# On Measuring Individual Knowledge in Organizations 

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Keywords: knowledge, measurement, consensus

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#### Abstract

The recent interest in organizational learning, transactive knowledge systems, human and intellectual capital, absorptive capacity, and knowledge management in general brings to the fore a fundamental question: How can we measure the knowledge held by individuals and groups? One common measurement tool is the standardized test: a multiple-choice test scored with the help of a right answer key. However, in many organizational research settings, the right answers are not necessarily known by the researcher. An alternative approach that does not require an answer key is to ask individuals to rate their own levels of knowledge, or to ask members of a group to rate each other on amount of knowledge, and average their various estimates for each person. Unfortunately, these subjective rating approaches are subject to a variety of biases, making them less than accurate. This paper presents a promising third approach -- based on anthropological consensus theory -- that is similar in spirit to the standardized test but does not require an answer key. In this method, knowledge levels are estimated by examining patterns of agreement between all pairs of respondents on responses to a knowledge questionnaire. In this study, we compare these various methods empirically using a unique dataset in which a test is given where the right answers are known and subjective estimates are also obtained. The results show that the self-rating and network rating models are not well correlated with the truth (i.e., the standardized test method), but that the consensus method is highly correlated $(\mathrm{r}=.95)$ with the truth. This suggests that the consensus model may indeed be a useful way to estimate knowledge levels in a number of settings in which the a priori "right" answers are unknown.

Keywords: knowledge, measurement, consensus, organizational learning


## On Measuring Individual Knowledge in Organizations

The recent interest in transactive knowledge systems (Wegner, 1987; Moreland, Argote, Krishnan, 1996), human and intellectual capital (Stewart, 1997), absorptive capacity (Cohen and Levinthal, 1990), organizational learning (Argyris \& Schon, 1978), and knowledge management in general brings to the fore a thorny question: How do we measure the knowledge held by individuals and groups?

Given the prominence of the concept in empirical research, it is striking how little research there has been on how knowledge might be measured. In part, this is because the measurement of knowledge begs exceedingly difficult questions of epistemology and ontology. Discussions of what constitutes knowledge can quickly become frustrating battlegrounds for combatants who don't share fundamental paradigms. Even among those who agree that knowledge can, in principle, be measured, there is the concern that measuring the extent of an individual's domain knowledge would require that the researcher be even more knowledgeable about the domain than the research subjects, which will not often be the case.

The goal of this paper is to explore ways of measuring knowledge that do not require the researcher to know more than is known by those being measured. We first examine three basic methods and their variants. The first, and perhaps most common, method is based upon an underlying belief in knowledge as an objective truth; it involves administering a test for which the right answers are known. The second method, also fairly common, is drawn from a more humanistic perspective and involves asking individuals to self-evaluate their own level of
knowledge or, alternatively, asking contacts of a target individual to evaluate the target's level of knowledge. The third method is a promising new approach based on anthropological consensus theory (Romney, Weller \& Batchelder, 1986). It is similar in spirit to the standardized test but does not require an a priori answer key. Interestingly, although the consensus approach is based on fundamentally scientific or modernist principles, the result is something that is consistent with social constructivist approaches to knowledge.

After explaining the three basic approaches, we use a unique dataset to compare the methods in a controlled setting in which the right answers are known. Finally, we discuss some problems with the application of these methods, and offer some thoughts on the underlying issues surrounding conceptualizations of knowledge.

## WHY MEASURE KNOWLEDGE?

The fundamental reason to measure knowledge is to permit empirical testing of theories of knowledge acquisition (e.g., learning theory) or knowledge utilization (e.g., intellectual capital theory). Until we can actually measure knowledge, theories involving knowledge remain a tissue of conjectures. For example, in community of practice theory (Lave and Wenger, 1991), knowledge is seen as being co-constructed through interaction among members of a community engaged in a joint enterprise. A key concept in this perspective is that of participation: the term "legitimate peripheral participation" is used to describe neophytes who apprentice themselves to full participators in order to learn the ropes. A key implication of community of practice theory
is that individuals who participate more fully and have been involved longer will have more knowledge. Yet this hypothesis has never been tested, in part because the dependent variable has seemed a daunting task.

With respect to knowledge utilization, it is axiomatic in social capital theories such as Burt (1992) that knowledge is power. Typically, such theories assert that certain network properties (such as having many structural holes) facilitate the gathering of timely information from the network, and this in turn leads to successful action and rewards (such as early promotion). But what is actually tested is the relationship between the easily measured network properties and the ultimate dependent variable (success or rewards) and the mediating variable that defines the theoretical mechanism is not actually tested.

## MEASURING KNOWLEDGE

In this section we outline in more detail the three approaches to measuring knowledge that we test empirically. It is useful to keep in mind that each approach entails different assumptions about the nature of knowledge and its relation to truth.

## Classical Test Theory

The measurement of knowledge via standardized tests is a well-developed sub-discipline of education and psychology, dating back to the early part of the last century (Ekstrom, 1973; Hambleton \& Zaal, 1991; Spearman, 1904). The basic paradigm can be viewed as a translation
of an objective body of knowledge into a set of propositions whose truth or falsity are known. A representative sample of these propositions is presented to persons ("subjects") in the form of a questionnaire (i.e., a test) consisting of a series of true/false, multiple choice or other questions.

The results of administering such a test to a set of subjects can be represented as a response matrix $X$ whose rows correspond to subjects (respondents) and whose columns correspond to test items, and where the cell $\mathrm{x}_{\mathrm{ij}}$ gives the response of subject $i$ to question $j$. In addition, there is a row vector $Y$ representing the answer key, with cell $y_{j}$ indicating the correct answer for item $j$. To evaluate a subject's performance, we need only to measure the similarity between their row of $X$ and the answer key $Y$. The natural measure of similarity is the simple matching coefficient, $m_{i}$, which, for any given subject $i$, counts the proportion of times that $x_{i j}=y_{j}$ for all questions $j$.

Test theory usually distinguishes between the performance of a subject, $m_{i}$ (defined as the proportion correct), and the knowledge of a subject, $d_{i}$ (defined as the proportion of the material that the person knows). The assumption is that a person's score on a test is not exactly the same as their knowledge for two reasons. First, the questions asked on the test are a sample of the set of all propositions possible, and by chance alone the sample chosen could include a preponderance of questions to which the subject happens to know the answers. Second, in a true/false or multiple-choice test, the respondent may guess the right answer without knowing it. To handle the first problem, we focus on making the exam as representative and as long as possible. To handle the second problem, we factor down $\mathrm{m}_{i}$ by a function of the number of alternatives to provide an adjustment for guessing.

The implicit response model is given in Figure 1. The model says that when confronted with test item $j$, the test subject either knows the answer (with probability $d_{i}$ ) or doesn't (with probability $1-d_{i}$ ). If she knows the answer, she writes it down and moves to the next question. If she doesn't know the answer, she guesses randomly among the $L$ alternatives (e.g., $L=2$ for true/false test), with a $1 / L$ conditional probability of guessing correctly.

Given this model, the probability of a correct answer (or, equally, the expected proportion of correct answers) is given by

$$
m_{i}=d_{i}+\frac{\left(1-d_{i}\right)}{L}
$$

## Equation 1

In other words, the expected proportion correct is due to the number of questions known plus the number guessed. Re-arranging terms, we can see that knowledge can then be estimated as

$$
d_{i}=\frac{\left(L m_{i}-1\right)}{(L-1)}
$$

## Equation 2

Naturally, more complex models can be formulated in which non-random heuristics are posited for choosing among the alternatives, and for cases in which the person doesn't necessarily write down the correct answer even when she knows it.

This approach assumes the existence of an answer key containing the set of correct answers. In some contexts, such as educational testing, this is conventionally seen as unproblematic. In an organizational context, however, having a set of correct answers is problematic. Neither the organizational members nor the researchers can be expected to be omniscient. When there is intra-organizational variability in responses to "factual" questions, whose answers are "correct"?

## Direct Subjective Ratings

An approach that sidesteps the issue of obtaining the answer key is the direct subjective ratings method, in which a subjective rating is obtained of a person's level of knowledge. This approach is consistent with social construction perspectives, which have a long history in education (e.g., Vogotsky, 1962). There are three variants of the basic ratings method that we consider here.

The first variant is the meta-knowledge self-report: we simply ask the respondent to rate her level of knowledge in the domain under investigation. The key problem, of course, is that when the extent of knowledge in a domain is itself unknown, a person has no basis for estimating the extent of what she doesn't know. Two individuals with the same knowledge base may vary wildly in their self-ratings, based on their understanding of what knowledge may exist. In addition, self-reports are susceptible to bias (whether self-aggrandizing or self-deprecatory) and deliberate distortion. Lastly, the construct itself may be invalid. How can an individual assess their own level of domain knowledge when the individual's understanding of the domain affects her understanding of her own knowledge level, the very thing being measured?

The second variant proposes that socially relevant others may be able to better judge an individual's knowledge than the individual him/herself. Each person in a socially relevant group is asked to rate the level of knowledge of every other person, similar to " 360 -degree" evaluation schemes in organizations. The knowledge score for a given person is then taken as the mean of individual estimates. Pooling multiple estimates of the same quantity is a technique used very successfully in a variety of fields from scientific measurement to jury-based legal systems (Shaw, 1981). An advantage of this approach over self-ratings is that the knowledge levels of those with little knowledge are potentially accurately measured, as they are being assessed mostly by people of greater knowledge. Unfortunately, the knowledge level of those with greater levels of knowledge may be poorly estimated, as the estimates are made by people of lesser knowledge. Although this approach eliminates the powerful biases encountered in the self-report approach, it is susceptible to other biases. For example, a person's ability to manage the impressions of others can lead to increased estimates of their competence by others (Kilduff \& Day, 1994).

The third variant asks each person to identify people with whom he/she is especially familiar, and then asks her to estimate the knowledge levels of those people. Thus, the estimate for a given person is an aggregation of estimates from a select group who is putatively more familiar with the person's actual competencies. The difficulty here is that the sample can easily consist of a set of nearly mutually exclusive cliques with high positive affect, resulting in a positive in-group bias that can leads clique members to rate each other highly (Sumner, 1908).

All of the survey methods discussed here have the advantage of not needing an answer key (and are relatively convenient to administer), but suffer from various validity problems. It is simply not clear what is being measured when a human being is asked to assess their own or someone else's knowledge. Is the rater assessing breadth or depth of knowledge? Is the rater primarily responding to the ability to apply that knowledge in situations (which would be more visible)? Or are they responding to the ability to articulate knowledge? In addition, the rater may be influenced by such variables as interpersonal attraction, self-monitoring, and status. The next section describes a method that attempts to resolve both the validity problem of the direct subjective rating method and the "unknown answer key" problem of classical test theory.

## Cultural Consensus Model

Romney, Weller and Batchelder (1986) introduced a formal theory relating agreement to knowledge. Observing that human systems often rely on agreement to determine truth (e.g., the jury system), their research question was: Under what conditions does agreement imply knowledge? They begin with the basic response model of classical test theory shown in Figure 1. Given that model, they formulate the probability of agreement between any pair of subjects $i$ and $k$ on a given question $j$. Agreement can occur in any of four mutually exclusive ways. The first case is where both $i$ and $k$ know the correct answer, and therefore answer the same way. This occurs with probability

$$
p_{1}=d_{i} d_{k}
$$

## Equation 3

The second case is where $i$ knows the answer, and $k$ doesn't, but guesses right. This occurs with probability

$$
p_{2}=\frac{d_{i}\left(1-d_{k}\right)}{L}
$$

## Equation 4

The third case is where $k$ knows the answer, and $i$ doesn't, but guesses right. This occurs with probability

$$
p_{3}=\frac{d_{k}\left(1-d_{i}\right)}{L}
$$

## Equation 5

The fourth and final case is where neither $i$ nor $k$ knows the answer, so both are guessing, and they happen to guess the same way (regardless of whether it is right). We can model the situation with a simple $L$-by- $L$ table, as shown in Figure 2.

If $i$ is guessing at random from $L$ alternatives, then the chance of choosing each alternative is $1 / L$. Similarly, if $k$ is doing the same, the probability of choosing each alternative is $1 / L$. The chance
that, guessing independently, they both choose a given alternative is $(1 / L)(1 / L)$, and since this could happen with any of the $L$ alternatives, the conditional probability of giving the same response is

$$
p_{4}=L(1 / L)^{2}=\frac{1}{L}
$$

## Equation 6

Taking all four cases together now, we can write the probability of agreeing on a given question as the sum of $\mathrm{p}_{1}, \mathrm{p}_{2}, \mathrm{p}_{3}$, and $\mathrm{p}_{4}$, which is:

$$
m_{i k}=d_{i} d_{k}+\frac{d_{i}\left(1-d_{k}\right)}{L}+\frac{d_{k}\left(1-d_{i}\right)}{L}+\frac{1}{L}
$$

Equation 7

Rearranging terms and simplifying, we obtain

$$
m_{i k}=d_{i} d_{k}+\frac{\left(1-d_{i} d_{k}\right)}{L}
$$

## Equation 8

which is pleasingly analogous to Equation 1. This equation yields the result that Romney, Weller and Batchelder (1986) sought: a formal relation between agreement and (joint) knowledge level
(i.e., joint competence). Rearranging terms, we can equally well express joint competence in terms of agreement:

$$
d_{i} d_{k}=\frac{\left(L m_{i k}-1\right)}{(L-1)}
$$

## Equation 9

Since the right-hand side of Equation 9 is simply a linear rescaling of $m_{i k}$, it is convenient to rename it $m_{i k}^{*}$, which can be read simply as 'chance-adjusted agreement between $i$ and $k$ '. Taken across all pairs of subjects, $m_{i k}^{*}$ describes a matrix $M^{*}$ whose values indicate the proportion of agreements between every pair of subjects across all questions.

Thus, we can rewrite Equation 9 as follows:

$$
m_{i k}^{*}=d_{i} d_{k}
$$

## Equation 10

This equation may look familiar to the reader: it is virtually identical to the fundamental equation of factor analysis, as laid down by Spearman (1904) almost a hundred years ago. In Spearman's work, $M^{*}$ corresponds to a matrix of correlations among variables, and $D$ corresponds to an array of correlations (known as factor loadings) between each variable and the underlying latent factor. In our case, the latent factor corresponds to the answer key, and factor loadings D give the
"correlation" between each person's responses and the unknown answer key, which, as noted earlier, is the measure of knowledge. Our use of factor analysis could be termed "Q-factor analysis" (Mardia, 1972) since we factor persons rather than questionnaire items.

In Equation 10, the left-hand side is known: it is the observed proportion of agreements among all pairs of subjects taking the test, adjusted for guessing. The right-hand side is unknown, but can be estimated by any factor analysis procedure that ignores the diagonals ("communalities") of the $M^{*}$ matrix, such as Comrey's Minimum Residual procedure (Comrey, 1962). The factor loadings - essentially the principal eigenvector of the $M^{*}$ matrix - give the least-squared best estimates of the values of $D$, the proportion of knowledge possessed by each person.

The fact that we can solve Equation 10 means that we can estimate the amount of knowledge of each person by knowing only the pattern of agreements among persons in the group. Incredibly, no answer key is needed. Hence, we can give a questionnaire to a set of people and assess each person's level of knowledge, all without knowing the right answers. This may seem too good to be true, and there is indeed a catch. The assumption has been made that the process by which respondents go about answering the questions in the questionnaire fundamentally matches the response model in Figure 1. Analysis of the model shows that it can be characterized by three key properties, which are as follows.

Common Truth / One Culture. This is the condition that there is a single right answer to every question, and that it is the same for everyone, whether they know what it is or not. This condition is implied by the very first fork in the response model, where if the respondent knows the
answer, she writes it down. Naturally, this does not refer to absolute truth but rather to a cultural reality that applies to all members of a group. The condition says that there is a culturally correct answer to each question, and everyone in the sample belongs to that same culture.

Conditional Independence of person-item response variables. This says that, conditional on the answer key, respondents' responses to a given question are independent of their responses to other questions and of the responses of other respondents. This condition is implied by the bottom fork of the response model, where if a person doesn't know the answer, he guesses randomly (i.e., without consulting other respondents and without basing his answer on his/an answer to a previous question).

Item Homogeneity / One Domain. This condition states that a respondent's level of competence applies to all questions in the questionnaire. This is implied by the use of a single parameter, $d_{i}$, to model the probability of knowing the answer to any question. Another way to put this is that all questions are drawn from the same knowledge domain (e.g., the questionnaire does not mix questions about tennis with questions about biology, as people can be expected to have different competence levels in those two domains).

These three properties define the conditions under which a factor analysis of the chance-adjusted agreement matrix yields point estimates of the proportion of the domain mastered by each person (i.e., knowledge or competence). When these conditions hold, we can measure competence without an answer key. Once competence has been measured, it is possible to use Bayesian or Maximum Likelihood techniques to infer an answer key that maximizes the probability of
obtaining the pattern of responses actually observed given the competence levels of each person. Monte Carlo techniques suggest that with sufficient questions (over 40), as few as 4 respondents are needed to recover the answer key without errors (Romney, Weller \& Batchelder, 1986).

Consensus theory provides the underpinnings of a practical tool for measuring the extent of knowledge in situations where culturally correct answer keys cannot be specified a priori, provided we can construct questionnaires that approximate the three conditions. Essentially, the steps are as follows:

1. Use ethnographic interviews to obtain material from which true/false or multiple choice propositions can be extracted
2. Construct and administer questionnaire
3. For each pair of respondents, compute proportion of identical responses and adjust for chance, yielding the $M^{*}$ matrix
4. Use Comrey's Minimum Residual factor analysis procedure to obtain eigenvalues and loadings for each factor
5. Express each respondent's domain knowledge as a factor score.

After performing the factor analysis, the eigenvalues should be sorted in descending order and examined. It is implicit in consensus theory that the first factor should account for all systematic variation in the $M^{*}$ matrix. That means that the ratio of the first eigenvalue to the second should be large (say, larger than 3). If the first eigenvalue is not significantly larger than the second, this implies the presence of more than one answer key, indicating the existence of subcultures within
the sample. (A similar conclusion is warranted when negative factor loadings are encountered.) When this occurs, in order to accurately estimate the domain knowledge of each person, it is necessary to split the sample by subculture / subdomain and rerun the factor analysis separately for each subsample. Splitting the sample can be done heuristically by examining the pattern of loadings (e.g., separating positives and negatives), or by clustering the chance-adjusted agreement matrix.

If the model fits, as evidenced by an overwhelming first eigenvalue and the absence of negative loadings, then the factor loadings can be interpreted as estimates of the extent of the group's knowledge shared by each person. These knowledge scores can then be used as a variable in a larger analysis. For example, we might correlate knowledge with organizational tenure, education, rank, and so on to understand the sources of knowledge in the group.

## EMPIRICAL TEST

To evaluate the relative performance of the different approaches to measuring knowledge, it was necessary to find a setting in which all three could be compared directly. The setting chosen was a multiple-choice non-cumulative final exam given to 91 undergraduates as part of an Organizational Behavior class. An answer key was provided by the instructor, enabling us to estimate knowledge via standard testing procedures (approach 1). In addition, at the end of the exam, students were asked to estimate their own performance in the exam (approach 2a), and to estimate the performance of each other person they could identify (approach 2b). Students were
also asked to identify friends within the class, so that estimates of others' performance could be limited to just those involving friends (approach 2c). Finally, a data matrix $X$ suitable for consensus analysis (approach 3) was constructed from each student's response to each question.

The exam contained a mix of questions that varied from two possible responses up to five. Only the questions with five possible responses were used, since Equations 1 through 10 were, for simplicity, derived with the assumption of a fixed number of alternative choices. However, it is not conceptually difficult to construct models in which the number of choices varies from question to question.

For approach 1 (classical test theory), each student's responses were compared to the instructor's answer key and the number of correct responses calculated. This figure was then adjusted for chance guessing by subtracting one quarter of the number of incorrect responses, per Equation 2, and then converted to a proportion by dividing by the number of questions. Of course, these linear rescalings do not change the correlations with other variables: they serve only to honor the traditional distinction in this literature between performance (proportion correct) and knowledge (proportion of domain mastered).

For approach 2 a (self-evaluation), the self-reported estimate of their performance on the test was used. Twenty students did not give an estimate, and were assigned missing values, leaving a sample size of 71 .

For approach 2 b (others' evaluation), the aggregate estimate for each person was computed. Several variants were calculated, including assigning missing values to students for whom there were fewer than three and also fewer than five estimates. Additional versions were calculated in which raw scores were mean-centered within judges, to correct for response sets (e.g., judges who always guess high). Finally, for all of these variants, two different aggregations were attempted: the simple mean and the median.

For approach 2c (friends' evaluation), the aggregate estimate for each person who was rated by someone who had identified them as a friend was computed. As with approach $2 b$, several variants were calculated, including assigning missing values to students for whom there were fewer than 10 and also fewer than 15 estimates. Additional versions were calculated in which raw scores were mean-centered within judges, to correct for response sets. Again, for all of these variants, both means and medians were used for aggregation.

For approach 3 (consensus model), the Anthropac software package (Borgatti, 1992) was used to construct the chance-adjusted agreement matrix and perform the minimum residual factor analysis. The top three eigenvalues are shown in Table 1. The ratio of the first to the second is almost 30 , and no negative loadings were found, indicating a strong fit to the consensus model.

Correlations among the five knowledge score variables are given in Table 2. ${ }^{1}$ With regard to approaches 2a, 2b and 2c (labeled "Self", "Others" and "Friends" respectively), the table reports only results involving variables constructed using mean aggregation and no recoding of any
scores to missing values. In general, testing of alternative aggregation methods (e.g., the median), mean-centered scores, and dropping of cases which were rated by fewer than a certain number of judges yielded nearly identical results and are not shown here. The one exception is discussed below.

As can be seen, the correlation between approach 1 (labeled "CTT" for "classical test theory), and approach 2 (labeled "Self") is a respectable 0.48 . Despite the obvious potential problems with self-evaluation of knowledge level, the results are loosely consistent with measuring objective knowledge directly with a standard test. Still, only $23 \%$ of the variance in test score is accounted for by the self-evaluation.

The correlation between approach 1 ("CTT") and approach 2 b ("Others") is $0.33(11 \%$ of variance accounted for). This is fairly weak. The correlation between approach 1 and approach 2c ("Friends") is a bit stronger at 0.40 as we might expect: the closer you are to someone, the more accurate your knowledge of their knowledge. However, the difference is marginal.

It should be pointed out that for approach $2 b$ - estimates derived from all judges who could identify the subject - the accuracy of the estimates increased steadily with the number of judges. When cases with fewer than 10 judges were eliminated, the correlation rose from 0.33 to 0.35 , and when cases with fewer than 15 judges were eliminated (leaving 36 cases), the correlation rose to 0.52 , suggesting that the more people judging a person's knowledge level, the more accurate the aggregate estimate.

[^0]The correlation between approach 1 (CTT) and approach 3 ("Consensus") was extremely high ( $r$ $=0.95)$. The two measures are virtually identical. Taking the "objective" approach of classical test theory as the gold standard, this indicates that it is indeed possible to measure individuals' level of knowledge extremely accurately without knowing the answer key.

It is worth pointing out that all of the subjective rating approaches (self-evaluation, evaluation by all others, and evaluation by friends) are more highly correlated with each other than to the objective knowledge and consensus approaches, and, within this group, self-evaluation is the most different. A graphical depiction of these relationships is given by Figure 3, which shows a metric multidimensional scaling $($ Kruskal stress $=0.007)$ of the correlation matrix in Table 2.

## DISCUSSION

The empirical results indicate that, when the three conditions are satisfied, the consensus method of Romney, Weller and Batchelder (1986) allows us to accurately measure levels of knowledge without using an answer key. The implications for research involving individual knowledge are exciting. It means that, in principle, we can construct accurate measures of knowledge even in domains for which standard tests of proficiency have not been developed. For example, if an informal community of practice emerges in a bank around the practice of micro-lending, we can measure the extent to which individuals have absorbed knowledge of this collective practice.

However, the power provided by the consensus procedure does not come cheaply. The method must be coupled with a qualitative first stage in which the researcher investigates the beliefs of a group in a given domain. The result of this ethnographic work must be a set of discrete propositions or statements of fact that can be used as the basis of a multiple choice questionnaire. ${ }^{2}$ This is a time-consuming process that requires some skill.

There is also the issue of satisfying the conditions of the model. If the conditions are never satisfiable, the model is not practical, no matter how elegant mathematically. Let us examine each of them. The first condition is that there must exist a single right answer for each question that is applicable to everyone in the sample, even if not everyone knows that right answer. This is fundamental to all measurements of knowledge, since the reason for calling something knowledge rather than belief is the assumption of truth. The notion of truth in the consensus model, however, is written with a lowercase " $t$ " and is perhaps less problematic than the notion of objective truth implicit in classical test theory. The consensus model merely demands that there be a right answer for each culture, and that each person in the sample belongs to that one culture rather than an alternative culture. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the first condition is satisfiable in at least those domains and social systems which are established enough that a body of received wisdom has had a chance to emerge. In addition, the factor analysis methodology can empirically diagnose violations of the first condition by yielding two (or more) factors indicating the existence of multiple answer keys. The only time it runs into trouble is

[^1]when the sample contains just one or two members of a different culture, in which case those individuals will appear to have low knowledge.

The second condition states that there is nothing causing people to answer similarly when they don't know the answer (i.e., the answer key is the only source of similarity). This works well in domains that can be broken down into a series of statements of fact so that when a person doesn't know the answer, there is no particular strategy for choosing among the alternatives. But questions that require or invite reasoning to derive an answer could be more problematic. Consider showing individuals a set of round holes, and for each hole asking which of five balls would fit perfectly. In some cases the distribution of ball sizes might make the answer obvious, while in others it might be difficult to judge. But even when a respondent was not clear on which ball was right, they would certainly not choose randomly among the balls, as the model assumes. Similarly, test-taking heuristics such as "when you don't know the answer, choose the one with the biggest words" could create commonalities among respondents apart from the answer key, contrary to the condition. Such problems can potentially be handled by extending the response model, but that will require future development. Even more problematic are knowledge domains where propositions are woven together so tightly that answering one way on one question strongly implies a certain answer on another question, independent of the truth.

The third condition states that the questions must be homogeneous in the sense of being sampled from the same domain of knowledge. Otherwise, it would be foolish to view the level of knowledge as a single variable - there should be different scores for each person for each domain of knowledge. In practice, it is probably not difficult to generate a set of questions that fall, on
the whole, in one domain of knowledge. Individual questions, of course, are always ambiguous as to whether they belong to a domain or not, especially since they can simultaneously belong to any number of domains. However, the situation is similar to that of the first condition (except applied to items rather than persons), and the presence of questions from more than one domain can often be detected empirically via factor analysis (of the agreements among items rather than persons).

All three of the conditions imply that the method works best with what might be called "atomizable" domains, which can be divided into largely unrelated facts and propositions. Knowledge that consists of learned perspectives or ways of approaching problems will not easily be measured using consensus methodology. Nor will domains in which knowledge remains tacit even in the face of ethnographic inquiry.

Despite these very real limitations, the consensus methodology offers promise for knowledge management research in appropriate domains. While labor intensive, it appears considerably more accurate than approaches based on subjective ratings (and with fewer validity problems), and yet does not require an omniscient researcher.

As a final note, it is interesting that classical test theory, a formal model based on an objective view of knowledge, should, after mathematical derivation, yield the consensus model, whose conception of knowledge is not absolute but rather culturally relative. In this sense, it may be that the consensus model provides a path of reconciliation between scientific and post-scientific epistemologies.

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Table 1. Eigenvalues of $M^{*}$ Matrix

| Factor | Eigen | Percent | Cum \% | Ratio |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 1 | 51.323 | 93.6 | 93.6 | 28.308 |
| 2 | 1.813 | 3.3 | 96.9 | 1.065 |
| 3 | 1.702 | 3.1 | 100 |  |

Table 2. Correlations among five estimates of knowledge.

|  | 1 | 2a | 2b | Friends Consensus |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | CTT | Self | Others |  |  |
| CTT | 1.000 | 0.479 | 0.334 | 0.398 | 0.947 |
| Self | 0.479 | 1.000 | 0.564 | 0.556 | 0.471 |
| Others | 0.334 | 0.564 | 1.000 | 0.891 | 0.342 |
| Friends | 0.398 | 0.556 | 0.891 | 1.000 | 0.400 |
| Consensus | 0.947 | 0.471 | 0.342 | 0.400 | 1.000 |



Figure 1. Basic response model from psychological testing theory.

## Respondent $k$

| 1 |  | 2 |  | 3 |  | 4 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

Figure 2. Respondents $\boldsymbol{i}$ and $\boldsymbol{k}$ guess at random.


Figure 3. Metric multidimensional scaling of the correlation matrix in Table 2


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Significance is not reported since it would be inappropriate in this context: the question is how much one measure

[^1]:    significance test would indicate.
    ${ }_{2}$ Although other formats, such as rank ordering tasks, pile-sort tasks and even well-structured fill-in-the-blanks are possible. See for example Romney, Batchelder and Weller (1987).

