EXPECTATIONS OF STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT AMONG PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS IN TOGO, WEST AFRICA: AN ANALYSIS OF BELIEFS AND CULTURAL VALUES

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research study was to analyze and explore the beliefs and cultural values that influence teacher expectations of student achievement in Togo, West Africa. A census was conducted of 93 teachers from the faculties of 15 Christian primary schools partnered with a U.S. based Baptist missions organization. Among partnered schools at the time of this study, teacher training in the area of expectations was often generalized due to the absence of scientific research and published data regarding teacher beliefs and expectations in West Africa. A case study approach was used with multiple data collection methods. The qualitative data were collected through a twenty-question Likert-type questionnaire and a forced-choice locus of control questionnaire. The qualitative aspect of this study included a series of video-taped ethnographic interviews conducted in focus-groups at each school. The results from the quantitative instruments did not indicate any significant relationships between the teacher responses and the independent variables. The primary independent variable tracked in this study was the school location for each teacher (either rural or urban). The secondary independent variables analyzed were teacher education equivalency, years of teacher experience, teacher certification, grade level taught, class size, teacher gender, teacher age, and teacher ethnicity. The qualitative analysis indentified themes within which the teachers expressed their expectations of student achievement such as a lack of resources, perceived teacher efficacy, communal and national responsibility for education, financial resources and encouragement of students at home. An analysis of the results found that the participating teachers indicated that
they highly valued teacher competence, familial financial resources, student nutrition, and innate student abilities as influential factors for student achievement. The findings suggest that the teachers in this study placed a high value upon teacher training and student health-related interventions as means to positively impact student achievement. The results of this study are of interest to education professionals and researchers working in Francophone West Africa.
DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife Mary. Without her, I would never have been able to start, much less finish, this study.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my greatest appreciation to my wife Mary who supported, encouraged, and sustained me in all my endeavors. I would like to thank my parents Harry and Beatrice Ward, who raised me to be the man I am today. I thank my dissertation committee - Doctors Elizabeth Crawford, David Rausch, and Elizabeth O’Brien - for all their hard work. And I want to give a special thanks to the chairman of my dissertation committee, Doctor Hinsdale Bernard, for his guidance through all my doctoral research and writing.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

There are currently 15 independent Christian primary schools partnered with the Association of Baptists for World Evangelism (ABWE) in the country of Togo, West Africa, and I have had the opportunity to study the training and professional development among the teachers in these schools. The partnership includes working together to provide introductory training, professional development, curriculum, and classroom buildings to schools in several Togolese communities.

In cooperation with several missionaries and local leaders, my family and I have been heavily involved with teacher training among the 15 partnered schools while serving as missionaries to Togo with ABWE. My parents, Beatrice and Harry Ward, provided training, curriculum, and consultation to the schools from 2004 to 2012. The training was primarily composed of a one-year introductory training school for new teachers. Since 2012, teacher training provided through ABWE has shifted from a one-year classroom model to guided mentorships with veteran Togolese teachers in addition to periodic professional development seminars. My spouse, Mary Ward, and I have facilitated training seminars in cooperation with a team of missionaries and Togolese education leaders from 2014 to present. Approximately half of the 95 Christian school teachers have graduated from the one-year teacher training course formerly led by Mrs. Beatrice Ward, and nearly all of them have attended at least one brief voluntary professional development seminar in partnership with ABWE. The teachers of the
partnered schools were not selected by the ABWE staff, but were selected, employed, and sent to the training programs by the individual independent schools.

Present teacher training and professional development in the area of teacher expectations are often generalized and lack applicable specificity due to the absence of scientific research and published data regarding teacher beliefs and expectations in West Africa. Positive teacher expectations of student achievement have been shown to have a positive relationship to student achievement, and negative teacher expectations have been shown to have a negative relationship to student achievement especially among stigmatized students (McKown & Weinstein, 2008; Rangel, 2009; Wentzel, 1997). Based on this relationship, it is important to know the level of teacher expectations of student achievement in Togolese Christian schools and what inherent cultural beliefs may affect it in order to increase the effectiveness of future teacher training initiatives.

Statement of the Problem

Customarily, a great deal of effort and resources have been devoted to the development and improvement of Christian education in Togo (ABWE, 2014). In the midst of crosscultural professional development, misunderstandings (or simply a lack of understanding) concerning beliefs and cultural values can become substantial impediments to both mutual trust and progress. There is currently a sizable knowledge gap between the Togolese Christian school teachers and the teams of western aid workers (of which I am currently a member). Therefore, in a desire to create a deeper and more knowledgeable relationship between Togolese and western educators, this study was designed to make explicit those implicit Togolese beliefs and cultural values that are already active in influencing the lives of thousands of children.
ABWE trainers have previously included instruction on developing high expectations for student achievement. Leaders among the association of schools continue to offer professional development courses in partnership with ABWE and other educational and religious organizations working in Togo. Thus far, there has been no measurement of the effectiveness of the training in the area of expectations apart from a pilot study (Ward, 2012). The results of this study are designed to be used to develop new training intended to improve teacher expectations.

Purpose of the Study

This study was designed to analyze and explore the beliefs and cultural values that influence teacher expectations of student achievement in Togo, West Africa. Approximately 40% of these teachers were from the Ewe tribe that is indigenous to Togo, 33% from the Kabiye tribe, and 27% of the teachers represent various other tribes from West Africa. The analysis was used to identify and measure those beliefs and cultural values that influence the teacher expectations in Togo. The data gathered among the primary schools in rural and urban areas in Togo were compared and contrasted in order to properly identify and understand teacher beliefs and expectations. At the time of the study, the Christian schools were receiving introductory training and ongoing professional development from ABWE, including seminars designed to encourage the teachers to hold high expectations for their students’ achievement. The findings of this study were designed to be used to increase the effectiveness of training seminars in the years to follow.
Research Questions

1. What are the levels of teacher expectations of student achievement among Togolese Christian school teachers?

2. Is there a statistically significant difference between teacher expectations of student achievement between rural and urban Togolese Christian schools teachers?
   
   Hypothesis for Question 2: There is a significant difference in expectations between the sample groups of teachers.

3. Is there a statistically significant relationship between teacher expectations based on (a) teacher socioeconomic status (SES), (b) teacher education equivalency, (c) years of teacher experience, (d) teacher certification, (e) grade level taught, (f) class size, (g) teacher gender, (h) teacher age, (i) teacher ethnicity, (j) student graduation rate?
   
   Hypothesis for Question 3: There is a statistically significant relationship between teacher expectations and (a) teacher SES, (b) teacher education equivalency, (c) years of teacher experience, (d) teacher certification, (e) grade level taught, (f) class size, (g) teacher gender, (h) teacher age, (i) teacher ethnicity, (j) student graduation rate.

4. Are there observable differences in the patterns of locus of control among the sample groups?
   
   Hypothesis for Question 4: There is a significant difference in the locus of control status among the sample groups under study.

5. What beliefs and cultural values are associated with the level of teacher expectations for student achievement in Togo?

6. What emerging themes can be found among the sample groups’ beliefs and expectations?
Rationale for the Study

This study was designed to identify the beliefs and traditions that influence the level of teacher expectations of student achievement because the current teacher expectations were unknown. The underlying assumption of this study was that teacher expectations of student achievement can (in certain circumstances) affect student achievement (Alvidrez & Weinstein, 1999; Jussim & Harber, 2005). Various multicultural studies show that some of the effects of low expectations are accepted to be temporary, but continually low expectations, year after year, may have a cumulative effect on a generation of students of an entire culture (Dixon, Peterson, Rubie-Davies, & Widdowson, 2010; Rangel, 2009; Rubie-Davies, 2007).

The participants of the research consisted of two sample groups among Togolese Christian school teachers: (1) rural and (2) urban. The Togolese Christian school teachers were chosen because the results and conclusions were predicted to directly impact their future training and professional development in partnership with ABWE.

Theoretical/Conceptual Framework

The theory of the self-fulfilling prophecy has received notable attention in U.S. academics as well as in several other countries around the world, but it is not widely applied in developing countries (Tao, Yuan, Zuo, Qian, & Murray, 2006). The self-fulfilling prophecy can be described as a false prediction that only becomes fulfilled because someone created the prediction (Madon, Jussim, & Eccles, 1997). When teachers or students create self-fulfilling prophecies, one should not assume it is done with sinister intentions or evil motives, but teachers can and do form low expectations based on societal stigmas (Rangel, 2009).
This study relied on the assumption that if teacher expectations of student achievement are continuously low, then students will continually perform at a level below their academic potential (Dixon et al., 2010). Research indicates that high expectations can have a positive impact on students' achievement, but low expectations are more strongly associated with large, durable effects (Madon et al., 1997). Some research has been conducted to examine how cultural beliefs and traditions may contribute to an atmosphere of low or high expectations, but there is a great need for further studies (Dixon et al., 2010; Jacobs & Harvey, 2010; Rangel, 2009). This study was not designed to determine the extent of the effects of the teacher expectations on student achievement since there are many studies to that end. The theoretical framework and instrumentation of this study were built upon previous expectancy research from other countries, and were being applied specifically to identify and quantify the teacher expectations themselves as well as the beliefs and traditions that contribute to those expectations in Togo, West Africa.

Research has shown the importance of students and teachers believing that the students’ own efforts (or diligence) are related to academic achievement (Bernard, 1991, 2010; Twenge, Zhang, & Im, 2004). This is referred to as having an internal locus of control, which is based on the research of Rotter (1966). Teachers may influence their students to hold either an internal or external locus of control by their patterns of speech and behavior in class. On a macro level, the teachers may be passing on culturally held beliefs regarding fate and the nature of success in general. A crosscultural pilot study in Togo (Ward, 2012) did not specifically focus on locus of control; however, the difference between U.S. and Togolese teachers’ beliefs concerning locus of control beliefs became self-evident during the qualitative interviews. Therefore, locus of control beliefs were intentionally researched and analyzed in this present study.
The overarching purpose for the study was to increase the body of knowledge of Togolese teacher expectations to improve the future training among the Togolese teachers. The basis for this study was that teacher expectations of student achievement can have a profound effect on actual student achievement through the teachers’ intended or unintended behavior in the classroom (Rubie-Davies, 2007). Additionally, low expectations with economic and ethnic stigmas can have more powerful and longer lasting effects on student achievement (Rangel, 2009). Therefore, it was important to find the level of teacher expectations and identify beliefs related to those expectations, especially in developing countries where research is limited and expectations may have more powerful effects.

Figure 1 illustrates this study’s conceptual model for how teacher expectations may affect students’ academic achievement. Recent research has focused on the teacher expectations, teacher behavior, and student academic achievement. There are certainly other factors that affect a student’s academic achievement, and it was not intended to assuage the importance of other factors in education. However, in order to maintain effectiveness and specificity, this study focus on the thoughts and beliefs teachers have concerning their students that form their expectations.
This study was designed to discover, define, and quantify what thoughts and ideas Togolese teachers possess related to student achievement expectations. The qualitative interview and quantitative survey were designed for that purpose, and were used to link identifiable beliefs to measurable expectations. The meaning and significance of teacher expectations are defined by the context of their culture, beliefs, and behaviors (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Schwandt, 2000). The dual methods employed by this study were aimed to define and analyze the teacher expectations in the contemporary milieu. This study was designed as a means to quantify the expectations and to properly exegete them according to the surrounding background information.
Significance of the Study

There have been some significant studies conducted toward determining what beliefs and practices may influence expectations for student achievement, but additional studies are necessary among a plurality of cultures (Dixon et al., 2010; McKown & Weinstein, 2008; Rangel, 2009). The results of the study can be used by educators to develop new teacher training curriculum and address any fundamental difficulties in teacher expectations.

This study was designed to better clarify the relationship between culture and expectations of student achievement and therefore may provide aid to other researchers and practitioners in the areas of educational training, access to education, and crosscultural education. The refinement and use of the research instruments were valuable tools for educational research in Togo. The findings of this study helped to form a more accurate picture of education in Togo and help discern what kind of international assistance may be conducive to improving teacher training.

Definition of Terms

ABWE-partnered primary school: Independently operated primary schools that are ministries of community based Baptist churches in Togo, West Africa.

ABWE teacher training school: A former training school operated by ABWE missionaries, which served to prepare teachers for the independent schools. The training was comprised of a fall and spring semester followed by student teaching and observation in the summer.
Academic Achievement: In the context of this study, a metric of student achievement measured primarily by year-end national exams given at each grade level. In the Togolese educational system, concepts of academic achievement are based on French educational models.

Collectivism: The worldview of finding identification and meaning as a member of a group, as opposed to doing so as an individual.

Expectation: The lens through which a teacher views the capabilities of a student. The object of the expectations can vary greatly between basic literacy skills to the ability to attend a university or obtain white-collar employment. Teacher expectations of student learning are deemed low or high if they are significantly below or above the student’s actual level of achievement (Rubie-Davies, 2007).

Determinism: The belief that a person’s actions are not free, and that the outcome of events in a person’s life is not dependent upon one’s own efforts.

Locus of Control: A person’s belief as to who controls one’s destiny: one’s self; internal or chance and other powerful influencers; external (Rotter, 1966; Twenge et al., 2004).

Nationalism: A sense of consciousness and identity with one’s nation.

Rural school: A school in an area of low population density and light infrastructure where the predominant economic activity is agricultural.

Self-fulfilling prophecy: A falsely based expectation of a student’s ability to achieve that may influenced the student’s actual achievement. It is based on the theoretical assumption that low expectations can bring about lower achievement and high expectations can bring about higher achievement by affecting the behavior of the teacher, parent, and/or learner.

Tribe: In the context of this study, a teacher’s self-identified ethnic group, which was not selected from a list. Participants of this study were Togolese nationals; however, Togo is an
ethnically diverse country. There are several ethnic groups (or tribes) in Togo. The three largest tribes based on population are the Ewe, Kabiye, and Mina.

Urban school: A school in an area of high population density and heavy infrastructure where the predominant economic activity is non-agricultural.

Methodological Assumptions

The following bullet points were the methodological assumptions for this study. They served as the basis for the research methods as well as the theoretical and epistemological underpinnings for the research. These assumptions informed both the design of the study and the data analysis techniques employed.

- The theory of self-fulfilling prophecy is valid as it is defined in this study and teacher expectations do affect student achievement.

- The participants of this study have, with honesty and accuracy, provided information in genuine cooperation. However, there is a risk that teachers may have given responses that they believed would be more acceptable. The teachers may have indicated an artificially high level of expectations if they have fear of repercussions for low expectations. Conversely, the teachers may have indicated an artificially low level of expectations, believing that such results would assist in raising money for education in Togo.

- A mixed methods approach to research was the most valuable in order to both establish generalized principles to aid future teacher training and to fully comprehend the data in its cultural context. The qualitative data served as a much needed means to accurately analyze the statistical data by providing a multi-level context to the terms and variables.
The mixed methods approach was not only helpful, but it was a necessary bridge between the Togolese and U.S. cultures.

- Philosophical hermeneutics served as the epistemological foundation for data collection and analysis (Gadamer, 2013; Koro-Ljungberg, Yendol-Hoppey, Smith, & Hayes, 2009). The research was based on the assumption that knowledge is contextual and that its meaning is dependent upon beliefs, values, and practices (Schwandt, 2000).

Delimitations of the Study

The faculty of the Togolese Christian schools were chosen as the sample population for this study because nearly all of the Togolese Christian school teachers have received some form of education training or professional development provided by ABWE missionaries. The study included 93 of the 95 Togolese Christian school teachers from among 15 primary schools. The scale of the study did not allow for extended observation of the participants’ behavior in the classroom; however, the study included qualitative small-group interviews.

This study was used to analyze the relationship between the independent variable and two dependent variables, (a) teacher expectations of student achievement and (b) teacher locus of control. Additional analyses could be employed to compare the instruments and their underlying theories. The collected data may be used to create regression models or to develop other useful statistics for the advancement of those respective research areas. The length needed to substantiate those analyses in literature, report the statistics, and draw conclusions from them would warrant a study unto itself. Those analyses were outside the scope of this study, but the data remains available for such studies in the future.
Limitations of the Study

The instrument used for measuring the level of teacher expectations for student achievement has been adapted from other studies and has been pilot tested in Togo, but the method used was a self-reporting survey and was dependent on the honesty and accuracy of the participants. The interview sessions were likewise dependent on honesty and were conducted in a manner that minimizes any intimidation or fear the participants may have felt. Due to the sample size, the study was conducted over a short period of time; therefore participant responses may have been affected by recent events that could create a bias in short-term expectations. This particular study was designed to capture a snapshot of teacher expectations and was not capable of determining stability or consistency of expectations over time.

The survey instrument would have ideally been implemented in the primary language of the participants, but this was impractical because of the diversity of the multiple tribal languages. Togolese nationals are rarely taught to read and write in their primary language; therefore many educated Togolese have only a predominantly verbal proficiency. This study utilized a Togolese interpreter during the qualitative interview portion of the study so that the participants were free to give their verbal responses in their primary language, but the written survey instrument was necessarily provided in the national language of French.

The study was designed to include teacher SES (socioeconomic status) and class graduation rates as secondary variables to check for any data that may be related to any unusually high or low expectations among students. Unfortunately, at the time of writing, the class graduation data was not available, and teacher SES was not able to be obtained in a culturally appropriate manner.
The internal reliability of one of the quantitative instruments could not be confirmed. The teacher expectations instrument was written with both positively and negatively stated questions, to which the teachers indicated their level of agreement or disagreement. With the inclusion of reverse-scored Likert questions in the questionnaire, the reliability of the instrument was weak (30 items; $\alpha = .388$). With these reverse-scored questions removed from the results, the reliability was much stronger (23 items; $\alpha = .683$; $\alpha = .780$ on standardized items). This may indicate that the participants may have hastily answered the questionnaire or understood the expectations issues differently than the authors of the instrument. Further details are provided in the discussion and conclusions section.

This study was designed to include public schools teachers in Togo. The initial design included plans to study both public school and private Christian school teachers in two sample groups that would be approximately equal in size. I sent written invitations to public school officials at the regional and national level, but unfortunately, the public schools declined to participate in the study. Limiting participation to Christian schools may have rendered the results to be nongeneralizable.

The schools and teachers who participated in the study were those who already had a relationship with ABWE. Therefore, it may be that some of the teachers felt an obligation to participate in the study based on these relationships. In order to mitigate this potential limitation, each participant received an individual consent briefing with an emphasis that the teachers were not obligated to participate and that there would be no consequence for either choosing not to participate or to withdraw from participation at any point.

Furthermore, the relationship between the participants and ABWE may have affected the participant responses as well as the analysis of the data. The working relationship created both
advantages and disadvantages for the study as it provided a basis for qualitative data collection as well as a potential for bias. Researcher bias in the data collection and analysis stages of the research was mitigated by the use of an independent interpreter and member-checking interviews.

A Togolese interpreter assisted in the data collection phase of the study. The interpreter was not only fluent in English, French, and multiple local tribal languages, but was also not previously connected to the schools or ABWE. The interpreter assisted in conducting the interviews, transcribing, translating, and analyzing the qualitative data in order to properly communicate the meaning of the participants’ statements and mitigate researcher bias at each of those steps. After the initial data analysis was completed, the researcher conducted member-checking interviews with all participating faculties. All participants were presented with the results of both the quantitative and qualitative data analysis and were given the opportunity to express any questions or comments in the small group setting or in private.
Rosenthal and Jacobson’s (1968) study *Pygmalion in the Classroom* did not merely find that teacher beliefs affect both our behavior and that of others; it also revealed that such a finding could be quite controversial. Society had been unintentionally operating on various implicit assumptions regarding our own beliefs and expectations. Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) brought these assumptions to light and forced society to question them with an ensuing debate (Brophy, 1982). In that study, the researchers told teachers that certain students had been identified as *bloomers*, who would make significant academic progress that year. In reality, the bloomers and non-bloomers were randomly assigned to experimental and control groups, respectively. At the end of the year, the students whom the teachers believed to be bloomers made greater intellectual gains than those in the control group. The researchers found that student age was an important variable as intense gains were more often found in the lower grades, which indicated that younger students are more likely to be influenced by positive teacher expectations. Even more striking were the results of the Mexican American subgroup within the experimental group.

In total IQ, verbal IQ, and especially reasoning IQ, children of the minority group were more advantaged by favorable expectations than were the other children though the differences were not statistically significant... For total IQ and reasoning IQ, those Mexican boys who looked more Mexican benefited more from teachers' favorable expectations than did the Mexican boys who looked less Mexican. There is no clear explanation for these findings, but we can speculate that the teachers' pre-experimental expectancies of the more Mexican-looking boys' intellectual performance was probably lowest of all. These children may have had the most to gain by the introduction of a more favorable expectation into the minds of their teachers. (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968, p. 20)
The controversy surrounding the study stemmed from both its results and its methodology. In the following years, researchers brought up three significant objections to the methodology employed by Rosenthal and Jacobson: (a) the deception used on the teachers in the study created an artificial laboratory environment that rendered the results non-generalizable to real classroom situations; (b) the study used an inappropriate instrument, Intelligence Quotient, as the measure of student gains; and (c) the 1-year study did not show if there would be any long-term or enduring effects on student achievement (Brophy, 1982). Later studies not only confirmed Rosenthal and Jacobson’s results and conclusions, but also answered the methodological objections to the 1968 study (Alvidrez & Weinstein, 1999; Rubie-Davies, Peterson, Sibley, & Rosenthal, 2015; Rubie-Davies et al., 2014).

Alvidrez and Weinstein (1999) observed the difference between the IQ and teacher-rated intelligence level of 110 preschoolers from Berkley, CA. They found several important results regarding the nature and effects of teacher expectations. First, they found that teachers gave higher intelligence ratings than measured IQ to students from high SES families (overestimation), and conversely gave lower intelligence ratings than measured IQ to students from low SES families (underestimation). This was a direct parallel to the *Pygmalion* study indicating that teachers were essentially deceiving themselves in a way similar to how Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) deliberately deceived teachers in their experimental study. Second, Alvidrez and Weinstein (1999) found that the teachers’ rating of perceived student intelligence was a statistically significant predictor of student GPA 14 years later. Furthermore, they found that the difference between the students’ actual IQ scores and the teacher rating was also a significant predictor of student GPA 14 years later. When teachers overestimated student IQ it correlated with higher GPA after 14 years. Reseachers indicated that underestimation was more
powerful that overestimation, and found that, “most important is that the relationship between teacher ratings and high school GPA was strongest when teachers underestimated child ability relative to measured IQ score” (Alvidrez & Weinstein, 1999, p. 737). These findings are synchronous with those of Rosenthal and Jacobson while utilizing improved methodology. The researchers employed a more appropriate measure of academic gains (GPA instead of IQ), analyzed longitudinal data to observe possible long-term effects, and used historical data from indirect observation to minimize the possibility of any observer bias or Hawthorne effects.

More recent studies include a 4-year analysis of student achievement and teacher expectations conducted in the southwestern United States (Rubie-Davies et al., 2014). Researchers used the intelligence sub-scale of the Child Adaptive Behavior Inventory (CABI) to measure the teacher expectations for each child in the fall of Kindergarten, Grade 1, and Grade 4. They collected data from Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) at age 4 and Peabody Individual Achievement Test (PIAT) at the end of Kindergarten, Grade 1, and Grade 4. Using multiple regression and path analytic techniques, the researchers found direct effects of teacher expectations within the same year, but no direct crossover-effects into future years. In other words, Rubie-Davies et al. (2014) found that teacher expectations in kindergarten affected student achievement within kindergarten, but did not directly affect achievement in later years. However, the influence of the early expectations did not disappear: those early expectations were found to be significantly associated with the expectations of the subsequent teachers (Rubie-Davies et al., 2014). The researchers concluded that early expectations indirectly affected future student achievement by influencing the subsequent teachers’ expectations. They summarized in stating, “Multiple years of teacher expectation effects were additive in predicting student
achievement at fourth grade, with similar effects for teachers' over- and underestimates of student ability” (Rubie-Davies et al., 2014, p. 181).

Finally, a randomized experimental study in New Zealand included observing the results of training teachers to hold high expectations for their students (Rubie-Davies et al., 2015). Researchers in this study drew a direct parallel to Rosenthal and Jacobson’s (1968) study, but instead of using deception to stir up high expectations of student achievement, Rubie-Davies et al. designed and implemented a teacher professional development program. In this 2015 study, 90 teachers from 12 schools were randomly assigned to two groups: the experimental group received training in expectations while the control group received the normally programmed professional development provided by their school. Researchers then collected standardized test scores in reading and math from the students \( (n = 2,408) \) of the two groups of teachers. What they observed is that students of teachers from the experimental group increased their test scores by 28% above the scores of the students of teachers in the control group. Those were gains equivalent to an additional 3 months of study in the control group classrooms. While the analysis showed that the gains in mathematics were significantly different, the gains in reading were not. Teachers in the experimental group reported that the intervention techniques given to them were easier to implement in mathematics than in reading within the 1-year timeframe.

Rubie-Davies et al. (2015) stated in their statistical analysis that, “the improvement in mathematics scores for the intervention group amounted to an effect size of \( d = 0.49 \). The improvement over and above that of the control group was an effect size of \( d = 0.24 \) \( (t = 4.86, df = 1,637, r = 0.12) \). The intervention significantly improved students’ mathematics achievement” (Rubie-Davies et al., 2015, p. 80). The corporate testimony of these studies is that teacher expectations can significantly affect student achievement.
Variables in Expectations

Since the 1960s, researchers have sought to identify and quantify the many factors that can contribute to both student achievement and teacher expectations. Expectation research has had a tumultuous history over the last few decades as researchers have sought to discover the effects of expectations upon student achievement. Studies have measured multiple aspects of the relationship between teachers’ expectations and achievement; however it is difficult to consider causality when there are so many variables associated with scholastic achievement (de Boer, Bosker, & van der Werf, 2010; Dixon et al., 2010; Rangel, 2009; Rubie-Davies, 2007). Self-fulfilling prophecies can be a controversial subject because teachers do not want to be associated with controlling a student’s education or achievement but seek to be viewed as giving all students an equal opportunity to succeed (de Boer et al., 2010). Teachers prefer to believe that their expectations are accurate predictions of later student achievements rather than influencers in those achievements (Alvidrez & Weinstein, 1999; Brophy, 1982).

The effects of a self-fulfilling prophecy have shown to be diverse in their size and duration, even to the extent that some educators minimized the importance of teacher expectations of student achievement (Smith, Jussim, & Eccles, 1999). Traditional expectation data have been mixed regarding the effect of teacher expectations on student achievement (de Boer et al., 2010; Jussim & Harber, 2005). Older studies indicated that teacher expectations were accurate predictors of student achievement that were open to correction while the effects of expectations were viewed as weak and temporary (Brophy, 1982). Recent studies have identified specific factors that can strengthen (or weaken) the effects of teacher expectations. For example, researchers have shown teacher expectations to have a larger impact on students’ achievement in early primary school and in transition years (Dixon et al., 2010). The strength and duration of the
effects of expectations depend on certain variables that are not consistent for every case – this is 
the cause of the traditionally mixed results. Research over the last fifteen years has identified 
multiple variables that can increase or decrease the power and longevity of the effects of 
teachers’ expectations; these include: socioeconomic status (SES), age, gender, ethnicity, 
primary language, ability level, transition years, individual motivation, and parental aspirations 
(Alvidrez & Weinstein, 1999; de Boer et al., 2010; Dixon et al., 2010; Rangel, 2009).

The majority of recent research has been focused toward negative expectations since their 
effects have been found to be consistently more powerful and long-lasting compared to those of 
positive expectations (de Boer et al., 2010; Dixon et al., 2010; Rangel, 2009; Rubie-Davies, 
2007). Researchers have been able to identify specific teacher behaviors related to their 
expectations for students’ achievement. Rubie-Davies (2007) indicated, teachers with high 
expectations give students greater feedback, ask more open-ended questions, and become more 
involved in developing appropriate student behavior. These studies indicate that teachers 
(intentionally or unintentionally) foster an environment that is more conducive to learning when 
they have higher expectations for student achievement.

Consider the following two hypothetical students:

1. Sam is a Caucasian male. He comes from a middle-class family whose primary language 
is English. His father is a bookkeeper and his mother is a human resources representative; 
both of them are college graduates. Sam is currently a sophomore in a U.S. high school.

2. Jennifer is a Hispanic female. She comes from a low SES family whose primary language 
is Spanish. Her father is a self-employed roofer and her mother has multiple temporary 
and part-time jobs; neither of them attended college. Jennifer is currently in a third-grade 
U.S. elementary class.
Jennifer’s variables put her in a position to be more strongly influenced by her teachers’ expectations than Sam (Madon et al., 1997). None of these descriptors are within the student’s realm of control but rather are all external factors. These variables affect the power and extent of teacher expectations and are completely outside the student’s control. The teacher can then limit the extent to which students control their own academic outcomes by adding weight to contrived societal stigmas.

Teachers may base their expectations of students on the student’s behavior, previous academic achievement, rumor, minority status, SES, primary language, or many other factors. While many bases for expectations exist, studies have shown that teachers base their expectations on social stigmas regarding ethnicity and SES (Alvidrez & Weinstein, 1999; Dixon et al., 2010; Wu & Qi, 2006). Teachers believe that their expectations of students are based on the students’ previous achievement and current capabilities, but studies show them to be based on variables such as ethnicity and SES (Alvidrez & Weinstein, 1999; Rangel, 2009). Accepted research clearly shows that ethnicity and SES have no impact on diligence (though gender differences exist as females tended to be more diligent than males); however, diligence has been found to be a good predictor of academic performance (Bernard, 1991, 2010). Therefore, teachers base their expectations on societal stigmas instead of basing their expectations on the significant and student-controlled predictor of diligence. Diligence is a unique and important predictor of academic performance because it is within the control of the student and capable of being influenced by the teacher (Bernard, 2010).

In a longitudinal study of African American elementary students, Wu and Qi (2006) found that SES was the best predictor of academic achievement among multiple variables. Even teachers who are (or were) in stigmatized groups of ethnicity, SES, and language themselves
held low expectations for students with the same perceived characteristics (Rangel, 2009). This finding may be important as it shows that societal stigmatizations can persist, have negative effects on student achievement, and exist even when the same stigmatization is held by the teacher or the majority of students in the classroom. Teachers generally believe that their expectations of student achievement genuinely reflect students’ capabilities, although surveyed teachers admit to discovering that their expectations have been too high or too low at least sometimes (Dixon et al., 2010). A survey of parents, students, and teachers in New Zealand indicates that each group is aware of the negative effects of low teacher expectations. Low expectations for student achievement can still persist even though their effects are well known to be negative (Dixon et al., 2010).

Effect Duration

Older research was mixed regarding strength and duration of the effects of teacher expectations (Brophy, 1982; Smith et al., 1999). However, as previously stated, there have been studies that show long-term effects on expectations (Alvidrez & Weinstein, 1999; Rubie-Davies et al., 2014). Moreover, the following recent research has been able to clarify findings by identifying and isolating additional variables that strengthen or weaken effect duration. The research of Rangel (2009) and de Boer et al. (2010) indicates that while positive expectations can have a temporarily positive effect on student achievement, negative expectations and stigmatizations can have a cumulative and long-lasting negative effect on student achievement. A study of non governmental schools in Melbourne, Australia found that a school culture of high expectations enhances academic achievement for the school (Jacobs & Harvey, 2010). This culture of high expectations can be understood as an implicit internalization of high academic
expectations among teachers and administrators. Jacobs and Harvey (2010) found that high expectations positively influenced academic achievement when those high expectations were valued and internalized by teachers as a group within a school. Working within the idea of a culture of expectations, we can see how positive expectations and positive achievement can build upon each other over the course of a student’s academic lifetime.

Expectations and Performance

The power of expectations lies within the perceptions of the student (Bandura, 1995; Dixon et al., 2010). Since the student is the one performing and being affected by the expectations, only the perceived expectations are applicable. Although a teacher may have positive expectations for a student, if the student perceives the expectations to be negative then the outcome will be negative (or vice versa). Bernard (2010) found that “Students who believed that others had positive expectations of their success in life scored significantly higher in diligence than their counterparts who believed that people had negative expectations of their success in life” (p. 23). In this case the students’ perceptions of expectations actually affected their diligence in academics, which was a good predictor of academic performance.

Teacher Expectations and Behavior

Fundamental to the discussion of beliefs and expectation is the idea that beliefs matter. They are efficacious; that is, they affect a person’s behavior and others. Bandura (1995) contends that “people’s level of motivation, affective states, and actions are based more on what they believe than on what is objectively the case” (p. 2). In New Zealand, Rubie-Davies (2007) measured and analyzed the relationship between teacher expectations and classroom behavior.
Rubie-Davies (2007) found that teachers with higher expectations were significantly more likely to provide feedback to students, ask higher order questions, and give positive behavioral management statements than low expectation teachers (Rubie-Davies, 2007).

Another study of primary teachers in New Zealand demonstrated that teachers’ expectations for student achievement in reading were high for all ethnic groups except for a stigmatized ethnic group: the Maori (Rubie-Davies, Hattie, & Hamilton, 2006). Though students of all ethnic groups had similar achievement at the start, at the end of the year, the stigmatized students had achieved the least of all groups. The study among the Maori stopped short of indicating a causal link between the stigmatization and low academic achievement, but Rubie-Davies’ (2007) study showed a causal link between teachers’ expectations and their own behavior towards the students. Studies involving the Maori and African American students led researchers to believe that the achievement gap between minority and majority students, and between low SES and high SES students may be the result of an expectation gap from the teachers (Alvidrez & Weinstein, 1999; Rangel, 2009; Rubie-Davies et al., 2006).

As teacher behavior and practices are shown to be based on expectations of student achievement, additional research is needed to identify specific beliefs, both positive and negative, that may affect teacher behavior and student outcomes. A 2012 pilot study in Togo (Ward, 2012) used a quantitative survey and qualitative interviews to identify multiple beliefs contributing to teacher expectations for student achievement. These beliefs include: parental involvement, students’ future employment, students’ memory ability, teachers’ disciplining behavior, and locus of control. As beliefs related to expectations are identified, the dominant beliefs of cultures and subcultures may be shown to be significant factors contributing to expectations and student achievement. The purpose of this research was not to condemn, vilify,
exonerate, or rationalize any culture’s beliefs but to develop culture-specific training for teachers in order to increase their positive expectations, minimize negative expectations, and maximize their students’ potential for achievement.

This dissertation was designed to quantify the teacher expectations, but also to engage the teachers’ beliefs through discourse. Beliefs can be not only explained and framed through discourse, but also created and formed through the expression of thought into language (Gadamer, 2013). The qualitative data analysis employed the method of discourse analysis, which focuses on studying how language expression constructs and informs social relationships (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Price, 1999; Ricoeur, 1973). The social relationship between teacher and student is constructed by the beliefs and expectations of the participants. This social relationship, defined by the beliefs and expectations, served as the basis for the teachers’ behavior in the classroom.

Culture and Expectations

International researchers have studied the link between culture and expectations, a link that this dissertation seeks to further explore. Popular theories have suggested that Asian cultures foster high expectations for student achievement (Breitenstein, 2013; Schleicher, 2014). A study involving Chinese middle and high school teachers indicated that they focus highly on students mastering reading based on cultural norms and traditions (Tao et al., 2006). However, the study did not confirm that Asian teachers have a greater propensity toward high expectations and diligence supporting behavior.

Researchers at the University of Auckland have completed studies examining the expectations placed on students of Asian, Pacific Island, and European ethnicities in New
Zealand in which they found that the level of teacher expectations differed among the ethnic groups (Dixon et al., 2010). In that study, the students among all the various ethnic groups had divergent opinions on whether the expectations placed on them were too high. The Pacific Islanders known as the Maori had the lowest expectations placed on them, yet as a group, the Maori were more likely to believe that expectations of them were too high (Dixon et al., 2010). That study found that teachers had lower expectations for Maori students than their students of other ethnic groups, but Maori students’ self-expectations were so low that they considered their teachers’ low expectations to still be too high. This is an example of how a culture of low expectations among teachers, students, and community can lead to an extreme set of low expectations for achievement. Arthur (2000) found links between high teacher expectation and high student diligence among students in Grenada. Clearly, culturally held beliefs, norms, and traditions play a part in the level of expectations for student achievement.

There has been some research conducted to study high-expectation cultures in Asia and their comparisons to the expectations in the United States (Tao et al., 2006). Much of the teacher expectation research conducted in the United States has been in relation to the achievement gap between majority and minority students (de Boer et al., 2010; Rangel, 2009; Wu & Qi, 2006). Little research has been conducted in potential low-expectation cultures concerning the beliefs that may lead to low expectations among teachers. The need to identify beliefs related to negative teaching behavior is paramount since research indicates that negative expectations and negative teacher behavior can have a more powerful and long-lasting effect on students than positive expectations and behavior (de Boer et al., 2010; Rangel, 2009). At the time of this study, there was a remarkable scarcity of information concerning expectations for student achievement in the cultures of developing countries and specifically in Togo, West Africa.
At the time of this study, there were over 2.5 million children under the age of 14 years in the relatively small country of Togo, West Africa (CIA, 2012a). For many African countries like Togo, school-aged children make up a much larger percentage of the population than the U.S. and other western countries. Yet, these are often the countries that receive the least amount of research attention in the field of education. There is a paucity of research conducted in SSA to identify beliefs and create training to develop practices that increase student diligence and achievement rather than focus on those that only mitigate negative beliefs and practices.

Recent Ethnic and Crosscultural Research

Teachers from differing cultures tend to disagree on the purpose of education, based on their cultural values and expected opportunities (Trudell, 2007). In a pilot study conducted in Togo (Ward, 2012), interviewed U.S. teachers expressed that primary and secondary education are a prelude to undergraduate or vocational studies, whereas the Togolese teachers viewed primary education as directly related to occupational and societal training. While all surveyed teachers in that pilot study generally hoped that their students would achieve, there was an apparent disagreement on societal goals for achievement. This disagreement may be due to the accessibility, value, and role of education in the differing societies. Regardless of the reason for the disagreement, the result is that teachers from multiple societies have differing goals and expectations for their primary and secondary school students (Trudell, 2007).

One of the most significant findings in the area of cultural expectations is that stigmatized students (based on ethnicity, SES, or native language) receive lower teacher expectations and are more likely to incur powerful and long-lasting negative effects on their academic achievement, even when the teacher belongs to the same stigmatized group as the student (de Boer et al., 2010;
Dixon et al., 2010; Rangel, 2009). This finding indicates that academic achievement can be negatively impacted by teacher expectations that are based on stigmatizations rather than based on a student’s past achievement or current potential regardless of the location or teacher traits. These studies indicate that teachers around the world may have irrational and damaging expectations for students of their own ethnic group or other groups. The intercultural and crosscultural implications are nearly endless as these studies have already been conducted in the U.S., the Netherlands, and New Zealand among multiple ethnic groups (Tao et al., 2006).

Gender Roles

Gender roles within cultures play a part in defining characteristics of a teacher’s idea of achievement. Developing countries may put themselves at a disadvantage due to the comparative lack of education among females. In a study of two suburban school districts in northeast Ohio, Bernard, Drake, Paces, and Raynor (1996) found that female students tended to be more diligent than male students. In Togo, the underrepresentation of females in secondary schools may have a negative effect upon overall diligence in a given classroom. According to U.S. and UNESCO reports Togolese male students can expect to receive an average of eleven years of education (primary to tertiary) while Togolese female students receive only eight years in comparison (CIA, 2012a; Fiske, 2012). Lewin and Sabates (2011) found that the access gap between boys and girls has closed in African anglophone countries, but still exists in francophone countries. When a culture does not educate its more diligent students, negative results follow in the classroom (Bernard, 2010; Lewin & Sabates, 2011). Furthermore, when there is a significant attrition rate the entire community suffers both culturally and economically (Kosonen, Young, & Malone, 2006).
In this kind of situation teachers are certainly likely to expect less future academic and occupational achievement for female students. Students in the United States can not only expect to receive more years of education than Togolese students regardless of gender, but U.S. female students receive on average two more years of education than U.S. male students - a stark contrast indeed to the situation found among Togolese female students. (CIA, 2012b; Fiske, 2012). This difference is likely due to the wider availability of education in the U.S. as well as an increased focus on individualism in the States. U.S. female students have more freedom to choose to continue their own education while Togolese females’ educational opportunities are usually determined more by male family members and societal expectations (Tuwor & Sossou, 2008). In sub-Saharan West Africa, and specifically Togo, Tuwor and Sossou (2008) cited the cultural emphases on early marriage and increased domestic responsibilities at puberty to be substantial reasons for the large drop-out rate among females after primary school. These factors give U.S. teachers a greater opportunity to have high expectations for academic and occupational achievement among female students because opportunities for achievement are more numerous.

Sense of Efficacy and Internal Locus of Control

Rotter (1966) analyzed a series of experiments based on social learning theory and designed to explain why rewards and reinforcement of behavior are more or less effective in certain circumstances. In that study, Rotter found that a person’s beliefs regarding what controls outcome (internal or external forces) made a significant impact on the effectiveness of behavior reinforcement. Rotter (1966) stated,

When a reinforcement is perceived by the subject as following some action of his own but not being entirely contingent upon his action, then, in our culture, it is typically perceived as the result of luck, chance, fate, as under the control of powerful others, or as unpredictable because of the great complexity of the forces surrounding him. (p. 1)
Those showing an internal locus of control believe that they, themselves, are in control of their destinies and accomplishments (Rotter, 1966; Twenge et al., 2004). The other end of the spectrum are those showing an external locus of control, who believe that their destinies and accomplishments are controlled by chance or other people. Research in education has put a spotlight on a student’s need to take internal responsibility for academic achievement; as Bernard (2010) stated,

> It is much more appropriate when students act from an internal locus of control for making responsible choices, than having to be coerced into what may seem to them arbitrary patterns of behaviors that may tend to make them even more rebellious. (p. 99)

A pilot study in Togo concerning crosscultural comparisons of teacher expectations of student achievement shows a distinct difference in perspective between the locus of control beliefs of Togolese and U.S. teachers (Ward, 2012). Interviewed U.S. teachers displayed a proclivity to view achievement from the perspective of the student, motivating the student toward individual achievement, and giving the students the opportunity to succeed on their own merit. The individualistic mindset of U.S. teachers led to an attempt to create a powerful internal locus of control among their students. That pressure toward a student’s individual responsibility for achievement appeared to be absent among the Togolese teachers, who tended to cite external factors as the primary means for student achievement. As a result, among the classrooms involved in this study, the Togolese students are being trained to be externally motivated while U.S. students are trained to be internally motivated. U.S. culture may lean toward inspiring and motivating students, which might affect diligence. Togolese students may face greater external pressure to do well in order to contribute to the family, but Bennett (1994) indicates that external factors can often be a weaker motivation for academic success among university students.
However, Twenge et al. (2004) have found U.S. college students to be shifting toward an external locus of control.

In a longitudinal study of Italian students, Caprara et al. (2011) showed how students’ academic self-efficacy beliefs contributed to academic achievement starting at age 13 and (coupled with past performance) continued to contribute to academic achievement above SES in high school. These self-efficacy beliefs are the internalized system that allows students to take control and responsibility for their own academic achievement (Pajares, 1996). The concepts of *locus of control* and *self-efficacy* are two different scales and theories, but researchers have noted that an internal locus of control and a high sense of self-efficacy are related (Phillips & Gully, 1997). Conceptually, self-efficacy is a part of the sociocognitive theory while locus of control is a part of the social learning theory. The first shows that one’s motivation and efficacy is the result of one’s beliefs, while the second shows that the effectiveness of reinforcement is based on one’s beliefs. The differences between the two models are apparent, but the similarities are striking. One can conclude that the area of agreement between these two models is that teacher beliefs matter in the classroom.

**Access to Education**

West African countries have difficulty providing education to all their citizens, but rural students often face greater difficulties than their urban peers. According to Lewin and Sabates (2011), among all seven African Francophone countries included in their study (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Madagascar, Mali, Niger and Senegal) rural children were more likely to be out of school and more involved with their family’s agricultural responsibilities. Even rural students who attend school full-time often miss many scheduled days of schooling during harvest time.
(Pôle de Dakar, 2009). Lewin and Sebates’ study (2011) included African nations outside of West Africa, but had a high concentration of Francophone countries in that region. However, this attendance disparity between rural and urban youth existed only in Francophone countries and one Anglophone country: Malawi. The county of Togo was not a part of Lewin and Sabates’ (2011) study, but because of the displayed homogeneity of surveyed Francophone African nations researchers can only infer that similar conditions exist in Togo.

Rural location is frequently associated with low socioeconomic status (SES), especially in Francophone countries, and low SES is also a significant corollary to academic attendance and success (Zhang, 2006). In addition to low SES, rural schools are considered to be of a lower social status than urban schools, and have less materials, and less inviting facilities, all of which contribute to teacher shortages in rural areas (Lewin & Sabates, 2011). Zhang (2006) analysed these aspects of rural schools independently from Lewin and Sabates (2011), but taken together they indicate a negative stigma of lower status ascribed to rural schools, which contributes to teacher shortages, high class sizes, and an attitude that rural education is secondary to agriculture.

There is a dearth of learning materials among many schools in West Africa, but their absence is more profound in rural schools. Recent research in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), and specifically in Tanzania, has uncovered considerable differences between urban and rural schools:

Pupils in urban schools were more likely to work from a textbook reflecting the higher number of textbooks available in urban settings (an urban/rural textbook ratio of 2:1). In contrast, although not quite statistically significant ($p = 0.0851$), pupils in rural schools were more likely to work on exercises from the chalk board compared to urban pupils. (Hardman, Abd-Kadir, & Tibuhinda, 2012, p. 828)
The lack of teaching material and literature dictates the limited range of methods that teachers can use in rural schools. School systems are providing teachers with new training in student-centered teaching methods, but a lack of teaching materials contributes to a reliance on chalkboard-based, lecture-style, teacher-centered teaching (Kosonen et al., 2006).

The limited amount of teaching material appears to go hand-in-hand with the overall condition of classroom facilities, both of which are connected to teacher competency. Zhang’s (2006) extensive SSA study indicated,

Fewer than half of the sampled schools in Lesotho, Malawi, mainland Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia reported that their school buildings were in relatively good condition, in all countries rural schools were less likely to report so. In addition, rural schools overall had fewer facilities or equipment. Teachers in rural schools generally had access to fewer instructional resources. In most of these countries, rural sixth-grade teachers seemed to lag behind their urban counterparts with respect to reading abilities. (p. 596)

These factors of materials and facilities, as well as the low social status identified with rural schools, typically make rural schools an undesirable placement for teachers. Therefore, rural schools are often composed of the newly trained and inexperienced teachers, which contributes to burnout, turnover, high student-teacher ratio, and teacher shortages. The variable of school location (rural or urban) may be substantially correlated to academic achievement and a school’s culture of expectations (Jacobs & Harvey, 2010; Zhang, 2006). Therefore school location must be observed in future studies related to expectations. Currently, neither domestic nor international research has identified a “rural stigma” associated with low expectations, but school location was included as a variable in this study in order to determine if it is related to expectations in Togo.
Socioeconomic Status

When readers influenced by U.S. culture consider the economic status of West Africans they may conjure images of mud huts with grass roofs, and this can be an accurate portrayal in some circumstances. It is true that many classrooms in West Africa are constructed of not much more than a few poles and a grass roof, but SES in West Africa exists on a long continuum just as it does in any region of the world (Lewin & Sabates, 2012). Access to education is significantly associated with SES in both rural and urban settings even in the face of national attempts to expand access to low SES families (Lewin & Sabates, 2011). Rural student location in West Africa is an indicator for low academic achievement, but SES continues to be the most significant variable related to access to education and educational success, even more significant than location (Zhang, 2006). According to Zhang’s (2006) research among seven SSA countries, after adjusting for SES, the disadvantages for rural students were substantially reduced and in some cases rural students exceeded the achievements of urban students in reading and mathematics. Recent research has identified an SES stigma that is significantly related to low expectations of student achievement among teachers (Rangel, 2009).

Training in Expectations

As the analysis of literature can be overwhelming and research continues to grow in the area of expectations, it can be easy to lose focus on the goal of helping teachers to positively affect student achievement. While this topic may stir controversy and hard feelings, the purpose is not to point blame at teachers or heap guilt upon any cultures or groups. In light of this purpose for research in expectations, it is important to study how to incorporate these findings into future training. Archer (2000) contends that teachers’ educational practices are only lightly influenced by the theoretical framework in which they have been trained; rather their practices
are more heavily based on their internal beliefs, which are formed as students and early teachers and influenced by their own teachers and colleagues. This is consistent with what has already been discussed concerning student self-efficacy. In this case the teachers are the students and the training they receive should also be coupled with encouragement in self-efficacy and internal attribution (Bandura, 1997; Brophy & Good, 2008; Pajares, 1996). Therefore, any training for teachers in the area of expectations should involve the theoretical insights and must also include an individual practicum for teachers to demonstrate the behavior under the encouragement of an instructor.

A pilot study in Togo (Ward, 2012) indicated that teachers trained in a particular environment can hold different beliefs from the other teachers in their own culture, which supports the philosophy that training can be effective in the future to increase teacher expectations of student achievement. While there was no statistically significant difference in overall expectations among the sample groups, the pilot study did show that teachers who were specifically trained to have high expectations of student achievement more strongly disagreed with the statement, “Most of my students will not be able to remember what they learn in class” (Ward, 2012, p. 31). Unlike the U.S. and Togolese teachers who did not receive specific training in expectations, none of the trained Togolese teachers mentioned students who are struggling to learn or remember what has been taught. When presented with new information concerning how students learn and achieve, teachers can alter their beliefs and increase their effectiveness (Ward, 2012). The research in this area is not a purely academic pursuit, but a means of practically changing teacher training in order to increase the effectiveness of education in developing countries like Togo. The purpose of future study in the area of expectations can be practical and effective for improving teacher expectations and behavior.
Traditionally, researchers have sought to explain educational success by various learning/teaching techniques and instructional practices, but recent research suggests that teacher expectations (upon which practices are based) may be a more fruitful area of research (Dixon, Widdowson, Peterson, & Rubie-Davies, 2009). Research indicates that high levels of teacher expectations are linked to identifiable beliefs, that lead to improved student achievement (Rubie-Davies, 2007). This research has shown differing beliefs among cultures that affect expectations of student achievement, but additional study is needed to create practical links between academic research and practical improvements in education.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Population and Sample

The study was a census of the faculty of the 15 ABWE-partnered Christian primary schools of Togo, West Africa, composed of 95 teachers. Purposive sampling was employed because ABWE’s ongoing professional relationship with the participants provided access for previous ethnographic research as well as the influence to design future training initiatives (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Furthermore, the ABWE-partnered schools employ teachers who were trained to have high expectations for their students, and were encouraged to have higher expectations than teachers of the same culture (Ward, 2014).

The 15 elementary schools were spread across three of Togo’s five geographic regions, and included both rural and urban locations. Each sample group was designed to include at least 30 participants. The rural sample (a) was composed of faculty from nine schools with a total of 58 participants. The urban sample (b) was composed of faculty from six schools with a total of 35 participants. All of the teachers from each of these schools were invited to participate, and 97.9% of the teachers responded making the study a census.

Variables

The primary independent variable used in this study was the school location for each teacher (1 = rural, 2 = urban). These two levels of the independent variable were the two sample
groups. The first dependent variable was the general expectations of student achievement measured by the survey instrument. During a pilot study in Togo (Ward, 2012), the teacher locus of control became a dominant theme in the qualitative interviews and has therefore warranted further analysis as a dependent variable in this larger study.

The class graduation rate variable was intended to check for any unusual or outlying classes that may be related to any unusually high or low expectations among students. Unfortunately, at the time of writing, the class graduation data was unavailable. Other secondary independent variables identified in this study were: SES (socioeconomic status), years of teaching experience, education training or certification, highest level of education, grade level taught (Grades 1-6), class size, gender, age, and ethnicity. The secondary independent variables were analyzed to answer Research Question 3. All of the dependent, independent, and secondary independent variables can be found in the Variables Analysis Grid in Appendix A.

Instrumentation

Researchers at the Centre for Child and Family Research from the University of Auckland have developed and implemented instruments to evaluate the level of expectation in student achievement from students, teachers, and parents in New Zealand (Dixon et al., 2010). The pilot study for this research in Togo was conducted by adapting the Cognition Institute’s Teacher Questionnaire for beliefs and expectations to the educational situation in Togo and consists of a 20-question Likert-type survey (Dixon et al., 2010). The instrument has been designed and used to rate the level of teacher expectations of student achievement and their beliefs regarding achievement expectations. The instrument was modified in order to be used crossculturally for first-grade and second-grade teachers in Togo and the United States.
Additionally, the instrument was translated into French, the national language of Togo and the working language of the Togolese teachers. This modified instrument was piloted in Togo during January 2012 and in Chattanooga, TN during February 2012 and is shown in Appendix B. The pilot data suggested that the internal consistency was slightly low (α < .7) and the questions were in need of some revision and reorganization. The instrument was revised based on the pilot data and it was expected to perform with greater reliability based on the revisions and the larger sample size of this study. Additionally, questions from the diligence inventory (DI-EF educator form) developed and used by Bernard (2010) were adapted into the instrument to increase effectiveness and internal consistency. The new instrument is available in Appendix C. The purpose of the expectation instrument for this study was not to serve as a general measure that can be used in any culture or any education setting, but to be the most accurate instrument for the primary school teachers in Togo.

The teacher responses in the qualitative portion of this author’s pilot study in Togo indicated a need to include a locus of control survey in this present study (Ward, 2012). The Togolese and U.S. teachers in that study often couched their beliefs and explanations in terms similar to those described by Rotter’s (1966) locus of control paradigm. Therefore, Rotter’s instrument was included in this study as a separate instrument whose results are part of the multi-level variables analysis. The English version of the instrument can be found in Appendix D, but as is the case with the teacher questionnaire and interview questions, a French version was employed for the Togolese teachers. The qualitative portion of the present study was modified from the pilot study to seek contextualization of both the teacher expectations and locus of control beliefs (Creswell & Poth, 2018).
Research Design

The original design for the study was causal-comparative in its approach and included a sample group of Christian school teachers with an approximately equivalent sample of public school teachers. Unfortunately, after repeated invitations to regional public school administrators and to the Ministry of Education, the public schools declined to participate in this study. Therefore, the research developed into an embedded case study of the beliefs and cultural values related to expectations of student achievement among the ABWE-partnered Christian school faculties in Togo (Creswell & Poth, 2018; Yin, 2004, p. 113). The case study design was employed to observe differences between two distinguishable parts of the group of schools, which were located in both rural and urban areas. The internal analysis of the rural and urban variation with a singular association of schools served as a substitute for variations between of types of Togolese schools (Lipset, Trow, & Coleman, 2004). The case study approach facilitated an indepth focus on one concern among one population group. It provided the basis for a contextual analysis of teacher beliefs and cultural values relevant to expectations of student achievement. Furthermore, the specific population studied may be able to benefit directly from future interventions created by ABWE and partnered organizations based upon the findings of this study.

In order to create a contextualized view of the teacher expectations both quantitative and qualitative methods were employed to gather data. The quantitative instruments were primarily used to measure the expectations, and qualitative interviews were used to identify beliefs and provide a cultural context for the measurements. Table 1 shows how the research questions can be classified by the methodology that was employed.
Table 1 Research Questions Categorized by Research Method

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantitative</th>
<th>Qualitative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What are the levels of teacher expectations of student achievement among Togolese Christian school teachers?</td>
<td>5. What beliefs and cultural values are associated with the level of teacher expectations for student achievement in Togo?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Is there a statistically significant difference between teacher expectations of student achievement between rural and urban Togolese Christian schools teachers?</td>
<td>6. What emerging themes can be found among the sample groups’ beliefs and expectations?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Is there a statistically significant relationship between teacher expectations based on (a) teacher SES, (b) teacher education equivalency, (c) years of teacher experience, (d) teacher certification, (e) grade level taught, (f) class size, (g) teacher gender, (h) teacher age, (i) teacher ethnicity, (j) student graduation rate?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Are there observable differences in the patterns of locus of control among the sample groups?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen from Table 1, Research Questions 1-4 were addressed by quantitative measures, while Research Questions 5 and 6 required qualitative and descriptive research. The quantitative aspect utilized a 20-question Likert-type questionnaire and a forced-choice locus of control questionnaire administered with the aid of an independent Togolese interpreter. These questionnaires can be found in Appendices C and D. The interviews and questionnaires were administered with the assistance of a Togolese interpreter to ensure the accuracy of communication.

The quantitative scores from expectations and beliefs questionnaire were recorded without the names, employers, or specific location of the participants. The scores were analyzed for statistical significance separate from those individual identifying markers. The video-taped
interviews and the survey answers were then examined to contextually define the cultural beliefs and traditions associated with the scored expectations of student achievement.

Quantitative Aspect

The written survey instrument and individual interviews were used to identify beliefs that influenced the teacher expectations of student achievement. The two key issues related to the validity of the instruments were (1) determining beliefs related to expectations of student achievement and (2) crafting questions whose answers accurately represented those beliefs.

The crosscultural aspect to this study highlighted the need for low inference descriptors and an uncomplicated translation of the instruments into the French language. The Togolese participants of the study were all occupationally required to use French since it was the national and professional language of Togo at the time of this study. However, French was not the first language of the participants. The survey instrument and interview questions employed low inference descriptors to increase interpretive validity across different languages and cultures. A 2012 pilot study in Togo (instrument shown in Appendix B) was useful in determining the operational details of the study, and based on this experience, most teachers preferred to be interviewed and surveyed in an isolated area at their school. This allowed the teachers to be more open during the qualitative interviews since they were in a familiar environment and felt some sense of control over their surroundings.

Previous researchers have identified various beliefs and mores related to expectations: students’ future contribution to community, learning capacity, ability to gain mastery, potential to succeed, employability, and level of motivation (Dixon et al., 2010; Rubie-Davies et al., 2006; Tao et al., 2006; Wu & Qi, 2006). However, these aspects have traditionally been used
individually or selectively rather than being incorporated into one comprehensive study. Recent studies have often focused on teachers’ expectations of student achievement in one or two subject areas, such as math and English (Archer, 2000; Rangel, 2009; Rubie-Davies et al., 2006; Tao et al., 2006).

Since few studies have identified and analyzed multiple beliefs that contribute to teacher expectations of student achievement, several techniques were employed to strengthen the credibility of the study. These research techniques are listed and explained below:

1. Data triangulation through the collection of data by multiple instruments.
2. Data triangulation through the collection of data among multiple locations
3. Methods triangulation by use of both quantitative and qualitative methods.
4. Member-checking and participant feedback.
5. Peer debriefing with a neutral observer.
6. Peer review through the use of analytic memos.

The quantitative data collection was previously explained in the instrumentation section of this chapter. This study employed two different types of instruments that collected quantitative data. Quality control was observed by data triangulation conducted through data collection among various types of data, instrumentation, participants, and locations (Hall & Rist, 1999; Johnson, Onwueguzie, & Turner, 2007; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patten & Bruce, 2009).

Qualitative Aspect

The qualitative aspect of this study was based on a series of video-taped ethnographic interviews that were conducted in focus group-style gatherings of the teachers at each individual school. Ethnographic interviews were designed to gather cultural data from the perspective and
terminology of the participants’ worldview, and were used in this study because they afforded the greatest opportunity to discover the participants’ beliefs within a guided topical domain (Allen, 2000; Yeh & Inman, 2007). The qualitative design was intended to be a means to engage the teachers in a focused discourse that served as the means to arrive at an understanding or “fusion of horizons” (Gadamer, 2013, p. 406). The group interviews consisted of approximately six teachers, which was the typical number of faculty among the Togolese elementary schools. The interviews were composed of standardized open-ended questions designed to contextualize the teacher beliefs concerning expectations of student achievement. These interviews were also designed to give the participants an opportunity to frame the subject matter in their own words and to provide feedback to the language and terminology used by the researcher in order to advance from explanation to understanding in the hermeneutic circle (Gadamer, 2013; Ricoeur, 1973). The list of interview questions is available in Appendix E. Finally, after the interviews were completed, the participants received samples of transcripts and analysis for member-checking in accordance with qualitative research practices (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patten & Bruce, 2009; Yilmaz, 2013). The member checks were conducted in person in the form of follow-up, small group interviews.

The use of an interpreter was necessary for the teachers to be able to use their primary tribal languages as desired. The use of an interpreter should not be avoided when it can be beneficial to qualitative interviews and when the study uses proper quality control procedures (Kapborg & Berterö, 2002; Williamson et al., 2011). In order to minimize “threats to validity” in the translation, this study employed three quality control procedures in the use of an interpreter. The interpreter was (a) an active member of the local culture, (b) trained in the essential components of the qualitative interview process, and (c) conducted follow-up meetings to review
the translated dialogue in alignment with Kapborg and Berterö (2002) and Williamson et al. (2011). The interpreter also served as a neutral observer during the interviews and provided peer debriefings to strengthen the credibility of the findings (Rossman & Rallis, 2012; Yilmaz, 2013).

As the series of interviews was conducted, the dissertation committee members received inprocess analytic memos. This procedure provided the means for the researcher's self-reflection in order to identify and minimize bias (Fassinger, 2005). It also allowed for the dissertation committee members to analyze the data for emerging themes and present feedback while the study was being conducted. This procedure acted as a quality control in data analysis through inquiry auditing (Patten & Bruce, 2009; Yeh & Inman, 2007).

Data Analysis

Several different statistical analyses were used for this study because of the multiplicity of scales of data among the variables, which are displayed in Appendix A. The multiple instruments and methods of data collection in this study were designed to provide valid, reliable, and contextual data to be analyzed in ways most consistent with the types of data collected as suggested by Patten and Bruce (2009). A 2012 pilot study (Ward) was used as a guide to the analyses used in this present study, but was expanded upon because of the increased scope of this present study. The data analyses in Table 2 are displayed in relation to both the quantitative and qualitative research questions.
Table 2 Data Analyses Used for Research

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Statistical Analyses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What are the levels of teacher expectations of student achievement among Togolese Christian school teachers?</td>
<td>Display of descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Is there a statistically significant difference between teacher expectations of student achievement between rural and urban Togolese Christian schools teachers?</td>
<td>Independent samples t-test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Is there a statistically significant relationship between teacher expectations based on (a) teacher SES, (b) teacher education equivalency, (c) years of teacher experience, (d) teacher certification, (e) grade level taught, (f) class size, (g) teacher gender, (h) teacher age, (i) teacher ethnicity, (j) student graduation rate?</td>
<td>One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) test [ \text{Independent samples t-test} ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Are there observable differences in the patterns of locus of control among the sample groups?</td>
<td>Chi-square test of homogeneity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. What beliefs and cultural values are associated with the level of teacher expectations for student achievement in Togo?</td>
<td>Discourse analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. What emerging themes can be found among the sample groups’ beliefs and expectations?</td>
<td>Discourse analysis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The quantitative analyses listed above are in accordance with the scale of measure for each variable as they are listed in Appendix A. The secondary independent variables are listed as
part of the sub-question under research question number two. In addition to the analyses listed in Table 3.2, both of the survey instruments were subject to Cronbach’s alpha test for reliability.

Data coding from the qualitative interviews was based on an inductive analysis of indigenous thematic categories expressed in the interviews (Bradley, Curry, & Devers, 2007; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Thomas, 2006). Data analysis of the ethnographic interviews was conducted primarily using the method of discourse analysis with the results to be presented thematically (Rossman & Rallis, 2012). Discourse analysis is a method of analyzing the interaction of ideas within a discourse with special attention given to the power effects on a particular topic (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). It focuses on studying how language, in the form of discourses, constructs and informs social relationships (Ricoeur, 1973). The design and philosophical foundations of the study warranted the use of discourse analysis since it was concerned with the interaction between ideas and social behavior (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Price, 1999). This method of analysis was used in this study to indicate how the teachers have constructed (and are continuing to construct) their social relationship with their students by their beliefs and expectations. Both the collection and analysis of the data were conducted based on the philosophical foundation of hermeneutic epistemology in order to arrive at a contextual understanding of teacher beliefs and expectation (Gadamer, 2013). Based on this epistemology, the study was designed to arrive at a contextual understanding of the teachers’ beliefs and expectations that is relevant to the study’s audience.
CHAPTER IV
RESULTS

This study was designed to discover, contextually define, and quantify the beliefs and cultural values of Togolese teachers that may influence their expectations of student achievement. The two population groups were composed of Togolese Christian school teachers: (1) rural and (2) urban. This study was based on six research questions that were addressed by a mix of quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Table 3 displays an overview of the results associated with each research question. The beliefs and cultural values of the teachers appear to be homogenous between the sample groups. The qualitative aspect of the study found several contextually defined beliefs and cultural values held in common among the surveyed teachers. The rest of the chapter contains a detailed explanation of these results.
Table 3 An Overview of the Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. What are the levels of teacher expectations of student achievement among Togolese Christian school teachers?</td>
<td>The teacher expectations were found to be initially high and expressed with a recognition of major obstacles that needed to be overcome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Is there a statistically significant difference between teacher expectations of student achievement between rural and urban Togolese Christian schools teachers?</td>
<td>No statistically significant difference was found.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Is there a statistically significant relationship between teacher expectations and (a) teacher SES, (b) teacher education equivalency, (c) years of teacher experience, (d) teacher certification, (e) grade level taught, (f) class size, (g) teacher gender, (h) teacher age, (i) teacher ethnicity, (j) student graduation rate?</td>
<td>No statistically significant relationships were found.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Are there observable differences in the patterns of locus of control among the sample groups?</td>
<td>No observable differences were found.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. What beliefs and cultural values are associated with the level of teacher expectations for student achievement in Togo?</td>
<td>The culture among the teachers was found to indicate high values placed upon teacher competence, familial financial resources, student nutrition, and innate student abilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. What emerging themes can be found among the sample groups’ beliefs and expectations?</td>
<td>Emerging themes included a continuous lack of resources, perceived teacher efficacy, communal and national responsibility for education, financial resources and encouragement of students at home.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Results Related to Research Question 1

1. What are the levels of teacher expectations of student achievement among Togolese Christian school teachers?

Expectations of student achievement were found to be generally high among teachers of all groups and subgroups. Scores were computed from a 6-point Likert scale: 1 being the lowest score and 6 being the highest possible score. Table 4 displays the descriptive statistics of the sample groups, including the teacher expectation mean scores.

Table 4 Descriptive Statistics of Rural and Urban Teacher Expectation Scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher school location</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>4.9361</td>
<td>.43191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5.0130</td>
<td>.36507</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 4 indicates, both rural and urban teacher groups scored on the high end of the 6-point scale indicating a high level of expectations of student achievement. The teacher expectation subcategory of the survey instrument was analyzed for internal reliability using Cronbach’s alpha. A score of $\alpha > .7$ is usually considered to be an acceptable level of internal reliability. Table 5 shows that with the inclusion of reverse-scored Likert questions in the questionnaire, the internal reliability of the subcategory of the teacher’s level of student expectations of the instrument was weak ($\alpha = .339$). If the reverse-scored questions are removed from the results then the reliability would be much stronger ($\alpha = .628$). Further discussion of the reverse-scored questions is provided in the following chapter.
The entirety of the expectations instrument is located in Appendix C. The following questions were the two reverse-scored items included in the teacher expectations subcategory of the instrument:

3. Most of my students will not be able to remember what they learn in class

16. In general, teachers expect too much of their students

Table 5 Reliability of Teacher Expectations Subcategory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cronbach's Alpha</th>
<th>Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items</th>
<th>n of Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reverse-scored</td>
<td>.339</td>
<td>.519</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Items Included</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reverse-scored</td>
<td>.628</td>
<td>.654</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Items Removed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results Related to Research Question 2

2. Is there a statistically significant difference between teacher expectations of student achievement between rural and urban Togolese Christian schools teachers?

The results of the independent samples *t*-test indicated that there was no statistically significant difference found between the expectations scores of the rural teachers (*M* = 4.94, *SD* = .432) and urban teachers (*M* = 5.01, *SD* = .365); conditions *t*(91) = .880, *p* = .381. In this study the expectations of student achievement were found to be homogeneous among the sample groups of Togolese Christian school teachers.

Results Related to Research Question 3

3. Is there a statistically significant relationship between teacher expectations based on (a) teacher SES, (b) teacher education equivalency, (c) years of teacher experience, (d)
teacher certification, (e) grade level taught, (f) class size, (g) teacher gender, (h) teacher age, (i) teacher ethnicity, (j) student graduation rate?

No statistically significant relationships were found between teacher expectations and the observed variables with the test statistic set a priori at \( \alpha = .05 \). Among the secondary variables teacher education equivalency, teacher certification, and teacher gender required an independent samples t-test while all other variables were analyzed using a one-way analysis of variance test. Unfortunately, teacher SES, and student graduation rate data could not be obtained and were not analyzed as part of this study.

There were no significant differences in the teacher expectations scores between those who obtained an education equivalency \((M = 5.173, SD = .399)\) and those who obtained a traditional school diploma \((M = 4.936, SD = .405)\) conditions; \(t(90) = 1.754, p = .083\). The teachers’ years of experience were grouped into 5 variable levels: 1-5, 6-10, 11-15, 16-20, and 21+ years. The study did not find teacher years of experience to be statistically related to teacher expectations; \(F(4, 88) = .195, p = .940\). There were no statistically significant differences between the mean scores of teachers who indicated obtaining their professional teaching certificate \((M = 5.08, SD = .297)\) and those indicated not obtaining their certificate \((M = 4.91, SD = .442)\) conditions; \(t(90) = 1.91, p = .059\).

The participants of the study included primary school teachers from kindergarten through 6\(^{th}\) grade. The study did not find the teachers’ grade level taught to be statistically related to teacher expectations; \(F(6, 76) = .608, p = .723\). The participants indicated their class sizes, which were put into three variable levels: low (1-25), medium (26-50), and high (51+). The study did not find class size to be statistically related to teacher expectations; \(F(2, 90) = .890, p = .414\). There were no statistically significant differences between female teacher mean scores \(M = \)
5.01, \( SD = .509 \) and male teacher mean scores \( (M = 4.94, SD = .331) \) conditions: \( t(91) = .816, p = .416 \). Participant ages were grouped into six variable levels: 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, and 45+ years. The study did not find teacher age to be statistically related to teacher expectations; \( F(5, 87) = 1.067, p = .384 \). The participants self identified their own ethnic group resulting in 13 ethnic categories. The study did not find teacher ethnicity to be statistically related to teacher expectations; \( F(12,79) = 1.051, p = .412 \).

Results Related to Research Question 4

4. Are there observable differences in the patterns of locus of control among the sample groups?

No statistically significant differences were found in the locus of control among the sample groups using a chi-squared test, \( \chi^2 (1, N = 92) = .231, p = .631 \). Table 6 displays the results of the teacher locus of control and school location crosstabulation.
Table 6 Teacher Locus of Control vs School Location Crosstabulation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher's school location</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Internal Preference</th>
<th>External Preference</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Teacher's school location</td>
<td></td>
<td>49.1%</td>
<td>50.9%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Internal External Preference</td>
<td></td>
<td>59.6%</td>
<td>64.4%</td>
<td>62.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>31.5%</td>
<td>62.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Teacher's school location</td>
<td></td>
<td>54.3%</td>
<td>45.7%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Internal External Preference</td>
<td></td>
<td>40.4%</td>
<td>35.6%</td>
<td>38.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>20.7%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>38.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Teacher's school location</td>
<td></td>
<td>51.1%</td>
<td>48.9%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% within Internal External Preference</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>51.1%</td>
<td>48.9%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The responses provided in the qualitative interviews may indicate the existence of a culturally influenced external locus of control regarding student achievement among the surveyed teachers. The teachers primarily emphasized teacher-related factors and secondarily noted parental-related factors as being the most powerful and influential factors that influence
student achievement. These emphases were further confirmed and expounded upon in the member-checking interviews.

The qualitative analysis was conducted in the French language, however all quotations have been translated into English for the publication of this study. This translation process may affect the accuracy of the results. As previously stated in the methodology section, the appropriate standards in crosscultural ethnographic research were followed, with the aid of a local interpreter, in order to minimize the threats to validity.

Environmental and Genetic Factors

When the participants mentioned success factors internal to the students, they framed the factors within an environment where teachers and/or parents were responsible for student diligence. The teachers pointed to external environmental factors as well as uncontrollable genetic factors to be the primary contributing factors in student achievement. The following quotations are four examples from rural and urban teacher responses from the qualitative interviews, which give contextual insights to their locus of control beliefs.

What I want to additionally point out as a help to our children is the environment of today. What most of them have to develop for their future success is blocked by the environment. Their environment is the locality where they are living today, everything that surrounds them, even including their mentors. As teachers, we are part of it, so are their parents as the colleagues said it earlier, and our State. We can notice slowness in the implementation of our curriculum, and our activity schedules. There are some parts that need to be changed, that should be a concern, but the change is being delayed by the State and teachers. So, these aids must occur sooner so that our children would succeed. (Respondent UA7)

I am going to add some influences that interact with the levels of children, and make us differentiate them in our classrooms. At the beginning, you can see that all the students are motivated for the work, but as the time passes you will notice some difference of levels during classes. Where does it originate from? We are going to point the finger at the environment. The environment also plays a great part in it. A child who is left in conditions that cannot allow him/her to learn will be influenced in his/her progress. Let
us suppose a child whose parents equip him/her well enough to make progress; he/she will perform better than any other child who is short of means. Once at home, some children, for instance, are left to themselves, instead of being urged to learn. The former child who is often at a table studying with his/her parents will make more progress. So, we see that there are many things we can cite. A child who comes to school without any money to eat, or who does not eat well, who is absent-minded in the classroom, how can that one learn? Those are things that bring differences between the students’ capacity levels in our classrooms. (Respondent UA2)

There are several reasons. It also depends on the environment. I am going to take the example of my child and your child. You have computers that the child manipulates. You have means available with you. Your environment, contrasted with our environment where there is no computer, and where homework not effective either, we can say that, of the two children, your child can succeed better than my child. It depends on the environment. It also depends on the genetic issues. In some families, some children have not been well conceived, but in other families, they are good at schooling. In our school here, there are children for whom we made means available, we made everything available, but it did not work. When we investigated, we saw that it was a genetic issue in their families. Genetic troubles also play a part. The genetic issues and the environment, I mean the house the child lives in matters. There are people who also went to school and are now able to help their children. There are families where parents have not gone to school. They are illiterate. The children are left to themselves. So, concerning the children who are helped at home, when I talk of the environment, I am just saying it in a general way. In my point of view, after that comes the genetic troubles and hereditary issue in addition. (Respondent RB2)

The Teacher’s Role in Motivating Students

In light of mentioning obstacles to student achievement the teachers noted their responsibility to encourage diligence within the students in order for them to succeed. The following four participant responses from both rural and urban teachers contain expressions of beliefs concerning the role of teachers in motivating students for their success.

To have them get successful, we can urge them, or motivate them to work. We should tell them the various jobs that exist in the world nowadays, how they should proceed so as to get such jobs, or give them the works that their parents do not know about today, and tell them that those works will allow them to have more success than their parents so as to prevent them from being only focused on the jobs that their parents are doing today. (Respondent UD2)

I say yes. Every child, every human being has the capacity to succeed. If we succeed in developing what they have in them, they will get advantages and virtues. Therefore, it is
up to the parents, teachers, and elders to help the children to exteriorize what God has put in them, to develop, and go forward. Every child has the right to success. (Respondent RD4)

In addition to what my colleague has just said, we can observe in some children that they do not want to succeed at all. But, for a child to be successful there should be three elements in their lives: the parents ought to intervene, and the willingness of the children is also at stake, then that of the teachers. If the three elements are missing in the lives of the children, they cannot be successful enough. (Respondent RE2)

In my view point, the children need the truth, encouragement, to be told what is waiting for them in the future, the reason why they are going to school. So, they need much help. They are beginners and therefore, as my colleague has just said, they come to school, because daddy and mommy said they should do so. So, they need motivation, and maybe from there, they will find out why they are also coming to school. (Respondent RF5)

The teachers in the rural and urban sample groups mentioned several external and internal factors related to student achievement. Teachers generally affirmed the ability of their students to succeed while noting many discouraging environmental factors that often negatively affect achievement. Both rural and urban teachers acknowledged the importance of student diligence and usually framed that concept within the domain of the teacher and parental responsibilities to motivate, support, and meet the individual needs of the students.

Results Related to Research Question 5

5. What beliefs and cultural values are associated with the level of teacher expectations for student achievement in Togo?

The results of the qualitative interviews revealed a high value placed on teacher competence in the classroom. The prevailing outlook of the teachers indicated an initially optimistic attitude toward student achievement because of confidence in teacher competence, but this optimism was coupled with an acknowledgement of severe economic difficulties in society, the home, and in the schools. When asked to elaborate upon their initial optimism and to provide
positively impactful factors that affect student achievement, the teachers frequently listed and discussed negatively impactful factors instead. Student motivation was acknowledged as a necessity for achievement, but usually within the context of the responsibility of parents and teachers to externally motivate the students.

Professional Competence

The teachers most heavily emphasized their own professional competence as a contributing factor toward student achievement. The teachers indicated that they place a high value on their role in both the classroom and in society. Further discussion of this cultural value will be found in the next chapter. The following four participant responses represent an expression of the teachers’ sense of responsibility for student outcomes.

On this issue, the responsibilities are divided among the teacher at first, the student secondly, and the parent thirdly. We can even cite the government in addition… (Respondent UB4)

First of all, I should love them, and listen to them next. I need to help them, listen to them, and give them time to freely express themselves. The teacher needs also to bring the students round to acquiring skills. (Respondent RA1)

To put something additional to what my colleague said, I would say that I need to study my students, study each student, know every student, and know how to deal with each student, because the students are different from one another. So, there may be a way, or else, a methodology that can work with a student, but cannot work with another. So, if I see that this student is different from others, I need at the same time to look for the means, or else, another method for that specific student so that it also works with him. In the classroom, I need to analyze my students, know each student and determine the method that applies to each of them, so as to get my message successfully delivered. (Respondent RB1)

On my side, I am going to raise our case. If the children do not succeed, it is sometimes our fault as supervisors, because we do not put ourselves into their shoes, and try to understand them better. So, I think that to help those who do not succeed to become successful, we need to offer them equal chances, try to understand them, and see what is necessary for them. So, we need to put ourselves in the place of the children, instead of trying at any time to punish them, just saying ok there is a reason for their failure. So, we
need to look for essential things that may be blocking the children and try to help them to easily make progress as other children around them do. (Respondent RD7)

Familial Factors

After placing an emphasis upon teacher professional competence, the teachers secondarily emphasized familial factors that affect student achievement. Many of the teachers commented on the economic status of their students’ families as a negatively influencing factor for their academic success. The following participant responses provide a contextual perspective of the teachers’ view of how parental actions and familial environment affect student achievement.

According to me, to this question, I can say that the parents help their children to work well at home, because those parents are educated, and are willing to urge on their children to perform well. But, for the students who are not performing enough, their parents are illiterates, and do not know their duties. They are careless about their duties. That is what makes some students succeed, and others not able to perform successfully. (Respondent RE4)

According to me, every student has the desire to succeed, but due to problems that occur in their families, some children are unable to work. Imagine a child who comes to school with a sad look, it implies that before leaving the school, he/she will not keep anything in mind from the teacher’s classes. (Respondent RF1)

Sometimes, it depends on the living conditions. A student who is well cherished at home, whose parents take good care of him/her, and meet his/her needs, who has a tutor at home for coaching as far as lessons are concerned, will pass easily. However, there are other students who come to school without having eaten at home. So, he/she cannot enjoy the classes. It all depends on the living conditions of the students. (Respondent RH4)

Ok, the colleagues have already said the essential things, but apart from that, what I would like to add is that the financial situation of the parents affects the success of their students a great deal. Some students cannot find food to eat at home. They are unable to eat breakfast. Their parents do not have the necessary means to pay their school fees, which cause them to be sent back home on regular basis to go and bring the fees. Some parents do not have one hundred CFA (100CFA = $.20) to pay for each session of the small tutoring courses that the teachers organize. All these things make some students not to make progress. They are unable to succeed simply because their parents are financially unable to support them. (Respondent UB1)
Student Responsibility

Several teacher responses expressed the belief that students are directly accountable for failure because of lack of internal motivation. After several teachers emphasized the role of the teacher and parents during the qualitative interviews, these teachers turned the focus upon the responsibility of the students. The following participant responses display a high value placed upon student motivation, and conversely, the belief that a lack of internal student motivation is a significant hindrance to future success.

In my viewpoint, concerning the students who succeed, it often depends on the attention they pay to their teachers, and the supervision within their families. About those who are not successful, we can say it is out of carelessness. Some students are careless in classrooms and at home. Since they are unwilling to listen to their parents, they consequently get negatively impacted. They perform badly. (Respondent UE5)

Ok, I can say that some students are devoted to work, and others are lazy. That is what results in bad success rates contrary to our expectations. However, we ought to pray God to help them. That will make them change, and everything is going to be alright for their future. (Respondent RH4)

Here, some students pass, because they devote themselves to the lessons that we give them. They devote themselves to lessons, and learn them quite seriously. Paradoxically, some students do not learn their lessons, and do not want to do anything, but in the end, they pass their exams for the upper classes. On the other hand, we emphasize that failure is the result of lazy students. (RH5)

Well, my colleague has just mentioned something very important at the level of the parents, but I want to fall back on the children. Well, about the virtues that the children should develop, I think that they need obedience, devotion, and excellence in their lives. They need to try to be always excellent, not to find the work difficult, and to be willing to work. If the children have these virtues in their lives, I think they will go further, and one day will come when they will become important personalities out of their expectations. That is what I wanted to add. (Respondent UA2)
Factor Plurality

Several participants cited multiple factors that contribute to or inhibit student achievement and many were adamant that there is a plurality of influential factors, not just one single factor, which can affect student success. Many teachers stated that there are several agents who must cooperate together in order for students to succeed; those agents were identified as parents, teachers, community/family members, the state, and the student. The following quotations contain expressions of multiple factors that the teachers believe to have an effect upon student achievement.

Ok, there are genetic problems also here. Some students are born with a defect, mental problems, or illnesses which handicap them from quick-thinking, or from responding promptly. So, such cases exist. There also are lazy students. After copying their lessons at school, they should learn them. Those who do not want to learn, they cannot perform as well as those who are devoted to work. So, if we consider such cases, we shall see that there are pupils who learn, and will perform well, whereas those who are lazy, who do not want to learn their lessons will not perform well either. (Respondent UD3)

In addition to what my colleague has just said, we can observe in some children that they do not want to succeed at all. But, for a child to be successful there should be three elements in their lives: the parents ought to intervene, and the willingness of the children is also at stake, then that of the teachers. If the three elements are missing in the lives of the children, they cannot be successful enough. (Respondent RE2)

For our students to pass, firstly the parents should play their part. The parents should play a great role, because when they bring their children to school, they should not leave them as if they were delinquents. The children need supervision first, then as teachers, we ought to intervene secondly, and then the children themselves need to be at stake. If the three factors are missing, it will not work. If the parents miss their responsibilities, the children will fail. If the teachers miss their duties toward the children too, the latter will fail. Now, if the children do not enjoy the work, they cannot be successful either. So, the three characters are very important for the success of the children. (Respondent RG5)

There are several reasons. It also depends on the environment. I am going to take the example of my child and your child. You have computers that the child manipulates. You have means available with you. Your environment, contrasted with our environment where there is no computer, and where homework not effective either, we can say that, of the two children, your child can succeed better than my child. It depends on the environment. It also depends on the genetic issues. In some families, some children have not been well conceived, but in other families, they are good at schooling. In our school...
here, there are children for whom we made means available, we made everything available, but it did not work. When we investigated, we saw that it was a genetic issue in their families. Genetic troubles also play a part. The genetic issues and the environment, I mean the house the child lives in matter. There are people who went also to school and are now able to help their children. There are families where parents have not gone to school. They are illiterate. The children are left to themselves. So, concerning the children who are helped at home, when I talk of the environment, I am just saying it in a general way. In my point of view, after that comes the genetic troubles, and blood issue in addition. (Respondent RB2)

Both rural and urban teachers emphasized teacher competence, familial support (family financial means, encouragement, and cooperation), as well as student effort, as important contributing factors to student achievement. The teachers expressed positive student expectations, but often dwelled upon negatively influencing factors when asked for specific factors. These expressed beliefs and values were framed within a sense of community and nationalism that focused less on individual students and more on the surrounding society. These beliefs were often accompanied with the explicit goal of making a positive contribution to society through student achievement. This expression of collectivist values may be a reflection of cultural values prevalent throughout Africa.

Results Related to Research Question 6

6. What emerging themes can be found among the sample groups’ beliefs and expectations?

A discourse analysis of the small group dialogues with the participants revealed several themes of the teachers’ beliefs and expectations concerning student achievement. The teachers identified several factors that they believe to have an effect upon student achievement; both positive and negative. These factors included teacher competence, familial financial resources, student nutrition, and innate student abilities.
Pedagogical Values

Both urban and rural teachers heavily emphasized the pedagogical factors in drawing contrast to the familial and student factors throughout the dialogues. The participants expressed a high value placed upon teacher competence and a belief that teacher behavior is a significant contributing factor in student outcomes. The teachers communicated a high value of professional development training, the ability to evaluate students and create lessons that meet their learning profiles, and the ability to motivate students to work hard to succeed. The teachers indicated that their role in the classroom entails vital responsibilities that must be accomplished in order for students to succeed.

Obstacles to Achievement

While expressing high expectations for student achievement, the teachers acknowledged that one tremendous obstacle to student success is the limited financial means to support students physically and academically. The teachers stated that students have been (and are continuing to be) negatively impacted by financial difficulties at the family, community, and national levels. The often cited physical manifestations of this problem are a lack of nutritional food, school supplies, school tuition, and tutoring services.

Many of the factors listed by teachers were defined economically in the dialogue context. Student encouragement was often contextually defined as financial incentives and purchased materials. The participants explained the idea of student encouragement by providing examples of parents buying school supplies, paying private school tuition, or paying for in-home tutors. The teachers mentioned mentors in the lives of the students when they are referring to extended family members or community leaders who pay for student tuition and school supplies. Through
use of these culturally defined terms the teachers expressed a high value and respect for those members of society who are able to take on the responsibility to financially support a student’s education (especially for students outside their immediate family).

Teachers drew from both their own personal histories and knowledge of their students in commenting that one of the greatest barriers to academic achievement in their school is a lack of basic nutrition among the students. Teachers noted that they struggled with hunger while they were primary and secondary students themselves. The teachers indicated that many of their students come to school without having eaten breakfast and are not provided with a sufficient amount of food throughout the school day. The teachers expressed the belief that students who are thinking about their stomachs cannot think about their studies while in the classroom. They considered student nutrition to be one of the primary responsibilities of the parents of each student.

Determinism

Some teachers made expressions of determinism when referring to genetics and innate student abilities, while other teachers flatly denied any deterministic view of student ability. Some teachers expressed the belief that no matter what is done by parents or teachers, some students will not be able to learn because of innate mental qualities from birth. Other teachers specifically stated that every student is capable of succeeding academically. These beliefs were represented by both urban and rural teachers, and therefore could not be correlated to teacher location or any other variables.
Collectivism and Nationalism

There were many expressions of collectivism and nationalism among the teachers with high cultural values placed upon citizenship and communal participation. Multiple teachers mentioned the state as an active participant and responsible agent in the learning process for student success. Teachers expressed a desire and intentional learning outcome for their students to become good citizens who reflect their religious and moral values in order to make a positive contribution to the nation.

Frequency Analysis of Observed Themes

Figure 2 displays the results of the frequency analysis of the themes discovered through the discourse analysis of the qualitative interviews by grouping the teacher-identified factors that affect student achievement. The factors are categorized by the spheres of authority identified by the teachers in qualitative dialogue. These categories and individual factors were reviewed and refined during the follow-up member-checking interviews with the participants. Beside each factor is the percentage of discussions in which that the factor was mentioned during the totality of the qualitative interviews.
Figure 2 A bar chart indicating teacher identified factors that are believed to affect student achievement
The factors listed in Figure 2 are categorized according to the context in which they were mentioned by the teachers in response to the qualitative interview questions. *Student health* appears in both the categories of Familial Factors and Natural Student Factors because it was discussed by the teachers in both contexts. *Psychological development* and *tutors at home* appear only under the Familial Factors category because, although potentially associated with other categories, they were only mentioned by the teachers in the familial context. The frequency analysis indicates that during the interview time, the teachers placed an emphasis on pedagogical and familial values related to student achievement.

In conclusion, the teachers indicated that they highly valued teacher competence, familial financial resources, student nutrition, and innate student abilities as influential factors for student achievement. Though the participants sometimes respectfully disagreeed with each other in the interview sessions, the quantitative results did not indicate any significant relationships between the identified variables and teacher responses. The teachers expressed their expectations of student achievement within the context of themes such as a lack of resources, perceived teacher efficacy, communal and national responsibility for education, financial resources, and encouragement of students at home.
CHAPTER V
SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction and Background

The purpose of this study was to explore and analyze the expectations of student achievement among Togolese Christian primary school teachers. The quantitative instruments and qualitative interviews were used to reveal the beliefs and cultural values of the teachers that may influence their expectations. The study was designed with the intention to understand the teachers’ values in order to create professional development training and other interventions.

The study was crosscultural and by nature an anthropological ethnographic study within the educational realm. The study was designed and conducted by an American, and the participants were residents of Togo in Sub-Saharan West Africa. The theoretical foundation of the study was eclectic and touched upon aspects of several behavior theories: self-efficacy, self-fulfilling prophecy, and locus of control.

Selected Overview of the Literature

Some researchers have considered the influence of teacher expectations to be relatively insignificant towards student achievement because their observed effects have shown to be diverse in their size and duration (Smith et al., 1999). Since the publication of Rosenthal and Jacobson’s (1968) study *Pygmalion in the Classroom*, teacher expectation data have been mixed regarding the effect of teacher expectations on student achievement (de Boer et al., 2010; Jussim
& Harber, 2005). However, recent studies have identified specific variables that can strengthen the effects and duration of teacher expectations, these include socioeconomic status (SES), age, gender, ethnicity, primary language, ability level, transition years, individual motivation, and parental aspirations (Alvidrez & Weinstein, 1999; de Boer et al., 2010; Dixon et al., 2010; Rangel, 2009). These studies indicate that teachers may significantly influence student achievement through positive or negative expectations they place upon their students.

Summary of Research Design and Methodology

The population for the study was the faculty of the 15 ABWE-partnered Christian primary schools of Togo, West Africa, composed of approximately 95 teachers. These elementary schools were spread across three of Togo’s five geographic regions, and included both rural and urban locations. All of the teachers from each of these schools were invited to participate in this study. The rural population group was composed of faculty from nine schools with a total of 58 participants. The urban population group was composed of faculty from six schools with a total of 35 participants.

This study was designed for mixed data collection methods within a case study approach in order to contextualize the quantitative data with themes gathered from the qualitative interviews. The case study design was employed in order to foster a deeper understanding of the expectations of student achievement among the teachers of the Christian school association in Togo. The convenience sample and purposive sampling technique employed in this case may render the results to be non-generalizable outside the Christian school association in Togo. The study utilized a 20-question Likert-type questionnaire, a forced-choice locus of control
questionnaire, and video-taped small-group interviews. The interview responses were examined to contextually define the participant beliefs that were associated with the quantitative scores.

Discussion of the Results

The teachers expressed high expectations regarding their students’ achievement, but did so with a recognition of major obstacles that need to be overcome. The participants discussed both their expectations of students and their effectiveness as teachers within the context of environmental and natural factors that were outside their control. These responses may be a reflection of the teachers’ strong desire to see their students succeed and overcome the obstacles to success, which are viewed as both substantive and prevalent in their society. The teachers appeared to hold to a genuine hope and expectation of success for their students, but their enthusiasm and habitual behavior may be tempered by experientially perceived controlling environmental factors.

There were no observable differences between the responses of the rural and urban sample groups either qualitatively or quantitatively. This finding may be a result of urban mobility among the teachers; the participants may have lived or taught in both settings and observed similar factors contributing to student success. The finding may also be due to a sense of collectivism and nationalism within the worldview of the teachers, who perceive the school system in Togo as a unified whole. Another contributing factor with regard to this study’s population may be that professional development among the 15 ABWE-partnered primary schools is often held nationally, mixing rural and urban teachers together for training seminars. The unified training sessions and camaraderie among the teachers in this study’s population may have contributed to the homogeneity of responses and opinions expressed. These factors may
have also contributed to the finding that no statistically significant relationships were found among the teacher responses and the secondary variables.

There is the possibility that the crosscultural nature of the study may have had an influence upon the participant responses and results. The written expectation survey and locus of control instruments were translated into French, which may have had an effect on the results. Concerning the expectations instrument, the internal reliability of the subcategory of the teacher’s level of student expectations of the instrument was weak (α = .339) with the inclusion of reverse-scored Likert questions in the questionnaire. With these reverse-scored questions removed from the results, the reliability was much stronger (α = .628). This may indicate that the participants may have answered the questionnaire too quickly or may not have read all the questions carefully. Conversely, the reliability results may indicate that the teachers were conscientious in answering questions, but that they categorized or understood the expectations issues differently than the authors of the instrument.

No statistical differences were found in the patterns of locus of control among the sample groups; however, both the rural and urban participants alluded to the existence of a culturally-influenced external locus of control during the qualitative interview sessions. The teachers primarily emphasized teacher-related factors and secondarily noted parental-related factors as being the most powerful and influential factors that impact student achievement. The teachers certainly did not ignore internal student factors that contribute to success; however, they heavily emphasized factors external to the students and expressed them in narrative form. These expressions, and specifically the narratives, seem to confirm that the teachers hold to genuine expectations of success for their students, but their behavior may be heavily influenced by a culturally held external locus of control.
The participating teachers indicated that they highly valued teacher competence, familial financial resources, student nutrition, and innate student abilities. Each of these factors was expressed as outside the realm of control of the student. The context of the qualitative interviews may have had an effect upon these findings. Since the research was conducted by a U.S. missionary with ABWE, an organization that has contributed resources to schools in the past, the teachers may have emphasized the areas where they perceive an aid organization may contribute in the future. This does not appear to be an overriding concern since the participants also discussed themes unrelated to potential aid influence such as communal and national responsibility for education, national education policy, and familial factors; however, the role of ABWE as a potential source of foreign aid may have skewed the emphases of the responses.

An analysis of the qualitative interview responses identified themes such as a continuous lack of resources, perceived teacher efficacy, communal and national responsibility for education, financial resources and encouragement of students at home. These themes represent the present reality in the primary schools narrated by the participants as they drew from their own experiences as teachers, former students, family members, community members, and citizens. When providing interview responses the participants did not appear to insulate these aspects and roles within society from each other; they seemed to communicate these themes as facets of a unified whole. The crosscultural nature of this study may be such that the terminology presented in the results would be neither fully contextually Togolese nor fully American but may be a unique blending of the two. Since the analysis of the data included contextually identifying, examining, quantifying, and categorizing Togolese beliefs and values, there could have been the possibility that U.S. cultural influences affected the analysis and categorization of the results.
Implications of the Findings

The findings of this study can inform future education-related interventions through a better understanding of Togolese teachers’ cultural values and beliefs. The ABWE mission organization that partners with the Christian Togolese primary schools has focused heavily on providing teacher training interventions. These kinds of interventions seemed to be valued by the Togolese teachers who tended to place an emphasis on teacher competence. However, there has been a lesser organizational emphasis on other kinds of interventions that may also be perceived as valuable to the teachers and other education stakeholders. Participating teachers highlighted the aspect of student nutrition as an important contributing factor for student achievement and as an area in need of improvement among the schools. While the mission organization has previously designed interventions for access to water for drinking and sanitation, it has not focused heavily on student nutrition. The findings indicated that student nutrition interventions, alongside continuous teacher training, may be well received among the participants. There appears to be a desire among participants that interventions be implemented to address the perceived inadequacy of present student health and community health conditions, since it is currently viewed as a considerable obstacle to student achievement in Togo.

Discussion of the Limitations of the Study

Since the purpose of the study was to gain a better understanding of Togolese teachers’ cultural values and beliefs, the study was necessarily conducted in French. Due to the crosscultural nature of the study, the results of the study were translated into English for publication. The process of translating the results, no matter how thorough, may have affected the participants’ understanding of the concepts thereby negatively impacting validity and
reliability matters. Despite the risks involved in translation, the study exists because of the compelling opportunity to explore the beliefs of members of another culture and engage with their expressed ideas.

The study could not include all independent variables that were hypothesized to have a relationship to teacher expectations of student achievement. The study was designed to include teacher SES (socioeconomic status) and class graduation rates as secondary variables. Unfortunately, the teacher SES and class graduation data of the participants could not be obtained. Furthermore, the internal reliability of one of the quantitative instruments could not be confirmed, which may be related to the inclusion of reverse-scored questions. This may indicate that the participants may have hastily answered the questionnaire or may have understood the expectations issues differently than the authors of the instrument.

The homogeneity of the responses may be an indication that the participants were attempting to provide desirable responses. The participants may have selected positive responses so that the schools or their partner organizations would avoid losing face. Furthermore, the participants’ frequent mentioning of a lack of resources at the schools may be related to viewing ABWE as a potential source of future resources. This limitation was mitigated by several factors, primarily by the independent administration of the schools apart from ABWE. Each school is governed by a board of local Togolese leaders and does not include any western aid workers or missionaries as members. The Christian school teachers are selected and employed by their respective local schools and are not dependent upon ABWE or any outside organization for their position or salary. The training seminars provided by ABWE were voluntary and were not a condition for employment or advancement in a local school.
Finally, data triangulation from multiple locations and multiple instruments may indicate that the homogeneity of opinion among the participants is valid (Hall & Rist, 1999; Johnson et al., 2007). The design of the expectations instrument on a Likert scale may have made it susceptible to manipulation, but the inclusion of a second instrument that employed a different scale and a less obvious perceived desirable result provided a form of data confirmation. Perceived coercion or lack of conscientiousness may explain the homogeneity of results in expectation scores if taken in isolation. However, the homogeneity of results among all locations in both quantitative instruments without any outlier schools may imply that perceived coercion and lack of conscientiousness were not influential factors.

Recommendations

Recommendations for Future Interventions

This study was designed to be able to enlighten future training interventions for Togolese and other Francophone West African teachers by identifying and exploring their beliefs and cultural values. The teachers indicated that they placed a high value on teacher training and may appreciate continued training interventions. They stated that they believed that teacher competence and efficacy are vital factors contributing to the success of students in Togo. Therefore, the teachers are likely to value future training initiatives if it can be demonstrated that the training would help to develop their teaching skills and increase their effectiveness in the classroom.

In the course of analyzing the qualitative data, it was evident to me as the researcher that additional kinds of interventions outside the realm of teacher training should be planned and considered. While the Togolese teachers stated that they highly valued teacher training, they also placed a high value upon other factors contributing to the achievement of students, which were
viewed as present obstacles that could be overcome in the near future. Interventions concerning student nutrition, health, and hygiene should be considered alongside teacher training interventions since teachers in both rural and urban locations considered those aspects to be highly influential upon student achievement. The homogeneity of participant responses indicates that these interventions may be accepted in both rural and urban school locations. Additional data is necessary to plan the most effective means for delivering those interventions across school locations.

Recommendations for Further Research

This study was limited to Christian primary school teachers in three of the five geographic regions of Togo. Additional studies should be developed to gain valuable information from public school teachers in all geographic regions, as well as from secondary and post-secondary teachers. The scale of the study did not allow for extended observation of the participants’ behavior in the classroom. Additional ethnographic and case studies could contribute towards gaining a deeper understanding of the culturally influenced beliefs held by the Togolese teachers. Embedded studies in public and private schools in both rural and urban locations could increase comprehension of teacher outlook, attitudes, and perceived obstacles to student achievement.

Additional research is needed in order to understand the student health and nutrition status, as well as to develop effective nutrition interventions. Both rural and urban teachers indicated that they struggled with hunger when they were students themselves, and that they believed a lack of basic nutrition is a considerable obstacle to success among their own students. There are several medical professionals at an ABWE hospital located in the Plateaux region,
which is geographically close to the majority of the surveyed schools. The hospital staff should be asked to professionally evaluate the health and nutrition status of the local student body by conducting observational, prevention, and public health studies.

The schools and communities should be encouraged to invite medical researchers to conduct health and nutrition studies in multiple schools. The researchers could conduct physical examinations as well as a study of the nutritional intake of the students in schools in both rural and urban locations. The medical researchers could work in cooperation with engineers to study the students’ access to clean water and latrine facilities at each school. The medical and engineering researchers could then provide their findings to the school and community leaders in order to begin a joint process of developing sustainable interventions.

Finally, this study focused on Togolese teachers, so additional research is necessary to analyse the beliefs and values of parents, students, and community leaders in order to gain a multifaceted understanding of the beliefs and cultural values related to expectations of student achievement. Both ethnographic and descriptive studies could be useful to obtain valuable data in each geographic region of the country. The circumstances in the school locations vary with regard to primary local languages spoken, local laws and leadership, climate, access to clean water, and availability of arable land. Therefore, relevant data must be collected in each community where future interventions may be considered. Furthermore, causal-comparative and phenomenological studies could be employed during or after the implementation phase of future interventions as a means to analyse their effects in the communities.
REFERENCES


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APPENDIX A

VARIABLES ANALYSIS GRID
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable Labels</th>
<th>Levels of the Variable</th>
<th>Scale of Measurement</th>
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<tr>
<td>Dependent Variables</td>
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<tr>
<td>Expectations of Student Achievement</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2=Urban</td>
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<td>Secondary independent Variables</td>
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<td>Ethnicity</td>
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<td>Class graduation rate</td>
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APPENDIX B

PILOT STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE
TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE [Used for pilot study in 2012]

Please help us with some information about yourself.

1. Your gender: [ ] Female  OR  [ ] Male


3. Ethnicity: Please say which ethnic group you mostly identify with
   [ ] Ewe
   [ ] Mina
   [ ] Kabiye
   [ ] Other (state which) ___________________

4. Please indicate the number of years you have been a paid full-time teacher.

   I have been a teacher for _________ number of years.

5. Have you graduated from the ABWE teacher training school?  [ ] Yes  [ ] No

6. For this survey, you will need to specify which grade level you are teaching.
   (a) Which year level are you thinking about? (choose one) [ ] 1st Grade  OR  [ ] 2nd Grade

   (b) Ability level [ ] high  [ ] middle  [ ] low  [ ] mixed

   (c) Gender (approx percent) Boys _____% Girls _____%

   (d) Ethnicity (approx percent) Ewe ____% Mina ____% Kabiye ____% Other ____%

   - For the remainder of this survey, please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each statement based on YOUR OWN opinion.
   - There are no right or wrong answers and all your ideas will be valued.
   - The first column means you STRONGLY DISAGREE, and the last column means you STRONGLY AGREE with the statement.
   - Also, note that the first two columns mean that you disagree in some way with the statement, while the last four columns mean that you are more in agreement with the statement.
   - This survey is modified from instruments from the Cognition Institute.
Please fill in or shade one box below each statement

1. Students learn best from teachers who are well trained

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
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2. I want the students in my class to succeed at school

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

3. Most of my students will not be able remember what they learn in class

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

4. I expect most of the students in my class to do better at school than most other students

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

5. I expect most of the students in my class to get a better job than their parents

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

6. Parents expect too much of their children

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

7. The students in my class have high expectations for success at school

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

8. I expect students in my class to succeed in their schoolwork

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
9. Students should not ask many questions during class

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<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
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10. I expect my students to work hard at school

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

11. Most of my students could learn more than what they are taught at their grade level

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

12. Everybody at this school has the opportunity to be a successful learner

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

13. It is necessary to do well at school in order to do well in the future

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

14. I have high but realistic expectations for my class to succeed at school

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

15. In general, students in my class set their expectations for school success too high

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

16. In general, teachers expect too much of their students

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

17. Students are more likely to learn from teachers who are strict

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
18. Most of my students are smart enough to learn what I teach them

Strongly Disagree  Mostly Disagree  Slightly Agree  Moderately Agree  Mostly Agree  Strongly Agree
☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

19. My students need to have more realistic plans for future employment

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

20. I can motivate the students in my class to learn at school

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
APPENDIX C

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE
TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE Please help us with some information about yourself.

1. Your gender: ☐ Female  OR  ☐ Male


3. Ethnicity: Please say which ethnic group you mostly identify with  
___________________

4. Please indicate the number of years you have been a paid full-time teacher.
   I have been a teacher for _________ number of years.

5. Have you graduated from a teacher training school?  ☐ Yes  ☐ No
   (b) If “Yes” write the name here: ___________________________________________

6. What is your monthly income? ________________________

7. For this survey, you will need to specify which grade level you are teaching.
   (a) Which grade year are you teaching? __________________________
   (b) What your class’ ability level  ☐ very high  ☐ high  ☐ middle  ☐ low  ☐ very low
   (c) Average class socio-economic status  ☐ very high  ☐ high  ☐ middle  ☐ low  ☐ very low
   (d) Class Gender  Boys ____  Girls ____
   (e) Class Ethnicity (approx) Ewe ____  Kabiye ____  Other ____

• For the remainder of this survey, please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each statement based on YOUR OWN opinion. Your answers will be treated with strict confidence.
• There are no right or wrong answers and all your ideas will be valued.
• The first column means you STRONGLY DISAGREE, and the last column means you STRONGLY AGREE with the statement.
• Also, note that the first two columns mean that you disagree in some way with the statement, while the last four columns mean that you are more in agreement with the statement.
• This survey is modified from instruments from the Cognition Institute and the Diligence Intervention and Research Institute.
Please fill in or shade one box below each statement

1. Students learn best from teachers who are well trained

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<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
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2. I want the students in my class to succeed at school

|                       |                  |               |                  |             |                |
|                       |                 |               |                  |             |                |

3. Most of my students will not be able to remember what they learn in class

|                       |                  |               |                  |             |                |
|                       |                 |               |                  |             |                |

4. I expect most of the students in my class to do better at school than most other students

|                       |                  |               |                  |             |                |
|                       |                 |               |                  |             |                |

5. I expect most of the students in my class to get a better job than their parents

|                       |                  |               |                  |             |                |
|                       |                 |               |                  |             |                |

6. Parents expect too much of their children

|                       |                  |               |                  |             |                |
|                       |                 |               |                  |             |                |

7. The students in my class have high expectations for success at school

|                       |                  |               |                  |             |                |
|                       |                 |               |                  |             |                |

8. I expect students in my class to succeed in their schoolwork

|                       |                  |               |                  |             |                |
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9. Students should not ask many questions during class

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10. I expect my students to work hard at school

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

11. Most of my students could learn more than what they are taught at their grade level

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

12. Everybody at this school has the opportunity to be a successful learner

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

13. It is necessary for students to do well at school in order to do well in future life.

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

14. I have high but realistic expectations for my class to succeed at school

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

15. In general, students in my class set their expectations for school success too high

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

16. In general, teachers expect too much of their students

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

17. Most of my students are capable of learning more than what is in the curriculum

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
18. Most of my students are smart enough to learn what I teach them

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19. My students need to have more reasonable expectations for future employment

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20. I can motivate the students in my class to learn at school

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21. I provide clear instructions for my students and expect that they are carried out

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22. I provide appropriate motivation for students to complete all their assignments

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23. Teachers can help students work harder by disciplining them

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24. I encourage students to take time to do their assignments correctly

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25. I provide challenging academic projects for my students

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26. I create an atmosphere in class for students to do their academic work to the best of their ability

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27. I give my students periodic feedback on the progress they are making in school

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

28. I stress to my students the importance of persistence to their school work

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

29. Teachers can help students work harder by encouraging them

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

30. Teachers can help students work harder by punishing their mistakes

| ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
If you would like to make any additional comments about this topic or questionnaire please write your ideas in the space below.

____________________________________________________________________
____________________________________________________________________
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____________________________________________________________________

If additional space is needed please use the back of the paper or e-mail comments to codexward@gmail.com

Thank you for participating in this survey.
APPENDIX D

LOCUS OF CONTROL QUESTIONNAIRE
This questionnaire is from J. B. Rotter’s *Locus of Control Scale*. Copyright © 1966 by the American Psychological Association. Reproduced with permission.


Please choose which statement you believe to be most true from each couplet (a or b).

1. a. Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.
1. b. The trouble with most children nowadays is that their parents are too easy with them.

2. a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
2. b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

3. a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
3. b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

4. a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
4. b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.

5. a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
5. b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.

6. a. Without the right breaks, one cannot be an effective leader.
6. b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

7. a. No matter how hard you try, some people just don't like you.
7. b. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.

8. a. Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality.
8. b. It is one's experiences in life which determine what they're like.

9. a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
9. b. Trusting fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.

10. a. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely, if ever, such a thing as an unfair test.
10. b. Many times, exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying in really useless.

11. a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
11. b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.
12. a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
   12. b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

13. a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
   13. b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

14. a. There are certain people who are just no good.
   14. b. There is some good in everybody.

15. a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
   15. b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

16. a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
   16. b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability - luck has little or nothing to do with it.

17. a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control.
   17. b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.

18. a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
   18. b. There really is no such thing as "luck."

19. a. One should always be willing to admit mistakes.
   19. b. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.

20. a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
   20. b. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.

21. a. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
   21. b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.

22. a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
   22. b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.

23. a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
   23. b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.

24. a. A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.
   24. b. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.
25. a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
25. b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.

26. a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
26. b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.

27. a. There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school.
27. b. Team sports are an excellent way to build character.

28. a. What happens to me is my own doing.
28. b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.

29. a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.
29. b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.
APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW DISCUSSION QUESTIONS
Teacher Interview Discussion Questions

1: What do you think about your students’ prospects for their future?

2: What do you think helps your students to be successful in school?

3: What do you think helps your students to be successful in life?

4. Do you think your students can learn more than what is in the curriculum?

5. What do you think are some of the most important reasons that some students do well and some do not do well?
APPENDIX F

PERMISSION TO USE LOCUS OF CONTROL QUESTIONNAIRE
Request is for the following APA-copyrighted material: Scale content

- Table 1, pp.11-12, from Rotter, J. B. (1966). Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. Psychological Monographs: General and Applied, 80(1), 1-28. [http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/h0092976](http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/h0092976)

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**PERMISSION GRANTED ON ABOVE TERMS:**

[Signature]

 Applicant

[Signature]

 Priscilla Williams

for the American Psychological Association

June 16, 2015
VITA

Andrew Paul Ward was born in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to Harry and Beatrice Ward. He is the youngest of four children, following two sisters and one brother. Andrew was schooled at home and attended Grace Baptist Academy in Chattanooga, TN. After obtaining his high school diploma, he attended Bob Jones University in Greenville, SC, where he met his wife Mary Schaefer. He completed a Bachelor of Science degree in Criminal Justice in 2005. He continued his studies at Temple Baptist Seminary, earning Master of Arts in Christian Education and Master of Divinity degrees while serving as a Sergeant in the U.S. Army Reserve. Andrew is currently serving the church as a Christian missionary to Togo, West Africa.