Student evaluations of teaching: Teaching quantitative courses can be hazardous to one's career

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Anonymous student evaluations of teaching (SETs) are used by colleges and universities to measure teaching effectiveness and to make decisions about faculty hiring, firing, reappointment, promotion, tenure, and merit pay. Although numerous studies have found that SETs correlate with various teaching effectiveness irrelevant factors (TEIFs) such as subject, class size, and grading standards, it has been argued that such correlations are small and do not undermine the validity of SETs as measures of professors' teaching effectiveness. However, previous research has generally used inappropriate parametric statistics and effect sizes to examine and to evaluate the significance of TEIFs on personnel decisions. Accordingly, we examined the influence of quantitative vs. non quantitative courses on SET ratings and SET based personnel decisions using 14, 872 publicly posted class evaluations where each evaluation represents a summary of SET ratings provided by individual students responding in each class. In total, 325,538 individual student evaluations from a US mid-size university contributed to theses class evaluations. The results demonstrate that class subject (math vs. English) is strongly associated with SET ratings, has a substantial impact on professors being labeled satisfactory vs. unsatisfactory and excellent vs. non-excellent, and the impact varies substantially depending on the criteria used to classify professors as satisfactory vs. unsatisfactory. Professors teaching quantitative courses are far more likely not to receive tenure, promotion, and/or merit pay when their performance is evaluated against common standards.

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9 **Abstract:**

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37 Introduction

38 Anonymous student evaluations of teaching (SETs) are used by colleges and universities to 39 measure teaching effectiveness and to make decisions about faculty hiring, firing, re-appointment, promotion, tenure, and merit pay. Although SETs are relatively reliable when average ratings across 40 41 five or more courses (depending on class size) are used, their validity has been questioned. Specifically, numerous studies have found that SETs correlate with various teaching effectiveness 42 irrelevant factors (TEIFs) such as class size (Benton & Cashin, 2012), subject (Benton & Cashin, 43 44 2012), and professor hotness/sexiness (Felton, Koper, Mitchell, & Stinson, 2008; Felton, Mitchell, & Stinson, 2004). However, it is often argued that correlations between TEIFs and SETs are small and 45 therefore do not undermine the validity of SETs (Beran & Violato, 2005; Centra, 2009). To illustrate, 46 47 Beran and Violato (2005) examined correlations between several TEIFs and SETs using over 370,000 individual student ratings. Although they reported d = 0.61 between ratings of courses in natural vs 48 49 social science, they further analyzed their data using regression analyses and concluded that course 50 characteristics, including the discipline, were not important. They wrote: "From examining numerous student and course characteristics as possible correlates of student ratings, results from the present 51 study suggest they are not important factors." (p. 599). Similarly, using Educational Testing Service 52 53 data from 238,471 classes, Centra (2009) found that the natural sciences, mathematics, engineering, 54 and computer science courses were rated about 0.30 standard deviation lower than courses in the 55 humanities (English, history, languages) and concluded that "a third of a standard deviation does not 56 have much practical significance". If so, one may argue, SETs are both reliable and valid and TEIFs 57 can be ignored by administrators when making judgments about faculty's teaching effectiveness for 58 personnel decisions.

59 However, SET research has been plagued by several unrecognized methodological shortcomings that render much of the previous research on reliability, validity and other aspects of SET 60 invalid and uninterpretable. First, SET rating distributions are typically strongly negatively skewed due 61 62 to severe ceiling effects, that is, due to a large proportion of students giving professors the highest 63 possible ratings. In turn, it is inappropriate and invalid to describe and analyze these ceiling-limited ratings using parametric statistics that assume a normal distribution of data (i.e., means, SDs, ds, rs, r²; 64 see Uttl (2005), for an extensive discussion of the problems associated with severe ceiling effects, 65 including detection of ceiling effects and consequences of ceiling effects). Yet, all of the studies we 66 have examined to date do precisely that -- use means, SDs, ds, rs, and r^2 to describe SETs; and to 67 investigate associations between SETs and TEIFs. 68

69 Second, when making judgments about the practical significance of associations between TEIFs 70 and SETs, researchers typically rely on various parametric effect size indexes such as ds, rs, and r^2 or proportion of variance explained and, after finding them to be small, conclude that TEIFs are ignorable 71 72 and do not undermine the validity of SETs. However, it has been argued elsewhere that effect size 73 indexes should be chosen based not only on the statistical properties of data but also based on their 74 relationship to practical or clinically significant outcomes (Bond, Wiitala, & Richard, 2003; Deeks, 75 2002). Given that SETs are used to make primarily binary decisions about whether a professor's teaching effectiveness is "satisfactory" or "unsatisfactory", the most appropriate effect size indexes may 76 77 be relative risk ratio (RR) or odds ratios (OR) of professors passing the "satisfactory" cut off as a 78 function of, for example, them teaching quantitative vs. non-quantitative courses rather than *d*s, *r*s, and 79 r² (Deeks, 2002).

Third, researchers sometimes evaluate the importance of various factors based on correlation and regression analyses of SET ratings given by individual students (individual student SET ratings) rather than on the mean SET ratings given by all responding students in each class (class SET summary ratings). However, the proportion of variance explained by some characteristic in individual student

84 SET ratings is not relevant to the effect the characteristic may have on the class SET summary ratings

that are used to make personnel decisions about faculty members. For example, Beran and Violato
(Beran & Violato, 2005) based their conclusion that various student and course characteristics "are not
important factors" based on regression analyses over individual student SET ratings.

Accordingly, we re-examined the influence of one TEIF -- teaching quantitative vs. non-88 quantitative courses -- on SET ratings and SET-based personnel decision in a large sample of class 89 90 summary evaluations from a midsize US university. We had two primary objectives. First, what is the 91 relationship between course subject and SET ratings? Specifically, what is the distribution of SET 92 ratings obtained by Math (and Stats) professors vs. professors in other fields such as English, History, 93 and Psychology? Second, what are the consequences of course subject on making judgments about 94 professors' teaching effectiveness? Specifically, what percentage of professors teaching Math vs. 95 professors teaching other subjects pass the satisfactory cut-off determined by the mean SET ratings across all courses or other norm referenced cut-offs that ignore course subject? 96

97 In addition, we also examined how personnel decisions about professors might be affected if criterion referenced, label-based cut-offs were used instead of norm referenced cut offs. In many 98 99 universities, SET questionnaires use Likert response scales where students indicate their degree of agreement with various statements purportedly measuring teaching effectiveness. Professors' teaching 100 effectiveness is then evaluated against various norm-referenced cut offs such as the departmental mean, 101 mean minus one standard deviation (e.g., 4.0 on 5-point scale), or perhaps a cut off determined by the 102 103 20th percentile of all ratings such as 3.5 on 5 point scale. In other universities, SETs use label based 104 response scales where students indicate whether a particular aspect of instruction was, for example, "Poor", "Fair", "Good", "Very Good", and "Excellent". Here, if students rate professors as "Poor", then, 105 106 arguably, to the extent to which SETs measure teaching effectiveness (a contentious issue on its own), a professor's teaching effectiveness is not satisfactory. If students rate a professor as "Fair", the plain 107 meaning of this term is "sufficient but not ample" or "adequate" (Merriam-Webster online dictionary) 108 or "satisfactory". Presumably, if students rate professors as "Good" or higher, professors should be 109 more than "satisfactory" and those rated as "Excellent" are deserving of teaching awards. In contrast to 110 Likert response scales, label-based response scales directly elicit clearly interpretable evaluation 111 112 judgments from students themselves.

113 Method

We obtained 14,872 class summary evaluations, with each representing a summary of SET 114 ratings provided by individual students responding in each class in a US midsize university (New York 115 University or NYU). In total, 325,538 individual student SET ratings contributed to the 14,872 class 116 summary evaluations. The unit of analysis used in this study are the class summary evaluations. The 117 class summary evaluations were posted on the university's website (www.nyu.edu), available to the 118 119 general public (rather than to registered students only), and were downloaded in the first quarter of 2008. Table 1 shows the individual questions on the NYU SET forms used to evaluate teaching 120 effectiveness on a 5-point scale where 1 = *Poor* and 5 = *Excellent*. The mean ratings across all nine 121 122 items and course subject (e.g., English, Math, History) were extracted from the evaluations and used in 123 all analyses. The SET evaluations included responses to other questions including questions on workload, labs, and course retake that are not considered in this report. No ethics review was required 124 for this research because all data were available to general public in form of archival records. 125

126 Results

Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations for individual SET items across all 14,872 courses as well as the mean overall average (i.e., average calculated for each course across the 9 individual items). Item mean ratings ranged from 3.90 to 4.37 with *SD*s ranging from 0.52 to 0.63.

130 The mean overall SET rating was 4.13 with SD = 0.50.

131 Figure 1 shows the smoothed density distributions of overall mean ratings for all courses and 132 for courses in selected subjects -- English, History, Psychology, and Math, including the means and 133 standard deviations. This figure highlights: (1) distributions of ratings are negatively skewed for most of the selected subjects due to ceiling effects, (2) distributions of ratings differ substantially across 134 disciplines, and (3) mean ratings vary substantially across disciplines and are shifted towards lower 135 136 values by ratings in tails of the distributions. The density distributions in Figure 1 were generated using 137 R function density() with smoothing kernel set to "gaussian" and the number of equally spaced points 138 at which the density was estimated set to 512 (R Core Team, 2015).

Figure 2 shows the density distributions for Math (representing quantitative courses) and English (representing humanities, non-quantitative courses). The thick vertical line indicates one of the often used norm-referenced standard for effective teaching -- the overall mean rating across all courses. The thinner vertical lines show the overall mean ratings for Math and English, respectively. This figure highlights that although 71% of English courses pass the overall mean as the standard only 21% of Math courses do so. The vast majority of Math courses (79%) earn their professors an "Unsatisfactory" label in this scenario.

Figure 3 shows the same density distribution for Math and English but the vertical lines indicate
criterion referenced cut-offs for different levels of teaching effectiveness -- Poor, Fair, Good, Very
Good, and Excellent -- as determined by students themselves. It can be seen that Math vs. English
courses are far less likely to pass the high (Very Good and Excellent) criteria.

Figure 4 shows the percentage of courses passing criteria as a function of teaching effectiveness criteria. If the teaching effectiveness criteria are set at 2.5 ("Good"), the vast majority of both Math and English courses pass this bar (96.60 vs. 99.63%, respectively). However, as the criteria are set higher and higher, the gap between Math and English passing rates widens and narrows only at the high criteria end where a few English and no Math courses pass the criteria.

Table 2 shows the percentages of course SETs passing and failing different commonly-used norm-referenced teaching effectiveness criteria as well as label-based criterion-referenced standards, for Math and English courses. The table includes the relative risk ratios of Math vs. English courses failing the standards. Math vs. English courses are far less likely to pass various standards except the label-based, criterion-referenced "Fair" and "Good" standards.

160 Finally, the mean overall SET rating for English courses was 4.29 (SD = 0.42) whereas it was 161 only 3.68 (*SD* = 0.56) for Math courses, *t*(828.62) = 22.10, *p* < .001, *d* = -1.29 with 95% *CI* = (-1.18, 162 -1.40). Critically, the correlation between the course subject (Math coded as 1, English coded as 0) and the overall mean rating was r = -.519, 95% CI = (-.553, -.482), p < 0.001, indicating that Math 163 professors received lower ratings than English professors. In contrast, the correlations between the 164 165 course subject (Math coded as 1, non-Math courses as 0) and the overall mean ratings when all non-166 math courses are included, regardless of the degree of their quantitative nature, was relatively smaller, *r* 167 = -.172, 95% *CI* = (-.188, -.156), p < 0.001, with $r^2 = 0.030$.

168 Discussion

169 Our results show that Math classes received much lower average class summary ratings than English, History, Psychology or even all other classes combined, replicating previous findings showing 170 that quantitative vs. non-quantitative classes receive lower SET ratings (Beran & Violato, 2005; Centra, 171 172 2009). More importantly, the distributions of SET ratings for quantitative vs. non-quantitative courses 173 are substantially different. Whereas the SET distributions for non-quantitative courses show a typical 174 negative skew and high mean ratings, the SET distributions for quantitative courses are less skewed, 175 nearly normal, and have substantially lower ratings. The passing rates for various common standards for "effective teaching" are substantially lower for professors teaching quantitative vs. non-quantitative 176

177 courses. Professors teaching quantitative vs. non-quantitative courses are far more likely to fail normreferenced cut-offs -- 1.88 times more likely to fail the Overall Mean standard, 2.89 times more likely 178 to fail Overall Mean minus 1 SD standard – and far more likely to fail criterion-referenced standards – 179 1.27 times more likely to fail the "Excellent" standard, 3.17 times more likely to fail the "Very Good" 180 standard, and 6.02 times more likely to fail the "Good" standard. Clearly, professors who teach 181 quantitative vs. non-quantitative classes are not only likely to receive lower SETs but they are also at a 182 183 substantially higher risk of being labeled "unsatisfactory" in teaching, and thus, more likely to be fired, 184 not re-appointed, not promoted, not tenured, and denied merit pay.

185 Regarding norm-referenced vs. criterion referenced standards, our results show that criterion-186 referenced standards label fewer professors as unsatisfactory than norm-referenced standards. Table 2 187 suggests that, in part due to substantially negatively skewed distributions of SET ratings, the norm-188 referenced cut-offs Overall Mean standard will result in 43.0% of classes failing to meet the standard, the Overall Mean minus 1 SD standard will result in 15.5% of classes not meeting it, and the Overall 189 Mean minus 2 SD standard will result in 4.3% of classes failing this standard. In contrast, using 190 students' judgments on the anchored scale, 99.3% of courses are considered "Good", "Very Good", or 191 192 "Excellent" and only 0.7% of courses fail to meet "Good" standards in students' opinion. In other 193 words, use of norm referenced standards results in labeling much greater percentages of professors as 194 unsatisfactory than students themselves label as unsatisfactory. Moreover, professors teaching 195 quantitative vs. non-quantitative courses are less likely to pass the standard under both types of 196 standards.

197 Why has previous research often concluded that TEIFs, such as the courses one is assigned to 198 teach, do not relate to SETs in any substantive way and were ignorable in evaluating professors for 199 tenure, promotion, and merit pay? There are several methodological explanations: First, SET ratings often have non-normal, negatively skewed distributions due to severe ceiling effects. In turn, ds, rs and 200 r^2 based effect size indexes are attenuated, invalid, and inappropriately suggest that influence of course 201 subject on SETs is minimal. Second, parametric effect size indexes such as ds, rs, and r^2 assume normal 202 distributions and are inappropriate for binary "meets standard"/"does not meet standard" decision 203 situations such as tenure, promotion, and merit pay decisions (Deeks, 2002). Third, some researchers 204 205 used individual student SET ratings rather than class summary evaluations as the unit of analysis. 206 However, using individual student SET ratings as the unit of analysis is inappropriate in this context 207 because summative decisions are made based on class summary evaluations rather than on individual 208 student evaluations.

In terms of inappropriate effect sizes such as d or r^2 , our results are generally larger than those 209 reported by Centra (2009), who used class summary evaluations from numerous institutions, and to 210 211 those reported by Beran and Violatto (2005), who used individual SET ratings from a single university. We found d = 1.29 between Math vs. English SET ratings, Centra (2009) found d = .30, and Beran and 212 213 Violatto (2005) found *d* = 0.60 between "natural sciences" vs. "social sciences" SET ratings. Our 214 correlational analysis showed r = 0.18 ($r^2 = 0.04$) between Math vs. Non-Math and SET ratings, 215 whereas Beran and Violatto (2005) found that this and other factors accounted together for less than 1% of the variance (i.e., $r^2 < 0.01$). 216

217 However, in contrast to previous research, we examined the impact of courses one is assigned to teach on the likelihood that one is going to pass the standard, and be promoted, tenured, and/or given 218 219 merit pay and we found the impact to be substantial. Professors teaching quantitative courses are far 220 less likely to be tenured, promoted, and/or given merit pay when their class summary ratings are evaluated against common standards, that is, when the field one is assigned to teach is disregarded. 221 222 They are also far less likely to receive teaching awards based on their class summary SET ratings. The 223 impact of using common standards may vary depending on whether a university uses the standards 224 based on SET ratings of all professors across the entire university (university based standards) or the 225 standards based on SET ratings of all professors within each department only (department based

standards). If all or nearly all professors within the same department teach quantitative courses (e.g., math and statistics departments), the impact of using common vs. course-type specific department based standards to evaluate professors teaching quantitative vs. non-quantitative courses may be minimal. In contrast, if a few professors teach quantitative courses and the majority of professors teach non-quantitative courses within the same department (e.g., psychology, sociology), the impact of using common vs. course-type specific, department based standards may be as large or even larger than if university based standards were used.

Of course the finding that professors teaching quantitative vs. non-quantitative courses receive lower SET ratings is not evidence, by itself, that SETs are biased, that use of the common standards is inappropriate and discriminatory, and that more frequent denial of tenure, promotion, and/or merit pay to professors teaching quantitative vs. non-quantitative courses is in any way problematic. The lower SET ratings of professors teaching quantitative vs. non-quantitative courses may be due to real differences in teaching, that is, due to to professors teaching quantitative vs. non-quantitative vs. non-quantitative vs. being ineffective teachers.

240 However, lower SET ratings of professors teaching quantitative vs. non-quantitative courses 241 may be due to a number of factors unrelated to professors' teaching effectiveness, for example, students' lack of basic numeracy, students' lack of interest in taking quantitative vs. non-quantitative 242 courses, students' math anxiety, etc.. Numerous research studies, task forces, and government 243 sponsored studies have documented steady declines in numeracy and mathematical knowledge of 244 populations worldwide. For example, (Orpwood & Brown, 2015) cite the 2013 OECD survey showing 245 246 that numeracy among Canadians declined over the last decade and that more than half of Canadians 247 now score below the level required to fully participate in a modern society. We (Uttl, White, & Morin, 248 2013) found that students' interest in taking quantitative courses such as introductory statistics was six 249 standard deviations below their interest in taking non-quantitative courses. Fewer than 10 out of 340 students indicated that they were "very interested" in taking any of the three statistics courses. In 250 contrast, 159 out of 340 were "very interested" in taking the Introduction to the Psychology of 251 Abnormal Behavior course. Moreover, this effect was stronger for women than for men: women's 252 interest in taking quantitative courses relative to their interest in non-quantitative courses was even less 253 254 than that of men. This lack of interest in quantitative courses propagates to lack of student interest in 255 pursuing graduate studies in quantitative methods and lack of quantitative psychologists to fill all 256 available positions. For example, the American Psychological Association noted that in the 1990s 257 already there were on average 2.5 quantitative psychology positions advertised for every quantitative 258 psychology PhD graduate (APA, 2009). If SETs are biased or even perceived as biased against 259 professors teaching quantitative courses, we may soon find out that no one will be willing to teach quantitative courses if they are evaluated against the common standard set principally by professors 260 261 who teach non-quantitative courses.

262 Thus, the critical question is: Are SETs valid measures of teaching effectiveness, and if so, are they equally valid when used with quantitative vs. non-quantitative courses or are they biased? 263 264 Although SETs are widely used to evaluate faculty's teaching effectiveness, their validity has been highly controversial. The strongest evidence for the validity of SETs as a measure of professors' 265 266 teaching effectiveness were so called multi-section studies showing small-to-moderate correlations between class summary SET ratings and class average achievement (Uttl, White, & Gonzalez, 2016). 267 268 Cohen (1981) conducted the first meta-analysis of multi-section studies and reported that SETs 269 correlate with student learning with r = .43 and concluded "The results of he meta-analysis provide 270 strong support for the validity of student ratings as a measure of teaching effectiveness" (p. 281). 271 Cohen's (1981) findings were confirmed and extended by several subsequent meta-analyses (Uttl et al., 272 2016). However, our recent re-analyses of the previous meta-analyses of multi-section studies found 273 that their findings were artifacts of small study bias and other methodological issues. Moreover, our upto-date meta-analysis of 97 multi-section studies revealed no significant correlation between the class 274

summary SET ratings and learning/achievement (Uttl et al., 2016). Thus, the strongest evidence of SET
validity – multisection studies – turned out to be evidence of SETs having zero correlation with
achievement/learning. Moreover, to our knowledge, no one has examined directly whether SETs are
equally valid or biased measures of teaching effectiveness in quantitative vs. non-quantitative courses.
Even the definition of effective teaching implicit in multi-section study designs – a professor whose
students score highest on the common exam administered in several sections of the same courses is the
most effective teacher – has been agreed on only for lack of a better definition.

282 The basic principles of fairness require that the validity of a measure used to make high-stakes personnel decisions ought to be established before the measure is put into widespread use, and that the 283 284 validity of the measure is established in all different contexts that the measure is to be used in (AERA, 285 APA, & NCME, 2014; APA, 2004). Given the evidence of zero correlation between SETs and achievement in multi-section studies, SETs should not be used to evaluate faculty's teaching 286 287 effectiveness. However, if SETs are to be used in high stakes personnel decisions – even though students do not learn more from more highly rated professors and even though we do not know what 288 SETs actually measure – fairness requires that we evaluate a professor teaching a particular subject 289 290 against other professors teaching the same subject rather than against some common standard. Used 291 this way, SET ratings can at least tell us where a professor stands within the distribution of other 292 professors teaching the same subjects, regardless of what SETs actually measure.

293 Conclusion

294 Our results demonstrate that course subject is strongly associated with SET ratings and has a 295 substantial impact on professors being labeled satisfactory/unsatisfactory and excellent/non-excellent. 296 Professors teaching quantitative courses are far more likely not to receive tenure, promotion, and/or 297 merit pay when their performance is evaluated against common standards. Moreover, they are unlikely to receive teaching awards. To evaluate whether the effect of some TEIFs is ignorable or unimportant 298 299 should be done using effect size measures that closely correspond to how SETs are used to make high 300 stakes personnel decisions such as passing rates and relative risks of failures rather than ds or rs. A 301 professor assigned to teaching introductory statistics courses may find little solace in knowing that 302 teaching quantitative vs non-quantitative courses explain at most 1% of variance in some regression analyses of SET ratings (Beran & Violato, 2005) or that in some experts' opinion d = .30 is ignorable 303 304 (Centra, 2009) when his or her chances of passing the department's norm based cut off for "satisfactory" teaching may be less than half of his colleagues passing the norms. 305

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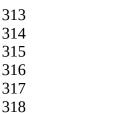
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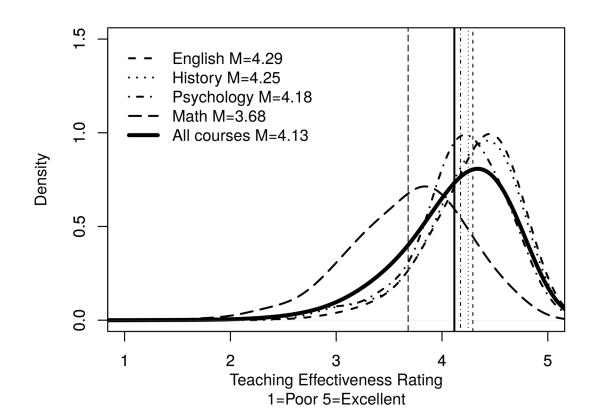
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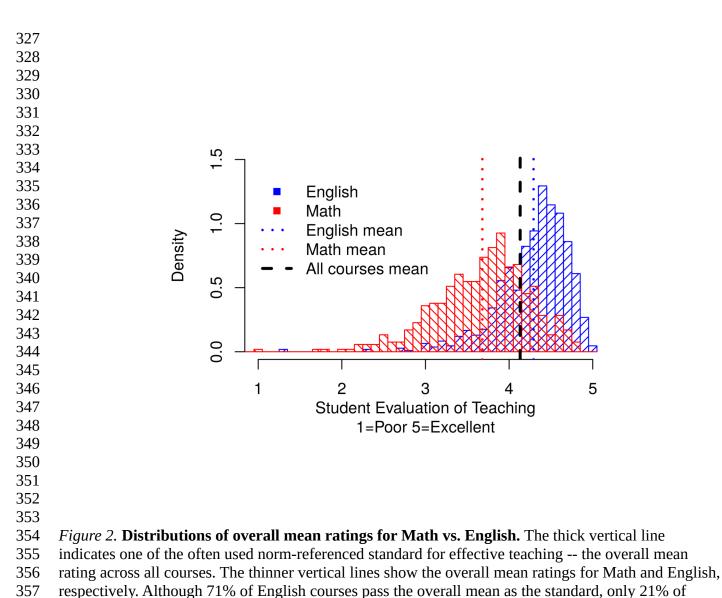


Figures and Figure Legends



- 319 *Figure 1.* Distributions of overall mean ratings for all courses and for courses in selected subjects.
- 320 The figure shows the smoothed density distributions of overall mean ratings for all courses and for
- 321 courses in English, History, Psychology, and Math, including the means and standard deviations. The
- 322 figure highlights: (1) distributions of ratings are negatively skewed for most of the selected subjects
- 323 due to ceiling effects, (2) distributions of ratings differ substantially across disciplines, and (3) mean
- 324 ratings vary substantially across disciplines and are shifted towards lower values by ratings in tails of the distributions.
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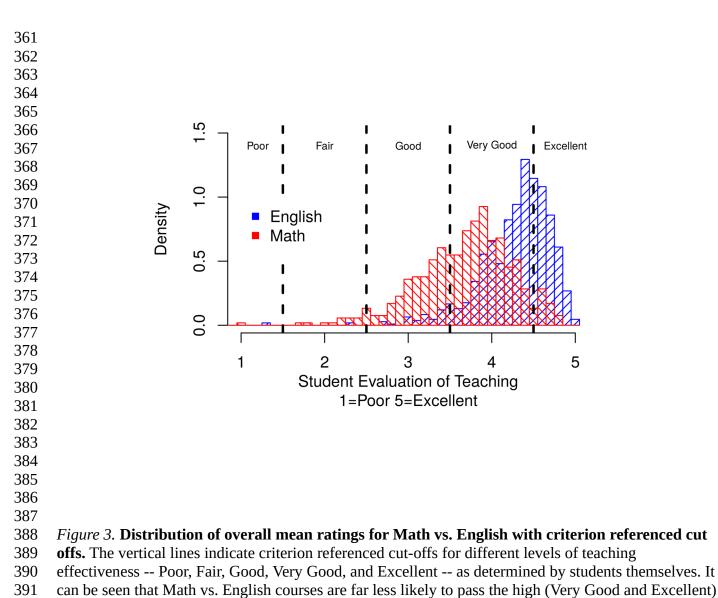
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359 360 label in this scenario.

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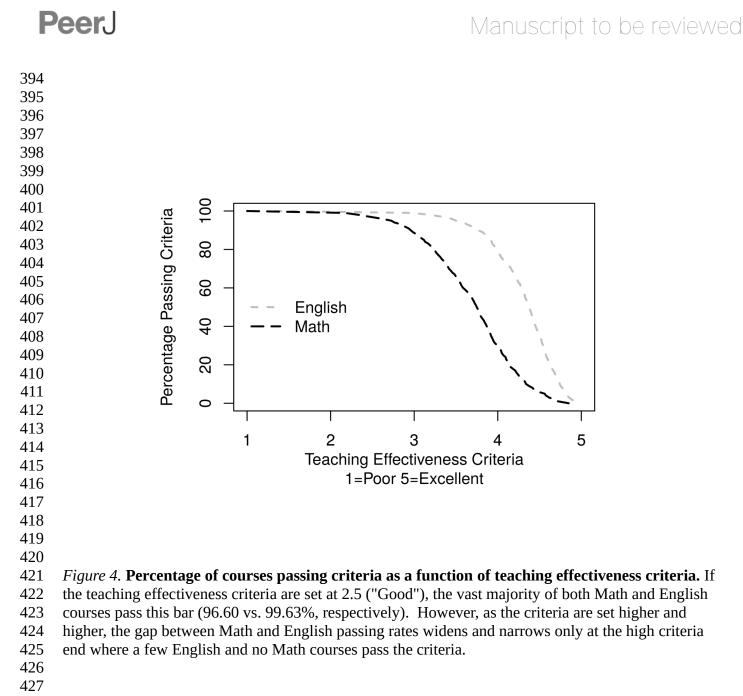
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431 Table 1

432 SET Questions, Mean Ratings, and Standard Deviations.

Question	M	SD	
1. How would you rate the instructor overall?	4.37	0.55	
2. How informative were the classes?	4.26	0.52	
3. How well organized were the classes?	4.19	0.55	
4. How fair was grading?	4.14	0.55	
5. How would you rate this course overall?	4.09	0.57	
6. How clear were the objectives of this course?	4.12	0.52	
7. How well were these objectives achieved?	4.10	0.53	
8. How interesting was the course?	4.01	0.63	
9. To what extent were your own expectations met?	3.90	0.58	
Mean overall rating (across all items)	4.13	0.50	

433 Note: *N* = 14, 872

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435 Table 2

436 Percentages of Course SETs Passing vs. Failing Different SET Standards and Relative Risk of Failing
 437 to Achieve the Standards for Math Courses.

Criteria Cut-offs	All Pass (%)	All Fail (%)	Math Pass (%)	Math Fail (%)	English Pass (%)	English Fail (%)	Math v. Non-Math RR of Failure incl. 95% CI	Math vs. Englisl RR of Failure incl. 95% CI
Norm-referenced								
Mean (4.13)	57.0	43.0	21.4	78.6	71.3	28.7	1.88* (1.80,1.98)	2.74* (2.47,3.05)
Mean Minus 1 SD (3.63)	84.5	15.5	58.0	42.0	93.1	6.9	2.89* (2.60,3.22)	6.05* (4.76,7.70)
Mean Minus 2 SD (3.13)	95.7	4.3	83.9	16.1	98.6	1.4	4.12* (3.34,5.09)	11.59* (6.76,19.87)
Criterion- referenced								
Excellent (4.50)	25.4	74.6	5.9	94.1	35.4	64.6	1.27* (1.24,1.30)	1.46* (1.39,1.53)
Very Good (3.50)	88.5	11.5	66.0	34.0	94.9	5.1	3.17* (2.80,3.61)	6.69* (5.04,8.89)
Good (2.50)	99.3	0.7	96.6	3.4	99.6	0.4	6.02* (3.64,9.97	9.20* (3.13,27.06)
Fair (1.50)	99.9	0.1	99.8	0.2	99.8	0.2	4.52 (0.54,37.47)	1.02 (0.09,11.25)

438 *Note:* All courses N = 14,872; English courses n = 1082; Math courses n = 529; Non-Math courses n = 439 14,343. *p < .001

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