

Standards, Assessment, and Equality of Educational Opportunity

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For some thirteen centuries, the Chinese government recruited its officials through an intricate system of examinations . . . The purpose of the examination systems was, first, to break up the hereditary aristocracy and, second, to collect talent for the state. "The world's men of unusual ambitions have been trapped in my bag!" boasted the emperor Tai-tsung (627-649) after watching a procession of new graduates. (Walzer, 1983, p. 140)

The two-fold purpose of testing that Michael Walzer describes has a quite modern ring. Similar to these justifications for the ancient Chinese civil service system, today testing is commonly advanced as both a fair means of distributing opportunities—because it rewards talent rather than birthright—and an efficient means—because it puts talent in service to society. One of the major problems that beset the Chinese system also has a modern ring. In particular, individuals who were talented but disadvantaged by social circumstances did not perform well on the examinations. Thus, insuring equality of educational opportunity was required for testing to make good on its claims. According to Walzer (1983), this is something it never managed to do.

Testing has recently occupied a central role in proposals for school reform: It is variously touted as the key to improving student and teacher performance, the curriculum, and economic competitiveness. But ample research evidence demonstrates that educational testing works to the disadvantage of various minority groups, as well as girls and women (e.g., AAUW, 1992; Gould, 1981; Haney, 1984, 1993;

Oakes, 1985, 1990; Pearson & Garcia, 1994). Paralleling the Chinese experience, then, inequality of educational opportunity poses a significant obstacle to claims made on behalf of educational testing.

That certain groups are "disadvantaged" by educational testing, however, in the sense that they receive different opportunities as a result of it, provides only a *prima facie* case against educational testing. There may be ways of justifying the decisions made on the basis of differential test performance that are consistent with the requirements of equality. This article critically examines this general proposition, particularly the claims for testing incorporated into educational reform proposals over approximately the last 10 years. My discussion is framed largely in terms of the principle of equality of educational opportunity. Thus, I begin with a few remarks about the position this principle occupies within the broader terrain of social justice.

The principle of equality of educational opportunity is a specific instance of the general principle of equality of opportunity. The latter serves as a criterion for determining whether given social arrangements are just: It stipulates that so long as individuals are afforded equal opportunities to obtain social goods, inequalities in the distribution of such goods are morally permissible. The principle of equality of educational opportunity focuses this reasoning specifically on education: It stipulates that so long as individuals are afforded equal opportunities to obtain an education, inequalities in educational results are morally permissible. On the assumption that educational attainment is an important

determinant of the range of opportunities that individuals enjoy for other social goods, an assumption widely shared since *Brown v. Board of Education*, satisfying the principle of equality of educational opportunity is a prerequisite to satisfying the more general principle.

Precisely what is required to obtain equality of educational opportunity, however, is highly contested. There are at least three competing conceptions: formal, compensatory, and democratic (Howe, 1993a.) Each supports a different perspective on just educational testing.

The Formal Framework

A formal conception of equality of educational opportunity may be identified with requiring the absence of barriers to access based on "morally irrelevant" characteristics such as race or gender. "Morally relevant" characteristics, however, may be used to distribute educational opportunities differentially. Academic performance, as measured by tests, is the paradigm case of such a characteristic.

On the recent scene, testing schemes that embrace a formal conception of equality of educational opportunity typically have educational reform as their central aim. *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983) and *America 2000* (U.S. Department of Education, 1991) are good examples. Rigorous stan-

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web this sponsorship agreement hereby called the agreement is entered into by car racing team firstname herein referred to as the race team organized as a corporation limited liability and located at car racing team streetaddress car racing team city car racing team state car racing team postalcode

