PART ONE

Technical Issues

CHAPTER 1

Fundamental Issues in Measurement

INTRODUCTION

Societies and individuals have always had to make decisions. Making decisions is a requirement of daily life for everyone. We all decide when to get up in the morning, what to have for breakfast, and what to wear; we make some kinds of decisions with such regularity that we hardly think about the process. Other decisions that we make less frequently
require careful thought and analysis. Which college should I attend? What should I major in? Should I take a job with XYZ Enterprises? Decisions of this kind are best made on the basis of information about the alternative choices and their consequences. Am I interested in a particular college? What job prospects will it open for me? What are the chances that I will succeed? What are the benefits and working conditions at XYZ Enterprises?

Other decisions are made by individuals acting for the larger society. Daily teachers must make decisions about the best educational experiences to provide for students, based on an assessment of their current knowledge and abilities. A school administrator may have to decide whether to recommend a special educational experience for a child who is having difficulty in reading or mathematics. School, district, and state educational administrators must make decisions about educational policy and often have to produce evidence for state and local boards and state legislatures on the achievement of students. Employers must decide which job applicants to hire and which positions they should fill. A college counselor must decide what action to take with a student who is having difficulty adjusting to the personal freedom that a college environment provides. The list of decisions that people must make is as long as the list of human actions and interactions.

We generally assume that the more people know about the factors involved in their decisions, the better their decisions are likely to be. That is, more and better information is likely to lead to better decisions. Of course, merely having information is no guarantee that it will be used to the best advantage. The information must be appropriate for the decision to be made, and the decision maker must know what to do with the information and what inferences it does or does not support. Our purpose in this book is to present some of the basic concepts, tools, practices, and methods that have been developed in education and psychology to aid in the decision-making process. With these tools, methods, potential decision makers will be better prepared to obtain and use the information needed to make sound decisions.

A LITTLE HISTORY

Although educational measurement has gained considerable prominence in recent decades, particularly with the No Child Left Behind Act and the rise in interest in accountability, the formal evaluation of educational achievement and the use of this information to make decisions have been going on for centuries. As far back as the dawn of the common era, the Chinese used competitive examinations to select individuals for civil service positions (DuBois, 1970; R. M. Thorndike, 1900a). Over the centuries, they developed a system of checks and controls to eliminate possible bias in their testing—procedures that in many ways resembled the best of modern practice. For example, examiners were isolated to prevent possible cheating, compositions were copied by trained scribes to eliminate the chance that differences in handwriting might affect scores, and each examination was evaluated by a panel of evaluators, with differences being resolved by a third judge. Testing sessions were extremely rigorous, lasting up to 3 days. Rates of passing were low, usually less than 10%. In a number of ways, Chinese practice served as a model for developing civil service examinations in western Europe and America during the 1800s.

Formal measurement procedures began to appear in Western educational practice during the 19th century. For several centuries, secondary schools and universities had been using essays and oral examinations to evaluate student achievement, but in 1897, Joseph M. Rice used some of the first uniform written examinations to test spelling achievement of students in the public schools of Boston. Rice wanted the schools to make room in the curriculum for teaching science and argued that some of the time spent on spelling drills could be used for that purpose. He demonstrated that the amount of time devoted to spelling drills was not related to achievement in spelling and concluded that this time could be reduced, thus making time to teach science. His study represents one of the first times tests were used to help make a curricular decision.

Throughout the latter half of the 19th century, pioneering work in the infant science of psychology involved developing new ways to measure human behavior and experience. Many measures involved current knowledge and skills. Much of what we now take for granted as psychological measurement was developed in the late 1800s. In 1896 introduced the completion test fill in the blanks as a way to measure mental fatigue students. Earlier in the century, the work of Ernst Weber and Gustav Fechner on the measurement of sensory processes laid the logical foundation for psychological and educational measurement. Other important advances, such as the development of the correlation coefficient by Sir Francis Galton and Karl Pearson, were made in the service of research on intelligence and causes of human differences. The late 1800s were characterized by DuBois (1970) as the laboratory period in the history of psychological measurement. This period has also been called the era of brass instrument psychology because of scientific devices were often used to collect measurements of physical or sensory characteristics.

Increasing interest in measuring human characteristics in the second half of the 19th century can be traced to the need to make decisions in three contexts. First, enactment of mandatory school attendance laws resulted in a growing demand for objectivity and accountability in assessing student performance in the public schools. These laws brought into the schools for the first time a large number of students who were of middle or lower socioeconomic background and were unfamiliar with formal education. Many of these children performed poorly and were considered by some educators of the time to be "feebleminded" and unsuitable for nonspecialized education. The development of accurate measurement methods and instruments was seen as a way to differentiate children with true mental handicaps from those who suffered from disadvantaged backgrounds. Second, the medical community was in the process of refining its ideas about abnormal behavior. Behavioral and psychological measurements were seen as a way to classify and diagnose patients. Third, business and government agencies began to replace patronage systems for filling corporate and government jobs with competitive examinations to assess prospective employees' abilities. Tests began to be used as the basis of employee selection.

Not until the first years of the 20th century did well-developed prototypes of modern educational and psychological measurements begin to appear. Although it is difficult to identify a single critical event, the 1905 publication of the Binet-Simon scales of mental ability is often considered to be the beginning of the modern era in what was at the time called mental measurement. The Binet-Simon scales, originally published in French but soon translated into English and other languages, have been hailed as the first successful attempt to measure complex mental processes with a standard set of tasks of graded complexity. These scales were designed to help educators identify students whose mental ability was insufficient for them to benefit from standard public education. On the basis of the mental measurement, a decision was then made whether or not to place these students in special classes. Subsequent revisions of the scales, published in 1908 and 1911, contained tasks that spanned the full range of abilities for school-age children and could be used to identify students at either extreme of the ability continuum. (See R. M. Thorndike, 1900a, for a more complete description of these scales.)

At the same time that Binet and Simon were developing the first measures of intelligence, E. L. Thorndike and his students at Teachers College of Columbia University were tackling problems related to measuring school abilities. Their work ranged from theoretical developments on
the nature of the measurement process to the creation of scales to assess classroom learning in reading and arithmetic and also level of skill development in tasks such as handwriting. The era of mental testing had begun.

It is convenient to divide the history of mental testing in the 20th century into six periods: an early period, a boom period, a first period of criticism, a battery period, a second period of criticism, and a period of accountability.

The Early Period

The early period, which comprises the years before American entry into World War I, was a period of tentative exploration and theory development. The Binet–Simon scales, revised twice by Binet, were brought to the United States by several pioneers in measurement. The most influential of these was Lewis Terman of Stanford University. In 1916, Terman published the first version of a test that is still one of the standards by which measures of intelligence are judged: the Stanford–Binet Intelligence Scale. (The fifth edition of the Stanford–Binet was released in 2003.) Working with Terman, Arthur Otis began to explore the possibility of testing the mental ability of children and adults in groups. In Australia, S. D. Fortescue prepared a maze test of intelligence for use with people with hearing or language handicaps.

In 1904 Charles Spearman published two important theories relating to the measurement of human abilities. The first was a statistical theory that proposed to describe and account for the inconsistency in measurements of human behavior. The second theory claimed to account for the fact that different measures of cognitive ability showed substantial consistency in the ways in which they ranked people. The statistical theory to describe inconsistency has developed into the concept of reliability that we will discuss in Chapter 4. Spearman's second theory was that there is a single dimension of ability underlying most human performance, played a major role in determining the direction that measures of ability took for many years and is still influential in theories of human cognitive abilities. Spearman proposed that the consistency of people's performance on different ability measures was the result of the level of general intelligence that they possessed. We will discuss modern descendants of this theory and the tests that have been developed to measure intelligence in Chapter 12.

The Boom Period

American involvement in World War I created a need to expand the army very quickly. For the first time, the new science of psychology was called on to play a part in a military situation. This event started a 15-year boom period during which many advances and innovations were made in the field of testing and measurement. As part of the war effort, a group of psychologists led by Robert Yerkes expanded Otis's work to develop and implement the first large-scale group testing of ability with the Army Alpha (a verbal test) and the Army Beta (a test using mazes and puzzles similar to Terman's that required no spoken or written language). The Army Alpha was the first widely distributed test to use the multiple-choice item format. The first objective measure of personality, the Woodworth Personal Data Sheet, was also developed for the army to help identify those emotionally unfit for military service. The Alpha and Beta tests were used to select officer trainees and to remove those with intellectual handicaps from military service.

In the 12 years following the war, the variety of behaviors that were subjected to measurement and the batteries expanded rapidly. E. K. Strong and his students began to measure vocational interests to help college students choose majors and careers consistent with their interests.

Measurements of personality and ability were developed and refined, and the use of standardized tests for educational decisions became more widespread. In 1929, L. L. Thurstone proposed ways to scale and measure attitudes and values. Many people considered it only a matter of a few years before accurate measurement and prediction of all types of human behavior would be achieved.

The period immediately following World War I was also a low point for the mental testing movement. High expectations about what test scores could tell us about people's abilities and character led to test developers and users to place far too much reliance on the correctness of test scores. The results of the U.S. Army testing program revealed large score differences between White American examinees and those having different ethnic backgrounds. Low test scores for African Americans and immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were interpreted as revealing an intellectual hierarchy, with people of northern European ancestry ("Nordics") at the top. Members of the lowest scoring ethnic groups, particularly those of African ancestry, were labeled "feebleminded." A number of critics, most notably Walter Lippmann, questioned both the tests themselves and the conclusions drawn from the test scores.

The First Period of Criticism

The 1930s saw a crash not only in the stock market but also in the confidence in and expectations for mental measurement. This time covered a period of criticism and consolidation. To be sure, new tests were published, most notably the original Kuder scales for measuring vocational interests, the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, and the first serious competitor for the Stanford–Binet, the Wechsler–Bellevue Intelligence Scale. Major advances were also made in the field of educational theory underlying tests, particularly L. L. Thurstone's refinements of the statistical procedure known as factor analysis. However, it was becoming clear that the problems of measuring human behavior had not all been solved and were much more difficult than they had appeared to be during the heyday of the 1920s.

The rapid expansion in the variety of tests being produced, the increasing use of test scores for decision making, and the criticisms of testing in the press led a young psychiatrist named Oscar Juros to call on the professional psychological and educational testing community to police itself. Juros observed that many tests had little or no objective evidence to support the uses to which they were being put. In 1935, he initiated the Mental Measurements Yearbook (MMY) as a place where critical reviews of tests and testing practices could be published. His objective was to obtain reviews of tests from the leading experts in testing, which in turn would cause test producers to provide better tests and more evidence supporting specific uses of tests. As we shall see in Chapter 6, the MMY publications remain one of the best sources of information about tests.

The Battery Period

In the 1940s, psychological measurement was once again called on for use in the military service. As part of the war effort, batteries of tests were developed that measured several different abilities. Based on the theory developed by Thurstone and others that there were several distinct types or dimensions of abilities, these test batteries were used to place military recruits in the positions for which they were best suited. The success of this approach in reducing failure rates in various military training programs led the measurement field into a period of emphasis on test batteries and factor analysis. For 25 years, until about 1960, efforts were directed toward analyzing the dimensions of human behavior by developing an increasing variety of tests of ability and
personality. Taxonomies of ability, such as those of Bloom (1936) and Guilford (1965), were offered to describe the range of mental functioning.

During the 1950s, educational and psychological testing grew into a big business. The use of nationally normed, commercially prepared tests to assess student progress became a common feature of school life. The Scholastic Aptitude Tests (SAT, now called the Scholastic Assessment Tests) or the American College Testing Program (ACT Assessment) became almost universally required as part of a college admissions portfolio. Business, industry, and the civil service system made increasing use of measurements of attitudes and personality, as well as ability on the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB) was developed by the U.S. Employment Service, and other test batteries were developed by private testing companies to assist individuals and organizations in making career and hiring decisions. Patients in mental institutions were routinely assessed through a variety of measures of personality and adjustment. In 1954, led by the American Psychological Association, the professional testing community published a set of guidelines for educational and psychological tests to provide ability, in hiring and promotion. The General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB) was developed by the U.S. Employment Service, and other test batteries were developed by private testing companies to assist individuals and organizations in making career and hiring decisions. Patients in mental institutions were routinely assessed through a variety of measures of personality and adjustment.

The Second Period of Criticism

The beginning of a second period of criticism was signaled in 1965 by a series of congressional hearings on testing as an invasion of privacy. The decade of the 1960s was also a time when the civil rights movement was in full swing and women were reacting against what they perceived to be a male-dominated society. Because the ability test scores of Blacks were generally lower than those of Whites, and the scores of women were lower than those of men in some areas (although they were higher than men's scores in other areas), tests were excoriated as biased tools of White male oppression. Since that time, debate has continued over the use of ability and personality testing in public education and employment. A major concern has been the possible use of tests to discriminate, intentionally or otherwise, against women or members of minority groups in education and employment. As a result of this concern, the tests themselves have been very carefully scrutinized for biased content, certain types of testing practices have been banned or challenged, and much more attention has been given to the rights of individuals. The testing industry responded vigorously to the desire to make tests fair to all who take them, but this has not been sufficient to forestall both legislative and administrative and court decisions restricting the use of tests. A recent example of an administrative decision is the program to eliminate performance on the SAT as a tool in making admissions decisions at institutions in the University of California system. This situation is unfortunate because it deprives decision makers of some of the best information on which to base their actions. In effect, we may have thrown the baby with the bath water in our efforts to eliminate bias from the practice of testing. In Chapter 8 we will take a closer look at the controversies surrounding educational and psychological uses of tests.

The Age of Accountability

At the same time that public criticism of testing was on the rise, governments were putting greater faith in testing as a way to determine whether government-funded programs were achieving their objectives. With passage of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), federally funded education initiatives began to include a requirement that programs report some form of assessment, often in the form of standardized test results. In 2002, President George W. Bush signed the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) act into law. The primary goal of NCLB is to ensure that all public school students achieve high standards of performance in the areas of reading, language arts, mathematics, and science. To meet this goal, each state was required to generate a set of rigorous achievement standards and to develop assessments measuring student proficiency relative to those standards. States must hold schools and school districts accountable for the performance of their students. Low-performing schools are subject to a variety of interventions ranging from technical assistance to sanctions and restructuring. Many states have also enacted laws requiring students to pass standardized tests in order to earn a high school diploma. While this high-stakes use of testing is not new (Chinese practices of 1000 years ago had greater social consequences and were far more demanding), the number of states using mandatory exams as a condition of graduation is steadily increasing. Scores on the Washington Assessment of Student Learning, for example, are used to meet the accountability requirements of NCLB and to determine, beginning with the graduating class of 2008, which students meet the achievement standards necessary for a high school diploma. Nationwide, NCLB also requires new teachers to pass standardized tests to earn certification and demonstrate the subject matter competence necessary to be considered "highly qualified." Thus, at the same time that widespread criticisms of tests, particularly standardized tests used to make educational decisions, has arisen, the role of such tests in ensuring that schools are accountable for the learning of their students has steadily increased.

TYPES OF DECISIONS

Educational and psychological evaluation and measurement have evolved to help people make decisions related to people, individually or in groups. Teachers, counselors, school administrators, and psychologists in business and industry, for example, are continuously involved in making decisions about people or in helping people make decisions for and about themselves. The role of measurement procedures is to provide information that will permit these decisions to be as informed and appropriate as possible.

Some decisions are instructional; many decisions made by teachers and school psychologists are of this sort. An instructional decision may relate to a class as a whole: For example, should class time be spent reviewing "carrying" in addition? Or does most of the class have adequate competency in this skill? Other decisions relate to specific students: For example, what reading materials are likely to be suitable for Mary, in view of her interests and level of reading skill? If such decisions are to be made wisely, it is important to know, in the first case, the overall level of skill of the class in "carrying" and, in the second, how competent a reader Mary is and what her interests are.

Some decisions are curricular. A school may be considering a curricular change such as introducing computer-assisted instruction (CAI) to teach the principles of multiplying fractions or Web-based module on African geography. Should the change be made? A wise decision hinges on finding out how well students progress in learning to multiply fractions using CAI or African geography from Web materials rather than the conventional approaches. The evidence of progress, and hence the quality of the decision, can only be as good as the measures of mathematics competence or geography knowledge we use to assess the outcomes of the alternative instructional programs.

Some decisions are selection ones made by an employer or a decision maker in an educational institution. A popular college must decide which applicants to admit to its freshman class.
MEASUREMENT AND DECISIONS

Educational and psychological measurement techniques can help people make better decisions by providing more and better information. Throughout this book, we will identify and describe properties that measurement devices must have if they are to help people make sound decisions. We will show the form in which test results should be presented if they are to be most helpful to the decision maker. As we look at each type of assessment technique, we will ask, “For what types of decisions can the particular technique contribute valuable information?” We must be concerned with a variety of factors, including poor motivation, emotional upset, inadequate schooling, or auditory-linguistic or cultural background, all of which can distort the information provided by a test, questionnaire, or other assessment procedure. We will also consider precautions that need to be observed in using the information for decisions making.

The Role of Values in Decision Making

Measurement procedures do not make decisions; people make decisions. At most, measurement procedures can provide information on some of the factors that are relevant to the decision. The SAT can provide an indication of how well Grace is likely to do in college-level work. Combined with information about how academically demanding the engineering program is at Swash

University, the SAT score can be used to make a specific estimate of how well Grace is likely to do in that program. However, only Grace can decide whether she should go to Swash and whether she should study engineering. Is she interested in engineering? Does she have a personal reason for wanting to go to Swash rather than to some other university? Are economic factors of concern? What role does Grace aspire to play in society? Maybe she has no interest in further education and would rather be a competitive surfer.

This example should make it clear that decisions about courses of action to take involve values as well as facts. The SAT produces a score that is a fact, and that fact may lead to a prediction that Grace has five chances in six of being admitted to Swash and only one chance in six of being admitted to Stanford. But, if she considers Stanford to be 10 times more desirable than Swash, it still might be a sensible decision for her to apply to Stanford despite her radically lower chance of being admitted. The test score provides no information about the domain of values. This information must be supplied from other sources before Grace can make a sensible decision. One of the important roles that counselors play is to make people aware of the values they bring to any decision.

The issue of values affects institutional decision makers as well as individuals. An aptitude test may permit an estimate of the probability of success for a Black or a Hispanic or a Native American student, in comparison with the probability of success for a White or Asian student, in some types of academic or professional training. However, an admission decision would have to include, explicitly or implicitly, some judgment about the relative value to society of adding more White or Asian individuals to a profession in comparison with the value of having increased Black, Hispanic, or Native American representation. Concerns about social justice and the role of education in promoting equality, both of opportunity and of outcome, have assumed an increasing importance in decision making over the last 35 years. However, in recent years three states, California, Washington, and Michigan, have passed laws prohibiting the use of race in educational decision making.

Issues of value are always complex and often controversial, but they are frequently deeply involved in decision making. Very few decisions are value neutral. It is important that this fact be recognized, and it is also important that assessment procedures that can supply better information not be blamed for the ambiguities or conflicts that may be found in our value systems. We should not kill the messenger who brings us news we do not want to hear, nor should we cover our eyes or ears and refuse to receive the news. Rather, we should consider policies and procedures that might change the unwelcome facts.

As we suggested at the beginning of this chapter, all aspects of human behavior involve making decisions. We must make decisions. Even taking no action in a situation is a decision. In most cases, people weigh the evidence on the likelihood of various outcomes and the positive and negative consequences and value implications of each possible outcome. The role of educational and psychological assessment procedures can be no more than to provide some of the information on which certain kinds of decisions may be based. The evidence suggests that, when properly used, these procedures can provide useful information that is more accurate than that provided by alternate approaches. Your study of educational and psychological assessment should give you an understanding of the tools and techniques available for obtaining the kinds of information about people that these measures can yield. Beyond that, such study should provide criteria for evaluating the information that these tools offer, for judging the degree of confidence that can be placed in the information, and for sensing the limitations inherent in that information.
admissions decisions. The apparent reason for the decision not to use the test scores is that White and Asian American students typically earn higher scores on these tests than do Black and Hispanic students, thereby giving them a better chance of admission to the state's universities. If proportional representation by all ethnic groups is a valued objective for system administrators, then using test scores has negative value because it would tend to produce unequal admissions rates. On the other hand, legislators in Washington State wished to be able to reward schools and districts where students showed higher than average achievement of the state's academic standards, as measured by the state's assessment tests. Like the SAT, the Washington State tests also show different levels of achievement for different ethnic groups, but the high value placed on rewarding achievement outweighed the negative outcome of revealing ethnic differences. The two state education establishments reached contradictory conclusions about the use of standardized tests due to the different values each was trying to satisfy.

So far, we have considered practical decisions leading to action. Measurement is also important in providing information to guide theoretical decisions. In these cases, the desired result is not action but, instead, understanding. Do girls of a certain age read at a higher level than boys? Do some students work more on their homework than others? Are students anxious about exams? A test of academic achievement could be used to obtain information helpful in reaching a decision on this issue. Even a question as basic as whether the size of a reward a rat receives for running through a maze affects the rate's running speed requires that the investigator make measurements. Measurement is fundamental to answering nearly all the questions that scientists ask, not only in the physical sciences but also in the behavioral and biological sciences. The questions we choose to ask and how we ask them, however, are guided and limited by our assumptions about the nature of reality and the values we bring to the task.

**STEPS IN THE MEASUREMENT PROCESS**

In this book, we discuss the measurement of human abilities, interests, and personality traits. We need to pause for a moment to look at what is implied by measurement and what requirements must be met if we are to claim that a measurement has been made. We also need to ask how well the available techniques for measuring the human characteristics of interest do in fact meet these requirements.

Measurement in any field involves three common steps: (1) identifying and defining the attribute or the quality to be measured, (2) determining the set of operations by which the attribute may be isolated and displayed for observation, and (3) establishing a set of procedures or definitions for translating our observations into quantitative statements of degree or amount. An understanding of these steps, and of the difficulties that each presents, provides a sound foundation for understanding the procedures and problems of measurement in psychology and education.

**Identifying and Defining the Attribute**

We never measure a thing or a person. We always measure a quality or an attribute of the thing or person. We measure, for example, the length of a table, the temperature of a blast furnace, the durability of an automobile tire, the flavor of a soft drink, the intelligence of a schoolchild, or the emotional maturity of an adolescent. Psychologists and educators frequently use the term *construct* to refer to the more abstract and difficult-to-observe properties of people, such as their intelligence or personality.

When we deal with simple physical attributes, such as length, it rarely occurs to us to wonder about the meaning or definition of the attribute. A clear meaning for length was established long ago in the history of both the species and the individual. The units for expressing length and the operations for making the property manifest have changed over time (we no longer speak of lengths or cubits); however, the underlying concepts have not. Although mastery of the concepts of long and short may represent significant accomplishments in the life of a preschool child, they are automatic in adult society. We all know what we mean by length.

The construct of length is one about which there is little disagreement, and the operations by which length can be determined are well known. However, this level of construct agreement and clarity of definition do not exist for all physical attributes. For example, what do we mean by durability in an automobile tire? Do we mean resistance to wear and abrasion from contact with the road? Do we mean resistance to puncture by pointed objects? Do we mean resistance to deterioration or decay with the passage of time or exposure to sunlight? Or do we mean some combination of these three and possibly other factors? Until we can reach some agreement on what we mean by durability, we can make no progress toward measuring it. To the extent that we disagree on what durability means (i.e., on a definition of the construct), we will disagree on what procedures are appropriate for measuring it. If we use different procedures, we are likely to get different results from our measurements, and we will disagree on the value that we obtain to represent the durability of a particular brand of tire.

The problem of agreeing on what a given construct means is even more acute when we start to consider those attributes of concern to the psychologist or educator. What do we mean by intelligence? What kinds of behavior shall we characterize as intelligent? Shall we define the construct primarily in terms of dealing with ideas and abstract concepts? Or will it include dealing with things—with concrete objects? Will it refer primarily to behavior in novel situations? Or will it include responses in familiar and habitual settings? Will it refer to speed and fluency of response or to level of complexity of the response without regard to time? Will it include all kinds of products result from the exercise of intelligence: a theory about atomic structures, a ballet, or a snowman? We all have a general idea of what we mean when we characterize behavior as intelligent, but there are many specific points on which we may disagree as we try to make our definition sufficiently precise to allow measurement. This problem of precisely defining the attribute is present for all psychological constructs—more for some than for others.

The first problem that psychologists or educators face as they try to measure attributes is arriving at clear, precise, and generally accepted definitions of those attributes.

Of course, we must answer another question even before we face the problem of defining the attribute. We must decide which attributes are relevant and important to measure if our description is to be useful. A description may fail to be useful for the need at hand because the chosen features are irrelevant. For example, in describing a painting, we might report its height, breadth, and depth with great precision and reach high agreement about the amount of each property the painting possesses. If our concern were to create the picture for shipment, these might be the only items of information that we would need. However, if our purpose were to characterize the painting as a work of art, our description would be useless; the attributes of the painting we just described would be irrelevant to its quality as a work of art.

Similarly, a description of a person may be of little value for our purpose if we choose the wrong attributes to describe. A company selecting employees to become truck drivers might test
their verbal comprehension and ability to solve quantitative problems, getting very accurate answers to these functions. Information on these factors, however, is likely to be of little help in identifying people who have low accident records, and would be steady and dependable on the job. Other factors, such as eye-hand coordination, depth perception, and freedom from uncontrollable aggressive impulses, might prove much more relevant to the tasks and pressures that a truck driver faces. The usefulness of a measuring procedure for its intended purpose is called its validity.

The second in a high school music teacher who thoroughly tested the pupil knowledge of such facts as who wrote the "Emperor Concerto" and whether amide is faster than allegro. The teacher would obtain a dependable appraisal of the students' knowledge about music and musicians without presenting them with a single note of actual music, a single theme or melody, a single interpretation or appraisal of living music. As an appraisal of musical appreciation, such a test seems almost meaningless because it uses bits of factual knowledge about music and composer in place of information that would indicate progress in appreciation of the music itself. One of the piths to which psychologists and educators occasionally are prone is to elect to measure some attribute because it is easy to measure rather than because it provides the most relevant information for making the decision at hand. It is important to measure traits that are relevant to the decisions to be made rather than merely to measure traits that are easy to assess. We will discuss the issue of relevance again when we cover validity in Chapter 5.

**Determining Operations to Isolate and Display the Attribute**

The second step in developing a measurement procedure is finding or inventing a set of operations or eliciting the attribute of interest and display it. The operations for measuring the length of an object such as a table have been essentially unchanged for many centuries. We convey them to the child early in elementary school. The ruler, the meter stick, and the tape measure are uniformly accepted as appropriate instruments, and laying one of them along an object is an appropriate procedure for displaying to the eye the length of the table, desk, or other object. But the operations for measuring length, or distance, are not always that simple. By what operations do we measure the distance from New York to Paris? How about the distance from the earth to the sun? Our solar system to the giant spiral galaxy in Andromeda? How shall we measure the length of a tuberculosis bacillus or the diameter of a neuron? Physical science has progressed by developing both instruments that extend the capabilities of our senses and indirect procedures that make accessible to us amounts too great or too small for the simple, direct approach of laying a measuring stick along the object. Some operations for measuring length, or distance, have become indirect, elaborate, and increasingly precise. These less intuitive methods (such as the shift of certain wavelengths of light toward the red end of the spectrum) are accepted because they give results that are consistent, verifiable, and useful, but their relationship to the property of interest is far from obvious.

Returning to the example of the durability of the automobile tire, we can see that the operations for eliciting or displaying that attribute will depend on and interact with the definition to which we have accepted for the construct. If our definition is in terms of resistance to abrasion, we need to develop some standard and uniform procedure for applying an abrasive force to the object and gauging the rate at which the rubber wears away, that is, a standardized simulated road test. If we have indicated puncture resistance as the central concept, we need a way of applying graduated puncturing forces. If our definition is in terms of resistance to deterioration from sun, soil, and other destructive agents, our procedure must expose the samples to these agents and provide some index of the resulting loss of strength or resilience. A definition of durability that incorporates more than one aspect, will require an assessment of some appropriate weight, and cumulative the aspects in an appropriate way; that is, if our definition of durability, for example, includes resistance to abrasion, punctures, and deterioration, then a measure of durability must assess all of these properties and combine them in some way to give a single index of durability. Many of the constructs we wish to measure in education and psychology are similar to our construct of durability in that the global construct includes a combination of more or less independent simpler construct operations. How to combine a person's ability to reason with unfamiliar material, their short-term memory, their knowledge of culturally salient facts, and many other relatively narrowly defined constructs into a global construct of intelligence, or whether to combine them at all, is a heatedly debated topic in both psychology and education.

The definition of an attribute and the operations for eliciting it interact. On the one hand, the definition we have set up determines what we will accept as relevant and reasonable operations. Conversely, the operations that we can devise to elicit of display the attributes constitute in a very practical sense the definition of that attribute. An attribute defined by how it is measured is said to have an operational definition. The set of procedures we are willing (or forced by our lack of ingenuity) to accept as showing the durability of an automobile tire become the operational definition of durability for us and may limit what we can say about it.

The history of psychological and educational measurement during the 20th century and continuing into the 21st century has largely been the history of the invention of instruments and procedures for eliciting, in a standard way and under uniform conditions, the behaviors that serve as indicators of the relevant attributes of people. The series of tasks devised by Binet and his co-workers constitute operations for eliciting behavior that is indicative of intelligence, and the Stanford-Binet and other tests have come to provide operational definitions of intelligence. The fact that there is no single, universally accepted test and that different tests vary somewhat in the tasks they include and the order in which they rank people on the trait are evidence that we do not have complete consensus on what intelligence is or on what the appropriate procedures are for eliciting it. This lack of consensus is generally characteristic of the state of the art in psychological measurement and educational measurement. There is reason to believe that enough variety in the instruments we have devised to elicit the relevant behaviors that different measures of what is alleged to be the same trait may rank people quite differently. This fact requires that we be very careful not to overgeneralize or overinterpret the results of our measurements.

The problem of developing an operational definition for the characteristic of interest is also present in the classroom. Teachers regularly face the problem of assessing student performance, but what we will call performance is closely linked with the way we assess it. Only to the extent that teachers agree on their operational definitions of student achievement will their assessments have comparable meaning. If one teacher emphasizes quick recall of facts in his assessments and another looks for application of principles in hers, they are, to some undetermined extent, evaluating different traits, and their assessments of their students' accomplishments will mean different things. Here we do not suggest that this difference in emphasis is inappropriate, only that it is a fact of which educators should be aware. This variability in definitions also provides a major impetus for standardized achievement tests, because such tests are seen as providing a common definition of the attribute to be measured and the method of measurement. The definition provided by the test may not exactly represent what either teacher means by achievement in Subject X, but such definitions usually are developed to provide an adequate fit to the definitions most teachers espouse.
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consider one task successfully completed—a word defined, an arithmetic problem solved, an analogy completed, or an attitude statement endorsed—equal to any other task in the series and then use the total number of successes or endorsements for an individual as the value representing the person on the particular attribute. This count of tasks successfully completed, or of choices of a certain type, provides a plausible and manageable definition of amount, but we have no adequate evidence of the equivalence of different test tasks or different questionnaire responses. By what right or evidence do we treat a number series item such as “1, 3, 6, 10, 15, __, __” as showing the same amount of intellectual ability as, for example, a verbal analogies item such as “Hot is to cold as wet is to ___?” The definition of equivalent tasks and, consequently, of units for psychological tests is shaky at best. When we have to deal with a teacher’s rating of a student’s cooperativeness or a supervisor’s evaluation of an employee’s initiative, for example, where a set of categories such as “supior,” “very good,” “good,” “satisfactory,” and “unsatisfactory” is used, the meaningfulness of the units in which these ratings are expressed is even more suspect. The problem of arbitrary metrics in psychology has been discussed recently by Blanton and Jaccard (2006). We explore ways to report the results of measurements that yield approximately equal units in Chapter 3, but, as we shall see, even when units are equal they may only convey information about relative position, not absolute amount.

Problems Relating to the Measurement Process

In psychological and educational measurement, we encounter problems in relation to each of the three steps just described. First, we have problems in selecting the attributes of concern and in defining them clearly, unequivocally, and in mutually agreeable terms. Even for something as straightforward as reading ability, we can get a range of interpretations. To what extent should a definition include each of the following abilities?

1. Reads quickly
2. Converts visual symbols to sounds
3. Correctly interprets literal meanings from the text
4. Draws inferences that go beyond what is directly stated
5. Is aware of the author’s bias or point of view

As we deal with more complex and intangible concepts, such as cooperativeness, anxiety, adjustment, or rigidity, we may expect even more diversity in definition.

Second, we encounter problems in devising procedures to elicit the relevant attributes. For some attributes, we have been fairly successful in setting up operations that call on the individual to display the attribute and permit us to observe it under uniform and standardized conditions. We have had this success primarily in the domain of abilities, where standardized tests have been assembled in which the examinee is called on, for instance, to read with understanding, to perceive quantitative relationships, or to identify correct forms of expression. However, with many attributes we clearly have been less successful. By what standard operations can we elicit, in a form in which we can assess it, a potential employee’s initiative, a client’s anxiety, or a soldier’s suitability for combat duty? With continued research and with more ingenuity, we may hope to devise improved operations for making certain of these attributes or qualities manifest, but identifying suitable measurement operations for many psychological attributes will remain a problem.
Finally, even our best psychological units of measure lack much to be desired. Units are set equal by definition; the definition may have a certain plausibility, but the equality of units cannot be established in any fundamental sense. For this reason, the addition, subtraction, and comparison of scores will always be somewhat suspect. Furthermore, the precision with which the attribute is assessed—the consistency from one occasion to another or from one appraiser to another—is often discouragingly low.

In spite of the problems involved in developing educational and psychological measuring devices, the task has been proven worthwhile. The procedures now available have developed a record of usefulness in helping individuals make decisions in a wide variety of human contexts. Efficiency of education and equality of opportunity are enhanced by the proper use and interpretation of tests. Use of interest and personality inventories has led to people having greater self-understanding and reduced psychological discomfort. Measures of human abilities have been used to provide access to educational and occupational positions without regard to ethnic or racial background.

Critics of testing are quick to point out that inequalities in test performance still exist, but, in the last 25 years, the users of tests have become much more cautious in their interpretations and much more sensitive to the rights of the test taker. Generally, the information provided by tests is more accurate than that available from other sources. When we acknowledge that decisions must be made and that accurate information coupled with a clear understanding of our values generally leads to the best decisions, we will find continuing growth in the importance of measurement and assessment processes in psychology and education.

SOME CURRENT ISSUES IN MEASUREMENT

Educational and psychological assessments are far from perfect. Since the earliest attempts to develop measurement techniques in a systematic way, the procedures have been a target for a wide spectrum of critics. Much of this criticism has been a justified response to the naive enthusiasm of measurement proponents and some of their ill-conceived applications and interpretations of measurement results. In subsequent chapters in our discussion of test interpretation and use, we will try to be sensitive to earlier criticisms and to the more technical questions that arise concerning the reliability and validity of test results. At this point, however, we will identify and comment briefly on some of the issues that have been of special concern.

Testing Minority Individuals

For many years, the use and interpretation of tests within ethnic minority and other groups whose experiences and cultures may differ from that typical of the general population for which a test was designed have received a great deal of attention. There are, of course, all sorts of subgroups in American society, differing from one another in a variety of ways. Ethnic and linguistic minorities are probably the most clear-cut of these; they are the ones for whom the appropriateness of tests and questionnaires designed to reflect the values and experiences of typical middle-class, White Americans is most open to question. In recent years, the number of Americans for whom English is not the preferred language has increased to the point where many ability and achievement tests are available in Spanish translations. Additionally, feminist groups have complained that test material is often made oriented. Major test publishers now go to considerable lengths to ensure that their test items do not present an unfair challenge to women or to members of ethnic or linguistic minority groups. Test users, teachers, counselors, and school psychologists, for example, are also required to have training in recognizing and, to the extent possible, ameliorating the potentially adverse consequences of using particular instruments with people for whom they may not be appropriate.

Some questions arise concerning achievement tests that attempt to assess what a student has learned to do. In part, these questions center on the degree to which the same educational objectives hold for groups from minority cultures. Is the ability to read standard English with understanding an important goal for African American, Hispanic, or Native American children? Is knowledge about the U.S. Constitution as relevant for these groups as for the middle-class, White eighth grader? One senses that as far as the basic skills of dealing with language and numbers are concerned, many of the same objectives would apply, but as one moves into the content areas of history and literature, more divergence might be appropriate.

In part, the questions focus on the specific materials through which basic skills are exhibited. Is the same reading passage about the life of the Zulu appropriate in a reading test for a Hispanic or a Native American youngster as it would be for a child of middle-class background? Or should test materials, and perhaps instructional materials as well, be specifically tailored to the lives and experiences of each ethnic group? We know too little about the importance of factors of specific content on performance in areas such as reading comprehension and need to do further research to make informed decisions.

The motivation of minority groups to do well on tests in school is also an issue. Some minority groups, such as recent immigrants from Southeast Asia, place great emphasis on individual academic achievement. Others, such as some Native American groups, place much more value on communal accomplishments and group identity. In many cases of academic difficulty, we must ask whether unfortunate experiences with testing in school have soured the students on the whole enterprise so that they withdraw from the task and do not try. It is perhaps a challenge to the whole pattern of education, not just the choice of testing instruments, to provide a reasonable mixture of satisfying and success-enhancing experiences in school with all types of school tasks. As far as possible, tasks and tests should be adapted to the present capabilities and concerns of the individual student, but accountability concerns also dictate that this should not come at the expense of achievement.

Many more questions—perhaps more serious ones—are raised when tests are used as a basis for deciding what an individual can learn to do, that is, as an aptitude measure. An inference from a test score obtained at Time 1 concerning what a person can learn to do by Time 2 is clearly a more questionable inference than one that merely states what that person can do at Time 1. There are many intervening events that can throw the prediction off—and there are correspondingly more possibilities of biasing factors coming in to systematically distort the prediction for minority group members. Present facts that imply one prediction for the majority group may imply a different prediction for a minority group member whose experiences before testing were far from typical. Remembering that decisions must be made, the problem is to learn what types of inferences can appropriately be made for individuals with differing backgrounds and what types of adjustments or modifications need to be built into the system to permit the most accurate and equitable inferences and decisions for all people. The best decision-making systems are likely to be those that employ a monitoring process to assess the progress of each student and contain enough flexibility that a correction can be made if the original decision appears to be in error.

Invasion of Privacy

A second concern often expressed involves invasion of privacy. What kind of information is reasonable to require individuals to give about themselves and under what circumstances? This issue arises not only in relation to testing, but also in relation to all types of information
from and about a person. What types of records should appropriately be kept? And to whom should they be made available? At one end of the spectrum are tests of job knowledge or skill, such as clerical tests, to which few would object when the sole criterion is clear and direct—does the candidate pass or fail? At the other end are tests in which the position to which a person is applying and access to the information is limited to potential employers. It is hard to argue that a test of the ability to use a word processor should not be used to select the best candidate for a job where the chief duty will involve word processing. At the other end of the spectrum are self-descriptive instruments that lead to inferences about emotional stability or a scattering of tests that try to assess honesty under temptation to lie or steal, in these latter tests, individuals are led to give information about themselves without being aware of what information they are giving or how it will be interpreted. The use of these instruments seems most open to question. In between are instruments that involve varying degrees of self-revelation and that appear to have varying degrees of immediate relevance to a decision.

The issue is not only what information is being obtained, but also the purpose for which it is obtained. Is the information being obtained at the individual's request to provide help with personal or vocational problems or for use in a counseling relationship? The fact that the person has come for help implies a willingness on his or her part to provide the information needed for help to be given; here, invasion of privacy becomes a matter of relatively minor concern. However, when the information is obtained to further institutional objectives—that is, those of an employer, of an educational institution, or of "science"—then concern for the individual's right to privacy mounts, and some equitable balance must be struck between individual values and rights and social ones. For example, more students were willing to allow the use of a questionnaire to verify the emotional stability of an airline pilot, who is responsible for many lives, than to verify that of a bank clerk (75% vs. 34%). The rights of the individual are not absolute, but the feeling is often expressed that these rights have received too little consideration in the past.

To an increasing extent, the courts are taking a role in deciding what information is allowable. Several court cases have required a demonstration of the validity or relevance of test scores or a demonstration of an individual's capabilities to perform a job before such instruments can be used for employee selection. These court decisions have affected the type of information that may be collected and who may have access to that information. As the security of information stored in computer files becomes more doubtful, privacy concerns also take on increased salience.

The Use of Normative Comparisons

A somewhat different type of issue has been raised concerning the emphasis, in test interpretation, on comparing the performance of one person with norms representing the typical performance of a national, or sometimes a locale, sample of people. The point being made with increasing fervor is that many of the decisions for which tests are used, especially instructional ones, do not call for—and are only confused by—comparisons with other people. The essential information is whether the person can perform a specified task; this information should guide decisions on what should be taught or what tasks should be undertaken next. Of course, there are settings in which comparison with others is essential to sound judgment and decision making. Is the latest applicant at the personnel office a good keyboard operator? How do we define "good keyboard operator" except in terms of the performance of other job applicants? A rate of 60 words per minute with two errors per minute is meaningless unless we know that the average graduate from a commercial school can enter about 70 words per minute with perhaps one error per minute. The employer wants an employee who comes up to a standard of typical performance, and that standard is set by the performance of others. In the same way, a school system trying to evaluate the reading achievement of its sixth-graders is a "good," "satisfactory," or "needing improvement" needs some benchmark against which to compare its own performance. No absolute standard of reading performance exists. Whether it is reasonable to expect the sixth-graders in Center ville to read and understand a particular article in Reader's Digest can only be judged by knowing whether representative groups of sixth-graders nationwide are able to read and understand the same or similar articles.

In the past, normative comparisons with an outside reference group have often been used to guide decisions for which they had little or no relevance. Greater emphasis is now being given to criterion-referenced and mastery tests and to performance assessments. These procedures have an important place in making some sorts of decisions, but not all. We need to know which type of comparison is useful for which situations. When should we ask if a student can satisfactorily perform a specific task? And when should we ask how that student compares in relation to other students? This issue is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Other Factors That Influence Scores

An issue that has concerned measurement professionals and consumers for many years is the extent of extraneous factors on performance. One such factor that has received considerable study is the effect of anxiety. Does anxiety raise or lower performance on achievement tests? Are some groups more prone to this effect than others? If test anxiety does have a systematic effect, what can or should the teacher or examiner do to minimize the effect?

Other factors, such as the nutritional status of students or their ability to concentrate on the tasks at hand, may also affect scores. Two particular factors that have received considerable theoretical attention are (1) the racial, ethnic, or gender relationship between examiner and examinee and (2) the effect of coaching on test performance. Although the effects of these extraneous factors are not clear, public concern over their possible effects has prompted educators and measurement professionals to give them increasing attention.

Rights and Responsibilities of Test Takers

Researchers in all areas of science where living organisms are used in research, including psychologists and educational researchers, have grown increasingly sensitive to the rights of their research participants. Psychologists and counselors in professional practice have also developed a greater awareness of their responsibilities toward their clients. On the research side, this trend has led to the development of institutional research review boards (IRBs) at universities and funding agencies that review planned research on humans and animals to make sure that the rights of the study participants are respected.

In the area of educational and psychological measurement, the awareness of the rights of examinees has, in several publications by the professional organizations most concerned with tests and testing practice. The most influential publication has been a series of sets of guidelines for educational and psychological tests that was first developed by the American Psychological Association in 1954. Since then, the guidelines have been revised four times. The most recent edition, published in 1999 as a joint project of the American Educational Research Association (AERA), the American Psychological Association (APA), and the National Council on Measurement in Education (NCME), titled Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing
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1. Should Charles Turner be encouraged to realize his desire to go to college and law school and become a lawyer?
2. What are the advantages of the alternatives you proposed in Question 3, in comparison with some type of test or questionnaire? What are the disadvantages?
3. To what extent and in what way might values be involved in each of the decisions stated in Question 3?
4. Give an example of each of the following types of tests:
   a. A criterion-referenced achievement test
   b. A norm-referenced achievement test
   c. An aptitude test
   d. A measure of likes and preferences
   e. A measure of personality or adjustment
   f. A measure of a trait or construct
5. For one of the attributes listed here, describe how you might (1) define the attribute, (2) set up procedures to make that attribute observable, and (3) quantify the attribute.
   a. Critical thinking
   b. Friendliness
   c. "Good citizenship" in an elementary school pupil
   d. Competence as an automobile driver
6. The usefulness of tests for making decisions involving minority group members depends on the type of decision involved. For what sorts of decisions would a standardized test be most defensible? For what sorts would one be most questionable?
7. Which of the following practices would you consider acceptable? Which would you consider to be an invasion of privacy? What factors influence your opinion?
   a. Requiring medical school applicants (1) to take an achievement test in chemistry, (2) to fill out a questionnaire designed to assess emotional stability, or (3) to take a scale of attitudes toward socialized medicine
   b. Requiring applicants for a secretarial job (1) to take a test of general intelligence, (2) to take a test of keyboarding speed and accuracy, or (3) to fill out a questionnaire designed to appraise dependability
   c. Giving a 10-year-old boy whose reasoning achievement is at the 8-year-old level (1) a nonverbal test of intellectual ability, (2) an interview focused on the conditions in his home, or (3) a series of diagnostic tests of specific reading skills
8. Why is it important for test users to know and adhere to professional recommendations for appropriate test use?
9. Write down some rights or responsibilities that you believe test users and test takers have. Then go to the American Psychological Association Web site (http://www.apa.org/science/testing.html) and read the rights and responsibilities statement mentioned earlier in this chapter. Are factors listed that were not on your list? Did you include any factors that the statement did not mention?

SUGGESTED READINGS


