

**Evaluation of the Kalamazoo Promise
Working Paper #5**

**THE IMPACT OF THE
KALAMAZOO PROMISE
ON TEACHERS'
EXPECTATIONS FOR
STUDENTS**

**Working
Paper**

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Executive Summary

The Kalamazoo Promise is an ambitious and far-reaching universal college scholarship program for all students attending the Kalamazoo Public Schools. This working paper centers on changes in teacher expectations, one of the anticipated short-term outcomes of this program. Teacher expectations affect student experiences in school and are an important influence on a variety of student outcomes, including student achievement.

Key questions addressed in this working paper are: How has the Promise influenced teachers' expectations? How are these expectations communicated? What are the perceived effects of these changes on teachers and students? How are perceptions of teacher expectations related to other anticipated short-term and intermediate goals? Also considered in this paper are several themes that emerged through the analytic process.

This investigation draws from a variety of data sources, including interviews with 41 KPS employees and 42 students conducted between January and August 2008 and a survey of more than 2,700 middle and high school students administered in spring 2008. Together, these data sources allow for a multilevel examination of teacher expectations from various stakeholders in the school district.

Changes in Teacher Expectations

The findings provide strong evidence that key stakeholders believe teacher expectations for student success have improved markedly since the announcement of the Kalamazoo Promise. While teachers and guidance counselors note positive changes, school administrators and students report a greater perceived change in teacher expectations. More positive change in teacher expectations was apparent at the elementary and middle school levels than at the high school level.

From the student survey, we learned that students who believed that their teachers had lower expectations for them were more likely to have the following background characteristics: (a) male; (b) of Hispanic, Native-American, or African-American descent; (c) qualify for free and reduced-price lunch; (d) parents/guardians with no college education; (e) low GPA; (f) 9th and 10th graders (as compared to 11th and 12th graders); and (g) low level of awareness about the Kalamazoo Promise. These

results provide evidence that teacher expectations are perceived differently by various groups of students, and these trends are highly consistent with traditional status risk factors (e.g., gender, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and achievement level).

Communicating Expectations

This working paper also addresses how teacher expectations are communicated to students. The Kalamazoo School District has made great efforts to articulate clear expectations to students, parents, educators, and the larger community. Teacher expectations can be communicated in a variety of ways, and educators repeatedly called attention to this dynamic. The presence of the Promise has directed pro-educational conversations. In these conversations, the Promise is not just held as an incentive, but a vehicle. A prominent theme is how the Promise has helped shift the discourse of academic preparation. Teachers are engaging in more conscious speech about expectations. They are communicating an increased sense of relevance and are preparing students, not just for college, but for success through the college years. The Kalamazoo Promise, via explicit and raised expectations, has moved the goalposts in students' educational pursuits.

Impact of Higher Teacher Expectations

KPS employees who we interviewed report that the Promise has led to a sense of excitement and renewal in the district. They note that this has helped define priorities, leading to an increased focus on instructional activities and support for students.

The findings in this paper highlight a number of positive psychosocial impacts on teachers, including self-esteem, efficacy, and confidence. But the impacts extend further. Teachers report an increased sense of empowerment and value for their work, and an increased level of support. They link these changes with higher staff morale and a more positive work environment. These improvements correspond with behavioral changes, as teachers suggest that they are more willing to try new things and go "the extra mile for students."

The interviews with students suggest several promising indicators that teachers are communicating high standards. These include an increased level of

challenge, a sense that college is now an option, more support from teachers, changes in teachers' encouragement and instruction, a raised level of behavioral expectations, and the desire of teachers for students to take full advantage of this collegiate program.

Teacher Expectations and Short-Term and Intermediate Evaluation Outcomes

The analysis of student surveys allows for an examination of the relationship between students' perceptions of teacher expectations and other anticipated outcomes. Students' perceptions of teacher expectations are significantly correlated with raised student aspirations, increased guidance/college preparatory efforts, both of which are short-term outcomes, and factors relating to improved school climate (e.g., student perceptions of peer and teacher-student relationships), an intermediate outcome. Thus, when students perceive teachers as holding high expectations for them, they also are more likely to have higher educational aspirations, report seeing teacher-student relationships as more positive, and express more positive interest in guidance/college preparation. And when students perceive that teachers have positive expectations of them and their relations with their peers are positive, they express slightly higher degrees of motivation.

Discussion and Implications of Key Findings

One of the most interesting differences we find with regard to perceptions of teacher expectations is the fact that less change was being reported at the high schools. KPS employees at elementary and middle schools are more likely to report positive change in teacher expectations than employees at the high school level. In fact, nearly one-third of the high school staff we interviewed report no change in teacher expectations. That compares with only 4% of the elementary and middle school staff that we interviewed. This difference by school level is supported by the perceptions of changes in teacher expectations reported by students. These findings suggest that sweeping impacts of the Promise are more prevalent at the lower grade levels. As these cohorts of younger students move on to high school, it is hoped they will help influence the culture and

climate that seems to be changing in the right direction at the elementary and middle school levels.

Several KPS staff note that the Promise was aligned with some other broader efforts to reform schools and increase accountability. Their comments suggest that the Promise can act as a catalyst for change; it is "the bright light, the place of hope" in the "sandstorm" of competing initiatives, and it helped increase attention on student achievement.

The research literature holds that high teacher expectations are especially critical for those students at risk of low academic achievement, and these preliminary results indicate that increased academic and behavioral expectations—most clearly pronounced in grades K-8—may be an effective factor in overcoming persistent achievement trends. Clearly, supporting struggling students is a challenge and priority for all public schools. The Promise is not a magic bullet needed to address the litany of cumulative effects that lead to student underachievement. The findings reported in this working paper suggest, though, that preliminary changes in teacher expectations may, over time, be one key mechanism that will help close the achievement gap.

Teacher expectations overall appear to have benefited from this universal scholarship program. In turn, raised expectations are connected with an array of short-term and intermediate outcomes outlined in the theoretical framework for the evaluation. The findings reported in this working paper provide an additional resource for understanding the influence of the scholarship program on educational outcomes. Additional positive outcomes may result from professional development activities that help educators learn to communicate high academic standards and expectations for all students in the school district. Raised teacher expectations appear to be instrumental in the systemic change taking place in the district. They promote an increased focus on the common goal of preparing all students for success in college.

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The Impact of the Kalamazoo Promise on Teachers' Expectations for Students

Background and Methodology

This working paper is the fifth in a series of documents summarizing the effects of the implementation of a universal scholarship program. The Kalamazoo Promise, announced in November 2005, provides free tuition to Michigan state colleges for students who attend the Kalamazoo Public Schools. This paper examines potential changes in teacher expectations that have resulted from this district and community effort. High teacher expectations are an important component of a quality classroom learning experience, and differential expectations are known to affect achievement outcomes. We draw from multiple data sources in this study, including semi-structured interviews and survey data. In presenting the findings from this investigation, we relate various perspectives on teacher expectations: those of district administrators, teachers, and students.

In the analysis of data, we are guided by a theoretically-based conceptual frame relevant to this evaluation. Specifically, we explore how expectations are formed in the context of the Promise, how these expectations are communicated, the perceived effects of these changes on teachers and students, and teacher expectations in relation to the other identified short-term and intermediate evaluation outcomes. We focus on how expectations were altered or influenced as a result of this policy and report on the salient themes that emerged in the analysis of stakeholders' discussions of teacher expectations.

The figure below presents a visual representation of the logic model that serves as an analytical framework for the evaluation of the Kalamazoo Promise. This model identifies anticipated outcomes and organizes these by short-term, intermediate and long-term time frames.

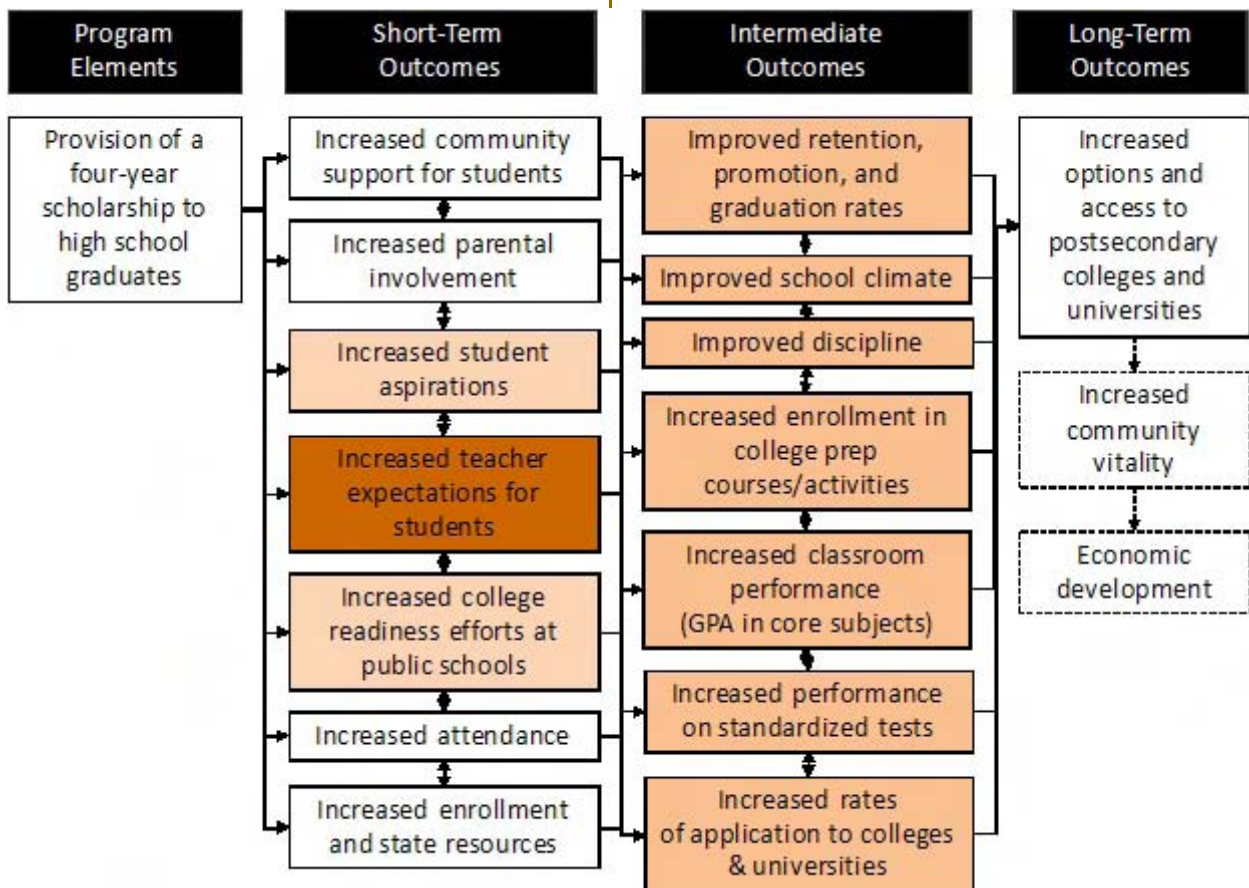


Figure 1. Logic Model for the Evaluation of the Kalamazoo Promise

Research on Teacher Expectations

Academic expectations are known to affect student outcomes (Weinstein, 2002). Expectations should be considered in an ecological sense (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1979), nested within the multiple influences on student achievement and experience. Families, peers, teachers, classrooms, schools, and larger social forces, can shape students' attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Of interest in the current study is how a program such as the Promise can affect teacher expectations (as a short-term outcome) and positive youth outcomes (an intermediate objective). While the focus remains on the critical role of the classroom teacher, expectations must be considered in the larger social context of schooling and the multiple influences on academic expectations.

Prevailing thought holds that teacher beliefs and expectations are mirrored or confirmed in students' attitudes and behaviors (Weinstein, 2002). Expectations are formed through initial interactions with students (Brophy & Good, 1974) and are informed by school culture. Teacher beliefs and expectations are then communicated through verbal and nonverbal cues, instructional practices and feedback, as well as the larger socioemotional climate (Schunk, Pintrich, & Meece, 2008). For example, a teacher might provide more challenging work to students who she believes to be more able. Students perceive teacher expectations through a variety of teacher behaviors and often internalize these expectations (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968). Expectations influence the formation of student interests and goals (Wentzel, 2002). Teacher expectations may lead to achievement differences in the early grades and serve to reinforce these differences in the later years, creating a self-fulfilling prophecy (Kuklinski & Weinstein, 2001; Weinstein, Gregory, & Strambler, 2004).

Expectations must be considered in the social context of schooling. While teacher expectations can affect individual students, differential effects have also been described at the classroom level, exerting influence on groups of students (Rubie-Davies, 2006). Thus, teachers may hold higher expectations for students in courses that are labeled "honors" or "advanced placement" than they hold for students in "general" courses. These expectations can be communicated through differential instructional opportunities teachers provide to each of these types of classes.

In addition to teacher expectations, parental expectations can have a significant impact on student achievement outcomes. Parent and teacher expectations may operate independently or in concert in predicting student achievement outcomes (Benner & Mistry, 2007). For instance, high parental expectations for achievement can buffer the disruptive effects of low teacher expectations. However, teachers and parents may hold different expectations for student behavior: teachers value cooperation, while parents value self-control, responsibility, and assertive behavior (Beebe-Frankenberger, Lane, Bocian, Gresham, & MacMillan, 2005). This can lead to a conflict across settings in terms of academic preparation.

Larger forces such as the larger cultural and policy context of schooling also can affect expectations in the classroom. A critical variable in this discussion is teachers' sense of control in the classroom over course content, pacing, and student performance (Cooper & Tom, 1984). The influence of the Promise as a policy mechanism then must be considered in relation to accountability measures of the No Child Left Behind Act and other state and district reform efforts.

The role of teacher expectations is particularly important in the case of students at risk of low achievement (Smith, Jussism, & Eccles, 1999). Students perceive differences in treatment, and there is wide variation in these perceptions (Weinstein, 2002). Tenenbaum and Ruck (2007) conducted a meta-analysis of empirical studies and found that expectations vary with students' ethnicity. Latino-American and African-American students perceive lower behavioral and academic expectations than their Asian-American and European-American peers. There can be an institutional tendency for schools to lower expectations for students with socioeconomic, ethnic, and learning differences (Weinstein, 2002). Yet high expectations appear to be especially efficacious for disadvantaged students (Croninger & Lee, 2001). Thus, students are likely to respond positively when teachers hold high expectations of them, even in the face of poverty and discrimination. This phenomenon has been popularized in the media.

The literature on raising teacher expectations focuses on two points: challenge and support. Teachers must have the opportunity to develop curricula that are rigorous and relevant, with clearly articulated expectations presented in measurable

terms (Darling-Hammond & Friedlaender, 2008; Rourke & Boone, 2008). Students need to see that the bar has been raised, and the quality of the challenge is important. Curricula that require students to use higher order thinking skills, problem solving skills, and critical thinking will help them succeed in college classrooms. Additionally, it is important that teachers support students in meeting new challenges. This support involves developing and sustaining relationships with students (Darling-Hammond & Friedlaender, 2008; Rourke & Boone, 2008). Caring and supportive relationships are the foundation of the kind of personalization required to help students reach their goals (Fairbrother, 2008; Noddings, 2004).

To support these two points, professional development opportunities that involve teacher-led, school-based professional learning communities can serve as a mechanism to support positive changes in teacher expectations (Darling-Hammond & Friedlaender, 2008; Nir & Bolger, 2006; Rourke & Boone, 2008). Learning communities such as these will allow teachers to identify and solve problems specific to the needs of their students. This kind of interaction allows teachers to come to a common understanding of goals, methods, and assessments (Rourke & Boone, 2008). Teachers then can work together in grade-level teams to develop curriculum appropriate to the school context and for unique challenges such as the implementation of the Promise.

Overall, teacher expectations are best when they are appropriate, accurate, and flexible (Schunk, Pintrich, & Meece, 2008). The immediate or proximal effects of differential expectations appear to be small (Schunk, Pintrich, & Meece, 2008) and to decline with age (Kuklinski & Weinstein, 2001). However, there may be increased effect sizes through the cumulative influence of diminished expectations (Weinstein, 2002). This means that while older students may respond less dramatically to differential expectations, the influence of lower expectations may accumulate over time, leading to self-fulfilling prophecies and learned helplessness (Weinstein, Gregory, & Strambler, 2004).

Sample and Data Collection for Interviews

Interviews with KPS employees were used to collect information regarding how the Promise may be affecting schools and students. Questions raised during the interviews addressed many of the

anticipated short-term and intermediate outcomes highlighted in Figure 1. The interview sample consists of 41 employees (12 principals, 9 guidance counselors/deans, and 20 teachers) who were interviewed between January and August 2008. All high school and middle school principals in the district were sampled (in one case an assistant principal was interviewed in place of the principal). Six of the 16 elementary schools were included, and all six principals from these selected schools were interviewed. The six elementary schools were chosen by the evaluation team for diversity with regard to geographic location.

Principals were asked to identify teachers, guidance counselors, or deans from their school who could be invited by the evaluation team to participate in the study. Two guidance counselors/deans were selected from each of the three area high schools. One guidance counselor was interviewed from each of the three middle schools. We sought to interview three teachers from each high school, although in one high school we were able to recruit only two teachers to participate. Each middle school contributed two teachers, and one was selected from each elementary school. A greater emphasis in the sample was given to secondary schools, where we anticipated more change in preparing students for success in postsecondary education.

Additionally, 42 middle or high school students were interviewed during the summer of 2008. The process of selecting students for interviews involved working with neighborhood associations distributed geographically across the city. This allowed for a more ethnically and socioeconomically diverse population of students. After selecting neighborhood associations, we relied on the staff from the association or neighborhood office to invite students for interviews. We provided pizza and soft drinks when it was possible to target larger groups of students (i.e., 3-8), and all the students received a WMU T-shirt. The student interview protocol was shorter than the staff interview protocol, and the interviews usually lasted about 35 minutes.

Participation in the interviews was voluntary. Five teachers whom we initially invited decided not to participate, at which point we re-contacted their principals and requested additional recommendations. In one instance, the principal delegated the selection of teachers and guidance counselors to the dean of students. Because teachers and guidance counselors/deans were initially suggested by their school

administration, the sample is assumed to be neither random nor purposive. Although certain principals or deans may have made their recommendations in a random or purposive manner, we cannot claim this to be true for all sites. All interviews were confidential.

The KPS employees we interviewed were given an option of where they would be interviewed, but all chose to be interviewed at their school, either during a planning hour or after regular school hours. The open-ended interviews typically lasted about 40 minutes, though a few went over an hour. Permission was sought to tape-record at the start of the interview; it was not always granted, and in such circumstances, the interviewer took notes by hand. Recordings and field notes were transcribed in a word processing program and then transferred to a qualitative software program for coding and analysis. The interview protocol used with administrators was slightly altered for interviews with guidance counselors/deans and teachers (see Appendix A).

Of the 41 employees interviewed, 29 were female (70.7%) and 12 were male (29.3%). Males were more prevalent at the administrative level. About one fourth of the interviewees were people of color. With regard to the student sample, one fourth were middle school students, and the rest were enrolled in local high schools. Fifty-seven percent of the students sampled were female, and 83% of the students were nonwhite. Close to 80% of the students reported that they qualify for free and reduced-priced lunch at their school. Ninety percent of the students interviewed reported that they intend to use the Promise.

Sample and Data Collection for the Student Survey

Data used in this study come from a Kalamazoo Promise survey administered to students at all three high schools (n=1,893). All teachers with classes during the second block were provided with survey materials and instructions for administering the survey. When the surveys were completed, they were sealed in a large, separate envelope and returned to the central school office. Time to complete the survey usually ranged from 12-15 minutes. A few questions in the survey asked students about general demographic and student level characteristics. Most questions asked students to share their impressions and perceptions of key short-term and intermediate outcomes regarding the Kalamazoo Promise. At the

end of the survey, three open-ended questions allowed students to share qualitative responses regarding information needs and comments regarding how the Promise affected their lives and their plans for postsecondary education.

Additionally, a limited number of items were added to the GEAR UP middle school survey (n=867) to obtain data related to the perceptions of the impact of the Promise from students at two of the three district middle schools. On the whole, the sample of students was exceptionally large and representative of the target population of students enrolled in the district's middle and high schools.

Limitations

We had a strong sample of building administrators given the large number of school principals included in the study. Nevertheless, the fact that guidance counselors, deans, and teachers were selected at the discretion of the administrators needs to be seen as a limitation. It is possible that our sample became positively biased since administrators may have chosen employees they knew would speak highly about the changes in their schools. Although we made an effort to recruit and interview a diverse population of students, we found that the neighborhood associations most capable of inviting students for interviews were those with summer programs located in predominately African American areas. Therefore, although we met our goals in terms of the number of students to interview, this sample was not representative of the district school population, which has a higher proportion of White, Hispanic, and Asian-American students.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data. With the guiding evaluation questions based on the outcomes logic model and theoretical frame, the evaluation team used focused codes, or codes based on preexisting constructs, to organize the interview data by theme. All responses relating to teacher expectations were collected in a focused code. Subcodes were applied to this material to identify changes, methods of communication, and the impact of expectations on teachers and students. Open codes, or categories that emerged in analysis, were used to identify unanticipated outcomes. All data were grouped by employment position of the

interviewee to search for patterns and relationships. Congruence by other attributes such as gender, race, or school site was not explored in depth, but such attributes were used in a limited manner to identify participant quotes.

Quantitative data. Initially, we calculated descriptive statistics for each item of interest. Teacher expectations were then analyzed in relation to important student demographic factors such as gender, socioeconomic status, etc. One way analysis of variance (ANOVA) strategies were employed to explore differences across groups of students. We combined related items that measured the same outcome using factor analysis, a statistical technique that groups items together that measure a single construct. Each factor we examined (e.g., teacher expectations, student aspirations, motivation, behavior, guidance, peer relations, and teacher-

student relations) relates to one of the outcomes displayed in the logic model (see Figure 1).

Centering on the teacher expectation factor, we analyzed a variety of predictor variables in relation to this factor. These analyses revealed differences in perceived levels of teacher expectations for different groups of students. The student background characteristics we considered include race, education level of parents/guardians, free/reduced-price lunch status, gender, current grade level, employment status, awareness of the Promise, and grade point average (GPA). We further considered the teacher expectation factor in relation to the other short-term and intermediate outcomes by computing the statistical correlation between teacher expectations and these related factors. These correlations reveal the prominence of raised teacher expectations in the larger policy context. Appendix B includes detailed results for the quantitative analysis.

Key Findings

Taking a multilevel perspective, this report draws on interviews with school principals, guidance counselors, teachers, and interviews and surveys with students to ascertain how teacher expectations are perceived by various groups. This paper is guided by the following framing questions: How has the Promise influenced teachers' expectations? How are these expectations communicated? What are the perceived effects of these changes on teachers and students? How are perceptions of teacher expectations related to other anticipated short-term and intermediate goals? Further taken into consideration are differences in stakeholder responses, teacher expectations in the context of the accountability movement and other district reform efforts, and the influence of expectations on those students at risk of low academic achievement.

Changes in Teacher Expectations

The interviews conducted with employees and students from the school district included a combination of open-ended and closed-ended items. Among the closed-ended items, we asked the interviewees to rate the amount of change across a number of specific aspects of the school since the announcement of the Promise. In Figure 2, we include

the summary of responses about teacher expectations for student success. On the whole, the administrators and the students interviewed tend to report more positive change in teacher expectations since the announcement of the Promise. A sizeable portion of the teachers and guidance counselors reported “no change” in teacher expectations. In many cases, the reasons they reported no change is because they think that teacher expectations were high before the Promise, and they have remained high.

The findings in Figure 2 provide strong evidence that key stakeholders believe that teacher expectations for student success have improved markedly since the announcement of the Kalamazoo Promise.

Prior to the implementation of the Promise, of course, teachers in the district held academic and behavioral expectations for their students. A majority of educators interviewed talk about how the announcement of the Promise led to a sense of excitement and renewal:

I feel like I'm part of something that's bigger than just a program, and it's fun being in the spotlight and being a part of it. (High school science teacher)

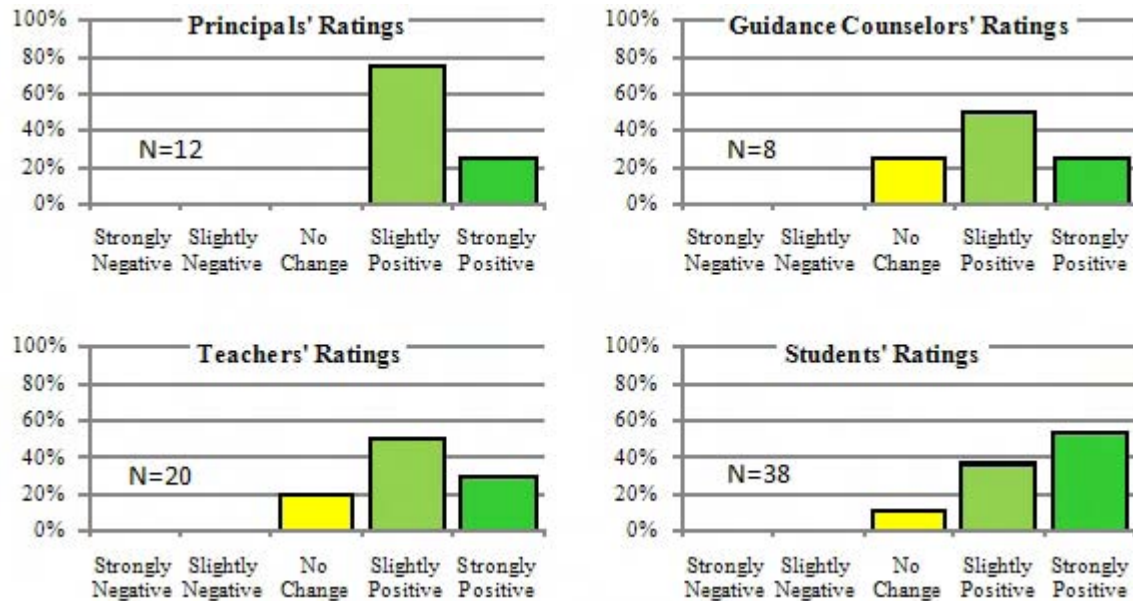


Figure 2. Perceived Change in Teacher Expectations for Student Success

It told us that people have faith in the school system. They have faith in the teachers. We didn't make annual yearly progress, but we were able to say, "Well we must be doing something right." It's been a hard decade in education. But we are making a difference. It's nice to get that support. It's encouraging. The teachers took pride. (High school English teacher)

Dr. Rice's focus and emphasis on what's best for kids, what's best for the future of our youth is gonna be the catalyst to change the community and to change the school. The improvements, I think they're already starting. There's a renewed sense of, at least in our building, a renewed sense of urgency. And that's not a negative thing. It's not, "Oh my gosh, I've got to do something!" Not a panic. It's okay, so this is a new day, this is a new battle and we're getting recharged, we're getting renewed, we're getting invigorated and we're gonna take it on...it renews your excitement about it. (Building principal)

It gives [the teachers] hope to pass on to students-kids with potential but in a family situation-to know reality is there. We hope that some will stay in the area and give back. I'm sure that's why [the donors] are doing it. (Middle school guidance counselor)

These comments about a "renewed sense of urgency" are, in effect, one of the direct short-term outcomes of this policy initiative. Educators note how, in a sense, this is energizing instructional and relational efforts; it leads to "faith in the teachers," and "hope to pass on to students." Additionally, several educators report an increased focus on instructional activities and on supporting students:

If you're in education, it's because you want to support students. You're passionate about education, passionate about contributing to the development of young men and women. This is just another resource that teachers have available to them to strengthen that kind of motivation. (High school guidance counselor)

There's been more enrollment, but we have seen more of a focus on instructional time district-wise, not just in our building. [The principal] is very big on making sure we don't waste any instructional time; but since the Promise has been initiated, it has been every moment that you are in the building with children. They need to be working, whatever it may be. Whether you're in a hallway and you're talking about what letter comes after "Q," that's still learning... I have noticed a big change that's been better. (Elementary school teacher)

I feel now that there is a real strong focus on achievement and accountability. The accountability piece is there for everybody. Over the years there has been accountability, I think, for teachers. However, I now feel that accountability systemically. (Elementary school principal)

I think we all remind the kids that this is a gift. We've got to get you ready for college, so we're all in that mind-set, and it's really been a blessing to be able to do that for the kids. We've got this Promise, and we have to prepare them for that. So we all know what our duty is, and now it's the Promise. It's not if you go to college you need to know this. It's when you go to college. We're using the right vocabulary and that's just a part of the classroom which is part of our life now. They need to know what they need to know for college, and this is where they're going to learn. (Elementary school teacher)

These comments articulate how the Promise has defined priorities, directing efforts to make effective use of instructional time. One of these comments warrants highlighting; "We all know what our duty is now." One teacher notes that the Promise and the charge of preparing all students for success in higher education has teachers "fired up and worried." There is, of course, the potential that the implementation of programs and policies to support the overall goal can lead to negative unintended consequences—for example, increased pressures associated with the drive for success. However, the overwhelming majority of interviewees referenced a positive effect.

Student comments also aid in understanding the quantitative indicators (reported in Figure 2). Of 42 students interviewed, 39 responded to the question, "What kinds of changes have you seen in the teachers since the Promise began?" Only 2 of those responding indicated that they had seen no change whatsoever. The remainder expressed the perception that teachers now had heightened expectations for students. Eleven students summed up the change in teachers' expectations as "more pressure on students," or "pushing students to work harder." Below are a couple of examples of these responses:

My math teacher, she really, really tries to encourage the kids more to do the work, come to school, behave. (Phoenix High School student)

They want us to succeed a lot more since they have the Promise and because they know if we put our mind to it, we can actually succeed. (Seventh grader at Maple Street Magnet Middle School)

Yeah, they're challenging us more. Just like they give us so much work at one time sometimes, just sometimes we're gonna be up to like two o'clock in the morning doing some of this work. They're making us better, I guess. (Kalamazoo Central High School student)

The statistical methods we used to analyze the student surveys allowed us to isolate and study the relationship between a specific student background characteristic and perceptions of teacher expectations. The following items reflect statistically significant quantitative findings (note: a summary of survey statistics is included in Appendix B):

- Females were more likely to report higher teacher expectations than were males.
- Students who qualify for free or reduced-price lunch were more likely to report teachers holding lower expectations than were students who do not qualify.
- Students who identify as White were more likely to report that teachers held higher expectations for them than were students who identify as Black, Hispanic, Native American, or other.

- ❑ Students whose mother or female guardian obtained a college degree perceived teachers to have higher expectations of them compared with students whose mother or female guardian did not go to college.
- ❑ Students whose father or male guardian obtained a college degree perceived teachers to have higher expectations of them compared with students whose father or male guardian did not go to college.
- ❑ Students who were employed were slightly more likely to report higher teacher expectations than were students who were not employed.
- ❑ Students with higher grades tended to report teachers having higher expectations of them than were students with Ds and Fs.
- ❑ Students in the junior and senior years were more likely than those in lower grades to report teachers holding higher expectations.
- ❑ Students who reported being “aware” or “very aware” of the Promise were more likely to report higher levels of teacher expectations than were students with less awareness.

These quantitative results provide evidence that teacher expectations are perceived differently by various groups of students, and these trends are highly consistent with traditional status risk factors (e.g., gender, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and achievement level). This can be taken as an indicator of one of the key challenges facing the district: ensuring that access to higher education is available to all students, not just those who have historically pursued postsecondary education. It can also be an essential piece of information that may guide subsequent efforts. As the district moves forward in the expanding collegiate access, these findings show that efforts may be targeted best at those underrepresented populations in order to build the capacity for students to take advantage of this remarkable opportunity.

Communicating Expectations

In addition to how the implementation of the Promise has influenced teacher expectations, it is important to consider how these expectations are communicated. Teachers can communicate expectations in various ways: through verbal cues, by

giving direct feedback, and through the larger classroom climate that they foster (Schunk, Pintrich, & Meece, 2008). Another prominent theme that emerged in the analysis of interview data is how the presence and incentive of the Promise is changing the discourse around academic preparation. A majority of teachers speak of communicating an increased sense of relevance to students:

It’s helped all of us teachers to look at these kids as potential college kids, that they have a future beyond high school. It’s helped us to teach them at a higher level, expect higher things from them, and not accept anything less. Because if you do, then you understand that you’re probably getting in their way, because they’re going to be competing worldwide for different positions and even spots in colleges. There is an expectation that they need to have. One student is acting a certain way, it’s like you’ve got to understand that in a few short years you’re going to be in a university. That would never work there. So it helps you to look at their behavior, it helps them to look at their work ethic... So it helps you to word your words in a way that you’re helping them understand that this is an expectation. We expect you to go to college. We expect you to use those dollars... your job is to make sure that you use that. (High school social studies teacher)

What you kind of tell students is that our job in a sense has changed a bit, because it’s not just getting you through class. It’s getting you prepared for what you need so that you can apply to college so that you can be accepted to college...I can promise you because of the Kalamazoo Promise you need to understand this is why we’re doing this and the kids will say, “Why do we have to go through this?” Because there is an advantage here that most kids would never have had. (High school social studies teacher)

Just saying you’re going to need this when you go on past high school. I want to get you well prepared; just that conscious speech both conversational and otherwise...I mentioned academic rigor. We did take all of

our students to Western last year with a GEAR UP grant. Before just the eighth graders had gone and not my seventh graders. That was very positive. (Middle school science teacher)

I'm not sure I would say it has changed due to the Promise. I think we have an outstanding staff, the kind of staff who are aware that academic opportunities are available to everyone now, and so I think staff are maybe more verbal about stating their expectations. You can go to college. This is your time to do that. I think everyone always had the expectations, but I think the staff is more explanatory now with their comments. You need to get your homework in because you need to succeed in school if you want to attend college. I think the staff is kind of a go-between, like a stepping stone or bridge, to let students know what you're doing or not doing will affect you down the road. It can affect you, and you don't want to lose that opportunity. (Elementary school teacher)

Related are comments that articulate how the conversation of academic training has changed. More than one-third of teachers talk about preparation, not just for college, but preparation that will enable success through the college years.

Teacher 1: It's harder. It's about getting them through college, not just to college. We don't want them to fail because they aren't able to get through. There's a joy in saying you can be whatever you want. It was almost cruel to say it before because not everyone could do that. It's still not true, but more doors are open now.

Teacher 2: I don't think so. We try to prepare them better. And we think about it when they are freshman.

Teacher 3: We talk about it more. Like expectations. What classes are like in college.

Teacher 4: We push to make sure they are college ready. And we push some toward

community college or a trade school. There are options for them.

Just an increased inner awareness or maybe they're just verbalizing their awareness more about the need to get kids ready for college, not just to get them to high school graduation. I think maybe before the Promise, unintentionally, we thought of that as the end point for our job. Now we see ourselves as just the conduit to get kids on to the next step instead of the last step in the process. (High school guidance counselor)
One, because we have the Promise, you guys are going to go out. You keep telling them over and over, drumming it into their heads because for some kids, they're not being drummed in at home. Their parents aren't—they haven't gotten to that level. It's building expectations. We plan on you going. We want you to come back when you're in this college or that college. You come back and you talk to the kids. Come and tell us what you've done because you're going to inspire these other kids along the way, and a lot of times they do. (High school teacher)

During interviews, many of the students reported that teachers encouraged students by reminding them that college was now a viable option because of the Promise. "They say stuff like it's really important because it's easy now that we have most of it paid for," noted one female who completed ninth grade at Kalamazoo Central. A male who finished tenth grade at Loy Norrix said,

They'll pull them out in the hall, but we'll still be able to hear them and they'll ask them why they're acting up this way. Now they have the Promise, they have a chance to use the thing with their lives and maybe otherwise they wouldn't be able to. Maybe the teacher is aware of their family situation and the kids understand, but yet they continue.

A number of the students stressed that teachers wanted students to graduate, get the Promise, and go to college. Some of the students also reported that teachers were asking students about their college and career plans. A female Kalamazoo Central graduate

from a north side neighborhood perceived that teachers had only recently begun to consider college as an option for most students since the Promise began:

They started asking us more questions about college. I guess it was almost like the teachers knew that we really weren't planning to go to college, even though it's like their job to prepare us for college. But once the Promise came out it seemed like they were more dedicated to helping us prepare more for college instead of just preparing for life. They were actually preparing us for college instead of life after high school.

Teacher expectations can be communicated in a variety of ways. This was not addressed directly in interview questions, although educators and students repeatedly called attention to this dynamic. One teacher remarked, "It helps you word your words in a way..." Others call attention to how the presence of the Promise has directed pro-education conversations and aided in conveying a sense of relevance. In these conversations, the Promise is not just held as an incentive, but a vehicle: "This is why we're doing this." Educators note increased "conscious speech" and being "more verbal in stating expectations." This parallels the district effort to convey expectations for teachers, students, parents, and the larger community.¹ An interesting observation is how "high school graduation used to be the end point." A remarkable finding here is how the Promise, via explicit and raised expectations, has moved the goalposts in students' educational pursuits.

Impact of Higher Teacher Expectations

Impact on teacher beliefs and behaviors. Data from interviews reveal that the Promise has affected both teachers and students. Teachers describe changes in beliefs and behaviors. One persistent theme relates to teachers' sense of empowerment.

I think it's done a lot psychologically, even if the teachers aren't aware of it, of giving them more credibility for their self-esteem, making them feel that somebody cares about what I'm caring about and what I'm choosing as a career. (High school teacher)

There's now greater morale; people are feeling more confident and feeling better about working for KPS. There's not that negative part on the employees. That felt like it was kind of a flavor of the way that things went. However, still focused on what's good for kids and achievement but more a strong point of building that community, increasing morale, and developing good teachers and training principals what to look for in terms of achievement. (Elementary school principal)

I feel much more empowered. I feel much more empowered with parents. I notice when I'm speaking with parents who have not had the benefit of an education...that their kid has some type of future that they didn't have. It has given me a much better ability to communicate with them, and I don't have as many negative experiences with peers. (High school teacher)

The changes that I have seen in the last year! I see a much brighter demeanor in the staff this year. More confidence, they feel appreciated, they feel supported. They're willing to step out and try new things. They're willing to be open to what it is that we are asking them to do in terms of reinforcing the expectations with kids, teaching those expectations, taking the extra time to cover procedurally what's going on in the classroom. We have staff that are willing to do a lot of extra duty stuff that's not paid. (Building principal)

¹ During the time that data were collected for this report, two important events were taking place that relate to teacher expectations. One was a comprehensive effort to articulate strategic planning expectations for the community, educators, parents, students, and support staff. This was completed in April 2008 [see <http://www.kalamazoopublicschools.com/education/components/docmgr/default.php?sectiondetailid=20662>]. The other event was a curriculum management audit that was being conducted by Phi Delta Kappa International. The report from this audit was released in May 2008. [see http://www.kalamazoopublicschools.com/education/sctemp/77c4564ca5e6efae077d2f4a10d65bb4/1227933118/Kalamazoo_FINAL.pdf]. Because these activities were not complete when we conducted interviews, it was not possible to ask KPS staff about the impact of these events on teacher expectations.

These stakeholder responses are loaded with positive psychosocial impacts on teachers, including self-esteem, efficacy, and confidence. But the impacts extend further. Teachers report an increased sense of empowerment and value for their work and an increased level of support. They report high staff morale and a more positive work environment. These improvements correspond with behavioral changes, as teachers suggest that they are more willing to try new things and go “the extra mile for students.”

Students’ perceptions of impacts related to teacher expectations. During interviews, students mentioned specific ways in which teachers helped students succeed in school and prepare for college. One way was by giving more homework and offering more assistance with homework. One student cited an increase in homework given, while two cited more help with understanding and getting work done during class. Two students said teachers were more available for tutoring and homework assistance before and after school.

Two students mentioned examples in which teachers created opportunities for students to be successful. They did this by offering more opportunities for students to make up work or by adopting a more forgiving attitude so that students didn’t become frustrated with school and give up. A female former ninth grader at Loy Norrix stated, “Yeah, because teachers tell you assignments that you can go make up after school, stuff like that.” “They’re not as harsh on the kids or whatever because before kids would get sent down, but the teachers want you to make it or whatever so they give more chances,” explained a male student who attended Kalamazoo Central for ninth grade.

Other students indicated that teachers had made changes to their teaching styles or even in the format of their classes following the start of the Promise. Six students specified that the changes had the intended effect of making instruction more oriented at preparing students for college. As one student explained,

I hear a lot of teachers talk about how they’re designing their classes so it’s preparing you for college, and I think you hear a lot more about that nowadays than I’ve ever heard before. But I’m not sure if that’s just because we’re approaching towards the end of our high school career or

because of the Promise. I hear that some teachers are maybe being a bit more college-bent in the classes, but I don’t know if they’ve changed their attitude toward students a great deal.

Three students said teachers enforced rules more since the Promise began. One female former Milwood eighth grader put it this way: “Like the people that’s in our class that clown a lot. The teachers get on them about it when they really don’t understand that they want them to make it.” Two students said that teachers sometimes drew comparisons between what was acceptable as student work and behavior in high school and what would be expected of students in college.

Like they’re a lot more like strict on stuff now. They always say we’re being lenient now, but when you get to college it’s not gonna be that way. It’s getting a lot harder. They want us to do so much more so we’ll be used to doing it. (Ninth grader from Kalamazoo Central High School)

Incidentally, four students reported that teachers were stricter in terms of enforcing behavioral rules. “Basically like if we fall asleep or something in class, they’ll be saying you aren’t gonna get to college like this,” explained one Loy Norrix tenth grader.

Nine students reported that teachers talked about the Promise generally in class. Six responded that teachers reminded students that the Promise was conditional on student achievement as leverage to get students to behave or to do their work.

Sometimes we bring it up like somebody is joking off. I know the teacher knows it is just messing around, but some of them just be like you’re not gonna be able to use the Promise if you keep on joking around like this. (Eighth grade student from Hillside Middle School)

Another five students said teachers told students to be grateful for the Promise and not to waste it by not taking advantage of it. “Yeah, all the teachers they say, ‘You are so fortunate. You have the Promise, and take advantage of it,’” said a female Phoenix High School student who finished tenth grade. As one female who finished seventh grade at Maple Street put it,

One of my math teachers, he told us every day he wanted us to succeed in everything, because we had—like—a scholarship. And he always tells us every day like if we were doing bad he didn't want us wasting like \$50,000. (Student from Maple Street Middle School)

These comments are consistent in many ways. They articulate positive changes that have resulted from the implementation of the Promise through the lens of student experience. These comments reflect several promising directions that emanate from teachers communicating high academic and behavioral standards that include an increased level of challenge, a sense that college is now an option, more support from teachers, changes in teachers' encouragement and instruction, a raised level of behavioral expectations, and the desire of teachers for students to take full advantage of this collegiate program.

Teacher Expectations and the Impact on Short-Term and Intermediate Outcomes

Our investigation of teacher expectations represents one piece of a larger process that involves systemic change in a number of short-term and intermediate outcomes (see logic model, Figure 1). Teacher expectations also were analyzed in relation to the other anticipated outcomes of this program.

The findings from our analyses are highlighted in Table 1.

The results in Table 1 suggest that there were statistically significant moderate positive relations between students' perceptions of teacher expectations and student aspirations, students' perceptions of teacher-student relationships, and students' perceptions of guidance and college preparation. Thus, when students perceived teachers as holding high expectations for them, they also were likely to have higher aspirations, report seeing teacher-student relationships as more positive, and feel more positive about the guidance/college preparation they were receiving. There also was a small positive relation between students' perceptions of teacher expectations and peer relations and student motivation. There was no relation between students' perceptions of teacher expectations and student behavior.

Table 1. Results of Factor Model Examining Differences Between Teacher Expectations and the Other Anticipated Outcomes

<i>Teacher expectations in relation to:</i>	<i>Correlation (standardized estimates)</i>
Student aspirations	.56*
Motivation	.08*
Student behavior	.01
Guidance/college prep	.44*
Peer relations	.16*
Teacher-student relations	.47*

p<.001* (see Appendix B for factor model statistics)

Discussion

The findings in the preceding section highlight how the implementation of the Promise is beginning to alter the expectations teachers hold for students. This program has affected the formation and communication of high standards and has influenced both teacher and student perceptions of schooling. In this section, we further explore the key findings from our analyses by comparing responses from various groups of informants and also by relating our findings within the context of other reforms.

Differences in Stakeholder Responses

Differences by position. One of the benefits of this evaluation design is that it allows for the voices of various stakeholders (e.g., principals, guidance counselors, and teachers) to be heard and considered.

Principals speak of a collective responsibility. Half of all principals interviewed mention accountability in the discussion of academic expectations. Principals also note that the Promise is

not changing what is taught, but is “reframing” instructional efforts and “raising the bar.” Principals mention that this initiative has helped with leadership across the building principals and has led to increased “purposeful teacher collaboration.”

Counselors have a different perspective of changes brought about through the Promise. It may not be surprising that many counselors speak of increased college readiness efforts. Counselors speak of increased interest on the part of students and parents. They note that this interest is expanding to populations of students that have traditionally not had postsecondary education in their immediate plans. Counselors also speak of more outside interest as families in the surrounding communities and from across the nation are taking an interest in the school district as a result of the Promise.

Teachers respond differently than principals and guidance counselors and speak of communicating expectations to students (discussed previously). Teacher responses also indicate that an increased push for college readiness has created certain challenges—challenges that are in some ways related to the Promise and other district pressures, but also related to helping all students access the benefits of a rigorous college prep curriculum.

Differences by school level. One of the most interesting differences we found with regard to perceptions of teacher expectations was the fact that less change was being reported at the high schools. Based on coded responses to a closed-ended question regarding change in teacher expectations, we found that KPS employees at elementary and middle schools were more likely to report positive change in teacher expectations than were KPS employees at the high school level. In fact, nearly one-third of the high school staff we interviewed reported no change in teacher expectations. That compares with only 4% of the elementary and middle school staff that we interviewed (see Figure 3).

This difference by school level was supported by the perceptions of changes in teacher expectations reported by students. We compared middle and high school students’ perceptions of teacher expectations and found a similar pattern to what we observed from the interview data. One item that dealt with teacher expectations was included in both the middle school and high school surveys. This item was “Teachers expect more from students since the announcement of

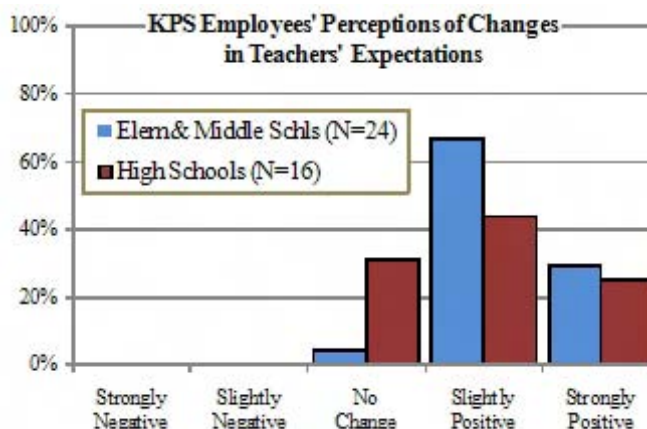


Figure 3. Perceptions of Change in Teacher Expectations for Student Success

the Promise.” Students were asked to rate their level of agreement on scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The middle school students were much more likely to report positive changes in teacher expectations than were the high school students. This difference was large and statistically significant.

These findings suggest that sweeping impacts of the Promise are more prevalent at the lower grade levels. It is hoped that as these cohorts of younger students move on to high school, they will help influence the culture and climate that seems to be changing in the right direction at the elementary and middle school levels.

Teacher Expectations in the Context of NCLB/Reform Efforts

Schools experience waves of cyclical improvement efforts and have been described as being in a state of continuous reform. This makes isolating the effects of the Promise problematic, because it must be considered in relation to other national, state, and district initiatives. Indeed, stakeholders mention a host of related reforms or new programs in their discussion of educational changes, including (but not limited to) Reading 180, Math Connections, Reading First, Positive Behavior Support, Michigan Integrated Behavior and Learning Support Initiative, King-Chavez-Parks Program, Communities in Schools, GEAR UP, Making Middle Grades Work, Allstars, Second Step, and restructuring due to failure to meet adequate yearly

progress (AYP) under No Child Left Behind. Here educators refer to the Promise in the context of these related activities:

Programming-wise, we operate a program called GEAR UP with Western. That program took on a whole new kind of twist because it was all about gaining awareness for postsecondary schooling. I think while it was a great idea, it took on a whole new significance with the Promise. I think the staff here became more motivated to see some of those activities done more at a greater level. It's become more of their mission of the school now. Before it was kind of like great nice idea, probably won't happen—to now it's like we have to do this. Its part of what we have to do. (Building principal)

I think there is focus on accountability, and the urgency of insuring that students are well prepared to take advantage of the Promise. So, it has raised our level of awareness, as educators...some of the things that we were headed towards are in line with preparing students for the Promise; implementing more rigorous data analysis and review, having a more laser-like focus on individual students to insure that they are all achieving...One of the problems here is that there are several different initiatives, and so, rather than doing one thing well, you're doing a lot of little things. (Elementary school principal)

They know it's an awesome responsibility. They don't want the Promise to fail because the students fail out or can't hack it. There's an enthusiasm just to teach. But there are other factors, NCLB, state mandates, district things all coming. It's encouraged the staff at the high school and here. NCLB has really changed how we do business. So the Promise came in the sandstorm. It's the bright light, the place of hope. (Building principal)

Now a couple things were already going on. We had, I don't know, five or six years ago, we failed to make adequate yearly progress,

so we started a new program called Making Middle Grades Work. One of the big things they stressed was increasing our rigor academically and insisting that all homework be completed, for example. I've always thought of myself as a good quality teacher, but I worked harder and did things differently because of their emphasis. Now that was before the Promise was announced. So when the Promise was announced and we began to hear things within the school system about making kids college ready, it seemed to me the two dovetailed very nicely. (Middle school science teacher)

Considering the Promise in a larger policy context reveals several noteworthy findings. Educators here note that these diverse efforts can be contradictory, and they describe additional challenges. They also detail how these efforts are in some ways highly aligned. There is a sense in the preceding comments that the Promise can act as a catalyst for change; it is “the bright light, the place of hope” in the “sandstorm” of competing initiatives, and it helped refine a “laser-like focus on individual students.”

Teacher Expectations and Student Risk Factors

The literature is consistent in holding that high teacher expectations are critical in turning around the academic performance for those students at risk of low achievement (see Weinstein, 2002; Smith, Jussism, & Eccles, 1999). Relevant to this discussion then is an examination of the role of teacher expectations across all students in the school district. The following comments acknowledge that the announcement and presence of the Promise, in itself, is not going to turn the tide for those students with additional struggles in mastering the mandated curriculum:

It hasn't impacted the most difficult situations. I didn't see the impact on that. I see more of the impact being on the folks that kind of teeter on the edge. But hard-core parents for whatever reason aren't getting their kids to school on time, protective services involvement, court system; and you

might not think that happens at the elementary age, but it does. It's not impacting this. They're too entrenched, I think, in survival and years and years and years of generational poverty, and years and years and years of poor experiences in school. (Elementary school principal)

Those who are not sure in school, behavior problems, struggling academically. The Promise is about college, and no family member before them has gone on, or graduated from high school. They don't even think they can attain that because no one in their immediate circle has that. How am I going to get there? We have to build a bridge for them. That's why they do this in the community [holds up college night flyer]. It's not a race thing. It's having no other experiences. Families tell kids they are nothing. That's the mentality, and we have to wage that war. This is for you. But other forces influence them. (Building principal)

There are, however, signs that the presence of the Promise may help refocus efforts and identify more effective practices to support the needs of all students in the district:

Well, first it was just conversation, just trying to chip away at that perception that it's not for me, it's not for- I'm not that kind of kid. I'm not going to college; my family didn't go to college. It was just conversation trying to chip away at that. Again, since we had the facts and the media and things to back it up, then the kids started believing it. And then from there the staff just talked about it more, of college. We would talk about college before, but it started meaning more; this was for real and we have college people coming in now and we make it a lot more real. (High school guidance counselor)

Because of the Promise, postsecondary education is more of a reality. (High school math teacher)

Clearly, supporting struggling students is a paramount challenge and an essential priority for all public schools. The Promise may not be the magic bullet needed to address the litany of cumulative effects that lead to student underachievement. The findings reported in this working paper suggest, though, that there are preliminary changes in teacher expectations that may, over time, be one key mechanism in the effort to overcome this persistent pattern.

Conclusion

Evidenced by the trends reported in this paper, the announcement of the Kalamazoo Promise has had a positive impact. Principals, guidance counselors, teachers, and, perhaps most importantly, the students relate raised academic and behavioral standards with the implementation of this program. These changes have had notable impacts on the beliefs and behaviors of teachers, students, and the larger school community. This was not a foregone conclusion; indeed, academic expectations are embedded in deeply rooted cultural practices that can be difficult to alter (Weinstein, 2002).

Our findings also suggest that changes in teacher expectations may also benefit the identified evaluation outcomes (see logic model, Figure 1). Specifically, teacher expectations are significantly correlated with student aspirations and guidance/college preparatory efforts (short-term

outcomes) and factors relating to the intermediate outcome of improved school climate (e.g., peer relations and teacher-student relationships). Tracking these measures and relationships over time will provide an additional resource for administrators as they target interventions and promote the realization of the identified long term educational outcome: the opportunity for all KPS students to access, and excel in, postsecondary education.

These results further identify an opportunity to maximize the leverage brought to bear by the Promise. As one teacher noted:

I believe that in order for school reform to work you should start with the teachers first. They're the ones that are delivering the message every day, and nobody has ever come to the teachers and said "This is what the Promise is, this is so cool. This is how

you can help us get on board, this is how we're going to reform our schools, this is what you can do to make this a focus of your classroom." None of that, and that blows my mind that you would just assume that the teachers are all like "Yeah, we got the Promise and we're going to make it happen."
(Elementary school teacher)

The research literature suggests that professional development can be influential in instructional and institutional change. While this phenomenon was not directly assessed through the course of this evaluation, it may be an area to explore in subsequent efforts to raise academic expectations in the district.

The logic model for the evaluation of the Promise describes the various forces that may affect changes in the identified long-term outcomes (see Figure 1). Teacher expectations for student success appear to be an instrumental moderating variable in the relationship between the program inputs and the realization of increased postsecondary access. If the initial changes described in this report continue to grow and flourish in the schools across the district, the vision of systemic change through increased focus on a common goal will certainly further this ambitious objective.

This paper relied heavily on the voice of educators in the school district. These voices describe promising changes in the expectations that teachers hold for students. It may be fitting then to close with an illuminating quote about the role of teachers in the implementation of this dynamic program:

Everybody's watching. Everybody's watching, and there is an increase in pressure on the schools now in KPS. People are making assumptions. They believe that the Promise is going to change things, and it has changed. However, the Promise is not going to increase their achievement. Teachers are going to increase achievement. (Elementary school principal)

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Appendix A

KPS Employee Interview Protocol

This evaluation is formative. That means we are focusing on collecting information from you and our other sources that will help improve the chances for students to utilize the Promise. Improvement can always be made in the district, the Promise office, and the larger community of Kalamazoo. We are working closely with the district on ways to provide feedback on the data we are collecting, like in these interviews, in the forms of handouts and short presentations in your professional development so that improvements can be made.

Date: _____ Interview Location: _____

Interviewee Name: _____ Role: _____

1. Describe your primary responsibilities in your school.
 - a. How long have you been in this role?
 - b. Other roles prior to this one in KPS or the community?

Now I will focus my questions on the Kalamazoo Promise.

2. Overall, what changes have you experienced in your school since the announcement of the Promise?
 - a. What sort of changes have you implemented in your school since the Promise was announced?
 - b. What sort of changes have you experienced from the district-level administration?
 - c. How has your school increased its efforts to prepare students to have more options in postsecondary education?
 - d. What has been the impact of the higher retention rates and increases in student enrollment on your school?
 - e. How have you been affected in your position since the announcement of the Promise?
 - i. Have your responsibilities changed?
 - ii. Your workload?
3. What kind of changes have you seen in the attitudes of teachers, other administrators, and staff at your school since the Promise was announced?
 - a. Changes in behaviors or work patterns?
 - b. Recruitment or hiring practices?
4. How do you think students have changed?

5. What are your perceptions of current students' abilities and preparation for postsecondary options?
 - a. What is needed to better prepare students for success at the postsecondary level?
 - b. How long will it take to accomplish this?

6. I am going to ask you to rate changes you may have seen in your school since the Promise was announced on a scale of 1-5, where a 1 means "worse" and a 5 means "improved." A 3 would be in the middle, which would indicate that there has been no change. You are welcome to provide examples or explain the reasoning for the rate you give.
 - a. Student behavior
 - b. Student attendance
 - c. Students' attitudes toward schoolwork
 - d. Parental involvement
 - e. Teacher expectations of student success
 - f. School climate

I just have a few questions that ask you to think about the role of the community here at your school.

7. How has the involvement of community groups changed in your school since the announcement of the Promise?
 - a. What is the route for interested community groups who want to volunteer in your school?
 - b. Describe your relationship with Kalamazoo Communities in Schools.
 - c. What has been the impact of the involvement of community groups?
 - d. How well are the arts integrated in your school? Who is the primary contact for that area?

8. What changes would you recommend to KPS and the larger community to help more students benefit from the Promise?
 - a. What are the gaps in student support?
 - b. In what areas would you like to see more community support?

9. What other thoughts do you have about the Promise that I haven't asked you about?

This completes the interview. Do you have any follow-up questions or comments?

Thank you for participating in this interview.

Appendix B

Student Survey Statistics

Student Perceptions of Teacher Expectations

Teacher Expectations, four item factor, $\alpha = .823$

- My teachers think that I will graduate from high school.
- My teachers think I would succeed in college.
- My teachers have high expectations for me in class.
- I have a teacher who is a positive role model for me. (Note: $\alpha = .86$ if deleted)

Scale mean= 4.085, sd= .924

Skewness= -1.093, se= .060

Kurtosis= .776, se= .120

Gender [F= 22.451 (1, 1644), $p < .001$]

Female (n= 900) 4.183 (.887)

Male (n= 746) 3.967 (.955)

Free/reduced-price lunch [F= 46.23 (1, 1617), $p < .001$]

No (n= 802) 4.243 (.848)

Yes (n= 817) 3.937 (.959)

Employed [F= 4.794 (1,1595), $p < .05$]

No (n= 1227) 4.076 (.904)

Yes (n= 370) 4.194 (.918)

Mother or female guardian holds college degree [F=24.344 (3,1579), $p < .001$]

Yes (n= 721) 4.307(.794)

Don't know (n= 236) 3.847 (.945)

No (n= 613) 3.965 (.964)

N/A (n= 13) 3.891 (1.049)

Father or male guardian holds college degree [F=12.187 (2, 1574), $p < .001$]

Yes (n= 579) 4.274 (.846)

Don't know (n= 283) 4.010 (.851)

No (n= 670) 4.018 (.949)

N/A (n= 46) 3.779 (1.024)

Level of predicted educational attainment [F=29.377 (4, 1589), p<.001]

Will Not Graduate (n= 10)	3.600 (1.002)
Graduate HS (n= 113)	3.584 (1.056)
VocTech (n= 163)	3.656 (.875)
Some College (n= 27)	3.571 (.985)
4-year College (n= 1281)	4.219 (.856)

Ethnicity [F= 13.002 (5,1598), p< .001]

White (n= 649)	4.274 (.831) higher than black, Hispanic, Native American, and other
Black (n= 633)	3.953 (.947) lower than white
Hispanic (n= 145)	3.966 (.935) lower than white
Asian (n= 37)	4.369 (.610)
Nat. Am. (n= 29)	3.397 (1.394) lower than white
Other (n= 111)	4.070 (.920) lower than white

Ethnicity contrast codes [F= 51.355 (1, 1619), p< .001]

White/Asian (n= 691)	4.279 (.819)
All Others (n= 930)	3.954 (.961)

Grades [F= 38.913 (9, 1568), p< .001]

A (n= 239)	4.622 (.572)
A&B (n= 501)	4.352 (.737)
B (n= 111)	4.213 (.740)
B&C (n= 328)	3.982 (.898)
C (n= 108)	3.617 (.935)
C&D (n= 162)	3.735 (.928)
D (n= 27)	3.253 (1.252)
D&F (n= 55)	3.250 (1.013)
F (n= 17)	3.064 (1.244)
Misc. (n= 30)	3.531 (1.092)

Awareness of Promise [F= 14.119 (4, 1618), p< .001]

1 (n= 39)	3.748 (1.120)
2 (n= 74)	3.854 (1.033)
3 (n= 322)	3.826 (.949)
4 (n= 510)	4.107 (.891)
5 (n=678)	4.241 (.873)

Years at the school [F=14.351 (4, 1637), p<.001]

1 (n= 619)	3.905 (.955)
2 (n= 421)	4.080 (.940)
3 (n= 312)	4.211 (.860)
4 (n= 247)	4.384 (.786)
5 (n= 83)	4.124 (.844)

Factor Models:

Fig. 4

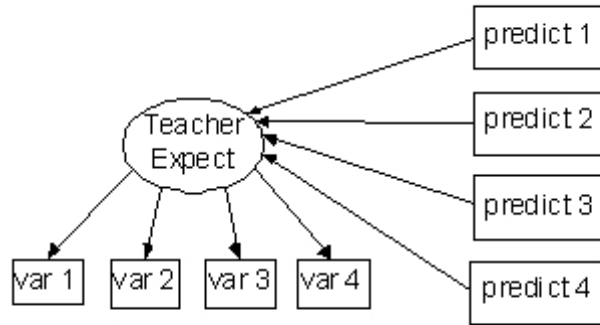


Fig 5

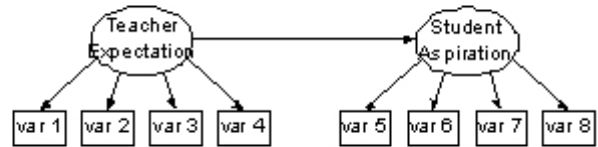


Figure 4: Factor Model of Teacher Expectations. This latent factor is indicated by four Likert-scale items; predictors were added to the model to examine group differences.

Figure 5: Structural Model of Between-Outcome Relationships. This model shows an example of the structural model used to examine the relationship between teacher expectations and other related evaluation outcomes.

Table 2: Results of Factor Model Examining Differences Between Teacher Expectations and the Other Anticipated Outcomes.

<i>Teacher expectations in relation to:</i>	<i>Correlation</i>	<i>RMSEA**</i>	<i>NFI/CFI***</i>
Student aspirations	.56*	.04	.98
Motivation	.08*	.05	.97
Student behavior	.01	.04	.99
Guidance/college prep	.44*	.08	.92
Peer relations	.16*	.05	.97
Teacher-student relations	.47*	.05	.93

* $p < .001$

**RMSEA: Root mean square error of approximation

***NFI/CFI: Normed fit index/ comparative fit index