevant (Colarelli, 1984; Hicks & Klimoski, 1987; Louis, 1980). Tannenbaum et al. (1991) convincingly argue for doing whatever is necessary to enhance pretraining motivation, including clarifying expectations about the training. Although an RJP does not directly deal with training expectations, it does clarify expectations about the job. It should also stimulate more effort and focused attention

during training so that the information is learned within the context of a realistic job perception. However, we maintain this reasoning is speculative given the lack of empirical research on the impact of RJPs on training motivation and subsequent job performance. But, parts of information processing theory would support this hypothesis (Miller & Jablin, 1991). Also, Hicks and Klimoski (1987) have found that when trainees receive realistic notices of the training in which they are to participate (i.e., realistic "training" previews), these trainees report that they are more motivated to learn, more committed to attend, and also that they perceive the training as more relevant. (We would like to add here, however, that in Hicks and Klimoski's study, the employees receiving training were already familiar with their work.)

Most of the literature, in fact, suggests that RJPs improve rather than diminish newcomer performance (Premack & Wanous, 1985). Work by Hicks and Klimoski describing a realistic training preview suggests this positive effect, too. Using a military sample, Tannenbaum et al. (1991) provide data that suggests that this kind of pretraining motivation might prime trainees and prepare them to get the most out of training. They note that these effects might even carry over to influence post-training attitudes. Miceli (1985), on the other hand, seems to indicate that trainees could possibly be disheartened by the early RJP and consequently perform poorly. We do not foresee the RJP adversely affecting training performance, especially when one also considers the qualifications of the soldiers nominated to become recruiters, the implicit and explicit employment contract of the Army and the generally adverse consequences that failing a training course can have on a career in the Army.

While administering an RJP before ARC training has advantages, there are a number of reasons that an RJP might be more effective if it was administered after ARC training and before station assignment (i.e., TTE). Using the RJP this way would be most similar to the way RJPs have been used in the past. Also, any advantages from the RJP could be obtained immediately prior to TTE, which is the time the new recruiters typically report experiencing the most difficulties. This timing would be helpful because the RJP is more likely to stimulate performance and coping strategies that would be specific to a recruiting station. Finally, the RJP could serve to bridge the ARC and TTE training by being incorporated into ARC training to address some unrealistic expectations that we believe are probably originating at this time. This bridging effect of the RJP could be especially helpful since recruit trainees have unrealistic expectations about TTE and also difficulty in transferring skills learned in the ARC training over into the TTE phase of training.

Perhaps one aspect of ARC that could be molded into a type of RJP is the Recruiter Exercise (RECEX). RECEX is a hands-on exercise conducted during the final week of ARC training. It involves a simulated recruiting station where trainees are able

to perform skills learned in the first five weeks of ARC (Hull et al., 1988). The purpose of RECEX has been to evaluate trainees' performance on tasks that they will perform as U.S. Army recruiters. While RECEX is an attempt to realistically simulate recruiting tasks, it will be remembered that recruiters believed that the ARC, as a whole, did not realistically portray the recruiting job. Perhaps RECEX could be modified to convey more realistic job context information (e.g. information about mission pressure, volume and frequency of negative responses from prospects, long hours, etc.). Thus, an RJP could be presented in the context of a behavioral simulation such as RECEX.

New recruiters might also benefit by incorporating into RECEX a training procedure similar to that developed by Marx (1982; 1988). He describes how people will often lapse back into familiar ways of doing things when work pressures build up. He points out that any internally valid training program will be rendered useless unless something is done to assure that newly acquired skills will be transferred to the work setting. Marx (1982) has outlined behavioral and cognitive strategies that can be developed during training to help trainees realistically anticipate pressures in the work setting that prevent transfer of training.

Marx (1988) describes Relapse Prevention (RP) training as involving seven steps:

1. choosing a skill to retain,
2. setting a retention goal,
3. committing to retain the skill,
4. learning relapse prevention strategies,
5. predicting the circumstances of the first lapse,
6. practicing coping skills, and
7. monitoring target behavior following training.

In recommending consideration of the RP training steps, we acknowledge that while the theory behind RP training is solid, current empirical support of this training approach is mixed (Noe, Sears, & Fullenkamp, 1990; Wexley & Baldwin, 1986).

Multiple RJPs. While RJPs are typically only administered once, the socialization literature that we have reviewed seems to suggest that multiple administrations of an RJP might be beneficial. Such a procedure is so unlike the typical RJP approach that it probably could be considered be a different kind of intervention. However, we will continue to describe this intervention as an RJP approach because the basic information conveyed would still take the form of an RJP.

Given the choice between single or multiple RJP administrations, there are good reasons to choose the latter. Multiple RJPs across time could take into consideration newcomers' shifting attention to the new work setting. Using the inoculation analogy espoused in traditional explanations of the

RJP process, we can say that multiple follow-up RJP's could be considered booster shots for renewing the original vaccination effect of an RJP. Realistic job information might simply be repeated in each "booster" RJP. On the other hand, the follow-up RJP's could be viewed as a graduated series of "shots" administered so that (1) the volume or the realism of the information would not overwhelm the new recruiter, and (2) the information could be presented in a way and at a time that would make most sense to the newcomer. Either way, the RJP's would introduce, in step form, the recruiter job.

Multiple RJP's could help develop performance and coping strategies by providing specific job information in accordance with the newcomer's needs to make sense of his new job (Feldman, 1989). As noted earlier in this report, Louis (1980) has called for RJP's that consider the numerous "scripts" (Ashforth & Fried, 1988) newcomers bring to the job. Jones (1983; 1986) and Feldman (1989) have also noted the importance of considering the newcomer as an active recipient of organizational entry information. Thus, the content of "booster" RJP's could correspond to the various needs of the newcomer. While it would be difficult to tailor RJP's to the concerns of specific individuals, perhaps observing newcomer experiences during entry might suggest clusters of concerns new recruiters experience at different phases of job entry (cf., Feldman, 1981). RJP's could then be built to address the content of each of these clusters and administered at appropriate times during job entry.

Perhaps multiple RJP's could be administered by placing preview information in an interactive video format so that newcomers could specifically access information pertaining to their concerns. For example, prior to TTE new recruiters might access more information associated with developing effective performance strategies. Once at the station, new recruiters might select job preview information related to developing more effective coping strategies. The content of the preview information, in effect, would be tailored by each new recruiter and thus be made more relevant. Colarelli (1984), for one, has noted the importance of making RJP's personally relevant. This approach is attractive in part because it would not require additional time from already busy station commanders. It also allows for individual differences in information-seeking behavior by assisting those who are reluctant to risk asking others for help. As far as we can tell, while audiovisual RJP's have been lauded as superior to other RJP mediums, no interactive video RJP's have ever been implemented. An interactive video RJP might be able to capture the realism of the audiovisual medium and the flexibility and relevance of the interview RJP format.

Perhaps the interactive video system has not been considered a viable RJP format because it is expensive to develop and install. This is potentially a problem because one of the big selling points mentioned in the literature for using the RJP has been that it is a relatively inexpensive intervention (McEvoy &

Cascio, 1985). While the cost of preparing the interactive system needs to be assessed, one cost advantage the Army already has is that the RRS and all recruiting stations are now supplied with the hardware for implementing the Joint Optical Information Network (JOIN) interactive video system. Thus, it is now possible that an RJP interactive video system could be developed to use on this readily available equipment. Still, much ground work is needed to determine individual needs before an interactive video system can be considered feasible.

Other Feasible Interventions

So far in this report, we have focused all our attention on new recruiters. However, other people are directly or indirectly responsible for the performance and coping abilities of the new recruiters. Thus, in this part of the report we suggest entry interventions targeted at people closely associated with the new recruiters.

We discuss (1) RJPs for spouses of recruiters, (2) realistic recruiter previews for station commanders, and (3) relapse prevention training for RS commanders (Marx, 1982; 1988). Any of these strategies may prove worthwhile.

Perhaps ways to provide information about the recruiting job to significant people in the recruiters' lives need to be explored. Many recruiters have described the stress their job places on their marriage and family life (Baker, 1990). As explained earlier, recruiters and their spouses experience a general lack of support, particularly when recruiters are stationed long distances away from military bases (Maxfield, 1990). Recruiters point out how hard it is to survive financially in a non-military setting. They also indicate that they sometimes have problems using the military health insurance program in a non-military community (Love et al., 1991).

RJPs designed for spouses might provide them with a better idea of the demands of the recruiting job. It might help them to develop the same kinds of coping strategies the recruiter has to acquire. That, in turn, might reduce a potentially significant source of pressure in the new recruiter's already pressured life. Job design issues need to be addressed, however, before one will accept a simple explanation that recruiting is rough work. Otherwise, spouses are likely to simply walk away with the impression that even though the Army knows things are bad, it just wants recruiters and their dependents to "grin and bear it."

Another significant person in the new recruiters' work life is the station commander. Although RS commanders are fully aware of the stressful nature of the recruiting job, they may not adequately remember the details of their own job entry days. They may not be fully aware of the various types of problems new recruiters can experience. Benedict (1989) points out that some commanders believe that new recruiters are coming out of the RRS

fully trained and ready to perform. It is possible that RS commanders might gain some valuable insight from a "realistic recruiter preview" that explicitly explains what new recruiters are capable of doing and what they are going through in their first months on the job. This kind of preview could possibly have a major impact on the TTE training program.

Army literature shows that the administration of TTE training, for which the RS commanders are primarily responsible, needs to be improved (Benedict, 1989; Hull et al., 1988). It appears that RS commander training does not transfer fully into the field because RS commanders quickly become caught up in mission accomplishment and find little or no time to train new recruiters. We believe that significant progress could be made in this area if a Relapse Prevention (RP) segment (see description on p. 22) was included in the SCC training.

Implementing and Evaluating the RJP

Regardless of which realistic preview intervention might be chosen to address recruiter performance, retention, and job stress, there are general implementation and evaluation issues which can be discussed. General implementation issues include those decisions that must be made prior to development and initiation of an RJP intervention. General evaluation issues include choosing appropriate criteria and anticipating threats to validity. Drawing on the RJP literature and research design principles, we briefly discuss the above issues.

Implementation Issues

Prior to implementing any of the RJP interventions that this paper has suggested as feasible, several "tough" choices must be made. Wanous (1989) has delineated these tough choices and labeled them as such because the alternatives are usually equally desirable. Three kinds of choices that are particularly important for our purposes deal with diagnosis, RJP content, and timing of the RJP.

The diagnostic phase of developing an RJP is important for identifying key job duties, organizational characteristics and job context variables that are salient to newcomers. Although studies of recruiter training and job stress have indicated some characteristics of the job for which recruiters are not realistically prepared, a targeted diagnosis is required to identify features of the job that are relevant to an RJP. One must choose whether to do an extensive structured diagnosis or a less extensive unstructured diagnosis. A structured diagnosis, usually conducted through interviews and questionnaires, is more likely to yield quantifiable and representative data. Compared to a less formal diagnosis, this structured approach costs more in terms of the increased time and money it requires. A less structured diagnosis may be conducted through interviewing recruiters and/or examining the literature and the recruiter job.

Although it is less time consuming and costly, this less structured diagnosis inspires less confidence in the accuracy and representativeness of the data it produces.

Both of these kinds of diagnoses produce information that serves as the basis for developing the RJP content. This leads to another set of choices that concern what will be included in the RJP. As mentioned earlier, Wanous (1989) describes three content choices which affect RJP development.

The first of these content choices involves whether to include information about the job that is purely descriptive or that is judgmental (regarding things that satisfy and dissatisfy recruiters). Descriptive information will tend to cover a broader variety of job characteristics and is less likely to be biased by what individual recruiters find satisfying or dissatisfying. On the other hand, judgmental information that is carefully derived from a representative sample of recruiters may do a better job of focusing on those characteristics of work that new recruiters find troublesome.

Another content choice deals with whether the RJP should be extensive or intensive. An extensive RJP, Wanous explains, presents all pertinent job information. Because it includes all relevant job information, an extensive RJP will be less likely to leave out information that may be important to a particular individual. Conversely, an intensive RJP attempts to limit the content to those job characteristics that are most important, associated with turnover, and misperceived by newcomers. An intensive RJP concentrates on a limited set of characteristics in an attempt to ensure that those important characteristics are not lost in a great volume of realistic, but less important, information.

A final content choice deals with the amount of negative information to be included in an RJP. In most cases an RJP is implemented to dispel unrealistically positive expectations. Therefore, an RJP will typically concentrate on negative aspects of the job (e.g. long hours, mission pressure). Some believe that too much negative information may be harmful. They think, for example, that a negatively oriented RJP for recruiter trainees would lead to an increase in ARC failure rates. Recognizing these kinds of concerns, Wanous suggests that an RJP of medium negativity is most appropriate. We could say that for Army recruiters such an RJP would focus on long hours and mission pressure rather than the possibility of marital problems. It is also probable that an RJP that provides coping skills will be more effective than an RJP that simply describes negative aspects of the job. The best basis for guiding these content decisions will be a survey of available data on the job: job descriptions, job statements, etc.

Besides diagnosis and content, another issue concerns the timing of RJP administration. Typically this refers to whether

an RJP should be administered prior to or after selection. However, for various reasons this report has focused on implementing an RJP within the context of training after the selection process has occurred. Nevertheless, there remain several options for the timing of an RJP intervention. As mentioned earlier, two strategies include a one-time RJP administration and multiple RJP administrations.

A one-time administration within the context of training would require choosing the point in the training process that would provide the most practical and effective opportunity for administering an RJP. For example, the Army could choose to administer an RJP at the beginning of ARC training. An RJP administered at that point might sensitize trainees to relevant job characteristics, and thus, the trainees might learn skills and knowledge with a more realistic job context in mind. On the other hand, the Army could choose to administer the RJP at the end of ARC perhaps as part of a realistically enhanced RECEX. An RJP administered as a part of RECEX might provide an opportunity for trainees to be exposed to specific realistic job characteristics (e.g. rejection from prospects) while they practice, and are evaluated on, actual job skills. As explained earlier, either choice of when to administer a single RJP has its advantages and disadvantages.

Multiple RJP's would further complicate the issue. By that we mean that multiple RJP's would require the timing choice to be made for each RJP "booster." In any case, we believe that implementing an RJP prior to or during TTE would make the content of the RJP more salient to recruiters. This would facilitate the development of performance and coping strategies.

Evaluation Issues

Once decisions have been made about the development and implementation of an RJP, another important consideration is how to evaluate such an intervention in order to make decisions about its effectiveness. In this part of the report we discuss general issues to consider in evaluating an RJP designed to improve performance, increase retention, and decrease job stress. We first discuss criterion measures which will be necessary for assessing change in the relevant outcome variables. Next, we will discuss threats to the validity of inferring that a given intervention causes subsequent change in the outcome measures. We purposely refrain from discussing the evaluation of a specific RJP strategy (e.g. a single RJP administered during RECEX or multiple RJP's administered before, during and after ARC training). To do so might be interpreted as a recommendation of one strategy over another. Our intention in this section of the report is not to recommend a particular strategy but, rather, to discuss general evaluation issues which would be pertinent to any of the RJP strategies which this paper has delineated.

In evaluation we attempt to establish a relationship between an intervention we have implemented and a set of hypothesized outcomes. Therefore, an obvious precursor to implementing an RJP would be to define precisely and operationally what outcomes are sought. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to define specific criteria, we have delineated several kinds of general outcomes that can be expected from an RJP. Further, we believe that two sets of criteria would be necessary to evaluate the effectiveness of such an intervention. The first set would include attitudinal measures derived from theories of the RJP process, while the second set would include measures of recruiter job performance.

Attitudinal criteria would include both process and outcome variables. Process variables would provide information on why an RJP did or did not work. These variables traditionally include job expectations and perceptions, organizational commitment, ability to cope, trust and honesty, and role ambiguity. Measures of these variables may be found in the RJP literature (e.g. Horner et al., 1979) or may be constructed to be more context specific. Attitudinal outcome variables would provide one means by which the effectiveness of an RJP could be assessed. For example, besides being assessed by a single turnover variable (e.g., stayed or left), several attitudinal measures (e.g., behavioral intentions, thoughts of quitting) could be used to investigate the effect of an RJP on recruiter retention. Other attitudinal outcome variables could be used to assess the effect of an RJP on coping skills and job stress. Operational definitions of coping and job stress variables might be developed based on specific studies of recruiter job stress (e.g., Baker, 1990) or the general literature on stress and coping. Examples of job stress variables might include:

1. vocational stress (e.g., perceived poor quality/quantity of work, negative attitudes towards work),
2. psychological stress (e.g., psychological/emotional problems),
3. interpersonal stress (problems in interpersonal relationships), and
4. physical stress (e.g., physical illness, disturbed sleep).

Operationalized coping variables might include:

1. recreation strategies (e.g., taking advantage of leisure time),
2. social support (e.g., utilizing spouse and friends for support),
3. cognitive strategies (e.g., using strategies such as time management), and
4. self-care strategies (e.g., proper exercise and eating habits).

Psychometrically sound measures of these constructs can be found in the occupational stress literature.

While attitudinal variables would provide information on both the process and outcome of an RJP, performance-related criterion measures would be necessary to test the general hypothesis that an RJP would help to improve job performance. For example, it is believed that an RJP could help to increase the rate at which new recruiters become proficient in their jobs. In order to assess the impact of an RJP on proficiency or rate of performance gain, operational criteria would have to be developed. Weiss et al. (1989) provide examples of performance indices which might be appropriate criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of an RJP designed to improve recruiter performance. Specifically, Weiss et al. examined monthly recruiter performance records in order to develop criteria which included the following:

1. Total achievement (the total number of recruits signed in all categories);
2. Total production (the total number of recruits signed adjusted for mission [achievement minus mission]);
3. Total DEP loss (the number of people dropped from the delayed entry pool for that recruiter that month across all categories);
4. Key achievement (the total number of recruits signed in four key mission categories);
5. Key production (the total number of recruits signed in the four key categories adjusted for the mission of those categories); and
6. Key DEP loss (the number of people dropped from the delayed entry pool for that recruiter in that month across key performance categories).

These objective criteria could be augmented with other performance measures, such as those developed by Borman et al. (1987). Borman and his colleagues conducted performance research with Navy, Marine Corps and Army recruiters that resulted in the development of behaviorally based rating scales. The scales were designed to measure eight recruiter performance categories. These categories included the following:

1. Locating and contacting qualified prospects,
2. Gaining and maintaining rapport,
3. Obtaining information from prospects and determining their needs and interests,
4. Sales skills,
5. Establishing and maintaining good relationships in the community,
6. Providing knowledgeable and accurate information about the Army,
7. Organizing skills, and
8. Supporting other recruiters and USAREC.

Behaviorally based ratings in these performance areas and the more objective production-oriented performance measures of Weiss et al. (1989) are examples of the kind of operational criteria necessary to assess the impact of an RJP on recruiter performance.

Once criterion measures of recruiter attitudes and performance have been determined, an evaluation study must plan how change in the criterion measures will be assessed. For example, if the goal of an RJP intervention was to improve certain criterion measures, then the goal of an accompanying evaluation study would be to assess and interpret accurately any criterion changes.

An important component of evaluating the results of a planned intervention involves anticipating and interpreting threats to validity. In the present context, threats to validity refer to any plausible explanation (other than the RJP) of changes in the criterion measures. In other words, it is necessary to determine if changes in recruiter performance and attitudes are due to the RJP or some other cause. Specific threats must be determined during the research design phase of an intervention project. Such threats would depend on the type of experimental design (e.g., control group vs. no control group and randomized vs. non-randomized treatment assignment) and the kind of RJP implemented (e.g., one-time vs. multiple administration). For example, interpreting criterion changes resulting from a one-time administration of an RJP could be made difficult by factors such as

1. selection effects (e.g. how were recruiters selected for experimental groups?),
2. history effects (e.g. could policy changes like new recruiting strategies have affected the criteria?), and
3. maturation effects (could new recruiters have become better performers and less stressed by simply maturing into the job?).

A multiple RJP strategy could also be subject to many of the same threats. For this paper, it is appropriate simply to note that at some point during the planning and implementation stage of an RJP intervention, it will be necessary to consider specifics of the context (e.g. training context, political context, organizational context, etc.) in which the intervention will be implemented.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have described the Army recruiter job, discussed the realistic job preview and its uses, and looked at how such a preview might be used for Army recruiters. Some of the basic issues of RJPs include the type of information they should contain, the forms they can take, and where they are best

used. We have reviewed the literature and looked at ways in which these issues have been effectively addressed.

The traditional focus of RJP use and research has been the technique's ability to increase self-selection and prevent turnover. Yet we feel an overemphasis on such outcomes has led to insufficient consideration of other RJP outcomes and the theories that might underlie them. Among these outcomes are such things as improved coping behavior and increased organizational commitment. Given that self-selection is not really an option for Army recruiters, 70% of whom do not enter the job voluntarily, we feel that an RJP addressing other outcomes would be most applicable in this situation.

Having established that the recruiter job is stressful, high-pressured and often unrewarding, and that unrealistic expectations may be developed within the recruiter training process, we feel that RJPs are one tool that might be used to assist in recruiter retention. However, in order for this tool to be effective, we believe two conditions must be met. First, the Army must take some steps to begin eliminating some of the negative features of the recruiter job. A realistic preview of strongly negative job features, whatever coping skills or other outcomes it might produce, still will not overcome problems caused by those features. Second, the Army would need to clarify its desired RJP outcomes so that the RJP might be adjusted accordingly.

Assuming that these two issues could be dealt with, we have discussed some of the ways in which an RJP program might be implemented. The options we discussed included placing of the RJP to bridge the gap between ARC and TTE, offering an initial RJP with multiple "booster shots" that could possibly be given through an interactive video system, and offering RJPs for recruiters' spouses and station commanders.

We think that the infrastructure is in place for implementation of RJPs, with RECEX training providing an example of a possibly useful opportunity for placement, and with the JOIN interactive computer technology already set up at recruiting stations. Nevertheless, it is beyond the scope of this paper to make recommendations about what specific RJP techniques would be best in this situation. That, again, is dependent on what facets of the job might be altered and what outcomes the Army feels would be most relevant. Decisions on how to evaluate RJP effectiveness would also depend on the outcomes for which the RJP was designed.

Thus, we think an RJP could help recruiters deal with a stressful, demanding job. But we think an RJP would not in any way be a panacea for recruiter problems, and its implementation would not be feasible without prior consideration of what can be done to directly improve the recruiter job and training system.

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