

Clashes in the Classroom: Grappling with Differences in Parent and Teacher Expectations

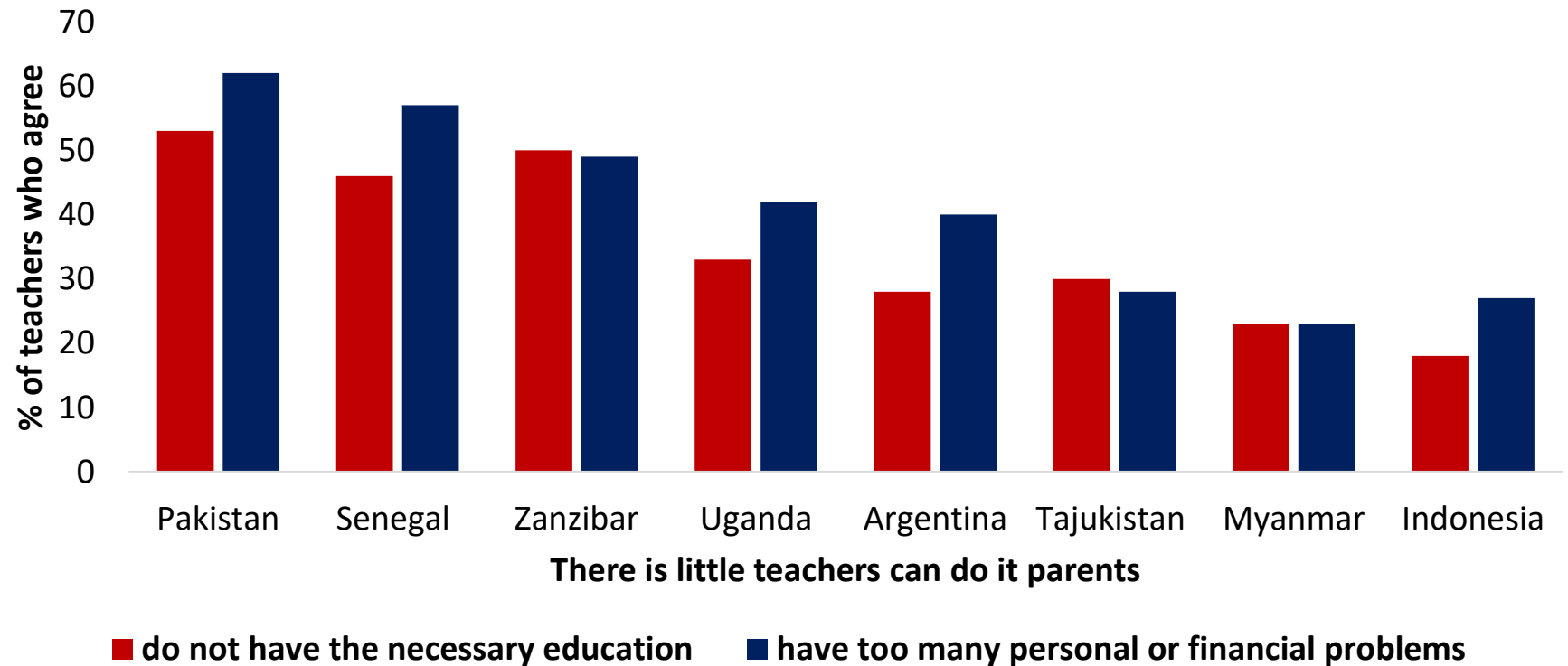
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Parent and teacher inputs as complements...

- Children's education is the output of a constellation of inputs.
- Parents' and teachers' inputs are often thought to be complementary (Fryer, 2016; WDR, 2018; Agostinelli, Saharkhiz and Wiswall, 2019).

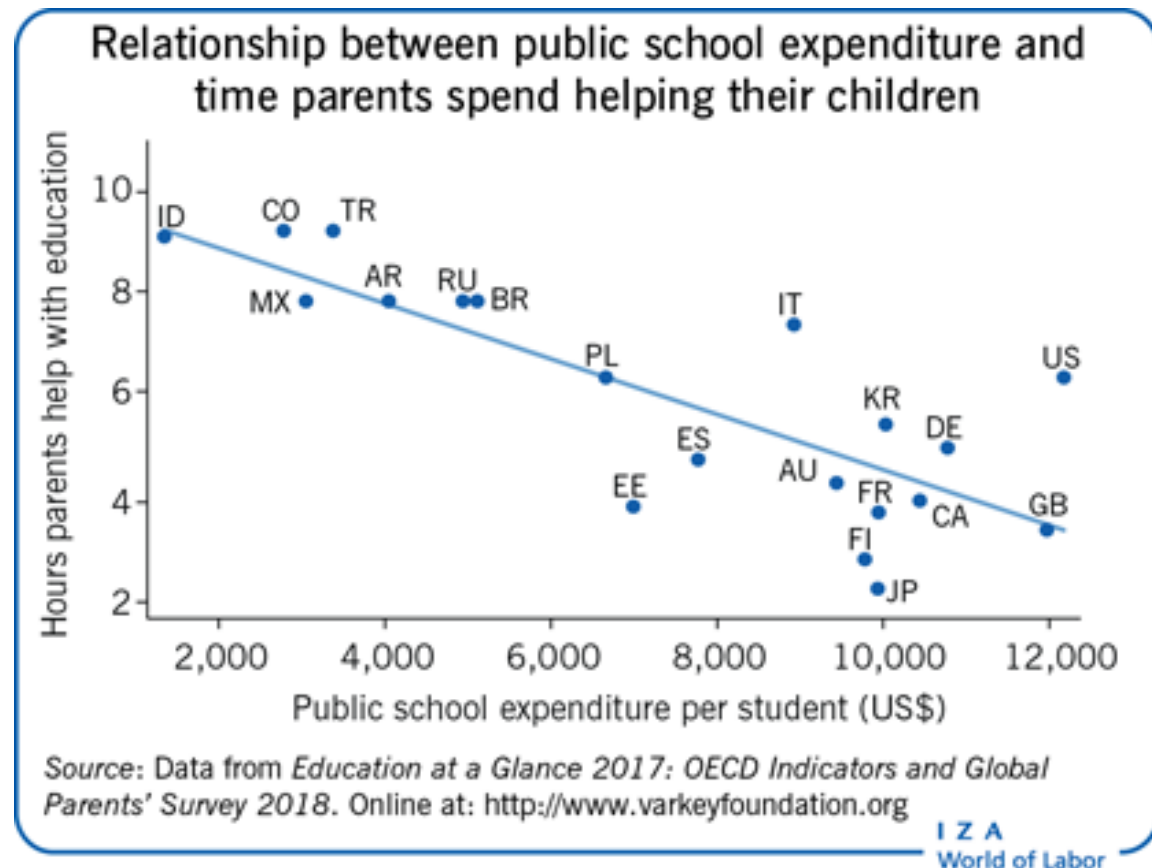
Many teachers feel there is little they can do to improve child learning when parents' inputs are low



... or substitutes?

- Children's education is the output of a constellation of inputs.
- Recent evidence for substitutability (Rabe, 2019; Chang, Cobb-Clark and Salamanca, 2019)

Parents hours allocated to helping children with homework is negatively correlated with school inputs



Two studies

Study 1: Quality Preschool for Ghana

Collaborators: J. Lawrence Aber, Jere R. Behrman

Partners: Innovations for Poverty Action, Ghana Education Service, Sabre Education

Funders: UBS Optimus Foundation, World Bank Strategic Impact Evaluation Fund, Early Learning Partnership, British Academy.

Study 2: EduqPlus Evaluation

Collaborators: Guilherme Lichand

Partners: Innovations for Poverty Action, Movva

Funders: Jacobs Foundation

Teachers, head teachers, caregivers and children who participated in this study.

ECE participation is on the rise globally, and Ghana is a leader in these trends

2004: National Early Childhood Care and Development Policy; KG curriculum developed.

2007: Expansion of 2 years of pre-primary education (KG1 and KG2) as part of free, compulsory and basic education (fCUBE).



Sub-Saharan Africa
region: 20%

Ghana: 74.5%

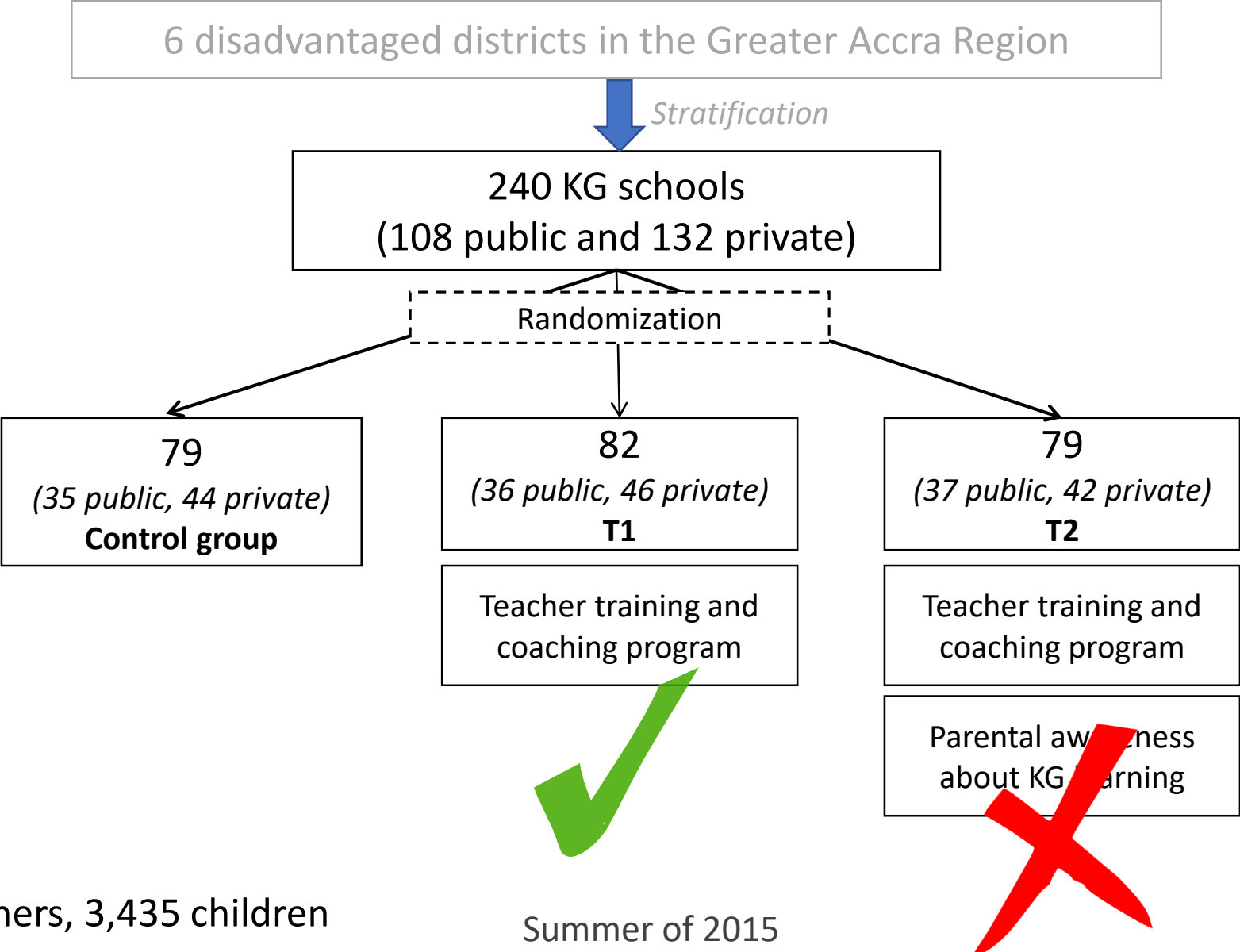
The policy context in Ghana

- The 2012 Ghana Education Service report that the 2004 KG curriculum is sound, but that teacher behavior has not adapted to reflect new pedagogy.
- Key priorities:
 - Train 27,000 untrained **teachers** in KG-pedagogy. [L] [SEP]
 - Engaging **parents** in schools and raising their awareness of KG-pedagogy.

Quality Preschool for Ghana (QP4G)

- In partnership with **Ghana Education Service, National Nursery Teacher Training Center, and Innovations for Poverty Action:**
 - Develop and test a *nationally scalable* model for teachers and parents with the goal of improving KG quality and children's school readiness.
- Two parts – **Teacher Training and Coaching** and **Parental Awareness Interventions.**

QP4G: Research design



Total N = 444 teachers, 3,435 children

Measures

1. Classroom quality – implementation and teacher-child interactions
 - ✓ Video-taped classroom observations
2. Professional well-being
 - ✓ Teacher surveys, School administrative records
3. Child school readiness
 - ✓ Direct assessments

Impacts are assessed:

- End of implementation year (June 2016)
- One year later (June 2017)
- Two years later (June 2018)

Implementation: Are teachers integrating practices from the training in their classroom?

Checklist with 15 teaching practices that were in the training. For example:

Teacher praises children for positive behavior

Teacher explicitly reminds children of the class rules

Teacher threatens children with or uses a cane on children at least once

Teacher uses a “Circle Time” activity during the lesson (i.e., all children seated together participating in unison)

The lesson consists of a game that facilitated the lesson objectives

Teacher incorporates found items as Learning Materials (e.g., bottle caps, milk cartons)

Teacher asks students at least two open-ended questions during the class



Teacher explicitly reminds children of the class rules

Teacher threatens children with or uses a cane on children at least once

Teachers integrating practices from
from?

that were in the training. For example:



questions during the class

Classroom quality: Does QP4G improve the quality of teacher-child interactions?

Using the Teacher Instructional Practices and Processes System (TIPPS; Seidman et al., 2013)

Developed based exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis, we assess impacts on three dimensions of classroom quality.

Facilitating deeper learning

- *Scaffolding (concept development)*
- *Quality of feedback*
- *Objectives explicit*

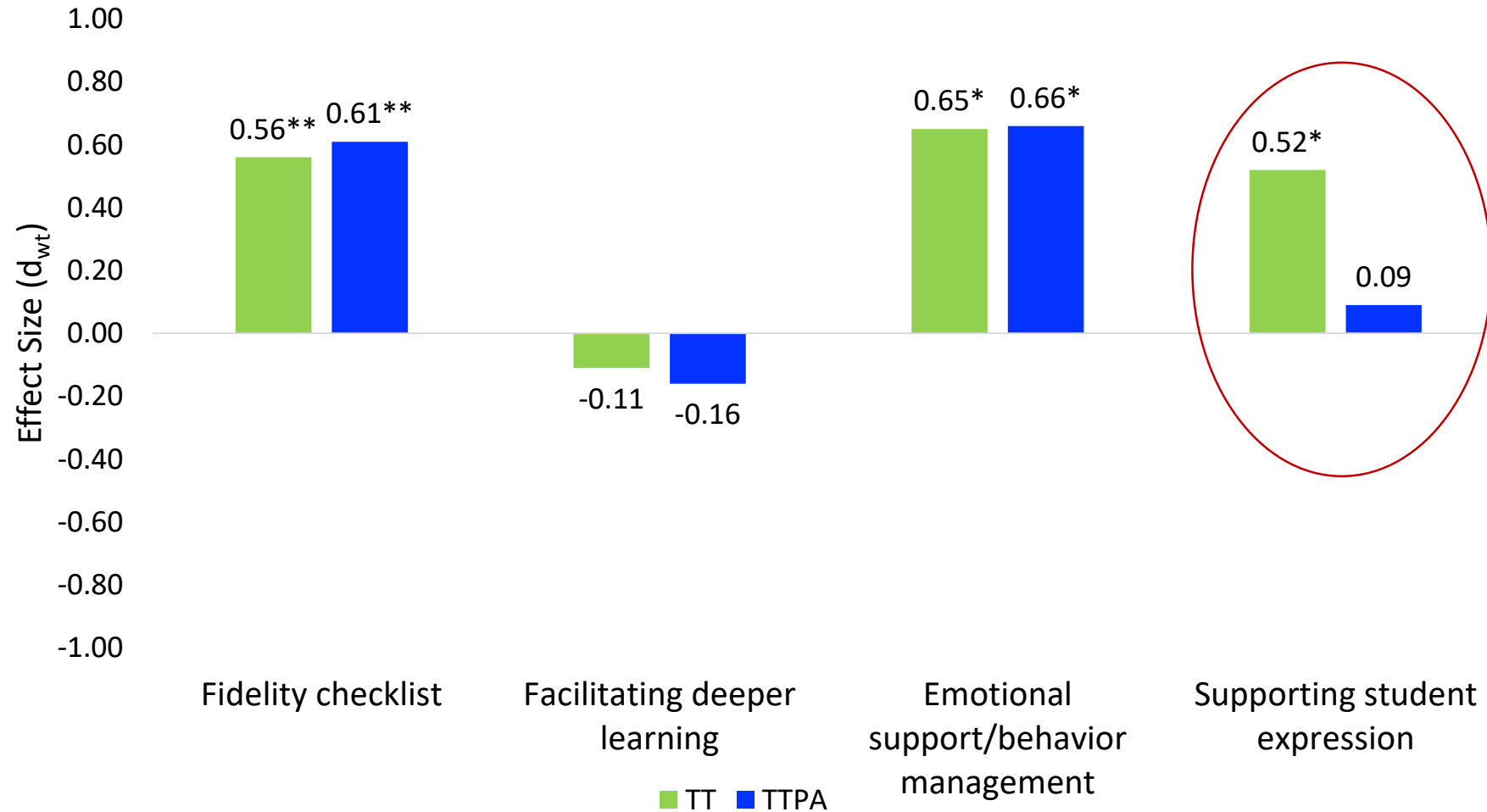
Emotional support & behavior management

- *Positive climate*
- *Negative climate*
- *Teacher sensitivity/tone*
- *Behavior management*
- *Consistent Routine*

Supporting student expression

- *Student ideas considered*
- *Reasoning/problem solve*
- *Connections to life*
- *Language modeling*

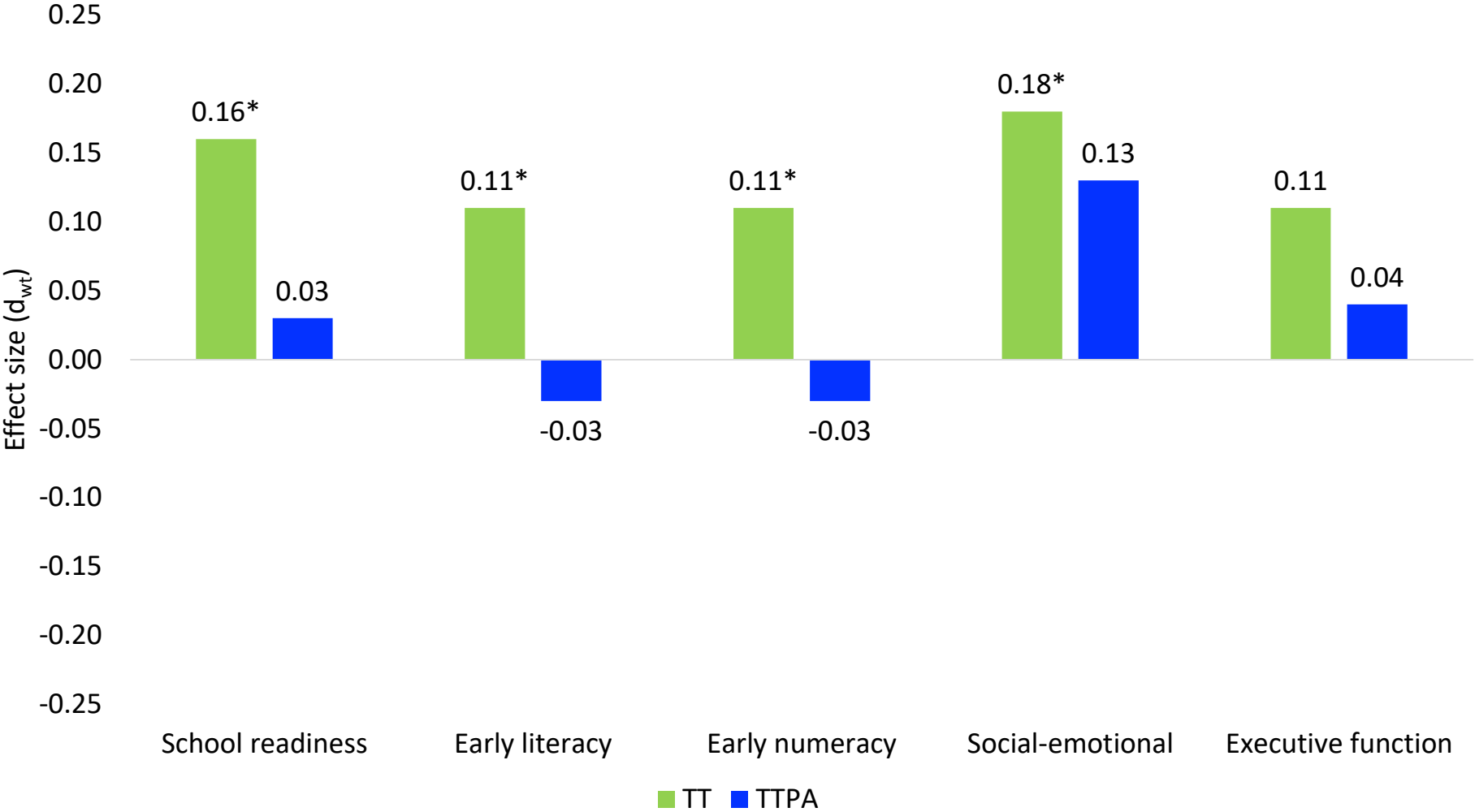
Impacts on classroom quality



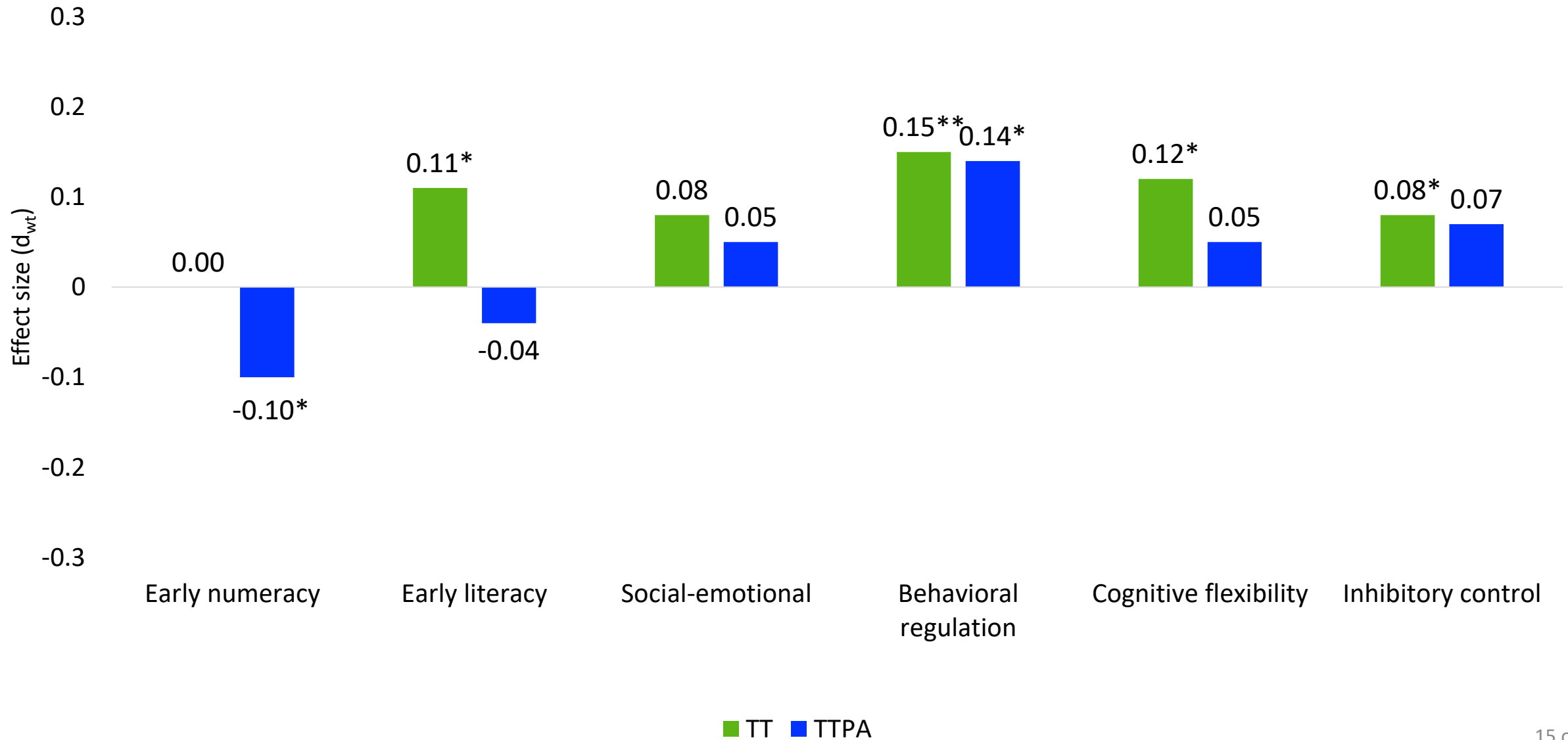
** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$.

TT = Teacher training; TTPA = Teacher training + Parental Awareness

QP4G improves children's school readiness, primarily social-emotional development



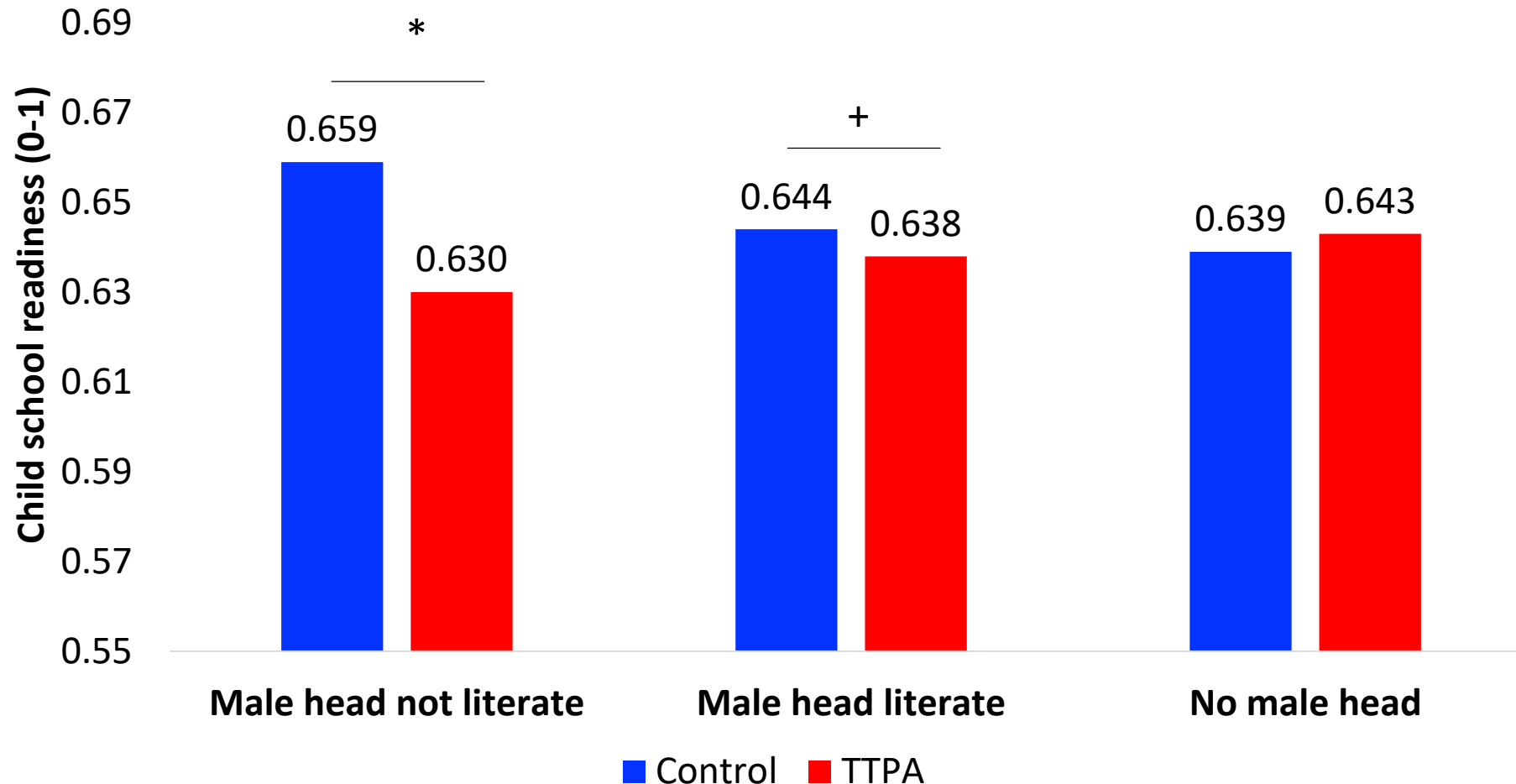
Two years later: Impacts on children persist



Summary of Results

- **Teacher training program improves classroom quality, professional well-being, and child development.**
- **Persistent impacts** on children's social and executive function skills of TT two years later.
- **Counter-acting impacts** of parental-awareness intervention, negative impacts on numeracy two years later.
 - What happened in the parental-awareness intervention?

Evidence that parental resistance was limited to male parents with low education



+ $p < .10$; * $p < .05$.

TTPA = Teacher training + Parental Awareness

Follow-up qualitative study with teachers and parents in TTPA

25 Teachers

Topics: KG quality, communication with caregivers, PTA Meetings

25 Caregivers

Topics: KG quality, communication with teacher, PTA Meetings and Caregivers' Role in Education, Child Performance in School / Goals for Child

Randomly selected from “high achieving” and “low achieving” children.

Key issues raised by parents and teachers

Parents

- Preprimary education as foundational to academic and social development
- Focus on academics and material resources when determining quality
- Discipline is central for socialization, but perceptions about disciplinary practices varied
- Primary responsibility related to providing necessities

Teachers

- Parents pushed back on intervention activities
- Communication with caregivers focused on concerns
- Frustrated with lack of parent involvement

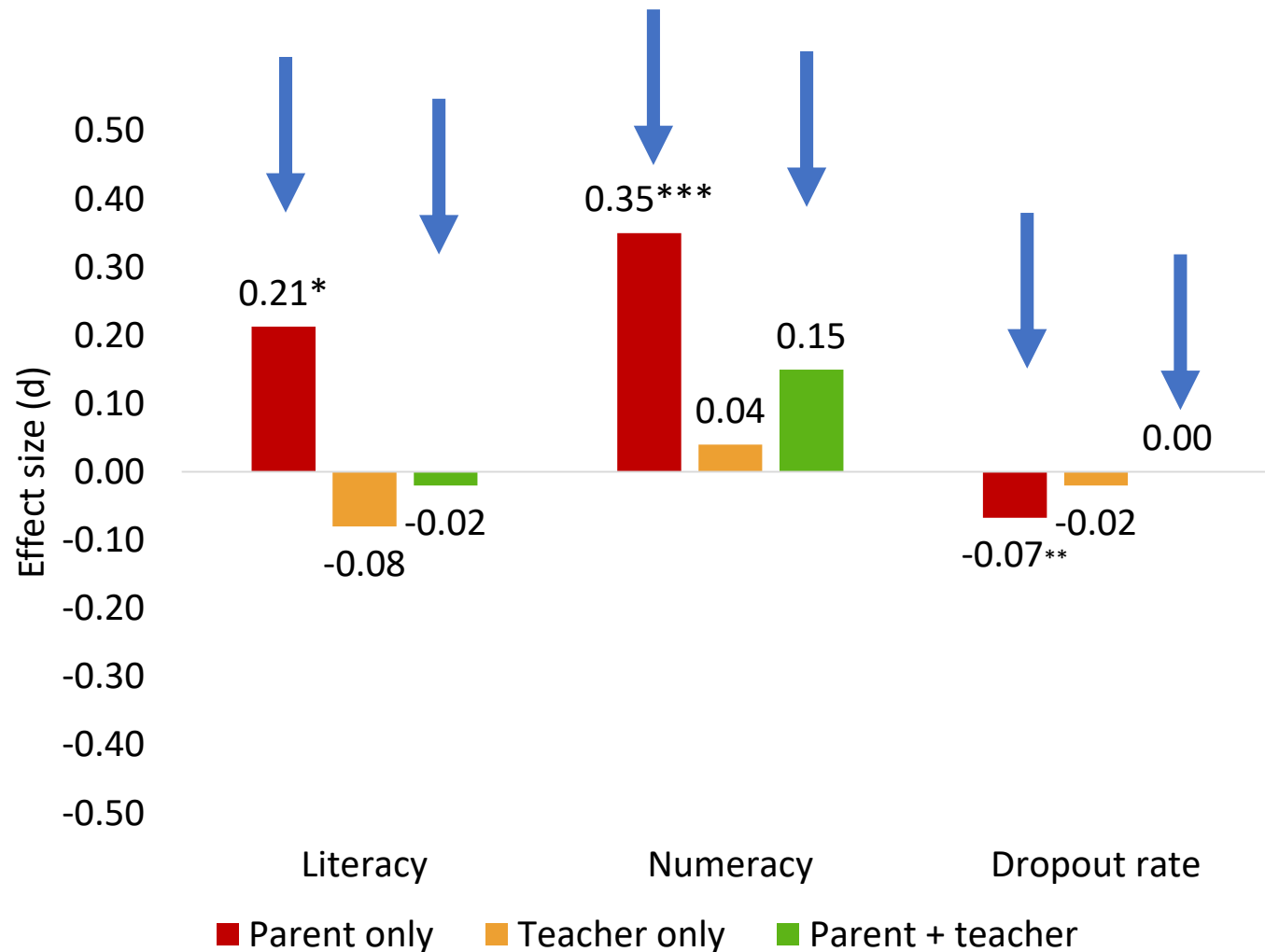
Conclusions

- One of the **first impact evaluations in sub-Saharan Africa** to show in-service teacher training can improve pre-primary quality and school readiness.
- How to successfully engage parents is still unclear.
- But positive impacts should not be assumed when engaging parents
 - Parent engagement is valuable. However, **understanding parent-teacher relationships more deeply** is needed.
 - Careful attention should be paid to **parents' beliefs and goals, interpretation of messages,** and **who would best deliver them.**

Eduq+ Evaluation: Cote d'Ivoire (3 key findings)

- School-randomized trial ($N = 100$) of an SMS intervention targeting parent engagement and teacher support in early primary school.
- Randomized design tested messages to: (i) parents only, (ii) teachers only, (iii) teachers + parents, or (iv) control.
- **Results:**
 - Positive impacts on parent beliefs and child learning outcomes **when engaging parents only.**
 - Teacher + parent engagement **counter-acted the positive results.**
 - Teachers put forth less effort and want to leave their position **if parents get involved too often.**

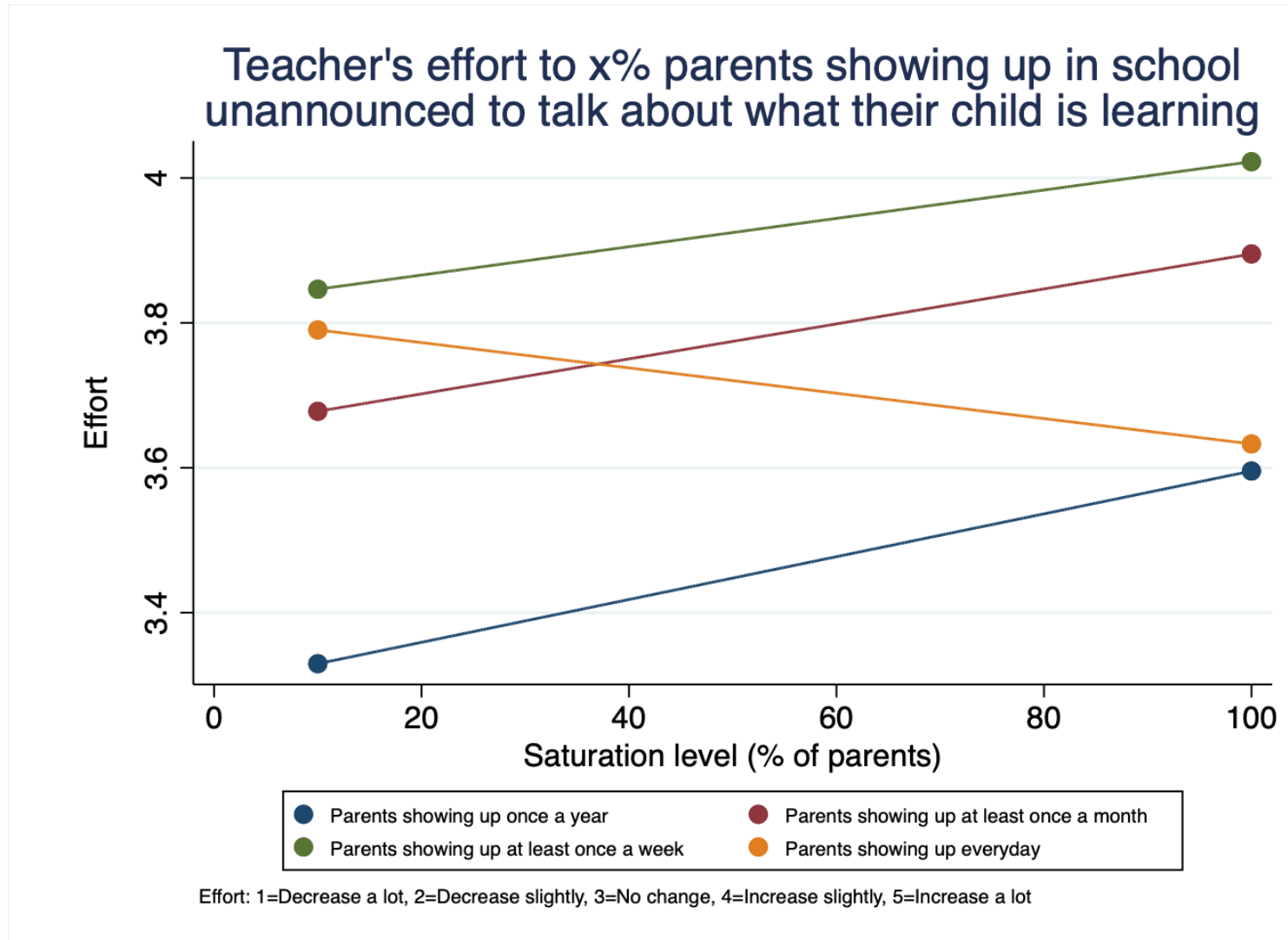
Impacts of the Intervention



- SMS to parents **increase learning by 1-2 quarters and decrease dropouts by 50%**
- SMS to teachers have **no systematic effects**
- SMS to both parents and teachers **backfire**

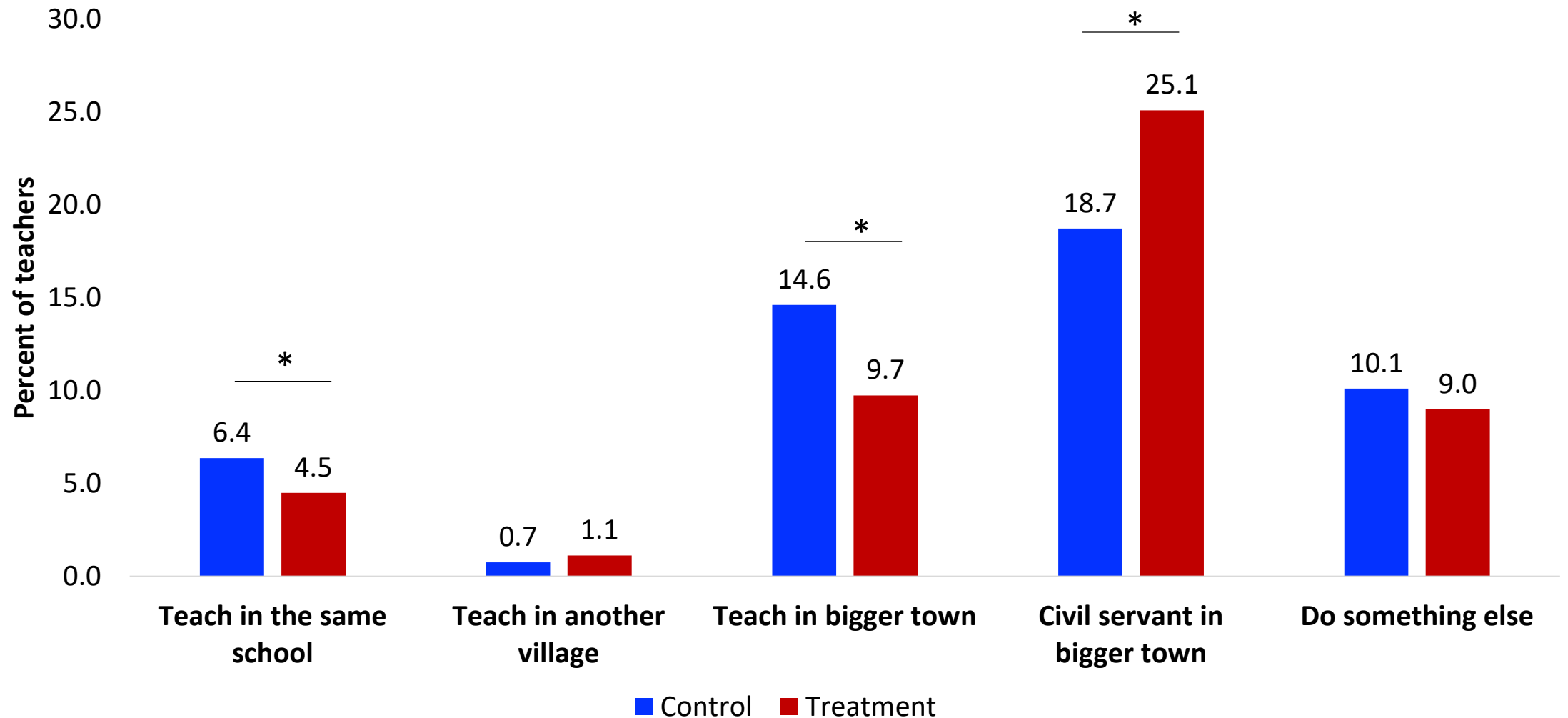
Follow-up data: Beliefs about returns

When parents engage in school daily, teachers reduce their efforts



When parents engage with teachers more frequently, teachers report being more likely to leave the school / profession

Where do you see yourself in 5 years in terms of your career?



Conclusions

- Features of **engaging parents and teacher created unexpected effects** in both Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire. It might be optimal to target teachers or parents only, depending on the goals.
- **Social norms about the division of labor need to be better understood.** Can we successfully align parent and teacher expectations?
- Acknowledging team production between parents and teachers, by carefully eliciting norms and beliefs, seems crucial for the design of successful interventions to support learning and **meet the realities of teachers' and parents' daily lives.**

Thank you
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Intervention I – Teacher Training Program

In-service teacher training

- Led by the NNTTC trainers
 - 5-day training at the start of the school year
 - Refresher trainings 4 and 8 months later

In-classroom monitoring and coaching

- Led by the district education coordinators
 - Classroom visits



Introduction

The Rationale for this training
What we will do each day

Day 1

Personal Objectives
The Brain
The Five C's for Kindergarten
The Learning Characteristics of Children
How children learn best
Creating A Child – Friendly Environment
The Learning Environment has three dimensions
Learning Styles
The Characteristics of a Child-Friendly Teacher
Teacher behaviour and Child Learning Characteristics Quiz:
Daily Reflection

Day 2: Managing Classroom Behaviour

Pre-Session KWL
Personal Objectives
Classroom Management
Avoid
Anticipate
Respond
Repair
Classroom Management Quiz
Daily Plan
Daily Reflection

Day 3: Language and Literacy

Pre-Session KWL
Personal Objectives
Literacy Wheel
Teacher Talk
Open and Closed Questions
Encouraging Children's Talk
How Should I Teach Phonics for reading and writing in KG 2?
How Children 'Recognise' Words
Stages of Emergent Writing Skills
Opportunities to Write
Print in the Environment
Stages of Emergent Reading Skills

QUALITY PRESCHOOLS FOR GHANA

PARTICIPANT REFERENCE GUIDE



Language and Literacy Quiz
Daily Reflection

Day 4: Mathematics

Pre-Session KWL
Personal Objectives
Concepts in Maths
Language of maths for KG
Emergent Number Skills
Maths Quiz
Daily Reflection

Day 5: Assessment and Planning

Pre-Session KWL
Personal Objectives
Pupil Record for KG1 (adapted)
Pupil Record for KG2 (adapted)
Guidance on how to observe and record Pupil Record Points
Daily Session Plan
Example Completed Daily Session Plan
Teacher Self-Assessment and Monitoring Tool
Reflections on the Teacher Monitoring Tool
Daily Reflection

Intervention II – Parental Awareness Program



3 sessions of parental awareness meetings (1/term) implemented through PTA meetings



Video screening



Discussion with focus on:
(1) play-based learning,
(2) parents' role in child learning, and
(3) encouraging parent-teacher and parent-school communication

References

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Analytic strategy: Impact analysis

Level 1 (Child) Model:

$$Y_{ijk} = B_{0jk} + B_{1jk}'X_{ijk} + e_{ijk}$$

Where X_{ijk} is the vector of child covariates

Level 2 (Teacher) Model:

$$B_{0jk} = \gamma_{00k} + u_{0jk}$$

Where B_{0jk} is the teacher-level random intercept.

Level 3 (School) Model:

$$\gamma_{00k} = \pi_{000} + \pi_{001} T_k + \pi_{002}'Z_k + v_{00k}$$

Where γ_{00k} is the school-level random intercept; Z_k is the vector of school-level covariates; and T_k is the treatment status assigned to the school.

Covariates: within sample mobility dummies; district dummies; baseline scores; child gender, child age, grade (KG1 vs. KG2), public/private sector.

Attrition: Missing data imputed using a large range of covariates, outcome variables, and treatment status according to WWC standards (WWC, 2014).

Differences by public and private sectors

- In the 9 outcomes assessed, we find two significant difference in public and private sector schools.
 - Impacts on reduced teacher burnout are larger in private schools.
 - Impacts on reduced teacher attrition occur in private schools only.
- **No major differences** in how QP4G impacted classroom quality and children's outcomes in public or private schools.
- But significant differences in improving teacher well-being.

Two years later: Sustained impacts on some domains of development

Construct	Measures	Sample items
Literacy	Early Grade Reading Assessment (EGRA; RTI, 2009); IDELA	Oral vocabulary Nonword decoding Listening comprehension (English, local language)
Numeracy	Early Grade Math Assessment (EGMA; RTI, 2009)	Number ID Addition & subtraction Missing numbers
Social-emotional	IDELA (Pisani et al., 2018)	Emotion identification Empathy
Executive function	Scale8 (Obradovic et al., 2019)	Working memory Cognitive flexibility
Social competence	SCS-Teacher Report (Conduct Problems Prevention Group, 1990)	Prosocial behaviors Academic behaviors
Behavior regulation	Adapted Preschool Self-Regulation Assessment (PSRA; Smith-Donald, et al. 2007)	Attention and behaviors (e.g., pays attention during instructions and demonstrations; shows intense angry/irritable feelings and/or behaviors)

Attrition Across Waves 1-3

	Children			Teachers		
	Baseline	Midline	Endline	Baseline	Midline	Endline
	N (% of baseline sample)					
Control	1,180	931 (78.9%)	812 (68.8%)	139	97 (69.8%)	89 (64.0%)
TT	1,167	1,025 (87.8%)	926 (79.4%)+	155	128 (82.6%)*	110 (71.0%)
TTPA	1,088	1,019 (94.7%)	919 (84.4%)+	150	122 (81.3%)+	110 (73.3%)
Total	3,435	2,975	2,657	444	347	309

A framework for examining persistence and fadeout in interventions (Bailey, Duncan, Odgers & Yu, 2017)

“Trifecta” skills

1. Malleable
2. Fundamental
3. Would not have developed eventually in the absence of the intervention

Sample

- Schools were randomly sampled from **six “disadvantaged” districts in the Greater Accra Region** based on 2015 UNICEF’s District League Table created in collaboration with the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development.
- Ranks Ghana’s 216 Districts by their level of development and service delivery based on 6 key sectors - health, education, sanitation, water, governance and security - to compile a single score for each District.
 - ✓ La Nkwantanang-Madina
 - ✓ Ga Central
 - ✓ Ledzokuku-Krowor
 - ✓ Adenta
 - ✓ Ga East
 - ✓ Ga South

Moderation of impact estimates on literacy and numeracy by classroom quality and teacher burnout

	Instructional support			Emotional support			Teacher burnout				
	b	(SE)	p-value	b	(SE)	p-value	b	(SE)	p-value		
Literacy											
TT	-0.002	0.037	0.948	-0.032	0.059	0.592	0.053	0.015	0.001	***	
TTPA	-0.027	0.039	0.484	-0.052	0.057	0.361	0.016	0.016	0.310		
Moderator	0.006	0.014	0.659	0.010	0.013	0.454	0.010	0.005	0.060	+	
TT*Moderator	0.011	0.018	0.535	0.015	0.017	0.388	-0.020	0.007	0.005	**	
TTPA*Moderator	0.011	0.019	0.584	0.014	0.017	0.425	-0.013	0.007	0.052	+	
Numeracy											
TT	-0.006	0.030	0.831	-0.091	0.050	0.069	+	0.023	0.012	0.053	+
TTPA	-0.018	0.032	0.586	-0.115	0.050	0.021	*	-0.009	0.013	0.481	
Moderator	0.010	0.013	0.411	-0.021	0.012	0.073	+	0.001	0.004	0.756	
TT*Moderator	0.004	0.015	0.811	0.028	0.015	0.063	+	-0.013	0.006	0.018	*
TTPA*Moderator	0.001	0.016	0.951	0.030	0.015	0.042	*	-0.004	0.005	0.480	

Parents value preprimary education

Academic foundation

“Those who go early at two years, around two years, they perform normally academically better than those that wait.”

“Kids who attend crèche and nursery, when asked questions they are able to answer, unlike children who did not attend preschool, they are not able to do anything.”

Behavior socialization

“Those who do go to the preschool are more obedient and respectful than those who did not attend preschool”

“The one who is going to school behaves a little more decent”

“They are respectful, they act like they are really students they act like they really taught them good manners in school.”

Parents pushed back on integrating proactive, positive behavior management practices

“When the topics were discussed, some of them did not agree. They were like ‘I gave birth to my child so why shouldn’t I beat him if the child is misbehaving?’”

“Like getting the child some learning materials so that as they are playing they can be learning at the same time. And sometimes they have to stop using the cane but a parent voiced out and said that her kids are stubborn so without the cane... So I told her that with some parents they said the kids are always happy whenever they are around so they should avoid the cane and they will be fine.”

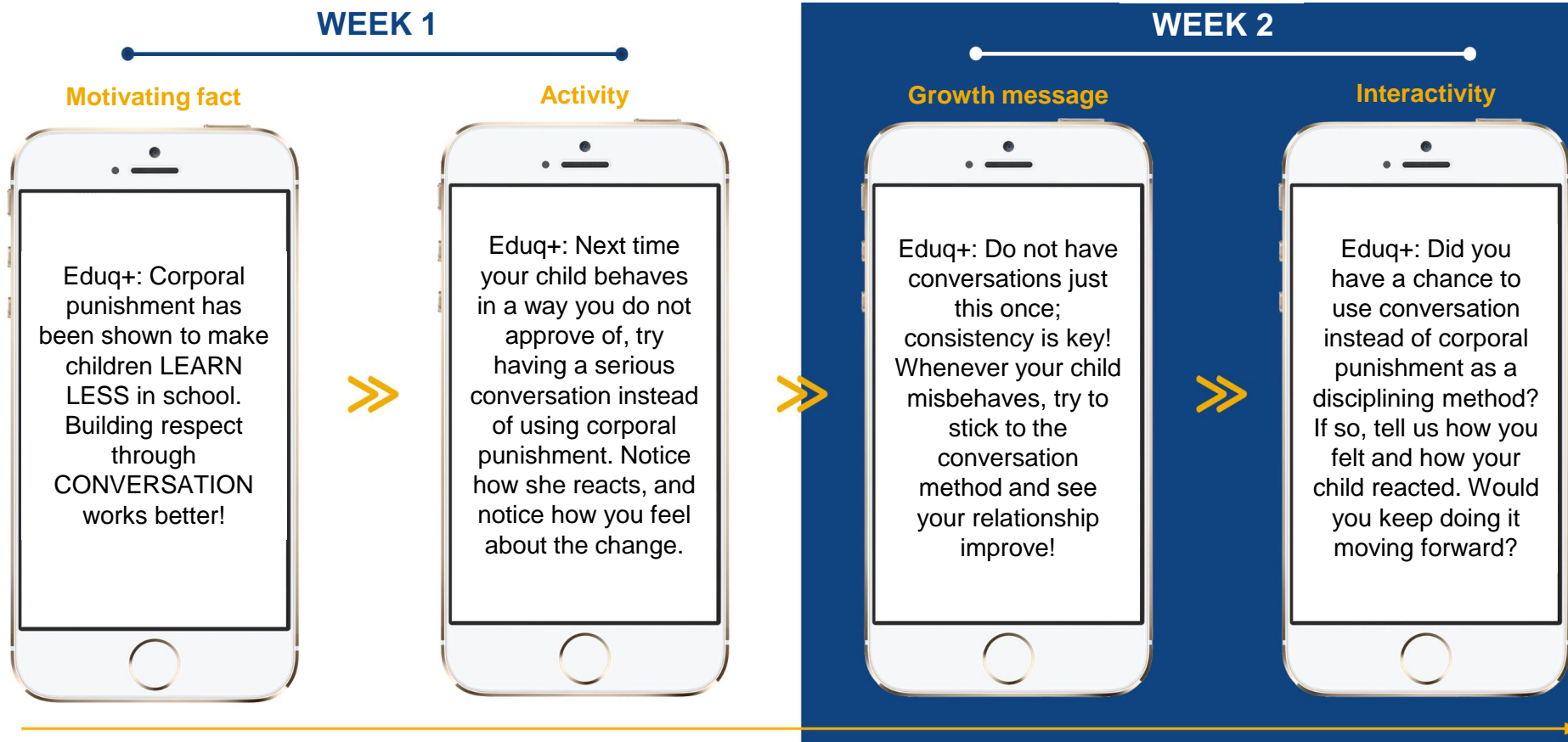
Teachers often feel frustrated when they attempt to communicate with and involve parents

- The types of relationships between teachers and caretakers vary greatly. While some teachers rely on caretakers' assistance, others are suspicious of some parents.

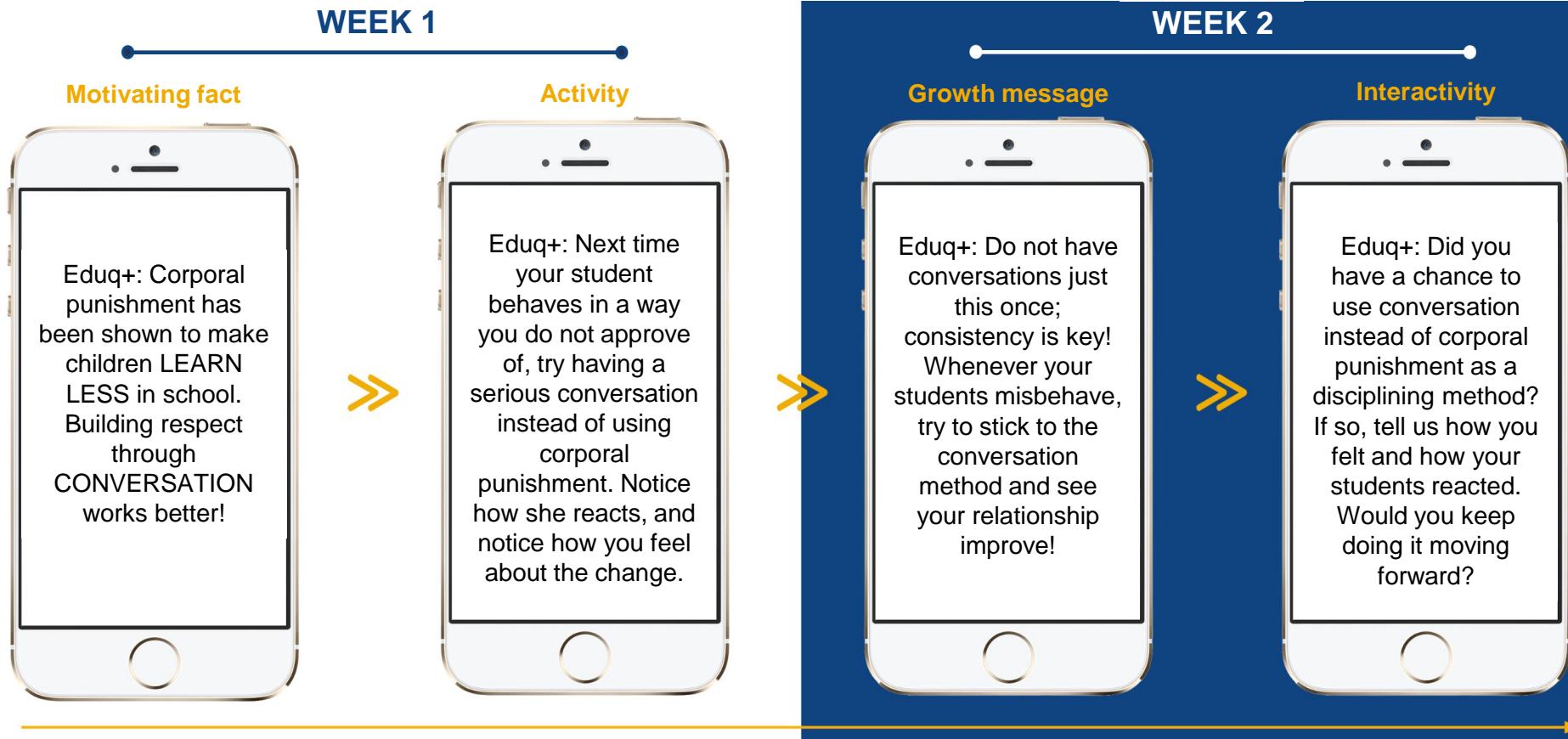
"...if I want to see them to discuss something with them even, you can't see them-maybe you will say when you go home, call your mother or father to come, they won't come"

"[Y]our irresponsible parent who left you here and careless about you (says in local dialect). Then beating the child, assaulting them; I have nothing, I have no book for you."

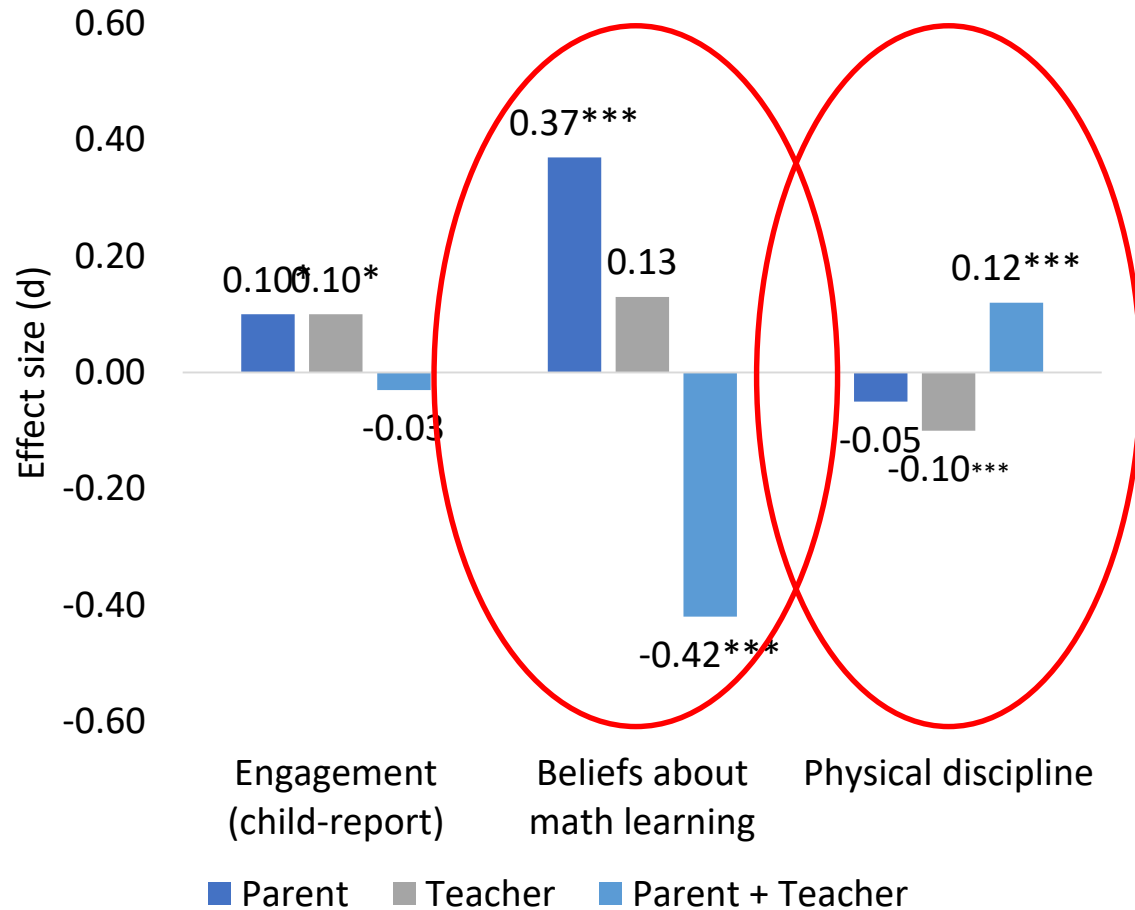
Example message to parents



Example message to teachers



Impacts on parent beliefs



- Nudges to either parents or teachers make parents **more optimistic** about their children's learning and **less likely to adopt physical punishment**.
- Nudges to both **overturn those results**.