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The Role of Person-Organization Fit in Organizational Selection Decisions

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The Role of Person-Organization Fit in Organizational Selection Decisions

Abstract
This paper presents and tests a theoretical model of person-organization fit and organizational selection decisions using data from 35 organizations making hiring decisions. Results suggested that (a) interviewers were able to assess applicants' values with above-chance levels of accuracy, (b) interviewers compare their perceptions of applicants' values with their organizations' values to assess person-organization fit, and (c) it is perceived values congruence and not actual values congruence between applicants and organizations that predicted interviewers' person-organization fit perceptions. Results also suggested that interviewers' person-organization fit assessments had the largest effect on their hiring recommendations even after controlling for competing applicant characteristics (e.g., demographics, human capital), and that interviewers' hiring recommendations had large and significant effects on organizations' hiring decisions (e.g., job offers).

Keywords
job, value, organization, human, capital, decision, interview, person

Disciplines
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Timothy Judge

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The Role of Person-Organization Fit in Organizational Selection Decisions

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This paper has not undergone formal review or approval of the faculty of the ILR School. It is intended to make results of Center research, conferences, and projects available to others interested in human resource management in preliminary form to encourage discussion and suggestions.
THE ROLE OF PERSON-ORGANIZATION FIT IN ORGANIZATIONAL SELECTION DECISIONS

This paper presents and tests a theoretical model of person-organization fit and organizational selection decisions using data from 35 organizations making hiring decisions. Results suggested that (a) interviewers were able to assess applicants’ values with above-chance levels of accuracy, (b) interviewers compare their perceptions of applicants’ values with their organizations’ values to assess person-organization fit, and (c) it is perceived values congruence and not actual values congruence between applicants and organizations that predicted interviewers’ person-organization fit perceptions. Results also suggested that interviewers’ person-organization fit assessments had the largest effect on their hiring recommendations even after controlling for competing applicant characteristics (e.g., demographics, human capital), and that interviewers’ hiring recommendations had large and significant effects on organizations’ hiring decisions (e.g., job offers).
THE ROLE OF PERSON-ORGANIZATION FIT
IN ORGANIZATIONAL SELECTION DECISIONS

Theoretical and empirical research suggests that individuals and organizations are most effective when their values, needs, and interests are aligned. Manifestations of this alignment, which often is called person-organization (P-O) fit, include employee commitment, satisfaction, and retention (Chatman, 1991; Meglino, Ravlin, & Adkins, 1989; O'Reilly, Chatman, & Caldwell, 1991; Sheridan, 1992), organizational performance (Govindarajan, 1989; Meglino et al., 1989), and individual health (Moos, 1987). Judge and Ferris (1992) proposed that P-O fit affects the degree to which an individual is liked by co-workers, supervisors, and subordinates, which may be related to many other aspects of individual and organizational effectiveness. Furthermore, researchers have argued that P-O fit may affect the utility of selection systems (Adkins, Russell, & Werbel, 1994) and may have bottom-line consequences for organizations (Boudreau, Sturman, & Judge, 1994).

In light of the potential positive outcomes of P-O fit, researchers have suggested that organizations proactively hire employees based on their fit with organizations' cultures (Bowen, Ledford, and Nathan, 1991). One selection device that may be critical in establishing P-O fit is the employment interview (Judge & Ferris, 1992). The interview enables organizations and job applicants to interact through organizational representatives, presumably allowing each party to determine the degree to which the other demonstrates congruent values and interests. Thus, Bowen et al., (1991) proposed that the interview is a rite of passage allowing organizations to assess applicants' values and the fit of those values with the organization. Rynes and Gerhart (1990) suggested that P-O fit is most commonly assessed with the employment interview. Experimental research has indicated that judges can interpret "verbal, self-referent statements made in an interview context in terms of personality characteristics and relate these to expectations of suitability and performance" (Jackson, Peacock, & Holder, 1982, p. 1), suggesting that it may be possible for interviewers to assess applicants' personal characteristics and organizational fit. Organizational interviewers also readily declare the goal of locating and hiring applicants who "fit." (e.g., Ricklefs, 1979; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990).

Past Research

Most research on the role of P-O fit in the selection process has been practitioner-oriented (Bower et al., 1991, Judge & Ferris, 1992; Ricklefs, 1979), and systematic empirical evidence remains exploratory (Bretz, Rynes, & Gerhart, 1993). However, some research has examined the relationship between P-O fit and organizational hiring decisions. Rynes and Gerhart (1990) found that P-O fit is a separate construct from general employability,
and that interviewers evaluate P-O fit according to their organizations, not just idiosyncratic biases and liking. These researchers also found that, consistent with theory (e.g., Schneider, 1987), applicants' interpersonal attributes (e.g., leadership, warmth) were related to interviewers' fit assessments while objective qualifications (e.g., grade-point average) were not.

Although Rynes and Gerhart (1991) suggested that the employment interview may be a means to assess and hire for P-O fit, Bretz, Rynes, and Gerhart (1993) and Adkins, Russell, and Werbel (1994) found different results. Specifically, Bretz et al. (1993) found that interviewers most often mentioned job-related courses, experience, and general applicant characteristics (e.g., attractiveness) when responding to open-ended questions about their fit evaluations. Adkins et al. (1994) examined work value congruence between applicants and organizations, and found that (a) values congruence did not affect interviewers' P-O fit perceptions, and (b) interviewers' P-O fit perceptions had only minor effects on organizations' selection decisions.

In summary, a developing research domain suggests that the employment interview may be a means for organizations to assess applicants' values and personality, and to select applicants based on their P-O fit. However, other investigations indicate that P-O fit and values congruence may be unimportant in the context of the interview. Although these investigations appear to conflict, it is important to note that fundamentally different questions were inherent in the analyses. For example, research suggests that when people respond to direct questions about their beliefs and actions, they often are inaccurate, typically reporting "probable" causes of their beliefs rather than actual causes (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977). Because Bretz et al. (1993) directly asked interviewers to report the causes of their fit perceptions, interviewers may have assumed that their fit impressions were based on applicants' skills because they would seem to be important in selection decisions. Methodological differences also may have affected the results found by Adkins et al., who examined the effect of actual values congruence on interviewers' evaluations. Although actual congruence represents an interesting research issue, it is presumably interviewers' perceptions of applicants that influence their evaluations (e.g., Ferris & Judge, 1991; Judge & Ferris, 1992).

Perhaps not surprisingly, it is difficult to directly compare studies in a developing area of research. Due to fundamental differences in the questions inherent in the research methodologies and analyses, it remains unclear whether the theoretical relationships between applicants and organizations proposed by Schneider (1987) actually exist. For example, it remains to be shown that interviewers can assess applicants' values and compare these assessments with their organization's culture to derive P-O fit judgments. It also is not known
whether P-O fit assessments affect interviewers' hiring recommendations relative to competing applicant characteristics (e.g., human capital). Finally, research has not examined the effects of values congruence and P-O fit on organizations' final selection (e.g., hiring) decisions. In fact, Bretz et al. (1993) suggested that applicant fit in the context of the interview remains largely a mystery. The goal of the present study is to integrate findings from past research through a comprehensive empirical investigation of the role of P-O fit in organizational selection decisions.

**Organizational Values**

One important aspect of both individuals and organizations that can be compared directly and meaningfully is values (Barley, Meyer, & Gash, 1988; Chatman, 1989, 1991; Schein, 1990). Values are intrinsic, enduring beliefs of what is fundamentally right or wrong (Judge & Bretz, 1992; Rokeach, 1973), therefore guiding individuals' attitudes, judgments, and behaviors (Chatman, 1989; Rokeach, 1973). As recommended by P-O fit researchers, the present study defines P-O fit as the congruence between individuals' and organizations' values (Chatman, 1989, 1991; Judge & Bretz, 1992; Judge & Ferris, 1992; O'Reilly et al., 1991).

**Hypotheses**

Figure 1 depicts the theoretical model of the role of P-O fit in organizations' selection decisions. In general, the model suggests that applicant-organizational value congruence affects interviewers' P-O fit evaluations, that these fit evaluations influence interviewers' hiring recommendations controlling for the competing variables suggested by past research, and that these hiring recommendations affect organizations' selection decisions. Each link in the model is discussed next.
Interviewers' P-O Fit Evaluations

Theory indicates that interviewers' P-O fit perceptions should be based on the congruence between their organizations' values and applicants' values (e.g., Ferris & Judge, 1991; Bowen et al., 1991; Schneider, 1987). Although some research has suggested that values may be unimportant in the context of interviewers' fit assessments (Adkins et al., 1994; Bretz et al., 1993), Rynes and Gerhart (1990) found that applicants' interpersonal attributes (e.g., leadership, goal orientation) affected interviewers' fit assessments. As discussed before, results from these past investigations of values congruence and fit perceptions may not be as discordant as they appear due to different approaches inherent in the research.

The present research develops and unifies past theory and research on values congruence and interviewers' P-O fit perceptions in three ways. As recommended by both person-perception and P-O fit research, applicants' and organizations' values are measured ididiographically (Bern & Allen, 1974; Chatman, 1989; Pelham, 1993; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990). Next, this study controls for the potential confounding factors suggested by past interview
research (e.g., liking, physical attractiveness). Finally, this study examines the effects of both "actual" values congruence and "perceived" values congruence on interviewers' P-O fit perceptions. Consistent with past research (e.g., Ferris & Judge, 1991; Pulakos & Wexley, 1983), actual values congruence is defined as the similarity between an applicant's values and an organization's values, and perceived values congruence is defined as the congruence between an interviewer's perceptions of an applicant's values and an organization's values. Because the process of assessing applicants' values is equivocal, it is possible that an interviewer perceives an applicant's values as congruent with his or her organization (perceived congruence), when the applicant's self-reported values are actually quite different from the organizational values (actual congruence).

The distinction between actual versus perceived congruence parallels two domains of investigation in the research literature. General theories of similarity-attraction (e.g., Byrne, 1969; Rosenbaum, 1936) imply that actual congruence between applicants and organizations should affect interviewers' fit perceptions, regardless of whether the values are perceived explicitly by the interviewers. From this perspective, individuals and groups are attracted to others who are similar to themselves because of increased ability to communicate (e.g., Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989) or because cognitive dissonance is reduced (e.g., Festinger, 1954). Most fit research to date has adopted this approach when investigating the determinants and outcomes of P-O fit (e.g., Adkins et al., 1994; Judge & Bretz, 1992; Chatman, 1991; O'Reilly et al, 1991).

However, other researchers have emphasized the importance of social and personal constructions of reality, where individuals' attitudes and behaviors are based on their perceptions rather than some "objective" reality (e.g., Drory, 1993; Judge & Ferris, 1993; Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978; Schneider & Reichers, 1983; Weick, 1979; Wilpert, 1995). Thus, Pulakos and Wexley (1983) and Wexley, Mexander, Greenawalt, and Couch (1980) found that actual similarity between managers and subordinates less predictive of performance evaluations than perceived similarity. Extending this research to the context of interviewers' evaluations, it appears that interviewers' perceptions of applicants values may be more predictive of their P-O fit judgments than applicants' actual values (Ferris & Judge, 1991). Furthermore, decades of past research on the interview has indicated that interviewers generally are not adept at assessing applicants' personal characteristics (e.g., Wagner, 1949; Arvey & Campion, 1982). Thus, it is quite possible that large differences exist between applicants' reports of their own values and interviewers' perceptions of applicants' values, resulting in a divergence between actual and perceived values congruence. Based on this discussion, we test the relative effects of "actual" and "perceived" values congruence on interviewers' subjective P-O fit perceptions:
H1a: The congruence between interviewers' perceptions of their organization's values and applicants' perceptions of their own values positively affects interviewers' assessments of person-organization fit.

H1b: The congruence between interviewers' perceptions of their organization's values and their perceptions of applicants' values positively affects their assessments of person-organization fit.

Another extension of past research on the determinants of interviewers' P-O fit perceptions is the investigation of how applicants monitor and manage the impressions they offer to interviewers about themselves. Research indicates that targets of social perception are selective in the identity cues they display, avoiding cues that violate the self-image they are attempting to present (Jones, 1990; Swann, 1984). Because the interview inevitably raises individuals' awareness of being judged (Fletcher, 1989), and because there is a strong incentive on the part of applicants to manage interviewers' impressions of them (Ferris & Judge, 1991), applicants probably try to manage the perceived similarity between themselves and the recruiting organization (Ferris & Judge, 1991; Judge & Ferris, 1992).

However, people differ in the extent to which they can and do control their self-presentation, a construct termed self-monitoring (Synder & Gangestad, 1986). High self-monitoring individuals are responsive to social and interpersonal cues of situationally-appropriate performances and are expected to regulate their self-presentation. Individuals low in self-monitoring are thought to lack either the ability or the motivation to regulate their self-presentation. Thus, Caldwell and O'Reilly (1982) found that self-monitoring significantly predicted the extent to which decision-makers engaged in opportunistic behaviors, and Fandt and Ferris (1990) indicated that self-monitoring predicted the use of information manipulation. Thus, based on theory and research,

H2: Applicants' self-monitoring tendencies positively affect interviewers' assessments of P-O fit.

**Interviewer P-O Fit Assessments and Selection Decisions**

One of the most investigated phenomena in social psychology is that individuals and groups are more attracted to others perceived as similar to themselves than those viewed as dissimilar (e.g., Byrne, 1969; Tajfel & Turner, 1985). As discussed above, individuals are more attracted to others who "fit" because of improved communication, reduced cognitive dissonance, and increased predictability in social interactions (e.g., Festinger, 1954; Swann, 1984). In the context of organizational selection, decision makers should prefer job seekers who appear to fit with their organization's values and culture (e.g., Schneider, 1987). Interestingly, P-O fit-based hiring is supported by both selection researchers (e.g., Bowen et al., 1991; Ferris & Judge,
1991) and contingency management theorists (e.g., Govindarajan, 1989; Hambrick & Mason, 1984), who advise organizations to select employees based not only on their abilities but also their fit with the organization and the members composing it.

Although it appears plausible that interviewers' P-O fit assessments should affect organizations' selection decisions, little empirical research has examined this relationship. Interview research has suggested that outcomes of selection interviews are influenced by a number of variables, including applicants' human capital (e.g., Singer & Bruhns, 1991), physical attractiveness (e.g., Raza & Carpenter, 1987), and demographics (e.g., Hitt & Barn, 1989). Although theory suggests that P-O fit also should be an important consideration in selection decisions, little is known about the effect of P-O fit relative to these competing variables.

**Interviewer recommendation to hire.** Almost all organizations use the interview when selecting new employees and it is widely believed that interviewers' impressions of applicants are crucial determinants of organizations' selection decisions (e.g., Guion, 1976; Latham, Saari, Pursell, & Campion, 1980; McDaniel, Whetzel, Schmidt, & Maurer, 1994; Howell & Dipboye, 1982). Accordingly, it is important to examine the impact of P-O fit perceptions on interviewers' hiring recommendations. Although past P-O fit research has demonstrated that P-O fit is a separate construct from general employability (e.g., Adkins et al., 1994; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990), it has not been established that P-O fit affects interviewers' hiring recommendations. To assess the relative effect of P-O fit on interviewers' recommendations, it is critical to control for the competing applicant characteristics discussed above (e.g., human capital). Furthermore, research has suggested that applicants' physical attractiveness (Bretz et al., 1993) and interviewers' idiosyncratic liking of applicants (Judge & Ferris, 1992) may influence their evaluations. Thus, as shown in Figure 1, these variables are controlled when assessing the effects of P-O fit on interviewers' hiring recommendations.

**Organizations' selection decisions.** Although interviewers' hiring recommendations constitute an important variable in selection research, it is difficult to understand the importance of P-O fit in organizational selection decisions without examining actual job offers. To date, only Adkins et al. (1994) have examined interviewers' P-O fit evaluations in the context of actual selection decisions (send interview offers), finding that interviewers' P-O fit ratings had a positive but small effect on organizations' second interview invitations. These results suggest that interviewers' fit perceptions may not be as important as other applicant characteristics. As indicated by Adkins et al. (1994), however, it is important to continue investigation of P-O fit and interviewer evaluations on later selection outcomes such as job offer decisions. Based on this discussion, we hypothesize:
H3: Interviewers' perceptions of applicants' P-O fit positively affect their hiring recommendations.

H4: Interviewers' hiring recommendations positively affect organizations' selection decisions (e.g., job offers).

Method

Overview of Data Collection

To circumvent potential confounds of non-expert judges that have plagued other interview research (e.g., Barr & Hitt, 1986; Gorman, Clover, & Doherty, 1978), and to avoid the question of whether interviewers have the cognitive capacity to report their own decision making strategies (e.g., Nisbett & Wilson, 1977), this study examined interviewers making authentic applicant assessments and hiring recommendations. Also, to mitigate the effects of common-method variance, data were collected in three stages from multiple sources, which are described below.

Time 1. In 1994, 64 organizations recruited for positions through the career office in the industrial relations school of a large northeastern university. With the support of the career office, recruiters were contacted and asked to participate in the study before they arrived on campus. Confidentiality of recruiters' responses was assured. Forty-two recruiters from 35 organizations (55% response rate) completed surveys about their organizations (e.g., values). Available information on non-respondents were gathered, both in terms of recruiters (gender, university alumni status, position level in the organization, number of applicants interviewed) and organizations (net income, number of employees, earnings per share). No differences existed between respondents and non-respondents except that university alumni were slightly more likely to complete the surveys ($t=1.46; p=.15$). Thus, it appears that respondents did not differ from non-respondent recruiters, at least in terms of these variables.

Consistent with the methodology utilized by Bretz et al. (1993) and Adkins et al. (1994), interviewers were asked to evaluate at least one "successful" applicant and one "unsuccessful" applicant, but to complete surveys about as many applicants as time permitted. This method was used because interviewers seldom reported about negative applicants unless they were asked directly, limiting the variability of their responses. Although most interviewers completed two applicant surveys, the number completed ranged from one to six, leaving 102 surveys available for analysis. Post-hoc analyses revealed that the number of applicants rated by a recruiter shared no relationship with any judgment made about the applicant.

To extend the generalizability of the results beyond an industrial relations school, six organizations were approached in the recruiting office of the same university's engineering school. Three organizational recruiters completed surveys about 8 applicants (50% response rate).
rate). To assess whether P-O fit is less critical in hiring decisions made about technical (e.g., engineering) than for human resource management positions (e.g., Adkins et al., 1994), we created a dummy variable that represented the type of position (1 = engineering position), and also computed a variable representing the interaction between engineering positions and P-O fit assessments. We then predicted interviewers' hiring recommendations with their P-O fit assessments, their engineering status, and the interaction variable. Although the beta for the P-O fit variable was positive and significant ($p < .001$), neither the engineering variable nor the interaction term were significant, suggesting that P-O fit assessments were not more important to recruiters hiring for technical positions than to recruiters hiring for "people-oriented" positions. Furthermore, t-tests established that no variables examined in this study differed between engineering and non-engineering positions. Accordingly, all data were combined and used in the remaining analyses resulting in a sample of 110 for the interview-level analyses.

**Time 2.** After completing a semester-long recruiting cycle, the job seekers who had interviewed through the career office were asked to complete a survey that assessed their individual differences (e.g., values, demographics) and their success in obtaining second interviews and job offers from each organization that they interviewed with during that cycle. Confidentiality of individuals' responses was assured, and participation was voluntary. Ninety-four usable surveys were returned (75%). Available data on non-respondents (degree, gender, grade-point average, work experience) were collected from applicants' resumes, which were on file for recruiters in the career office. No significant differences were found on these variables between respondents and non-respondents. Respondents' resumes also were used confirm the grade-point averages and years of work experience that they reported on the survey. The correlation coefficients between applicants' reported grade-point averages and work experience and those recorded directly from their resumes were .95 and .96, respectively.

**Time 3.** Five to seven months after completing surveys about the applicants they interviewed, interviewers again were contacted and asked to complete a short survey that reassessed their organizations' values. Thirty-eight (90%) of the interviewers who responded to the initial surveys also completed this final survey.

**Measures**

**Organizations' values.** Two widely-used methods of measuring values idiographically are the Comparative Emphasis Scale (CES; Meglino, Ravlin, & Adkins, 1989) and the Organizational Culture Profile (OCP; O'Reilly et al., 1991). The OCP appeared best-suited for the present study because it was expressly developed and validated to assess P-O fit (O'Reilly et al., 1991), and was recommended specifically by Rynes and Gerhart (1990) to understand
how organizations use the interview as a means to establish P-O fit. As recommended by O’Reilly et al. (1991), interviewers reported their perceptions of their organizations’ values by sorting values into nine categories ranging from "most characteristic of my organization" to "least characteristic of my organization."

In the present study, the number of items in the original OCP was reduced from 54 to 40. A pilot study with organizational recruiters suggested that several of the items were too similar for the task of describing applicants (e.g., tolerant and adaptable) and that 54 items simply took too long to compare and place. To reduce the number of items, 10 organizational researchers were given the OCP and were asked to make the 54 values more manageable by grouping similar values together but retaining each value that was truly unique. Each respondent removed at least 15 items, and only the values that all respondents unanimously agreed were extremely similar were removed.

Because interviewers reported their organizations’ values at two different times (approximately six months apart), it was possible to assess the consistency of their perceptions. According to the approach recommended and used by Chatman (1991) and O’Reilly et al. (1991), the stability of interviewers’ perceptions of their organizations was assessed by calculating test-retest reliabilities. For the thirty-eight interviewers who responded to both culture assessments, the mean reliability was .61 (all p < .01). To assess the reliability of the most defining values of organizations, a second test-retest reliability was computed using only those values rated as 9, 8, 7 (very characteristic) and 1, 2, 3 (very uncharacteristic). The mean test-retest reliability was .87; not surprisingly, values seen as defining an organization were more stable than those "neither characteristic nor uncharacteristic" of an organization. Overall, these results indicate significant stability in recruiters perceptions of their organizations' values.

**Applicants' values.** The reduced OCP (described above) also was used to assess interviewers’ perceptions of applicants' values, and applicants’ perceptions of their own values. Following their interviews, recruiters sorted the values into nine categories ranging from "most characteristic" to "least characteristic" according to the question "To what degree is this a characteristic of the applicant I interviewed?" Applicants performed the same Q-sort according to the question "How characteristic is this attribute of me?"

**P-O fit assessments.** Interviewers reported their assessment of applicants' P-O fit according to the question "To what degree did this applicant match or fit your organization and the current employees in your organization" on a S-point graphic scale ranging from "1 = not at all" to "5 = completely." To verify and extend the measurement validity of the one-item P-O fit scale, we added an additional item when assessing interviewers' P-O fit perceptions in the Time
2 data collection (Do you think this applicant's values reflect your own organization's values and 'personality'?). The resulting reliability estimate for the two-item scale was .83. Furthermore, post-hoc analyses indicated that the single-item measure used for Time 1 data collection predicted work outcomes identically to the two-item measure.

**Recommendation to hire.** The variable representing interviewers' hiring recommendation comprised three items. Because interviewers' evaluations result in decisions about whether applicants receive further consideration for a job or are eliminated from the selection process (Adkins et al., 1994), second interview offers are a direct behavioral measure of interviewers' hiring recommendations of applicants. Second interview offers were measured during data collection Time 2, when applicants' reported which organizations offered them second interviews (coded 1 = yes, 0 = no). Responses to this item were combined with interviewers' reported likelihood that they would recommend that applicants be hired (ranging from 1 = very unlikely to 5 = very likely), and with interviewers' responses to the statement "Please give your overall evaluation of this candidate" (ranging from 1 = very negative to 5 = very positive). When subjected to a factor analysis, these three items resulted in a single factor that explained 87.1% of the variance, and the reliability of this 3-item scale was .93. Due to differences in scale formats between the items, responses were standardized before the scores were computed.

**Selection decision.** Organizations' hiring decisions were measured during Time 2, when applicants' reported which organizations offered them jobs. A dummy variable was coded "1" if the organization had extended an offer to the applicant and "0" otherwise.

**Self-monitoring.** Applicants' self-monitoring tendencies were assessed using Snyder and Gangestad's (1986) 18-item measure (e.g., "I may deceive people by being friendly when I really dislike them"). The measure has exhibited high reliabilities in past research, and in the present study the reliability estimate was .75.

**Physical Attractiveness.** Interviewers rated the physical attractiveness of applicants according to the question "Please rate the overall level of attractiveness of this applicant (appearance, dress, etc.)" on a five-point rating scale ranging from "1 = very unattractive" to "5 = very attractive."

**Profile Similarity Scores**

The hypotheses to be tested in the present study required the calculation and use of values congruence scores (e.g., H1a, H1b). Consistent with the method recommended and employed in past research (Chatman, 1989, 1991; O'Reilly et al., 1991), values congruence scores were calculated by correlating two values profiles (assessed with the OCP), and these
congruence scores then were used as independent variables. To reduce potential common-method variance concerns, these congruence scores were computed with data collected from different sources and/or times. Specifically, the scores representing "perceived values congruence" were based on interviewers' reports of applicants (assessed during Time 1 data collection) and interviewers' reports of their organizations (assessed during Time 3). The scores representing "actual values congruence" were based on interviewers' reports of their organizations (assessed during Time 3) and applicants' reports of their own values (assessed during Time 2).

The values congruence scores are profile similarity indices (PSIs) which possess inherent strengths (Bedeian et al., 1994; Pelham, 1993) and shortcomings (Edwards, 1993). One distinct advantage of profile similarity indices is that they allow for holistic comparisons across multiple value dimensions (Bern & Allen, 1974; O'Reilly et al., 1991), which is critical to hypotheses in the present study (e.g., theory does not assume that interviewers compare value dimensions sequentially). Because the potential problems with profile similarity indices include loss of data and lack of specificity, they generally imply that profile similarity indices provide conservative, unbiased estimates of true relationships (Bedeian et al., 1994; Edwards, 1993; Pelham, 1993).

Results

The means, standard deviations, and correlations among all variables appear in Table 1.
Table 1
Correlations Between Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>M</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1. Interviewer P-0 Fit Evaluation</td>
<td>3.19</td>
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<td>2. Interviewer Hiring Recommendation</td>
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<td>3. Organizational Hiring Decision</td>
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<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.65</td>
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<td>4. Interviewer Liking of Applicant</td>
<td>3.71</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.34</td>
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<td>0.20</td>
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<td>6. Applicant Self-Monitoring</td>
<td>10.32</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Perceived Values Congruence</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.67</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Actual Values Congruence</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Applicant Sex</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>-0.24</td>
<td>-0.29</td>
<td>-0.26</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.24</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Applicant Race</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>-0.31</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Applicant Work Experience</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-0.4</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Applicant GPA</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Covariance Structure Model

To test the theoretical model presented in Figure 1, we estimated a covariance structure model using LISREL (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1989). These models deal explicitly with measurement error, allow researchers to model entire systems of relationships (e.g., sequential dependent variables), and provide information about the overall fit of a theoretical model to a given set of data. Also, LISREL permits direct comparisons of alternative models, providing some information about the relative adequacy of the theoretical model. Figure 2 provides the maximum likelihood parameter estimates of the hypothesized model.

Figure 2
Structural Estimates of Hypothesized Model*

* Statistics are standardized path coefficients; standard errors in parentheses
**p<.01, one-tailed. *p<.05, one-tailed. *p<.10, one-tailed.
Interviewers' P-O Fit Evaluations

Perceived values congruence, or the congruence between interviewers' perceptions of applicants' values and their organization's values, was the largest and most significant predictor of interviewers' subjective fit evaluations, providing support for H1b. H2, that applicants' self-monitoring tendencies significantly predicted interviewers' perceptions of P-O fit, also was supported, although the effect was very small and marginally significant ($p < .10$). Consistent with past research, interviewers' idiosyncratic liking of applicants' (Adkins et al., 1994; Ferris & Judge, 1992) and applicants' physical attractiveness (Bretz et al., 1993; Rynes and Gerhart, 1990) positively and significantly affected interviewers' perceptions of applicants' P-O fit. Finally, applicants' grade-point averages positively and significantly predicted interviewers' fit perceptions, confirming Bretz et al. (1993).

Consistent with Adkins et al. (1994), H1a was not supported: "actual" values congruence was not predictive of interviewers' P-O fit perceptions. Thus, the congruence between interviewers' perceptions of their organization's values and applicants' perceptions of their own values had little effect on interviewers' subjective P-O fit evaluations. In fact, although the simple correlation between actual values congruence and P-O fit perceptions was positive ($r = .22$, $p = .02$), the beta weight of actual values congruence was negative when controlling for perceived values congruence.

Interviewers' Recommendations and Organizations' Hiring Decisions

Interviewers' assessments of applicants' P-O fit were the strongest predictors of their hiring recommendations (controlling for other relevant variables), providing support for H3. H4, that interviewers' hiring recommendations would positively affect organizations' final selection decisions, also was supported. Consistent with past research, applicants' who were personally liked by interviewers and who had more relevant work experience were evaluated significantly higher than less-liked applicants with less experience. Although applicants' race did not appear to affect interviewers' hiring recommendations, women were significantly more likely to be recommended for hire than men. Finally, applicants' attractiveness and grade-point averages had little direct effect on interviewers' hiring recommendations.

Theoretical Model Evaluation

Because most of the expected relationships in the theoretical model were supported, we should expect the model to fit well with the data. Table 2 depicts the fit statistics provided in the LISREL output, which indicate that the overall hypothesized model fit the data well. Although the fit indexes provided by LISREL allow a preliminary evaluation of a hypothesized model, researchers have recommended several additional procedures to evaluate structural equation
models (e.g., Hayduk, 1987; Medsker, Williams, and Holahan, 1994). Medsker et al. (1994) recommended examining the comparative fit index (CFI) which is a statistic that compares the fit of a hypothesized model with a null model in which no parameters are permitted to be estimated (also see Bentley, 1990). In the present study, the hypothesized model resulted in a CFI of .94, again indicating a good fit between the data and the hypothesized model (Medsker et al., 1994).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fit Statistics</th>
<th>Theoretical Model</th>
<th>Null Model</th>
<th>Alternative Model # 1</th>
<th>Alternative Model # 2</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall $R^2$</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>156.85</td>
<td>53.4</td>
<td>68.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\chi^2$/df</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td>5.81</td>
<td>4.45</td>
<td>3.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p-value</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodness-of-fit index</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted goodness-of-fit index</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonmed fit index</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative fit index</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative noncentrality index</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both Medsker et al. (1994) and Hayduk (1987) also recommended evaluating a theoretical model relative to plausible alternative models. In the present study, there appear to be two possibilities that should be tested. First, it appears possible that interviewers' P-O fit perceptions are not antecedents to but consequences of their hiring recommendations, such that interviewers rate applicants as having a good fit with their organization if they already have decided to recommend that they be hired. A second possibility is that recruiters' reports of applicants' values is a result rather than an antecedent of their P-O fit perceptions. Thus, it is
possible that interviewers manufactured applicants’ values profiles to look like their organization if they believed they “fit,” broadly speaking. In the present study, these alternative models clearly did not fit the data as well as the hypothesized model. As indicated in Table 2, the $\chi^2$ statistic increased considerably for both alternative models, less variance in the data was accounted for, and the CFI indicated substantially less fit between the alternative models and the data. Thus, it appears that the model proposed by past theory and research provided a better fit with the data than these alternative models.

One concern when using covariance structure analyses is sample size. Bentler (1985) suggested that a sample-size-to-parameter ratio of 5:1 is adequate to achieve reliable estimates. Since that ratio was 8:1 in the present study, we considered the sample size adequate for the analyses. Furthermore, the fitted residuals for the model were low and normally distributed ranging from -1.04 to 1.3.

A second potential concern when using covariance structure analyses in the present study is the dichotomous nature of job offer decisions. Because LISREL assumes endogenous variables are continuous, modeling organizations’ selection decisions with covariance structure analysis violates this assumption (Bollen, 1989). We performed a number of tests to assess the degree to which the results were affected in the LISREL analysis. First, we examined the skewness and kurtosis estimates of the job offer variable. Both estimates fell between -1 and 1, indicating that little distortion should have occurred in the estimation (Bollen; 1989; Muthen & Kaplan, 1985). Next, we estimated the LISREL model using generalized least squares, unweighted least squares, and maximum likelihood, each of which make different assumptions about the nature of the data (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1989). Almost identical results were generated by all three methods (e.g., average change in parameter estimates was .019 and no significance tests changed). Finally, we predicted selection decisions using logistic regression, an approach designed specifically to model dichotomous dependent variables (Greene, 1993), and again found parameter estimates nearly identical to the LISREL results. This series of tests suggested that the results are robust, and that violating the assumption of continuous variables had little effect on the analysis.

Discussion

Researchers have proposed that a critical function of the employment interview is the assessment of applicants’ values congruence with recruiting organizations (Bowen et al., 1991; Chatman; 1991; Judge & Ferris, 1992; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990). Experimental research has indicated that judges can assess individuals’ personal characteristics and organizational suitability (Jackson et al., 1982), and conversations with actual interviewers confirm that the
interview is believed to be a means of assessing applicants' values, personal interests, and congruence with organizations. However, little empirical field research has examined the determinants of interviewers' fit judgments, and no research has demonstrated that interviewers' P-O fit perceptions affect either their hiring recommendations or their organizations' selection decisions. Given the pervasiveness of the interview in selection systems (Arvey & Campion, 1982; Guion, 1976), the lack of answers to these basic questions is a substantial gap in the literature.

Results from this study suggest that interviewers base their P-O fit evaluations primarily on the congruence between their perceptions of applicants' values and their organizations' values. Furthermore, perceived values congruence had large and significant indirect effects on interviewers' hiring recommendations ($b = .42, p < .01$) and organizations' selection decisions ($b = .27, p < .01$). Thus, work values appear to be an important element in determining organizations' selection processes.

Results also indicated that interviewers' P-O fit perceptions were the deciding factor in their hiring recommendations even after controlling for the variables suggested by past theory and research on the interview (e.g., human capital, demographics). As suggested by past research, applicants' self-monitoring tendencies positively predicted interviewers' P-O fit perceptions, indicating that it may be possible for job seekers to manage fit perceptions (Ferris & Judge, 1991). Finally, other organizational members appeared to agree with interviewers' assessments of applicants, because organizations' job offers were based in large part on interviewers' hiring recommendations. In fact, applicants who were evaluated by interviewers to fit one standard deviation above the mean were 51% more likely to receive a job offer than applicants evaluated at the mean. This cumulative set of findings is consistent with past practitioner-oriented research on the topic (e.g., Bowen et al., 1991; Judge & Ferris, 1992) and with the selection component of Schneider's (1987) theoretical model.

Results from this study perhaps are made even more interesting by the finding that "actual" values congruence (computed with applicant-reported values) had little effect on interviewers' P-O fit perceptions. Furthermore, the correlation between applicants' actual and perceived values congruence was statistically significant but relatively small ($r = .24, p < .01$), implying that interviewers' inferences about applicants' values and P-O fit are often inaccurate, at least from applicants' perspectives. These results are consistent with past performance appraisal research indicating that perceived similarity is a more effective predictor of subordinate evaluations than actual similarity (e.g., Ferris & Judge, 1991; Pulakos & Wexley, 1983). Results from the present study also replicate Adkins et al.'s (1994) recent finding that
congruence between applicants' self-reported values and the values of organizations had little effect on interviewers' P-O fit perceptions. However, the present findings also help clarify and integrate conflicting results from past research (e.g., Adkins et al., 1994; Rynes et al., 1991): It appears that values congruence is important in interviewers' P-O fit perceptions, but it is interviewers' perceptions of congruence rather than actual congruence that are predictive of fit judgments. One explanation of this cumulative set of findings is that interviewers simply are not able to assess applicants' values during a campus interview, but still base their decisions on these perceptions because they believe that they can.

The possibility that interviewers may not be capable of making accurate values assessments is far from new. Since the earliest investigations of the interview, researchers have warned that interviewers are not effective in evaluating traits other than general intelligence (hayfield, 1964; Wagner, 1949). Manifold studies have demonstrated that rating errors (e.g., stereotyping, halo effects) impair interviewers' abilities to assess applicants' characteristics accurately (Arvey & Campion, 1982). Although recent investigations indicate that the interview has significant validity as a selection device (e.g., Harris, 1989; McDaniel et al., 1994), the continued popularity of the interview despite its widely-acknowledged problems also has been called the "interview illusion" and has been interpreted as evidence of the fundamental attribution error (Gilovich, 1991).

In the present study, we estimated interviewers' abilities to assess applicants' values by calculating the consistency between interviewers' evaluations of applicants' values and applicants' reports of their own values. The mean correlation coefficient across all interviewer-applicant dyads was .15 (SD=.23). Although this figure does not denote perfect accuracy, it is highly statistically significant (t = 5.98, p < .001), indicating that interviewers can assess applicants' values at rates well above chance.

Furthermore, a post-hoc analysis correlating interviewers' ability to assess applicants' values (e.g., the similarity between interviewers' reports and applicants' own self-reports) with the other variables in this study indicated that interviewers were more successful in assessing applicants' values when they personally liked the applicant (r = .31, p = .005), when they perceived that the applicant fit their organization (r = .25, p = .02), and when they were willing to recommend that the applicant be hired (r = .36, p = .001). In fact, for those cases above the midpoint of interviewers' willingness to hire, the mean consistency between recruiters' value assessments and applicants' self-reports was .23 (SD = .21). Although these results are exploratory and may suffer from potential analysis problems (e.g., Cronbach, 1955; Jones, 1990), they are consistent with person-perception research indicating that judges tend to assess
negatively-evaluated targets with less accuracy (Jones, 1990). Theoretically, judges' perceptual accuracy suffers because they avoid meaningful interaction with the target and are less attentive to the target's attempts to provide corrective feedback about potential misperceptions (Swarm, 1984).

**Limitations and Strengths**

This study has several potential limitations that should be acknowledged. To test the hypothesis that values congruence predicts interviewers' fit perceptions, interviewers reported applicants' values at the same time that they reported how well applicants fit their organization. Although theory suggests that interviewers' perceptions of applicants' values determine P-O fit perceptions, the data collection methodology in this study allows for the reverse interpretation (that interviewers first form a fit perception, then use this perception to complete the OCP such that applicants' values reflect their fit perception). However, the likelihood of the reverse-causation possibility is reduced by the fact that interviewers reported their organizations' values approximately six months after they reported applicants' values, and it appears unlikely that interviewers remembered how they rated 40 values for each applicant. Evidence for the causal interpretation assumed in this study also is derived from the indirect effects reported in the LISREL output: The indirect effect of perceived values congruence on job offers was strong and significant (b = .28, p < .001). Because selection outcomes temporally followed interviewers evaluations, and were independent of the data reported by interviewers, these results imply that the correct causal interpretation was made. Finally, a direct test of the alternative model indicated a worse fit with the data than the model derived from past theory and research, indicating that interviewers' perceptions of applicants' values affected their P-O fit evaluations.

It also should be noted that when examining "actual" values congruence this study examined applicants' self-reported values because each applicant probably knows his or her own values better than other sources, and because person-perception research has recommended validating perceivers' judgments against targets' self-evaluations (e.g., Funder & Colvin, 1988). However, it is possible that self-reported values represent applicants' desired values rather than the values that they actually exhibit in work settings. It would be interesting for future research to examine values congruence as represented by the relationship between interviewers' assessments and multiple peer reports of applicants' work values. Furthermore, it is possible that interviewers are more accurate in assessing those applicant characteristics that are most important to their specific organizations, and are most predictive of future work behaviors (e.g., Swann found between variables reported by both applicants and interviewers, potential concerns about common-method variance are reduced. Threats of priming and
common-method variance also are mitigated in the context of assessing interviewers’ fit perceptions because the calculation of values congruence was based primarily on data collected six months apart.

**Implications and Future Research**

The employment interview is one of the most researched topics in human resource management, and past theory and research has indicated many of the important determinants of interview outcomes (as evidenced in the present study by the large amount of variance accounted for in the theoretical model). However, surprisingly little interview research has focused on P-O fit (Judge & Ferris, 1992). In fact, P-O fit has not been considered in the context of the employment interview in any of nine comprehensive literature reviews of interview research (Harris, 1989). Results from this study appear particularly interesting in this respect because interviewers’ P-O fit perceptions were the most significant predictors of hiring recommendations, controlling for the determinants discussed in those same literature reviews. Furthermore, the effects of several variables suggested by past research as predictors of selection decisions (e.g., grade-point average, physical attractiveness) actually were moderated through interviewers’ P-O fit perceptions. These findings suggest that future research on the employment interview should examine P-O fit perceptions, and should investigate interviewers’ perceptions of applicants’ characteristics (in addition to applicants’ self-reports) since presumably this is what they and their organizations rely on for hiring decisions. It also appears particularly important for future research to examine the moderators of interviewers’ accuracy in assessing applicants’ values.

Although the “interview illusion” interpretation of the most popular selection technique fits the trend of results from past interview research, it has serious implications for theories of person-environment fit as they currently are interpreted. From the perspective of person-environment fit, and from the standpoint of similarity-attraction research in general (e.g., Byrne, 1969), actual congruence should affect the relationships between organizations and individuals regardless of whether it is perceived explicitly. If it is not congruence but perceived congruence affecting the composition of organizations, it is possible that a new interpretation of person-environment fit must allow for conditions when congruence and perceived congruence diverge (e.g., Ferris & Judge, 1991). Much past research has investigated the “fit” of relatively concrete attributes, such as demographics (Jackson et al., 1991; Kinicki & Lockwood, 1985; Tsui & O’Reilly, 1989). It is possible that when examining relatively subjective characteristics such as values, perceived and actual fit may be unaligned, and that perceived congruence is more
predictive of decisions and outcomes than actual congruence (Ferris & Judge, 1991; Pulakos & Wexley, 1983).

The construed-reality approach of perceived P-O fit also has implications for organizations. If interviewers rely on their fit perceptions when making hiring recommendations, and these perceptions are based primarily on misinterpreted values, the function of the interview as a means to assess and establish P-O fit is called into question. Although interviewers’ abilities to assess applicants’ values has not been the focus of most investigations of the interview (Paunonen, Jackson, & Oberman, 1987), data from the present study corroborate experimental findings that interviewers can evaluate applicants’ personal characteristics and make P-O fit judgments at above-chance levels (Jackson et al., 1982), especially when they are interested in hiring the applicant. Furthermore, it appears unlikely that any other selection method would permit any assessments of applicants’ values or fit with the organizational culture. Thus, results from this study may extend suggestions made by Mount, Barrick, and Strauss (1994), who demonstrated that observer ratings of employees’ personality traits predicted performance. Because at least some interviewers can assess applicants’ personal characteristics accurately, it may be possible to extend Mount et al.’s (1994) suggestions to the employment interview. However, it remains for future research to resolve whether the level of accuracy in values assessment permitted by the interview has positive utility after factoring in the financial costs and the social benefits of the employment interview (Gilliland, 1993; Rynes & Connerley, 1993).

In conclusion, a unique contribution of the employment interview over other selection methods may be the ability to provide information about applicants’ values, which are used to make person-organization fit assessments. Clearly, however, research is needed to establish how assessments of applicant characteristics may be improved. Organizations would benefit from knowing whether more accurate values assessments are obtained when campus interviewers spend more time with applicants than the typical 30-45 minutes, or when interviewers are trained to focus specifically on applicants’ values (perhaps completing personality evaluations immediately following each interview). Finally, interviewer reliability in assessing the P-O fit of applicants may be increased to the extent that multiple interviewers from the same organization confer and harmonize their perceptions of their organization’s values profile prior to interviewing (Chatman, 1989).
References


## Appendix 1

### The Reduced Set of Items Used on the OCP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adaptability</th>
<th>Decisiveness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stability</td>
<td>Being competitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being reflective</td>
<td>Being highly organized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being innovative</td>
<td>Achievement orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quick to take advantage of opportunities</td>
<td>A clear guiding philosophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking individual responsibility</td>
<td>Being results oriented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risk taking</td>
<td>High performance expectations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities for professional growth</td>
<td>Being aggressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy</td>
<td>High pay for good performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being rule oriented</td>
<td>Security of employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being analytical</td>
<td>Praise for good performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paying attention to detail</td>
<td>Being supportive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confronting conflict directly</td>
<td>Being calm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being team oriented</td>
<td>Developing friends at work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing information freely</td>
<td>Being socially responsible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being people oriented</td>
<td>Enthusiasm for the job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairness</td>
<td>Working long hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not being constrained by many rules</td>
<td>Having a good reputation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance</td>
<td>An emphasis on quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informality</td>
<td>Being distinctive</td>
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