A R T I C L E

A CONSOLIDATION OF COMPETING LOGICS ON SELECTING FOR FIT

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Fit plays a key role in organizational entry decisions. However, selecting staff based on their anticipated fit is vulnerable to bias, potentially leading to inequality, stratification, and polarization. First, we focus on person–organization fit and critically examine arguments for and against the hegemonic perspective that selecting for person-organization fit is an effective, responsible, and ethically appropriate approach. This is a controversial subject with bifurcated positions. On the one hand, there should be benefits for employers and employees, such as increased performance, productivity, motivation, and engagement. On the other hand, there are some potentially major downsides, such as subjective bias, reduced diversity, and fears that greater homogeneity will bring about organizational dysfunction. We reveal that two forms of fit, organizational fit and interpersonal fit, have been conflated, and recommend disaggregating them. Second, we critically examine person-job fit and demonstrate that it too has both positive and negative sides. We produce a consolidated version of these different elements of "selecting for fit" that integrates the various literatures and informs policy. We advance five practical recommendations to improve the use of fit in personnel selection that help to realize its inclusive promise and minimize its deleterious effects.

Organizations have been including assessments of applicants' fit in their personnel selection decisions for as long as we know. Determining whether prospective applicants' values match those of the organization and whether they will "get on" with existing employees have always been vital components of personnel selection. (Barrick & Parks-Leduc, 2019; Bowen, Ledford, & Nathan, 1991). Those advocating for it have pointed to the positive associations between organizational fit and job satisfaction, organizational tenure, organizational commitment, organizational citizenship behavior, learning, and performance, and to the desire of applicants to join organizations where they will not misfit (Chapman, Uggerslev, Carroll, Piasentin, & Jones, 2005; Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005; Yu, 2014). Such findings legitimize the dominant paradigm

that selecting for fit is a vital component of any effective personnel selection process.

However, this dominant managerial paradigm has received little critical attention, and this absence is an important omission because selecting for fit is a controversial practice that has been argued to reinforce existing privilege (Arthur, Bell, Villado, & Doverspike, 2006; Powell, 1998). Opponents of the paradigm see "fit" as synonymous to "cloning," and fear that the increased homogeneity of personalities and values in organizations through the cycle of attraction, selection, and the retention of people who fit will reduce diversity and lead to organizational stultification (Harrison, 2007; Schneider, 1987). In addition, there are concerns that selecting for fit perpetuates existing privileges and power structures (Amis, Mair, & Munir, 2020), and a worry that the practice is synonymous with employment discrimination and "modern racism" (Björklund, Bäckström, & Wolgast, 2012; Brief, Dietz, Cohen, Pugh, & Vaslow, 2000).

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Nevertheless, Rivera (2015) reported that no less than 80% of employers worldwide regard organizational fit as a top hiring priority. The assumption is that organizations set out to attract individuals who share the same values, attributes, or interests as those already in the work environment (Chatman, 1989; Schneider, 1987). Research has shown that organizational fit receives substantial weighting when hiring decision-makers evaluate job candidates (Sekiguchi & Huber, 2011), and that concerns about shared values and culture often outweigh concerns about functional capabilities and absolute productivity (Galperin, Hahl, Sterling, & Guo, 2020; Rivera, 2012). Organizational fit is not a concern exclusively reserved to employers-selection decisions made by job candidates are also influenced by fit-related matters (e.g., Chapman et al., 2005; Yu, 2014). Job candidates' recruitment experiences create certain expectations about the nature of the organization and the people employed by it. These are used by candidates to differentiate between employers and select themselves out of the recruitment process if required (e.g., Gully, Phillips, Castellano, Han, & Kim, 2013; Swider, Zimmerman, & Barrick, 2015). Through a structuration theory lens (Giddens, 1984), organizational fit is inherent to recruitment and selection contexts and seems to be very difficult, if not impossible, to drive out of the hiring process.

There is an apparent contradiction between organizational fit and diversity. Although fit is about integrating and embedding employees and giving them a sense of belonging, which aligns strongly with inclusivity and diversity agendas, when used in personnel selection to choose who should be recruited it is prone to subjectivity, bias, and the favoring of people similar to those already employed by the organization. It is this paradox that we focus on. How can the benefits of recruiting people who will fit with the organization, its values, strategies, and future-orientation, be done fairly and without disadvantaging those already disadvantaged?

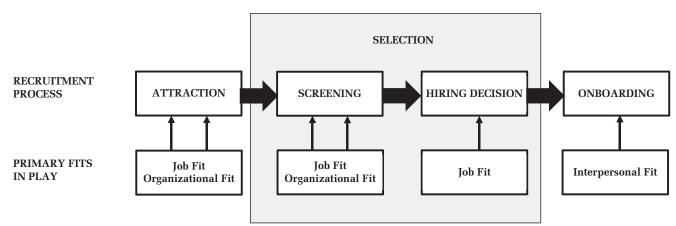
The assessment of applicants' organizational fit runs alongside the assessment of their knowledge, skills, and other abilities (KSAs), such as their motivation (Bowen et al., 1991), otherwise known as their person–job fit, or job fit or skill fit for short. The assessment of job fit is thought to be more objective than organizational fit because it directly links KSAs with performance on the job. Its assessment proceeds through a rational process. It involves job analysis to produce an understanding of the qualities required for high performance on the job that are translated into selection criteria against which applicants' KSAs are assessed (Robertson & Smith, 2001; Schmitt & Borman, 1992; Schmitt & Chan, 1998). Despite its analytic character, there are also concerns about the approach's distributive justice as it also reinforces existing privilege (Strah & Rupp, 2022). For example, those from privileged backgrounds who went to better schools and universities are likely to have gained better qualifications, helping them score higher in the various tests of their KSAs (Gaddis, 2015; Kennedy & Power, 2010; Noon, 2010; Persell & Cookson, 1985). Further, there are concerns about job fit assessment's impact on the future of the organization, as it focuses on the KSAs of today rather than those needed in the future (Voskuijl, 2017).

We bring critical analysis to these arguments and contribute to the discussion by counterposing, evaluating, and consolidating the arguments for and against selecting for fit. We begin by focusing on organizational fit and explain the key ideas and themes, before discussing arguments that have been advanced for the dominant managerial paradigm. We describe the landscape of personnel selection based on organizational fit before setting out the reasons why this approach to personnel selection might be thought to benefit employers and employees. The antithesis follows, in which we critically examine the societalideological concerns of opponents of the practice. In the consolidating synthesis, we integrate arguments for and against selecting for organizational fit and argue that scholars have generally conflated "organizational fit" with the notion of "interpersonal fit" and typically assessed interpersonal fit as a surrogate for organizational fit. Following this discussion of these two competing fit logics, we explore a third form of fit that is ever-present in personnel selection: job fit. We discuss the competing logics surrounding this approach. We conclude by developing a call to action that incorporates these three forms of fit in the different phases of organizational entry to enable strengths from all perspectives to be realized. Our solution is depicted in Figure 1. We begin by defining our key terms.

FIT, RECRUITMENT, AND PERSONNEL SELECTION: KEY DEFINITIONS

Person-environment fit is the study of the compatibility between people and the environments in which they work (Kristof-Brown & Billsberry, 2013). Its guiding principle is that human behavior is best predicted by the interplay of person and environment factors (Bowers, 1973; Kristof, 1996; Lewin, 1951). Although Schneider, Kristof, Goldstein, and Smith (1997)

FIGURE 1 The Fit Selection Process



discussed many ways in which the person and environment factors might interact, two distinct forms of interaction have come to the fore; supplementary and complementary forms of fit (Kristof, 1996; Kristof-Brown & Billsberry, 2013; Muchinsky & Monahan, 1987).

Supplementary fit refers to the similarity, sameness, or congruence between the person and environment factors. The underlying theory is the wellestablished idea that similarity leads to attraction, which is also known as the similarity-attraction hypothesis (Abbasi, Billsberry, & Todres, 2023; Byrne, 1961, 1971; Montoya & Horton, 2013) and this similarity leads to effects generally thought to be positive, such as attraction, satisfaction, and desire to remain in the environment.

Complementary fit conceptualizes the relationship between the two sets of variables differently. Rather than being about similarity, the underlying theory is need fulfillment (Greguras & Diefendorff, 2009). There are two different perspectives: the employee and the organization. From the employees' perspective, they have complementary fit if the organization supplies them with the things they need, which is termed needs-supplies fit (Boon & Biron, 2016; Kristof, 1996; Wiegand, Drasgow, & Rounds, 2021; Yu, 2016; Yu & Davis, 2016). From the organization's perspective, employees have complementary fit if they possess the abilities that the organization demands of them, which is known as demandsabilities fit (Kristof, 1996; Seong, Kristof-Brown, Park, Hong, & Shin, 2015; Yu, 2016). From the organizational recruiter's perspective, demands-abilities fit aligns with the assessment of applicants' KSAs as it relates to what applicants "bring to" the organization rather than what they hope to "take from" it (Lee, 2015).

In addition to the three primary forms of interaction between person and environment variables, there is additional elusiveness in the conceptualization of fit as a selection criterion due to variability in the way the environment variable is conceived. This variable has been most commonly represented by the organization, job, supervisor, group, team, people, and vocation aspects, although many more esoteric forms of fit have occasionally gained attention, such as working hours, job complexity, or the political orientation of the firm (Bermiss & McDonald, 2018; Edwards & Billsberry, 2010; Jansen & Kristof-Brown, 2006; Kaldenberg & Becker, 1992; Shaw & Gupta, 2004). Despite this variation in the ways on which person-environment fit can be conceptualized, two forms of fit, person-organization fit (hereafter referred to as organizational fit), and person-job fit (hereafter referred to as job fit), have been most commonly considered by researchers (Kristof-Brown et al., 2005), and practitioners such as managers and organizational recruiters (Bowen et al., 1991; Heneman, Judge, & Heneman, 2000; Rivera, 2012; Sekiguchi & Huber, 2011).

Further definitional elusiveness comes from the unit or currency of comparison (Harrison, 2007; Kristof-Brown & Billsberry, 2013), which is particularly problematic for organizational fit. The following are just some of the units or currencies of comparison used in academic studies of organizational fit: values, goals, needs, attitudes, reward contingencies, personality, cognitive style, and pace of work. To some, therefore, organizational fit can be all things to all people depending on one's interests (Harrison, 2007). This problem has been termed the "fit-on" question (Ostroff & Zhan, 2012), which reflects the taxonomic and construct validity challenges underlying organizational fit in a recruitment and selection context (Barrick & Parks-Leduc, 2019). As we will show later in the paper, in personnel selection settings, two forms of organizational fit are conflated within recruitment-related discussions of the construct: fit to the organization and fit to its employees. Determining the currency of these forms of organizational fit remains a challenge.

The same challenge is less acute with job fit because there is a well-established process for discovering the selection criteria to be used to assess applicants' KSAs. It begins with job analysis, whose purpose is to reveal the key criteria related to performance in the role. Applicants are then tested to evaluate their level of ability against each criterion (Robertson & Smith, 2001; Sackett & Lievens, 2008; Schmitt & Borman, 1992; Schmitt & Chan, 1998). Although challenges arise when applicants score differently across multiple criteria (Hough & Oswald, 2000), job analysis is an objective approach that allows organizational recruiters to justify their job fit decisions. In contrast, subjective fit refers to an internal assessment by a person of their perceived fit to an aspect of the organizational environment (e.g., job, organization, pace of work), or their internal assessment of another person's fit to an aspect of the organization. Such assessments rely more on human judgment (Viswesvaran & Ones, 2017), are thought to be more prone to bias compared to objective assessments (Rivera, 2012), and are less easy to justify with clear reasoning (Highhouse, 2008). However, as we shall demonstrate, subjective approaches dominate assessments of organizational fit in real-world personnel selection situations.

In everyday speech, the words recruit (vb.) recruitment (n.), select (vb.), and selection (n.) are often used interchangeably to talk about the appointment or onboarding of a new member of staff. In this paper, from hereon we use words relating to onboarding in particular ways to reflect phases of the process. We use "recruitment" generally to refer to the whole process of attracting applicants, assessing them, and choosing whom to hire, even though formal academic usage tends to reserve the word for the attraction phase (Breaugh, 2013; Philips & Gully, 2015). The word "attraction" is used to refer to the process of encouraging people to apply for the vacancy. "Selection" refers to processes of choosing between applicants. Classically, it has two phases (Noble, Foster, & Craig, 2021; Parkinson, 1957): the screening of applications and the assessment of a short-list of people deemed to be broadly suitable until a hiring decision is made, both of which can operate through multiple phases. We use the word "onboarding" to refer to the induction and socialization processes undertaken by hired applicants.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE INCLUSION OF ORGANIZATIONAL FIT IN PERSONNEL SELECTION

We turn first to organizational fit and its inclusion in personnel selection. The notion of organizational fit essentially builds upon Lewin's (1951) equation B = f(P, E), which proposes that people's behavior is dependent on the interplay of person and environment factors. The fundamental idea behind this equation is that people are differently suited to particular work environments, and that fit brings benefits to both the individual *and* the organization. This "mutual gains" perspective has been commonly cited as a strong justification for the inclusion of organizational fit assessments in the selection process.

Advantages to Employees

The shared assumption underlying all fit research is that when people fit their environments, positive outcomes flow that would not otherwise have occurred (Barrick & Parks-Leduc, 2019). Not surprisingly, studies have demonstrated that people care greatly about their fit, which is evidenced by the fact that individuals purposefully seek out environments in which they expect to find fit (Chapman et al., 2005; Judge & Cable, 1997; Yu, 2014), and, once in, seek to protect their fit over time (Follmer, Talbot, Kristof-Brown, Astrove, & Billsberry, 2018; Jansen & Shipp, 2019; Vogel, Rodell, & Lynch, 2016). Organizational fit is particularly important to individuals because it enriches their working lives and allows for optimal functioning in the workplace. That is, individuals who fit in feel that their working life has purpose and meaning and are more fulfilled by their work. This is reflected in their greater happiness at work, higher interpersonal connectedness in the workplace, feelings of competence and belongingness, and higher productivity (e.g., Greguras & Diefendorff, 2009), which provides fertile ground for self-actualization, personal growth, and development (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Moreover, organizational fit has been found to have important implications for individuals' subjective and objective career success, such as their job satisfaction, salary level, and

career progression (Bretz & Judge, 1994; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005).

In contrast, the absence of organizational fit elicits stress and discomfort, which is evidenced by symptoms such as alienation, anxiety, depersonalization, emotional exhaustion, cynicism, and uncertainty (Billsberry, Hollyoak, & Talbot, 2023; Deng, Wu, Leung, & Guan, 2016; Follmer et al., 2018; Lamiani, Dordoni, & Argentero, 2017). Not fitting in, therefore, is a psychologically taxing and destructive condition that leads individuals to reduce performance (Deng et al., 2016; Vleugels, Tierens, Billsberry, Verbruggen, & De Cooman, 2019) and withdraw from the work environment (Schneider, 1987).

Despite the advantages associated with organizational fit, applicants are limited in the ways they can operationalize organizational fit during personnel selection due to the considerable power imbalance that typically exists between applicants and recruiters during these phases (Herriot, 2002). In most episodes of organizational entry, recruiters hold the power-they "own" the vacancy, the decision of whom to appoint, and how that decision will be made. Applicants, especially external ones, grasp for information about the largely unknown new environment and ultimately only have one way of exerting power: to decline, or threaten to decline, any job offer (Billsberry, 2007; Keller, 2018). Hence, personnel selection is typically an asymmetrical managerial process in which applicants are placed in a submissive role with limited influence over issues of organizational fit.

Advantages to Organizations

Just like employees, organizations also benefit from selecting people who have organizational fit. The main reason why companies strive for organizational fit is that employees who fit are better adjusted to their work environments, which is believed to contribute directly to bottom-line performance (Bowen et al., 1991; Rivera, 2012). Indeed, (future) work performance is the most widely used criterion in employment decision-making in general and personnel selection in particular (Arthur et al., 2006; Barrick & Parks-Leduc, 2019). In addition, scholars (e.g., Edwards & Shipp, 2007) have emphasized that employees who comply with the values and goals of the organization are better organizational citizens.

This positive link between organizational fit and in-role and extra-role performance can be explained in two ways. First, organizational fit is thought to enhance communication, increase predictability, promote interpersonal attraction, and create trust (Edwards & Cable, 2009). Second, organizational fit indirectly contributes to performance outcomes by fostering important work attitudes, such as job satisfaction, organizational commitment, intrinsic work motivation, and work meaningfulness (Greguras & Diefendorff, 2009; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005). In turn, these positive experiences are believed to contribute to an increase in prosocial behavior and work performance, and a decrease in withdrawal behavior such as turnover (Arthur et al., 2006; Edwards & Shipp, 2007; Hofmans & Judge, 2019). Thus, not selecting for organizational fit could be costly to organizations because it might disrupt firm productivity, increase attrition, and nullify the outcomes of expensive recruitment investments. Selecting for organizational fit is a managerial perspective driven by assumed bottom-line benefit.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE INCLUSION OF ORGANIZATIONAL FIT IN PERSONNEL SELECTION

Despite the purported benefits of organizational fit to applicants and organizations, the assessment of applicants' organizational fit has remained quite controversial. There are powerful counterarguments based on worries about disadvantages for individuals centering on "inequality" (Amis et al., 2020: 198), "cloning" (Kwan & Walker, 2009: 60), and "discriminatory judgments" (Bye, Horverak, Sandal, Sam, & van de Vijver, 2014: 19), and disadvantages for organizations based on inertia, "dry rot" (Schneider, 1987: 444), stakeholder distance, and perpetuating structural inequalities.

Disadvantages to Individuals

Since the emergence of organizational fit, critics of the approach have raised concerns about its nature and likely impact during personnel selection. Scholars have long worried that selecting for organizational fit would simply result in further disadvantage for those who are underrepresented in the workplace (e.g., Björklund et al., 2012; Petersen & Dietz, 2005; Rivera, 2015). As White middle-class men occupy the majority of middle- and senior-ranking jobs in most organizations in Australia, Europe, and North America, one concern is that these people will appoint people like themselves in the name of organizational fit. For instance, Brief et al. (2000) showed how prejudice disguised as social fit predicted racial discrimination against minorities in hiring situations when legitimate authority figures (i.e., supervisors or managers) provided a business-related justification for such discrimination. Similarly, Petersen and Dietz (2008) showed that an organizational authority's demographic preference could facilitate employee discrimination, especially among more committed employees.

Parallel concerns relate to the manner in which organizational fit may reinforce the organization's informal culture, commonly regarded as one of the most elusive sources of gender bias and bias against underrepresented groups (e.g., Carrasco, Francoeur, Labelle, Laffarga, & Ruiz-Barbadillo, 2015; Cox, 1991). The informal culture refers to the attitudes, beliefs, and norms cultivated within an organization, and is a function of the personalities, demographic characteristics, and socioeconomic background of prototypical organizational members, especially line managers and CEOs (Hambrick, 2007; O'Reilly, Caldwell, Chatman, & Doerr, 2014). Typically, subjective impressions about whether the candidate will fit this informal culture can guide the selection process, which opens the door for factors not directly related to performance, such as gender, ethnicity, age, and sociodemographic background, to enter the selection process. For instance, Björklund et al. (2012) showed how norm descriptions and an emphasis on cohesion causes a shift in selection criteria such that applicants from underrepresented social groups are excluded. In an experimental setting, Petersen and Dietz (2005) found that participants who are asked to make decisions to maintain a homogeneous workforce selected fewer foreign applicants compared to participants who did not receive this advice. Such practices cause candidates from privileged backgrounds to rise to the top of the applicant pool (Amis et al., 2020). In personnel selection terms, this adverse impact leads to negative differences in personnel selection outcomes for legally protected groups. Despite the fact that restricting job opportunities based on gender, age, race, and religion has become illegal in many countries, personnel selection based on organizational fit is common and continues to perpetuate discriminate against people who are "not like us" (Rivera, 2015). Rather than invoking organizational fit as a reason to hire someone, it seems far more common to use it as an amorphous reason not to hire someone.

Disadvantages to Organizations

Although organizations want to recruit people who will fit in (Barrick & Parks-Leduc, 2019), a major concern is that high levels of organizational fit will eventually become dysfunctional to the functioning of the organization itself. This argument is encapsulated in Schneider's (1987: 445–446) foundational paper on fit, in which he posited that through a self-sustaining process of attraction, selection, and attrition, high levels of organizational fit would lead to organizational cloning and the recruitment of the "right types" who would cause the organization

to occupy an increasingly narrow ecological niche. When this happens, the organization can fail—its people, structures and processes may become so appropriate for a particular segment of the environment that, when the environment changes, the kinds of people, processes, and structures are no longer viable. Organizations may then experience what Argyris (1976) calls dry rot.

In line with Schneider's (1987) prediction, various scholars (e.g., Giberson, Resick, & Dickson, 2005; Jordan, Herriot, & Chalmers, 1991; Oh, Han, Holtz, Kim, & Kim, 2018; Satterwhite, Fleenor, Braddy, Feldman, & Hoopes, 2009; Schneider, Smith, Taylor, & Fleenor, 1998) have demonstrated that, over time, through this process of attraction, selection, and attrition of people who do not fit, organizations become increasingly homogeneous in terms of the people they contain. In turn, this effect has been argued to produce the aforementioned dry rot: organizations increasingly lacking the diversity in perspectives and practices needed to sustain innovation and creativity and as a result become resistant to adaptation and change (Harrison, 2007).

A related concern for organizations-and one that echoes the concerns of individuals mentioned above-is a structuration problem that selecting staff based on their projected organizational fit perpetuates existing privilege structures and glass ceilings. Organizations are under increasing pressure from many diverse stakeholders (e.g., government, trade unions, shareholders, customers, employees, and pressure groups) to reflect the diversity of the communities within which they operate. Overly homogeneous organizations with an unhealthy and exclusionary lack of diversity may suffer from complacency, groupthink, and management overconfidence, which, as we have seen with the banking crisis (Sternberg, 2013), leads to a reinforcement of privilege, immorality, and opportunity structures within organizations (Greve, Palmer, & Pozner, 2010), eventually threatening their survival. Indeed, such ingrained groupthink has been blamed for the Arthur Andersen, Enron, and WorldCom scandals (O'Connor, 2003; Scharff, 2005). In all of these circumstances, it was people with the same mindset, their selfcensorship, and the pressure to conform that led to unwise decision-making causing corporate demise.

THE CONFLATION OF ORGANIZATIONAL AND INTERPERSONAL FIT IN PERSONNEL SELECTION

In situations where there is heated argument between two opposing groups with entrenched and dichotomized positions, the problem needs to be reframed so that new thinking can be found that frees the discussion from the stultifying positions of before (Birnik & Billsberry, 2007). Standing back from the detail, there seems to be a major confound at the center of discussions about selecting for fit: Namely, such discussions are definitionally unclear and conflate two different forms of person–organization fit: "organizational fit" (i.e., fit to the organization and its values, goals, structure, processes, strategy, culture) and "interpersonal fit" (i.e., fit to employee prototypes based on personality, demographics, and other background characteristics).

This conflation results from two important decision-making challenges recruiters face when integrating organizational fit considerations into personnel selection systems (see Barrick & Parks-Leduc, 2019). The first challenge relates to the definition of the environmental domain; the fit-to question (Ostroff & Zhan, 2012). How best should "the organization" side of the person-organization fit interaction be defined? In its most traditional form, organizational fit has been defined as the fit between the individual employee and the defining cultural features of the organization (e.g., Chatman, 1989). The theoretical underpinning for this perspective is based on the reciprocal fulfillment of a restricted set of deep-level characteristics, such as values, needs, and work goals (Barrick & Parks-Leduc, 2019; Kristof, 1996). Here, the organization is positioned as an organization-level construct and organizational fit is located in interactionist theories of the person and the environment (Edwards, 2008; Kristof, 1996). However, in practice, as we have illustrated, it often seems as if recruiters tend to narrow the organization to a few key individuals who exemplify what they consider to be "prototypical fit" (e.g., Björklund et al., 2012; Kwan & Walker, 2009; Petersen & Dietz, 2005; Rivera, 2012). When this happens, the organization is being defined as an individual-level construct rooted in social psychology, where concerns about surface-level homogeneity based on similarity attraction (Byrne, 1961), social categorization (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and self-verification (Swann, Polzer, Seyle, & Ko, 2004) prevail instead.

Second, recruiters face another, far more fundamental challenge on a taxonomic level (Barrick & Parks-Leduc, 2019); Ostroff and Zhan (2012) call this the fit-on question. Here, recruiters must determine which content dimensions to include when assessing organizational fit. Original theorizing on organizational fit has argued that such criteria should represent fundamental organizational features (e.g., values, goals) related to the culture or mission of the organization (Chatman, 1989; Kristof, 1996). When assessing such dimensions, organizational fit is about whether the applicant shares or supports the aims, methods, and values of the organization. However, what seems to happen instead is that recruiters default to seeking fit on interpersonal or social dimensions, including personality, demographic background characteristics, and lifestyle markers (e.g., Herriot, 2002; Rivera, 2012; Rynes & Gerhart, 1990; Van Hoye & Turban, 2015). When this happens, organizational fit morphs into an interpersonal type of fit concerned with similarity, group cohesiveness, and whether applicants will "get along" with other employees (Rivera, 2015).

Two conclusions flow from this discussion: First. the environmental domain in organizational fit relates to the organization itself, rather than the people it employs. Second, organizational fit ideally exists on a restricted set of dimensions that are directly related to the key defining features of the organization. All too often, employers slip into hiring practices that center on interpersonal fit rather than organizational fit, and base selection decisions on irrelevant demographic characteristics and lifestyle markers rather than appropriate organizational features. The likely outcomes of such practices are discriminatory and arbitrary selection procedures that (a) suppress the amount of interpersonal diversity in organizations and (b) lead to less inclusive work environments, which is exactly what contributes to the dry rot discussed earlier. Our point is not that this proves that selecting for organizational fit is wrong; what matters is the way it is done.

SELECTING FOR ORGANIZATIONAL FIT: A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

Despite these opposing perspectives on whether organizational fit should be considered a key criterion during the recruitment and selection process, a more pertinent question is: Are organizational selectors capable of making accurate assessments of organizational fit in the first place, given that many of them heavily rely on unstructured and intuitionbased approaches to employee selection (Barrick & Parks-Leduc, 2019; Herriot, 2002; Highhouse, 2008; Van der Zee, Bakker, & Bakker, 2002)? While the interview has remained the vehicle through which assessments of organizational fit are most commonly made (Barrick & Parks-Leduc, 2019; Judge, Higgins, & Cable, 2000; Nolan, Langhammer, & Salter, 2016), its effectiveness has long been questioned as it is known to produce biases, particularly unintended similar-to-me bias (also termed affinity bias; Björklund et al. 2012; Herriot, 2002; Rivera, 2012). In addition, applicants can easily fool recruiters during the interview process by influencing their assessments of organizational fit and subsequent hiring recommendations (e.g., Higgins & Judge, 2004; Kristof-Brown, Barrick, & Franke, 2002). For such reasons, nonstandardized assessment methods such as the interview have been found to severely compromise the reliability and predictive validity of organizational fit-based selection systems (Barrick & Parks-Leduc, 2019).

A related issue centers on the apparent confusion about the meaning of organizational fit exposing the hiring process to stereotypical and prototypical beliefs of decision-makers. The implicit concern is that the assessment of fit in organizational entry settings is based on "horse sense" (Highhouse, 2008: 335) and the idiosyncrasies of recruiters, resulting in highly subjective and arbitrary fit assessments. Rynes and Gerhart (1990: 15), for example, noted that a "cursory review of the traits commonly associated with fit, chemistry, or right types reveals such attributes as political orientation, hobbies, personality traits, attire, physical characteristics, use of leisure time, and even eating habits." Likewise, Rivera (2012) witnessed how employers applied heuristics or "rules of thumb" to select candidates who were similar to themselves in terms of leisure pursuits, experiences, and other lifestyle markers, resulting in a hiring approach "more closely resembling the choice of friends or romantic partners than employers selecting new workers" (Rivera, 2012: 1018). Although research has suggested that it is common for individuals to evaluate fit based on heuristic reasoning (e.g., Vleugels, De Cooman, Verbruggen, & Solinger, 2018), its use in personnel selection is impractical and has severe weaknesses (Amis et al., 2020). While the use of heuristics helps recruiters manage the complexity of individual differences in decision-making, they do so at the cost of precision by directing attention to stereotyped notions of "prototypical fits"-people whom they believe will fit the organization very well. This approach, however, constrains individuality and denies the fact that people can fit in different ways without compromising the core values or defining characteristics of the organization. Clearly, prototyping

too easily misdirects discussions about fit away from compatibility or congruence and toward similarity or cloning. While this approach might help to reduce the complexity of the selection process, it has the effect of making everyone a misfit for arbitrary reasons.

THE THIRD FIT IN PLAY DURING PERSONNEL SELECTION: JOB FIT

In addition to assessing applicants for their potential fit to the organization and the people in it, personnel selectors assess applicants' KSAs related to the job. The fit language for this type of assessment is person–job fit (Caldwell & O'Reilly, 1990; Chuang & Sackett, 2005; Kristof-Brown, Jansen, & Colbert, 2002; Sekiguchi, 2007; Stich, 2021). Although assessing applicants' KSAs is a natural and crucial element of any personnel selection process, like organizational fit it is not without its practical and diversity concerns.

On the practical side, there are concerns regarding job fit's retrospective orientation. To fill vacancies that already exist (as opposed to newly created roles), the process begins with a job analysis aimed at discovering the KSAs related to performance in the role (Siddique, 2004). Hence, it is the KSAs that have worked in the past that become the selection criteria for the future. This is problematic given that we are currently living and working in a time of great unpredictability, extraordinary change, and reinvention of work (Robertson & Smith, 2001; Singh, 2008; Voskuijl, 2017; Yeung & Ulrich, 2019) caused by factors such as transformative developments in information technology, upheavals in the global economy, pandemics, war, increasing political extremism, the rise of the gig economy, and the increased precarity of work. Such a retrospective approach might be suitable for stable bureaucratic organizations (Voskuijl, 2017), but is less appropriate for other types of organization. Instead, analysis that is current and futurefocused has been advanced as a strategic alternative (Singh, 2008). To make this work, Singh (2008) argued that an analysis of the job should be supplemented by an analysis of what might be required in the future. In addition, in her review of job analysis, Voskuijl (2017) concluded that it needs to move away from task-based assessments and include criteria related to achieving the future-oriented needs and goals of the organization, including the relevant and essential personality (e.g., intelligence and openness to innovation) and value (e.g., embracing the organization's goals, mission, and ways of working) attributes.

One challenge with an approach that includes both job and organizational analysis is the likely proliferation of selection criteria creating a complex interplay between the different and often contradictory indicators (Robertson & Smith, 2001). Whereas the analysis of current jobs, whether it be in terms of the tasks, the worker, or the competencies, can often be validated against in-role performance, futureoriented and organizational criteria are more difficult to validate. Schneider and Konz (1989) recommended the use of subject matter experts, but this entails many problems, such as subjectivity, bounded rationality, and guesswork, as the authors noted. Until concerns relating to predicting the future and determining what qualities are needed to align with the organization are resolved, it seems sensible to limit criteria in these areas to those that are essential to effective functioning in the role.

Strah and Rupp (2022) focused attention toward the manner in which job analyses are performed. Their concern was that despite the claims that job analysis is "accurate, fair, and legally appropriate" (Strah & Rupp, 2022: 1031), it assumes that the way a job is imagined is relevant to everyone and fails to appreciate alternative ways of performing in the role. In particular, the authors cited concerns that there will often be (likely unintended) bias and subjectivity in the manner in which the job is analyzed that fails to appreciate how people from different demographic groups might experience it.

The job fit approach to personnel selection presents further diversity concerns. There are several sides to this problem. First, by focusing on the characteristics or competencies of people in the role and their performance, it embeds those qualities and the people who have them in the organization. Given the gender, race, age, disability, and other forms of disadvantage that have historically been seen in many organizations, assessing the qualities required to do the job based on the way it is being done now or has been done in the past potentially entrenches such inequities. Second, by assessing people's KSAs and selecting the person who scores highest, it privileges the privileged. The people who have had the opportunity to access education and work to develop the KSAs are, naturally, the applicants most likely to succeed on the various tests (Amis et al., 2020; Gaddis, 2015; Kennedy & Power, 2010; Noon, 2010; Persell & Cookson, 1985). Such concerns about the diversity outcomes of job fit approaches to personnel selection based on analyses of performance in the role are difficult to dislodge due to (challengeable) appeals to meritocracy, the need to recruit the "best"

candidate, and concerns that positive discrimination simply disadvantages others (Noon, 2010). In response, we advocate the inclusion of future-oriented and organizational criteria in the process, alongside job fit criteria, so that the selection criteria can be flexed to address diversity and change-oriented concerns.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS WHEN SELECTING FOR FIT

Attraction and selection have always been interdependent, two-way processes through which employees and applicants seek to establish a social bond with one another while trying to learn as much as they can about their potential fit (Philips & Gully, 2015; Schneider, 1987). As Herriot (2002) noted, personnel selection is not just about clearing hurdles, it is part of the socialization process. Nonetheless, there seems to be an inherent tension between satisfying personal needs for belongingness and maintaining fairness and objectivity in the selection process itself (Amis et al., 2020). The main question here is: How can we organize personnel selection in such a way that it does not discriminate unfairly, while bringing benefits to the various parties? Our answer to this question is set out in Table 1, which shows how fitbased assessments might be included during the stages of attraction, selection, and onboarding.

At the heart of the proposed approach is an acknowledgment that whereas assessing for job fit is a natural part of almost all selection processes, assessing for organizational and interpersonal forms of fit is much more controversial and problematic. At present, there is no objective and reliable way to assess interpersonal fit in the artificial and impressionmanaged environs of personnel selection, and for this reason we recommend removing it from personnel selection and instead making it the primary concern of onboarding (see section titled "Recommendation 5"). This disaggregation seems an important step for discriminatory reasons as it makes it clearer what elements of selecting for organizational fit are achievable and which are not, and it helps to remove much of the subjectivity and bias associated with interpersonal fit.

We now advance five recommendations for recruitment and selection practice that seek to maximize the benefits of selecting for fit while minimizing the downside risks and negative effects.

Recommendation 1: Organizations must both specify and restrict the organizational fit attributes upon which they wish to recruit. Personnel selection should be a rational process that assesses

	A 441-0	Selection	u	Turn lormont
	Auracuon Recruitment	Screening	Hiring Decisions	Employment Onboarding
Domain ("fit to")	Job fit Organizational fit	Job fit Oreconizational fit	Job fit	Interpersonal fit
Dimension ("fit on")	Organizational in Job fit: Job knowledge, skills, and other abilities (KSAs) related to performance Organization fit: key feature(s) of the organization related to	KSAs key feature(s) of organization	Job demands and functional requirements	Key determining feature(s) of organization
Intended outcomes	performance Attract a diverse pool of job candidates who (a) have the required KSAs and (b) hold deep-level attributes that match with the key features	Select a diverse pool of applicants who (a) meet skill requirements and (b) hold deep-level attributes that match with the key features of the organization	Select the applicant with the strongest set of job fit KSAs	Increase socialization and reduce attrition by cultivating an inclusive sense of belonging
Strategy	Establish demonstrable link between key organizational feature(s) and performance \downarrow Provide accurate information about key defining organizational features(s) \downarrow Manage the dissemination of information in a manner to build trust	Identify job fit and organization fit selection criteria through competency-based job analysis \downarrow Screen-in those holding (a) required KSAs and (b) personal attributes (e.g., values, personality) based on objective correspondence between person and organization using standardized assessment methods and validated	Objective assessment of screened applicants against job fit KSAs	Unite employees around selective set of key values or work goals that are central to functioning of the organization \downarrow Create inclusive work environment by addressing difficulties in communication, different cultural norms, social undermining, and negative social categorization
Assessment (examples)	Prescreening blanks Virtual tours Realistic job and organization previews	instruments Application blanks Objective assessment of prospective organizational fit through supplementary assessment of person and	Structured interview (e.g., case-based business questions) Situational judgment tests Analogous tests	"Soft" indicators (e.g., citizenship behavior, trust, quality of communication)
Common mistakes	Inability to communicate the criteria for which the organization is searching Releasing information about job and organizational fit that is not trusted	Subjective assessments of organizational fit Recruiters seek fit on surface-level attributes such as demographic criteria or individual lifestyle markers	Organizational fit carries more weight compared to job fit Focus on interpersonal similarity and cohesion rather than productivity and nerformance	Pressure toward norm-based stereotypes drives diversity out of organization Absence of strong diversity management and inclusion policies triggers friction among employee workforce

applicants against predetermined and justified selection criteria (Robertson & Smith, 2001; Sackett & Lievens, 2008; Schmitt & Borman, 1992; Schmitt & Chan, 1998). This is just as important for organizational fit as it is for job fit (Barrick & Parks-Leduc, 2019). The challenge for organizations is to articulate clearly and precisely which values, behaviors, or processes are crucial to the firm's success, and whether fit on these attributes should be incorporated into attraction processes and screening decisions. Barrick and Parks-Leduc (2019: 183) argued that this process needs to begin with a validation study "to ensure that the construct is related to performance in their organization." Such an assessment must be considered on a case-by-case basis, as organizational fit is only relevant insofar as the attributes on which matches are sought can be proven to be fundamental and contributory to the organization's competitive advantage (Bowen et al., 1991). For example, in neonormative organizations, it might be argued that applicants would need to demonstrate that they embrace the diversity and inclusion agenda that are core and defining elements of such places (Fleming and Sturdy, 2009, 2011; Husted, 2021; Müller, 2017). Applicants who do not accept such values are unlikely to be successful employees, but that should be demonstrated by a validation study.

Acceptance or alignment with the aspects of the organization that are identified to be crucial to performing in the organization must be deeply ingrained within the individual and not something that can be acquired-if they can be acquired then they just become a training need for an otherwise acceptable candidate. To address discrimination concerns based on favoring "right types," it is important that the assessment of individuals against these criteria is absolute: If applicants can work, perform, and thrive in the organization without these specific attributes, the criteria lose their value as bases for selection. Once these fundamental features have been established, organizational recruiters need to communicate a clear and consistent idea of what the organization's culture is (and is not) to potential employees, so that potential recruits understand with which features of the organization they must match to be effective (Barrick & Parks-Leduc, 2019).

Recommendation 2: During the attraction phase, organizations should provide clear and accurate information about the KSAs required to do the job and the qualities needed to fit the organization. During the attraction phase, the decision-maker is the potential applicant who must choose whether to apply for the position. When this person comes from outside the organization, they typically know very little about the recruiting organization and will be very keen to discover what working there will be like (Billsberry, 2007; Chatman, 1989; Herriot, 2002). Organizations can use this inquisitiveness to help applicants determine whether they will fit the job and the organization, thereby helping to create an informed applicant pool of people who are likely to have determined that the job and the organization will not be a misfit for them. Various meta-analyses (Chapman et al., 2005; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005) have supported the notion that organizational fit is a strong predictor of organizational attractiveness and job pursuit intentions. Applicants might be furnished with the selection criteria (job fit and organizational fit), be given virtual tours of the organization, have the opportunity to complete online questionnaires to assess their KSAs and organizational fit, or be offered other forms of realistic job and organization previews.

Although this recommendation might seem quite straightforward and sensible, it is hampered by the use of impression management by both sides (Clark, Barney, & Reddington, 2016; Langer, König, & Scheuss, 2019). Applicants might choose to emphasize parts of their résumé, hide some of the weaker elements, and try to be on their best behavior, whereas recruiters will emphasize the better parts of the job and the organization, mask some of the less attractive parts, and also be on their best behavior (Langer et al., 2019). Unfortunately, the use of impression management by both parties makes both sides aware of the insincere and artificial nature of the encounter and therefore less likely to trust each other (Searle & Billsberry, 2011). Hence, providing believable, realistic previews of the job and organization is more complex than simply supplying information; the organization needs to create an environment in which potential applicants will trust the information.

Recommendation 3: Screening decisions should be based on job fit and organizational fit. Screening is the process of reducing a large number of applicants to a more manageable shortlist for more intensive testing (Heneman, Judge, & Kammeyer-Mueller, 2012; Kim & Ployhart, 2017). Screening typically involves much less human interaction between applicants and selectors than during the testing of those shortlisted. Instead, it is a more administrative function with selectors knowing relatively little about the applicants. Although the design and layout of résumés can influence selectors' decision-making (Arnulf, Tegner, & Larssen, 2010) and the names of applicants can introduce racial and gender bias (e.g., Beattie, Cohen, & McGuire, 2013; Esmail & Everington, 1993; Foley & Williamson, 2018; Kang, DeCelles, Tilcsik, & Jun, 2016), it tends to be an objective and impersonal process that is less prone to bias compared to face-to-face assessments or when selectors have met the applicants (Bendick & Nunes, 2012; Harris, 2000). It is a process that is becoming increasingly computerized, and screening decisions are based on a comparison of the applicants' characteristics against the selection criteria (Ryan et al., 2015; Woods, Ahmed, Nikolaou, Costa, & Anderson, 2020). The use of computerized rating seems to reduce disadvantage to protected groups in personnel selection settings by removing implicit and explicit human biases (Campion, Campion, Campion, & Reider, 2016).

We recommend that screening be based on both job fit and organizational fit. To be as objective as possible, selection criteria should be separately generated for both forms of fit. The selection criteria are the "organization" and "job" sides of the personorganization and person-job fit comparisons. In their applications, applicants should be asked for attributes that can be methodically compared to the relevant organization and job attributes prior to interpersonal contact to reduce the level of subjective error entering the decision (Barrick & Parks-Leduc, 2019; Nolan et al., 2016). When selection criteria are chosen that are crucial to performing in the job and in the organization, and when selectors base their screening on whether applicants satisfy these criteria, those candidates advancing to the later stages of the selection process are likely to have the required levels of job and organizational fit to perform well. The hiring decision then becomes who is likely to perform "best" of those shortlisted.

Recommendation 4: Hiring decisions should be based on job fit rather than organizational fit. Acknowledging that there are boundary conditions that influence the extent to which organizational fit matters for work performance (e.g., Edwards & Shipp, 2007), the relationship between organizational fit and work performance is weak at best (Barrick & Parks-Leduc, 2019). In a meta-analysis, Kristof-Brown et al. (2005) showed that there is only a weak relationship between organizational fit and task performance. Arthur et al. (2006) exclusively focused on the criterion-related validity of organizational fit in employment decision-making and found similar results. In both cases, the relationship between organizational fit assessments and performance did not generalize. The simple conclusion is that organizational fit is neither a strong nor a reliable predictor of work performance. This led Arthur et al. (2006) to caution against the use of organizational fit as a selection tool due to legal concerns about using a personnel selection method not directly related to performance. Barrick and Parks-Leduc (2019), in turn, advised only taking organizational fit into account during selection when there is a direct and observable link between organizational fit and performance. These comments suggest that considerations of organizational fit should be progressively downplayed the further the personnel selection process moves toward a hiring decision. To avoid the sort of arbitrary practices discussed above, the hiring phase of personnel selection should be uncontaminated by assessments of organizational fit, especially given that the concept is understood differently by different people and many equate it with interpersonal fit and its subjective assessment (Amis et al., 2020; Rivera, 2015). Instead, the hiring decision should be the exclusive territory of person-job fit.

Recommendation 5: Interpersonal fit should be developed post-entry. Regarding interpersonal fit, the question here is whether this type of fit should carry so much weight during the attraction and selection phases of the process, or, indeed, any weight at all. When the focus is on similarity, as we have illustrated, personnel selectors focus on the characteristics of a particular "type" of person (e.g., their personality, demographic background, and opinions) rather than the essential components that would make someone a good organizational fit. This, in turn, opens the door for all sorts of biases to enter into the selection process. As Van Dijk, Van Engen, and Paauwe (2012: 79) noted, when discrimination in recruitment and selection occurs, "it generally has to do with stereotypes being held by the recruiter... of the 'typical,' and particularly the 'ideal worker." The result of this process is the reproduction of inequality (Amis et al., 2020) by reinforcing the informal culture and constraining organizations' attempts to diversify, thereby limiting opportunities for candidates from traditionally underrepresented groups in the competition for jobs (Rivera, 2012). Given these concerns, the focus with interpersonal fit should be on managing the inclusion of the newcomer post entry, not attempting to assess it during personnel selection. The goal here should be to nurture a sense of belonging by replacing negative categorizations with collective ones that encourage group members to rally around a shared set of values or goals (Swann et al., 2004). It is therefore incumbent upon the organization to create conditions in which people feel welcomed and included, and

where everyone can thrive regardless of interpersonal difference.

AN EXAMPLE OF BEST PRACTICE

A number of large technology firms are concerned that they are excluding people with social communication disorders (Hayward, McVilly, & Stokes, 2019); people who are particularly susceptible to becoming interpersonal misfits, and therefore very likely to be excluded during the recruitment and selection process. People with social communication disorders are greatly disadvantaged in the intensely social environment of personnel selection, which partially explains why people on the autism spectrum have the lowest employment rate of all those with mental disorders (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017), despite possessing matching values and valuable skills and abilities, such as strong detail, process, and computing skills (Microsoft, 2016).

Companies including Hewlett-Packard, Microsoft, SAP, and Vodafone (Alsop, 2016) have altered their personnel selection practices to assess employees on their merits based on markers that truly matter to the organization and drive its competitive advantage. Their redesigned personnel selection processes for people with social communication disorders typically last a week to help the applicants get comfortable in the environment so they can best showcase their skills. In addition, these organizations have adjusted their social and physical working environments for those making it through the selection process to ensure people with autism spectrum differences embed among other workers and will become successful employees (Hayward et al., 2019; Lai, Anagnostou, Wiznitzer, Allison, & Baron-Cohen, 2020). Commenting on the success of the initiative at Microsoft, Warnick (2016) concluded, "Attracting, recruiting and retaining a diverse group of talented employees will ultimately help the company better serve its diverse range of customers. (...) It's about giving everyone the opportunity to be successful here at Microsoft, which will only make us stronger.'

DISCUSSION

Selecting for fit has been a concern of managers and organizational recruiters for as long as we know. Whereas there is an accepted way to select for job fit, selecting for organizational fit is much less well-developed and remains prone to subjective assessment. The first goal of this paper was to review the arguments for and against selecting for organizational fit. In doing so, we noticed that the literature has conflated two different forms of fit: organizational fit and interpersonal fit. Once these two forms of fit are disaggregated, it becomes easier to integrate them into personnel selection processes. Organizational fit, which can include strategic and futureoriented fit, can be used to inform applicants about the organization and expectations of them, and used in screening. However, it is currently too problematic to incorporate interpersonal fit into selection decision-making, and is best reserved for onboarding activities given diversity concerns stemming from subjectivity, implicit and explicit bias, and trust.

The second goal of this paper was to consolidate "selecting for organizational fit" with "selecting for job fit" to produce an integrated fit approach to personnel selection. In doing so, we have accepted the orthodoxy that personnel selection should be based on merit and that selection criteria should be validated by performance. This has been the advice in the mainstream personnel selection literature and, in many countries, it is enshrined in law. However, the current meritocratic personnel selection paradigm favors those with privileged backgrounds and does little to address structural disadvantage in society. At present, it is not possible to suggest anything other than that employers should offer jobs to the "best" candidates, and although many have tried to find solutions to the impact of personnel selection practices on diversity (e.g., Adamovic, 2020; Gilliland, 1993; Hough, Oswald, & Ployhart, 2001; Noon, 2010), none of these solutions have gained traction. Acknowledging that the reliance on meritocratic processes will perpetuate this diversity problem, we have sought to ameliorate one of the enduring problems with selecting for fit; namely, how to integrate organizational fit into the process without the subjective bias that commonly attaches itself to it. By disambiguating organizational fit from interpersonal fit, we hope to remove the worst aspects of selecting for fit (e.g., subjectivity, affinity bias) while retaining the best (e.g., recruiting to align with the organization and its future priorities).

Language is another tension running through discussions of personnel selection and fit. The "classical" approach to personnel selection, with its job analysis, selection criteria, validation studies, and rational decision-making, hints at a scientific exactitude, in which selection decisions are "objective." However, on inspection, much subjective judgment enters these processes (Herriot, 2002; Noon, 2010; Strah & Rupp, 2022). Strah and Rupp (2022), for example, considered job analyses and showed that subject matter experts' and job incumbents' perceptions of jobs, work, and tasks vary and are subjective. Inferring the qualities required to perform a job requires judgment, as can the assessment of candidates against selection criteria (Bangerter, Roulin, & König, 2012). Noon (2010: 732) questioned whether it is possible to identify a "best" candidate given the level of subjectivity and bias in the decision-making process, and pejoratively labeled it "pseudo-scientific rationalism." The language of the person-environment fit literature similarly contrasts objective and subjective forms of fit, with the former appearing more scientific and rigorous than the latter, although subjective fit has been shown to be closer to employees' decision-making and more relevant to people (Edwards, 2008). Our concern is with the language used in these literatures. It conveys the impression of scientific rigor, of the possibility of finding the "best" candidate, and of removing all subjectivity, when human judgment is an essential component throughout the process. In our recommendations, we have attempted to advocate an approach than is more objective than the current approach and that removes the *more* subjective elements known to bring discriminatory bias. Selecting for fit is unlikely to ever be totally objective, free from human judgment, and perfectly refined. However, it can be reconceptualized to remove common misunderstandings and inaccuracies, which is what we have attempted to do.

Hiring is a powerful way in which employers shape labor market outcomes. It is a gatekeeping mechanism that facilitates career opportunities for some groups, while blocking entry for others (Amis et al., 2020). Selecting for fit, too, is a mechanism influencing the distribution of material and symbolic rewards, including access to desirable jobs and occupations. Problems with selecting for fit arise when such practices result in a social closure of elite occupations by cultural signals, particularly lifestyle markers typically associated with the White upper-middle class (Rivera, 2012). To help break this negative cycle of discrimination, we recommend disaggregating organizational and interpersonal forms of fit and removing interpersonal fit from screening and selection decisions given its inherent problems with diversity and discrimination. When organizational fit is included alongside job fit in screening decisions, it should be based on organizational, strategic, and future-focusing factors that are essential for effective functioning in the organization. Hiring decisions should be based on job fit. While it is fallacious to believe that interpersonal fit can be determined during personnel selection with any

degree of accuracy, it has a major role to play in creating working environments in which everyone can thrive. In this way, organizations can leverage the benefits of both fit *and* diversity and make work meaningful, engaging, and inclusive.

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