

# Teacher judgements, student social background, and student progress in primary school:

A cross-country perspective

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# **CONTENT**

- Background
- > Theoretical considerations
- > Country contexts: England, Germany, and the US
- > Data
- > Analytical approach
- > RESULTS: Step 1
- ➤ RESULTS: Step 2
- Discussion
- ➤ Sensitivity checks & future research



# **BACKGROUND**

Various dimensions of educational success, such as student achievement, vary by parental socioeconomic status (SES)



Stereotypes held by teachers can bias teacher judgement of pupils' ability (Jussim et al., 1996; Jussim & Harber, 2005; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007)

#### Differential teacher judgements & expectations can:

- affect given grades (Kiss, 2013; Sprietsma, 2013)
- lead to less-warm and supportive feedback (Gentrup et al., 2020; Rubie-Davies, 2007)
- result in different non-verbal teacher behaviours (e.g., reduced eye contact) (Babad, 1990, 1993)



exacerbate or (partially) ACCOUNT FOR

SES-related achievement gaps and social inequalities in education



Few studies take a <u>cross-country perspective</u> and consider the <u>wider institutional setting</u> (see, e.g., Geven et al., 2021; Hofer, 2015).

Few studies look at teacher judgement and expectations focusing specifically on primary education (see, e.g., Hinnant et. Al, 2009; Sorhagen, 2013; Anders et al. 2010).



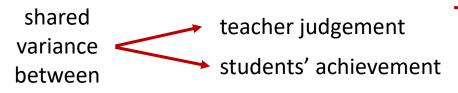
# THEORETICAL CONSIDERATION

#### Teacher judgements & judgement bias



**ACCURACY** of teacher judgement varies between teachers

From meta-analysis by Sudkamp et al, 2012



is around 40%

The remaining variance is **INACCURACY**, (positively or negatively) biased teacher judgement

In all three countries of this study, it has been empirically shown that students from more socioeconomically disadvantaged families often face lower teacher expectations vis-à-vis their objective achievement measures



(see Lorenz et al., 2016; Tobisch & Dresel, 2017; Campbell, 2015; Lee & Newton, 2021; Alvidrez & Weinstein, 1999)



# THEORETICAL CONSIDERATION

#### Teacher judgements & judgement bias

Automatic judgements guided by stereotypes that don't include the integration of relevant target information



Information-based judgements that involves the deliberate integration of target information into multifaceted judgements

#### **PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS:**

attitudes, knowledge, mindset, etc.

#### **SITUATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS:**

time pressure, judgement goals, social cues, etc.

#### **INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT:**

conditions and regulations on schools, school, system, teacher training, norms & values, cultural-cognitive beliefs



cultures, it is believed that initial disadvantages due to family SES can be overcome through effort (vs 'fixed growth' cultures where talent and skills are viewed as innate (Geven et al., 2021)



accountability = teachers
could be expected to have
more incentive to judge
student achievement
accurately in systems in
which they are held
accountable for their work



#### **STANDARDISED TESTING =**

might provide teachers with increasing amounts of comprehensive and comparable information + specific form of accountability



**TRACKING & ABILITY GROUPING** = teachers might be better trained at judging students due to the necessity of assessing which course, stream, or track is more suitable



# THEORETICAL CONSIDERATION 2

Teacher judgement & achievement development

#### How can teacher judgements affect children's learning and achievement?

- 1. Teacher's input
- Opportunities for output (calling on students)
- 3. Teacher feedback
- 4. Nature or climate of teacher-student relations

**PLUS** some of the institutional context feature that might affect teacher judgement might also moderate the association between teacher judgement and achievement development

#### **ABILITY GROUPING:**

Students whose abilities are underestimated will be assigned to less-demanding, lower-quantity, more slowly-paced course. This inadequate placement might demotivate students, possibly leading to lower achievement

#### **STANDARDISATION:**

the more input factors such as curricular goals, teaching materials, or exercise are predetermined, the less room will exist for biased teachers judgement

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Might contribute to the persistence or even exacerbation of SES achievement gaps

# **COUNTRY CONTEXTS**

#### Key country characteristics and expectations on their effect on teacher judgement

CULTURAL AND	CULTURAL AND Prevalence			Extent of teacher judgement bias				
INSTITUTIONAL	<u>England</u>	<u>Germany</u>	<u>US</u>	<u>England</u>	<u>Germany</u>	<u>US</u>		
FEATURES					-			
Growth mindset	no	no	yes	/	/	lower bias		
School accountability	high	low	(state-specific) high	lower bias	/	lower bias		
<u>Testing</u>	common	common	(state-specific) common	lower bias	lower bias	lower bias		
Grouping/tracking	streaming and setting relatively	external tracking after Grade 4 (or	ability grouping within classes	lower bias	/	lower bias		
	common	6)						

Note. Own compilation. / indicates that we expect the bias to be higher than in the countries we have specified as having lower bias.

#### **EXPECTATIONS:**

- 1) Extent of teacher bias (systematic variation according to SES): less in the US, followed by England, and then Germany.
- 2) Effect of teacher bias: stronger effects in England and the US





	ENGLAND	GERMANY	UNITED STATES
SURVEY	Millennium Cohort Study*	National Educational Panel Study – Starting Cohort 2	Early Childhood Longitudinal Study: Kindergarten Class of 2010-2011**
	MCS	NEPS-SC2	ECLS-K:2011
BIRTH COHORT	2000 – 2002	2005 – 2006	2004 – 2005
T1: beginning of primary school	Y2: age 7	Grade 1: age 6/7	Grade 1: age 6/7
T2: end of primary school	Y6: age 11	Grade 4: age 9/10	Grade 5: age 10/11
SAMPLING: PSU	Electoral wards	Schools	schools

<sup>\*</sup> Sample restricted to students in state schools in England

<sup>\*\*</sup> Sample sizes are rounded to nearest 10, as required by the National Center for Education Statistics.



# **INSTRUMENTS**

	ENGLAND	GERMANY	UNITED STATES					
T1 Teacher assessment: math. (std.)	Teachers ratin	Teachers rating on pupil's mathematical skills on a 5-point scale						
T2 Math. achievement (std.)	KS2 Total Math marks	NEPS Grade 4 Math test	ECLS:K Grade 5 Maths test					
T1 Math. achievement (std.)	NFER PiM	NEPS Grade 1 Math test	ECLS:K Grade 1 Maths test					
T1 Cognitive abilities (std.)	BAS II Pattern Construction	NEPS-MAT Grade 2	Working Memory					

	SES
T1	HIGHEST PARENTAL EDUCATION [High, Medium, Low]
	TIME CONTROLS
T1	Late assessment at T1
T1	Age-in-months at T1 testing
T2-T1	Time span testing T2-T1 (in months)
	OTHER CONTROLS
T1	Immigration status
T1	Female student



# **METHODOLOGY**

### **Stepwise approach:**

- (1) <u>Is teacher assessment at T1 (positively or negatively) biased?</u>
  RESIDUAL APPROACH: regress T1 teacher assessment on T1 achievement (and T1 cognitive abilities + controls)
  - > POSITIVE residuals = teacher overestimation of pupil's ability
  - -> NEGATIVE residuals = teacher underestimation of pupil's ability

Is there a SES gradient in (biased) teacher assessment?

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(2) Does T1 (biased) teacher assessment predict achievement at T2? Regress T2 achievement on (std) T1 residuals (and SES + controls)

# STEP 1: Is teacher assessment biased?

#### Results of regression models for teacher judgement (z-standardised)

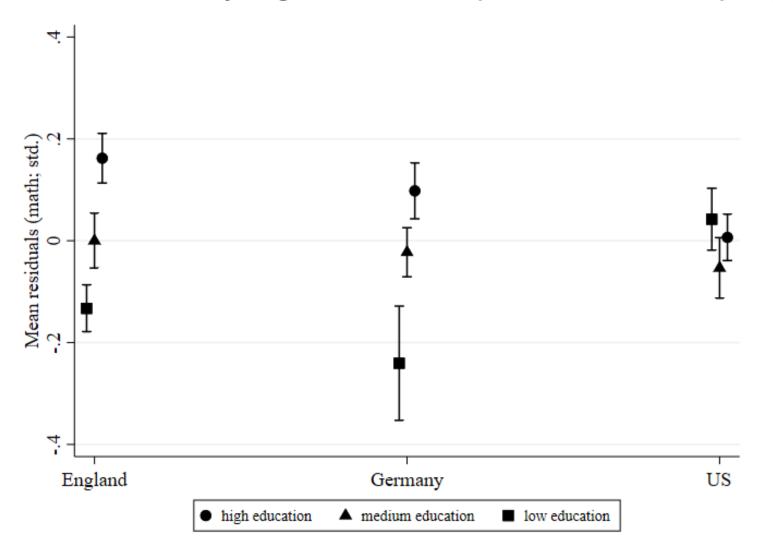
	England	Germany	US1
	$\beta$ (SE)	$\beta$ (SE)	$\beta$ (SE)
T1 math. achievement (std.)	.48 *	.44 *	.54 *
	(.02)	(.02)	(.03)
T1 cognitive abilities (std.)	.18 *	.13 *	.12 *
	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)
Late assessment at T1 (ref. early)	.22 *	11 *	02
	(.03)	(.04)	(.03)
Interaction between late assessment at	.00	.01	.03
T1 and T1 math. achievement (std.)	(.02)	(.03)	(.03)
Age-in-months at T1 testing	.02 *	01	00
	(.00)	(.00)	(.00)
Constant	-1.66*	0.60*	0.32
	(.36)	(.30)	(.25)
$R^2$	.365	.255	.397
N	4,717	3,213	3,980

Notes. Results from linear regression models with clustered standard errors. p < .10; p < .05. Abbr. std.: <u>z-standardised</u>. Sample sizes rounded to nearest 10, as required by the National Center for Education Statistics. Sources: Own calculations based on MCS, NEPS-SC2, and ECLS-K:2011.



# SES gradient in (biased) teacher assessment

## Teacher judgement bias (mean residuals), by SES



	ENGLAND	GERMANY	US
	m	m	m
SES			
High	.16	.10	.01
Medium	.00	02	05
Low	13	24	.04



# STEP 2: Does T1 teacher assessment predict T2 achievement?

#### Results of regression models for T1 student mathematical achievement (z-standardised)

	Eng	gland	Geri	many	US <sup>1</sup>		
	M1 β (SE)	M2 β ( <i>SE</i> )	M1 β (SE)	M2 β (SE)	M1 β (SE)	M2 β (SE)	
Highest parental education (ref. medium)	,	,		, , , ,		, ,	
High	.19 *	.13 *	.24 *	.22 *	.19 *	.18 *	
_	(.03)	(.02)	(.03)	(.03)	(.01)	(.01)	
Low	10 *	05 *	28 *	24 *	12 *	13 *	
	(.03)	(.03)	(.06)	(.06)	(.01)	(.00)	
Teacher judgement residuals (std.)		.34 *		.17 *		.13 *	
		(.01)		(.01)		(.00)	
Controls	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Constant	-1.85*	10	-1.63*	-1.70*	-2.28*	-2.24*	
	(.27)	(.25)	(.34)	(.34)	(.33)	(.32)	
$R^2$	.458	.567	.402	.428	.641	.657	
N	4,	717	3,2	3,213		3,980	

Notes. Results from linear regression models with clustered standard errors. p < .10; p < .05. Abbr. std.: z-standardised.

Controls included T1 achievement; T1 cognitive abilities; time span between T1 & T2 testing; gender; immigration status.

<sup>1</sup>Sample sizes rounded to nearest 10, as required by the National Center for Education Statistics.



# Is the SES gradient in T2 achievement at least partially due to (biased) teacher assessment?

#### Testing of significant changes between M1 and M2 in the effect of SES

	England	Germany	US1	
	Δb	$\Delta b$	Δb	
	(SE)	(SE)	(SE)	
Highest parental education (ref. medium)				
High	06 ***	02 **	01 *	
	(.01)	(.01)	(.00)	
Low	.05 ***	.04 ***	00	
	(.01)	(.01)	(.00)	
N	4,717	3,213	3,980	

<sup>\*</sup>*p* < .05; \*\**p* < .01; \*\*\* p<.001

Sources: Own calculations based on MCS, NEPS-SC2, and ECLS-K:2011.



# DISCUSSION

- 1. We suspected that an existing growth mindset, as well as accountability, and ability grouping, lead to a lower teacher judgement bias.
- 2. We expected the bias to be particularly low in the US, followed by England. For Germany, in contrast, we expected a more pronounced teacher judgement bias due to a lower observable growth mindset, a lower degree of accountability, and missing ability grouping during primary education.
- 3. We expected stronger effects on later achievement in England and the US due to ability grouping, although standardised curricula might attenuate this effect in England.

**CONFIRMED!** Unexplained variance in teacher judgement was systematically linked to family SES

**CONFIRMED!** In all three countries, the inaccuracy in teacher judgment predicted student's later achievement (even considering prior achievement, cognitive abilities, sociodemographic controls)

**ONLY IN ENGLAND & GERMANY** the effect of SES decreased when controlling for biased judgements



#### **SENSITIVITY CHECKS**

- Heterogenous effects of biased teacher judgement: (England, US) the association of biased teacher judgement with achievement was significantly weaker for high-SES students as compared to low-SES students.
- Teacher change over the course of primary education (Germany): results were very similar
- Language skills: largely comparable results. Although for Germany less pronounced association between teacher judgment and later language skills

#### **FURTHER RESEARCH**

Mechanisms thought which (biased) teacher judgement affects later students' achievement





# Thank you for you attention

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# APPENDIX

# A1:Unweighted descriptive statistics

		ENGLAND		GERN	ЛАПҮ	UNITED	STATES <sup>1</sup>
		(N = 4,717)		(N = 3,213)		(N = 3,980)	
	time	M/%	SD	M/%	SD	M/%	SD
Teacher assessment: math. (std.)	T1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Math. achievement (std.)	T2	0	1	0	1	0	1
Math. achievement (std.)	T1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Cognitive abilities (std.)	T1	0	1	O <sup>2</sup>	1	0	1
Late assessment at T1	T1	59.6		38.2		61.4	
Age-in-months at T1 testing	T1	86.75	2.91	84.92	4.68	85.65	4.37
Time span testing T2-T1 (in months)	T2-T1	48.46	1.96	32.03	1.50	48.10	1.08
HIGHEST PARENTAL EDUCATION	T1						
High		32.7		37.7		43.6	
Medium		27.4		51.9		27.9	
Low		39.9		10.5		28.5	
Female student	T1	50.2		51.5		49.4	
Immigration status	T1	19.3		23.1		30.8	

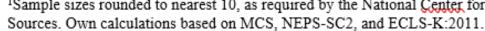


# A2: Complete Step2 regression model

#### Results of regression models for later student mathematical achievement (z-standardised)

	Eng	gland	Gerr	nany	U	S <sup>1</sup>
	M1	M2	M1	M2	M1	M2
	β ( <i>SE</i> )	β (SE)	β ( <i>SE</i> )	β ( <i>SE</i> )	β ( <i>SE</i> )	β (SE)
Highest parental						
education (ref						
medium)						
High	.19 *	.13 *	.24 *	.22 *	.19 *	.18 *
	(.03)	(.02)	(.03)	(.03)	(.01)	(.01)
Low	10 *	05 *	28 *	24 *	12 *	13 *
	(.03)	(,03)	(.06)	(.06)	(.01)	(.00)
Teacher judgement		.34 *		.17 *		.13 *
residuals (std.)		(.01)		(.01)		(.00)
T1 achievement	.49 *	.49 *	.47 *	.48 *	.69 *	.69 *
(std.)	(.01)	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)	(.00)	(.00)
Cognitive abilities	.23 *	.24 *	.20 *	.20 *	.10 *	.10 *
(std.)	(.02)	(.01)	(.02)	(.01)	(.00)	(.00)
Time span testing	.04 *	.00	.05 *	.05 *	.05 *	.05 *
T2-T1 (in months)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Student female	10 *	07 *	07 *	02	07 *	07 *
	(.02)	(.02)	(.03)	(.03)	(.01)	(.01)
Immigration status	.21 *	.20 *	00	02	.12 *	* 09.
_	(.03)	(.03)	(.04)	(.03)	(.01)	(.01)
Constant	-1.85*	10	-1.63*	-1.70*	-2.28*	-2.24 <b>*</b>
	(.27)	(.25)	(.34)	(.34)	(.33)	(.32)
$R^2$	.458	.567	.402	.428	.641	.657
N	4,	717	3,2	213	3,9	980

Notes. Results from linear regression models with clustered standard errors. p < .10; p < .05. Abbr. std.: z-standardised. <sup>1</sup>Sample sizes rounded to nearest 10, as required by the National Center for Education Statistics.





# A3: Heterogenous effects of teacher judgement

Results of regression models for later student mathematical achievement (z-standardised) when considering heterogenous effects of biased teacher judgements

	England	Germany	US <sup>1</sup>
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
Highest parental education (ref.			
medium)			
High	.14 *	.21 *	.18 *
	(.02)	(.03)	(.01)
Low	05	24 *	13 *
	(.03)	(.06)	(.00)
Teacher judgement residuals (std.)	.36 *	.17 *	.15 *
, ,	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)
Interaction between parental education	and teacher judgem	ent residuals (std.)	
Residuals## high-educated	07 *	00	07 *
	(.02)	(.03)	(.02)
Residuals## Low-educated	.01	01	.02
	(.02)	(.05)	(.02)
T1 achievement (std.)	.49 *	.48 *	.69 *
	(.01)	(.02)	(.00)
Cognitive abilities (std.)	.24 *	.20 *	.10 *
	(.01)	(.01)	(.00)
Time span testing T2-T1 (in	.00	.05 *	.05 *
months)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)
Student female	07 *	02	07 *
	(.02)	(.03)	(.01)
Immigration status	.20 *	02	.09*
_	(.03)	(.04)	(.01)
Constant	10	-1.70*	-2.24*
	(.25)	(.33)	(.31)
$R^2$	.569	.428	.658
N	4,717	3,213	3,980



# A4:Unweighted descriptive statistics (language skills)

		ENG	LAND	GERN	/IANY	UNITED	STATES <sup>1</sup>
		(N = 4	4,717)	(N = 3)	3,213)	(N = 3)	3,980)
	time	M/%	SD	M/%	SD	M/%	SD
Teacher assessment: language skills	T1	0	1	0	1	0	1
(std.)	1 1	U	_	U	1	O	_
Language skills achievement (std.)	T2	0	1	0	1	0	1
Language skills achievement (std.)	T1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Language skills achievement, grammar	T1	n/a	n/a	0	1	n/a	n/a
Cognitive abilities (std.)	T1	0	1	02	1	0	1
Late assessment at T1	T1	59.7		39.2		61.3	
Age-in-months at T1 testing	T1	86.75	2.90	85.0	4.66	85.62	4.40
Time span testing T2-T1 (in months)	T2-T1	48.47	1.96	20.11	1.48	48.09	1.08
HIGHEST PARENTAL EDUCATION	T1						
High		32.9		38.8		43.0	
Medium		27.4		51.8		29.5	
Low		39.6		9.4		27.5	
Female student	T1	50.5		51.4		49.4	
Immigration status	T1	19.3		22.3		30.8	

# A5: Is teacher assessment biased? (language skills)

#### Results of regression models for teacher judgement (z-standardised; language skills)

	England	Germany	US <sup>1</sup>
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)
T1 lang. achievement (std.)	.64 *	.18 *	.68 *
	(0.02)	(.03)	(.03)
T1 cognitive abilities (std.)	.16 *	.14 *	.06 *
. ,	(0.01)	(.02)	(.01)
Late assessment at T1 (ref.	.15 *	.00	04 +
early)	(0.02)	(.04)	(.02)
Interaction between late	.03	.01	.01
assessment at T1 and T1 lang. achievement (std.)	(0.02)	(.04)	(.04)
Language ach., grammar (std.)	$n_{\nu}a_{\nu}$	.28 *	n.a.
Language acm., grammar (std.)		(.03)	
Interaction between late		.02	
assessment at T1 and T1 lang. achievement, grammar (std.)		(.04)	
Age-in-months at T1 testing	.01 *	01 *	00
	(0.00)	(.00)	(.00)
Constant	94*	1.10*	0.05
	(.31)	(.29)	(.17)
$R^2$	.539	.230	.507
N	4,721	3,361	7,990

Notes. Results from linear regression models with clustered standard errors. p < .10; p < .05.

Abbr. std.: z-standardised. n.a.: not applicable.

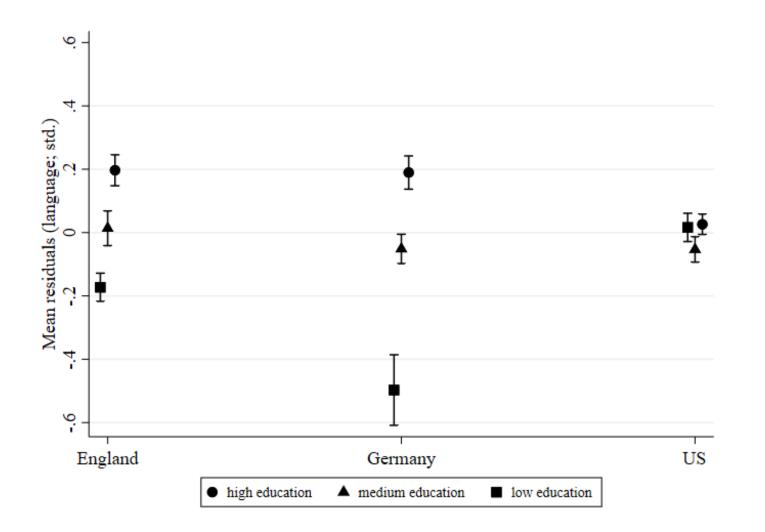
Sources. Own calculations based on MCS, NEPS-SC2, and ECLS-K:2011.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Sample sizes rounded to nearest 10, as required by the National Center for Education Statistics.

# A6: SES gradient in (biased) teacher assessment (language skills)

## Teacher judgement bias (mean residuals), by SES



	ENGLAND	GERMANY	US
	m	m	m
SES			
High	.20	.19	.03
Medium	.01	05	05
Low	17	50	.02



## A7: Does T1 teacher assessment predict T2 achievement? (language skills)

#### Results of regression models for later student mathematical achievement (z-standardised)

	England		Gerr	Germany		US <sup>1</sup>	
	M1	M2	M1	M2	M1	M2	
	$\beta$ (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	
Highest parental education (ref. medium)							
High	.25 *	.19 *	.13 *	.12 *	.23 *	.22 *	
-	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.01)	(.01)	
Low	14 <b>*</b>	10 <b>*</b>	12 *	11 *	12 <b>*</b>	12 *	
	(.03)	(.03)	(.04)	(.04)	(.01)	(.01)	
Teacher		.25 *		.03 *	, ,	.12 *	
judgement		(.01)		(.01)		(.00)	
residuals (std.)		` /		` /		` /	
Controls	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Constant	-1.83*	43	37*	37*	-1.51*	-1.30*	
	(.28)	(.28)	(.17)	(.17)	(.34)	(.37)	
$R^2$	.418	.474	.593	.594	.565	.579	
N	4,721		3,3	3,361		7,990	

Testing of significant changes of the parental education effect between M1 and M2 revealed:

England: high-educated:  $\Delta b = -.05$ , SE = .01, p < .001; low-educated:  $\Delta b = .04$ , SE = .01, p < .001;

Germany: high-educated:  $\Delta b = -.01$ , SE = .00, p = .010; low-educated:  $\Delta b = .02$ , SE = .01, p = .007; US: high-educated:  $\Delta b = -.01$ , SE = .00, p < .001; low-educated:  $\Delta b = .00$ , SE = .00, p = .516.



## A8: Ability grouping in England

Results of regression models for later student achievement (z-standardised) considering withinclass ability grouping at T1 (England only)

	Mathematics			Language skills			
	M1a	M2a	M3	M1a	M2a	M3	
	β (SE)	β ( <i>SE</i> )	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	
Highest parental education (ref. medium)							
High	.18 * (.02)	.14 * (.02)	.14 * (.02)	.24 * (.03)	.20 * (.03)	.20 * (.03)	
Low	07 * (.03)	05 * (,03)	05 * (.05)	14 * (.03)	10 * (.03)	10 * (.03)	
Teacher		.25 *	.25 *		.22 *	.22 *	
judgement residuals (std.) Ability grouping in numeracy (ref.: no group) <sup>1</sup>		(.01)	(.04)		(.01)	(.05)	
Bottom	72 * (.06)	43 * (.06)	42 * (.06)				
Middle	11 * (.05)	06 (.05)	05 (.05)				
Тор	.34 * (.05)	.16 * (.05)	.18 * (.05)				
Missing	.03	.02 (.07)	.03 (.07)				



## A8: Ability grouping in England

Interaction				
between				
residuals and				
ability grouping				
Residuals#	.01			
#Bottom	(.05)			
Residuals#	.02			
#Middle	(.05)			
Residuals#	04			
#Top	(.05)			
Residuals#	.07			
#Missing	(.07)			
Ability				
grouping in				
literacy (ref.: no				
group) <sup>1</sup>				
Bottom		32 *	12	11
		(.06)	(.06)	(.07)
Middle		.01	.02	.02
		(.06)	(.05)	(.05)
Тор		.31 *	.12 *	.13 *
		(.06)	(.05)	(.05)
Missing.		.11	.09	.09
		(.09)	(.09)	(.09)
Interaction				

between residuals and ability grouping Residuals# #Bottom





## A8: Ability grouping in England

		3.5.4			1 '1	1	
	Mathematics			Language skills			
	M1a	M2a	M3	M1a	M2a	M3	
	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	β (SE)	
Residuals#						.03	
#Middle						(.05)	
Residuals#						02	
#Тор						(.05)	
Residuals#						01	
#Missing						(.09)	
T1 achievement	.33 *	.41 *	.41 *	.38 *	.46 *	.46 *	
	(.02)	(.01)	(.01)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	
Cognitive	.18 *	.20 *	.21 *	.11 *	.14 *	.14 *	
abilities	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	
Time span	.01	00	00	.01 *	.00	.00	
testing T2-T1	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	(.01)	
(in months)							
Student female	11 *	09 *	09 *	.17 *	.13 *	.13 *	
	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	(.02)	
Immigration	.16 *	.18 *	.18 *	06	01	01 *	
status	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	
Constant	37	.22	.24	87*	27	24	
	(.26)	(.25)	(.25)	(.29)	(.28)	(.28)	
$R^2$	.55	.59	.59	0.45	0.48	0.48	
N		4,717			4,721		

Notes. Results from linear regression models with clustered standard errors. p < .10; p < .05.



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