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WHO IS ANOINTED? The Psychological and Social Justice Implications of Gifted and Talented Programs in the United States

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by

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Dedication

I dedicate this to my sisters, Cesca and Nora.

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To my biggest supporters, Mom and Dad, thank you for showing me what hard work and dedication is.

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Abstract

This paper explores the repercussions of gifted and talented programs in the United States, looking specifically at resulting psychological effects and social justice implications. This analysis is positioned within the discussion of global power struggles for technological advancement. After the success of the Russian Sputnik satellite in 1957, the United States bolstered initiatives in education to ensure they were producing students who could contribute to the prowess of the nation. Gifted programs allowed for a more in-depth focus on those children deemed useful to the labor market. This resulted in additional pressures placed on certain students to excel. The *anointment effect*, a phenomenon whereby students who are chosen to be a part of a gifted program are more confident in their abilities, will be the focus of this paper. The excluded students learn to doubt their academic capability and reject the possibility of higher achievement. The mode of student identification, IQ tests and standardized tests, perpetuates segregation by economic class, race, and gender, and fundamentally changes student self-perception by creating a binary of gifted and non-gifted. In this paper I provide historical analysis of education policies in the U.S. and discuss associated criticisms. I present two case studies to illustrate the anointment effect within student experiences in the New York City school system. I argue that to move forward, all students must receive the same attention, opportunities, and resources. Finally, I propose a program that provides accelerated learning for all students, which would remove segregating practices in education and would leave no child behind.

Key Words: *anointment effect, education, standardized testing, IQ testing, achievement, social injustice, segregation, gifted and talented programs*

Introduction

"Our mission is to promote student achievement and preparation for global competitiveness by fostering educational excellence and ensuring equal access" (U.S. Department of Ed, n.d.).

This is the current mission statement of the United States Department of Education. Out of fear stemming from the nuclear arms race that took root in the late 1940s during the cold war, the country sought to produce laborers who could contribute to ongoing technological advancements and benefit the global and national economy (Powell, 2007). Ultimately, the goal of the state is to generate wealth for itself, and producing subjects who are able to help achieve this goal is in their best interest. This manifests itself in the education system and policies. As the labor market is ever-changing, so is the labor goal. The best current example of this phenomenon is the recent push for students to learn computer coding, as there are many jobs that are emerging in the field of technology that require coding skills. An example of this comes from Idaho, where a bill passed in 2016 that required students in K-12 classrooms to learn how to code (Singer, 2017). Initiatives like this can be seen as positive in their pursuit of the development of necessary skills for the labor market. However, there are many other school subjects that are equally important for students to learn, as there are many industries that students find themselves taking part in. This particular selectivity is an example of the external motivations, here the technological labor market, that are helping to focus what the government is passing for educational legislation.

For students to be better prepared for the labor market, the United States needs to increase general school funding (The Century Foundation, 2020). Unfortunately, public schools remain underfunded and understaffed (The Century Foundation, 2020). A recent study found that U.S. schools are underfunded annually by nearly $150 billion (The Century Foundation, 2020). An article in the New York Times that interviewed teachers across the country determined that school quality depends on the zip code you live in (EdBuild, 2019). This is in part because of the manner in which schools are funded. A large percentage of funding to public schools comes from property taxes (EdBuild, 2019), so the schools in areas with more expensive houses receive more funding. Funding is an issue for both less wealthy districts and for districts that serve large percentages of non-white students. A report found that non-white school districts get an average of 23 billion less annually in funding than white school districts even when they serve the same number of students (EdBuild, 2019). In order to counteract these facts, the U.S. must indeed pursue the "equal access" they claim to seek in their mission statement. This is something that is seemingly not a current priority. We must increase funding to all schools and ensure that funding is based more on necessity rather than the income bracket of the area and the local property taxes. In addition, the federal government can provide much more assistance. Currently, federal funding accounts for less than nine percent of total public school revenue (Reschovsky, 2017).

Besides neighborhood differences in funding, there are other ways students receive disparate educational opportunities. One such path is programmatic stratification, specifically through gifted and talented programs. These programs range in their definitions from pull-out programs, where students are removed from their classroom to receive higher instruction, to separate schools altogether. These programs have radically inequitable enrollment based on

economic class and race (Brantlinger, 2020; Darity Jr. & Jolla, 2010). This inequitable enrollment is a result of the manner in which the students are identified as gifted (Ford, 2005; Frasier et al., 1995). Standardized testing and IQ tests are the most commonly used methods for gifted student identification despite frequent pushback (Hodges et al., 2018). Students who score highly on these exams are disproportionately white and of a higher socioeconomic status (Kamin, 1974; Gillborn, 2016). This institutional bias creates separations and segregates students of class, race, and gender. For students of color, this is a particularly damaging course of action due to the marginalization and racism that they face.

The separation impacts both the students who are removed from the classroom and those who remain behind. Students who are told they are gifted develop an elevated self-image, an anointed self-perception, while those who are left behind have diminished self-confidence in their capability for academic achievement (James, 1890). This impacts their psychological development during a crucial moment of growth in childhood and adolescence (Steinberg, 2005). Specifically, I argue that it influences psychological factors such as self-esteem, self-evaluation, academic self-efficacy, self-schemas, and academic aspiration. In addition, students who are a part of these higher level academic programs are given more high-level materials and thus have more competitive knowledge and skills, due to phenomena including *the cumulative learning effect* and *the enrichment effect* (Hartman & Squires, 2010; Darity Jr. & Jolly, 2010). This higher level of academic ability proliferates and builds the gap in knowledge between the gifted and talented students and their non-chosen peers.

I argue that the practices of stratification of students through gifted and talented programs are a tool used by the United States government to further their goals of global hegemony. The

purpose of this stratification is to allow children who are perceived as higher achieving more opportunities to succeed academically. They also seek to imbue these students with a strong self-concept and high level of confidence in their academic performance in order to have them contribute to national development strategies. The results of these practices are that many students who could be productive members of the labor market, if provided with the same resources, are left behind. Additionally, this neoliberal and capitalist view ignores competencies that are not directly contributing to economic growth but are no less important, such as emotional intelligence skills and musical talent.

This paper takes an oral historical approach (Hajek & Davis, 2015). In the first chapter I will go through the history of the United States education system. I will start with the early 1900s, and then turn to examining the policies that have brought us to the current state of the educational system. Specifically, I will look at the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Nation at Risk publication, the No Child Left Behind Act, and the Every Student Succeeds Act.

In the second chapter, I will look closely at the psychological underpinnings of standardized testing and IQ testing, the two entrance paths to gifted programs. I will delve into the biases that were inherent in their creation and discuss the proliferations of this prejudice. An examination of the anointment effect will provide insights into gifted childrens' psyches. I will then look at students who are not identified as gifted, those I am labeling Children Left Behind (CLBs), and investigate some of the psychological effects of their omission from higher level courses.

In the third chapter I will parse through some of the numerous inequities that stem from the educational segregation of gifted and talented programs. This includes students of low

socio-economic status, individuals of racial minorities, and individuals of gender minorities. I will argue that these students are at an already higher risk in their development, due to the societal pressures they face as a result of their minority status. The higher risk thus puts an even greater onus to provide equitable educational access. Furthermore, they are under pressure due to their identities that cause them to experience a phenomenon known as *stereotype threat* which can affect performance and self-concept (Steele, 2011).

In the fourth chapter, I will offer a case study of two students, Sadie and Nick, who are enrolled in New York City public schools. We follow them as they go through the process of applying to gifted programs at age 4. One student is successful, and the other is not, and the impacts of this are examined. We follow them as they navigate their high school admissions applications and college applications, looking at the choices they make and how they are informed by their past lived experiences. They each represent different strata of society and provide a more internal view of student belief and development.

In the fifth and final chapter I will look specifically at New York City's gifted and talented programs. I will consider former mayor Bill DeBlasio's proposal for the future of New York City's gifted and talented programs and public schools, a program called Brilliant NYC. I will then turn to the current New York City mayor, Eric Adams, and his Chancellor of Schools, David Banks, to see what they plan to implement. I will offer my thoughts on possible solutions for moving forward. This includes budgetary and curricular possibilities.

CHAPTER 1: History of U.S. Education

October 4, 1957. The world watched in awe as the Soviet Union launched the first satellite into space. Just 10 years earlier, in 1947, the Cold War began. The United States and the then Soviet Union entered into a geopolitical conflict over the spread of communism and the growing nuclear arms race. Fear of a loss of global strength and control led the United States to examine their growing labor force, and the scientific accomplishments being made. That October day confirmed the United States' greatest fear: that they were falling behind. Furthermore, other nations were growing their nuclear power and arms at an alarming rate. All eyes were turned on the education system, where the labor force for the scientific advancement of America's future was being trained. It is no wonder that less than 10 years later, Lyndon B. Johnson would make the first large-scale attempt at a national educational improvement agenda.

In this chapter I will provide a brief summary of gifted education in the early-mid 20th century. I will then delve into four important legislative acts and related documents in the United States education history: The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Nation at Risk, No Child Left Behind, and The Every Student Succeeds Act. For each, I will explore background information, the present implications, and related research. See Appendix B for a visual representation of past educational policies.

Gifted Education in the Early-Mid 20th Century

The early 1900s brought major change in the field of gifted education. The first public school created just for gifted children opened in 1901 in Worster, Massachusetts (Dickinson, 1957). Just a few years later, in 1905, Alfred Binet and Theodore Simon were in France creating the Binet-Simon test to identify children of inferior intellectual skill in order to separate them out from their "normal" peers (Binet & Simon, 1948). Just three years later in 1908, Henry Goddard studied in France with Alfred Binet and learned of the Binet-Simon test, which he subsequently transported back to America (Benjamin, 2008). The test was translated and published in 1916 through a school in New Jersey under the title, *The Development of Intelligence in Children* (Binet & Simon, 1948). After this, gifted programs and the idea of gifted children grew in the United States, and numerous schools opened to meet the needs of the identified students.

Less than 50 years later, the National Association of Gifted Children was founded in 1954 by Ann Fabe Isaacs, a powerful voice in the field of gifted education (Robinson, 2022). She established the organization to: stimulate interest in research in gifted education, disseminate scientific information about gifted individuals, analyze problems of gifted individuals and release information about mitigative practices, provide opportunities for teachers to study how to work with gifted students, and experimental investigations and practices to improve methods of working with gifted individuals (*Articles of Incorporation*, 1957). The creation of this organization offered a legitimacy of gifted and talented programs. That same year, *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) ended the practice of "separate but equal". The importance of this ruling was that separate schools and classrooms for students of different races were unequal. However, contemporary gifted programs are separate and are highly segregated by class and race

and gender, which indicates the inequality inherent in their practices. Additionally, there were a number of policies that were passed post-*Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) that limited practices of integration. Most notably, the Supreme Court ruled in 1974 against desegregation plans that spanned across metropolitan areas to integrate city and suburban schools. "This ruling made desegregation essentially impossible" (Steele, 2011, p. 194). Furthermore, there was a flight of white people to existing private schools to avoid integrated classrooms (Tyson, 2011). Due to these actions, a more recent report found that schools with over 25,000 students were more racially segregated in 2000 than in 1986 (Orfield & Lee, 2007).

Elementary and Secondary Education Act

Years after the passing of *Brown v. The Board of Education* (1954), in 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965) (ESEA) into law as a crucial part of his broader "War on Poverty" agenda. The act sought to remedy the disparate quality of education experienced by children of different races and social classes. In his own words, Johnson hoped to "bridge the gap between helplessness and hope for more than 5 million educationally deprived children" (Zelizer, 2015, para. 2). Specifically, the law provided federal funds for "professional development, instructional materials, resources to support educational programs, and the promotion of parental involvement" (Paul, 2016, para. 1). The act is required to be reauthorized by the government every five years (Paul, 2016). Each president has the option to add to the act during the reauthorization, which some have done. This allows for a pathway for updated research to enter the field of education, and has resulted in some notable legislation.

Despite the purported goal of the act, schools remain underfunded and understaffed more than 50 years after the passing of ESEA (The Century Foundation, 2020). Furthermore, a study from a Stanford researcher in 2013 found that the gaps in standardized test scores between children from lower- and higher-income families had grown by 40 percent since the 1960s (Reardon et al., 2013; Tavernise, 2012). Julian E. Zelizer, a professor at Princeton University, wrote a piece for The Atlantic entitled, *How Education Policy Went Astray,* and says:

> The legislation did not provide for adequate oversight of how money was used, and the guidelines governing how funds would be allocated and applied were poorly crafted, so in coming decades many school administrators would use the money for purposes other than they were intended—a practice that continues to this day in some districts (Zelizer, 2015, para. 13).

One issue that Lyndon B. Johnson himself raised during the passage of the ESEA was that students could not succeed without continued environmental enrichment and improvement. This necessitates adequate funding, which has not occurred (The Century Foundation, 2020). A review of federal budgets reveals that the nation's financial priorities have in fact never focused on education. As costs of the Vietnam war increased in the mid to late 1900s, Congress chose to spend more money on the military rather than on domestic means (Zelizer, 2015). This absence of necessary federal funding has continued to this day, and organizations such as the National Head Start Association continue to go to Congress to fight for the resources they need to ensure the provision of quality education (*Public Witness Testimony of Rachael DeSpain*, 2021). Here the commitment to establish technological domination through education was not supported by adequate funding.

Nation At Risk

In April 1983, just 20 years after the enacting of ESEA, *Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* was dispatched to the American people. Nation At Risk (NaR) was a letter written by President Ronald Reagan's National Commission on Excellence in Education. The letter set off warning bells by suggesting that other nations were "matching and surpassing our educational attainments" (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p. 1). The alarmist tone of the report cautioned the American people that if this trend were to continue, America would fall behind in industry and would crumble as a nation. The harsh language mirrored the growing trend of politicians "getting tough" on social issues. The authors cautioned that without excellent educational programming, citizens would no longer be able to expect that "all, regardless of race or class or economic status, are entitled to a fair chance and to the tools for developing their individual powers of mind and spirit to the utmost" (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p. 1). The arguments the Commission made were supported through data they included. For example, they cited that "some 23 million American adults are functionally illiterate by the simplest tests of everyday reading, writing, and comprehension" (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p. 5). The fear that the United States would be left behind was palpable. The commission ended their letter on a more hopeful note, however, stating that citizens were invested in the education system and believed that "education should be at the top of the Nation's agenda" (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p. 9). With improvements, they claimed, the U.S. could reach higher educational achievement and meet or even surpass other countries. For gifted students in particular, the

report offers possible policies and practices to be used in gifted education for standards and curriculum (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983, p. 9).

From the time of its publishing in 1983, critical analyses have been released in response to Nation at Risk. As early as 1984, there were notable articles critiquing the letter. One such writing focused on the composition of the group of authors. The commission, the author claimed, was made up of individuals who were "more a typical group of consumers of a study on education than the producers of such a report" (Holton, 1986, p. 3). The author of said statement, Gerald Holton, was himself a part of the commission. His bias is evident and he had mostly positive comments on the letter and its process. However, that line offers insight into a major shortcoming of the makeup of the commission, and while he claims that it ended up being a positive aspect, future analyses have contradicted this.

A news article released on the 35th anniversary of Nation at Risk's publishing acknowledged its pivotal role in the United States education policy's path, but noted the negative effects it had. The biggest criticism was that the authors "started out already alarmed by what they believed was a decline in education, and looked for facts to fit that narrative" (Kamenetz, 2018, para. 10). Not only were the facts selectively inclined to match their story, but an analysis published seven years later by the federal government showed the opposite trend, instead indicating that standardized test scores were "steady or slightly improving" (Kamenetz, 2018, para. 11). Data was chosen to affirm the commission's viewpoint, instead of the data informing their position. Gerald Holton even acknowledged that the commission was seeking to "confirm their existing concerns about the state of America's schools." (Kamenetz, 2018, para. 16). The authors were seeking to find proof for their beliefs rather than interpreting facts and drawing

relevant and accurate conclusions. This calls into question the accuracy of the letter and suggests that the legislation that resulted could not have been successful in their goals as they were using flawed analyses and skewed data.

Even with the misleading data and alarmist language, Nation at Risk was considered by some to be beneficial for the American education system (Guthrie & Springer, 2004). One of the largest results of the letter was the passing of the federal *Jacob Javits Gifted and Talented Students Education Act* in 1988 as a part of that years' ESEA reauthorization, which provided federal funding to gifted and talented programming (National Association for Gifted Children, (n.d.-b)). Regardless of whether or not the letter resulted in improvements in education policy, it contributed to a larger presence of the federal government in the American education system (Guthrie & Springer, 2004).

Reagan purported that the role of education of children was on families (Lips, 2008). In response to Nation at Risk, he emphasized both parental choice and local state government control over education (Lips, 2008). But the impact of the report reached far beyond Reagan's administration. It also expanded the audience of educational issues to more of the general population. The intent of the letter was to bring awareness to the alleged poor quality of the U.S. Education system, but the result was a push for legislation stemming from a fear of global inferiority.

No Child Left Behind

No Child Left Behind (2002), which was passed during the Bush Administration, is a piece of legislation that also resulted seemingly from the fear of falling behind. No Child Left

Behind (NCLB) is a reauthorization of Johnson's ESEA, and is one of the most well known pieces of educational legislation (No Child Left Behind Act, 2002). On January 8, 2002, President George W. Bush signed NCLB into law after being approved through the 89th congress (Debray, 2006). The stated goal of this reauthorization was to yield more accountability for schools, because they were continuing to underperform. Under this new act, students from grades 3-8 were required to undergo annual standardized testing in numerous subjects including math and reading (Noddings, 2007). These requirements for standardized testing impacted the students, the teachers, and the administrators. These impacts include pressures on teachers who feel they need to teach for the test, and pressures on students to succeed and measure their success through their test scores (American University, 2020). This legislation was a federal expression of an education movement known as Standards-Based Reform (SBR) (Debray, 2006). The goal of Standards-Based Reform, which arrived in the 1980s, is to have specific measures and benchmarks with which to assess student and teacher achievement using standardized testing (Hamilton et al., 2008). The push for this method of assessment was not just about creating standards. This act, as well as many of the future acts to come after, were born out of fear, such as the fear stoked by Nation at Risk and subsequent political dialogues.

The fear-mongering of the Nation at Risk letter was successful in rallying the American people. The aim of the NCLB act was to improve the education achievement gaps, specifically between Black, Hispanic, and white students (Noddings, 2007). This segregation is clear when data is examined. As of the 2017-2018 school year, there were nearly 3.5 million students enrolled in gifted and talented programs. Of these students, 58.4% were white, 18.3% were Hispanic or Latino, 9.9% were Asian, and 8.2% were Black or African American (*2017-18 State*

and National Estimations, 2018). This large scale segregation is not beneficial to those who are in the minority or the majority. The method of achieving this gap closure was through the gathering of further information through testing. A novelty of NCLB was that it required ethnic subgroup reporting of testing scores. This offered clearer data on, in the government's eye, which populations of students and which schools were failing, as this was a specific concern. If a school was failing, there would be consequences including school closures and financial penalties. In addition, NCLB included the opportunity for parents to receive federal funding for out-of-school tutoring to help a student attending a failing school, one of the few examples of the act helping individual students obtain better educations. This opportunity was a compromise from the initial proposal of providing vouchers for private schools to children from failing schools. The proposal was strongly opposed by the National Education Association (NEA), currently the largest union representing educational professionals in the country. (Debray, 2006). Vouchers, critics argued, take money away from the public schools who need it to better support their students, and support the higher educational attainment for students in private schools. For gifted programs, NCLB offered further avenues of expansion. The NCLB act expanded upon the Jacob Javits gifted and talented Students Education Act, offering competitive grants at the state level (No Child Left Behind Act, 2002).

Most responses to NCLB have been negative. Elizabeth Burmaster, Wisconsin's Superintendent of Public Instruction from 2001-2009, noted that, "'The plan doesn't seem to be leaving no child behind. It seems more like 'leave no child untested'" (Wilgoren, 2001, para. 37). Burmaster is one example of the views many educators held who were strongly opposed to the passing of NCLB. The biggest issue that NCLB created was the punishment of schools who did

not meet these achievement expectations. In fact, as a result of the testing requirements, "a number of schools were forced to close as a result of not meeting testing standards, many of them in African American and immigrant communities" (Zelizer, 2015, para. 17). This caused displacement of children which could cause difficulties for educational attainment.

There was a positive aspect to NCLB: the better understanding of student achievement by racial identity. The more in-depth insight into student achievement by race was beneficial because it identified which student populations needed more support. Even though there was a positive aspect, the resulting actions of NCLB were not only ineffective but also harmful (Schul, 2011). Students who undergo standardized testing often face anxiety and boredom (Kellaghan et al., 1982). In 2017, researchers looked at the socioemotional outcomes of children as a result of NCLB. They found that there was a moderate increase in academic anxiety due to testing (Whitney & Candelaria, 2017). However, one study found that under the right circumstances, students can undergo standardized testing without a large proportion of them experiencing anxiety and boredom (Kellaghan et al., 1982).

A research paper published in 2006 by the Brookings Institute entitled "The Peculiar Politics of No Child Left Behind" offered further criticism. The author claimed that, "most of what we know about anti-NCLB sentiment comes from press coverage. Scant research has methodically examined the politics of NCLB or marshaled empirical evidence to investigate support and opposition to the act at the state level" (Loveless, 2006). This lack of research has been partly mitigated by the researcher. He completed a study looking at national polling data and state resistance to NCLB (Loveless, 2006). The conclusions of this study were that the biggest supporters of NCLB were states that tended to vote Republican in presidential elections,

and states that had larger minority and lower income populations (Loveless, 2006). While this is seemingly contradictory as minority populations are the ones being undermined by the act, the Brookings article explains that the opposite is true. NCLB created more sanctions for schools, a very unpopular thing with both republicans legislators and minority populations (Loveless, 2006).

In terms of whether NCLB had any impact on academic achievement, the results are mixed. For specific subjects, the results vary. Math competence levels increased while reading competence decreased (Whitney & Candelaria, 2017). NCLB created sweeping testing requirements that, while they proved helpful for data collection, had major consequences for students and teachers.

Every Student Succeeds Act

Since No Child Left Behind, there has been only one other major reauthorization of Johnson's Elementary and Secondary Education Act. It is the legislation currently in place, the Every Student Succeeds Act (2015) (ESSA), signed by President Barack Obama. The primary difference between ESSA and NCLB is that the former moved accountability away from the federal government and onto state governments (Every Student Succeeds Act, 2015). It also allowed for more local remediary funding opportunities for struggling schools (Every Student Succeeds Act, 2015).

President Obama has continued practices of standardized testing and has proliferated the use of benchmark policies through the use of Common Core Standards. Common Core Standards are a set of standards for students in English and Mathematics subjects that was created in 2010

by state leaders (Common Core State Standards Initiative, n.d.). The Common Core website says that one goal of these standards is to ensure that students are able to compete with their peers domestically and abroad (Common Core State Standards Initiative, n.d.). Some have seen the use of these standards as controversial (Zelizer, 2015). The controversies center around the results of the policy, which includes more high-stakes testing, more teacher assessments, and more penalties for struggling schools, including school closures (Karp, 2014). Other than these criticisms, there are few articles on the impact of this act as it is still in practice today. However, many of the past criticisms of the No Child Left Behind Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act are applicable to the Every Student Succeeds Act as it is quite similar to its predecessors.

The ESSA was due to be reauthorized after 2021, but this has yet to have been done. While this may seem alarming, since its initial passage in 1965, the ESEA has only been reauthorized eight times, and public education has remained on the path of its latest reauthorization. So while a reauthorization may be imminent, it could take a number of congressional cycles.

The aftereffects of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Nation at Risk, the No Child Left Behind Act, and the Every Student Succeeds Act have forever changed the landscape of the United States education system. Standardized testing has become routine, and is perceived as necessary to the success of the public school system in the U.S. These tests identify students who are struggling to maintain grade-level skills and knowledge, but they also single out students who are high achieving. This identification was crucial to the major expansion of gifted

education programs across the country, which notably came in the form of the passing of the federal act, the Jacob Javits Gifted and Talented Act. It would be foolish to see the passing of the act in 1988 and not think deeply about the timing of its implementation after the 1985 Nation at Risk letter. The federal government's involvement in gifted and talented programming through federal funding indicates that they believe in the value of such programs. The merit of the programs is in the identification of students who are more academically capable. The government uses numerous tools to make these assessments including standardized tests and IQ tests, both of which are highly biased (Kamin, 1974; Gillborn, 2016). The bias in these assessments creates further segregation within the programs themselves and proliferates achievement gaps between demographics including racial, gender, and socio-economic individuals.

CHAPTER 2: The Anointment Effect and Instruments of Determination

In this chapter I will examine the tools used by the United States education system to separate students into differential educational opportunities, namely gifted and talented programs. I will investigate the history of standardized testing, IQ testing, and gifted programs. I will then consider the current practices in place, all of which lead to an anointment effect, whereby students who are identified and chosen to be a part of higher learning programs like gifted and talented programs are more confident in their abilities and thus more likely to succeed academically. While the results of this effect, including segregation, are not directly visible, they are no less impactful. Finally, I will turn to the students who are neglected and denied these opportunities.

Standardized Testing

The fear that Nation at Risk caused resulted in a call for a better understanding of what the United States needed to improve. The solution, from the second Bush administration, was standardized testing. The purpose of standardized testing in schools under the No Child Left Behind act was to periodically assess student and teacher performance, and to ensure there was an increase in student achievement at every school (No Child Left Behind Act, 2002). The analysis for these tests looked at results by school, but studies show that school differences account for less than 10% of the variance in student standardized testing scores (Wiliam, 2010). This indicates that school accountability cannot be achieved through standardized testing. In the past, tests were not as weighted and determinant. The 1970s saw more widespread use of tests

known as “minimum competency” tests, which some districts used to determine graduation eligibility (Wiliam, 2010). Criticisms of these tests centered around them not assessing all of the important aspects of schooling, and led to the use of more in depth assessments in the 1980s and 1990s. (Wiliam, 2010). The idea of “minimum competency” standards were continued through NCLB through the implementation of a set of standards schools were expected to meet, which were measured through high-stakes standardized tests (Kuper, 2006).

High-stakes standardized tests are tests that can result in actions taken against the test taker or the educator, which can be highly stressful for teachers in particular. In fact, the high levels of pressure placed on teachers through high-stakes testing makes it harder for schools to retain these teachers (Aliaga-Diaz et al., 2004). Teachers report feeling pressure to improve student test scores from both school district administration and the media (Shepard & Dougherty, 1991). Teachers of underrepresented students are more likely to experience high levels of pressure to improve test scores. They also receive messaging telling them to focus on test material in the classroom instead of other necessary materials and skills (Herman et al., 1994). The low retention rates for teachers in low-income schools can perpetuate the lack of quality education and support these students receive. Teacher turnover is one of the major issues in the United States education system, and there is evidence that standardized testing is contributing to it (Aliaga-Diaz et al., 2004). If the goal of standardized testing were truly to hold schools accountable, they would provide resources to those schools that have lower test scores, rather than imposing financial penalties.

With data telling us that testing has negative consequences, why have the practices continued? According to some, testing is quite popular with the general public, specifically

parents and out-of-school administrators (Phelps, 2005). One paper claims that there is evidence that establishing accountability with consequences for teachers, students, schools, and districts through testing can be a way to increase student achievement in a cost-effective way (Wiliam, 2010). However, schools spend a large amount of their budget on standardized testing. In 2012, states were spending 1.7 billion dollars annually on standardized testing (Ujifusa, 2021). One study showed that students in states with high-stakes testing had significantly higher scores on their NAEP 8th-grade math test than those in states without (Carnoy & Loeb, 2002). However, a different study, a cross-state analysis of 18 US states, found that student learning remained the same or decreased when high-stakes testing policies were implemented (Amrein & Berliner, 2002). With data on both sides, it can be difficult to parse through the many arguments. However, the number of "studies reporting a negative impact of high-stakes testing have outnumbered studies indicating positive effects nine to one" (Watson et al. 2014, p. 2).

Aside from the teachers and administrators, students also experience negative effects from standardized testing. The pressure placed on them can affect achievement and has mental health implications. A study released in 2015 reported that students spend approximately 25 hours a year on standardized testing, and will take up to 112 standardized tests between pre-kindergarten and the end of high school (Hart et al., 2015). This is an alarming statistic, as it demonstrates how little time students are able to focus on their interests due to the taking and preparing for standardized testing. In addition, high-stakes testing can lead to a decrease in student motivation and higher student dropout rates (Amrein & Berliner, 2003).

Students who take standardized tests are most often adolescents, who are at a crucial point in their intellectual and emotional development (Steinberg, 2005). Testing evokes strong

emotions from students, both positive and negative, which can be discouraging for test takers (Watson et al., 2014). This strong evocation can create a large amount of stress for the students. One factor in this stress inducement may be related to the space in which the test is administered. While standardized tests are often administered in the school setting, the rooms are transformed. In theory, this is to reconfigure the space to be more conducive to exam taking, but the reality is that items that students associate with education and comfortable learning are removed (Watson et al., 2014). This creates a sense of detachment and lack of support and comfort that the children come to associate with the tests (Watson et al., 2014). The message this sends to students is that achievement is paramount. To combat this, rooms should remain the same to alleviate some of the stress in the test environment. Other impacts include the loss of time in the classroom learning a variety of materials due to the need for standardized test preparation (DeMatthews, 2021). This also requires teachers to limit their curricula so they can better prepare students for the tests (Brown, 2019).

If testing practices are to be continued, some have suggested using standardized tests to estimate capacity instead of aptitude (McNeish & Dumas, 2019). This would involve a more holistic approach, looking at more than one exam over time to predict future performance (McNeish & Dumas, 2019). This approach claims to be "less susceptible to effects of socioeconomic status" (McNeish & Dumas, 2019, para. 1). This is important because of the disparate quality of education received based on economic class (McNeish & Dumas, 2019). School funding structures depend highly on local property taxes. A report published in 2004 called "The New York Adequacy Study", which sought to determine the cost of providing all children in New York a quality education, determined that in addition to the $31.71 billion spent

in New York State in 2001-2002, an additional 6.21 to 8.40 billion dollars was needed to achieve the necessary funding for all districts in the state (Chambers et al., 2004). This data indicates that states are spending nowhere near enough money on their education systems, so if the tests were truly for accountability the government should consider funding the school systems better. This money could come directly from the federal government, which would mitigate some of the variety in quality of individual schools that occur because of property tax dependence.

Today, teacher and student accountability is not the only purpose of standardized testing. For some schools and districts, they are used to place students on different tracks and into some gifted and talented programs. Those with higher scores can obtain higher instruction. But the reality is that these exams' validity is yet to be determined. As such, they offer a limited view of a child's aptitude, and the questions relate less to innate intelligence and more to previous education and enrichment. In addition, some exams are administered online, and if a student has no prior knowledge of how to use a tablet or computer, for example if they did not grow up with access to one at home, the test would be inherently more difficult. However, it is important to note that having a test online may make it more accessible to some other students, for example those with motor difficulties. Furthermore, standardized testing administered as a result of NCLB standards examine only English and Math (No Child Left Behind Act, 2002). Standardized testing is not the only method of assessment that is used when determining alternative educational opportunities such as gifted and talented programs. Another path is through IQ testing.

IQ Testing

“IQ” stands for “intelligence quotient” (Braaten & Norman, 2006). Originally used to screen degrees of mental deficiencies, it is now used as a measure of intelligence (White, 2000). IQ tests originated from Alfred Binet, a French psychologist (Au, 2014), who created the Stanford-Binet IQ test, the most well-known IQ measurement. In 1916, Lewis Terman, who was a professor at Stanford University at the time, adapted the Binet-Simon intelligence test and published the Stanford-Binet intelligence test as a way to identify gifted students (*History of the Stanford-Binet Test*, n.d.). While surrounded by controversy, some argue that IQ tests are an excellent way to identify gifted children (Rimm et al., 2008). The Fifth Edition Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children, or the WISC-V, is the current iteration used for gifted student identification (Silverman & Gilman, 2020). The reality of the results of IQ tests are that they are ever-changing. There is a periodic re-norming of IQ scores, which means there will always be people at each end of the spectrum (Gillborn, 2016), however this does not tell us anything about their abilities because the standardized outputs are constructed in accordance with normal distribution principle (Gillborn, 2016). Someone who received a mean score in the 1960s could be in the lowest quartile today. This phenomenon is known as the Flynn effect, whereby measured intelligence increases throughout the population and needs to be renormed (Bratsberg & Rogeberg, 2018). This indicates that IQ testing does not measure innate capacity or intelligence, and instead is a reflection of environmental enrichment.

IQ tests, such as the WISC-V, are psychological tests that produce a quotient (American Psychological Association Dictionary, n.d.). While they are used often to compare people, they can also be used to detect learning disabilities or cognitive deficiencies (American Psychological

Association Dictionary, n.d.; Benisz et al., 2018). Interestingly, IQ test scores do seem to have some accuracy in education prediction. Students with high IQ test quotients tend to do better at school than those with lower test scores (Mackintosh, 2011). This does not take away from the criticism about how decisions are made from these scores. Critics identify that, similar to standardized tests, IQ tests measure previously learned skills and knowledge more than native ability or growth potential (American Psychological Association Dictionary, n.d.). Accordingly, children who have more enrichment opportunities when they are young are likely to receive higher scores. Parents who have the time and resources to give this to their children create a disparate experience for those parents and children who are not afforded the same luxuries. This can result in major differences between children of different socio-economic statuses. Stated more clearly, "the IQ test has served as an instrument against the poor" (Kamin, 1974, pp. 15-16). Thus, wealthier parents raise children who have higher IQ test results, and as IQ testing is a path to gifted education, more wealthy children are more likely to enter these programs. In addition, pressure plays a role. One study found that there was a role of motivation for IQ test taking, indicating that children of parents that put a premium on the test are more motivated and thus obtain higher scores (Duckworth et al., 2011).

Crucially, the use of IQ tests and other ability tests are used as camouflage for institutional racism (Gillborn, 2016). Much of the history of the study of intelligence looks at heritability, the genetic variation of a trait within a population (Sternberg et al., 2005). A frequent assertion of this theory is that there are inherent genetic differences in the intelligence of Black and white individuals. The measure that resulted in this claim however, has nothing to do with people and was initially created to analyze agricultural crop yields (Rose, 2009, p. 29). In

addition, the claim is categorically false. Heritability is highly varying over time and context, and can be greatly affected by environment (Gillborn, 2016). Furthermore, the factors that are used to calculate these heritability factors are impacted by parental influences and schooling inequalities. (Gillborn, 2016).

The practitioners who administer IQ tests have significant influence on the results. According to a New York City teacher who administers these tests, there are a lot of personal judgment calls made by the testers (Kletter, 2019). This includes when to stop the exam if the practitioner believes that the student is not doing well enough, and how much support the student receives during the examination (Kletter, 2019). The bias that is possible through this could be quite large and impactful, but needs to be studied further. Historically, there has been bias on the part of the exam practitioners. For example, an exam used in the post-Second World War era to sort English children into different secondary schools set higher score standards for girls than boys to avoid girls outnumbering boys in grammar schools (Land, 2006, p. 48). This was done mostly because girls performed better on these exams than boys (Martin, 2012, p. 32). Institutional bias plays a role in exam results and their use, and students themselves are impacted.

For children, being given a numerical score that supposedly measures their intelligence can cause them to make value judgments based solely on their, and their peers', quotients. One reason for this is that adolescents hold the perception that intelligence is a fixed trait, meaning it is unchanging and determinant (Hong et al., 1995). Students imbued with this fixed theory of intelligence are more likely to adhere to the tasks they know they can accomplish well while avoiding the tasks they are unsure of (Trei, 2007). If students with this mindset are told their IQ,

they will attach this number to their self-identity, as they do not believe that it can change. They will also judge their peers based on this same factor and compare their scores, which can be damaging for all parties involved. In all these ways, individuals are prone to use their IQ score as an all-encompassing feature that defines them and their potential.

The opposite of a fixed mindset is a growth mindset. A growth mindset is the belief that intelligence is malleable and skills can be developed and grown (Dweck, 2016). Studies show that individuals with growth mindsets have markedly better academic performance than those with a fixed mindset (Sheffler & Cheung, 2020). This can be explained by the importance of understanding that intelligence is multi-faceted and cannot ever truly remain static, especially if one is constantly learning. By characterizing individuals with a singular score, IQ tests perpetuate the view that intelligence is a fixed trait, and thus limit the growth of students. Growth mindsets can be taught, and in some schools they are. The implementation of this concept could allow students not to judge themselves and their peers based on a singular numerical indicator. Furthermore, studies have shown that students with growth mindsets dramatically outperform their peers with fixed-mindsets on standardized tests (Sparks, 2021). This is true across multiple demographics including gender and socio-economic status (Sparks, 2021).

Teachers have also been found to hold biases about students based on IQ scores (Barnes, 1973). One study looked at teacher support and IQ gains (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1966). Rosenthal found that when teachers were told that certain students were gifted, they treated them differently (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1966). Students who were treated better had better in-classroom academic results. Furthermore, these “gifted” students showed gains in IQ test scores eight months afterwards (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1966). Stanford psychology professor

Carol Dweck experienced this bias first hand. In sixth grade her teacher organized the classroom by IQ results, sitting the students with higher scores closer to the teacher (Trei, 2007). Dweck notes that students conformed to these assignments and performed as expected by the teacher (Trei, 2007). Growth in academic performance, thus, can be a function of environmental factors. Furthermore, overt messaging about the importance of test results is a clear example of the use of IQ test results as a method of separating students. This provides some students with opportunities while preventing others from accessing them.

From a theoretical perspective, the psychological concepts underpinning IQ tests may no longer be relevant. Scholars continue to research new ideas in search of more definitive answers as to what constitutes intelligence and how it is best measured. There are many theories of intelligence that have been proposed to offer more well rounded conceptualizations of intelligence. The PASS theory is one such idea. It says that intelligence is a complex system that is made up of Planning, Attention, Simultaneous, and Successive processes (Das et al., 1994). This theory offers an abstraction of intelligence that focuses more on intellectual processes than specific skill sets. One of the researchers, Naglieri, argued that the addition of and focus on planning will allow for more varied identification of gifted students because of the association between creativity and planning (Naglieri & Kaufman, 2001).

Another facet that IQ testing does not measure is emotional intelligence. Emotional intelligence has been found to be strongly associated with adeptness in challenging social situations (Mayer et al., 2001). Navigating challenging social situations can be important for resilience. Resilience has been found to be a good indicator of future academic success for things such as grades, and drop out rates (Bittmann, 2021).

With all of these various suggestions, it seems that there are many factors that need to be taken into consideration when determining how to assess intelligence. The theory that takes the most qualities into account is the theory of multiple intelligences. Introduced in 1983 in his book "Frames of Mind", Howard Gardner proposed that instead of there being a singular intelligence, known as "g", which is what IQ tests measure, there are many different aspects of intelligence (Gardner, 1983). These include linguistic, logical/mathematical, musical, interpersonal, spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, intrapersonal, and naturalist (Gardner, 1983). Each of these intelligences can be affected by genetics and experiences. This theory importantly implies that intelligence is multifaceted and multidimensional, unlike the idea that intelligence is singular and measured through "g". It appears that teaching students about this theory can show them that they are and can be intelligent in different ways and boost their confidence and motivation to learn. Gardner's theory has not yet been utilized to inform any large-scale measurement of ability, but has been proposed for classrooms as a framework to approach teaching (Gardner, 2013).

It is important to note that both IQ testing and standardized testing are both unreliable predictors of success. IQ tests are very narrowly focused, and are thus a narrow method of assessing a child's aptitude. Some critics suggest that to identify gifted children, IQ should be a part of a more holistic view of the child. For example, using other factors such as teacher rating scales, performance tasks, and other non-traditional assessments to create a portfolio for the child (Missett & Bruner, 2013). This wider view would allow for factors such as socio-economic status to be taken into account and would allow for an opportunity for programs to become less stratified and segregated. Without these measures, IQ testing and standardized measures of ability can only be viewed as accurately reflecting a child's privilege rather than giftedness.

Gifted Programs

Lewis Terman, a psychologist from the early 20th century, is often considered to be the father of what has become known as "gifted" education (Winkler & Jolly, 2014; Warne, 2019). Terman saw the measurement of intelligence through IQ tests as the most optimal way to select students for higher education opportunities. He claimed, "there is nothing about an individual as important as his IQ" (Terman, 1922, p. 657). Terman's focus on IQ tests as a measure of general intelligence is often criticized as IQ tests do not produce a wide analysis of skill sets and talents (Vialle, 1994). Terman has been criticized for other things as well--specifically, he held an alarming personal view, support of the eugenics movement (Leslie, 2000).

The eugenics movement came about in the 19th century and was pioneered by Sir Francis Galton, who perceived eugenics as a way to benefit human evolution through selective reproduction of mostly upper class white individuals (Gillham, 2001). In the eugenic context, Terman saw intelligence as heritable and not environmental (Jolly, 2008). Terman was not the only eugenicist of the time involved in the conversations about educational "worthiness". Dr. Leta Stetter Hollingworth, who made major contributions to the field of educational psychology, was a believer in the eugenics movement, asserting that women with higher IQs should be paid by the government to have more children (Hollingworth, 1929). She is best known for her work with gifted children, having coined the term "gifted" herself in her 1926 book, Gifted Children: Their Nature and Nurture (Rudnitski, 1996). Additionally, she implemented a classroom at a New York Public School, P.S. 165, called the Special Opportunity Class (National Association for Gifted Children, n.d.-c). This led to the 1936 opening of her school, P.S. 500-The Speyer School for gifted children ages 7-9 (Rudnitski, 1996). Terman and Hollingworth's contributions

to their fields must be understood and examined through their eugenic views. The biases held by these educational leaders included racist ideologies. With these historically-biased origins, it is no surprise that there are proliferations of bias present in IQ testing, standardized testing, and gifted and talented programs today.

Despite various criticisms, gifted programs have remained an important part of the US education system since their implementation in the early 1900s. According to the National Association for Gifted Children, the current federal definition for "gifted" is:

> Students, children, or youth who give evidence of high achievement capability in areas such as intellectual, creative, artistic, or leadership capacity, or in specific academic fields, and who need services and activities not ordinarily provided by the school in order to fully develop those capabilities (National Association for Gifted Children, n.d.-a, para. 5).

Today, predetermined IQ cutoff scores (usually a *g* of 130) are often used for eligibility purposes, although this practice is explicitly contrary to the recommendations laid out in the Standards for Education and Psychological Measurement (American Educational Research Association, American Psychological Association, & National Council on Measurement in Education, 2014). In addition, the creators of the tests themselves were in disagreement with how to define giftedness (Silverman, 2013; Valler et al., 2017). Authorities on giftedness agree that multi-dimensional evaluation is essential to take into account contextual factors that could be important in defining a given child as "gifted" (Pfeiffer, 2015). Another measure often argued for is motivation as a measure of giftedness. Test creators argue it is an important factor (Valler et al., 2017). However, adolescence is a time of change in motivation and regulation of motivation

(Steinberg, 2005), and is thus an ever-changing factor that cannot be accurately gauged in a single assessment.

According to the United States Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights, about six percent of public school students are enrolled in gifted and talented programs (as cited in National Association for Gifted Children [NAGC], n.d.-a). Gifted students are served in a number of ways:

> accommodations in the regular classroom, part-time assignment to both regular and special classes, full-time grouping with students of similar abilities, acceleration or grade advancement (National Association for Gifted Children, n.d.-a, para. 10).

Overall, the social and emotional aspects of being placed on a track are not beneficial to students. Critics may argue, however, that the benefits gifted students receive academically overshadow this. Importantly though, gifted and talented programs may offer little academic enrichment. Jason A. Grissom, a professor of public policy and education at Vanderbilt, studied nearly 13,000 kindergarten students across the country for 6 years and discovered that students only showed modest gains in reading and math during their participation in gifted programs (Grissom et al., 2019). More notably, Black and low-income gifted students did not seem to benefit at all (Grissom et al., 2019). If the gifted and talented programs do not in fact offer educational enrichment and result in social pressures and racial and economic segregation, the entire system must be reevaluated.

The Anointment Effect

The results of standardized tests, IQ tests, and the subsequent selection or rejection for gifted programs can present students with messages, both overt and covert, about their intelligence. Students who are chosen to be a part of the higher level courses and who have higher scores can develop what is referred to as the *anointment effect***.** "The anointment effect is the confidence and validation that students receive by being identified as 'gifted'" (Hartman & Squires, 2010, p. 108). Children gain a boost of confidence when identified as gifted, as psychologist William Darity Jr. noted (Tyson, 2011, p. 147), and thus perceive themselves as more academically capable. In addition, students who go through upper-level courses continue to build upon their more difficult materials. This results in a related phenomenon known as the *cumulative learning effect*. This is when there is an "increased capacity to take harder courses later in schooling as a result of exposure to and mastery of relevant preparatory material in the earlier years of schooling" (Hartman & Squires, 2010, p. 108). Through this effect, the skills and knowledge that students in higher programs are able to develop perpetuates higher levels of achievement in the future. A third related effect is the *enrichment effect*, whereby students receive "intellectual gain from export to more challenging and interesting content and the development of critical thinking skills" (Darity Jr. & Jolly, 2010, p. 108). Similar to the cumulative learning effect, students are able to access harder course materials and thus compile and consume more information with their learned skills.

Students who are in lower-level classes are more likely to doubt their abilities, but these students may already be doubting their abilities. As early as the 19th century, psychologist William James discovered that some students opt for lower level classes out of a fear of failure

(James, 1890). This, in conjunction with the idea that most adolescents hold of intelligence being a fixed trait compounds each other and result in a perception of themselves being less academically capable. Informing these students that they are less adept at academic achievement through their test scores and rejection from gifted programs perpetuates an aversion to more challenging classes and more advanced opportunities (Tyson, 2011). As time passes, students who do not take these academic risks will not have the same skills or resumés as their "gifted" counterparts, and thus will have a less competitive chance at applications to colleges and future job opportunities. These students will start to see school as an environment where they are not good enough or not able to perform in the way they are expected to.

Another factor of student self-identification and anointment relates to social politics of schools. Adolescence is characterized by an increased need to separate from adults and a need to adjust behavior to match long-term goals (Steinberg, 2005). Neurologically,

> There is considerable evidence that the second decade of life is a period of great activity with respect to changes in brain structure and function, especially in regions and systems associated with response inhibition, the calibration of risk and reward, and emotion regulation (Steinberg, 2005, p. 69).

This is particularly true when adolescents are making big life transitions such as the passage from elementary to middle school or middle to high school (Robins et al., 2002*)*. It has been shown that during these times, adolescents' self-esteem decreases greatly (Robins et al., 2002*)*. Thus it is important for their well-being to find a place they fit in socially within their school environment as they are developing their identity (Albarello et al., 2021), particularly because they are distancing themselves from their caregivers (Steinberg, 2005). This

self-imposed separation from family makes in-school adult support all the more important to their development.

Adults play a major role in the development of identity and skills throughout childhood and adolescence. In particular, teachers impact student perceptions of ability and can make or break a child's educational experience. In a now highly controversial 1939 study, psychologists, Johnson and Tudor, were interested in looking at stuttering in orphans and the impact of support or criticism of the trait. Tudor completed the study for her Masters thesis, which was never officially published (Tudor, 1939). Now called the Monster Study, the results were mostly insignificant, save for one group of students who did not stutter but were told they did for the experiment. These students began to develop stutters and speech impediments, slowly descending into more and more distress at the prospect of speaking (Reynolds, 2003). The implications of this study relate to the impact of adult support on student actions. If students are told they are incapable or not academically adept, they will meet that expectation. Thus the separation of students in classrooms and schools under tracks of "gifted" and "non-gifted" students will inevitably lead to the students meeting these expectations placed on them. Teachers' perceptions and treatment of students can change based upon a single test score, even though the student has remained the same (Gates, 2010). This can impact adolescent identity and self-perception. Besides teachers, peers of gifted students impact the way that students self-identify (Albarello et al., 2021; Tomova et al., 2021).

Identity in adolescence often relates to social identification, defined as feelings of belonging to a group and commonality with fellow ingroup members (Albarello et al., 2021). The negative effects of social exclusion are particularly high during adolescence, causing

adolescents to seek peer approval and avoid social risk (Tomova et al., 2021). While adolescents may find social acceptance outside of school, peer approval is important as classmates are a part of their proximal social group, with whom identification has positive effects on long-term social well-being (Albarello et al., 2021). This identification with peers results in identity fusion, the feeling of belonging with a group, which develops in adolescence (Gaviria et al., 2015). General identity formation is defined as a summation of membership roles (Adams, 1977). Being a member of the proximal social group offers a path to social acceptance. Thus gifted students are best served identifying strongly with their gifted peers while non-gifted students identify with non-gifted peers because of the importance of fitting in. This limits the variety of opinion and experiences students can learn about due to the homogeneity of their groups and maintains exclusionary ideals. In reality, each group may have numerous similarities that are simply hidden behind the differences identified, created, and maintained by the separation through gifted programs.

Differences between gifted students and non-gifted students maintain binary and hierarchical separation of the two groups. Gifted students tend to be more academically motivated and have less test anxiety (Wholuba, 2014). Non-gifted adolescents perceive themselves to be more socially competent and assert that social competence is more important than academic competence (Gilleland, 1996). When administered self-surveys, both gifted adolescents and the parents of gifted adolescents rated the gifted student's intelligence higher on self-report forms than non-gifted students and their parents (Wirthwein et al., 2019). This indicates that gifted students believe in their academic abilities while non-gifted students reject academic performances as a method of anxiety alleviation. Adolescents with high levels of

anxiety experienced lower psychological well-being and academic achievement in comparison with their peers who experience no or low levels of anxiety (Xu et al., 2021). Perhaps because social factors are placed at a higher level of importance for non-gifted youth, peer victimization has been found to be more prevalent among non-gifted youth (Erwin, 2015).

Sociologically, the labeling theory (Becker, 1963), says that a label placed on an individual increases the behavior associated with the label, which demonstrates the cyclical nature of a label and behavior (Gates, 2010). The label of giftedness becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy through the previously described effects of anointment, cumulative learning, and enrichment. Suggestions have been made to change the language that surrounds students, for example some people use "[children] who exhibit gifted behavior" (Renzulli, 2011), instead of "gifted children". However, with the segregation students experience, a change in terminology may not be sufficient.

In-group identification is fiercely held by adolescents. Gifted students who identify strongly with their gifted peers will seek camaraderie in their similarities, in this case being in higher academic classes than other students and being perceived as more academically capable. This perception will cause a heightened view of not only themselves but of their gifted peers, seeing them all as anointed. The other students will be viewed as not anointed, which may cause ostracization of those not chosen. The long-term effects are negative for both those who are anointed and those who are not.

I conceptualize *anointment* as consisting of two sub-categories: *confidence* and *validation.* I define *confidence* as self-esteem and academic self-efficacy. I define *validation* through in-class support, out-of-class support (from non-teacher school staff and family),

perception of academic capability, and self-assurance of future academic achievement. A visual representation of this operationalization in the form of a flow chart is available in Appendix C. It is important to note that the categories of *academic self efficacy* and *perception of academic capability* are similar, but the former is looking specifically at a students' current performance and the latter looks specifically at the future of performance.

Confidence

Confidence is the first aspect of anointment, and is defined through *academic self-efficacy* and *self-esteem*. Before delving further, I will discuss a related concept, *self-schemas*. *Self-schemas* are templates with which one organizes their world, and they influence how we perceive, remember, and evaluate ourselves and others. Furthermore, they are the beliefs through which one processes self-relevant information (Myers, 2005). This idea relates to both self-esteem and self-efficacy.

Academic Self-Efficacy. *Self-efficacy* is an intrinsic view of the self that allows one to make choices determinately (Myers, 2005). Psychologist Albert Bandura coined the term and described it as the belief that one is capable and effective (Bandura, 1977). There is a similar concept that is more applicable to the study, known as *academic self-efficacy*. *Academic self-efficacy* is defined as the belief that one is academically capable and effective (Bong, 1997; Jimenez, 2006). Individuals with a low sense of self-efficacy are more likely to avoid difficult tasks and they become discouraged after a failure (Bandura, 2010).

Self-Esteem. The other part of the operationalization of confidence that I am proposing is *self-esteem*. The APA Dictionary defines *self-esteem* as "the degree to which the qualities and

characteristics contained in one's self-concept are perceived to be positive" (American Psychological Association Dictionary, n.d.).

Validation

Validation is the second aspect of the anointment effect. This is defined as, "an enabling, confirming, and supportive process initiated by in- and out-of-class agents" (Rendon, 1994, p. 44). Additionally, "trusting their innate capacity to learn and acquire confidence as a… student" (Rendon, 1994, p. 44). Put another way, it is the messaging telling someone that they have certain qualities, in this case academic qualities. The messages are provided both by others and can come from within. The phrasing "innate capacity" may give an impression of an unchanging internal quality, and may also evoke eugenic concepts. Thus, I am using a different term to refer to the same phenomenon: *perception of academic capability*. This is a term used by Karolyn Tyson in a similar examination of education (Tyson, 2011).

In-class Support/Out-of-class Support. Students hear messages about their worth as academics from everyone around them. Teachers have a major impact on their experience in school. When teachers are informed that one group of students is gifted and the other is not, their behavior changes accordingly (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1966). Students who are nurtured and believed in succeed more than those who are not (Reynolds, 2003). Because of this, it is very important for students to feel that they have support from their teachers, their family members, and non-teacher school staff. The category of non-teacher school staff includes: school counselors, academic advisors, and any other adults they receive support from within the educational environment.

Perception of Academic Capability. This sub-category will be measured by three questions that I have created to form my own measurement scale. There are three different components that make up the scale: cognitive, emotional, and behavioral. The cognitive question is: “I believe that I am an academically capable individual”. The behavioral question is: “I tend to perform well in academically challenging assignments”. The emotional question is: “I trust my ability to succeed in challenging academic assignments”. These could be used in future studies as measurements.

Self-Assurance of Future Academic Achievement. This sub-category will be measured by three questions that I have created to form my own measurement scale. There are three different components that make up the scale: cognitive, emotional, and behavioral. The cognitive question is: “I believe that I will achieve academic success in my future”. The behavioral question is: “I will work hard now to achieve academic success in my future”. The emotional question is: “I trust my ability to succeed in my academic future”. These could be used in future studies as measurements.

CHAPTER 3: Resulting Social Injustices

This section will look at current practices of segregation in the United States education system. The separation of students creates categories of students who are gifted and non-gifted, leaving some students behind. Racial segregation specifically results in psychological damage to the students and impacts the identity formation they undergo during adolescence. Looking at history, with *Brown v. Board* (1954), future avenues will be inspected to offer opportunities to mitigate effects. Other populations who are being separated from their peers include low-income students and female students. I will look closely at the disparate rates of gifted and talented student identification with a focus on inequity for those populations who are marginalized.

CLBs (Children Left Behind)

It is important to examine those children who are left behind. Topical literature has not yet created a label for these individuals, and thus I have chosen to create my own. I will refer to these students as CLBs, an acronym for "Children Left Behind". This is both a description of these children, and a reference to George W. Bush's act, No Child Left Behind, that had a major impact on the development of this category. These are students who do not have the same opportunities as their gifted peers and are informed again and again of their inadequacies both outwardly and subliminally. These students are often members of minority communities, including those of lower socioeconomic status, racial minorities, and gender minorities.

These populations are the ones consistently overlooked and exploited in today's society. It comes as little surprise then that this occurs in the classrooms as well. One argument put

forward here links this to the government's implicit agenda to seek out those people who will benefit the state financially. It follows that those students whom the state believes they can extract the most benefit from will be presented with more opportunities for success. To achieve important scientific discoveries and to boost global competitiveness, the United States educational system must produce highly skilled workers. The government puts a premium on students whom they believe can succeed, and ignores the others. Gifted and talented programs are a perfect example of this. The issue is that the students who are ignored are often members of minority groups and this can cause the perpetuation of a myriad of social injustices.

Race

"It is almost universally agreed that race is a social construct… Why do we continue to search for a connection between race and genetics" (Silverstein, 2015, para. 5). The use of IQ tests to stratify students segregates them by race because of the racism inherent in the assessments. One of the primary arguments of this paper is that gifted and talented programs result in the inequitable segregation of students, often falling along lines of race, economic class, and gender. The American education system already includes disparate access before students are further separated into categories of gifted and non-gifted. William Darity Jr. and Alicia Jolla describe the American education system as a *closed system* (Darity Jr. & Jolla, 2010). Being closed means that there is not an equal level of access for all students. As Darity Jr. and Jolla say, "differential access arises because talent and ability is selectively constructed in our nation's schools on racial grounds" (Darity Jr. & Jolly, 2010, p. 100). In the aftermath of *Brown v. Board* (1954) criticism arose for the continuation of segregation through other means (Nelson, 2014).

Schools remain highly segregated, and major tools that cause this are higher level courses, tracking, and gifted programs.

The students who are in the racial minority in their schools face high levels of pressure to perform a certain way based on their race, a concept known as *stereotype threat* (Steele, 2011). Coined by Claude Steele, *stereotype threat* is a predicament of identity where one simultaneously feels societal pressure to adhere to a stereotype and internalized pressure to defy the stereotype (Steele, 2011). This is particularly true for students who are in a dramatic minority, as they have not reached a *critical mass* of students with the same identity, which is defined as the point when there are enough other minority students that they do not feel uncomfortable and a result of their identity (Steele, 2011). To best alleviate stereotype threat for students, schools need to not only include a large number of minority students, but also hire minority faculty (Steele, 2011). This integration and inclusion needs to begin as early as Kindergarten, because students as young as 5 have been found to experience performance impairment due to *stereotype threat* (Steele, 2011). The integration of all schools will permit non-white students to be in classrooms and school environments with their white peers, and to have access (in theory) to the same educational opportunities.

In 2001, Ronald Ferguson, an economist who studies educational achievement gaps, researched a public school in an Ohio community to determine whether Black students were receiving the same quality of education with the same opportunities as their white peers. He discovered that even though Black students made up 50% of the student body, only 11% of Black students were taking one or more AP courses, and only 31% of students in honor classes were Black (Ferguson, 2001). It is clear through this data that simply desegregating schools through

integration is not sufficient to ensure equitable access. The desegregation movement after *Brown v. Board* (1954) offers further insight into the reason schools are still not offering equal instruction.

After *Brown v. Board* (1954), many schools began imposing systems of tracking their students, and had their Black students on the lowest of tracks (Darity Jr. & Jolly, 2010). When in these low tracks, the teachers were instructed not to teach these students the necessary material to move up in the tracks, perpetuating the perception of these students as needing remedial education. (Darity Jr. & Jolly, 2010). "Thus, a presumption of black cognitive inferiority was being embedded into the operations of the school system from the point when black children first began school" (Darity Jr. & Jolla, 2010, p. 103). Numerous reasons have been proposed for the underperformance of black students including: lack of motivation, self-destruction due to low self-expectation, and low-self esteem (Steele, 2011). These suggestions, however, take an "observer perspective", where the subject is observed without the context in which they are performing, as opposed to an "actor perspective", which would allow for a full view of an individual through understanding of their personal circumstances (Jones & Nisbett, 1971). The issue has more to do with the structural inequity and marginalization that these students face (Steele, 2011). Notably, this is the idea of *critical race theory*, the concept that racism is not simply the result of individual bias, but is embedded in the systems and legislation of society (Bell, 1995). This theory is clearly relevant to the topic of gifted education, because in the case of students being separated into tracks, many alarming issues arise, one being the perpetuation of racial segregation.

> Higher-level classes (gifted, honors, advanced placement) are disproportionately filled with white students, while the lower-level, standard classes are disproportionately filled with black and other minority students. We call this 'racialized' tracking, but it is essentially segregation (Tyson, 2011, p. 6).

Negative effects of racial segregation have been well documented. A study completed in 1950 by psychologists Mamie Clark and her husband Kenneth Clark researched the effects of racial segregation on Black children. They presented Black children with the option to play with a Black and a white doll (Clark & Clark, 1950). The findings were that a majority of the Black children opted to play with the white doll, citing beauty and kindness of white people over Black people (Clark & Clark, 1950). The researchers postulated that this was due to the depth of racism that was embedded in the childrens' thoughts resulting from segregation and racism (Clark & Clark, 1950). These results played a role in the passing of *Brown v. Board* (1954) (Blakemore, 2018). The legacy of segregation and the continued racism in schools cannot be understated as an impactful factor of educational experiences. As a result of the current practices of segregation through tracking, Black students are exposed to ongoing claims of their intellectual inferiority.

Since there are much lower rates of non-white students who are enrolled in gifted and talented programs, members of ethnic and racial minority groups who are in the programs do not have access to peers from the same racial and ethnic groups. Ethnic and racial groups are important for identity formation in adolescence. One study on Latino youth found that social acceptance was correlated with improved psychological health (Potochnick et al., 2012). A study looking at Black adolescents found that ethnic pride and out-group orientation grows in middle and high school (Saafir, 2020). Research has found that for other ethnic minorities, being socially

accepted in both their culture of origin and the dominant culture is related to higher rates of self esteem and higher grade point averages (Pallock, 2004). For bolstering ethnic pride, representation was found to be crucial (Saafir, 2020). The implications of these findings are that the lack of diversity currently present in gifted programs is detrimental to the self-esteem and ethnic pride of adolescents. Some claim that ability grouping is positive for the achievements of gifted minority youth (Page & Keith, 1996), but the absence of minority representation calls this claim into question. One study claimed that peer pressure played a big role in Black student underachievement (Ford, 1993).

Black students learn to equate academic achievement with whiteness not in the home or in their communities, but in schools (Tyson, 2011). In Karolyn Tyson's research, she found that Black students in elementary schools did not make the association between whiteness and academic achievement, but it did begin to emerge in middle school and during adolescence (Tyson, 2011). In adolescence, when identity formation is salient, there begins to develop a phenomenon of Black students perceiving high academic achievement as "acting white" (Tyson, 2011). There is danger in making broad assertions about student performance, particularly in saying that Black students see high achievement as "acting white" and thus reject and avoid academic achievement. The reality has more to do with what spaces Black students have access to in academic settings, for example AP courses. One student interviewed in Tyson's book referred to advanced courses as "white people courses" (Tyson, 2011, p. 5). If Black students were to have equal access to these classes and programs, this phenomenon could lessen.

When students are in environments where they feel marginalized, they may be in what is known as a *chilly climate*, where they feel as though their abilities are under suspicion due to

their identity (Seymour & Hewitt, 1994). An example of this is female students in high level math classes (Seymour & Hewitt, 1994). This is due to the internalization of the negative stereotype of your identity grouping (Allport, 1958). This pressure of *stereotype threat*, can affect performance in classes, on tests, and of memory more generally (Steele, 2011).

In contrast to Black students, white students are more likely to be told they are "gifted", and are more likely to be in advanced classes (Tyson, 2011). This benefits those students on two fronts: first, they are more likely to have the confidence to continue to seek out advanced instruction. They feel "anointed", and believe more in their own academic abilities. Second, the "gifted" track students make friends with other students in their classes and thus have a network of friends with whom they identify and associate. This creates a sense of belonging for these students and allows for formation of in-group identities of students who all consider themselves "gifted" (Tyson, 2011). Students who join together in these groups experience in-group favoritism, which includes discrimination of the out-group, those not in gifted programs (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). In addition, those discriminated against in the out-group may feel less inclined to seek out and join higher-level classes for fear of peer judgment and discrimination.

Minority students are quite varied in their experiences, and not all races of people experience the same biases and racism. Asian students often face quite different expectations in comparison to their Black peers. This is, in part, a result of Asian students being perceived as highly intelligent and high achieving, which is due to a phenomenon of them being seen as a "model minority" (Lee, 2020). The view of Asian students as being high achieving has been prevalent since the 1960s and is damaging to both Asian people and other minority groups as it ignores the barriers and difficulties that Asian people face and has been used politically against

other minority groups (Lee, 2020). In the 2013-2014 school year, looking at percentages of racial identities who are in gifted and talented programs, 13.3% of Asian students were enrolled in gifted and talented programs in comparison to 4.3% of Black students and 7.7% of white students (National Center for Education Statistics, 2018). The expectation of high achievement creates intense pressure for Asian students. Those unable to live up to the standards are seen as failed examples of their race and those who are successful are held up as clear signs that the stereotype is factual (Lee, 2020). This expectation causes high rates of anxiety in Asian students and impacts identity formation (Lee, 2020). This is not to say that Asian students are not capable of high levels of academic achievement, but more to return back to the quote at the beginning of this chapter that states that race is a social construct. Intelligence has not been proven to be heritable, and all students have individual strengths and weaknesses that have nothing to do with a student's race.

Class

Economic status plays a major role in the resources a child has access to. As young children, affluent students may have access to high quality daycares while low-income children may not be able to afford these programs. While there have been programs emerging to combat inequitable early education, like New York City's new *Pre-K for All* program, there remains widespread disparate access. In particular, there are areas in the United States known as "child care deserts", where there is simply not enough access to childcare for those individuals living there (Malik et al., 2018). A 2018 report from the Center for American Progress found that around half of the country experiences these deserts (Malik et al., 2018).

In a school housing both high- and low-income students, the affluent children were on or above grade level and were enrolled in advanced-track courses, while 35% of low-income students were identified as learning disabled and were receiving special education services (Brantlinger, 2020). Furthermore, 37% of the low-income students had been held back one or two years (Brantlinger, 2020).

This separation is continued through gifted and talented program access. A study found that children in the top 20% of socio-economic status are seven times more likely to be identified as gifted in their K-5 years, as compared to their low-income student peers (Grissom et al., 2019). The age of gifted student identification varies by state, and in New York, children take the standardized test for gifted students during grades K-3, typically around age 4 (Quinn, 2021). Low-income students are already at risk in their identity development, and thus being placed in remedial programs sends them negative messaging about their worth as a student.

Gender

A meta-analysis of gifted identification discovered that boys were 1.19 times more likely to be identified as gifted than girls (Petersen, 2013). While this is a slight proportion in comparison to the rates of underidentification by race and class, it is another important factor to address. Girls in early adolescence experience increasing rates of anxiety, depression, and disordered eating. By age sixteen, girls have rates of depression two times higher then the boys in their age cohort (Machoian, 2020).

Early adolescence is also a time of gender intensification, where girls feel pressure to identify with and exemplify their gender (Machoian, 2020). Because of this intense desire to

associate with like individuals, girls feel pressure to maintain their friendships (Machoian, 2020). This extreme desire to fit in heightens the necessity of in-grouping, and thus those girls who are denied the opportunity to receive high level instruction associate firmly with their non-gifted peers. This could cause the rejection of academic achievement in an attempt to conform to their status as non-gifted.

Parent bias may also have some impact on gender differences in gifted student identification. A study of aggregate google data found that parents are two and a half times more likely to search "is my son gifted" than "is my daughter gifted" (Stephens-Davidowitz, 2014). As parental pressure can impact which students take gifted entrance exams, this may be one of the reasons the rates of girls and boys in gifted education are disparate.

I have not found any studies that have considered the rates of gender minorities who participate in gifted programs, and thus I will not form assumptions about underidentification of those students who do not adhere to the gender binary. Similar to gaps in data for gender minorities, studies have not examined rates of LGBTQ+ students in gifted programs. However, it is known that LGBTQ+ youth are at heightened risk for depression. They are over four times more likely to have considered or attempted suicide in comparison with their straight peers (Sadowski, 2020). Thus, LGBTQ+ youth are an already at-risk group and thus are more susceptible to low levels of self-efficacy and to negative self-schemas. With the increasing of anti-LGBTQ+ legislation being passed, such as Florida's recent "Don't Say Gay" bill (2022), where teachers are no longer allowed to provide classroom instruction about sexual orientation or gender identity, it is more important than ever to support LGBTQ+ students.

One of the biggest consequences of the underidentification of minority students for gifted and talented programs is the way that these students learn to conceptualize their own skills. A 1994 study found that college students who are in groups including: low-income, first-generation, and racial-minority expect to fail academically and hold high levels of self-doubt (Rendon, 1994). For first-generation students in particular, there may be extra difficulties if they are also English-language learners, as this is a population left behind through testing (Menken, 2008). One researcher noted that the study's findings impress upon educators the importance of creating an environment that affirms underserved students (Hallett et al., 2020). The separation of students into gifted and talented programs prevents this affirmation from occurring due to the huge disparity of populations that are chosen. Students who are a part of various minority groups are at higher risk of mental health disorders, and many of these students are also underidentified in gifted and talented programs. This disparity in access compounds the issues faced by these students in the realms of self-efficacy and self-evaluation. These students are left behind, and their identities are formed in relation to this view of themselves as non-academically gifted.

CHAPTER 4: Case Study: Sadie and Nick

In this section, I look internally at the New York City public school system, with a focus on students in the gifted and talented programs and their specialized high schools. New York City was selected because it houses the largest gifted and talented system of its kind in the country, and the public school system itself is the largest in the country, with over 1 million students enrolled. I will offer a real world example through two fictional students, Sadie and Nick.

To enter the NYC gifted and talented programs, students take the NYC Gifted and Talented Test, which is made up of two tests, the OLSAT and the NNAT (Quinn, 2021). This examination is typically taken at age 4. The OLSAT, or Otis-Lennon School Ability Test, assesses a student's verbal, nonverbal and quantitative ability (Pearson, n.d.-b). The NNAT, or the Naglieri Nonverbal Ability Test**,** is a nonverbal aptitude test (Pearson, n.d.-a). Students are offered admission to Gifted & Talented programs based on the scores. After middle school, New York City students have the option to apply to one of nine specialized high schools, eight with admission through an exam, the Specialized High School Admissions Test, and the ninth through an audition process.

Sadie and Nick

To better understand the New York City school system and its relationship to the anointment effect, we will embark upon a case study of two students: Sadie, and Nick. The two students, whom we first meet at age 4, grow up in the same neighborhood: The Upper West Side

of Manhattan, but with highly disparate circumstances. Sadie grew up as an only child in a wealthy Black family with two fathers. One of her fathers is a lawyer and the other is a retired investment banker and now a stay at home dad. Nick grew up as the oldest child of three, in a low-income white family, with a single mother who is employed as a nurse. The two students attend the same public school for Pre-K, The West Side YMCA Co-op Nursery School on the Upper West Side of Manhattan.

Sadie was raised by her fathers and had one parent with her at all times providing one-on-one focus and educational enrichment. She played in the park every day with other children, read books and engaged in learning. She was given every educational opportunity possible. Nick was raised by his mother who gave every free second she had to him, but needed to work a good deal to support their family. At age 2 he was put into a daycare near their house, Based Trust, where the teachers did their best but were understaffed and unable to provide the same kind of individual focus a stay at home parent could.

Sadie and Nick meet when they are placed in the same classroom for Kindergarten. Both students have shown great promise academically. Next year their parents will have the option to apply for a gifted and talented program. Sadie's fathers are very keen on her attending a school for gifted and talented students, while Nick's mother is unaware of the process but interested in the prospect of her son attending. In November of their kindergarten year, Sadie and Nick's teacher, Mr. C, sends out an email informing the parents of the G&T program process. First, the parents must submit an online form to sign up for the exam. Then the students will complete the exam and from these results be offered or denied admission in a gifted and talented program. Both Nick's mother and Sadie's fathers submit Requests for Testing (RFTs) online. While they

wait for the email informing them of their test date, Sadie's fathers work with her on verbal and nonverbal skills to help prepare her for the exam. Nick's mother talks to him about what he can expect from a standardized test. In January, the parents receive an email notifying them that the test will take place in 2 days.

Two days later, the two students sit in a classroom with some of their peers, and take the exam. Months later, in April, the parents receive their scores. Sadie has scored in a relatively high percentile for her age, but she did score lower than some white peers who experience the same level of economic privilege. This is possibly due to stereotype threat, because of the internalized messaging about lower capability of academic achievement that Black children face due to their race (Steele, 2011). The messaging results in the students putting a large amount of pressure on themselves to disprove the stereotype and succeed and can result in lower scores due to the pressure (Steele, 2011). Nick has scored in the mid-range of percentiles, but higher than many of his non-white peers in the same age cohort. Sadie's fathers are thrilled and enroll her in The Anderson School, a K-8 school for gifted and talented children on the Upper West Side. Nick's mother is proud of her son, but he does not have the scores to attend a gifted and talented school, so he attends P.S. 087 William Sherman, a public school near their house.

Years later, when Sadie and Nick are in their 7th grade year, they are both applying to high schools. Sadie earns As in all of her classes, and Nick earns Bs in all of his classes. Sadie spends her free time participating in extracurriculars including robotics and coding. She has purchased all of the books offered to study for the entrance exam. Nick spends his free time spending time with his friends, drawing, and babysitting to earn extra money for his family. He studied for the entrance exam by going over past school work, but could not afford any of the

study books for the exam. Both sit for the entrance exam, the Specialized High School Admissions Test (SHSAT). This is the only requirement for admission to the New York City selective high schools, meaning they do not look at grades or extracurriculars. If Sadie gets in she will attend, but if she does not her fathers will send her to a private school. If Nick does not get in, he will have to attend the high school in his district, a low performing public school.

The two students sit once more in large classrooms with their peers for this new three hour exam. They are two of 28,000 that year to participate (NYC Department of Education, n.d.-b). Sadie feels pressure to perform highly as she is already enrolled in a gifted and talented program and wants to prove that she deserves this higher level course load. Nick studied in an attempt to escape enrolling in the low performing public school he is fated to attend should he not excel at the SHSAT. He knows that many of his friends will be going to the public school next year, though, and he does not want to leave them. Sadie's friends are all in the room taking the exam, and she hopes to go to a Specialized High School with them. Sadie and Nick rank the schools they want to attend, and take the test.

Months later, the two students received their scores in the mail. Sadie's letter informs her that she has been offered admission to her third choice school, High School for Mathematics, Science, and Engineering at City College of New York. She is one of only 5,000 students to receive a letter of admission that year to a gifted and talented program, leaving 23,000 students who are denied (NYC Department of Education, n.d.-b). She is proud to have been accepted and to have scored highly on the exam. She has received scores that are in line with her view of herself, which includes high intelligence and impressive aptitude. Her fathers express to her how proud of her they are and how intelligent they see her to be.

Nick receives his packet in the mail and is disappointed to discover that he has not been offered admission to a specialized high school. His scores were average, and did not make the cut for admissions. This message contributes to his view of himself as average and moderately academically achieving. He is one of many students who were also not selected for a program, or whose parents were unaware of the process. Nick's mom commiserates with her son and cautions him to not place all importance on academics, letting him know that there are other paths to take in life that do not require academic prowess. He is happy that he will be staying with his friends who have also not been offered admission.

When the students each received their scores, the adolescents were informed of their skills as academics. Sadie was bolstered while Nick was discouraged. Erik Erikson, a developmental psychologist, claims that a more confirmed sense of identity is more likely to lead to positive psychological adjustment (Erikson, 1950) and help students ensure the direction, purpose, and meaning of life (Chen, 2019). With each new exam score and teacher critique, Sadie and Nick create an image of themselves from the time they are very young. Without the opportunities that Sadie received, Nick was unable to perform as well on standardized tests as a young boy. This could have something to do with their abilities, but also depends heavily on the disparate enrichment they received as children. Furthermore, the racial expectations of academic performance may play a role (Steele, 2011). This persisted through lower and middle school as Sadie was sent to a higher achieving school with other higher achieving students, and Nick remained at a public school. Nick's inability to participate in after school activities due to his need to help support his family financially perpetuated his and Sadie's discordant academic lives.

Sadie's ability to pay for private school had she not enrolled in a specialized high school is yet another example of the privilege she experiences.

Messages from her fathers about her scholastic aptitude further strengthened Sadie's understanding of herself as academically able, and promoted an anointed self perception. Lack of these messages from his mother resulted in the absence of an anointed self-perception for Nick, in addition to the fact that he was denied twice from specialized programs. His mother's expression to him of academics not being the most important thing demonstrates to him that things such as social intelligence may be more important. Nick's desire to remain with his friends also shows the importance and strength of adolescent in-group identification. Similarly, Sadie's friends are all taking the test which connects them and bonds them to one another.

When applying to colleges, Sadie looks solely at Ivy League schools, ending up at Brown University, while Nick looks at state universities with mid-higher range acceptance rates, ending up at State University of New York (SUNY) New Paltz. Their grades remained the same throughout high school, with Sadie at an A average and Nick at a B average. Their self images were manifested through their college application choices. Nick was also limited financially, having to pay for his college tuition himself and making decisions based partially on where he was offered financial aid. Sadie has a trust fund dedicated to educational expenses which fully covers her college tuition.

Sadie and Nick are archetypes of real students and provide a clear view of the possibilities that educational enrichment as a young child can produce as well as the major role financial situations play. These factors allow us to view some of the ways that standardized tests are biased and unreliable measures of academic achievement. It also shows that with time,

opportunities compound one another. Sadie was able to learn more at her gifted and talented program and participate in highly technical and difficult after school activities while Nick had to work.

Additionally, social interactions and associations played a role in Sadie and Nick's lives. They each made friends within their programs which resulted in in-grouping. Sadie and her friends see themselves as highly intelligent and academically successful due to their enrollment in gifted and talented programs and from the messaging they receive from adults around them. Nick and his friends put more focus on social interactions than academic achievement. Denial from gifted and talented programs and specialized high schools add to this self-perception.

In New York City, the SHSAT is the only factor that schools take into account for admission. That makes this city the perfect example of the issues that the nation faces when schools look solely at standardized tests to predict academic success. In the next chapter, I will examine possible future avenues that can ameliorate this issue, and suggest some solutions.

CHAPTER 5: Where do we go from here?

In this chapter, I look to the NYC Gifted and Talented Programs to see what is currently happening within them and as a result of the change in mayoral staffing. I will then offer my vision of the future of education in the United States. With this, I will outline some of the practicalities of this including funding, staffing, and curriculum.

The Future of NYC G&T programs

In February of 2021, the NYC Department of Education announced that they would be eradicating the test for admission to gifted and talented programs and replacing it with a hybrid lottery and questionnaire/assessment system ("Change Is a Good Thing, Right? Changes to NYC Gifted and Talented Qualification Process," 2021). "The era of judging 4-year-olds based on a single test is over," Mayor Bill de Blasio said in a statement to the press. "Every New York City child deserves to reach their full potential, and this new, equitable model gives them that chance" (Veiga, 2021). To enroll, a family must express interest in their child attending a G&T program, and from there the preschool program their child is attending will evaluate the child to determine whether they are eligible to apply. If a student is eligible, their family will be able to apply for a seat in the classroom and they will be entered into a lottery (Jorgensen, 2021). It must be noted that this proposal was never implemented due to the overturn of administrations. However, it demonstrates a possible policy direction.

Meisha Porter, the chancellor of New York City schools until 2021, along with former Mayor Bill deBlasio, unveiled a program called "Brilliant NYC" before they left office (NYC

Department of Education, 2021). It is their outline for the replacement of gifted and talented Programs. Rather than separating out a small percentage of students to receive accelerated learning, they propose that all students will undergo an accelerated learning program. A study in Chicago found that when all students were exposed to challenging authentic intellectual work that deviated from test preparation, they all benefited (Newmann & Bryk, 2001). The researchers suggested that this high-level instruction could boost scores on standardized tests for all classrooms by not teaching to the test but instead by growing general knowledge and skills (Newmann & Bryk, 2001). If all students were given the same difficult material, I hypothesize that it could create a growth mindset for them. This could teach them that they are all capable of high levels of academic achievement, which could mitigate feelings of academic inadequacy and help bolster self-perception.

While there was no released plan that laid out any other details for what the Brilliant NYC program would entail, DeBlasio and Porter released a body of cited literature, some of which I will provide a brief summary of next[1]. First, there are a number of articles that are focused on the psychology of learning which points to the scientific efficacy of the proposed program (Piaget, 1950; Holloway, 2003; Willingham, 2009). In terms of classroom techniques, project-based learning is discussed, which has found success in bolstering belief in their own efficacy (Condliffe et al., 2017). Project-based learning accomplishes this by encouraging student choice and supporting collaborative learning (Condliffe et al., 2017). Other cited literature focuses on how segregated gifted education is, which is indicative of the view of the program creators that there needs to be a reintegration of students to ensure equity (Mahnken,

[1] As of May 1, 2022, this page with literature is no longer available. It has been removed from the NYC Department of Education's website.

2021; Baldwin, 2005; Plucker, 2017). Another topic of the cited literature centers around community partnerships. One article stresses the importance of community partnerships on the strengthening of education in STEM subjects (Lopez et al., 2016). Another report identifies that for students to learn the most and be supported in all areas of their lives, there should be partnerships between schools and out-of-school programs (Harvard Family Research Project, 2010). These out-of-school programs include afterschool and summer programs, and even physical and mental health services that students participate in (Harvard Family Research Project, 2010).

Through the Brilliant NYC program, teachers would undergo additional training so they can "identify student strengths and offer project-based enrichment opportunities" (Troutman, 2021). The higher expectation for teachers begs the question of whether they will be met with higher pay, which as of yet has not been addressed. It will be crucial to work with the teachers' unions and ensure that all teachers receive fair pay and are given the appropriate resources for this new approach. In addition, working with these educators and with educational theorists is necessary to create the best curricula.

David Banks, the new Chancellor of Schools for New York City under newly elected Mayor Eric Adams, who replaced Meisha Porter after her 10 months in office under DeBlasio, seems to disagree with the plan created by his predecessor. In an interview with Bill Ritter at Up Close on ABC7, he said that he planned to bring gifted and talented programs to every district in the city and "expand on opportunities" (Ritter, 2022). Acknowledging that these programs are more of an expense, Banks seemed to offer no solution for this fiscal issue, rather he doubled

down on his claim of commitment to all students through expanded educational opportunities. (Ritter, 2022).

Eric Adams has also made his commitment to keeping gifted and talented programs in place clear. During his campaign, he informed the press: “no I would not [eliminate the gifted program]. I would expand the opportunities for accelerated learning” (Shapiro, 2021). His choice to appoint David Banks as his chancellor schools is a fascinating one, given that Banks is the creator of the Eagle Academy Foundation, a series of charter schools in New York City that only serve boys. Charter schools are controversial because of what they purportedly do, and choosing an educational leader who comes from that environment raises some questions.

Charter schools are often offered as a solution to public school problems. However, while there are successful charter schools, the success rate for charter schools versus public schools are relatively comparable, with charter schools sometimes rating lower overall (Smith, 2018). The issue with charter schools is that they funnel funding away from public schools which exacerbates the financial issues of the public school system. The same phenomenon occurs with gifted and talented programs. The argument that there should be alternative programs for high performing students could work in theory, but in reality it completely ignores the children left behind in the classrooms that have been underfunded to support those programs. The children left behind continue to be subjected to injustices discussed in previous chapters.

In order to support all students, gifted and talented programs should be eradicated and all of the funding should be reinvested in the public schools. That is why the concept of Brilliant NYC, while extremely vague in its initial outline by deBlasio and Porter, is the best proposal I have seen to date. It is a recommitment to all students, a set of higher expectations for both them

and their teachers. It not only allows for students to learn more, but provides them with a message that they have the capacity to work through this more difficult material.

The Brilliant NYC program would allow each school to educate all of its students with high level materials and adequately fund this process. Once high school is reached for New York City students, they still have the option to apply to specialized high schools, which offer opportunities for discordant educational opportunities. However, I believe that if these schools were to take a more holistic approach to admission, they could have a more fair process. In addition, having had equal educational opportunities throughout their K-8 years, students would have more of a fair shot at the admissions in the first place.

The most recent news we have received from David Banks was that he would increase standardized testing across the board to ensure there is not a loss of achievement due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Additionally he is planning a large-scale increase of gifted and talented programs, saying there would be more access for all students across the city. The problem is that Banks' ability to overhaul and expand a program is limited budgetarily and some issues, such as racism, are highly systematic and ingrained in every facet of the program. Banks' desire for inclusion is certainly positive; however, the increased use of standardized testing runs counter to this stated desire. As they stand, gifted and talented programs are not serving the entire community. Currently in New York City, the roughly 16,000 seats are 43 percent Asian, 36 percent white, 8 percent Hispanic, and 6 percent Black (Algar, 2021). In addition, during the pandemic there has been a massive decrease in the number of students attending the New York City public school systems. Adams' call for an expansion of gifted and talented programs may be

an attempt to appease voters and taxpayers, as many parents are in favor of this expansion, in order to quell any further enrollment losses.

My Proposal

What I propose is that we take the Brilliant NYC program idea of a classroom, with every student receiving accelerated learning, and make it both more specific and nationally implemented. As of yet, there are very few details on the curriculum, funding, and other factors needed to put this program into place. I will make some suggestions for these, and look at the realism of its implementation.

I am not categorically opposed to David Banks' increase in standardized testing for New York City students, particularly due to the wide-scale difficulties the pandemic has increased for students. However, I propose that these tests be labeled not with a student's name but by their school and grade level so the results cannot be attributed to the individual student or teacher. Administrators would have the results of these tests to ensure they are able to address the gaps in knowledge students have while allowing for a less biased response due to anonymity. Furthermore, the tests should not result in punitive measures. Punishing schools for a lower achievement rate fiscally and through school closures completely ignores the purpose of the exams–to support schools and students who are struggling academically. Instead, funding must be increased to these schools for quality improvement and for an increase of equity. I propose that a label for these tests be: low-stakes standardized testing. Oftentimes, "low-stakes testing" is used to describe minor in-class assessments and assignments that have little effect on a student's grade. I believe that this would help mitigate pressures that high-stakes testing causes,

particularly for populations of students that are at a higher risk. Furthermore, a tactic for better assessment is to reassure students that the test is not a reflection of their innate academic capability but rather a measurement of something else entirely, such as teacher skills, to lessen the effects of stereotype threat (Steele, 2011). Furthermore, any measurements of demographics such as race, gender, and class should be taken after the exam is finished so the stereotypes associated with those factors that affect students are not top of mind (Steele, 2011).

In New York State, students in grades 3-8 are required to take exams in English, Mathematics, and Science. Most exams are taken annually. Additionally, high school students take the Regents Examination in English, World Language, Living Environment, Algebra 1, and Physical Setting/Earth Science. Although there will be an overhaul of the entire system, that does not necessarily mean that the content on the exams need to change. There will be an evaluation of the content by psychological and educational experts before any decisions are made, to ensure that the psychological stress to students is minimized, and will in fact measure achievement and course material, as purported. Currently, the tests that are administered are varied by state, but with the creation of a cross-state curriculum, there will be a cross-state examination.

There is significant indication that the Brilliant NYC program would improve the education system in New York City. In North Carolina, lawmakers implemented a similar program called “Project Bright IDEA” for K-2 students. All of the students who participated in this program, regardless of race, are qualifying for G&T programs at much higher rates. (Darity Jr. & Jolla, 2010). Thus, the proposed system has been done before and has been successful in its mission.

NYC Specialized High Schools

I believe that the New York City specialized high schools are an institution that would remain feasible in my proposed system. However, the current method of testing for enrollment would need to be eradicated. Instead, a holistic application such as one would complete for a college application would replace the SHSAT system of evaluation. This would include grades, GPA, a personal statement, and teacher recommendations. While I would not prefer to continue the usage of the exam, I anticipate pushback to this, so I propose instead its use as an additional measure of evaluation in a student's application. I also believe that this will incentivize those parents who want their children in higher level programs to have an opportunity at student separation at some point in their child's educational career.

One possible solution to the controversy of New York City specialized high schools comes from Bard College. Bard College, a liberal arts college in upstate New York, has established what are known as *Bard High School Early Colleges* (BHSEC). These high schools are public institutions that implement advanced curricula for their students. These students graduate with both a High School diploma and an Associates Degree. The data is clear that BHSEC students are more academically successful, particularly Black students. 71 percent of Black BHSEC students completed a degree in comparison to only 54 percent of non-BHSEC Black students (D'Orio, 2022). Students also receive some transferable college credits that can offer financial benefits (D'Orio, 2022). Since Bard's endeavor began in the 1990s, early colleges have sprouted up around the country, with similar success stories. Entry requirements to these programs vary. The BHSEC schools require a written sample and student interview. Stephen Tremaine, the Vice President of Bard's early colleges said that they purposefully do not review

middle school test scores (D'Orio, 2022). For admission, other early colleges look at attendance and grade history, while some have open enrollment. Notably, there is an additional cost associated with the programs. For the BHSEC programs Tremaine estimated that there was an additional $1,000-$3,000 needed annually per student in the junior and senior grade levels (D'Orio, 2022). This is not paid by the student as the schools are public institutions. Thus this will result in further costs provided by either the state or federal government. This extra cost seems well worth it, though, for the results these programs have produced.

Funding

Financially, nearly all decisions about gifted education are made at the state and local level (National Association for Gifted Children, n.d.-a). While some states, including New York, do not have increased state funding for gifted education, other states do. For example, Florida granted $1.09 billion in funds for the Exceptional Student Education (ESE) Guaranteed Allocation, under the condition that districts support gifted and talented students (EdBuild, 2021). The federal government does not dole out funding for gifted and talented students, but there is a federal program for gifted children called the Jacob K. Javits Gifted and Talented Students Education Act, which provides funding for students who are underrepresented in G&T programs (National Association for Gifted Children, n.d.-a). In the fiscal year 2020, the Javits program received $13 million in federal funding (National Association for Gifted Children, n.d.-b). My proposal depends on higher levels of funding from the federal government, which would be a new revenue stream as it is not available in most school districts currently.

On March 28, 2022, President Joe Biden proposed a national defense budget of $813.3 billion dollars, $773 billion of which is for the Department of Defense (Austin III, 2022). Notably, $130.1 billion dollars of the budget go to research and development of artificial intelligence and military technologies (Austin III, 2022). The budget is a $30.7 billion increase in funding from the last fiscal year (Austin III, 2022). In contrast, the education budget for the upcoming fiscal year totals $88.3 billion (U.S. Department of Education, 2022). The disparate funding is a clear message of the priorities held by the government. As mentioned earlier, a study found that around 8 billion dollars would be sufficient to provide all students in New York with a quality education (Chambers et al., 2004). The needs may vary by state, but if all states were to receive around 8-10 billion dollars, that would total under $50 billion, a miniscule portion of funding in comparison to the military defense budget.

As the funding structures of gifted education programs are highly dependent on the state the program is housed in, it is difficult to make a federal proposal. I will thus make a proposal for New York State and offer some suggestions for how to make it feasible in other states across the country. In New York, the fact that there are separate schools for gifted children offers a first opportunity for inclusion. I believe that these schools should be disbanded and the gifted children should be reintegrated into their public schools. I propose that this be done through a phase out program, so students who are currently enrolled in G&T schools in grades 6-8 will graduate from that middle school program and join a public or specialized high school. The students in grades K-5 will finish the school year and join their local public school. Among other things, this assures that students will not be sent to other districts, allowing for an easier commute and more time in the classroom and with their peers. Teachers will be placed in schools close to their house

for the same reasons. While this will be more difficult for areas that are more rural, it will still provide some alleviation of transportation to be placed in the closest school.

The country is facing a major problem with the retention of school staff, specifically teachers. This is in part because of the very low pay they receive. As teachers will be expected to engage their students in accelerated learning, the increased pay will in part reflect the increased expectations, and will also be comparable to the level of education they have received. Furthermore, they will have bi-annual professional development days that will allow for updates on the current educational and psychological theories that will contribute to their classroom management and curriculum.

New York state has already put into place a free kindergarten program which includes free meals (NYC Department of Education, n.d.-a). Free meals are a crucial way to ensure that students are being given the nutrition they need to be successful in school, something that not everyone is able to be provided at home. My plan is that this free meal system would be extended to K-12 schools, with every student receiving breakfast, lunch, and a snack. Students who would like to receive breakfast can come to school between 7am and 8:30am before classes start, but all students will receive lunch during their 12-2pm break (see the Curriculum section below for more details on the schedule). Some schools in the United States have been offering free meals as a temporary measure to mitigate COVID-19 related difficulties, so this is a viable measure and could be made permanent. Partnering with local organizations will be crucial to the success of this idea, including farms and restaurants. Along with local partnerships, I would like each school to have their own community garden, funded through federal grants, which will become a part of the curriculum. This will further supplement the healthy foods that are

inexpensive and available to students at mealtimes, and will teach students about making healthy nutritional choices.

Curriculum

School days should be longer, beginning at 8:30 am and ending at 5:30pm. As sleep is crucial to the ability to learn, the beginning of the day is no different than the average current school start times. To manage this increased time in the classroom, I propose that all teachers work half days with a different staff for the morning and the afternoon. Importantly, they would still be paid full time. This will allow for teachers to not be as overworked and to have more time to prepare lesson plans, but ensures consistency for the students as they have the same morning and afternoon every day. This would also create a block plan of 25 blocks, with Monday to Friday instruction from 8:30am-10am, 10:15am-11:45am, 2:15pm-3:45pm and 4pm-5:30pm. This leaves a two-hour break in the middle for lunch, recess, school work, and extracurriculars (including clubs). This two-hour break would ensure that students do not feel too overwhelmed by the added classroom time. There will be 8 total subjects that students will participate in each week. An example of these for a fifth grader is as follows: Physical Education (Block 1), English (Block 2), History (Block 3), Science (Block 4), Elective chosen by the student (Block 5), Mathematics (Block 6), Foreign Language (Block 7), and Music/Art (Block 8). To ensure that all subjects are equally attended, every other week will either have 3 days of Blocks 1-4 and 2 days of Blocks 5-8, and the other weeks will have 3 days of Blocks 5-8 and 2 days of Blocks 1-4. A visual example of a course schedule for a 5th grader is available in Appendix D.

Due to the extra time in class, there will be more classroom opportunities, and I propose that some of this be used to take electives to ensure that students stay engaged throughout the longer school day. Additionally, each 90-minute block will include a 10 minute break. For students who are younger, it may be difficult for them to remain engaged for over an hour at a time, so there will be options for more breaks at the teachers' discretion. The purpose of the mid-day two-hour break is to allow for a mental reset and a block of time for students to participate in things that bring them joy. To ensure that students are able to participate in extracurriculars and pursue their non-academic interests, they will not have classes on Saturdays, as some politicians have suggested. Finally, due to the extra time in class, there will not be out-of-class school work, like homework. Teachers can take advantage of the extra class time to have them do work and study, and this will allow for students to ask teachers questions in real time as well.

All classes will include accelerated instruction with teachers who have undergone additional workshops and courses to bolster their knowledge and instructional ability. The current standard that is implemented across the country is the Common Core curriculum. This is a series of expectations for Mathematics and English Language Arts for grades K-12. Interestingly, in New York, the gifted and talented programs hold no higher standards they must complete and instead must only adhere to the same Common Core standards as their non-gifted programs. As the programs all must follow the same standards, it stands to reason that they could all continue to participate in a new, higher level, curriculum. The Common Core standards offer a wonderful jumping off point to build on for an across the board curriculum acceleration plan.

As mentioned in the Brilliant NYC citations, project-based learning is a good way to engage students, and will be included in the new classrooms.

Not all students are the same, and not all students have the same skills and academic abilities. This means that teachers must ensure all of their students are able to succeed, which necessitates individual attention. One common suggestion for a classroom of students with highly varying abilities is differentiated instruction. Differentiated instruction is the process of teaching to each student's ability, which includes supporting students who are falling behind and those pulling ahead. The issue is that, “it’s often poorly executed by teachers already struggling to meet the needs of an intellectually diverse student body” (Kletter, 2019). Any proposal that I have seen is missing something. Either the students are being overlooked or underserved, the teachers are not being paid the difference of the necessary heightened education the program would require, or funding for the program itself is overlooked. One example of this is in a large class of students learning to read, which includes students with dyslexia, students who are second language learners and students who are reading multiple grade levels ahead (Sparks, 2015). Teachers are already expected to do this and adding advanced curriculum would build upon this. I believe all teachers are capable of successfully adhering to this programmatic concept with relevant and quality workshops and training.

Curricula across the country vary widely by state. For example, a science class in New York looks very different from a science class in Texas. I propose a cross-state curriculum that remains the same everywhere. There will certainly be arguments against this from all sides of the aisle, but I believe it would provide quality education to all students regardless of school, something that is not guaranteed at this moment in time.

Without a complete overhaul of the education system and the annexation of gifted education, classroom inequities will persist. The segregation of students by race, class, and gender that result from testing creates inequalities that are compounded throughout the lives of the children who are subjected to it. We must ensure equal access to free, quality education for all children living in America regardless of identity.

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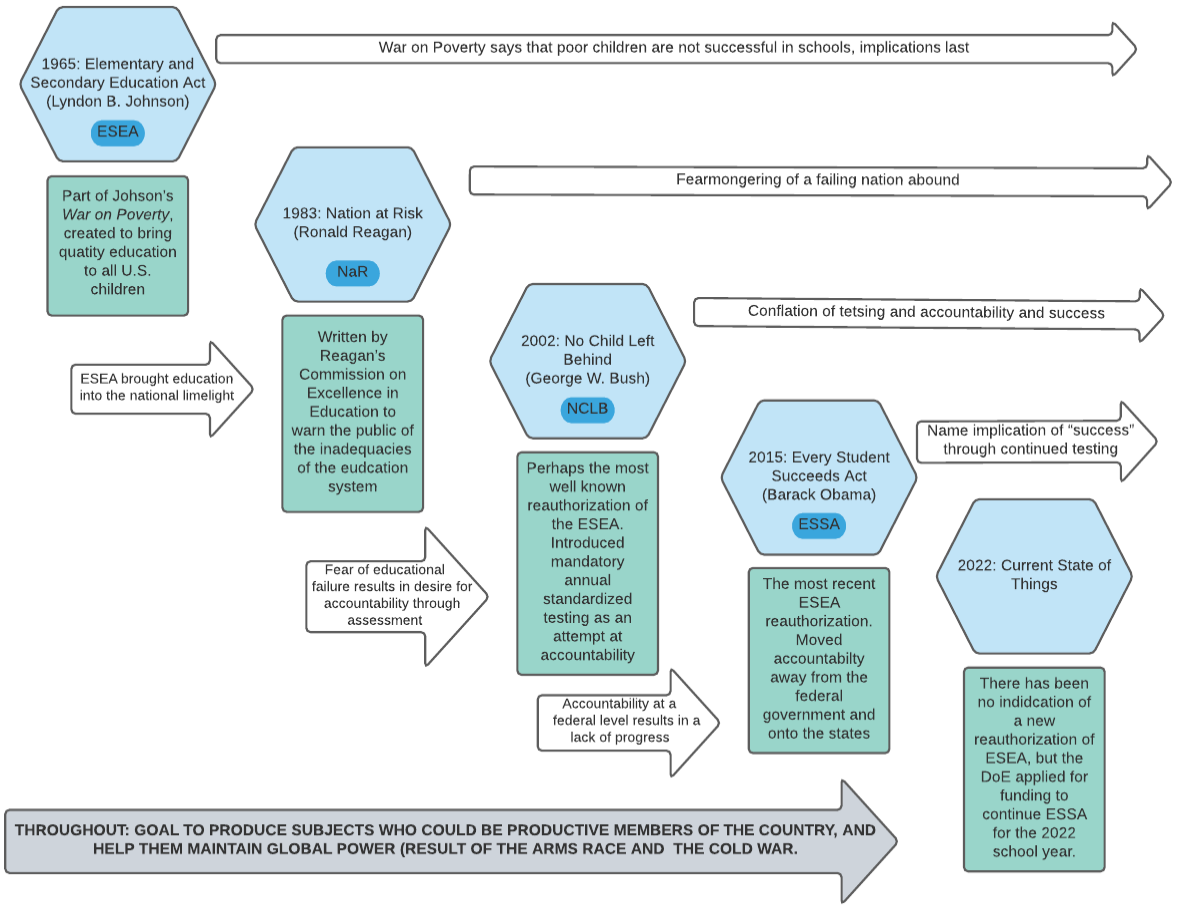
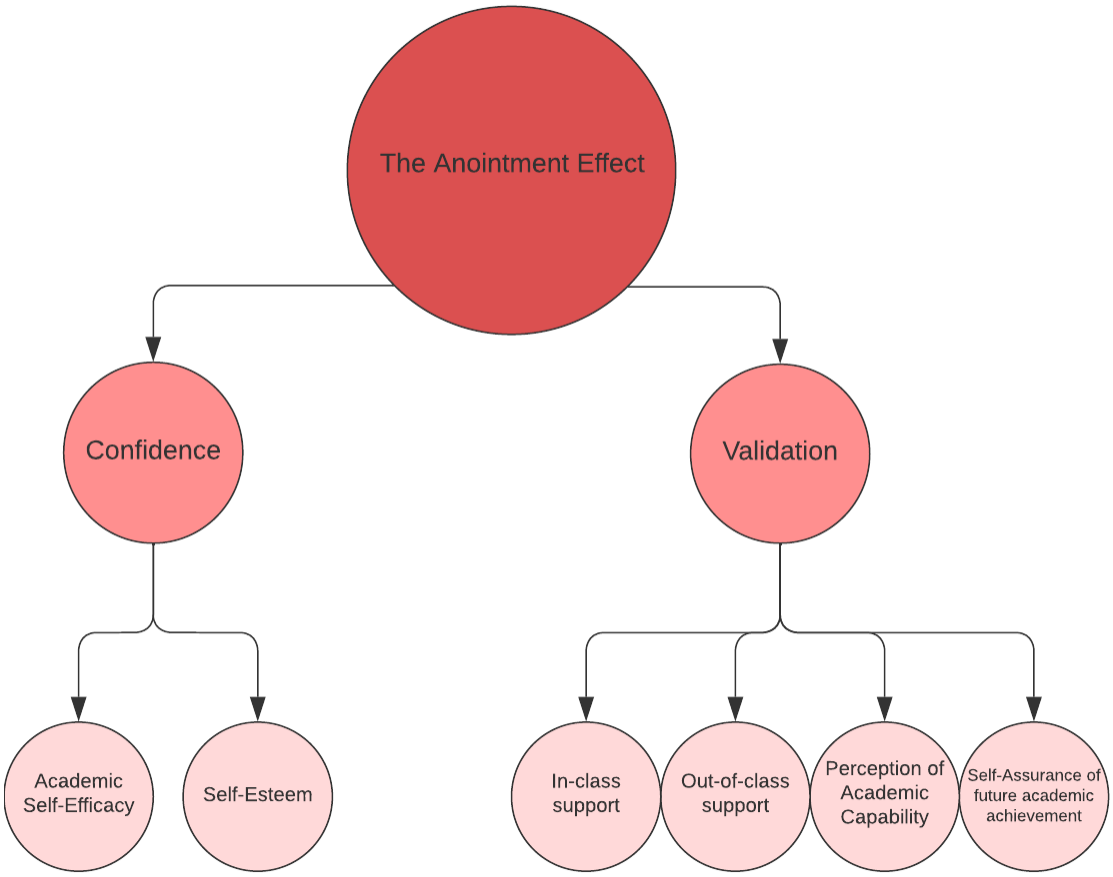
Appendixes

Chapter 1: History	Chapter 2: The Anointment Effect and Instruments of Determination	Chapter 3: Resulting Social Injustices	Chapter 4: Case Study	Chapter 5: The Future
Gifted Programs in the Early-Mid 1900s	Standardized Testing	CLBs	Sadie	Future of NYC G&T Programs
Elementary and Secondary Education Act	IQ Testing	Race	Nick	NYC Specialized High Schools
Nation at Risk	Gifted Programs	Class		Funding
No Child Left Behind	The Anointment Effect	Gender		Curriculum
Every Student Succeeds Act				

Appendix A: Flow Chart of chapter layout



Appendix B: Flow Chart representing the interconnectivity of Educational Policies.



Appendix C: Visual representation of the Anointment Effect.

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
BLOCK 1: 8:30AM-10:00AM PHYSICAL EDUCATION	BLOCK 5: 8:30AM-10:00AM ELECTIVE	BLOCK 1: 8:30AM-10:00AM PHYSICAL EDUCATION	BLOCK 5: 8:30AM-10:00AM ELECTIVE	BLOCK 1: 8:30AM-10:00AM PHYSICAL EDUCATION
BLOCK 2: 10:15AM-11:45PM ENGLISH	BLOCK 6: 10:15AM-11:45PM MATHEMATICS	BLOCK 2: 10:15AM-11:45PM ENGLISH	BLOCK 6: 10:15AM-11:45PM MATHEMATICS	BLOCK 2: 10:15AM-11:45PM ENGLISH
FREE TIME: 12:00PM-02:00PM ACTIVITIES INCLUDE: LUNCH, STUDENT CLUBS, OFFICE HOURS WITH TEACHERS, STUDY HALL, ETC.	FREE TIME: 12:00PM-02:00PM ACTIVITIES INCLUDE: LUNCH, STUDENT CLUBS, OFFICE HOURS WITH TEACHERS, STUDY HALL, ETC.	FREE TIME: 12:00PM-02:00PM ACTIVITIES INCLUDE: LUNCH, STUDENT CLUBS, OFFICE HOURS WITH TEACHERS, STUDY HALL, ETC.	FREE TIME: 12:00PM-02:00PM ACTIVITIES INCLUDE: LUNCH, STUDENT CLUBS, OFFICE HOURS WITH TEACHERS, STUDY HALL, ETC.	FREE TIME: 12:00PM-02:00PM ACTIVITIES INCLUDE: LUNCH, STUDENT CLUBS, OFFICE HOURS WITH TEACHERS, STUDY HALL, ETC.
BLOCK 3: 02:15PM-03:45PM HISTORY	BLOCK 7: 02:15PM-03:45PM FOREIGN LANGUAGE	BLOCK 3: 02:15PM-03:45PM HISTORY	BLOCK 7: 02:15PM-03:45PM FOREIGN LANGUAGE	BLOCK 3: 02:15PM-03:45PM HISTORY
BLOCK 4: 04:00PM-05:30PM SCIENCE	BLOCK 8: 04:00PM-05:30PM MUSIC OR ART CLASS	BLOCK 4: 04:00PM-05:30PM SCIENCE	BLOCK 8: 04:00PM-05:30PM MUSIC OR ART CLASS	BLOCK 4: 04:00PM-05:30PM SCIENCE

Appendix D: Visual representation of a 5th grader course schedule.