

Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching

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When my teachers think I can, then I know I can: A systematic review

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Abstract

This systematic review investigated teacher expectations of students learning an additional language, in the context of either immigrant students as a minority in the classroom or of all majority-group students learning a foreign language together. Only 28 studies could be located. The review found some negative teacher expectations and beliefs towards and about immigrant students. Most teachers appeared to lack training for teaching their second language learners (SLLs), but many appeared reluctant to engage in additional professional development because the offerings were considered inadequate. However, some studies offered detailed descriptions of teacher practices that had significantly increased their SLLs' learning and psychosocial outcomes. Given the multicultural nature of many of today's classrooms, there is a clear need for additional studies in this field and for high-quality professional development.

Keywords: teacher expectations; second language; foreign language; systematic review

1. Introduction

The literature is replete with empirical evidence showing that students perform in line with their teachers' expectations (e.g., Sorhagen, 2013). Teachers convey their expectations through their interactions (e.g., Brophy, 1985), the types of learning activities students are assigned (e.g., Weinstein, 2002), the feedback students receive (e.g., Rakoczy et al., 2013), and other teacher behaviors (e.g., Urhahne, 2015). In turn, students assimilate the messages they receive from their teachers (e.g., Chen et al., 2011). These messages can affect student self-belief: when expectations are high, student self-belief is likely to increase, and, in turn, students are likely to become more motivated and engaged in their learning (Rubie-Davies et al., 2020; Urhahne, 2015). Unfortunately, when expectations are low, the opposite can occur; students may give up on their learning.

Although it is likely that teachers form expectations of students when they are learning a second language, this area has been less frequently studied. In terms of learning a language other than the one spoken at home, there are two conceptions. The first is that students come from an immigrant background and are learning the majority language in a mainstream setting, possibly with additional classes in the majority language. The second conception is that students are learning a language different from their first language as a compulsory or elective part of their curriculum. In the first scenario, students learning a second language are likely to be a minority group within a classroom of speakers of a language that they are trying to learn. In the second scenario, students are likely to be in a class where everyone is learning a second language. This paper reviews these two literatures and begins by exploring some of the broader teacher expectation literature to examine the effects on student self-beliefs and motivation when teachers have high or low expectations for their learning.

The various theoretical models of teacher expectations (e.g., Brophy & Good, 1974) describe the ways in which teacher expectations result in advantaging or disadvantaging students. A more recent model (Rubie-Davies, 2015) takes into account the classroom context as well as the psychosocial outcomes for students. In this model, teachers form their expectations based on what they know about their students. These expectations can be high or low relative to achievement for individuals or for an entire class. The expectations then interact with teacher beliefs. These can be pedagogical beliefs about how best to cater for the students, but they may include other beliefs such as teachers' passion and personal values. The teacher then plans opportunities to learn for the students. These can be similar activities for everyone or highly differentiated. At the point at which the activities are introduced, students notice that the teacher is caring and supportive of all students or that some students are treated quite differently from others. The students may also notice that

they are completing similar or very different activities from those of others. This results in student academic outcomes, which may be higher or lower than the original achievement might have suggested. Student psychosocial outcomes are also affected. For example, student self-belief may be strengthened by high teacher expectations, and this is likely to increase student motivation and engagement. This process from teacher expectations to student outcomes takes place within both the instructional and socio-emotional environment of the classroom. The ways in which teachers set up their classroom for instruction and the types of teacher-student and peer-peer relationships that are encouraged can vary from one teacher to another.

2. Teacher expectations and student characteristics

Researchers have examined teacher expectations in relation to several student characteristics, including special needs status, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and gender. In relation to special needs status, for example, researchers (e.g., Takriti et al., 2020) have generally shown that teachers have lower expectations for students with special needs compared to students with no label. For example, in their recent study, Takriti et al. (2020) found differential patterns of expectations with teachers generally demonstrating lower expectations for early years' students with Down syndrome than for students with no label.

Expectation researchers have also found that teachers tend to have lower expectations for students from poorer compared to wealthier backgrounds (e.g., Batruch et al., 2023). In a recent review of 27 articles, Batruch et al. (2023) examined teacher recommendations for between-school tracks (a practice common in Germany and the Netherlands, for example). They found that teachers' recommendations were negatively biased towards students from poorer socioeconomic backgrounds. When students are assigned to lower-level tracks than is indicative of their achievement, this can have long-term consequences because the lower tracks do not lead to the possibility of attending university. Sorhagen (2013) explored the long-term bias of teachers and examined teacher expectations of Grade 1 students' mathematics, reading, and language skills and the relations of those expectations with subsequent student achievement in high school. The inaccurate expectations of Grade 1 teachers predicted students' subsequent standardized scores in mathematics, reading comprehension, vocabulary knowledge, and verbal reasoning when the students were 15 years of age. In addition, the over- or under-estimation of students from poorer home backgrounds had a stronger impact on their outcomes than on those of students from wealthier families.

Similar research has been conducted into the relations between teacher expectations and student ethnicity. The majority of this research suggests that

teachers tend to have lower expectations for students from minority group backgrounds (with the exception of Asian students, e.g., Rubie-Davies & Peterson, 2016) than for majority students. There is evidence that teacher expectations are lower for African American students (McKown & Weinstein, 2008), for Aboriginal students in Australia (Dandy et al., 2015), Māori students in New Zealand (Turner et al., 2015), and Turkish and Moroccan students in the Netherlands (Timmermans et al., 2015). Ultimately, these low expectations can result in students from ethnic minority groups being disadvantaged.

In several contexts, teacher expectations have also been investigated in relation to student gender. Generally, the stereotypes suggest that boys are better at mathematics and science whereas girls are better at reading and the language arts (Muntoni & Retelsdorf, 2023). These stereotypes have been shown in some research to be reflected in teacher expectations and to be related to student outcomes. For example, Meissel et al. (2017) showed that teachers judged boys to be achieving at lower levels than girls in reading and writing. However, the evidence for teacher gender bias is equivocal. For example, Gentrup and Rjosk (2018) showed that among first grade students in Germany, teacher bias did not contribute to a gender gap in achievement in either reading or mathematics.

As is evident from the literature presented above, researchers have studied the effects of special needs, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and gender on teachers' expectations and, at times, the resulting outcomes for students. These outcomes, as proposed in the theoretical process models of expectations presented earlier (e.g., Brophy & Good, 1974) and, in particular, the model of Rubie-Davies (2015), are due to the differential interactions that teachers have with students for whom they have alternately high or low expectations. The interactions include both the types of learning and emotional support that students receive (Babad, 2009), as well as the opportunities to learn that students experience. Students assimilate these messages from teachers, and this has consequences for both their academic and psychosocial outcomes. Students for whom expectations are high tend to perform at higher levels than their earlier achievement may have suggested and they form much more positive psychosocial beliefs. Unfortunately, the opposite can occur for those for whom teachers' expectations are low.

However, the effects of learning a second language on teachers' expectations have been far less frequently studied. Most Western classrooms have increasingly and more rapidly become multicultural environments in which several students in any classroom can be learning the majority language. Classrooms are likely to become even more global over the next few decades (Khalfaoui et al., 2021). In addition, internationally, the world has become a far more global environment where trade occurs across nations and many people travel for work. Often this can necessitate the learning of an additional language. Hence, as our societies

become more multicultural, and knowing that teachers' expectations can affect student learning, understanding the literature that has explored teacher expectations within the context of learning a second language becomes important. This systematic review was designed to bring together the current evidence related to teacher expectations and second language learning and, where available, the effects on student academic and psychosocial outcomes.

The researchers for this review did not specifically focus on students learning English as a second language. Instead, they took a broader perspective and examined the learning of any language as a second language. Often within the literature terms such as ESL (English as a second language; e.g., Milnes & Cheng, 2008), EFL (English as a foreign language; e.g., Tsiplakides & Keramida, 2010); ELL (English language learners; e.g., Kim, 2021); and LEP (limited English proficient; e.g., Reeves, 2006) are used because they focus on the learning of English by a minority student in a majority English-speaking environment or, alternatively, on a group of students learning English as a second language in a non-English-speaking environment. Because this review does not focus solely on the learning of English, the term *second language learners* (SLL) will be used throughout the paper to denote students in both the contexts described above. The research question for this review is as follows:

What does the literature say about teacher expectations for second language learners and the academic and psychosocial outcomes for students?

3. Method

3.1. Search strategy and selection procedure

The second author searched three relevant databases: ProQuest, Ebscohost, and Google Scholar, which commonly house manuscripts related to education and learning. Four separate searches were performed within each database in December 2022:

- 1) "Teacher expectations" OR "TE" OR "teacher judgment" AND "student beliefs" OR "student performance" OR "student outcome" OR "student achievement" AND "L2" OR "second language" OR "ESL" OR "foreign language" OR "EFL" OR "language learning;"
- 2) "Teacher expectations" OR "TE" OR "teacher judgment" AND "L2" OR "second language" OR "ESL" OR "foreign language" OR "EFL" OR "language learning;"

- 3) "Student beliefs" OR "student self-efficacy" OR "student self-beliefs" AND "L2" OR "second language" OR "ESL" OR "foreign language" OR "EFL" OR "language learning;"
- 4) "Teacher beliefs" OR "teacher behaviors" AND "student beliefs" OR "student performance" OR "student outcome" OR "student achievement" AND "L2" OR "second language" OR "ESL" OR "foreign language" OR "EFL" OR "language learning."

Initially, the only restriction on the search criteria was that the article needed to be written in English. The inclusion criteria were that the focus was on teacher expectations, judgments, attitudes, or beliefs about students' learning an additional language and that it was an empirical study. Studies were also included if they had information about the effects of teacher expectations, judgments, attitudes, or beliefs on student academic outcomes and/or student psychosocial outcomes. The initial search included all types of academic publications (i.e., articles, books, book chapters, reports, and dissertations or theses) and no restrictions were placed on when the articles were published. This resulted in 101 publications being identified but 42 were duplications. A further search by the first author resulted in the addition of 9 articles. A final search by the second author on 10 January 2023 added 6 more publications. This meant that 74 articles were included in the initial search.

3.2. Selection process

The first author read the abstracts of the publications that had been downloaded and highlighted 16 articles she believed should not be included in the review. The database was then sent to the second author, highlighting these 16 articles and providing reasons for exclusion. The second author reviewed the abstracts and agreed that all 16 articles should be excluded. These articles were excluded for several reasons, including that, although the abstract was in English, the article itself was not (Jia, 2012; Leucht et al., 2012). A further two articles within the Chinese context explored teacher expectations of students in mathematics, Chinese, and English but the expectations across all three curriculum areas were combined (Wang et al., 2021; Wang et al., 2020). The remainder were not on topic. For example, they related to a minority group and had no information about those students learning an additional language (Shapiro, 2008), they related to how ESL teachers behave (rather than their expectations or beliefs; e.g., Sundari, 2017) or they were about teachers' expectations of how English should be taught to immigrant students (Moradi & Sabeti, 2014).

The first author then scanned the references sections of all 58 remaining articles for titles that could be relevant to the review. This resulted in an additional

7 articles. The first author then read all 65 articles in full and recorded her reasons for considering any article's exclusion. This list and the reasons were sent to the second author who read each article to make a final decision about exclusion. She agreed that the 37 articles the first author had identified should not be included in the review. This left a total of 28 articles included in the final review. All manuscripts included in the selection process appear in the References with one asterisk at the beginning. The twenty-eight studies included in the final review have two asterisks in the References list. Figure 1 depicts the search, selection, and extraction processes that were conducted according to the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) statement.

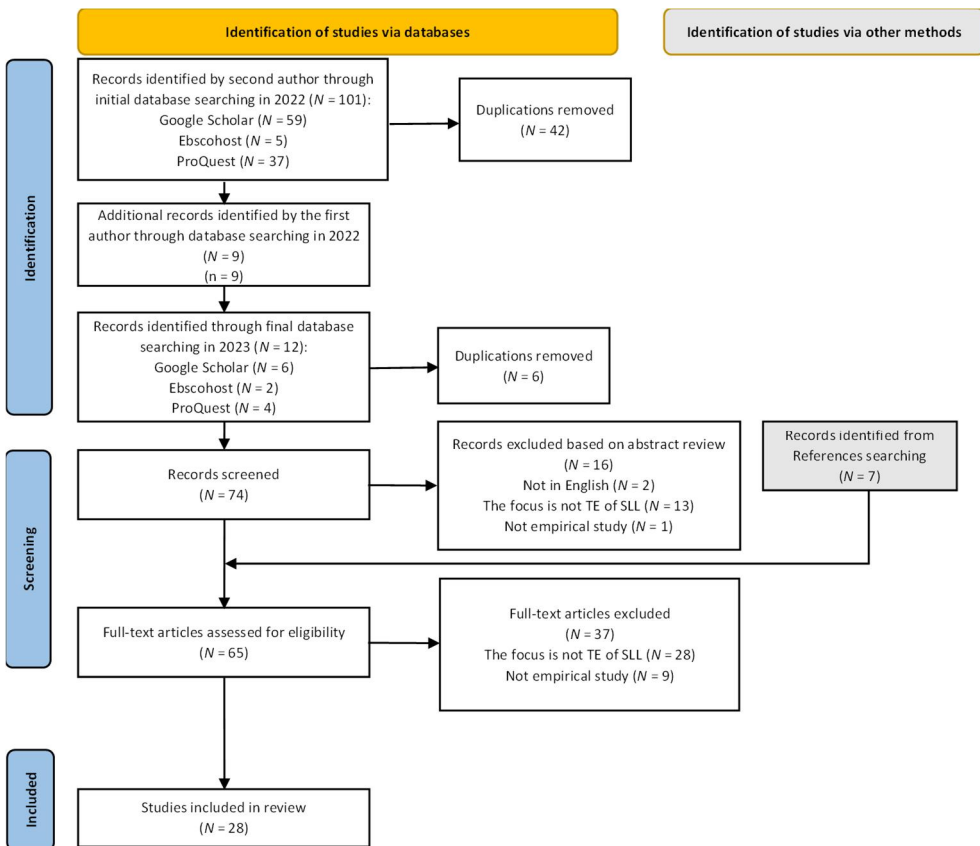


Figure 1 PRISMA: Procedures followed to identify articles included in the review

The reasons literature was excluded after reading the full manuscript included that the article was a case study about efforts to turn around a low-achieving school (Rodriguez, 2012); an opinion piece or discussion (e.g., Tsiplakides & Keramida, 2010); a review (e.g., Lou & Noels, 2019); the study investigated what students expected

versus what they experienced from their academic English course (Esfandiari et al., 2022), or what they would prefer versus what they expected in their foreign language course (Sullivan, 2016), or teacher versus student expectations of how a foreign language course should be taught (Turner, 2009); the reluctance of ESL students to speak up in class (Sang & Hiver, 2021); student perceptions of teacher expectations (You et al., 2016) or teacher competence (Drakulić, 2019); teacher behavior, but nothing about teacher expectations (e.g., Dewaele et al., 2022); studies that focused on dialects, rather than a second language (e.g., Cheatham et al., 2009); foreign language learning motivation (Horwitz, 1988); and the advantages of using a rubric for learning a foreign language (Huang & Gui, 2015). The excluded articles and reasons for exclusion can be obtained by emailing the authors.

3.3. Data collection and data analysis

Having read five of the 28 articles, the first author developed a coding rubric. This included the type of manuscript (e.g., thesis or journal article); the sector of education involved (e.g., primary education); the grades and/or ages of the student participants (if provided); the country where the research took place; the first language and foreign language; the context of the language teaching (e.g., bilingual, mainstream, foreign language class); the methods and measures; the sample size for both teachers and/or students; whether the study focused on teacher expectations, judgments, attitudes, or perceptions; whether the expectations were at the individual, group, or class level; the subject or topic of the expectations (e.g., grammar, foreign language, reading); and student academic and belief outcomes.

These categorizations were then discussed and agreed upon with the second author. Following that agreement, the first author then coded all the articles. Next, the second author independently coded a random selection of one quarter (seven) of the manuscripts. The agreement rate between the two authors was 94% (agreement/total codes). Any discrepancies were discussed. The second author then randomly coded a further 7 manuscripts leading to an agreement rate of 97% between the two authors. Discussion with the first author about the remaining discrepancies led to full agreement about the coding.

4. Findings

Details related to the 28 studies that were included in the final review are summarized below. Further details pertaining to the 28 studies can be obtained by contacting the authors. Of note, almost half these studies had been completed

two or more decades ago, and a couple were conducted almost forty years ago (Berry, 1997; Contreras, 1985; Karabenick & Clemens Noda, 2004; Penfield, 1987; Robisheaux, 1993; Sharkey & Layzer, 2000; Sparks & Ganschow, 1996; Sparks et al., 2004; Terrill & Maark, 2000; Vollmer, 2000; Walker et al., 2004; Youngs & Youngs, 2001). Hence, these results should be read with the caution that the socio-political context is likely to be rather different today than it was when these studies were conducted.

Coding showed that three manuscripts were theses or dissertations (Contreras, 1985; Dean, 2006; Robisheaux, 1993); the remainder were journal articles. No book chapters or books focusing on teacher expectations for SLL were found. The first languages of students were mixed (e.g., Milnes & Cheng, 2008), English (e.g., Ketsman, 2012), Chinese (e.g., Ding & Rubie-Davies, 2019), Spanish (e.g., Cavazos, 2009), or Russian (Vollmer, 2000), or no first language was specified (Sharkey & Layzer, 2000).

Most studies focused on learning English as the students' foreign language, but one study related to students learning German (Hachfeld et al., 2010), another to learning Swedish (Wedin, 2010), another to learning Spanish (Ketsman, 2012), and two manuscripts included students learning one or more of German, Spanish, French, and Latin (Sparks & Ganschow, 1996; Sparks et al., 2004).

The sample sizes of teachers ranged from a small case study with two teachers (Ketsman, 2012) through to a large study that included 577 teachers (Walker et al., 2004). Of the nine studies that included students (e.g., Hachfeld et al., 2010), one was qualitative (Wedin, 2010), and five reported student academic (e.g., Li & Rubie-Davies, 2017) or psychosocial outcomes (e.g., Zhu & Urhahne, 2015). Specifically, 12 studies related to teacher expectations of SLL (e.g., Cavazos, 2009), eight studies focused on teacher attitudes towards SLL (e.g., Youngs & Youngs, 2001), four on teacher perceptions of SLL (e.g., Edl et al., 2008), two on teacher judgments (e.g., Meissel et al., 2017), one study required teachers to estimate students' upcoming test scores (Berry, 1997), and one study included teacher judgments and a score estimation (Zhu & Urhahne, 2015). The studies involved teachers working at primary (e.g., Dean, 2006), middle school (e.g., Ding & Rubie-Davies, 2019), secondary school (e.g., Vollmer, 2000), higher and vocational school (e.g., Li & Rubie-Davies, 2017), or teachers from across schooling sectors (e.g., Walker et al., 2004).

4.1. Teacher expectations and SLL learning the majority language

Of the 18 studies about teacher expectations and SLL in majority-language settings, six key findings that pertained to more than one study were identified. These were: expectations of SLL and opportunities to learn, deficit views of SLL, differential teacher

interactions with students, teacher beliefs and attitudes related to SLL, adjusting instruction and assessment for SLL, and peer relationships among and between SLL.

4.1.1. Expectations of SLL learners and opportunities to learn

Several US studies (Cavazos, 2009; Contreras, 1985; Edl et al., 2008; Robisheaux, 1993; Terrill & Maark, 2000; Walker et al., 2004), as well as studies in Sweden (Wedin, 2010) and New Zealand (Meissel et al., 2017) have shown either that teachers tend to have lower expectations for SLL, or that SLL are given reduced opportunities to learn, or both. In the US, this often results in SLL being assigned to lower tracks in secondary school (Cavazos, 2009; Sharkey & Layzer, 2000), which, in turn, means that the students complete courses that do not enable them to enter university. If they do, they struggle because they are ill-prepared for the demands. Hence, their futures are determined by teachers who do not appear to recognize the consequences of assigning SLL to low tracks.

Arguably, students' psychosocial outcomes and well-being are as important as their academic achievement, but these aspects have been rarely studied. In the only study located, Edl et al. (2008) compared teachers' expectations of students in either mainstream or bilingual classes regarding aggressiveness, popularity, academic competence, affiliative behavior, Olympian-like traits, and internalizing behaviors. The teachers reported on the students twice in each of fourth and fifth grade. Overall, Latino students in bilingual classes were rated less positively on all categories than Latino students in mainstream classes, and, in turn, they were rated lower than mainstream European-American students. Hence, it appeared that students' English language levels affected the teachers' ratings.

However, in one German study (Hachfeld et al., 2010), the authors examined teachers' expectations of bilingual and German-only speaking students on two mathematics problems of different linguistic complexity. The bilingual students achieved much worse on the linguistically complex problem, but the teachers overestimated the language capabilities of the bilingual students and, therefore, did not provide the necessary supports for them to bridge the gap between their levels of mathematics and the language complexity needed to solve problems.

In the only intervention study located (Dean, 2006), the researcher used workshops and classroom observations conducted by both the researcher and the participant teachers to increase their expectations of their SLLs. The findings showed that the teachers changed how they interacted with their students. They introduced more supportive and motivating techniques to all students, provided them with clear feedback, and established warm relationships with their SLLs. Additionally, the intervention involved creating effective learning environments for

students; understanding and organizing teaching materials; and planning instruction and developing high-level learning opportunities for SLLs. The results showed the development of strong teacher-student and student-student relationships, as well as students achieving at much higher levels than previously. The study suggested that, given appropriate training, teachers can significantly lift the psychosocial and academic outcomes of their SLLs. However, as will be outlined below, many teachers seem reluctant to undergo training that could improve their SLLs' well-being and academic success.

4.1.2. Deficit views of SLL

Some studies (Cavazos, 2009; Karabenick & Clemens Noda, 2004; Penfield, 1987; Robisheaux, 1993; Walker et al., 2004) suggested that teachers held deficit views of SLL. For example, one researcher (Penfield, 1987) reported that all comments that referred to Hispanic students were negative. Further, although the teachers reported little contact with the SLLs' parents, their homes were criticized as being responsible for poor student behavior. Some teachers believed that SLL lacked motivation and were lazy. Similarly, English-speaking teachers in one study (Robisheaux, 1993) reported that SLLs did not have the necessary understanding for academic work and lacked support at home.

4.1.3. Teacher differential interactions with SLL

Early teacher expectation research (Brophy, 1985; Brophy & Good, 1970) established that teachers tend to interact differently with students for whom they have high versus low expectations. These differential interactions often result in differentiated opportunities to learn, which ultimately lead to increased gaps in achievement. SLL studies (Contreras, 1985; Robisheaux, 1993; Sharkey & Layzer, 2000; Wedin, 2010) also suggest that teacher behaviors towards SLL can differ from those toward first-language speakers. For example, Sharkey and Layzer (2000) reported that SLLs tended to be placed in lower tracks in secondary school. In the higher tracks, teachers focused on content; students were given choices in their learning activities, they often worked collaboratively, and were given more cognitively demanding tasks. In the lower tracks, however, the focus was on behavior management, SLLs were often ignored, and effort rather than success was the focus. Hence, the teachers focused on SLLs' affective needs rather than on lifting performance. Similarly, Contreras (1985) found that teachers' expectations for SLL related to their English proficiency – the greater the students'

English proficiency, the higher their expectations. Further, their expectations were reflected in their interactions with students. Teachers praised high-expectation students more than low-expectation students, gave them more opportunities to respond to questions, and interacted with them more frequently than they did with low-expectation students. In addition, the students for whom teachers held high expectations achieved at much higher levels than the low-expectation students.

Robisheaux (1993) observed and interviewed both monolingual English-speaking and bilingual Spanish- and English-speaking teachers and showed that the bilingual teachers had higher expectations for the SLL students and were more aware of possible SLL problems. However, all teachers only used English for teaching which implied that English was more valued than Spanish. The only differences were in the non-instructional interactions; the Spanish-speaking teachers greeted their students and held private conversations in Spanish.

4.1.4. Teacher attitudes towards and beliefs about SLL

Researchers (Karabenick & Clemens Noda, 2004; O'Brien, 2009; Penfield, 1987; Terrill & Maark, 2000; Walker et al., 2004; Youngs & Youngs, 2001) have also investigated teacher attitudes towards and beliefs about SLL. All these studies present similar findings; for example, Walker et al. (2004) interviewed six K-12 teachers and surveyed 422. Of these teachers, 82% either believed that SLL achieved poorly in school or responded neutrally and 56% were neutral or thought that SLL students came from countries with inferior education systems. Further, 70% claimed that they were not interested in having SLL in their classes and 70% either openly objected to having SLL in their classes or were neutral in their response. Just over half believed, or responded neutrally to the idea, that SLL must adapt to American culture and schooling, and almost half either objected to adapting their instructional practice for SLLs or were neutral. In this study, as in others (Hansen-Thomas & Cavagnetto, 2010; Karabenick & Clemens Noda, 2004; O'Brien, 2009; Penfield, 1987), a majority of teachers (87% in Walker et al.'s study) stated that they had not had any training to teach SLL but also over half stated that they would not engage in training even if it was available. For many teachers, this seemed to be because the training was considered inadequate. A further seemingly contradictory pattern across the cited studies and pertinent to the study of Walker et al. (2004) was that 78% of teachers believed that their schools welcomed SLL students and felt that they brought multicultural diversity to their schools. The authors concluded that teachers welcomed diversity in their schools but not in their classrooms.

4.1.5. Adapting instruction and assessment

Few of the studies included in this review investigated either adapting instruction or assessment for SLL. Karabenick and Clemens Noda (2004) reported that teachers with more favorable attitudes towards SLL were more likely to believe that SLL should be tested in their first language, and they used a mastery (skills-based) approach to learning. In another study (Hansen-Thomas & Cavagnetto, 2010), the researchers reported that some teachers did adapt their instruction for SLL. For example, they paired them with helpers, used visual aids to assist understanding, and gave the students individualized instruction. In a Canadian study, Milnes and Cheng (2008) reported that of seven teachers, six modified their assessment strategies for SLL. However, teachers reported some dilemmas. For example, they were unsure if they should mark the work as presented or mark the students' learning. Two teachers reported lowering their expectations of what SLL needed to produce, and three searched for understanding and interpreted what they believed the students meant. One teacher marked according to student progress on skills whereas another allowed SLL students to present their work visually. The six teachers who adapted their assessments tended to report on SLL effort, discussion participation, homework completion, and achievement. However, clearly the teachers struggled with adapting their assessments for SLL in ways that supported student success.

4.1.6. Teacher-student and student-student relationships

Overall, SLL appeared to struggle to be accepted by teachers and also by peers. As reported above, the study of Edl et al. (2008) showed that generally teachers rated Latino students as being less popular than European-American students. In addition, Penfield (1987) reported generally negative teacher attitudes towards SLL but seemed not to recognize their own biases, the teachers believed that English-speaking students could be unaccepting of SLL. However, Karabenick and Clemens Noda (2004) found that most teachers (approximately two-thirds) reported that SLL and non-SLL had good relationships, that there was little conflict between the two groups, that both groups had similar socializing abilities, and that the teachers disputed that SLL would find it difficult to relate to non-SLL.

Interestingly, Vollmer (2000) interviewed seven teachers in one district about their SLL students. Although Hispanic students were the majority, they were barely mentioned and, if so, the comments were negative. However, teachers spoke positively about their Russian students but not their Chinese students. Russian students were reported to be more assertive, confident, and individualistic; they fitted in

with the American culture and were more capable of assimilation. Chinese students, on the other hand, were reported to be permanent foreigners who did not mix and whose parents did not try to learn English. The teachers reported that the Russian students learned English more quickly, but this was not evident from testing.

4.2. Teacher expectations and SLL in the context of all students learning a foreign language

Whereas the first part of this review focused on teacher expectations of SLL learning a second language when students were immigrants, the second part of this review will focus on the conception that all students are learning a foreign language in each classroom. Few researchers have studied teachers and students within this context. Therefore, it was of interest to examine whether expectations varied between the two types of classrooms. Similarities and differences are discussed in a later section.

Dooley (2005) explored the attitudes of pre-service and in-service teachers in Spain, whose students were fluent in Spanish and/or Catalan, but who were learning English. Whereas teachers used Catalan to organize lessons, pre-service teachers believed that English should be the organizational language because all students were at the same level in English. Both teacher groups believed students should use their first language in the playground, whereas pre-service teachers did not believe this applied in the classroom.

On the other hand, Berry (1997) wanted to test the accuracy of teachers' expectations among SLL undergraduate students learning English in Hong Kong in relation to how well students understood grammatical terminology. He reported that teachers' knowledge of their SLLs was poor. Teachers tended to overestimate rather than underestimate their students' knowledge, and this meant the teachers used grammatical terminology that the students did not understand.

Sparks and colleagues (Sparks & Ganschow, 1996; Sparks et al., 2004) conducted a series of studies in which they examined teachers' perceptions of their high school SLL students' foreign language skills and student psychosocial beliefs (motivation, anxiety, and attitude to learning a foreign language), in relation to the students' scores on a test of aptitude for learning a foreign language and their first-language achievement. In all four studies, students who scored more highly on their first language and aptitude measures were rated more highly by their teachers on their foreign language skills and psychosocial qualities, and they achieved better end-of-year grades for their foreign language. Although Sparks and Ganschow (1996) and Sparks and colleagues (Sparks et al., 2004) attributed teachers' expectations to greater first language and foreign language

aptitude, Li and Rubie-Davies (2017, 2018) provided a different explanation, attributing teacher expectations to teacher beliefs. In the first study by Li and Rubie-Davies, at the beginning of one academic year, there was no difference in the achievement of undergraduate students learning English in the classes of 50 teachers. However, at year's end, students whose teachers had high expectations for all students achieved at much higher levels than students whose teachers had mid-level expectations, who, in turn, achieved at higher levels than students whose teachers had low expectations. Interviews with 20 teachers showed that some were much more confident in their own and their students' ability, believed the students were highly motivated, had good study skills, and, therefore, would achieve well.

In a further study in China, Zhu and Urhahne (2015) were interested in how accurately teachers could judge their fifth-grade students' English language learning and found that they were highly accurate. However, on examining the students whom teachers overestimated versus those whom they underestimated, the researchers found that although there was no difference in SLL achievement, underestimated students had lower self-concept, greater anxiety, and more shame in relation to learning English. This study suggested that teacher expectations can affect not just students' academic but also their psychosocial outcomes.

In conducting this review, one important aim was to identify teacher behaviors and practices that result in high achievement for SLL. Dean (2006), described earlier, provided some clues. Ketsman (2012) provided a description of the behaviors of two teachers whose students learning Spanish consistently achieved at high levels. Both teachers had high expectations for their students and themselves; they had measurable and clear learning objectives; they used goal setting that was focused so students were accountable; they gave students clear feedback; students frequently worked collaboratively; the teachers created a safe, low anxiety environment where students had good relationships with them and each other, but where teachers were firm but friendly; and the teachers connected with the students outside school. Interestingly, all these reported teacher behaviors align directly with those that Rubie-Davies (2006, 2007, 2008, 2015) found aligned with high expectation teachers, whose students also make rapid achievement gains and show positive self-beliefs.

A final study in this section conducted by Ding and Rubie-Davies (2019) was an intervention study with eighth-grade SLLs learning English in China. The authors randomly assigned teachers to learn behaviors similar to those in the study by Dean (2006). In a series of workshops, teachers were trained to set students challenging learning tasks, to provide detailed feedback, and to improve their relationships with SLL. Teachers markedly increased their positive interactions with medium and low achieving students and both these student groups markedly gained in their achievement and self-concept. The high achievers outperformed

their control group peers by the end-of-year. There was no increase in the self-concept of the high achievers, however, but their levels were already high when the study began. Interestingly, among low achievers, their self-concept improved first and then their achievement.

5. Discussion

This systematic review has reported on the findings of 28 studies that explored teacher expectations of SLL in both the context of learning a foreign language where the SLLs are an immigrant group and SLL learning a foreign language as a whole class. Overall, the studies related to the first scenario suggested that teacher expectations tended to be lower for SLL than for majority students. In addition, teachers interacted differently with SLL students than with majority students and, often, held quite negative views of SLL. In the context of all students learning a foreign language, as in regular classrooms, teachers tended to hold high expectations for some students and lower for others, or teachers held high expectations for their whole class versus teachers whose expectations were low for all students. Interestingly, one study (Vollmer, 2000) suggested that teachers' expectations may be higher for minority SLL if the students come from a culture that aligns more closely with the teacher's, and possibly higher for students whose physical appearance is similar to the teacher's.

Many teachers in both types of studies appeared to lack up-to-date knowledge about how students learn a second language. For example, teachers appeared uncertain about the degree to which students could use their first language to learn and improve their second language. Teachers' misconceptions about second language learning may have led to them inadequately catering for their SLL learning. Teachers appeared to need additional training, yet among teachers working with SLL who were immigrants, there was a reluctance to engage in training. This was mostly because the training was not considered effective or useful. Teachers working with both groups of students also reported a lack of resources available to effectively teach their SLL. This points to an urgent need for the development of resources that would assist both teachers and SLL to teach and learn more successfully. However, there were some useful examples of interventions (Dean, 2006; Ding & Rubie-Davies, 2019) that had significantly raised SLL achievement and psychological wellbeing, and, similarly, Ketsman (2012) described the beliefs and practices of teachers whose SLL consistently achieved at high levels. These studies all provide clear details about how teachers can be successful with their SLL and provide a basis for the development of interventions that could suit a range of contexts. Teachers may be more open to engaging in additional training if they know that it is likely to benefit their teaching and their ELLs' learning.

A surprising finding from this review was that the focus of most studies was on teachers rather than students. Only a small number of studies measured the academic and psychosocial outcomes for students. As with most of the teacher expectation literature, the studies generally found that SLL achieved at higher levels when the expectations for them were high, and their psychosocial outcomes were more positive. The study by Zhu and Urhahne (2015) did not investigate whether teacher expectations led to students' self-concept, anxiety, and shame or whether the student attitudes led to the teachers' expectations. The intervention study by Ding and Rubie-Davies (2019) showed that for low-expectation students, their self-concept improved before their achievement increased, but this question of the direction of the expectation effects remains open for future research.

6. Limitations and future research

This review is limited by the number of available studies on teacher expectations of SLL. It is possible that the authors could have located further studies using different search terms or that other databases may have revealed additional studies. Further, as specified earlier, several of the studies in the review were also undertaken early this century or the previous century, and there have been considerable changes in the socio-political context internationally since that time. Hence, any conclusions drawn based on only one of these studies should be interpreted with caution. There is a clear need for up-to-date studies on this important topic. Similarly, although the limited number of studies precluded additional analyses, it is likely that teacher attitudes towards SLL students may differ from country to country. Unfortunately, whether attitudes varied could not be explored in this review. This remains a direction for future research.

The very small number of studies that could be located is a cause for concern, particularly when considering the large numbers of students who enter schools when their families have migrated to a new country or when they are learning a new language in preparation for becoming part of an international community. In a global environment where many societies are becoming increasingly multicultural (Khalfaoui et al., 2021), more and more students are either learning a foreign language along with all their peers in one classroom or learning a foreign language as an immigrant. It was very surprising that so few studies could be located that explored teacher expectations in either context, given the vast body of research showing clear links between teacher expectations and student outcomes. Further, most studies reviewed focused on teachers and their expectations or beliefs towards SLL. Very few of the studies examined student academic or psychosocial outcomes as a consequence of their teachers' expectations. Future quantitative and

qualitative research could effectively capture student outcomes in relation to teacher expectations of SLL students, and interviews with students would help explain, at a deeper level, how SLL students react to their teachers' expectations. Interviews could also highlight what SLL students, as well as teachers, perceive to be needed in order to lift achievement and to increase the effectiveness of the pedagogy being used with these students. Interviews such as these could also lead to more effective interventions. Interventions developed with teacher and student input may be more effective than previous attempts to develop effective pedagogy for SLL students. Moreover, high-quality intervention studies would benefit both teachers and all their SLL.

7. Conclusion

This review has shown that there are very few studies that have investigated teacher expectations of SLL and even fewer that have reported students' academic and psychosocial outcomes in relation to their teachers' expectations. Given the multicultural nature of many countries, this is an important area to address. In addition, although some studies showed a reluctance by teachers to engage in professional learning that could increase their SLL students' achievement and psychosocial outcomes, there are studies (Dean, 2006; Ding & Rubie-Davies, 2019) that offer convincing evidence of interventions that are likely to lead to improved outcomes for SLL. Increasingly, the world is becoming more and more international. If migrants are to become productive members of their new society, it is important that they have the opportunity to experience high-quality teaching in a supportive SLL environment. Similarly, as students look to enter occupations that involve traveling overseas or trading with others who speak a different language, their preparation in an SLL environment is critical.

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