The Selection and Evaluation of Teachers.


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The Selection and Evaluation of Teachers

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FOREWORD

The papers that follow call attention to some aspects of teacher-selection programs, including recent legal developments affecting teacher evaluation; the importance of multiple, locally weighted selection criteria; the importance of validating those criteria; and, finally, the special concerns school officials ought to have in hiring minority-group teachers.

A number of people at the American Association of School Personnel Administrators Convention were most generous in their reactions to our remarks. It is unlikely, however, that veteran school personnel administrators will be enormously informed by them since the breadth of the subjects and the limited time available prescribed an overview treatment. But beginning personnel officials and those whose interests require only a modest acquaintance with the field will receive a few helpful insights.

James R. Deneen
Richard M. Majetic
Edward J. Masonis
Thelma L. Spencer
CONTENTS

2 Foreword

5 New Influences on Selection and Evaluation Processes, James R. Deneen

7 Teacher Selection: The Quest for Quality, Richard M. Majetic

10 Planning Validity Studies, Edward J. Masonis

11 Selecting Minority Group Teachers, Thelma L. Spencer
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NEW INFLUENCES ON SELECTION AND EVALUATION PROCESSES

by

James R. Deneen

In education there always appears to be something new under the sun. This paper will focus on one set of recent developments: the dramatic impact of several federal agency and court decisions on the processes of hiring teachers and assessing their competency for promotion.

Even the National Education Association speaks today of a teacher surplus. It seems apparent that the 100,000 qualified teachers who sought but were unable to find jobs in September 1971 will not soon be employed in their profession. On the contrary, their tribe will increase: Over the next three years, colleges apparently will send record-breaking crops of graduates into an inhospitable job market. Only in September 1971 did the enrollment of college freshmen who intend teaching careers show a decline. Thus the current buyers' market most school districts are experiencing will intensify rather than diminish over the next several years. Painful as this condition is from the teachers' viewpoint, it offers school districts an opportunity they haven't experienced since World War II: Personnel directors can usually choose from a wide range of applicants the best possible teachers—if they are able to identify them!

The same problem of identifying competence plagues the promotional process: How can administrators be selected in a manner that is both efficient for the school district and fair to all candidates?

The major thrust of this paper is the opposite side of the preceding question: What have the courts and regulatory agencies said are not equitable selection procedures and what constraints on school district hiring and evaluation procedures are suggested by these decisions? Failure of school administrators to bring their evaluation policies into conformity with law can only lead to inequities; these, in turn, can result in needless, expensive lawsuits which the defendant school districts will probably lose.

Social Antecedents

The origin of recent court cases can, with only slight oversimplification, be traced to recent changes in the status and attitudes of racial minorities in this country. The integration of public schools in the South and the consequent unification of schools and faculties moved some boards of education to redefine their concepts of teaching and administrative competency. At the same time, in many northern cities the disintegration of traditional power structures and agencies of school control had a significant, if quite dissimilar, impact. As black administrators and teachers were being unified out of their jobs in many southern school systems, the increasing black population in many northern urban areas was demanding local control of school personnel decisions: a slowly—many felt too slowly—increasing number of black teachers and administrators were appearing in most northern urban school districts. Nor were blacks alone in voicing concern over what was perceived as underrepresentation in teaching and administrative positions. Especially in major urban areas, Spanish-speaking parents demanded more teachers and administrators who shared the language and cultural background of their Spanish-surnamed students. These factors led to bitter controversy in many school districts, and controversy led to court decisions that placed more stringent demands on school personnel directors.

Executive Regulations

A ruling that must be understood as background to the cases that touch directly on teachers and school administrators is not a court opinion but the Guidelines issued in 1970 by the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission. These requirements for employee-selection procedures emphasize the necessity of validating selection measures; while the Guidelines pay passing respect to content validation (when based on job analyses), their major emphasis is on "empirical data demonstrating that the test is predictive of or significantly correlated with important elements of work behavior which comprise or are relevant to the job or jobs for which candidates are being evaluated." These Guidelines have been cited in court opinions as an important influence on the courts' decision for example, in the Baker case described below.

Nonschool Cases

In March 1971, the U.S. Supreme Court stated in Griggs v. Duke Power Company that employment tests must be "shown to be related to job performance." Justice Burger, writing for the majority, stated:

"Nothing in the [Civil Rights] Act precludes the use of testing or measuring procedures: obviously they are useful. What Congress has forbidden is giving these devices and mechanisms controlling force unless they are demonstrably a reasonable measure of job performance [my italics].

Congress has not commanded that the less qualified be preferred over the better qualified simply because of minority origins. Far from disparaging job qualifications as such, Congress has made such qualifications the controlling factor, so that race, religion, nationality, and sex become irrelevant.

A case involving promotion criteria was decided in September 1971. The plaintiffs in Allen v. The City of Mobile (Alabama) were black police officers who contended that their department's written promotional examinations were not job-related and were racially biased.

The Court found that supervisory rating systems used in Mobile's police promotion policies left much to be desired and showed evidence of bias. The decision urged..."
however, that the department undertake validity studies of its written examinations rather than abandon them. The judge noted that such skills as reading comprehension, memorization, note taking, and other qualities tested by the written examinations possess an obvious daily relationship to a police officer's duties. The Court also noted that suggested alternatives to the standardized tests were highly subjective and invited a spoils-system approach to promotion.

Decisions about School Personnel

In *Baker v. Columbus (Mississippi) Municipal Separate School District*, federal district Judge Orma Smith ruled that the school district had misused results of the National Teacher Examinations (NTE) is making teacher retention, and selection decisions. In the opinion (which has been upheld in the Appellate Court), an accumulation of evidence indicated that the district intended racial discrimination in its teacher hiring and retention policies. In support of this conclusion, the judge cited certain facts brought out in testimony for the teacher-plaintiffs:

1. Between the academic years 1969-70 and 1970-71 the number of black teachers in the Columbus system dropped from 133 to 103, and the number of white teachers dropped from 243 to 234. Thus, the number of black faculty declined 22 percent, while the decline in white faculty was 3 percent.
2. In September 1970, the district hired 43 new white teachers and one new black teacher.
3. Ninety percent of white Mississippi college graduates achieve the cut-off score chosen by the defendant district; 90 percent of the black graduates do not.
4. The district had observed NTE scores for its teachers over a period of years; thus, results of the cut-off score requirements were predictable.
5. There was no attempt on the district's part to validate its cut-off score against district criteria for teacher success. On the contrary, some discharged teachers had received very high principals' rankings.
6. The court found that the district had denied the plaintiffs promised summer employment in retaliation for their filing suit.

The *Baker* decision enjoined the district from using an NTE cut-off score for reemployment or new hiring. It further forbade the district to use standardized tests for employment purposes without permission of the Court; the district must first present to the Court evidence of test validity, the pattern of test results by race of candidates, and the recommendations for test use by the test developer.

A good deal of the Court's reasoning in the *Baker* decision was taken from the affidavit and the oral testimony I offered at the trial. It was evident that the district had taken a series of steps that would eventuate in a virtually all-white teaching staff. Test scores were the basis for these steps; in using these scores, a precision and breadth of measurement were attributed to the tests that Educational Testing Service found quite unjustified. Judge Smith's decision, rendered in June of 1971, concurred with this assessment.

A second important decision with direct impact on a school district's personnel policies was *Chance and Mercado v. The Board of Examiners and the Board of Education of the City of New York* (July 1971). The issue here was the constitutionality of the examinations prepared and administered by the New York City Board of Examiners to candidates seeking permanent appointment as school administrators. The plaintiffs alleged that the examinations discriminated against persons of black and Puerto Rican background, and that the tests had never been validated. Plaintiffs stated that only one percent of the 1,000 licensed principals in New York City are black, and only one principal is Puerto Rican.

In his opinion Judge Mansfield took note of the different score averages of Caucasians compared with those of black and Puerto Rican candidates. The Court stated, however, that this fact alone does not entitle plaintiffs to relief, since the legitimate goal of selection procedures is to provide the best qualified administrators, regardless of race.

In deciding the case for the plaintiffs, the Court relied primarily on what it perceived as inadequate validation of the tests. Since the Board could not satisfy the Court that its current tests had some measurable relation to administrative tasks, and since the test results were adjudged racially discriminatory, their further use was enjoined.

The *Baker* and *Chance* decisions indicate the necessity for multiple, defensible selection criteria. Multiple, because no single selection device measures all the qualities required in an educator; defensible because imposing requirements that have no validated relationship to a task—especially when these requirements result in a racially disproportionate passing rate—will probably be condemned by the courts.

Double Standard

Another recent court decision does not directly touch on school system personnel policies but involves problems and principles similar to those in *Baker* and *Chance*.

In September 1971, a State of Washington Superior Court decided the case of *DeFuns v. The University of Washington*. The issue was whether the University's Law School could admit 30 black students under admission procedures and standards different from those applied to the plaintiff, who was white and whose application was rejected.

The Court found the Law School's enrollment procedures discriminated against Caucasians because minority group applications were segregated and processed by a special committee. Judge Shorette stated that some minority applicants had such modest academic qualifications that "had they been white their applications would have been summarily dismissed." Consequently, the School was ordered to admit Mr. DeFuns.

It's not difficult to draw from the *DeFuns* decision the moral that selection procedures and the qualities they
aim to assess should be spelled out and validated very carefully. The Washington decision raises a serious question for colleges—and perhaps, by extension, for school districts—whether preferential selection of minorities requires some solidly reasoned and well-publicized rationale if it is not to be adjudged illegally discriminatory.

From this brief review of recent federal decisions, one requirement for personnel selection—whether an emotional—what kind of measure emerges above all others: Any measure—above all, a measure with a specified passing score—must be validated and proven to be reliable. Predictive validity, that is, the demonstration of a significant relationship between the selection instruments and job performance, is becoming increasingly critical.

The courts have repeatedly stated that differential scores or passing rates by race, sex, and so on are not in themselves evidence of illegal discrimination. They should, however, prompt personnel officials to study the reasonableness of the evaluation criteria. An important implication of this need for study is that personnel directors should be aware of the scoring patterns on all selection criteria for subgroups of applicants.

TEACHER SELECTION: THE QUEST FOR QUALITY

by

Richard M. Majetic

How many of us have read a good mystery story or seen a fine mystery movie in which the innocent looking young thing was really working in collusion with the murderer? How many of us have looked at a flower and seen only its appealing color and not been aware of its intricate and delicate construction from its calyx to its serrated petals? How many of us, how many times, have made decisions on intuition and initial appearance rather than assembling all the data we could gather about the problem, critically analyzing the data, and then rendering an objective decision based on the facts? I dare say most of us have at some time done each of these things.

We cannot, however, operate in this fashion as personnel administrators if we are going to perform professionally the task of teacher selection, since the quality of a school is in large measure determined by the quality of its staff. The personnel administrator can make choices based on subjective judgment or intuition, or he can utilize a systematic approach that will provide him with comprehensive objective data upon which to make a decision.

Years ago in many schools, job seekers sought out an ally on the school board or in the administration in order to be appointed as teachers. Teacher quality was subordinated to the taking care of friends and relatives. Not infrequently, money changed hands. The advent of competitive selection processes has resulted in the principle that hiring should be based on merit and fitness.

If we accept the fact that the quality of schools is in large measure determined by the quality of staff, and if we also accept the fact that the personnel director can exercise a professional role in determining that quality, where do we begin?

The starting point in any personnel program involves identifying the major duties to be performed, the human traits or skills essential to that performance, and—the standards of evaluation to be applied to the person selected for the job. This knowledge is indispensable to bridge the gaps between recruitment, selection, placement, and evaluation. It is equally indispensable if we are to build a comprehensive system. The establishment of such descriptions should be a responsibility shared among teachers and building principals as well as supervisors and the school superintendent.

What is selection? Selection implies preference and choice related to a set of values. In school personnel administration it means preferential choosing of human talent for teaching in accordance with the values attached to the schools in your system. It represents an unbroken cycle that revolves about manpower needs, human resources, and work effectiveness.

As professionals, each of us is a theoretician, for each summarizes his knowledge of selection in some meaningful way. That is, we try to make sense out of the facts that we have to work with. And I hope that as theoreticians, we keep our theory open to revision consistent with new findings. What it takes is intellectual curiosity and an open mind—a willingness to explore new avenues.

Selection is based on prediction. When one candidate is hired from among many, the assumption is that predictors of successful job performance are in his favor. Accurate prediction hinges on the correctness of the underlying theoretical assumptions. There is, in fact, no prediction without theory; all the decisions we make or actions we take rest on assumptions about behavior. Only as we examine and test our theoretical assumptions can we hope to make them more adequate, to remove inconsistencies, and thus to improve the ability to predict.

What IS a Good Selection Process?

A good selection process should meet four objectives:

1. It should enable us to organize and simplify the task
of screening large numbers of applicants for those who are potential candidates. This is a vital concern especially for those in large cities who must deal with large numbers of candidates.  

2. It should enable us to identify and hire the best qualified.  

3. Such a process must also take into account the general need to bring more members of minority groups into teaching. A constant review of selection procedures can help to modify selection processes that eliminate disproportionate numbers of minorities.  

4. Finally, the process should be objective, defensible, and fair. The fact that an element in the selection process is objective does not necessarily mean that it is fair; it should be all three—objective, defensible, and fair.  

What procedures can be used to implement a good selection process? We will have to assume that the staff has identified the duties to be performed and has agreed upon the objectives to be sought. I use the plural here because there is no one criterion on which we define a teacher's job nor is there any one characteristic we tend to look for in the absence of all others. Because of the multiple criteria that must be applied in evaluating teacher performance, it is important that we apply multiple criteria in the selection process as well.  

While a college degree unquestionably has significance, it is difficult to pinpoint just what the degree specifies. It is not like a certificate that states the holder can type 60 words a minute. Moreover, colleges offer no uniform courses and vary widely in the level of work required. Therefore, it is up to the personnel administrator to apply requirements beyond the mere possession of a degree.  

The criteria included below do not represent an exhaustive list or one on which we could achieve consensus. But they do suggest some major qualities to which you can attach whatever weights are appropriate for your district.  

Some Selection Criteria  

The first criterion on which we can probably agree is subject-matter competence. The teacher we hire must be able to demonstrate that she is knowledgeable about the subject he will teach.  

Second, the teacher should know something about how to teach—he should have information about the growth and development of the children he will teach as well as a repertoire of knowledge about how to present his subject.  

Third, the teacher should possess certain psycho-social qualities. His appearance and mannerisms should not be offensive, and he should be mature enough to interact successfully with parents and others in the community as well as the students in his classroom. He should be sufficiently flexible so that he can analyze himself and his skills and be able to change and improve as he encounters new experiences and new situations.  

Fourth, his health must be sufficient to provide the energy and enthusiasm required for the job.  

Fifth, a teacher must exhibit an acceptable set of attitudes. To enable his students to want what is worth wanting, a teacher must himself want what is worthwhile. What a teacher believes, he teaches.  

Sixth, a teacher must represent dependability. The school and the community have a right to expect certain levels of productivity. This does not necessarily mean that we are more impressed by the person who has made time to publish several articles while he was in college but rather by a person who can get the assigned job done.  

Seventh, a teacher should be able to communicate effectively in order to perform his job.  

The procedures used to collect information should conform to the four objectives I mentioned earlier and should be appropriate to the type of information to be gathered. The procedures most commonly used to gather information about subject-matter competence are: college records, examinations, or observations. College records-grade-point averages, rank in class, or specific course grades—are not easily compared. Unless we can gather sufficient information about each of the colleges from which our applicants will be drawn, this procedure may be less systematic or defensible than it appears at first glance. Examinations, on the other hand, permit the application of a common yardstick to all candidates.  

Good examinations should exhibit high reliability and be valid for the purposes we intend. Of course, examinations can be misused. Frequently, this means that the score on the examination is given more weight that it deserves and other desirable traits or characteristics are not adequately weighted into a hiring decision. Subject-matter competence can also be observed in demonstration lessons by teachers or others expert in their fields. In large districts this may prove unmanageable, however, because of the manpower required to observe large numbers of candidates.  

The second criterion mentioned was that the applicant know something about how to teach. Obviously the practice teaching record should be important. This record is difficult to evaluate because the supervisor of practice teaching may apply different criteria than those your district uses. Examinations can get at the cognitive knowledge but not at the appropriate application of that knowledge. Again, observation is a powerful technique but one that is very demanding of manpower and time.  

What about psycho-social qualities? The interview is most widely used to gather information about this aspect of selection. Standardizing the interview procedure so that the information collected is quantified and objectively treated is the only defensible way to treat these data. By “standardizing” I mean first, developing some kind of instrument, second, the thorough training of the people who will use it, and third, multiple interviewers or evaluators. Without quantification and standardization, the interview may result in uneven data among candidates and keep us locked into using intuition instead of science. Recommendations are also used but are subject to the same limitations as the interview. Although personality tests are available and used by industry, the better ones require clinical interpretations and a result are fairly
expensive to use on any wide scale.

The state of a teacher's health is best ascertained by a thorough physical examination. Although certain conditions of health can be determined by an interview, it is better to rely on the judgment of a physician.

Since a teacher's attitudes affect his professionalism, his scholarliness, and his view of the world, this is important information to include in the selection process. Instruments that measure attitude tend to be less reliable and more fakeable than those that measure achievement; thus judgments on attitudes should be tentative and appropriately weighted with other measures. The interview permits us to collect data on attitudes, interests, and values but again must be standardized and quantified to be useful.

The sixth dimension, dependability, is a complex one that is important in the evaluation of job performance. College records as well as recommendations give us some information about this trait. An instrument that can be filled out by persons recommending the candidate can include those elements of dependability we deem essential and gives us data in some quantifiable format.

Communication ability is an equally complicated factor because it refers not only to writing and speaking but also to listening. Thus, each of the assessment techniques available to us is only a partial measure. Through a paper and pencil test we can measure the candidates' ability to write correctly. Through practice teaching or an interview we can sometimes determine whether he can listen effectively. I say "sometimes," because frequently in the limited time of an interview the teacher feels he must talk rather than listen. Again, the interview-observation poses limitations because of time requirements.

The preceding selection criteria represent one set of criteria expressed from one philosophical view which might be termed the essentialist's view of the world. That is, in order for a person to perform some particular task, in this case teach, it is important to identify some minimal set of characteristics and skills that will maximize the possibility that the tasks will be performed. The philosophy and the criteria are open to criticism—as they should be. Your goal should be to provide the leadership to construct a basis for selection that will intelligently use available research and will stand public scrutiny. Jay Greene's* new book offers practical suggestions as well as references to research that should help you construct or modify your program.

Evaluation through Performance Criteria

For several years, some educators have discussed performance criteria as a productive way to evaluate a teacher or teacher candidate. Currently we at Educational Testing Service are embarked on a project to test the feasibility of such a notion. Various taxonomies of teaching skills have been synthesized to produce a minimal set of skills that focus on the teaching act itself. In addition to this taxonomy, we have developed several standardized micro teaching units that permit us to assess the teacher's ability to conduct a small-group instruction. A second set of measures will get at the teacher's ability to question effectively. In addition to the microteaching units and the traditional paper-and-pencil format, we are producing a short movie to be used as the stimulus material to get at additional skills listed in the taxonomy.

As newer and better instruments are constructed, your selection theories and procedures will undoubtedly change. One model that may be of interest involves the creation of assessment centers. These centers would result from the formation of a consortium between a school system, a college, and professional organizations. Candidates applying for positions within the school system would be required to go to the center for evaluation. The techniques used would include a demonstration of teaching and the assessment of other characteristics by examination as well as a personal interview. The procedure would be standardized so that each candidate would be treated objectively and fairly. Since the performance criteria are directly job-related, the measurements would permit more accurate predictions of success. We are interested in your reactions to these ideas.

Summary

In summary, a good selection process should meet four important objectives:

1. It should permit you to simplify the task of looking at large numbers of applicants.
2. It should enable you to select the best qualified people.
3. It should take account of the special problems faced by minority candidates.
4. It should be objective, defensible, and fair.

From an essentialist point of view, some important selection criteria useful in the evaluation of teacher candidates include:

1. Subject matter competence
2. Knowledge about teaching
3. Psychosocial qualities
4. Health
5. Attitudes—interests—values
6. Dependability
7. Communication skills

As you construct your selection procedures, consider yourself both practitioners and theoreticians. School personnel administration is a profession that can contribute greatly to the quality of American education. Your challenge is to make this mission possible.

My colleagues have suggested that today, more than ever before, school districts must be able to defend the adequacy of their selection and promotion procedures. I do not mean to imply that this has not been done before, or that selection and promotion programs are typically the result of mindless drift. Virtually every district has taken some time to analyze its staff needs and devise a selection-promotion system that reflects them. However, if you have accepted the message of Dr. Deneen's review of recent court decisions as well as Dr. Majetic's suggestion that in this day of educational revolution greater care must be taken when school districts devise their selection-promotion programs, then you must be convinced that a simple content review of these programs will not suffice.

School districts must increasingly be concerned with statistical, empirical, or scientific analysis or, to use the textbook terminology, "validity studies." Through such studies, personnel officials can gather empirical evidence proving to a statistically significant degree that their selection-promotion procedures distinguish between those candidates who can perform the prescribed job functions and those who cannot.

Many of you may now be considering how such studies can be done in your district; some, however, may find themselves willing and eager to apply science to personnel selection but hesitant to proceed into unfamiliar territory. It is possible in the narrow confines of this paper to offer at least some general guidelines.

There is always the risk that a school district, convinced of the need to validate its selection criteria, may be tempted to conduct a hastily planned and easily executed study that will yield results that are very difficult to interpret. An example is that of a school personnel administrator who plans a validity study of his district's teacher-selection procedure. The district collects several kinds of information on each candidate: personal history review, an education history review, achievement tests, and interviews. Since this district's selection procedure has not changed significantly over the past several years and since each selected candidate has been rated at least once by his principal or supervisor, the school personnel administrator decides to use these inservice ratings as the criterion measure and compute simple correlations between these rating scores and the candidates' scores on each selection measure.

When the results are in, the administrator, who felt his selection procedures were highly defensible, finds that the correlations between the inservice ratings and each of the selection measures are embarrassingly low. Now, instead of being able to offer the results as evidence of the correctness of his selection procedures, the administrator is faced with the difficult task of explaining to everyone, including himself, just what these low correlations indicate. Some of the questions he must answer are: How can he explain the poor correlations in light of his previous feelings about the fairness and professionalism of the selection procedures? What kind of correlations should he have expected? How much faith should he place in the results of the study?

Because this administrator oversimplified the problem by considering a validity study as a simple correlation between selection procedures and inservice ratings, and because he assumed that the procedures he used were an adequate basis for such a study, he probably will never be able to answer these questions. The question "How much faith should he place in the results of the study?" cannot be answered unless data are available on the quality of the procedures used to rate the teacher's inservice performance as well as data about the quality of the selection procedures. How good is the rating instrument? Does it adequately reflect the actual duties and functions performed by the teachers in that district, or is it simply a device that was adopted from a textbook or another school district? For example, does it include heavy emphasis on the general culture or academic education of industrial arts teachers whose performance almost exclusively requires knowledge about their subject?

The quality of the study will be directly related to the extent that the rating scale (criterion instrument) reflects the qualities, skills, and knowledge needed to perform the specific daily functions of the teachers in that district. But the relevance of the inservice rating instrument is only one factor; before an administrator can feel comfortable with the results of a particular study he must determine the stability of the ratings obtained. For example, if the ratings of the same teacher by two or more individuals result in widely divergent pictures of the teacher, then that rating scale may not be providing a measure of performance stable enough to use in a validity study. (Of course, the problem may be in the raters themselves.) Thus the faith a school personnel administrator may place on the results of a validity study is in part related to the reliability of the inservice rating instrument.

What kind of correlations should the administrator expect from a given study? How can poor correlations between selection measures and inservice performance be explained? Answers to these questions can be obtained by gathering the following information:

1. What are the characteristics of each selection procedure used? How reliable are the procedures? How different are they in terms of the kind of information they provide about the candidates?
2. What are the characteristics of the inservice rating instrument? How valid is it? How reliable is it?
3. How have the data on each candidate been collected? Who collected the data? Over what time period?
4. What is the nature of the candidate group? Is it relatively homogeneous? What inconsistencies occur in the training received by members of the candidate group?
5. What are the qualities of selected candidates? What percentage of the candidate group is selected? How do selected candidates differ from unselected ones?

While an administrator who obtains these data cannot be assured that his study will generate high positive correlations between the teacher-selection measures and inservice-performance measures, he will be able to determine how much faith he can place in the results.

Some Guidelines

What suggestions can I offer to help you plan and conduct acceptable validity studies? I suppose the list could be almost endless, and as you think about doing these studies, you will discover what I am omitting. But to begin, there are some simple, obvious, and often overlooked guidelines I can suggest:

1. Don't be afraid to use rating scales to obtain measures of inservice performance. The criticisms professionals level at rating scales are more a function of the poor quality of the scales that are used rather than of the concept of rating scales per se. For those of you who need encouragement, I offer a quote from Rosenshine and Furst's chapter on "Research on Teacher Performance Criteria" from Research in Teacher Education. "We note that the early expectations that the counting of relatively objective teaching behaviors would yield consistent significant correlations with student achievement certainly have not been fulfilled. Indeed, the most promising results have been obtained in studies in which teacher behavior was described using rating scales."

2. Don't use the rating scale your district uses routinely to estimate inservice performance unless you know how valid the instrument is. The scale must be appropriate to the functions performed by a person in the position being studied, and it must describe the characteristics and the quality levels specifically.

3. If you decide to construct a special rating scale for the validity study, do not use it in the study until it has been pretested. The pretest will provide you with information about the scale's reliability, it will expose the instrument's weaknesses, and it will provide the raters with practice in using the instrument.

4. Train those who will be using the scale so their understanding of the scale items—and the reliability of their ratings—will be improved.

5. Analyze your selection procedures and try to determine whether you should expect any relationship to exist between the selectors and the inservice ratings. For example, one should not expect strong correlations between a candidate's achievement test scores and his ratings on such traits as courtesy, poise, or ability to get along with others; one may, however, hope for strong relationships between these same traits and the personality ratings given candidates during the interview stage of the selection process.

6. Look to college and university faculties or other technically qualified sources for assistance in planning the study. The subtleties of study design, data collection, and data processing are such that some expert counsel is often helpful when these phases are being planned and executed.

SELECTING MINORITY GROUP TEACHERS

by

Thelma L. Spencer

The problem of hiring competent teachers presents many pitfalls for those charged with the responsibility of staffing a district's classrooms. However, there are even more serious problems connected with recruitment and hiring of teachers who are members of cultural minority groups—American Indians, blacks, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and others, including Appalachian whites.

Several cautions must be observed when one has this responsibility. I cannot, of course, give you an infallible set of rules you should follow. I'd be sure to omit something important and all rules have exceptions. But the cautions I offer are those that will assist you in the situations that occur most frequently.

The first and by far the most important caution is that you avoid in conversation and interviews demeaning or condescending words and phrases, such as "some of my best friends . . .," or "I had a colored (or Negro) friend when I was a kid." Let me warn you, too, about using "black" when addressing those who were most generally called "Negro." Not all persons of Afro-American heritage wish to be called "black" so be aware of the chance you take when you use that term in an interview.

Avoid asking the individual if he knows "Dave Brown who lives on the east side." Not all whites know all other whites in a city of any size at all, and to expect that a black in Chicago, for example, would know every other
black person is absurd. There are 3.5 million people in Chicago, one-third of whom are black, so you merely make yourself look ridiculous when you ask this sort of question. Very few minority people know all the other members of their ethnic group who live in the same city. Remember, those who live in the ghetto are not locked up at night and prevented from associating with other members of society. On the other hand, they don't all socialize with each other either. The drugstore janitor does not hobnob with the black dentist or the high school principal. Socioeconomic class lines operate within minority groups just as they do elsewhere.

Don't try out your high school or sophomore-level Spanish with a Chicano or Puerto Rican candidate and, above all, don't lapse into what you think is the ethnic idiom.

One Set of Standards for Everyone

I feel strongly that you should have one set of standards for everyone. Don't settle for a minority person who is less qualified than other teachers in your district. That's just another form of racism, and since these people are most generally assigned to schools where they are in the majority racial group, you will, in effect, be crippling the children they will be teaching. Ask yourself if you would hire the individual if he were white. If the answer is "no", then don't hire him no matter what pressures you are facing.

The same set of standards should also be applied to incumbent teachers. If a teacher is incompetent, he shouldn't be teaching in your school system. Many administrators fear the community reaction when a minority person is fired. They fear the allegation of racism and the charge that the person is no more competent than some whites in the same system. This may be true, but your task is clear. Get rid of the incompetent teacher no matter what his color or ethnic background. One set of standards for all might be difficult to establish, but the level of difficulty should not prevent your trying to achieve it. Simply be as certain as possible that your standards of judgment are defensible and related to the needs of your district.

The next caveat concerns the notion that only "super blacks" or "super Chicanos" or "super whatever" should be hired. Let's not kid ourselves; there are few superior people of any ethnic background to be found in public school classrooms. We must (and do) settle for average talent in the white group. Can we demand more when we seek to hire minorities? We must establish reasonable standards of teaching competence and academic ability that hold for every applicant. Education faces stiff competition from other fields for capable minority individuals, so impossible high standards are not going to be met in the teaching profession. The days when blacks, especially women, could look forward to nothing but teaching and social work are gone.

Equally important, you should select very carefully the first teachers assigned to schools that are attended and staffed mostly by members of a different ethnic group. A white teacher in a predominantly ethnic school faces as difficult a situation as a black or Chicano or Puerto Rican in a school setting where he is in the minority.

Problems of Recruiting

There are special problems of selecting minority teachers. One of the serious and one which by no means receives its proper share of attention is the matter of housing. To assign a new teacher to a school far removed from the area in which he lives, particularly in the north with its inclement weather, is not good personnel policy. One reason many black teachers in Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and other cities refuse assignments to schools far from the ghettos in which they live is the problem of finding housing closer to their place of work. Public transportation being what it is in our urban areas, they would be imposing an unnecessary hardship upon themselves to accept an assignment that required them to travel three or four hours per day on buses and other forms of public transportation. I know a teacher in Los Angeles whose forty-minute drive to work is extended to two hours if she has to use the buses. New teachers who have just completed their education and may still be paying for it often do not have the savings or sufficient credit lines to purchase automobiles.

An additional consideration is the matter of the community resources and social activities available to young people who are new to the city or school district. This is a more serious problem for minorities. No matter how willing a young teacher may be to accept assignment to a school in an area where he is in the minority, no matter how competent he might be, and no matter how satisfying the teaching job, he still needs an after-school life. If the area and its activities are not as accessible to him as they are to a white teacher, and he has no outlet for social intercourse away from the school setting, he will be working under a severe psychological and mental strain.

The next problem, which is more endemic to the South than to the North, is the reluctance of black teachers to accept assignment to schools that are being integrated. The displacement, demotion, and firing of black teachers in the South have discouraged many from accepting job offers there. It should be pointed out, however, that even in the North many black teachers hesitate to accept jobs because they feel that they are being used as tokens who will be reassigned when the heat is off.

We should be sensitive to the problem faced by the person who is the pioneer, whether he be black, white, brown, red, or yellow. He would be less than human if he did not have some fears about being the first. Showing that you recognize this will often be the one straw he can grasp as he considers your offer of a position in your district.

The attitudes of recruiters about black colleges and universities influence selection and hiring procedures more
than most of us realize. There is among many whites a widely held belief that all black colleges are inferior to all white colleges. Actually, they are not rated among the traditionally Negro colleges as high as the relative status as do the bottom whites. The measures of educational availability or attainment (doctorates among faculty and earned by graduates; library holdings; endowment) except the value of buildings, grounds, and equipment.

Most blacks come from moderately good colleges just as most whites do. Few of us here are products of the Ivy League schools, Case Western Reserve, Mills, or Vassar. Most of us graduated from state colleges and universities just as most blacks did. Keep in mind one very important fact, however: The whites who are in the lowest economic class in this country do not as often seek higher education as do blacks in similar economic circumstances.

One result of this attitude is that graduates of traditional black colleges often receive proposals made to assist displaced black teachers through retraining programs, which appear to be based on the assumption that black institutions of higher education are inferior. One thing often overlooked is that many of those who were teaching in segregated black schools and who are now being integrated into unified districts are holders of graduate degrees from the same large northern and western state universities where you received your undergraduate and graduate degrees. The dual educational system in the South and the fact that blacks were denied entrance to southern graduate schools was responsible for this state of affairs. If you believe that they were granted their graduate degrees for a lesser achievement than your own, then your institutions are guilty of duplicity, of a double standard, and, perhaps, of a questionable level of integrity. What are your own degrees worth, if this is true?

Do not write off the impact of black institutions on the educational system of your state. I mentioned earlier the attitudes held by many whites about black colleges. Many school people probably think it is not important because black colleges have smaller enrollments and present only a small pool into which you dip your recruiting toe. Consider, however, the fact that one college in one southern state has provided one-half of all the administrators in that state. I refer to Jackson State College in Mississippi. If you say you are not going to hire teachers from Jackson State because they are from what you feel is an inferior school, then you are restricting your pool of eligibles to only 50 percent of all the teachers trained in Mississippi, and you are wasting a great deal of the taxpayers' money. Approximately 62 percent of the students at Jackson State prepare in elementary education. Contrast this with the fact that only 9 percent of the degrees from Howard University are in education and it becomes very clear that the majority of black teachers do not come from the Howards, Fisks, Bennetts, or Spelmans.

The problem of recruiting blacks for our nation's classrooms is further confounded by the "black brain drain." Studies have shown that the black students presently enrolling in traditionally white southern four-year colleges are stronger academically as a group than those attending the traditional black colleges. A recent Carnegie Commission study found also that black students going to Northern and Western four-year colleges are superior academically to other student groups of similar socioeconomic and educational backgrounds, a fact explained in part by the students among them who have been especially recruited and subsidized by selective private colleges.

The traditional black colleges that stand to suffer most from the competition of the highly selective white colleges are those that would ordinarily attract the strongest applicants; a number of potentially superior students who might have enrolled in them have not done so. The result is that the black colleges, despite their expanding enrollments, are enrolling the less able student. The skim milk is left to these institutions because the cream has been taken off by the white institutions now engaged in active recruitment of minority students.

Remember, however, that the same thing occurs to a great extent with white college students. The more able ones are wooed and won by the more selective institutions, leaving the rest for the large state institutions, the teachers' colleges, and the less selective private ones. Even with the white candidates you consider, you are not getting the cream of the crop.

Two other aspects of the recruiting problem involve place and procedure. Where do you recruit? If your attitude about black colleges is a negative one, then you have not looked on those campuses. But you should, you must, if you are going to solve your problem. Consider all appropriate institutions wherever and whatever they might be-integrated or segregated; north or south; male or female; denominational or nondenominational. I am not asking you to go to the poorest black schools because I know you do not go to the poorest white schools, but you must include on your recruiting itinerary such institutions as Spelman, Fisk, Morgan State, Lincoln, Cheyney, Southern University—schools that are not unlike white colleges of similar size and composition of student body.

The how of recruiting is also of significance. You should insert ads in black weekly and daily newspapers, in monthly and quarterly publications like the NAACP's Crisis, in sorority and fraternity journals, and in college and university publications. You should attend job-opportunity clinics. Above all, you should be aware of word of mouth. A satisfied teacher is the best advertisement you can have; the opposite is equally true.

A final suggestion to help ease your recruitment problem is the mixed recruiting team. The members, or partners, should be equal; not, as generally occurs, the black subordinate to the white on white campuses, and the reverse on black campuses. People pick up on such things and the impression is created that, as always, the white is really the boss, and the black is competent only in dealing "with his people."
What about Selection Instruments? What should you look for in a selection instrument? The other papers in this series have offered more technical discussions in this area so I will not repeat what they have said. I should like to talk instead about what the use of selection instruments means when applied to candidates from ethnic groups.

Which do you consider more important—test norms or the result of a personal interview? This is a loaded question, I admit, because I do have a preference. Given all the other things included in your selection process, let us suppose you are at the point of making a decision on the candidate. The interview has shown you a person who is warm, outgoing, pleasing in appearance, capable of expressing himself well, and demonstrating other desirable qualities, but having a composite NTE test score of 850. Your test score requirement is 1,000. Which criterion carries the most weight in your decision—the test score or the interview?

I hope you make your decision on the basis of the personal interview, provided that the candidate's college record and student teaching experience lead you to believe that he has what it takes. Consider the impression he will have on his students and his colleagues. I doubt if there are many of you who would turn down a candidate with a C+ or B average, a record of participation in college activities, good references, satisfactory completion of student teaching, a pleasing personality, and a composite NTE score 850 for one who has a B average, good references, satisfactory completion of student teaching, few college activities, a personality like a dead fish, and an NTE score of 1,200. The choice is almost made for us if we want what is good for youngsters.

Another illustration might more sharply point up what I am trying to get across to you. Let's imagine you're recruiting for teachers for schools in Nashville or Dallas. Two of your candidates had grade-point averages of 3.0, satisfactory student teaching, good references, pleasing personalities, a variety of extracurricular activities, and combined NTE scores of 1,000. Which one would you choose if one had white skin and the other black? The same question could be asked if you are from Hempstead, Long Island or Clayton, Missouri or Cherry Creek, Colorado.

If you set recruitment standards that have not been met by the teachers currently in your system, you may have some discontented teachers on your hands or none at all. A graduate of Spelman College with a composite NTE score of 1,290, for example, could not be expected to remain for long in a so-called desegregated classroom in Rome, Georgia. If her education taught her anything at all, it made clear that she should seek to improve her social standing through moving up on the economic ladder, not standing still or moving down. This candidate would consider herself woefully underemployed and would leave at the first opportunity just as do whites who are assigned to inner-city schools against their wishes.

Finally, I should like to discuss the racial bias found in selection criteria. Remember, first of all, that only two percent of the entire human race can be said to be in the genius category. This applies no matter what the color of the skin in which the intelligence is found and measured. When you set impossibly high standards, you are being unrealistic in your expectation that there are sufficient numbers of people in this category. In addition (and I refer you back to the previous discussion of norms), you can be excluding some very capable people if your selection criteria have not been established on a rational basis. Although, we are all looking to upgrade our faculties, we cannot do it with unreasonable criteria.

It should be pointed out, too, that we must overcome the tendency to want to use only blacks and other minorities when we begin shifting about and assigning people for the purpose of integration. We cannot and should not expect minorities to bear the full responsibility for integrating our nation's social institutions, particularly the schools that touch, in one way or another, upon the lives of all of us.

There is a built-in obstacle in selection criteria that carries strong overtones of racial bias, for many blacks particularly. Phased-out teachers have, I feel, most properly objected to the policy of requiring job interviews for their reassignment. Many of these teachers believe that these interviews are required because of race. Having already qualified for employment in segregated schools, they feel they should not be required to prove their qualifications again for the integrated assignment.

Selection criteria should involve not only the candidate but the employer as well. The period of transition when a system is desegregating is a crucial one for everyone involved. If moral support and administrative help in desegregating the schools are not given to those who are the frontline troops, then you have to be sure that those whom you do hire have the psychological toughness to go it alone. The individual's ability to adjust, to roll with the punches, is critical to the success of desegregation, and you have to develop some way of evaluating these qualities. If you are going to provide a program of activities such as in-service institutes, workshops, and seminars, then you can hire someone about whom you may have doubts. If you are not going to give him the in-service help he needs and has a right to expect, then your selection criteria and your evaluation of his potential must reflect this.