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UMI

THE LABEL "GIFTED": A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

A Dissertation

Presented to

the College of Graduate Studies of

Georgia Southern University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Education

in

Curriculum Studies

---

by

Linda Ann Hollis McCall

December 2002

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August 19, 2002

To the Graduate School:

This dissertation, entitled "The Label Gifted: A Critical Analysis," and written by Linda Ann Hollis McCall, is presented to the College of Graduate Studies of Georgia Southern University. I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education in Curriculum Studies.

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Supervising Committee Chair

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and recommend its acceptance:

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Accepted for the
College of Graduate Studies:

Charles J. Hardy
Interim Dean, College of Graduate Studies

DEDICATION

for my children

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

> ...the context took hold of me--we danced, but I left before the music was over. Although I ended my interaction with the immediate context, the lives of the individuals with whom I interacted dance on without me, but also within me. Some of the learning I did there has claimed me.
> (Judith Meloy, 1994, p. 59)

As Meloy's metaphor implies, I have danced through many contexts--some literally (on my father's feet to Strauss and Lombardo) and some figuratively (in a setting called school). Within these contexts have been--and are--many individuals who have influenced me profoundly and without whose support this research effort would not have been possible. First, I would like to thank my family, especially my mother, Helen Harper Hollis, and my children, Malinda, Hollis, and Tina. Their wisdom, love, patience, and devotion toward me and my work have been secure and constant. Also, I thank my beautiful friends, especially Anne Gordon Sweat, Polly and Tim Cooper, and "The Crabettes" who have allowed me to step in and out of the circle during the past seven years.

Second, I would like to thank my professors and friends at Georgia Southern University. Dr. Edmund Short introduced me to curricular spheres I never before knew existed. My dissertation committee members--Jay Hughes, Dan Rea, William Reynolds--served as marvelous critics and mentors. I am especially grateful to my dissertation chairperson, Dr. Delores Liston. Her superb intelligence and limitless expectations regarding my writing challenged me to question, to reflect, and to create. Her wise counsel and friendship have been invaluable as I struggled with personal and professional issues during my intimate encounter with the label "gifted."

Third, I am indebted to my colleagues and friends at The Savannah Country Day School, Bartow Elementary School, and Armstrong Atlantic State University. Their encouragement, their smiles, and their enduing faith in my doctoral work and in my practice have all served to bring this project to fruition. One person in particular, Stephen Daniel Ailes, I thank for twelve years of unflinching friendship and support. Countless times he has shouldered my burdens--in addition to his own--so that I might have time to study and/or write.

Lastly, I thank all of the scholars I have cited throughout text whose ideas have shaped and enriched the contexts I have presented. More specifically, I acknowledge and appreciate the participants in this study for their enthusiasm, their willingness to share, and their positive hopes for my work. I have been impressed by the spirit and resilience of the children, by the caring and passionate expressions of the parents, and by the compassion and dedication of the educators who worked with me on the project. Without them, my daughter's story--and mine--would not have been told.

VITA

Linda Ann Hollis McCall is a teacher of children labeled "gifted" at Bartow Elementary School, The Academy for the Gifted and Talented, in Savannah, Georgia, where she was Teacher of the Year, 1995-1996. She has taught for over twenty-five years, four as the co-owner of a preschool, ten in private education, and eleven in public education. She has also served as adjunct professor of education at Armstrong Atlantic State University. She received an Associate of Arts degree from Sullins College, a B. A. in sociology and child psychology from the University of Georgia, a M. Ed. in early childhood education from Armstrong Atlantic State University, an Ed. S. in early childhood education from Georgia Southern University, and her Ed. D. in curriculum studies with an emphasis in instructional improvement from Georgia Southern University.

Dr. McCall presented her paper, "Brain-Compatible Learning for the Gifted: A Phenomenological Approach," at the Southeast Philosophy of Education Society (SEPES) Conference in Atlanta in 1999. It was recently published (Spring, 1999) in the GSU Forum, Vol. 4, No. 2. Her article, "Excellence and Equity in Curriculum for Intellectually Gifted Students" was published in the GSU Forum, Vol. 3, No. 1 in 1997. She is also called upon to present at workshops throughout the area (e. g., Parent Workshop, 2000; Magnet Showcase, 2000; Gifted Education/Differentiation of Instruction, 2000, "Six Plus One Writing Traits" Workshop, 2000). Further, as a member of MENSA (1994-present) and as an advocate for children (i. e., children labeled "gifted"), she is often asked to speak on behalf of this particular population at public forums.

She is a member of Kappa Delta Pi (an international honor society in education), the International Reading Association, and the American Educational

Research Association. She has served as Nu Chapter president of Delta Kappa Gamma Society International. During her tenure, scholarships were awarded to two pre-service teachers at Armstrong Atlantic State University. She is a member of the Editorial Board of Spring Tides (an international literary magazine by children).

During her time at Bartow, she has held the following positions of leadership: Articulation Workshop Leader (1999-present); Social Studies Chairperson (1991-1994, 2001-2002); Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) Steering Committee and SACS Section Leader (1996); Staff Development Chairperson (1993-1996); United Way Chairperson (1993-1994); Grade Group Chairperson (1993-1994, 2002-present); Language Arts Chairperson (1991-1992, 2002-present); Math Chairperson (1990-1991); Meritorious Schools and Community Section Leader (1991-1993). Bartow achieved Meritorious status both years.

She has received the following special training: Creating Writers Through Assessment and Instruction: 6+1 Writing Traits (2000); Core Knowledge (1998, 2000); Georgia Effective Teaching Strategies (1999); Georgia Association for Gifted Children Annual Conference (1996); Critical Thinking Skills (1993, 1995); Alternative Assessment, Part I (1992); graduate work for certification in education for children labeled "gifted" (1990-1991); Comprehensive Faculty Evaluation of the Schools, SACS (1990); Math Their Way (1988); Leadership Training, Wellesley College (1987); Savannah's Heritage, Parts I and II (1986-1987); Open Court (1986); Taft School Computer Workshop (1985). She is also a certified Junior Great Books Discussion leader.

Dr. McCall's primary interests are critical thinking/praxis, feminist theory, and pedagogical reform, especially in the areas of curriculum and the structure of schooling itself.

ABSTRACT

THE LABEL GIFTED: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

DECEMBER 2002

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A. A., SULLINS COLLEGE

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Directed by: Professor Delores D. Liston

The purpose of this observational case study is to explore the phenomenon of labeling (i. e., the label "gifted") contextually and transcontextually via mute evidence, formal and informal interviews, and visuals. A four-faceted prism (history, politics, sociology, phenomenology) serves as the lens through which the participants (including the researcher) struggle within a single school setting to make personal meaning of "giftedness." This multivariate qualitative study examines discriminately several homogeneous groups (each with established entrance criteria) and the individuals within these groups. Instead of the "gifted" population as a whole, the attention is on girls within two "gifted" populations and their mothers, the girls within a residential population and their mothers, and teachers/administrators. Many participants are African-American and the bulk of data was collected from lengthy, personal interviews. Children (i. e., girls) labeled "gifted" are considered apart from the programs designed for them. Interview schedules are consistent across groups. The history

of education for the "gifted" is compared and contrasted nationally, statewide, and locally.

In contrast to the excellence/equity dichotomy revealed in the literature, there are three opposing political forces at Fagan: excellence, equity, and a merger between the two. Redefining the struggle noted in the literature between advocates for the"gifted" and egalitarians is an hegemonic acceptance of a racially inequitable hierarchy at Fagan wherein groups of experts offer services (considered ameliorative but are actually harmful) for those placed therein. Placements are static and categorical. Entrance/sustenance requirements for those at the "top" are more stringent and pressure-filled than for those at the "bottom" yet all struggle to succeed within their respective settings. The higher one's position within the hierarchy, the more "special" one and his/her activities become and the more worldly, experienced, and complacent--yet more elitist--one becomes. Most respondents express dissatisfaction with their current placements. All participants hegemonically accept the practice of labeling and acknowledge the existence of the label "gifted." The "gifted" are viewed positively. The "non-gifted" and programs for them and for the "gifted" are viewed negatively. Residential girls, their parents, teachers, and principal reject the residential label.

Additional findings are as follows: A culture of silence (or fear) exists at Fagan. "Gifted" girls and their mothers were more talkative than others. All adults prioritize education. Interestingly, most teachers and girls prefer involvement in language arts related subjects than in mathematics or science. In contrast to the turn of the century onset of national attention toward the"gifted" in reaction to the eugenics movement, Georgia and Chatham County programs for the "gifted" began mid-century in reaction to forced school integration. Lastly, this research serves as a mandate for ending the practice of labeling children (i. e., labeling children "gifted"). Implications for schooling are discussed.

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PREFACE

Injustice

My grandmother
was allowed only
to "dabble in the arts"
at Randolph-Macon.
She made Three-Helping-
Apple-Cobbler,
let me "dunk" her home-made
biscuits in her coffee,
and sat on my bed with me
when I had the measles
and sketched pictures--
in boxes--of anything I wanted.
Her pull-stop organ is
entombed in an attic in
Stuttgart, Arkansas,
("too big to get out without tearing down the house").
Her paintings are scattered.
A cousin has her "Stag at Eve."
Mom has her "Cottage at Twilight."
I have her "Bowl of Pansies"
over my fireplace.
She also knew Latin and law
like "the back of my hand," she
confided in me.
She spent her adult life having
babies,
cooking, and cleaning.
"I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles."
Ars longa, vita brevis.
Then she died.
Ave atque vale.
Esto perpetua.

My beautiful mother,
"The Queen of the Fairies"
in the class play,
("The Prettiest Girl in the Senior Class")
made "all A's"
and was a member of the
National Honor Society.
She received full college
scholarships
--during the Depression.
She was told by her father, one day,
that she must relinquish her
scholarships.
"You need to stay home and work
in order to help put your brother through
medical school."
She did.
He became an ophthalmologist.
She became a school secretary
rather than the teacher
she wanted to become.
I remember that she always had a book
in her left hand
while she stirred her home-made
soup with the other.
She is now blind
and only stirs the soup.

Lonnie
(I never knew his last name.)
was my grandmother's yard man.
He'd also churn her "3-5 Sherbet" for the family
then lick the dashers.
His body was frozen too
(I don't know why)
into a sitting position.
He would come every day or so from the cotton fields,
with a dapper cap,
especially in the summertime.
When he finished his work,
my grandmother would have him bathe
in the basement and put on fresh clothes.
She'd then prepare for him a huge breakfast
(fried eggs, etc.)
served on broken china and in Mason jars.
(He was not allowed inside the house.)
I sat with him on the back steps while he ate.
He never said much.
(He stuttered terribly.)
Then he would leave.
Lonnie died.

Clara
was our housekeeper
and my nurse.
She wore a gray and white uniform
and a cap on her head.
She called me "Miss Johnnie."
(I looked just like my dad.)
She would sing
and tell me animal stories
and bake chocolate cakes.
Each week she would go shopping
for my mother downtown.
I was allowed to accompany her.
She would bathe and dress me,
braid my hair,
and off we'd go.
Clara was "colored,"
so we'd ride in the back of the bus.
She was a tyrant-on-two-feet
at the City Market,
demanding only the freshest produce and meats!
We'd then go to McCrory's.
If Clara needed to use the bathroom,
she'd have to go in the one that said "colored."
If she wanted something to drink,
she'd have to use the water fountain
in the back
that said "colored,"
or else
give me the money
to buy lemonade.
(She was not allowed near
the lunch counter.)
She also worked for the family next door.
One of her duties there was
to brush the dogs' teeth.
She grew old singing
while she baked
and shopped
and brushed--for us.
Clara died.

Ida Mae
then came to work for us.
She told my mother and me
one day
that she had found a lump
in her breast.
My mother sent her
to the doctor.
He told her that he would
"watch it."
Several months later,
Ida Mae told us that
the lump had gotten larger
and was painful.
Again, my mother sent her
to the doctor
and insisted that he
"do something."
He operated
but it was too late.
She died.
He killed her.

Malinda,
is my daughter.
She cried and sculpted
(miniature pixies and small roofless houses)
as a child
when life was unjust
to others and to her.
She wrote,
later,
of rejection(s)
"Diamond cap on waves
flowing, I assume?
Tears do--
and leave blue rivers--remember?
Can't keep water--
hold it and it won't stay
Can't hold Charly, either."
(Her dad killed himself.)
Then
his parents had nothing more to do with her.
She sent them an invitation
to her high school graduation
--hoping.
"They only live five minutes away!"
--hoping
They sent her a check for
twenty-five dollars.
She returned it with a note that said,
"I wanted you to come."

and gender inconsistencies
"Standing on the quay
A bell cork bobs solemnly
as a boat slips by
A breeze tangles up my hair
in knots
I tuck a thin black jacket into myself
and watch the seagulls.
These way-finders are closer to you
than I
and are arguably more dear."

Chapter I

Introduction

Furthermore, [education]...is ultimately a moral activity. As such it cannot be understood without recourse to, and thus must be held accountable to, ethical principles and obligations of justice and responsibility to other persons.

(Michael Apple, 1975, p. 89)

The best the school today can do (and society seems unwilling to support even this) is to provide adequate facilities for all children, long-term caring relationships that support intellectual development, and differentiated curricula nonhierarchically designed.

(Nel Noddings, 1995, p.177)

Teeming mass hears klaxons blare
Faces taut as rubber bands
Future seized from our hands.
The match begins, the rules are rough
'cause all's fair in lovely war.
People shriek they've had enough.
You're unsafe wherever you are....

Clouds spill death onto the land
Dare not glance at the sky.
"Why did it happen?" "...can't understand..."
Terror shines in children's eyes.
What a way to prove a point....

No history left to save this day.
The final irony is there.
The rains force the colors gray.
No cities anywhere.
A whisper is felt in the quiet,
"What did they do THIS for?"
The voice of a child holds truth in it:
"There are no winners at war..."

Malinda McCall, age fourteen

Too often, unfortunately, the hostility and grayness that my daughter describes also portray the educational setting. Children arrive at school eager to learn. Many are successful and remain until they graduate. Yet, there are also many who struggle to survive within a system defined by paternalism and mediocrity. In reaction, countless numbers of children (including those labeled "gifted and talented") develop learning problems and motivational and behavioral disorders (Pendarvis, Howley, & Howley, 1990; Stipek, 1993; Whitmore, 1980). Further, countless numbers leave--disenchanted and unsuccessful--with no intentions of returning (Kozol, 1991).

Democracy implies responsible behaviors (Apple, 1975) and caring environments (Noddings, 1995) for all. There is no room for injustice and immorality (Purpel, 1989). It is ironic, therefore, that startling inequities and inconsistencies remain evident in our democratic society, especially in education (Kozol, 1991), not only for children labeled "gifted" but for others as well. Also, "education in a free society should not boil down to a choice between equity and excellence" (Fiedler, Lange, & Winebrenner, 1992, p. 4), between African-American/Anglo-American, between male/female, and so on. This type of dichotomous thinking only serves to essentialize and privilege one concept or person over another when all need to be considered equitably and fairly.

These conditions have had a profound effect on me professionally and personally. I teach children who are labeled "gifted." Further, my students and I struggle to find meaning within a system which purports to value individual freedom(s) yet maintains bureaucratic hierarchies wherein some voices are heard and others are silenced, a system which privileges preexisting structures (e. g., economics) and concurrently "obliterates the lived experiences of individuals" (Richardson, 1997, p. 76), a system which portends to equate and honor intellectual pursuits and justice yet forces choices between them, a

system that claims excellence as a goal yet labels intellectuals as elitists (Howley, 1986), and a system which sings of community and liberty yet continues to sort and stratify its members, hence reinforcing the notion of the label. Robert Sternberg (1990) states:

> ...one can be gifted simply because of an excellence in one area of the system. But a weakness in one area of the system or one intelligence can also lead to the label of retardation. For example, in Gardner's theory, a child who is exceptionally weak in linguistic intelligence will probably be labeled as retarded, regardless of his [sic] strengths in other areas. That child will come out with a low IQ, and thereby be labeled, even if she or he is exceptionally strong in other areas. (p. 299)

I work with children from all socioeconomic backgrounds. I have children in my class from the suburbs and from "gated" communities. Many of these children write in their journals of unicorns, rainbows, piano and dance lessons, and playing tennis and soccer with Dad or Mom as coach. I also have children from inner city neighborhoods wherein drugs, prostitution, and anger ooze from the cracks. Many of these children write in their journals of rats, roaches, violent video games, and of seeing "blue flames" coming out the ends of the guns fired "across the street." I teach children who are happy and children who are not, children who function well within the system and children who have been diagnosed with behavioral and learning disabilities, children who are healthy and children who are not, children who are loved and children who are not. The point is that my students share three commonalities--an ill-conceived label ("gifted"), superb intelligence in one or more areas, and a system of education which, for the most part, has not met their needs.

It also appears that girls may be more negatively impacted by their label "gifted" than their male counterparts. For example, my own daughter's superb

intellect in the areas of art, writing, and literature have been stifled intermittently over the years by an anti-intellectual "girl-poisoning culture" (Pipher, 1994) and by well-meaning teachers overly concerned with teaching "the basics," or as Louise Rosenblatt (1983) explains, emphasizing the "efferent" (factual) information at one end of a literature and writing continuum rather than the "aesthetic" (personal, interpretive) information at the other end. I have seen her grapple with mathematics and science concepts presented traditionally which were (and still are) meaningless to her. Her initiative and diligence usually "sagged" dramatically when confronted with tasks in any of these areas. I've also seen her spirit soar when she encountered teachers--intolerant of racism and sexism--who challenged her to express herself and to interpret contextual experiences when writing, reading, drawing, painting, and sculpting.

My daughter and her struggles over the years provide impetus for my work as teacher of the "gifted." Yet I also struggle to discover who I am. Further, am I satisfied with present conditions, specifically the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? How do I position myself regarding equity and/or excellence? What can I do to make things better? When faced with these questions, I have learned first to reflect upon the work of John Dewey and Maxine Greene, whose teachings have greatly influenced my thinking and practice. According to Dewey (1916), democracy means that we must contemplate philosophy and individual experience, or the interaction between society and the individual. He writes, "...philosophical systems...bring to explicit consciousness what men [sic] have come to think, in virtue of the quality of their current experience, about nature, themselves, and the reality they conceive to include or to govern both" (p. 324). Maxine Greene has argued convincingly that democracy, justice, and personal identity are best realized through communion, questioning, artistic and

linguistic expression, imagination, and consideration of context, past and present. Greene (1988) states:

> To recognize the role of perspective and vantage point, to recognize at the same time that there are always multiple perspectives and multiple vantage points, is to recognize that no accounting, disciplinary or otherwise, can ever be finished or complete. There is always more. There is always possibility. And this is where the space opens for the pursuit of freedom. (p. 128)

So, I turn to philosophy to help me examine contradictions in my writing and practice and in the writing and practice of others, to put things into perspective, to search for personal meaning, and to find answers to questions. In this case, I discover myself positioned within a tension between two spheres of thought: (1) the label "gifted" as an *a priori* idea--the dynamics of which are determined by historical, political, and practical considerations--and (2) the label "gifted" as socially constructed and therefore nonexistent apart from school practice.

In other words, I continue to work at school and in my classroom within the sphere of traditionalism and its accompanying essentialist ideas and practices. The meta-narrative of education for the "gifted," the use of labels and characteristics (which implies that my students share certain traits), and the notions of eclecticism and efficiency continue to dominate my oral and written communication and interactions within the system (e. g., mentoring, committee and curriculum work, leadership roles). On the other hand, I am acutely aware of a dynamic and restless undercurrent within me--a philosophy/theory versus practice schism--which forces me to question who I am and what I do.

As I move in lemming-like fashion as a teacher of the "gifted" (in my classroom, throughout the community, and at conferences and meetings with

other educators of the "gifted"), I am also stirred by the injustices I see: children who ride to school in broken, trash-filled, smoke-filled, boom box-filled cars; children who walk (and run) to school hungry or eating potato chips and drinking sodas for breakfast; children with rotten teeth who eat grits with their hands because they've never been taught how to hold eating utensils; eight-year-old girls who look twenty; boys and girls hurrying, straining, and breaking under intense pressures from their parents and the system to excel (Elkind, 1988); children acting the way they live; children acting the way they're labeled. I also notice upon reflection that my pangs of guilt and anger were decidedly keener as a child (as were my daughter's) than they are now as an adult. Early college years, my focus on sociology and child psychology, and my time as a social worker in inner city areas brought a brief resurgence of these earlier passions. Other than that, over time, there has been within me a steady erosion of empathy and ethical outrage. I do indeed continue to harbor these feelings yet they are now tempered by tolerance, convention, the practical concerns of daily life, and the struggle to meet the demands of "the system" brought on over the years by an insular life, "cynicism, stated with humor" (Kozol, 1990, p. 175), rationalism, and compromise. Jonathan Kozol (1990) explains:

> From decent children troubled and failed, we learn how to be reasonable grown-ups: muted, well-adjusted. Once dreaming of Gandhi, and once yearning for the kind eyes of Saint Francis, we end up sipping sherry with our old professor in his pleasant home off Brattle Street in Cambridge, or sharing "innovative notions" with the folks at I.B.M. and Westinghouse. The forces of adjustment have been able, at a certain price, to cure us of our conscience. Now can they cure us also of our emptiness? (p. 174)

Helping me to examine this tension between philosophy/theory and my own practice and working with me to construct this study are the following

scholars (whose ideas will be examined in more detail in Chapters II and III): John Dewey (1900, 1916) and Maxine Greene (1988); critical educators such as Paulo Freire (1973), Michael Apple (1975, 1990, 1991, 1995, 1998), and Kenneth Sirotnik (1991); Leta Hollingworth (1926), Edwina Pendarvis, Aimee and Craig Howley (1990), Robert Sternberg (1985), and Joyce VanTassel-Baska (1988) who serve as advocates for those labeled "gifted"; Scott Hunsaker (1995), Jeannie Oakes (1985, 1995), and Mara Sapon-Shevin (1994) whose writings address the practices of tracking and labeling; feminists such as Patricia Hill-Collins (1991), Patti Lather (1991), and Nel Noddings (1984, 1992, 1995). Also, the voices of fourth-grade girls who are and are not labeled "gifted" at Fagan Elementary School[1], the Academy for the Gifted and Talented; their peers, their parents; their teachers and administrators; and my daughter, Malinda, resonate throughout. Hopefully, with this multi-perspective approach, contextual spheres in the areas I have mentioned will be broadened and enriched.

Research Questions

School is a place wherein students, their parents, teachers, and administrators struggle daily to find personal meaning in their lives. An integral part of this struggle involves the assigning and accepting of labels. My study will focus especially on the label "gifted." Each one of the following questions will be addressed: How did the label "gifted" evolve? Why does the label "gifted" exist? Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their

[1] The name of the school and all names of the twenty-one respondents who participated in the formal interviews are pseudonyms.

parents, and their teachers/administrators? The first three questions merge to form a comprehensive contextual background wherein the fourth question may be examined via mute evidence; visuals; and--most importantly--via formal interviews with fourth-grade girls, their peers, their mothers/female guardians, and their teachers/administrators. Lastly, these questions should not be considered discrete or neutral entities. To do so would be to silence voices within this text, including my own.

1. How did the label "gifted" evolve? In order to understand ourselves and the contemporary situations in which we find ourselves, we need to understand how and why these current situations developed. We need to consider the chronology of sequenced, temporal events related to a particular theme (in this case, the label "gifted"). Therefore, contentious historical events within three settings--national, state, local--and the individuals who played parts in these events must be analyzed.

2. Why does the label "gifted" exist? The political theme inherent here relates broadly to the art and/or science of guiding, influencing, or even controlling government and the competitive, economic practices therein. More specifically, how is the label "gifted" defined, applied, and assigned value? What is the economy of the label within various venues?

3. Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? In addition to historical and political implications, human interrelationships need also to be considered. Hence, social parameters, which reflect the dynamics of culture (i. e., the culture of schooling) and the positions and postures of individuals and groups of individuals therein, will be probed. The purpose is to discover whose interests are and are not being served by the practice of labeling certain children "gifted."

4. What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators? The historical, political, and sociological considerations heretofore discussed regarding the label "gifted" form a multi-voiced, narrative from which this fourth question--the pivotal question for this study--emerged. In other words, who the participants in this study are and what they think and do are not defined in isolation. Our beings and behaviors, and in this case, our struggles to discover personal meaning are shaped by context, past and present, and our experiences therein. Without this thick, interrelated, rich tapestry, phenomenological questions, such as this one, which imply interpretation and personal perspective(s), may only be partially considered--or perhaps not considered at all.

Hypothesis

We cannot help but know from our intuitions and life experiences that dimensions, beings, and objects are constantly changing and becoming. Our beliefs today may be proven, disproven, or conditioned tomorrow. Just as time, people, and coastlines, for example, shift, merge, and disperse, so do our ideas and personal truths. My own assumptions regarding the practice of labeling certain children "gifted" and/or "gifted and talented" have been shaped in this way. At this point, I will posit that my students, particularly the girls, have been adversely affected by a pedagogical system which has created and assigned to them the label "gifted." I also believe that this research--and the personal stories that guide it--will support my position. Specifically, the label "gifted" has evolved in a cyclical fashion, its waxings and wanings determined by current need. It exists as a means of reinforcing the economic demands of our capitalist state. It

serves the interest of the system, not the individuals who carry it. Its intersection with the personal lives of those affected by its existence offer implications for schooling.

I know that assumptions--like coastlines--are subject to change. Hence, I hope that these I have offered will continue to reveal personal truths and stimulate further questions not only for those involved in this study but for others in similar situations as well. Most importantly, however, I hope they will remain emergent, even long after this dissertation has begun to collect dust on someone's shelf.

Purpose and Educational Significance of Study

The purpose of this critical inquiry is to understand more clearly the effects of labeling, and more specifically, the effects of applying the label "gifted" to girls. I will examine the label "gifted" through attention to historical, political, and sociological contexts; ethical considerations; current practice; and multivoiced narrative, or as Laurel Richardson (1997) posits, "crystallization--a methodology that generates alternate theories and perspectives for writing and for living, deconstructing traditional notions of validity, glancingly touching some projects, lighting others" (p. 136). Richardson also states, "We know from our own lived experience that life as subjectively experienced is the key to understanding the cultural and the sociological" (p. 67). Thus, and most importantly, by probing the historical, political, and sociological issues of labeling, past and present, and its intersection with the perceptions of the participants in this study (including my own), significant implications for education should emerge. Specifically, I hope this work will stimulate others, particularly educators of "gifted" girls, to reflect upon the following: (1) the patterns and practices which characterize our system of education; (2) their own postures and the postures of others within the

system; and (3) the notion of labeling (i. e., the label "gifted") as a dynamic historical, political, and/or sociological construct rather than as an *a priori* idea. In so doing, positive changes in perspectives--personal and professional--and hence in the structure of schooling itself should occur.

Definitions and Perspectives of "Giftedness" and the Label "Gifted"

According to William Reese (1996), the word "definition" comes from the Latin *de* and *finire* which mean "to limit." In our frantic pursuit to find the "ideal" meaning(s) of "giftedness" and the label "gifted" (and there are many swirling about), we sometimes fail to notice and also contemplate their historical and contemporary implications, hence indeed "limiting" our vision of the field and our own participation therein. For example, the state of Georgia currently describes a "gifted" student as "...a student who demonstrates a high degree of intellectual and/or creative ability(ies), exhibits an exceptionally high degree of motivation, and/or excels in specific academic fields and who needs special instruction and/or special ancillary services to achieve at levels commensurate with his or her abilities" (Savannah-Chatham County Public Schools, 1999, p. 4). When considering this definition (and any others for that matter) we also need to know how and why this meaning emerged. We need to "step back" and consider some more fundamental yet overarching perspectives.

Knowledge has traditionally been shaped by the male perspective (de Beauvoir, 1989; MacKinnon, 1982; Maynard, 1998) then presented as "truth." Stevi Jackson and Jackie Jones (1998) state:

> Because we have historically lived in male-dominated societies, women have more often been the objects of knowledge than the producers of it. As a result, much of what has passed as objective knowledge of the world

> has been produced by men, framed by their particular location in society as men--and usually white, middle-class and heterosexual men. (p. 1)

Likewise, and more specifically, what is considered superb intelligence (i. e., "giftedness") has been defined by the most powerful androcentric criteria (e. g., male-normed tests) of the time (Silverman, 1995) and has involved three dimensions--theoretical, functional (Pendarvis et al., 1990), and the "relative context" model (Subotnik, Arnold, & Noble, 1995). The theoretical, or eminence model describes superb ability and accomplishment in one or more areas, and serves to focus and direct inquiry and program development. Consider the following three examples. First, Howard Gardner (1983, 2000) suggests that the nature of "giftedness" is multiform. He has identified at least eight intelligences: linguistic, logical/mathematical, spatial, musical, kinesthetic, interpersonal, intrapersonal, and naturalist. According to Gardner (1983), ability in one does not necessarily predict ability in any of the others. "Giftedness" can be found in any one of these intelligences and sometimes in several of them. He is currently expanding his theory to include two more--the spiritual and the existentialist--which offer a further extension of his ideas. Second, Abraham Tannenbaum (1983), describes three types of "giftedness" related to social needs (i. e., special work talents currently required, special work talents for emerging needs, and cultural talents). Further, "giftedness" manifests itself when five broad conditions are present: general ability and special talent (nature), non-intellective traits and environmental support (nurture), and chance. The "gifted" are those with the "potential for becoming critically acclaimed performers or exemplary producers of ideas in spheres of activity that enhance the moral, physical, emotional, social, intellectual, or aesthetic life of humanity" (p. 27). Third, Joseph Renzulli's (1978, 1986) three ring conception of giftedness includes three attributes: superb cognitive ability, creative ability, and

perseverance. "Gifted" children are those who possess these traits and are capable of developing and applying them in worthwhile endeavors.

Theoretical definitions of "giftedness" manifest several flaws. According to Linda Silverman (1995), "eminence is a man's game, rooted in hierarchical power structures, driven by competition--sort of a gentlemen's war, with the victor gaining a permanent place in history" (p. 11). Further, one may observe that when females have been proven to be equal and/or superior "competitors" the rules of the "game" change (Silverman, 1995). For example, intelligence testing (Terman, 1925) has been supplanted by creativity tests (Torrance, 1984), multiple intelligence (Gardner, 1983) tests, and redefinitions of "genius" (Armstrong, 1998). Also, according to Rena Subotnik, Karen Arnold, and Kathleen Noble (1995), there are worthwhile areas (e. g., morals, parenting) for which there are no visible measures of eminence, and "the model assumes that the most talented people are also the most recognized and valued" (p. 4).

The functional view is more practical than theoretical. Definitions of "giftedness" are created primarily to establish department and/or program rules and regulations and to acquire funds. Many states (including Georgia) and local districts use the 1993 definition of "giftedness" (or a modified version thereof) from the United States Department of Education which reads as follows:

> Children and youth with outstanding talent perform or show the potential for performing at remarkably high levels of accomplishment when compared with others of their age, experience, or environment. These children and youth exhibit high performance capability in intellectual, creative, and/or artistic areas, possess an unusual leadership capacity, or excel in specific academic fields. They require services or activities not ordinarily provided by the schools. Outstanding talents are present in

> children and youth from all cultural groups, across all economic strata, and in all areas of human endeavor. (p. 26)

According to Kristen Stephens and Frances Karnes (2000), the term "gifted," which implies an innate ability rather than a developing one, was removed from the 1993 definition. It is now believed that environmental influences are preventing many children from realizing their full potential. Further, these influences exist in all social strata.

Interestingly, on the national level, psychomotor ability was eliminated from the 1978 definition of giftedness for "economic reasons." The needs of the kinesthetically "gifted" could be met in the heavily funded athletic programs. Also, dancing and drama talents could be developed within the performing arts. Hence, there was no longer any need to include psychomotor ability as a separate category in the federal definition (Davis & Rimm, 1994; Pendarvis et al., 1990).[2]

Subotnik et al. (1995) describe the "relative context" model wherein one's achievement is noted and contrasted with others in one's own socio-political group (e. g., middle class African-American women compared to other middle class African-American women, Appalachian girls compared to other Appalachian girls, Native Americans compared to other Native Americans). This idea, while expanding the concept of "giftedness" is weakened by group variations in definitional standards. The result of this is a clear pathway toward public recognition for "gifted and talented" males uncluttered by definitional variabilities. Further, "over-inclusion" also "might render virtually meaningless the concept of gifted" (p. 4). It may also be argued then that "giftedness" is a political construct/label (rather than an *a priori* idea) which ensures or denies certain students access to educational goods, services, and money.

[2] Refer to follow-up discussion in history section of Literature Review, Chapter III.

These views of "giftedness" with their roots in androcentric epistemologies, guide talent identification procedures which in turn direct educational services for the "gifted." This results in programs which challenge and enrich "gifted" boys more so than they do "gifted" girls. Consequently, beginning especially at the middle school level, we begin to see a dramatic increase in motivational problems and underachievement in "gifted" girls. In truth, these girls do not "stop" being extremely intelligent. Their needs quite simply are not being met through accepted practice. Indeed, their exceptional abilities with which they entered school and flourished for a while, may also explain their decline. Superb intelligence also means heightened awareness and sensitivity (Silverman, 1994) to the social and political forces I have described. Hence, their problems may be a reaction to the labels or "roles" prescribed for them by society.

Rationale

My students' stories (so like my daughter's) also include their reactions to the label "gifted" that they carry. Many who are labeled "gifted" function quite well within the school environment and go on to become successful, and sometimes eminent adults. Pendarvis et al. (1990) found that many "gifted achievers" exhibited compliance and enthusiastic, positive, "teacher-pleasing" behaviors in and out of the classroom. For example, consider the following comments from Ellen, a fourth- grade SEARCH (Students Exploring and Reasoning for Creative Horizons) student:

> ....and we also do fun things, like in math we invent games. Like there's one game in our group called Fractionary. And it is something between fractions and dictionary....And other kids did other games, and it was real fun....she [the teacher] made it real fun like to read a book that everyone

> thought would be boring (chuckle). And we had to act out a play about the chapter that we had. And we finished it and it was real fun. And I like fourth grade a lot.

There are many others labeled "gifted," however, who choose to reject--in varying degrees--the performance standards established by their schools. These children have developed reflexive postures characterized by poor academic and social behaviors. For example, consider the following comments from Jane, a fourth grade magnet student:

> ....as I just told you, it's hard to understand it [math] and when we do [math], it's like a math worksheet, and...it takes me a while to understand it, so I don't get finished with it. ....We only have thirty minutes, so I have to go back in the morning like I did this morning, and so it takes a lot for you to get finished with it. It's like five and one fourth minus four plus five. it took me a while to understand it because I didn't know what they were talking about....Sometimes they [teachers] can be mean if we be disruptive or something like that....I also don't like boring, like we're just sitting in class waiting for the teacher to tell you to do something. She's just sitting there on the computer and we can't talk. And sometimes the food in the cafeteria is soggy, like the chicken fingers. That's one thing. But sometimes it can be good, and sometimes it can't, so it doesn't really matter.

Perhaps more so than any others, "gifted" girls are adversely affected by the label that they carry (Badolato, 1998; Bell, 1989; Klein & Zehms, 1996; Lovecky, 1994/1995). Similar numbers of girls and boys are identified "gifted" in early childhood and this balanced ratio continues throughout the early elementary years. However, a vast majority of those defined and recognized by our society as eminent adults are male. At some point between pre-adolescence and adulthood, "too many gifted girls, ebullient, confident, and

filled with high aspirations, simply and quietly disappear" (Klein & Zehms, 1996, p. 30).

The turning point for "gifted" girls appears to be pre-adolescence and adolescence (Fitzpatrick, 1978; Klein & Zeims, 1996; Pipher, 1994; Reis, 1987; Ruth & Richards, 1974; Silverman, 1995). According to Yahne and Long (as cited in Badolato, 1998), their self-esteem, which plummets in adolescence, develops quite differently from that of "gifted" males and reflects four distinct themes. (1) They come to know themselves through contextual relationships which are oftentimes threatening. (2) Maturing means a constant shifting of cherished values and life directions which are more sensitive and reflexive to unpredictable critical events than those of boys. (3) They experience great difficulty forging self-concepts that are simultaneously positive and feminine. (4) They are challenged to include themselves as objects of their own care, choice, and responsibility. In other words, "faced with severed connections that, paradoxically, are the essence of the female strength, gifted young women choose to abandon themselves" (Badolato, 1998, p. 34). Further, according to Carolyn Callahan, Caroline Cunningham, and Jonathan Plucker (1994), their self-doubts are expressed through preference for social acceptance rather than academic performance, the need for constant praise and feedback, unrealistic expectations for the future, perfectionism, and manipulation of others--all of which also mirror female socialization in general. They exhibit self-rejection (Pendarvis et al., 1990), fear success (Shaffer, 1986), and have an external locus of control. This means that they internalize failure and attribute any positive achievement to chance rather than to their own abilities (Bell, 1989). Callahan et al. (1994) state:

> In focusing on outside reinforcement, they lose the independence necessary for finding their own direction, the willingness to stand up for

> and argue their own ideas, and the desire to follow these lines which are most intrinsically rewarding. External motivation may manifest itself in the primacy of grades over learning or a desire to please teachers and/or peers rather than defend a potentially unpopular idea or belief. (p.101)

Further, they hold more negative attitudes toward math and science than do males, and are less likely to seek out advanced education--especially in math and science--as do their male peers (McCormick & Wolf, 1993; Smutney, 1998; VanTassel-Baska, 1988). According to Schroeder (1995), because of their caring and concern for others, personal success also means drawing attention to themselves which they consider to be egocentric. Feminists argue that these behaviors are not simply those of self-persecuting narcissists. Rather, they are reactions to the roles defined for them by society (Harding, 1991; Walkerdine, 1994). "Women's success appears to present such a threat to masculine rationality and to the bourgeois and patriarchal power that it underpins that it is very dangerous for women to admit their own power" (Walkerdine, 1994, p. 66).

Conclusion

Actually, not much has changed. The perennialism of Mortimer Adler, Alan Bloom, and Robert Hutchins; the essentialism of E. D. Hirsch; and the progressivism of the social efficiency movement remain guiding forces for American pedagogy--not just for those with superb intellect but for all children. Children (i. e., girls labeled "gifted") continue to be characterized, wrapped and tagged, then sorted, parceled out, and placed into various situations: heterogeneous classrooms, self-contained homogeneous classrooms, enriched programs within the regular classroom, accelerated programs, "pull out" resource rooms, advanced placement, and/or cluster grouping at a specially

designated school site. Even worse, once these labels are assigned and accepted, they usually remain permanently affixed (Sternberg, 1990).

It is important to note that it is not my intention to imply that my struggles and those of my children are perhaps more critical than the struggles of others. Further, they also seem to pale in comparison to many of the inequities found in other schools and in other areas. Berliner and Biddle (1995) explain:

> Above all, income maldistribution creates problems because it is *very* difficult to provide good schooling for impoverished students who may come to school, hungry or in cast-off and torn clothing, who suffer from untreated medical problems, who live in neighborhoods that are rife with crime and violence, or who come from homes that lack even basic amenities--let alone books and other supports for education. (p. 219)

Even more graphically, Jonathan Kozol, in his bone-rattling books, Savage Inequalities (1991) and Amazing Grace (1995), describes segregated and impoverished schools, mostly in the inner city, that are overcrowded, windowless, joyless, poorly supplied, where raw sewage flows in the kitchens. In spite of these deplorable conditions, many of the children maintain a jubilant attitude sparked by generosity, concern for others, and an indomitable faith. Kozol (2000) writes:

> I've known this group of children for a long time and have written of their neighborhood and other South Bronx neighborhoods before, first in a book on urban schools called Savage Inequalities [sic], then in a book about the medical and social problems of the South Bronx, called Amazing Grace [sic]. Both were painful books to write and, readers say, painful to read. I came away from working on these books with deep discouragement about the social policies that shape conditions of existence for these children but renewed respect for their tenacity and

> courage and a sense of fascination and delight in the particulars of their emerging personalities. (pp. 5-6)

I also teach in an inner city school. As I have described earlier, many of our students (including many in my class) live in the inner city. Some also live in wretched conditions similar to those described by Berliner and Biddle (1995) and Kozol (1991, 1995). Yet here--as in the South Bronx--one also can't help but notice the incredible spirit and resilience of our children. Each morning, for example, I see them racing toward the school, squealing and laughing, eager to begin another day, bookbags thump-thump-thumping against their backs. They are able to part the grimness of the playground and see magical designs in the dirt, tadpoles in the puddles, marshmallows in the sky. They find fuzzy caterpillars, crickets, toads, and chunks of rock embracing sparkling pieces of glass. Some of these "treasures" are slipped into pockets to take home and "share with Mom."

The difference is that some of our students also carry around the label "gifted." It is for them (and for my daughter) that I write. I would argue that my children (i. e., "gifted" girls) are also victimized by (1) a system which pressures them to excel yet calls them "overachievers," "nerds," and "geeks"; (2) a government that preaches democracy yet exploits them for political and military gains; (3) their own families who, quite often, knowingly and unknowingly abuse their potentialities and achievements for vicarious and monetary reasons; and (4) an anti-intellectual society which portends to value superb intelligence(s) and talent(s) yet prioritizes practical pursuits and materials instead.

This is unacceptable. The failure of highly intelligent children (as with any children) "to realize their creative and intellectual potential represents a tragic loss to our society and the world in its need for leadership, innovation, and

competence" (Whitmore, 1980, p. 165). The needs of all children, including those labeled "gifted," ought to be considered. Unfortunately, for the most part, this is not the case. In our schools we continue to "teach to the test" and to ignore special needs learners. Curriculum and instruction, instead of honoring all aspects of thinking, remain focused by cognition and dichotomous relationships. Rather than being integrated and interactive, approaches to learning are incremental and linear. Parents of the "gifted" and the students themselves are very seldom involved in planning, implementation, and evaluation. Consequently, we are left with too many children, with marvelous thinking abilities, who are bored, unchallenged, and whose talents remain submerged in a system focused by mediocrity (Armstrong, 1998) and almost totally unresponsive to their needs.

Samona Joe Tait, an inner city student labeled "gifted" who is currently at Harvard on full scholarship, said not long ago, "You can't hold gifted children hostage. These children have special needs. It would be wonderful if their needs could be met in public school, but none of us can fool ourselves that this is the case" (as cited in Donaldson, 1996, p. 3). Unfortunately, she is right. The nature of "giftedness" and the direction of education for "gifted" children continues to be framed by the dominant discourse of paternalism in Western society. Consequently, notability, with few exceptions, has been the domain of "gifted" males. Highly intelligent girls, made more sensitive perhaps by their superb intelligence(s) and talents, struggle to emerge from the labels/roles society, including other women, have defined for them.

These conditions have only served to perpetuate all too many dysfunctional behaviors from children (i. e., girls) with exceptional intelligences and talents. This phenomenon has become a personal and professional issue with me. I have witnessed my own daughter--and many other children like her--

suffer within reflexive postures to the practice of labeling, to the stigma of elitism, and to the injustices inherent in schools focused by anti-intellectualism and androcentrism. As Malinda wrote:

> Lesson
>
> One lesson I've learned now I'm older
> From mistakes in the past that I made
> Don't run to the charming knife holder
> Turn your back and say, "Twist it again!"
>
> I can imagine no comfort that's colder
> Than comfort that is sought in vain:
> Once forgotten they always grow bolder
> and will casually wound you again.
>
> Stash this in your mental file folder--
> The gist of this poem is quite plain:
> It's unwise to cry on the shoulder
> of the person who caused you the pain.

Malinda's message is clear. Our children come running and laughing--especially at first--"to the charming knife holder." Many survive. Many others, however, are "casually wounded" again and again until they leave--in search of a "comforting shoulder" that nurtures and stimulates rather than one that labels and sorts them into categories, calculates their worth, and "causes them pain."

How did the label "gifted" evolve? Why does the label "gifted" exist? Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators? Hopefully, the voices in this narrative, including my own, will lead us to reflect upon these questions and in so doing free us all always to run and laugh and sing and rejoice at finding sunbeams in pavement

parts. Then too, the talents of all children will flourish, especially those of girls and women whose gifts have remained unopened for so long.

To honor the children with whom I work--and also my daughter, Malinda--I offer this thesis. More specifically, I will focus on fourth-grade girls who struggle to make meaning within a system which profits by the assignation and receipt of labels.[3] In so doing, the struggles of these girls and those of my daughter will be revealed and hopefully, more clearly understood.

Organization of Manuscript

This manuscript is organized into ten chapters. Chapter I (Introduction) provides an overview of the research. The remaining chapters are as follows: Chapter II (Philosophical and Theoretical Framework); Chapter III (Literature Review); Chapter IV (Research Methodology); Chapter V (Data Presentation: Historical, Political, Sociological Contexts); Chapter VI (Data Presentation: Individual and Group Perspectives of Fourth-Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted" and Their Mothers); Chapter VII [Data Presentation: Individual and Group Perspectives of Fourth-Grade Girls Not Labeled "Gifted" and Their Parents (i. e., a mother and a female legal guardian)]; Chapter VIII (Data Presentation: Individual and Group Perspectives of Teachers and Administrators of Fourth-Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted" and Fourth-Grade Girls Not Labeled "Gifted"); Chapter IX (Analysis); and Chapter X ("Toward the Daylight": Conclusions, Implications/Recommendations). Chapters II through X are structured around the four research questions and their historical, political, social, and personal themes regarding the label "gifted."

[3] The purposeful narrowing of my focus on girls will be explained further in the Methodology chapter.

Chapter II

Philosophical/Theoretical Framework

Injustice

Our school is boxed in by the interstate on the left,
train tracks behind,
and a street in front
known as "Drug Alley."
There's a sign nearby that says,
"Police Drug Checkpoint."

Inside are polished, sleek floors,
"battleship gray" walls,
("The fire marshal doesn't even like plants in the hall,"
the custodians say.)
and narrow rectangular windows in the classroom doors:
PANOPTICON! CLANG! BANG!
Under the EXIT signs
the doors are chained and padlocked
in the afternoon.
FIRE!

Rats and roaches skitter about.
There was a short-tailed mouse in our classroom last year--
too smart to step into another trap--
that the children named "Malcolm."

"Stand up and shut up!"
a teacher barks.
"Fold your arms and walk in a straight line three squares from the wall!"
orders another.
"Silent lunch! Silent lunch! **Silent Lunch!**"
screams another--with microphone in hand.

Our bathrooms are filthy.
(No soap or toilet paper unless the inspectors come.)
Our toilets also leak and overflow.

The city-owned playground we are allowed to use is littered by
broken whiskey bottles,
beer cans,
burned cars,
used condoms,
urine-soaked sandy ditches,
fast-food wrappers,
drug paraphernalia,
and obscene graffiti.

We breathe pollutants
and noxious fumes
from the nearby industries everyday.
"Savannah perfume," the locals say.
On those occasions when the wind is blowing our way,
we enter school with red, watery eyes,
our noses covered
--and leave with metallic tastes in our mouths.
I go home.
The neighborhood children stay.

The following ideas and the individuals who developed them form the "prism" (Richardson, 1997) through which the label "gifted" will be examined. These foundational assumptions and theories (attempts to make sense or "meaning" of the natural and/or social world) have served to stimulate the research questions and hypotheses posed, to focus the survey of the literature, to direct and organize methodological constructs, and to organize data collection and the analysis thereof. I begin broad with philosophical perspectives then narrow to discuss the theoretical dimensions which reflect these perspectives. More specifically, the theoretical "crystal" (Richardson, 1997) for this study is indeed multidimensional. The label "gifted" is examined through historical, political, social, and personal lenses. The first three form the contextual framework from which the last--the personal (and the most critical)--emerges.

When thinking of qualitative research (i. e., my study regarding the label "gifted"), we also need to give attention to its relationship with existentialism and phenomenology. Consider the following: First, qualitative research is a manifestation (I believe) of the philosophy of existentialism. Existentialists emphasize personal truth, relationship with others, human freedom, and the responsibility of the individual for giving meaning to reality. Qualitative methodology--with its emphasis on context, subjectivity, authenticity, communion (Greene, 1988), and moral individualism--mirrors these ideas. Further, existentialists reject the ideas of preformationism, hierarchies, fixed systems and categories, and systems dominant to the individual wherein roles (and in my case, labels) are assigned and obediently acted out. Second, the qualitative paradigm and the formal philosophy it reflects have their roots in the phenomenological thought of Edmund Husserl (1859-1938). Phenomenology is a research methodology that begins with introspection of one's own conscious, intellectual processes. During this introspection, external causes of these processes are excluded. In this way, one may arrive at the essence of meaning (Flew, 1979). Phenomenology may also be considered a descriptive process wherein a concept (e. g., the label "gifted") is examined in various contexts. Third, existentialism may also be thought of as a reaction to--rather than the reverse of--traditional philosophical thought. Likewise, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985), qualitative research should be considered a reaction to--rather than the reverse of--quantitative research. There is a move away from the rationalism and empiricism of traditionalism, the basic tenets of which have had an enduring and profound effect on our culture. We are "standing on the shoulders of giants" (p. 29) as we look for new meanings and understandings.

So, I turn to qualitative research which, I believe, serves as the most appropriate vehicle for critical inquiry. According to Kenneth Sirotnik (1991),

critical inquiry is dialectical (consideration and reconsideration of various decisions of daily life), dialogical (individual and group reflections, a process of competent communication), and deliberate. Informed communication is the mainstay of critical inquiry and the following five generic questions, based on the work of Paulo Freire, are crucial to its process: (1) What are we doing now? (2) How did it come to be this way? (3) Whose interests are, and are not, being served by the way things are? (4) What information and knowledge do we have (or need to get) that bear upon the issues? (5) Is this the way we want things to be? What are we going to do about it? (Sirotnik, 1991)

More specifically, according to Sirotnik (1991), critical inquiry attempts to answer the following questions: What is the purpose of public schools? For what and for whom do they exist? How do structures (e. g., philosophy, history, psychology, sociology, politics, economics) merge to determine the workings (e. g., curricula, methodology) of American education? Are ethical and moral guidelines created from the relationship between teachers and students?

Communication/interaction is an integral part of being human. It seems that any research effort which attempts to remove human interaction and/or portray it as a discrete function seeks also to produce a mirage, or theory which is irrelevant and unresponsive to the human condition. Further, my daughter is a part of me, of course, and my work is my passion. How can I remain "detached" when I feel this way? Impossible. I am in the "web" to stay.

How did the label "gifted" evolve? (Historical)

John Dewey referred to himself as a naturalist--one who seeks "explanations in terms of natural phenomena, of objects and events accessible to our senses" (Noddings, 1995, p. 24)--rather than a pragmatist. According to Dewey (1901, 1902, 1916), curriculum and learning mean a continuous

restructuring and reorganization of experiences (trial and error) for participants within a democratic environment characterized by construction, inquiry, communication, and artistic expression. Historical events (e. g., the evolution of the label "gifted") and past experiences (e. g., the experiences of those affected by the label "gifted") should never be considered isolated entities, but as dynamic connections to and influences on social life and the task at hand. Further, Dewey (1900) wrote:

> History must be presented, not as an accumulation of results or effects, a mere statement of what happened, but as a forceful, acting thing. The motives--that is, the motors--must stand out. To study history is not to amass information, but to use information in constructing a vivid picture of how and why men [sic] did thus and so; achieved their success and came to their failures. (p. 151)

Consideration of the past is also crucial to understanding one's own existence. According to Maxine Greene (1988), individuals may come to know themselves through their own lived experiences and decision-making in the present, through their contemplation of the future, and--very importantly--through their reflection upon the experiences and expressions of others who lived before them. Analysis of these temporal contexts--in open spaces and together with others--crushes oppression and creates and enlarges democratic spheres. Greene (1988) states:

> Human beings, of course, devise their life projects in time--against their own life histories and the wider human history into which these histories feed. They do so by means of language or a series of symbol systems that provide a mode of articulation, of ordering and expressing what is lived. To be aware of authorship is to be aware of situationality and of the relation between the ways in which one interprets one's situation and the

> possibilities of action and choice. This means that one's "reality," rather than being fixed and predefined, is a perpetual emergent, becoming increasingly multiplex, as more perspectives are taken, more texts are opened, more friendships are made. (p. 23)

Hence, any consideration of current practice (i. e., the practice of labeling certain children "gifted") is discrete, incomplete, and meaningless without also considering and reflecting upon its connection to the past. Michael Apple (1990) explains:

> Expectations [of students] are reinforced by the kinds of curricula and tests schools give and by the labels affixed to different kinds of students. Thus, the formal and informal knowledge that is taught in schools, the evaluative procedures, and so forth, need to be looked at connectedly or we shall miss much of their real significance. For these everyday school practices are linked to economic, social, and ideological structures outside of the school buildings. These linkages need to be uncovered both today and in the past. (p. 65)

Why does the label "gifted" exist? (Political)

According to McGreal (1992), Karl Marx (1818-1883), who based his ideas on the work of German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedreich Hegel (1770-1831), described the human condition as follows: Our beliefs and behaviors (e. g., the practice of labeling certain children "gifted") are shaped by the society in which we live and the conditions (e. g., ideologies, technology, divisions of labor) therein. History is a repetitive process wherein human needs are continuously created and then satisfied. This means a constant struggle for wealth and private property and human labor is the force of that struggle. Hence, history is determined by the relationship between labor and ownership,

or in a capitalist society between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. That relationship is characterized by control of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat. Control may be tangible (control of wealth, land, technology, etc.) and intangible (control of ideas, laws, politics, etc.). Hence, in hegemonic fashion, workers become "others" who struggle to work for the "ruling class" to produce objects over which they have no control, so they will have money necessary to buy these "needed" objects. Thus, the workers are essentially paying for their own labor with the pay they receive for producing the things they buy.

This circuitous process leads to a "false consciousness," or a contradiction between workers' perceptions and actual practice. In other words, members of the proletariat are able to accept their inequalities because they mistakenly believe themselves to be free and socially mobile. The harder they work the more easily they can change their class status and become self-determined beings. Eventually, according to Marx, workers begin to realize similar conditions and interests within their ranks (e. g., disillusionment, disenfranchisement, oppression) which leads to union and a common struggle for control with the bourgeoisie. When the bourgeoisie--or "ruling class"--is overthrown, through violent revolution if necessary, a new social order emerges--one that is classless. Private property is abolished. A temporary dictatorship is necessary until all vestiges of bourgeois power have disappeared. In sum, through this process of social change, also referred to as "dialectical materialism" (a term Marx derived from Hegel), a resolution (or synthesis) emerges from a conflict between opposites (thesis and antithesis).

Marx presents a fairly accurate portrayal of early capitalism wherein clear distinctions were evident between owners (proletariat) and workers (bourgeoisie). Now, rather than these two static structures we see a dynamic society within which bureaucratic levels of authority are focused and refocused

by socioeconomic status. Further, it is important to realize that these systems and processes may indeed quite easily be superimposed upon many levels of our society, from macro-structures like the federal government to smaller units such as educational systems and the schools within these systems. Consider the following: There are those of us who struggle as workers within an educational setting called school (and in my situation, a school called Fagan Elementary, the Academy for the Gifted and Talented). Our dominant theories (e. g., theories regarding "giftedness") and our applications of these theories via curricula, methodologies, etc. are framed by the structure within which we work and the bureaucratic subdivisions and technologies therein. For example, Total Quality Management (TQM), a business-oriented program, the purpose of which is to improve process and product, was adopted in 1995 by the local system. My students and their parents were to be labeled "customers" and the emphasis was on "customer satisfaction." Other terms bandied about in conversation and in the literature were: "tools," "suppliers," "site-based management," "system operations," "product and service," "work force," and "quotas" (Bonstingl, 1992; Rebore, 1995; Thomas & Crescimbeni, 1966). Additionally, within our school our needs (e. g., materials, physical settings, instrumental goals) are cyclically defined, satisfied, redefined. This means a continuous struggle for property and space, and our work serves as the impetus of that struggle. Thus, events and our lives and experiences are determined by the relationship between ownership and labor and that relationship is characterized by control--tangible (e. g., large salaries, technology) and intangible (e. g., rules, mandates, positions of power)--of the bourgeoisie (those in control within the bureaucratic structure) over the proletariat (those being controlled). In this hegemonic relationship, we struggle to produce projects, reports, test scores, etc. for those in control in order to receive promotions, salaries, and grades. Lastly, some

resistance is being noted via teachers' unions (e. g., National Education Association, American Federation of Teachers), organizations such as the National Coalition of Educational Activists (Apple, 1998), and scholarly dialogue such as that of Michael Apple (1990, 1995, 1998), Patricia Hill-Collins (1991), Patti Lather (1991), Mara Sapon-Shevin (1994), and Robert Sternberg (1985, 1990) . Apple (1991) writes:

> Teachers and schools have made immense gains in making the curriculum less totally an area of administrative control. Teachers and local communities have gained considerably more autonomy in many urban areas in deciding what to teach and what counts as good teaching. (p. 281)

Conversely however, other phenomena and practices are not as positive--widening class, race, and gender divisions; the increasing pressures upon schools to make the needs of business and industry their primary goals (Apple, 1991); and the struggles of girls, including my daughter, who carry the label "gifted."

Marx's interpretation of history (i. e., human relationships, the development of capitalism) has indeed had a profound affect on humankind. Marxist revolutions have occurred in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Central and South America. Many have failed. Most have made an impact. However, the following also needs to be considered: Marx believed that there are truths that exist above the changing world of things and these truths give shape to reality. Hence, Marx's theory is presented as a truth (T)--a "blueprint"--for overcoming the contradictions of capitalism. According to Richardson (1997), this meta-narrative, or any other for that matter, only serves to privilege preexisting structures (e. g., economics) and "obliterate the lived experiences of individuals" (p. 76). Specifically, within this master plan--as with others--are hierarchies and

dichotomies wherein some voices are heard (the voices of those in control) and some voices are not heard (the voices of marginalized "others," such as women and minorities). Further, Horney (1967) states:

> In this ideology the differences of the weaker one will be interpreted as inferiority, and it will be proven that these differences are unchangeable, basic, or God's will. It is the function of such an ideology to deny or conceal the existence of a struggle. (p. 56)

In sum, the preceding narrative offers two basic theoretical positions which I feel are crucial for me to consider as I engage in this study. First, as Marx has written, capitalism means dialectical materialism--the struggle between opposing social forces (thesis and antithesis) resulting in resolution (synthesis)--and hegemony which produces alienation and false consciousness among members of the working class. More specifically, these ideas are made manifest in the form and function of schooling. According to Apple (1990, 1991, 1998), the economic priorities inherent in capitalism control the structure of society and in turn the structure of schooling. "Profit is more important than people, it seems" (Apple, 1995, pp. 4-5). Further, schools are used as reproduction agents--via the overt and hidden curricula--to maintain the status quo. One way this is achieved is by the inequitable distribution of power, or by the sorting and labeling of its members, a process wherein one group determines the appropriateness or inappropriateness of another group's actions. This practice is usually deemed to be ameliorative. Rather than improving a child's situation, however, the label (a social construction) only serves to essentialize and stigmatize her/him, not just at school but in other community settings as well. Further, sorting children serves to focus attention upon their behaviors and/or "problems" (defined by their labels) hence diverting attention from the institution(s) and the social and political conditions which

created the construct. Gallagher (1976) refers to this as the exceptionalistic (blaming the individual) versus the universalistic (blaming society) approach to labeling. The struggles and the successes I encounter in my life as a mother and as a teacher of children labeled "gifted" certainly verify these descriptors. Second, while keeping this in mind, I am also aware that Marx's "linear look" at economic structures also obfuscates the more critical issues of gender and race.

According to Rebecca Martusewicz and William Reynolds (1994), critical feminists define gender as a social construction. Further, schools reflect the gender inequalities inherent in society (i. e., the marginalization of women and girls). In a move away from the rigidity of the Marxist paradigm, critical feminists argue that teachers and students, particularly women and girls, through dialogue and participation, construct personal meaning and identity within the context of school.

Patti Lather (1994), who analyses politics and society from a feminist perspective, states:

> Given the androcentrism of Marxist theory, feminism benefits from exposure to this powerful, well-developed body of social theory that continues to dominate revolutionary discourse so long as feminists remain aware of the need to subvert the intellectual ground under our feet. We need to be sure we do not become "good wives" of a Marxist patriarch. (p. 248)

Pulling threads from postpositivist inquiry, Lather--in her book, Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy With/in the Postmodern (1991)--weaves a thick tapestry, the design of which is to interrupt the meta-narrative of positivism, or secular humanism, spawned by the Enlightenment. Subtle shadings from the emancipatory interests of Habermas (Roderick, 1986), the

liberatory curriculum of Paulo Freire, the critical pedagogy of Henry Giroux, and the deconstruction ideas or postlogocentrism of Jacques Derrida, for example, serve to enrich the texture. With these things in place, Lather juxtaposes feminist and neo-Marxist theories into the piece. First, regarding feminism, Lather (1992) explains:

> Through the questions feminism poses and the absences it locates, feminism argues the centrality of gender in the shaping of our consciousness, skills, and institutions as well as in the distribution of power and privilege. This is not to deny the powerful shaping forces of race, class, and sexual orientation; increasingly, feminist inquiry looks to the interaction of such social forces in the construction of our lives. (p. 91)

Further, Lather moves beyond Sandra Harding (1991) and feminist standpoint theory. She remains wary of any particular approach and its limitations when postpositivist thought is engaged in an information age "feeding frenzy." Secondly, Lather brushes aside suspicions regarding Marxism and its structuralist, androcentric "category systems and vanguard politics" (p. 23). She repositions the original paradigm and plucks from it the ideas of opposition and emancipation. Further, she writes, "...my own empirical work is grounded in a desire to use and expand upon the idea of 'resistance' as it has developed in recent neo-Marxist sociology of education" (p. 76).

These constructs and the interstices between conjoin to present an empowering means for creating knowledge. By connecting emancipatory theory and praxis, Lather's approach gives voice to the "ex-centrics" (like myself) who, in turn, through interactive dialogue, may indeed interrupt the grand narrative.

What are the implications for critical feminism and Lather's theory in my work? My research then becomes multi-layered, multi-voiced. Theory and practice interconnect. Dialogue is multi-vocal, self-reflexive, conjunctive, and

disjunctive. Expressions of opinion--written and oral, imitative and/or creative--are freely considered. Further, interpretation of society from a woman's perspective and neo-Marxism with its emphasis on opposition and emancipation merge into a fluid tension--a powerful agent--through which deconstruction of repression may occur. The research domain and the classroom become vehicles for liberation--a means for interrupting the master narrative (Lather, 1991; Richardson, 1997). Pardon me, sir.

Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? (Sociological)

Like other social constructs, theories of intelligence/"giftedness" reflect the temporal and spatial contexts within which they are created and developed. According to Stephen Gould (1981), during the eugenics movement, for example, theorists such as French physiologist Paul Broca and English scientist Francis Galton measured and compared the brain capacity (size) and speed of various groups of people. Their purpose was to show a positive correlation between brain size and intelligence. Disappointed but undaunted when their hypothesis was disproven, these researchers continued to explore different ways to confirm their beliefs regarding the intellectual dominance of European males.

According to Pendarvis et al. (1990), contemporary theories--all used at one time or another to identify the "gifted"--may be categorized as follows: behavioral, single-factor, multiple-factor, dichotomous-ability, and information-processing. Behavioral (or environmental) theorists determine intelligence based on observable behaviors (e. g., performance, production, adaptability). Behavioral checklists such as the one developed by Joseph Renzulli and his associates (1977) are used to discover latent or emerging "giftedness."

Single-factor or global theories, such as those proposed by Lewis Terman (1916, 1925), Charles Spearman (1927), and David Wechsler (1958, 1974), characterize intelligence as the aggregate ability to interact purposely and effectively with the environment. This psychometric view is closely related to Arthur Jensen's (1980) argument that an intellectual trait--like a biological trait--is inherited. Advocates for the "gifted" have criticized these views as being misleading. Pendarvis, et al. (1990) explain:

> Intelligence tests measure complex behaviors that are defined in a social context. It is doubtful that a single, heritable biological trait could account for the many phenomena that are classified as intelligent behavior, even that intelligent behavior described by IQ tests. (p. 50)

In contrast to single-factor theories, multiple-factor or "specific skills" (Louis, Subotnik, Breland, & Lewis, 2000) theories consider a person's performance variations in a number of different areas. Edward Thorndike (1927)--also referred to as the father of the educational testing movement--believed that within the human brain are different interconnecting intellectual capacities. He proposed that there are three kinds of intelligence: abstract, concrete/mechanical, and social. Lewis Thurstone (1938) suggested seven: verbal meaning, number, space, perceptual speed, word fluency, memory, and inductive reasoning. Calvin Taylor's multiple talent totem pole (1986) describes nine gifts and talents: academic, productive thinking, communicating, forecasting, decision-making, planning, implementing, human relations, and discerning opportunities. Perhaps the most comprehensive model is J. Paul Guilford's three-dimensional Structure of Intellect (1959, 1967). Guilford describes three primary intellectual functions: operations (cognition, memory, divergent thinking, convergent thinking, evaluation), content (figural, symbolic, semantic, behavioral), and products (units, classes, relations, systems,

transformations, implications). This implies that there are one hundred twenty possible abilities, each one an interaction of an operation, a content, and a product. Howard Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences offers a move away from long-standing cognition-based conceptions of ability (i. e., "giftedness") predominant in the West. Also considered are talents and abilities valued in other cultures and settings. Lewis Aiken (1991) states:

> Gardner emphasizes the findings from cross-cultural research to document the role of cultural values in determining the intellectual competencies developed by humans. Linguistic and logical-mathematical intelligences are more highly valued in Western culture, bodily kinesthetic intelligence is more important in hunting cultures, and interpersonal intelligence is very important in highly ordered societies such as that of the Japanese. Spatial, bodily kinesthetic, and interpersonal intelligences have been more valued in apprenticeship systems, and linguistic and interpersonal intelligences were most esteemed in old-fashioned religious schools. (p. 233)

Gardner's ideas are now being used in Georgia as admission criteria which determine entrance into state-wide programs for the "gifted."

Dichotomous-ability theories generally recognize two separate forms of intelligence, one influenced by heredity and the other by environment. Raymond Cattell (1971), for example, describes fluid intelligence (genetically determined and used primarily for adaptation) and crystallized intelligence (environmentally determined and used primarily in situations where habits have become ingrained). Kaufman (1983) differentiates between intelligence or perception (genetically determined) and achievement or acquired learning (environmentally determined).

Information-processing theories focus on process (i. e., cognitive processes) unlike the heretofore described psychometric theories which focus on product (i. e., cognitive products). Intelligence is considered developmental, sequential, and emergent. Pendarvis et al. (1990) note:

> These theorists see intelligence as a sequence of events. The sequence includes phenomena such as arousal and maintenance of attention, short- and long-term recall, and transfer of learning. Even if these processes do condition intelligent behavior, they are so internal that they resist measurement. (p. 52)

Swiss biologist and psychologist Jean Piaget (1926), for example, believed that cognition results from an individual's assimilation and accommodation to the environment. Through this interaction, schemata (categorical structures) develop and expand in the brain. Schemata serve as guidelines to further learning and behavior(s). Intelligence develops through a series of progressive stages: sensorimotor, preoperational, concrete operational, and formal operational.

Similar to Piaget's theory in its concern with the developmentalism and the learning process is Robert Sternberg's (1977, 1985, 1990) triarchic theory of intelligence. Sternberg describes three interrelated subtheories: componential subtheory, experiential subtheory, and contextual subtheory. The componential subtheory connects intelligence to one's internal world and includes metacomponents used in planning and decision-making, performance components, and knowledge-acquisition components. Experiential subtheory connects intelligence to one's experience(s) and means the ability to process and internalize new information. Contextual subtheory connects intelligence to one's external world and is concerned with the adaptation to and the shaping of environment.

Interestingly, with one exception (Lewis Thurstone's Primary Mental Abilities, 1938), all of the theories or conceptual models of intelligence I have just described were developed during times of national attention to the "gifted."[4] Broca's and Galton's late nineteenth century cranial measurement correlation theories were dominant/popular in this country during the eugenics movement. Terman's (1925) myth-shattering ideas regarding the "gifted", Piaget's (1926) developmental theory of intelligence, Spearman's (1927) global *g* theory, and Thorndike's (1927) The Measurement of Intelligence emerged during the testing and industrialization furor of the nineteen twenties. Guilford's (1959, 1967) three dimensional model of intellect followed the Sputnik I launching in 1957. During the decades of the seventies and eighties, seven more appeared: Cattell's (1971) fluid and crystallized abilities, the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (1974), Renzulli's (1977, 1986) three ring model, Sternberg's (1977) triarchic theory, Gardner's (1983) multiple intelligences, Kaufman's (1983) intelligence and achievement theory, and Taylor's (1986) multiple talent totem pole.

Closely related to theories of intelligence and "giftedness"--but not nearly as developed or as profound/comprehensive--are theories regarding the label "gifted" (Robinson, 1986, 1989). Ironically, these emerging theories have their roots in social deviance theory developed by Howard Becker (1963, 1964) and labeling theory, which modified Becker's ideas for studies regarding the handicapped. According to Becker (1964), definitions of deviant behaviors (e. g., drug addiction, criminal activities) and characteristics of these behaviors are social constructions. Labels are created in order to identify these behaviors and their characteristics and/or communicate with others about them. Once assigned to a certain individual, the label and its accompanying expected

[4] Refer to Literature Review, Chapter III, for an overview of the national history of education for the "gifted."

behavior(s) are usually hegemonically accepted by that individual and also by others with whom he/she associates. Hence, labels create self-fulfilling prophesies (Apple, 1990; Erikson, 1963; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968). In other words, the labeled one struggles to "act the label." According to labeling theorists such as Samuel Guskin et al. (1986), Ann Robinson (1986, 1989), and Enid Zimmerman (1985), these ideas may be extrapolated to populations of the physically and mentally disabled.

Also deviating from the norm are those labeled "gifted." In contrast to social deviation theory and labeling theory used to study the handicapped, however, theories of the label "gifted" imply a positive, a chimerically positive, and a negative deviation. The label "gifted" is positive in the sense that it reminds the public of the potential--or the "promise" (Robinson, 1990)--of highly intelligent children, it allows for differentiated programming for them, it stimulates and provides directions for research, and it serves as a means for obtaining necessary funding and other resources (Gallagher, 1976). According to Dewey Cornell (1983), it also "errs in the opposite direction" (p. 323). In other words, research that contradicts negative stereotypes of "gifted" children (e. g., fragility, social ineptitude) and presents them as superior--not only intellectually but physically, emotionally, and socially--tends to be generalized into a "reified model of the gifted child as a kind of social and intellectual ideal" (p. 323). This, in turn, fosters ill will because it contradicts deep-seated cultural values such as equality and the Protestant ethic. It is negative in the sense that it is also a stigma (Coleman, 1985; Howley, 1986). It brands certain children as geneticists and elitists (especially those with superb linguistic and/or logical/mathematical intelligences) and it identifies the programs/activities designed to meet their needs as undemocratic, racist, and socially irresponsible (Cheney & Beebe, 1986). It comes with intense pressures to succeed and is

often associated with depersonalized expectations (Robinson, 1989). Oftentimes, children who wear it are exploited by society, their own families (Tannenbaum, 1972, 1981), and the school personnel with whom they interact/work (Kulik, 1992).

What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators? (Phenomenological)

"The personal is not only political, it is where the theory has to start" (Gonda, 1998, p. 114). Inherent in feminist and critical/emancipatory research is the idea of personal meaning, or personal meaning-making. We approach the research process with many personal stories. These stories are shaped by what constitutes our past, how we interpret the present, and who and where we hope to be in the future. Stories and the parts therein are not discreet entities. Rather, they are products of the setting within which they are formed. Therefore, in order to search for answers to things problematic, in order to discover who we are and why certain conditions exist, it is imperative also to reflect upon the following: our own "situatedness," definition of context, analysis of ourselves and our relationships with others within context(s), interpretation of context(s) within ourselves and others, and--as feminist scholars insist--consideration of "the personal as political." Richardson (1997) writes:

> The story of a life is less than the actual life, because the story told is selective, partial, contextually constructed and because the life is not yet over. But the story of a life is also more than the life, the contours and meanings allegorically extending to others, others seeing themselves,

> knowing themselves through another's life story, re-visioning their own, arriving where they started and knowing "the place for the first time." (p. 6)

Further, according to Jean Clandinin and Michael Connelly (1998), from personal stories, new stories emerge. This is certainly true in my case. The parameters of my study are indeed personal and contextual. For example, when I reflect upon my life, past and present, it is obvious to me that I did not arrive "here" by myself. Who I am and what I do have been decided for me by my interaction(s) with individuals and events in my past (known and unknown), and personal and professional experiences in the present. Specifically, my concerns regarding injustice (always a part of me), my own struggles and those of my daughter, my grandmother, my mother, and my students led me toward doctoral work and the ensuing examination of these concerns. From these experiences, many new events and perceptions and conclusions regarding these events have occurred. It follows then that construction of knowledge and meaning-making (my own and that of others) ought to be focused by context and the voices of those therein. Hence, my study of the label "gifted" will be focused by participants (including myself) and their experiences within historical, political, sociological, and phenomenological spheres.

Three theorists who exemplify these assumptions and whose works have certainly influenced my writing and research, my practice, and my efforts toward developing appropriate environments and curricula for my students are Maxine Greene, Nel Noddings, and Patricia Hill Collins. In her book, The Dialectic of Freedom (1988), Greene offers a multi-contextual image of freedom. In so doing, she has succeeded in stretching and extending my thinking regarding authorship, self-actualization, authenticity, and community.

The perspectives and dilemmas revealed in her text--through personal narrative, literature, and the arts--move me to pose several questions and

observations. First, how can we as teachers (i. e., teachers of the "gifted") lead our students to identify oppression (e. g., the practice of sorting and labeling others) when we allow ourselves to live and work and struggle to succeed in a pragmatic, bureaucratic, "watchdog" society we have allowed to evolve? How can we expect our students (i. e., "gifted" girls) to come together communally to reject a state of things they had decided were stifling their freedom when we ourselves are isolated and function in an institutional mode? Further, identification and communal rejection are only the first steps!

Greene also noted that we are a part of the fragmented attempts (via technology, fundamentalism, empty conversation, etc.) to solve our problems. We exist as passive participants in society and we look for answers as "figurative ashes blowing in the wind" (p. 10). This only serves to reinforce the idea of "negative freedom," or the erroneous belief that we are indeed free to make choices. We avow that we are "free" but we continue to circumvent our "walls" (or blocks to freedom) in isolation. We stand alone and rage or laugh hysterically at these "walls" and then do nothing to tear them down.

Greene's work also brings to mind a comparison between the institution (a type of bureaucracy) and the school wherein negative freedoms are made manifest. According to Goffman (1961), an institution may be characterized by the following descriptors: (1) formal administration; (2) coercive rule structures; (3) rights disguised as privileges (e. g., going to the bathroom); (4) involuntary membership; (5) externally defined rules (decided by government); (6) external support (from taxes); (7) expert servicing (a determination to change the character and behavior of clients efficiently); (8) client-staff friction; (9) the practice of labeling; (10) surveillance; (11) invasion of privacy; (12) obedience systems; and (13) privilege systems. Difficulty in determining whether these characteristics describe an insane asylum, a prison, or a learning environment

should cause us to question seriously the structure(s) of contemporary schooling and the appropriateness of the curricula and practice(s) therein.

There are indeed choices available to my students, their parents, and to me as we struggle to make meaning and to overcome these "walls" of oppression (Greene, 1988). Further, these are choices that are grounded in community and dialogue: warm, unconditional acceptance; ownership of teaching and learning; partnership; flexibility; laughter and song; and an emphasis on critical thinking and problem solving. In her book, Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics & Moral Education (1984), Nel Noddings moves away from the notions of competition, the sustained emphasis on rationality, and the dominance of traditionalism. She suggests that a climate of "caring"--characterized by maternal relatedness, receptivity, and responsiveness--is a moral prerogative. She believes that excellence, diversity, and individual strengths are best nurtured and sustained in an atmosphere guided by an ethos of caring. Noddings (1992) states:

> I will suggest that education might best be organized around centers of care: care for self, for intimate others, for associates and acquaintances, for distant others, for nonhuman animals, for plants and the physical environment, for the human-made world of objects and instruments, and for ideas. (p. xiii)

The womanist/feminist perspective--a multi-issue approach to politics and learning--was developed by women of color (e. g., Hill-Collins, 1991; hooks, 1989; Walker, 1983) in reaction to existent resistance groups which were (and still are) primarily Caucasian and/or middle class. In my case, most of the respondents in this study are African-American females. Therefore, it seems crucial for me to consider the following ideas.

Perhaps more so than any other group in the United States, African-American women have struggled to survive in the margins of society. According to Patricia Hill-Collins (1991), oppression continues to mean a double-edged sword--race (being African-American) and a sex/gender system [sex meaning a biological category and gender meaning a socially constructed hierarchy "in which inequalities of race and social class have been sexualized" (p. 165)]. Conversely, dominant society--focused by androcentric Western thought--has struggled to maintain the silencing and subordination of African-American women (and other women of color). Stereotypes (the mammy or Aunt Jemima, African-American women as mules, the "castrating matriarch," the promiscuous and prolific welfare mother, etc.) remain manifest, and African-American women's epistemology, for the most part, continues to be submerged.

Why are these conditions I have just described allowed to exist? Collins explains, "Maintaining the invisibility of black women and our ideas is critical in structuring patterned relations of race, gender, and class inequality that pervade the entire social structure" (p. 5). Further, and ironically, the feminist movement and its participants have been accused of focusing on white middle class women and their issues thus pushing black women deeper into the shadows.

In Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment (1991), Hill-Collins has moved into her own soul and into the soul of her community and away from the analytical, observational, and detached posture oftentimes assumed by other scholars. She "embeds herself in context" (p. 234). In doing so, she rejects the dominant idea that epistemology created by African-American women is nonexistent or unworthy of consideration and she underscores her belief--and the belief of other African-American women--that knowledge serves to empower individuals and communities.

Further, "teaching becomes an arena for political activism wherever it occurs" (p. 151). More importantly, she is creating an Afrocentric Feminist Epistemology. Hill-Collins states:

> Black feminist thought demonstrates black women's emerging power as agents of knowledge. By portraying African-Americans as self-defined, self-reliant individuals confronting race, gender, and class oppression, Afrocentric feminist thought speaks to the importance that knowledge plays in empowering oppressed people. One distinguishing feature of black feminist thought is its insistence that both the changed consciousness of individuals and the social transformation of political and economic institutions constitute essential ingredients for social change. New knowledge is important for both dimensions to change. (p. 221)

More specifically, the historical, political, and social forces described by Greene, Noddings, and Hill-Collins also serve to shape the development of "self," the "gifted self," the "gifted girl's self," and the "African-American gifted girl's self." Consider the following: Phenomenologists like Carl Rogers (1951) believe that the "self" emerges after birth. It develops slowly from one's direct experiences, or social interactions, and from indirect experiences, or one's beliefs about "self" derived from the behaviors and attitudes of others. At times, the beliefs, or values, derived from these two types of experiences are dissonant and result in conflict. Individuals generally perceive and respond to those elements in the environment that are compatible with their own perception(s) of "self."

Similarly, the reflexive self--a sociological construct defined by symbolic interactionists as the ability to engage in inner dialogue as the subject and object--emerges as a result of interaction with others through a series of stages

(Falk & Miller, 1997). Based on the biologically-grounded preconditions of self-perception (transference and association) and self-recognition (the ability to recognize one's own image), the four stages are as follows: self-efficacy (the ability to be instrumental in one's environment)), self-image (a dynamic representation of self that changes as roles and expectations change), self-concept (a static representation of self), and self-esteem (judging oneself based on the perspective and judgment of others). This developmental sequence occurs more rapidly for "gifted" children. Also, because of their intelligence and heightened sensitivity, the "gifted" are extremely vulnerable to the praise and/or scorn from significant others at each stage of development.

According to psychologist Thomas Greenspon (1998, 2000), the "gifted self" is constructed through experiential encounters in the environment with objects and others. Personal reality is based on the meaning(s) one makes of what is perceived. Further, this construction of self and of personal reality may be positive or negative. Consider the following examples: (1) The label "gifted" implies "differentness." When a child's "differentness" is accepted, then he/she feels honored and cherished. When "differentness" is rejected, then he/she feels inferior and/or shameful. (2) When the "gifted" child's asynchronous development is recognized and appropriately treated, then there is an enhanced sense of coherence and organization of the self. When asynchronous development is unrecognized and/or inappropriately treated, then there is a diminished sense of unity and organization of the self. (3) Many "gifted" children are also labeled as "perfectionists," and as Linda Silverman (1998) has written, "Perfectionism is one of the most frequently misunderstood qualities of the gifted Self" (p. 206). Actually, there are two meanings to consider. First, in most cases, perfectionism in "gifted" children means a healthy conscientiousness, a "rage to master" (Winner, 1996), a drive toward self-

actualization (Maslow, 1970), a passion for excellence. Second, in a few instances, it may indeed be indicative of neurosis. In this case, there is a threat to the cohesiveness of the self. The "gifted" child believes that he/she must be perfect in order to be loved or accepted by others. In other words, "the self-object experience--that experience of other people that contributes to one's sense of self--includes a conditionality. If one acts to please an essential other (by doing something perfectly), then one will be acceptable" (Greenspon, 2000, p. 181).

In addition to the struggles inherent in the developing "gifted" self, girls with superb intelligence(s) face further conflict. According to philosopher Carol Gilligan (1990), beginning with approaching adolescence, "gifted" girls become increasingly aware of the contradictory signals from society regarding what is expected of them. Inner conflict emerges for "gifted" girls who believe that they must choose between their academic excellence/achievements and career aspirations (particularly in science and math) and the more traditional roles prescribed for them. Further, failure to achieve their potential results in the loss of a sense of self and the lowered self-esteem that accompanies such a loss.

African-American "gifted" girls are confronted with even more obstacles. Their struggles to find their own identities are further compounded by a society which not only marginalizes their sex but also their race. Hence, unlike their Caucasian peers, their frames of reference are often in conflict with those of the dominant majority. Consequently, they are forced to manipulate simultaneously two oppositional cultures which, in turn, quite often leads to feelings of powerlessness and isolation (Bonner, 2000; Grantham & Ford, 1998; Ogbu, 1992).

Summary and Conclusion

How did the label "gifted" evolve? Why does the label "gifted" exist? Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators? In this chapter I have presented the philosophical and theoretical framework through which these research questions will be examined. More specifically, historical, political, sociological, and phenomenological lenses and the individuals who have shaped, focused, and developed them have been described. In turn, I hope this critical study will serve to broaden and direct the emerging theoretical base regarding the label "gifted."

Sara

Why are those men standing in the meadow?
I looked out my window and saw
Black shapes circling
    (Looked like that French dance...the gavotte
    or birds up in the sky...
    waiting)
Three men...are they looking for something?
I spit. I rub. I look out the dusty pane
with the rough stripes of the curtain on my cheek.
And still, far away, they spin
Slowly, like roundabouts, in shiny shoes
    (when the wind whips my way)
ComeCloserStandHereThat'sGreat
IsThisThePlace?
    (mayhem)

And the clouds and leaves are wild in the twilight
    (I bet there will be rain tonight, jumping on my tin roof.)
And they stare off into the distance
Where the trees lie flat to the earth
Black and gnarled
    (Like my hands gripping the wooden window sill)

And I peek at them meandering
Moving in procession, hands in pockets.
(It looks like Bond Street...
I saw it in a movie on the T.V. my niece bought.)
And as I look at those men in my meadow
(their hair is being lifted like the dry clumps of grass)
(Dark, white, gray--like my television)
I scratch my head
and think about snow
and the scent of patent-leather shoes
and I wonder if they are looking for gold

or for me.

Malinda McCall, age seventeen

From her vantage point, Sara could survey the meadow--all the way to the horizon. She observed three men and heard their voices. I join Sara at the window and also notice the men--looking for something--and giving orders. But then I notice an emerging group of women and hear their voices. They are searching too. And the longer we stand at the window the clearer and more lyrical their voices become.

Chapter III

Review of the Literature

As Apple (1990) suggests, we need to move away from simply a phenomenological consideration of the practice of labeling. Also important are its historical, political, and social parameters. He writes:

> I do not mean that one should throw out social phenomenology or labeling theory here. Instead, one combines it with a more critical social interpretation that looks at the creation of identities and meanings in specific institutions like schools as taking place within a context that often determines the parameters of what is negotiable or meaningful. This context does not merely reside at the level of consciousness; it is the nexus of economic and political institutions, a nexus which defines what schools should be about, that sets limits on these parameters. (p. 140)

Hence, in this chapter, I will move beyond "the level of consciousness." Relevant research regarding the label "gifted" will be examined through historical, political, social, and personal lenses. In so doing, implications for my research will also emerge.

How did the label "gifted" evolve? (Historical)

> History is the repository of the human struggle for meaning and represents the connection between memory and response.
> (David Purpel, 1989, p. 127)

> The overt curriculum, the hidden curriculum, and the history of each, are tied to the categories we employ so easily to give meaning to our day to day activity, which are in turn tied to and justify social interests. It may be hard to see the results of our programmatic and intellectual labors as contributing to hegemony. Yet, by seeing how these elements fit together, relationally, with the actual structures of of domination in a society, we can now begin to see the mechanisms through which cultural and economic reproduction operate in schools.
>
> (Michael Apple, 1990, p. 153)

Unless historical context is observed and analyzed, current theory and practice in American schools (i. e., labeling certain children "gifted") cannot be fully understood. Additionally, I remain convinced that research questions such as those posed in this study [How did the label "gifted" evolve? Why does the label "gifted" exist? Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators?] are best resolved when one also considers pertinent historical events and the lives and works of those who made them manifest.

In this section, I will present an overview of the history of education for children labeled "gifted" on national, state, and local levels. Several themes--or commonalities--will become apparent: an ironic static predominant emphasis on cognition, disparate attention to the various forms of intelligence, an involuntary linkage of children labeled "gifted" with geneticism, a cyclical exploitation of children labeled "gifted," cultural determination of intelligence constructs, and a socially constructed connection between status and gender to intelligence resulting in a polarization of thought between equity and excellence. The format for my presentation is admittedly structural and according to Michel Foucault (as cited in Fillingham, 1993), finding any logic in structure is impossible. There is nothing absolute or fixed. Like chess pieces on a board, theories and people

should be considered dynamic rather than static entities. Nevertheless, it helps me to organize and then expand upon my thoughts by first trying to envision a "whole" (Short, 1991, p. 12) within which ideas, people, and events are placed in certain "boxes" or parts which I also know will shift over time. Hence, I believe that by "plugging" general and specific concepts (e. g., historically contentious events, the practice of cognitive-based identification of the "gifted" versus multiple criteria-based identification of the "gifted") regarding education for children with superb intelligence(s) into a philosophical framework that these concepts will be placed into proper perspective and certain commonalities will emerge. I also believe that my own position, as researcher and teacher, will become more meaningful.

United States

As the idea of democracy emerged in Athens in the fifth century B. C. E., so did the need for an educated citizenry--a citizenry whose prime consideration was the city-state. According to Scott Hunsaker (1995), the Greeks believed that special intellectual and artistic abilities were bestowed by the gods. Young boys supposedly endowed with these "gifts" were chosen by the Spartans for military training and leadership roles. The emphasis later shifted to preparing "superior" boys to become law-makers, poets, philosophers, and public speakers.

Two thousand years later, these practices continue--in identification and "tracking" of those chosen to participate in programs for the "gifted," and in the subject matter offered only to them. Additionally, Hunsaker (1995) makes note of the fact that Greek scholars, because of their arrogance, were not well-liked among their fellow citizens. Further, just like their ancient predecessors, today's "gifted" are sometimes unpopular with their peers and with society in general.

According to Richard Hofstadter (1963), the derogatory term "egghead" emerged during the Eisenhower-Stevenson presidential campaign in 1952 and reflected the country's disdain for intellectuals. Hofstadter writes:

Shortly after the campaign was over, Louis Bromfield, a popular novelist of right-wing political persuasion, suggested that the word might some day find its way into dictionaries as follows:

> Egghead: A person of spurious intellectual pretensions, often a professor or the protégé of a professor. Fundamentally superficial. Over-emotional and feminine in reactions to any problem. Supercilious and surfeited with conceit and contempt for the experience of more sound and able men. Essentially confused in thought and immersed in mixture of sentimentality and violent evangelism. A doctrinaire supporter of Middle-European socialism as opposed to Greco-French-American ideas of democracy and liberalism. Subject to the old-fashioned philosophical morality of Nietzsche which frequently leads him into jail or disgrace. A self-conscious prig, so given to examining all sides of a question that he becomes thoroughly addled while remaining always in the same spot. An anemic bleeding heart. (pp. 9-10)

Idealism continues to define and focus curricula and many strategies and materials used almost "exclusively" with those children labeled "gifted." For example, there is the metanarrative or paradigm. Robert Ennis's (1962) Model for Critical Thinking offers twelve aspects and thirteen definitions of "critical thinking." Sidney Parnes's (1967) Creative Problem-Solving Model describes six steps/processes in solving problems, from "mess-finding" to "acceptance-finding." Robert Sternberg's (1985) Metacomponents (Executive Processes) is a model for enhancing and reinforcing insight with game-like teaching materials.

Frank Williams's Model (1977) for Implementing Cognitive-Affective Behaviors in the Classroom for the Gifted emphasizes teacher and student behaviors. Joyce VanTassel-Baska's "House of Curriculum" (1988) is a comprehensive model with four fundamental yet integrated realms (or "doors") of learning (i. e., cognitive, affective, social, aesthetic). Additional parts of the "house" are "windows" (individual study), the "roof" (development and design), and the "foundation" (knowledge).

The teachings of Aristotle regarding logic, sorting, and systems of classification are seen today in the hegemonic practice of assigning labels which affects the student population as a whole, not just those who carry the label "gifted." For example, children may be classified as having a *behavior disorder (BD)*, an *emotional behavior disorder (EBD)*, an *attention deficit disorder (ADD)*, and/or a *specific learning disability (SLD)*. Others are labeled *economically disadvantaged (ED)*, *other health impaired (OHI)*, *non-gifted*, and/or *average*. Others are called *limited English proficient (LEP)* students while others are referred to as *Bluebirds*, *Eagles*, or *Buzzards*, and so on. My students are also labeled *gifted*, *gifted and talented*, *the brightest and the best*, *SEARCH student*, *genius*, *prodigy*, *exceptional*, and/or also *perfectionist*, *obsessive*, *teacher-pleaser*, *dork*, *weirdo*. These categories are not necessarily discrete. An individual student may be known as *gifted and learning disabled*, another *below average and visually-impaired*; and yet another *speech-impaired*, *developmentally delayed*, *with an attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD)*. Once assigned, these labels are accepted and internalized. Hence, children are led to the self-fulfilling prophecy that they are bound by the limits defined by the label they carry (Apple, 1995). Further, various common traits are also noted. For example, I have written (McCall, 1999) of the many "unique, positive characteristics" of "gifted" children (e. g., a heightened sensitivity to any type of

injustice; advanced levels of moral judgment and leadership skills; unusual emotional depth and intensity; restlessness; and an acute awareness of and creative responses to color, form, and music).Conversely, I have also noticed that they may display certain negative behaviors (e. g., impatience and intolerance toward others, competitiveness, difficulty working cooperatively). Numerous other characteristics are mentioned in the literature: keen powers of observation, abstraction, conceptionalization, synthesis, retentiveness, liking for structure and order, verbal proficiency, questioning attitude, power of critical thinking and concentration, high energy, ability to work independently (Bronson, 1979); a preference for older playmates and adults (Bechtel, 1980); persistence, intellectual curiosity, versatility, social poise, over-achievement, and self-criticism (Russell, Hayes, & Dockery, 1988); resilience (Bland, Sowa, & Callahan, 1994); difficulty coping at times when encountering failure (Robinson & Clinkenbeard, 1998); entelechy (independence, strong will, and inner spirit to surmount obstacles that would daunt most others), absent-mindedness, excitability (Lovecky, 1992). After the label(s) and their accompanying traits are assigned and accepted by the children, they are further used to determine appropriate placement(s) for them.

We also see Aristotle's influence in the hierarchical Renzulli Enrichment Triad which moves the "gifted" child "from enrichment exposure activities through training and research skills into a project-oriented program that dwelt on real problems to be solved" (VanTassel-Baska, 1988, pp. 8-9). We teachers of the "gifted" are also told to focus (with our students) only on the "higher" levels of taxonomies [e. g., Benjamin Bloom's (1956) analysis, synthesis, evaluation (cognitive); David Krathwohl's (in Krathwohl, Bloom, & Masia, 1964) valuing, organization, characterization by a value or value concept (affective); Elizabeth

Jane Simpson's (1972) complex overt response, adaptation, organization (psychomotor)].

Pragmatism and its characteristic concerns for practicality, economy, and eclecticism more or less define where we are in American education and specifically in education for those labeled "gifted." In order to understand fully its impact on children (i. e., girls) with superb intelligence(s), the following contextual considerations are necessary. First, until the beginning of the twentieth century, programs for the "gifted" throughout the nation were localized, or sporadic, at best. For example, St. Louis schools established the practice of acceleration in the 1860s and Woburn, Massachusetts, began acceleration in 1884 via the Double Tillage Plan which allowed "gifted" children to skip the second semester of first grade and the first semester of second grade (McIntosh, 1982). Elizabeth, New Jersey, followed suit in 1891 with acceleration and a multiple track plan. In Cambridge, Massachusetts, schools adopted The Cambridge Double Track Plan. This plan placed the "gifted" into special classes that compacted six years into four. Similarly, the special-progress classes in New York City, placed the "gifted" into special classes that compacted three years into two (Kulik, 1992).

Second, in the early nineteen hundreds, for the first time, national attention began to turn toward education for the "gifted." According to Gary Davis and Sylvia Rimm (1994), the first "special" school for "gifted" children opened in 1901 in Worcester, Massachusetts, and in 1916 "opportunity classes" began in Los Angeles, California, and Cincinnati, Ohio. By 1920, approximately two-thirds of all large metropolitan areas, particularly in the midwest and northeast, had specialized programs for "gifted" students. Several factors were responsible. The eugenics movement (belief in the dominance of heredity over environment), imported from Great Britain by Francis Galton (Charles Darwin's cousin), grew in

popularity and gained many supporters. Galton believed that an individual's environment was inconsequential and that "genius" would manifest itself when stimulated to do so by natural ability and effort. William Pinar, William Reynolds, Patrick Slattery, and Peter Taubman (1995) state, "The Galton Society, which counted among its members Thorndike and outright advocates of racism such as Madison Grant, endorsed biological determinism" (p. 94). Steven Selden (as cited in Pinar et al., 1995) added, "One early curriculum leader, for example, wrote of students of 'worm eaten stock,' and another, an early proponent of education for the gifted, supported 'eugenic marriages'" (p. 94). Selden (1989) further writes of the involuntary sterilization of many who were deemed unfit to reproduce. Also closely associated with the eugenics movement was a widespread cynicism regarding the intellectual abilities of the general public, spurred in part by the flood of immigrants coming into the country (Hildebrand, 1981). Consequently, schools were viewed as "the great engines of a moral crusade to make the children of the immigrants and the Blacks like 'us'" (Apple, 1990, p. 66). Also, American capitalism was flourishing. Frederick Taylor's classic Principles of Scientific Management (1911), which described in precise detail the ideas of production and profit, greatly influenced business and industry and social efficiency curriculum reformers like Franklin Bobbit, David Snedden, and Ross Finney (Kliebard, 1995). These events made conditions "ripe" for the advent of intelligence testing which began in France when nonhereditarian Alfred Binet created an ability scale. Binet believed that intelligence was complex and an individual's score on his test reflected an average of many performances, not innate ability. Ironically, in 1916, Lewis Terman revised Binet's scale and developed the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale as an indicator of innate intelligence and as a tool with which to conduct research on the development of "gifted" children. (Aiken, 1991). Additionally, testing began to

be used as a means to sort children into ability groups. For example, in 1919, Detroit, Michigan, became the first large urban area to introduce the XYZ plan. With this plan, children were tested and their records examined. They were then placed into appropriate homogeneous groups: the top twenty percent (the "gifted") went to X classes, the middle sixty percent went to Y classes, and the bottom twenty percent went to Z classes (Kulik, 1992). So, consequently, national trust and attention were focused on the "gifted" child who, hopefully, with proper education, would reverse the widespread ignorance and consequent social ills of our society while at the same time increase the efficiency and profits of bureaucracy and capitalism--and Terman's test was a way to identify them! Interestingly, in moves away from this early national "psychometric frenzy" and toward the more democratic ideas of the 1930s, Leta Stetter Hollingworth--feminist, founder of education for the "gifted" in this country, advocate for highly intelligent girls and women, and first proponent of multiple criteria (Silverman, 1992)--established programs of enrichment in New York City which also emphasized "gifted" children's emotional and social needs (Hollingworth, 1926).

Third, the stock market crash in 1929 and the ensuing Great Depression served to divert the attention of Americans toward more immediate and more critical social issues. Accordingly, the nation's schools became absorbed in the progressive reform movement, greatly influenced by the philosophy and works of John Dewey. Progressives such as George Counts, Harold Rugg, and William Kilpatrick believed that developmental and social concerns should be emphasized in the classroom rather than programs for the "gifted" which they considered elitist and undemocratic (Kliebard, 1995). Hence, equity became the driving force in American education. Scholars, researchers, and practitioners

who had been preoccupied with the high ability child now focused their efforts on the disadvantaged and/or the academically needy child (Kulik, 1992).

Fourth, the period following World War II was a time of military and economic prosperity. Hence, the talents of the "gifted" were deemed superfluous by society (Pendarvis et al., 1990). Correlatively, programs for the "gifted" declined and remained in decline until Russia launched Sputnik I in 1957. This event and the ensuing national paranoia regarding the alleged dissemination of communism (Gallagher, 1986) jolted the American public and stimulated a renewed interest in developing and nurturing superb intellect, especially in the areas of mathematics, science, and engineering. Van Poolen-Larsen (1991) states, "And in the decade following Sputnik, much research was conducted on improving programs for the gifted and talented in the hope that these students would put the United States back in the technological lead" (p. 2). Also, Hofstadter (1963) wrote, "...gifted children were to be regarded as resources in the cold war" (p. 5). Thus, programs for the "gifted" began to surge. Kirk and Gallagher (1979) cite two special programs developed especially for "gifted" students: The National Defense Education Act of 1958 which provided student fellowships and The National Science Foundation which supported major curriculum reforms in science and mathematics.

Fifth, beginning in the mid 1960s, the political climate shifted once again. This time, the focus was on the intellectually challenged, the impoverished, and the culturally deprived (Cullen & Sreberny, 1976). Our successful handling of the Cuban missile crisis and Neil Armstrong's footprints on the moon allowed us to concentrate on these important issues. The Viet Nam war, the civil rights movement, and the ensuing student revolts forced us to do so. Also, according to Pinar et al. (1995), it was during this period that the term "gifted" was socially constructed as a category "in part, as a means of racial segregation, especially

in the South" (p. 463). Unfortunately, many educators--most with good intentions--interpreted the democratic, egalitarian spirit of the times as a move toward "sameness." Thus, mediocrity--rather than excellence and equity for all--became the accepted norm (Williams, 2000).

Sixth, the 1970s and 1980s saw a resurgence of interest in education for "gifted" learners, especially in the five years following the withdrawal of our military forces from Viet Nam (Pendarvis et al., 1990). According to Bechtel (1980), there are two reasons for this: (1) an emphasis on individualism based on humanistic concerns and personal enlightenment and the issuance of PL 91-230, Section 806 (c) in 1970 which included provisions related to "gifted and talented" children; and (2) the subsequent report, "Education of the Gifted and Talented," published in 1972. In 1972, then Commissioner of Education, Sidney Marland, presented what is known as The Marland Report. This report extended the definition of "gifted and talented" beyond cognitive ability also to include creative (divergent) thinking, leadership skills, visual and performing talents, and psychomotor abilities. Marland hoped to increase the total number of identified "gifted" (including minority and socio-economically deprived students) to at least three to five percent of the total school population. Individual state mandates and available funding determined the degree of implementation nationwide (Pendarvis et al., 1990). 1972 also saw the establishment of the Office of Gifted Education in the United States Office of Education. In 1978 and again in 1988, Marland's definition was altered and abbreviated. The most significant difference between the original 1972 definition and these two later versions is the exclusion of psychomotor ability. Davis and Rimm (1994) explain:

> The reason for this change is that artistic ability talents (for example, dancing, mime) could be included under performing arts, and athletically gifted students typically are well-provided for outside of G/T programs. In

> fact, athletic programs may be seen as almost ideal gifted programs: Special teachers (coaches) are hired; expensive equipment and space are provided; training is partly individualized; students meet with others like themselves, who encourage and reward each other for doing their best; and students even travel to other schools to meet and compete with other talented individuals and teams. (pp. 18-19)

In response to the Marland Report and in reaction to the exclusion of culturally and economically disadvantaged children from programs for the "gifted and talented," Shirley Chisholm (the first African American woman to be elected to the United States Congress) introduced legislation in 1977 to provide funding specifically for these children. According to Davis and Rimm (1994), her purpose also was to highlight their overrepresentation in remedial settings which only serves to reinforce negative stereotypes. Davis and Rimm (1994) further state:

> Their formal educational needs are assumed to be only in basic skills areas; and their adjustment to school and learning almost always involves strict discipline. Their cultural and language differences plus their lack of exposure to mainstream American culture usually combine to obscure from society the gifted children among them. These gifted minority and disadvantaged children typically proceed invisibly through school until they drop out or, with luck, graduate. (p. 255)

In 1983, A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform, published by the National Commission on Excellence in Education, revealed that "U. S. students seemed to compare unfavorably with students from other world powers. The report emphasized the need for more attention to academic subjects, and it recommended that the federal government help fund and support efforts to meet the needs of the gifted and talented" (Pendarvis et al., 1990, p. 9). Further, the Jacob K. Javits Gifted and Talented Education Act of

1988 (PL 100-297) provided federal funding for research, innovative methodology, and for the education of "gifted" minority students. Lastly, and interestingly, with one exception--Gifted Child Quarterly which began in 1957 coinciding with the Sputnik crisis--, all major journals in the field of education for the "gifted" began during the decades of the 1970s and 1980s: Journal for the Education of the Gifted (1978), Roeper Review (1978), Gifted Child Today (1978), Gifted Children Newsletter (1980), Gifted Education International (1982), Communique (1983), and Gifted Children Monthly(1985).

Seventh, in 1993, the United States Office of Education released National Excellence: A Case for Developing America's Talents which indicated "that policies alone have not been adequate to address the learning needs of gifted and talented youngsters" and recommended that states organize and establish more equitable programs for the "gifted" ("Toward a Common Agenda," 1995, p.10). This provided the stimulus for a move away from strict cognition-based identification procedures to those procedures which are multiple criteria-based and also consider potential, or emerging "giftedness" (Bonner, 2000). With this one exception, the prosperous 1990s have brought renewed attacks upon children labeled "gifted" and the programs designed for them. The following statements by Mara Sapon-Shevin (1994) are illustrative: "Whether or not the intention of gifted programs is to reproduce existing economic and racial hierarchies or to produce cultural capital held by an elite group of students, these are in fact consequences of such a system" (p.192); and "The name change that would point us toward recognizing and acknowledging the role that gifted programs actually play in school districts would be to identify them as the 'rich and lucky'" (p. 207); and then this comment about a girl labeled "gifted" who believed that she had prospered because of ability grouping:

> This student has learned her lesson well: the system is fair; all students got the same material in the beginning and were only grouped after they had been tested and their abilities determined; putting her with other students would only have frustrated her and the other students as well. Perhaps the Orwell book she read was *Animal Farm*, and she learned that some animals are more equal than others. (p. 213)

As I have written (McCall, 1997), many educators believe that the issue of equity, rather than the needs of the "gifted," should direct and focus curriculum development and implementation (George, 1995; Oakes, 1985; Pool & Page, 1995; Sapon-Shevin, 1995; Sapon-Shevin & Schniedewind, 1993; Slavin, 1993; Spring, 1976, 1978). Inspired by the work of Jeannie Oakes (1985, 1995), Mara Sapon-Shevin (1994), and Robert Slavin (1991, 1993), many educators across the country are promoting detracking, inclusion, and cooperative groupings. According to Passow and Rudnitski (1993), education for "gifted" students is now generally "perceived as 'high quality schooling' but is impeding the attainment of equity" (p. 78).

From its early years, education for gifted students has been viewed by some as elitist, unnecessary, and iniquitous" (p. 78). For example, David Berliner and Bruce Biddle (1995) offer several reasons for rejecting proposals for programs for children labeled "gifted." First, identification procedures are flawed, exclusionary, and biased against minorities and the poor. Second, enrichment programs identify two groups of students--"the elect and the damned"--and the "damned" know very well who they are and hence believe that they are failures. Third, there is no reason why the experiences offered to the "gifted" should not be offered to all. Fourth, research efforts have failed to prove a correlation between special school programs for the "gifted" and adult eminence.

Georgia

Prior to the Marland Report in 1972, Pennsylvania and Georgia were the only two states that had established services for students labeled "gifted." Presently, all fifty states provide programs and resources for education of the "gifted." However, program descriptors, implementation guidelines, and funding procedures vary and remain subject to change, depending upon perceived priorities (Passow & Rudnitski, 1993).

Until the decade of the 1950s, attention to the "gifted" in a racially segregated Georgia was discretionary at best. Since that time, various events and recurring legislation have served to formalize and direct programs for the "gifted," programs which were initially cognitively-based and which now also reflect the multiple intelligence ideas of Leta Hollingworth (1926), Paul Torrance (1966), Howard Gardner (1983), and Mary Frasier (1996). Eulouise Williams (2000) offers the following developmental time line: On February 19, 1958, the Georgia House of Representatives approved House Resolution 246 which mandated services for public school children labeled "gifted." Two weeks later, Claude Purcell, then Georgia State Superintendent of Schools, proposed establishing specific programs of education for the "gifted" in the state. In 1961, Margaret Bynum (hired by the State Department of Education in 1958 as Consultant in Education of the Gifted) presented a ten year plan ("The Georgia Plan for the Education of Gifted Children") authorizing statewide pilot programs for all "gifted" children. Purcell's proposal and Bynum's plan were both approved and, interestingly, both were also included in the Marland Report. In 1968, the Georgia House of Representatives passed House Bill 453, requiring all school districts in the state to provide services for "gifted" students. Admission criteria included consideration of each potentially "gifted" child's educational, medical, and/or psychological backgrounds.

According to Williams (2000), in 1973, Georgia adopted a definition of "giftedness" which described intellectually "gifted" children as those who scored in the top two to five percent on a nationally standardized test of mental ability. In 1975, this definition was modified. According to the state special education manual, a child would now be considered "gifted" if he/she performed at least one and one-third standard deviations above the mean on a test of mental abilities. However, in 1978, Joseph H. Smith, program analyst for the Georgia Educational Improvement Council, reported that African Americans and/or the socioeconomically deprived were poorly represented and underserved in Georgia's "gifted" population. In response, and also in support of Smith's findings, Margaret Bynum intensified her efforts to extend the definition(s) of "giftedness" and the procedures for identifying the "gifted" beyond intellectual abilities to include additional factors such as creativity, motivation (school achievement), and social and emotional maturity.

The momentum to incorporate these criteria continued until June of 1986. At that time, in a sudden reverse move, and in response to concerns regarding reciprocity (carte blanche placement of an identified "gifted" student in any state district) and standardization (statewide conformity regarding identification criteria), the Georgia Board of Education unanimously approved even more stringent cognitively-based identification and admission guidelines that were to be uniform statewide ("Ga. Board of Education," 1986). The article further stated:

> The board unanimously approved raising the IQ for students in kindergarten through second grade to 134 for participation in the program and students must score at least in the 85th percentile on state achievement tests to be admitted. An IQ of 128 will be required for students in the third through 12th grades. (p. B7)

In spite of the involvement of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the work of Joyce Gay (consultant with Margaret Bynum at the State Department of Education and 1978 author of "A Proposed Plan for Identifying Black Gifted Children" in the Gifted Child Quarterly), and the recommendations of others like Harold Smith (Fulton County's Director of Special Education) and Mary Frasier at the University of Georgia, the board refused to modify its 1986 mandate (Williams, 2000). Further, on September 27, 1990, the Georgia Department of Education adopted Gifted Education Rule 160-4-2-.08 ("Administrative Rules," 2001a). This rule stated in part:

> The local board of education shall adopt a policy that:
>
> (1) includes but does not exceed the following criteria for admission into the gifted program.
>
> (i) Students in grades K-2 shall score at the 99th percentile on a nationally normed test of mental ability.
>
> (ii) Students in grades 3-12 shall score at or above the 96th percentile on a nationally normed test of mental ability.
>
> (iii) Students in grades 3-12 shall also score at or above the 85th percentile composite or 90th percentile total math or total reading on a nationally normed test of academic achievement.
>
> (iv) Any student in grades 3-12 shall also score at the 99th percentile on a nationally normed test of mental ability shall not be required to meet the academic achievement test criterion. (p. 1)

In May of 1990, a pivotal event in education for the "gifted" in Georgia occurred. Williams (2000) explains:

> The University of Georgia became a part of the first National Research Center for the Gifted and Talented. Other centers were established at the University of Connecticut, the University of Virginia, and Yale University.

> The center and its director, Dr. Mary Frasier, received a five-year $7.5 million Javits grant from the U. S. Department of Education to fund research on identifying and teaching poor and limited English proficient gifted students. (p. 77)

Joining Dr. Frasier in her struggles to create more equitable identification measures and hence a more equitable system of education for the "gifted" were Sally Krisel (teacher of the "gifted" who became Director of Gifted Education and Advanced Studies in Clarke County in 1992 and then the state coordinator for Gifted Education in 1996), Ruth Cowan (program coordinator for the "gifted" in Gwinnett County), University of Georgia scholars Bonnie Cramond, Sue Murphy, Tammy Safter, and Scott Hunsaker, and a culturally diverse group of graduate students at the university who dubbed themselves "The Rainbow Coalition." Through their efforts, statewide pilot programs which broadened the definitional and identification parameters for the "gifted" were begun and, as a result, more than one hundred socio-economically deprived and "limited English proficient" students were enrolled in programs for the "gifted" across the state (Williams, 2000).

On February 25, 1994, the Georgia House of Representatives unanimously passed House Bill 1768 which required that multiple criteria serve as guidelines for the identification of "gifted" learners. No longer were children to be admitted into programs for the "gifted" based solely on quantitatively measured linguistic and logical-mathematical abilities. Also considered will be spatial, musical, bodily-kinesthetic, interpersonal, intrapersonal intelligences , creativity, and motivation. Additionally, private testing at parent expense would no longer be allowed (Williams, 2000). Serving as theoretical bases for the new state guidelines were Paul Torrance's Tests of Creative Thinking (1966, 1984), Howard Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligences (1983), and Mary Frasier's

Talent Assessment Profile (1991, 1996). According to Davis and Rimm (1996), Torrance's Test of Creative Thinking emphasizes creativity and divergent thinking, Gardner's theory describes at least seven intelligence constructs, and Frasier's Talent Assessment Profile (F-TAP) combines test and nontest criteria (e. g., aptitude, achievement, awards, self-perception, specific talents, creativity) to identify the "gifted."

Following suit, and under pressure from the Office of Civil Rights, Georgia Supporters for the Gifted (changed in 1995 to Georgia Association for Gifted Children), both major Atlanta newspapers, and The Atlanta Legal Aid Society, Inc., the State Board of Education passed Rule 160-4-2.38 on December 14, 1995 (Williams, 2000). This meant that admission into state programs for the "gifted" may be determined on the basis of superb cognitive intelligence **or** three out of four of the following criteria: superb cognitive intelligence, achievement, creativity, and/or motivation. Further, a quantitative measure of intelligence might not necessarily be the sole diagnostic tool. Measures of creativity, motivation, and teacher observation may also be used. The rule further stated, "Rule 160-4-2-.08 GIFTED EDUCATION shall expire and this rule shall become effective on August 1, 1998" ("Administrative Rules," 2001b).

According to Williams (2000), Lonnie Love retired in January of 1996. In May of that year, Chris Nelson was reassigned to the Georgia Department of Libraries. This was in reaction to his opposition to the multiple criteria mandate. Specifically, the resource manual that he and his appointed Task Force had been directed to draft contained misinformation and gross language and writing errors. The purpose of the manual was to outline guidelines for statewide implementation of the multiple criteria rule. However, Department of Education officials discovered in April that it was incomplete, incorrect, and poorly done. Consequently, Dr. Robert Bellamy (Executive Director of Instructional Services),

Norma McNair (state department employee), and Ruth Cowan were asked to complete it--which they did-- and it was forwarded to local districts in May. In August of 1996, Sally Krisel was hired as state coordinator for programs for the "gifted."

Three final events in the history of education for children labeled "gifted" have occurred in Georgia (Williams, 2000). All three have served to characterize and focus current identification practices. First, State Board of Education Rule 160-4-2-.38 was amended in November of 1997. No longer would children be labeled "gifted" based on superb cognitive intelligence **or** superb cognitive intelligence, achievement, creativity, and/or motivation. Instead, admission into state programs for the "gifted" would be determined on the basis of three out of four of the following criteria: superb cognitive intelligence, achievement, creativity, and/or motivation. Second, in reaction to pressure from the Georgia Psychological Association, private testing would once again be considered during identification procedures. Lastly, the revised rules took effect in August, 1998.

The unanimous passage of HB 1768 and the State Board of Education adoption of Rule 160-4-2.38 and its subsequent amendment seem quite surprising given the widespread resistance to their implementation across the state. Williams (2000) describes the following reactions: First, lawmakers remained wary that an increased population of "gifted" students would also mean increased spending. Second, teachers were concerned that the multiple criteria identification process was too lengthy, too subjective, and would provide greater access to "gifted" programs to minorities and "limited English proficiency" students than to mainstream students when all children should have equal access. Third, certain community members (e. g., Clarke County residents) objected "vehemently" to the changes. Williams (2000) explains:

> Krisel received hateful, threatening phone calls at her home warning her of what would happen if she "lets one of these children into their gifted programs" and warning her that the admission of the research subjects would lead to watered down programs for the "truly gifted." (p. 86)

Fourth, it was believed that broadening admission standards would precipitate another "white flight" from the public schools. Fifth, Lonnie Love and Chris Nelson, Coordinators for Programs for the Gifted at the State Department of Education, openly criticized the whole reform effort for being "too vague" and "too limited in scope." Sixth, in reaction to the new mandate on March 31, 1994, Love and Nelson created a Task Force for the Revision of the Gifted Resource Manual. Excluded from this task force were the site coordinators for the six districts involved in the pilot study and board members of GSG (Georgia Supporters for the Gifted), whose efforts were primarily responsible for the new legislation. Bitter feelings ensued amid reports that task force meetings were contentious and unorganized. Seventh, there was sharp disagreement regarding terminology (e. g., "motivation" versus "observation/performance/product"), scoring procedures (e. g., "composite" versus "component"), and the respective weights afforded cognitive-based and multiple criteria-based scores. At one point, in reaction to public resistance to the multiple criteria rules, state superintendent Linda Schrenko proposed a compromise "two-tiered" system wherein cognitive intelligence scores would continue to determine admission into programs for the "gifted" and multiple criteria scores would be optional. Lastly, the Atlanta Legal Aid Society, Inc. expressed concerns that diagnostic procedures may be unfair for non-English speaking children.

Several further problems have surfaced since the multiple criteria rule went into effect. According to Williams (2000), in addition to the increased paperwork

and the time necessary to complete it, a September 1997 audit revealed the following: First, disproportionate numbers of "gifted" students were being served across the state. The implication was that certain districts were enlarging their "gifted" populations in order to "pad their budgets," not necessarily to meet the needs of the newly identified "gifted" learners. It was believed that the subjective and "nebulous" nature of the new identification procedures provided the impetus for this practice. For example, how do we identify and assess motivation and creativity? Who should do this? How does this affect reciprocity across the state? Second, "performance goals and accountability" were lacking. Third, costs for serving the burgeoning numbers of "gifted" students were escalating.

Savannah/Chatham County

In similar fashion to the State of Georgia, Chatham County public schools did very little to meet the needs of their "gifted" populations before mid century. The earliest known document--a 1949 survey--states, "Through the gifts of an interested business man a group of accelerated classes are provided at Savannah High School. In these classes unusually competent pupils may complete four years of work in three years" ("Public Schools," 1949, p. 5). According to Anita Marvin (personal communication, March 3, 2001), who taught English at Savannah High from 1942 to 1944 and from 1950 to 1967, the "gifts" (fifty thousand dollars) came from a non-local grant, the purpose of which was to provide materials for the program.

Alfred Chassereau (personal communication, July 13, 2000), who was Chatham County Co-coordinator and Coordinator of Programs for the Gifted from 1974 until his retirement in 1995, continued the chronology of events: The next known differentiation occurred in the 1950s during the administration of School Superintendent William Early, described by Chassereau as an

"innovative, progressive educator." At that time, several services for the "gifted" became available: (1) AP (Advanced Placement) classes--the first in the state--began at Savannah High School in European History. (2) During the summer of 1955 a formal program for selected seventh grade students was initiated. (3) Cognitively "gifted" junior high school students were offered acceleration and a compacted curriculum in seventh and eighth grades. However, rather than allowing them to continue on through high school in this fashion they were returned to "regular" classes in ninth grade. Hence, the program "fizzled" in the late fifties. Further, William Early left in October, 1958 amid charges of racism.

On July 11, 1961, The Georgia Board of Education approved Margaret Bynum's proposal (described earlier) for conducting ten pilot programs for the "gifted" across the state. There would be one program in each congressional district and each would be allotted four thousand dollars per year for a period of three years. Savannah/Chatham County was selected as the site for the First District. Children whose scores revealed IQ's of 120 or above (as indicated by a standardized intelligence test) would be chosen to participate (Williams, 2000).

According to Chassereau (personal communication, February 10, 2001), during the decade of the sixties, there were no "official" programs for the "gifted" in Chatham County. Differentiation, if offered, meant enrichment which was scattered, unsubstantial, and had minimal connection with the academic curriculum. A survey conducted at the time states, "School personnel recognize that such children can benefit from special programs, but financial and other considerations have in general prevented the establishment of a special program for the academically gifted" ("Savannah-Chatham County," 1971, p. 84). Ray Kitchens (personal communication, March 2, 2001), then an elementary school teacher and later coordinator of programs for the "gifted" in Chatham County, remembers some acceleration and enrichment opportunities

for elementary age children. Grades one through four could be completed in three years. Students were offered conversational French, music appreciation, and a curriculum based on Bloom's taxonomy. There was an emphasis on study skills via the SQ3R (survey, question, read, recite, review) strategy. Near the end of sixth grade, students were screened for possible acceleration through the high school years.

In 1970, Kitchens was hired as the first coordinator of Chatham County Gifted Education. At that time, the Chatham County Department of Special Education, under the direction of Robert Todd, was organized into programs for children with learning disabilities, children with behavior disorders, the mentally retarded, and the "gifted." Kitchens' duties were sixfold: teacher training, identification of the "gifted," identification of teachers of the "gifted," supervision of the Governor's Honors Program, supervision of pilot programs, and construction of a five year development plan. (Kitchens, personal communication, March 2, 2001).

The county program for the "gifted" was expanded in 1972 to include all schools and all grade levels. Children were admitted based simply upon teacher recommendation. There was indeed a state mandate to serve the "gifted," but there were also few--if any--guidelines for implementation. Hence, Chatham County, like many other districts in Georgia, organized and supervised its own program. It was at this time that the acronym SEARCH (Students Exploring and Reasoning for Creative Horizons) was created.

In 1974, the State Department of Education expanded its supervisory role. Formalized testing began and an IEP (Individualized Education Program) for each child labeled "gifted" was required. Teachers were encouraged--not required--to receive certification in education for the "gifted." Further, the local program was reorganized: Juanita Walls was named director. Kitchens was

placed in charge of grades kindergarten through six and Chassereau was assigned grades seven through twelve.

In the late 1970s, in reaction to the more stringent admission requirements imposed by the state, and in an effort to accommodate all of its "gifted" population, Chatham County redesigned its placement options. Four delivery models were offered: SEARCH Cluster Classes (SEARCH I and SEARCH II), SEARCH Resource (SEARCH I), Interdisciplinary Classes, and Expanded Middle School Experiences. Admission to the SEARCH Resource program required higher scores on tests of mental ability than the SEARCH Cluster Classes. Interdisciplinary Classes were arranged by the cluster and resource teachers. The purpose was to present themes of study from different perspectives. Expanded Middle School Experiences were designed to continue advanced learning opportunities for "gifted" adolescents.

When Kitchens retired in 1980, Chassereau assumed the role of county Coordinator of Gifted Programs for the Gifted and remained in that position until his retirement in 1995. Interestingly, shortly before his retirement, Chassereau served on the 1994-1995 Task Force (described earlier) organized by Lonnie Love and Chris Nelson. He recalls meeting many times and working diligently with Nelson (whom he describes as a "nice guy") and other educators of the "gifted" from across the state (including Dr. Mary Frasier from the University of Georgia) in order to revise the Gifted Resource Manual. He remarked, "We met and met and met. We were pleased with our work. However, what the group wrote and what emerged as the final draft were totally different" (Personal communication, February 10, 2001). When questioned about this, Chassereau surmised that officials in the state department--perhaps someone "over" Chris Nelson--were responsible for the unsatisfactory document and not necessarily Nelson himself. Further, he describes the state department as a politically

contentious setting and remembers that certain individuals were indeed omitted from the Task Force who probably should have been included. However, he doesn't remember the dissension and poor organization, which, according to Williams (2000), characterized the sessions.

Sally Page, who served at one time as Chassereau's assistant, became Chatham County Coordinator for Programs for the Gifted in 1995. According to Page (personal communication, July 13, 2000), the state adopted the Multiple Criteria Rule 160-4-.38 in December of that year. This meant that public school children across the state would no longer be identified "gifted" based on superb cognitive intelligence but rather superb cognitive intelligence **or** three out of four of the following: aptitude, achievement, motivation, and creativity. Further, these changes were to be implemented by August of 1996. Page recalls many counties "frantically filing waivers to avoid having to meet this deadline. To ease the pressure, the state extended the deadline until January of 1997. However, Chatham County plowed forth. It took many hours and a lot of work from a lot of people but we went ahead and implemented in August of 1996" (personal communication, July 13, 2000). Page also wrote the SEARCH curriculum and the administrative procedures which we follow to this day.

A panoramic view of national, state, and local education for children labeled "gifted"--past and present--reveals several commonalities. First, until very recently, cognitively-based definitions of "giftedness" and programs for the "gifted" have remained fairly static over time. Ironically, in spite of this enduring predominance throughout the ages, superb cognitive abilities have often been regarded as elitist. Individuals (particularly girls) with these "gifts" are frequently scorned and ostracized by peers and society in general (Demmon-Berger, 1985; Lawrence & Glenn, 1994; Russo, Harris, & Ford, 1996). In this country, an

ambivalent attitude--a "love-hate" relationship--with the cognitively "gifted" has always existed. They are admired, but they are also envied, mistrusted, unaccepted, and unappreciated (Davis & Rimm, 1994; Gallagher, 1986; Robinson, 1986; Weiss & Gallagher, 1980). Further, according to Lefrancois (1979):

> It is widely believed that individuals who are intellectually gifted are, of course, not nearly so well endowed in other areas. The "egghead" is believed to be a blundering social idiot; he is certainly unattractive and frail; his vision is weak; he is completely useless at any kind of tasks requiring even the smallest degree of dexterity; his breath smells, and his teeth are crooked. (pp 210-211)

Second, as discussed earlier in Chapter I, we know now that the nature of "giftedness" is multiform and many states across the country (including Georgia) are initiating multiple criteria identification procedures, based primarily on the work of Howard Gardner (1983, 2000). Even so, we continue to fail as a nation to recognize and stimulate all intelligences equally. Athletic prowess (kinesthetic ability), musical talent, and interpersonal skills, for example, are applauded, and rightly so, but linguistic and logical/mathematical intelligences are regarded as atypical or exclusionary. Witness the wealth and prestige associated with competitive sports, politics, and the entertainment industry. Conversely, witness the struggles of those in academia, the humanities, the literary field, and/or the fine arts. For example, consider the following anonymous comment from "Vox Populi" (Savannah Morning News, 2002): "Regarding the arts as a core subject in education--I don't recall the arts healing people, making life technologically better for us or preparing a person for contributing to society and living and producing a living" (1E).

Third, children labeled "gifted" are "guilty by association." Because of their involuntary linkage to geneticism, Terman and IQ testing, for example, they have also been labeled "nerds" by their peers and "racists" and "exclusionists" by society in general. Children do not choose to wear the label "gifted"--with its accompanying contentious past, nuances, and implications. It is hegemonically assigned. "Nonetheless, when students are labeled 'gifted' or as having 'retardation,' 'emotional disturbance,' or a 'learning disability,' these labels cause adults to make stereotyped and often false assumptions about individual children" (Davis & Rimm, 1994, p. 400).

Fourth, throughout history, "gifted" children have been exploited and often marginalized by society in general and by individuals, including their own parents. It seems that political context (i. e., liberal versus conservative political trends) and survival needs have always determined--in a cyclical fashion--the degree to which pedagogical and/or financial attention has been paid to the highly intelligent and the educational services provided for them (Gallagher, 1986; Hunsaker, 1995; Krissman, 1997). In early Greco-Roman cultures they were used to benefit the state politically and militarily. In the United States, education for the gifted has been used to define and reify existent social and economic strata (Sapon-Shevin, 1994). We have also emphasized education for those with superb intelligence(s) in times of crisis, or when we have perceived that our survival was threatened [e. g., the eugenics movement at the turn of the century when it was feared that "feeblemindedness" (Hildenbrand, 1981, p. 5) and its ensuing social ills were undermining our culture, the launching of Sputnik in 1957, and the publication of A Nation at Risk by the National Commission on Excellence in Education in 1983]. In times of relative national confidence and prosperity (e. g., after World War II in the 1940s, after the Cuban missile crisis and the successful exploration of the moon in the 1960s) "gifted"

children and their abilities have not been needed, hence services for them have likewise been deemed unnecessary. In other words, they have often been neglected educationally (Hofstadter, 1963) and their talent "is not rewarded at all, but is even punished" (Pendarvis et al., 1990, p. 22). Hofstadter (1963) explains:

> This group has indeed been neglected by many educators and looked upon by some not as the hope or the challenge or the standard of aspiration for the educational system, but as a deviant, a side issue, a special problem, at times even a kind of pathology. Possibly I exaggerate; but otherwise it is hard to understand how an official of the Office of Education could have written this insensitive passage:
>
> > A considerable number of children, estimated at about four million, deviate sufficiently from mental, physical, and behavioral norms to require special educational provision. Among them are the blind and the partially seeing, the deaf and the hard of hearing, the speech-defective, the crippled, the delicate, the epileptic, the mentally deficient, the socially maladjusted, and the extraordinarily gifted. (pp. 353-354)

Further, according to James Magary and Maurice Freehill (1972), in our country there exists a general adult aversion, or *animus*, for creative youth and/or those labeled "gifted." Magary and Freehill elaborate:

> [We may] use Nietzsche's concept of *ressentiment* to explain this observation. Ressentiment involves a partly unconscious tendency to punish ingenuity and joyous excitement in able children....The problem reaches serious dimensions in the high school because some specialized teachers covet reputations as scholars and, failing to fulfill that desire, react negatively to superior learners. (p. 194)

Likewise, funding for programs for the "gifted" has also reflected this attentional imbalance. Considerably more monies are allocated for the handicapped than are allocated for the education of the "gifted." For example, Weiss (1994) states:

> On the federal level, the Jacob K. Javits Gifted and Talented Program, part of the mammoth 1988 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, receives only $10 million a year--compared with the $7 billion that Congress pours into Chapter 1, the federal program for economically and educationally disadvantaged students. (p. 28)

Exploitation of children with superb intellect is not limited to social context. They are quite often victimized by their own parents. For example, according to Elkind (1988), the label "gifted and talented" and the programs offered for those who carry this label have "provided an untapped granary for feeding parental ego" (p. 56). Many children have been forced erroneously into these programs by their parents. When the pressures to handle the workload or to maintain the accelerated pace become overwhelming, the children are further humiliated by withdrawal and a return to a regular classroom. Witness also the kinesthetically "gifted" who are pushed into the Little League, Olympic competitions, and other formal team situations; the linguistically and mathematically "gifted" (e. g., William Sidis) who were sent to college at early ages and whose adult lives were meaningless; the performing "gifted" (e. g., Jackie Coogan, Christian Kriens, Jon Benet' Ramsey) whose lives ended in tragedy. Delisle (1996) offers the further example of Jessica Dubroff, the seven year old who was killed when the plane she was piloting crashed:

> Jessica, according to interviews with her mother, never attended public or private school and never read picture books or owned toys. In fact, Jessica's mom said that when she arrived at the primitive but sincere memorial to her daughter at the Cheyenne, WY, crash site, she planned to

> remove all the teddy bears that had been placed there so lovingly by kind strangers. How sad that even in death, Jessica was not allowed to be the child that she was. (p. 20)

Fifth, the concept of intelligence and its constructs have always been culturally determined. The Greeks and Romans considered the source of "giftedness" as external to the individual. Further, they believed that heredity determined "giftedness," personal effort determined the degree to which it was manifested, and superb artistic and intellectual abilities were "the province of the muses" (Hunsaker, 1995). Presently in this country, popular opinion holds that intelligence is predetermined, or innate. It is assumed that some children inherit (and are labeled with) learning and behavioral disorders, for example, while others inherit God-given "gifts" reserved for the elite few. Further, the degree to which these "gifts" are realized depends on perseverance and hard work--also referred to as the Protestant ethic. The futility of this pervasive belief is reflected in varying teacher expectations for student performance and in the lack of emphasis on equitable and intellectually stimulating academic pursuits for all (Howley, Howley, & Pendarvis, 1995).

Sixth, according to Hunsaker (1995), cultures, past and present, have considered social status, gender, and "giftedness" as connected. It appears that, historically, we have equated intelligence with power. As a result, we fear and consequently reject promoting the status of others (especially girls and women) because of their superb abilities. Gallagher (1991a) offers the following explanation:

> Gifted, as a term, carries the surplus meaning to many persons in our society of unjustified and unearned privilege. It represents to many a similar concept as "inherited wealth." It appears to invoke images of a ruling elite of the type we fought in the American Revolution. The extension

of such a situation through public education seems to some as not merely wrong, but morally offensive. (p. 355)

Why does the label "gifted" exist? (Political)

If we step back--in silence at first as the phenomenologists suggest--and survey the historical landscape nationally, statewide, and locally, one permeating theme becomes obvious. In our country, yesterday and today, we can observe a polarization of thought between two opposing forces--excellence and equity. Why is this so? Further, a critical part of this phenomenon is the sorting and labeling of children (i. e., labeling children "gifted"). Why does the label "gifted" exist? How is it defined, applied, and assigned value? What is the economy of the label "gifted" within various venues?

According to Apple (1991), contrary to the naive beliefs of some that American schools are neutral enterprises, they are instead political arenas--reflective of American society at large--wherein contentious forces struggle over power (whose?), goals (what? whose?), curriculum (based on which philosophy? which theory? whose knowledge?), policy (which? whose?), and decision-making. Also within this context, various groups compete with one another for limited resources and funding. In order to obtain needed funds, we create categories, construct and assign labels (e. g., "gifted", "learning disabled") to certain individuals, then group them accordingly.

The amount of monies received depends upon three interrelated factors--the current political climate, "the local taxation system unique to the U. S." (Berliner & Biddle, 1995, p. 68), and the capricious mood of the taxpayer. For example, as I discussed earlier, a considerably smaller slice of government "pie" is presently being served to children labeled "gifted" than to other special needs populations. Further, a recent national survey ("The 2000-01 State of the States,"

in press) reveals that allocated funds for the education of the "gifted" and the formulas for distributing these funds vary from state to state. Additionally, some states (Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, Minnesota, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee, Wisconsin) plus the District of Columbia provide no funds at all. Four of these nonfunding states are in the northeast, three are in the midwest and, interestingly, two are in the south. All of the remaining states in the west, southwest, and northwest (of those states responding) provide funding and other resources for "gifted" students. According to Sally Page (Personal communication, June 14, 2001), Georgia allots $98.6 million annually for its identified "gifted." Of this, Chatham County receives ninety thousand dollars. This means that each "gifted" child receives approximately thirty-three dollars over and above the amount allotted non-special needs students per year. If the current trend continues, this amount will also continue to decrease.

Tannenbaum (1972) elaborates:

> Despite repeated distinctions educators make between equality and sameness of educational opportunity, the gifted get their fair share of stimulation at school only when there is enough money to pay the bill and their cause is supported by public figures whose opinions command attention. In fact, a school's failure to challenge able students to the limit of their abilities could hardly stir up the general indignation of legal action that would result if the victimized children had some kind of learning handicaps. (pp 14-15)

Lastly, as Berliner and Biddle (1995) and Kozol (1991) have written, our national priorities are indeed skewed. Americans seem more interested in spending their tax dollars on defense, violence, debt-servicing, and luxury items than on education for children. Likewise, funding for schools is grossly unequal. "In the late 1980s some American school districts spent more that *$11,000 per pupil per*

year whereas others spent less than *$2,000 per pupil per year*" (Berliner & Biddle, 1995, p. 68)! What does this say about how our society values its young?

Ensnared by these dynamic political strata--"in which the forces of order, conflict, and change are contained" (Arnot, 1994, p. 101)--are children (i. e., children labeled "gifted") who are hegemonically assigned labels of varying worth. "Gifted" girls are further stratified by a sexist/racist society that values their physical appearance more so than their superb intelligence; that rewards them for their compliance and punishes them for their assertiveness and physical agility; and that applauds their conformity and trivializes their marvelous talents, particularly in the areas of mathematics and science. According to Davis and Rimm (1994), education for "gifted" girls--and in particular African-American "gifted" girls-- historically has been deprioritized and continues to be systematically discouraged by society in general and by educators, psychologists, and even by their own communities and families in particular.

Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? (Sociological)

Once categories have been constructed, the labels affixed, and limited resources tapped, attention focuses upon the positive and/or negative descriptors (which often become stereotypical) of these various groups, the individuals within them (Robinson, 1990), and the ameliorative/remediation efforts (if deemed necessary) for them by groups of experts. Therefore, also emerging from the politically contentious setting I have just described and further illustrating the excellence/equity dichotomy is the struggle between two such groups of experts--advocates for the "gifted" and egalitarians.

Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? Advocates for the "gifted" believe that their students have

special learning needs which transect cognitive, affective, psychomotor, social, and aesthetic domains. Further, it should be expected that these needs will be addressed as passionately and fairly as those of any other learners (Berger, 1991; Colangelo & Brower, 1987; Davis & Rimm, 1994; Feldheusen, 1986, 1989a, 1989b, 1991, 1992, 1998; Frasier, 1989, 1991, 1996; Gallagher, 1976, 1986, 1991a, 1991b; Hollingworth, 1926; Jacobs, 1991; Kulik & Kulik, 1992; Passow, 1986; Pendarvis et al., 1990; Renzulli, 1977; Renzulli & Reis, 1991, 1994; Silverman, 1992, 1998; Sisk, 1988; Sternberg, 1985, 1996, 2000; Tannenbaum, 1972. 1981, 1983; Torrance, 1966, 1984; VanTassel-Baska, 1988). VanTassel-Baska (1988), for example, posits that "gifted" learners are best served by a confluent, integrative approach that provides accelerated and advanced programs, and enriched and extended experiences. Parents, students, and teachers should be involved in planning, implementation, and evaluation. Content should be interactive. Further, Lovecky (1994) describes degrees of asynchrony in the growth patterns of the exceptionally intelligent child. In other words, oftentimes their cognitive development outstrips their social, emotional, moral, and chronological development. Further, the more intelligent the child is the greater the asynchrony. Hence, school programs for them need also to emphasize social and organizational skills, values, sequencing, communication, and the coordination and connection of ideas verbally and in writing. Additionally, these children learn in a non-linear manner. Thus, concepts need to be presented holistically rather than in increments (Heid, 1983; Passow, 1986; Riojas, 1991).

According to Van Tassel-Baska (1988), the following assumptions should guide the development of curricula for "gifted" students: (1) The general curriculum is inappropriate and should be modified by deletions and addition of materials. (2) Curriculum development is a process that involves adaptation of

current curriculum and infusion of appropriate curricula for "gifted" students. (3) Curricula for "gifted" students should be designed and implemented throughout the district. Parke (1989) adds that these efforts need to be piloted by competent, caring teachers who have also been trained and certified in this area. A differentiated curriculum should be integrated, multidisciplinary, and offer appropriate acceleration and enrichment opportunities, such as those described in Renzulli's Schoolwide Enrichment Triad Model (Renzulli, 1977; Renzulli & Reis, 1994). Also, since "gifted" students tend to be global learners (Riojas, 1991), content should be presented holistically. (Heid, 1983; Passow, 1986). Curriculum design should allow for acceleration (Rogers & Kimpston, 1992; Sowell, 1993) of any form: early entrance into school, grade skipping, nongraded classes, advanced placement, curriculum compaction, etc. (Geffen, 1992). Contrary to the belief of some educators, acceleration does not damage the social and/or emotional adjustment of "gifted" students (Feldheusen, 1989a; VanTassel-Baska, 1989).

In addition to these general considerations, highly intelligent girls have the following special learning requirements not necessarily shared by boys: There should be an emphasis upon risk-taking and problem-solving so that girls learn to cope with success and failure (Badolato, 1998; Silverman, 1989). Feedback which teaches that their successes are due to their superb abilities and talents rather than to external causes (e. g., timing, luck, assistance from others) should be offered (Stipek, 1993). Interactions with teachers and counselors should reflect high expectations for boys and girls (Silverman, 1991). According to Silverman (1989, 1995), support groups within which they may commune with others regarding their intellect, accomplishments, challenges, and frustrations should be available. Further, there should be frequent contact with eminent adult female role models who have maximized their potential rather than trying to hide

their intelligences. Randall (1997) suggests that there should be counseling services which emphasize community and career options and challenging involvement in mathematics, construction activities, and science--areas traditionally dominated by males. Counseling services should also help these girls deconstruct the "superwoman syndrome" or the idea that, in order to please, they need to try to involve themselves in everything. Lastly, curricula should be culturally balanced, and tests and other materials should be monitored closely for gender/race bias and rigid time frames (Baska, 1986; Berlak, 1986; McKenzie, 1986; Ogbu, 1988; Silverman, 1995).

Conversely, according to many scholars, the idea of equity rather than any concern for individualism should dominate the field of education and hence direct and focus curriculum development and practice (Apple, 1990, 1995; Berliner & Biddle, 1995; George, 1995; Johnson & Johnson, 1978, 1987; Oakes, 1985, 1995; Pool & Page, 1995; Sapon-Shevin, 1995; Sapon-Shevin & Schniedewind, 1993; Slavin, 1993). Further, the struggle for social and educational justice means a critical questioning of any educational practice (e. g., labeling certain children "gifted") which is exclusionary. An inappropriately differentiated learning program results in elitism, separatism, and the de-skilling and disempowerment of teachers (Sapon-Shevin, 1990). The learning environment should be inclusive rather than divisive. Inclusive schools are characterized by the following: classrooms that embrace diversity; a multilevel, multimodal curriculum; interactive teaching and learning; a teacher support network; and strong parental involvement (Sapon-Shevin, 1995).

Egalitarians believe that there should be in place a general curriculum designed to meet the needs of all--one that is more easily modified for academically challenged students than for intellectually "gifted" students. Curriculum design and implementation should be conducive to heterogeneous

groupings, cooperative group work, the teaching and learning of basic skills, inclusion practices, peer tutoring, interactive strategies, and non-acceleration (Johnson & Johnson, 1987; Oakes, 1985, 1995; Sapon-Shevin, 1995; Sapon-Shevin & Schniedewind, 1993; Slavin, 1987, 1993).

The equity-excellence dichotomy is also made manifest in the ability grouping/tracking controversy. Advocates for the "gifted" believe that Instructional design should include homogeneous groupings since high ability children benefit from moving as a group and from flexible instruction (Cox, Daniel, & Boston, 1985). According to Susan Allan (1991), who explored the meta-analyses done by James Kulik and Chen-Lin Kulik (1992), students of all abilities profit from some types of grouping situations and attitudes improve when they work and succeed with their academic peers. Kulik (1992) found that self-esteem, if affected at all by grouping, is improved. A literature review by Charlene Balzer (1991) and a research synthesis by Karen Rogers (1991) reinforces these findings. Further, cooperative groupings should be homogeneous. Heterogeneous groupings result in "watered down" group goals, and oftentimes "gifted" students assume responsibility for the whole group (Matthews, 1992; Tomlinson, 1995). Further, within these settings, according to Feldheusen (1998), "many precocious and highly talented young people get no specialized instruction whatsoever, and the goals and practices of existing programs are often ineffectual for them" (p. 737).

Conversely, egalitarians argue that grouping students for instruction is undemocratic, immoral, and inequitable--especially for minority and economically disadvantaged children (Hastings, 1992; Oakes, 1985, 1995; Oakes & Lipton, 1992; Sanacore, 1994; Sapon-Shevin, 1990, 1995; Schrag, 1995; Slavin, 1987, 1991, 1993; Trimble & Sinclair, 1987). Schrag (1995) states that tracking "reinforces individual social distinctions between groups" (p. 124).

According to Oakes (1985), tracking perpetuates teacher and student passivity, fragmentation, low expectations for performance, and inappropriate teaching and learning strategies, especially in the lower track. Slavin (1987, 1991) posits that tracking is "antiegalitarian" and that cooperative groupings and enrichment opportunities are appropriate for all students. In a related study, Slavin (1993) using the "best evidence" synthesis method for analyzing the literature, finds that ability grouping has little effect on student achievement in secondary schools. Further, Sanacore (1994) states that "one of the most undemocratic destructive forces in education is the tracking of students" (p. 430). Hastings (as cited in Gamoran, 1992) agrees. He states, "The ability grouping of students for educational opportunities in a democratic society is ethically unacceptable" (p. 14).

The literature (although scant) also reveals that the lines in the sand are not as firmly drawn by both groups regarding the practice of labeling certain children "gifted" (Robinson, 1986). Even some advocates for the "gifted" are against the practice (Clark, 1983, 1992; Feldheusen, 1989a; 1998; Feldheusen, Asher, & Hoover, 1984; Williams, 1980). Feldheusen (1998), for example, has written of the immorality of labeling approximately five percent of the school population as "gifted," hence implying that the other ninety-five percent are "ungifted." Egalitarians are more virulent in their opposition. As Ira Finkel (1980) stated quite graphically, "It should be apparent that creating a coterie of a specially educated gifted few is certainly questionable and probably stupid" (p. 93).

The struggle between advocates for the "gifted" and egalitarians continues. The issues and events, and the individuals who have made them manifest are indeed important and need to be considered. Hopefully, this research study will enlarge and enrich the dialogic sphere regarding this dilemma.

What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators? (Phenomenological)

> Meaning-making...is a social process that occurs as individuals accommodate their thinking based on experience. Meaning-making is not a commodity that can be given or shared. It is intrinsically controlled by all persons based on their unique experiences and, therefore, cannot be taught....[Meaning-making] is fundamental to understanding the Self.
> (Robert Schultz and James Delisle, 1997, p. 100)

What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators? In this section, attention will be directed toward those who are most affected by the historical and socio/political events and postures I have described. The attitudes/beliefs--the personal meaning-making--of "gifted" pre-adolescent and adolescent children, their parents, their peers, and teachers/administrators will be presented. Of course, their perceptions and the interpretations of these perceptions--like so many things--are merely glimpses--or shimmering snapshots--of moments in time.

Children Labeled "Gifted"

Four distinct themes emerge from the literature regarding children labeled "gifted" and their perceptions of the label they have been assigned. First, a majority of "gifted" children view their label positively when compared with "non-gifted" peers or normed populations (Colangelo & Kelly, 1983; Colangelo, Kelly, & Schrepfer, 1987; Colangelo & Pfleger, 1978; Davis & Connell, 1985; Feldheusen & Dai, 1997; Field, Harding, Yando, Gonzalez, Lasko, Bendell, &

Marks, 1998; Guskin, Zimmerman, Okolo, & Peng, 1986; Hershey & Oliver, 1988; Jenkins-Friedman & Murphy, 1988; Karnes & Wharton, 1988; Ketcham & Snyder, 1977; Kolloff & Moore, 1989; Robison-Awana, Kehle, & Jenson, 1986; Van Tassel-Baska, Willis, & Meyer, 1989). According to Elyse Lehman and Carol Erdwins (1981), who conducted personality inventories with third grade "gifted" and "non-gifted" students, the "gifted" scored consistently higher in areas of social and emotional adjustment than their "non-gifted" peers. Michael Coleman and Betty Ann Fults (1983) administered the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale (Piers & Harris, 1984) to "gifted" fourth grade students and found that the "gifted" held significantly higher global self-concepts than their "non-gifted" peers. John Feldheusen and Amy Nimlos-Hippen (1992) administered the Piers-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale (Piers & Harris, 1984), the Reynolds' Adolescent Depression Scale (Reynolds, 1987) , and ME: A Self-Concept Scale for Gifted Students (Feldheusen & Kolloff, 1981) to eighty-two "gifted" fifth and sixth graders. Results showed that "gifted" children had more positive global and academic self-concepts than their "non-gifted" peers. Kevin Kelly and Nicholas Colangelo (1984), found that adolescents labeled "gifted" held significantly higher academic and social self-concepts than their "non-gifted" peers.

Second, and conversely, many "gifted" children view their label negatively (Cross, Coleman, & Stewart, 1992; Hamilton, 1960; Heal, 1989; Kaiser & van Aalst, 1982; Olszewski, Kulieke, & Willis, 1987; Powell, 1982; Sanborn, 1979; Schlichter, 1982; Trotter, 1971; Weiss, 1980; Whitmore, 1980; Zaffrann, 1978). According to Pnina Klein and Lola Cantor (1976), who surveyed kindergarten through fourth grade children, a greater percentage of "gifted" children experienced lower self-esteem than their "non-gifted" peers. Coleman and Fults (1982), compared "gifted" students and "non-gifted" highly motivated students in

grades four through six. In a reversal of their 1983 study, the "non-gifted" highly motivated students had more positive self-concepts than the "gifted." Laurence Coleman and Tracy Cross (1988) interviewed "gifted and talented" adolescents and found that many of them felt stigmatized by their label and experienced "giftedness" as a social handicap. Further, the students deemed it necessary to manipulate information about themselves in order to minimize their image of "gifted" to others, particularly their peers.

Third, other researchers reported no significant differences regarding the perception of the label "gifted" within pre-test/post-test and control group/experimental group conditions (Bartell & Reynolds, 1986; Cantor, Klein, & Helfat, 1979; Gallagher, Greenman, Karnes, & King, 1960; Kolloff & Feldheusen, 1984; Maddux, Scheiber, & Bass, 1982). According to Bruce Bracken (1980), who compared children labeled "gifted" (mean age 9.8 years) with a normed population, there was no significant difference between the two groups regarding self-concept or peer relations. Kevin Kelly and LaVerne Jordan (1990) compared children labeled "gifted" in grades seven and eight with "non-gifted" students and found no significant differences in social self-concept between the two groups. Fung Yong and John McIntyre (1991) found that there were more similarities than differences in self-concept between "gifted" and "non-gifted" eighth graders.

Fourth, mixed results were revealed in numerous other studies (Brody & Benbow, 1986; Brounstein & Holahan, 1987; Clark & Zimmerman, 1984; Coleman & Fults, 1985; Cornell, Delcourt, Goldberg, & Bland, 1992; Ford, 1978; Harty, Adkins, & Hungate, 1984; Hoge & Renzulli, 1993; Janos, Fung, & Robinson, 1985; Karnes & Wherry, 1981; Loeb & Jay, 1987; Manaster, Chan, Watt, & Wiehe, 1994; Moulton, Moulton, & Housewright, 1998; Robinson, 1990; Ross & Parker, 1980; Tidwell, 1980; Vaughn, Feldheusen, & Asher, 1991;

Worrell, Roth, and Gabelko, 1998). According to John Feldheusen, Michael Saylor, Elizabeth Nielsen, and Penny Kolloff (1990), who compared third through eighth grade "gifted" students exposed to enrichment with third through eighth grade "gifted" students who received no enrichment, "gifted" boys and girls exposed to enrichment in grades three through six had more positive self-concepts than those not exposed to enrichment. However, in grades seven through eight, "gifted" boys exposed to enrichment continued to have more positive self-concepts than "gifted" students not exposed to enrichment but "gifted" girls exposed to enrichment developed more negative attitudes than the "gifted" not exposed to enrichment. M. J. Wittek's (1973) open-ended questionnaire administered to "gifted" fifth, sixth, and seventh graders revealed that the "gifted" are proud of their label but had low social self-concepts. Barbara Kerr, Nicholas Colangelo, and Julie Gaeth (1988) found that adolescent "gifted" students had positive (personal and academic) and negative (social) perceptions regarding their label.

Girls Labeled "Gifted"

In addition to their inclusion in the research I have just described, "gifted" girls and their concepts of self and the label they carry are the focus of numerous other pieces of writing (Badolato, 1998; Bell, 1989; Callahan, 1986; Callahan, Cunningham, & Plucker, 1994; Clark, 1992; Coleman, 1985; Cramer, 1989; Davis & Rimm, 1994; Gilligan, 1982; Hollinger & Fleming, 1984, 1992; Hollingworth, 1942; Kerr, 1985; Klein & Zehms, 1996; Lovecky, 1994/1995; Luftig, 1992; McCormick & Wolf, 1993; Pendarvis et al., 1990; Reis & Callahan, 1989; Reis, Callahan, & Goldsmith, 1994; Robison-Awana, Kehle, & Jenson, 1986; Shaffer, 1986; Silverman, 1991, 1995; Yong & McIntyre, 1991). Emerging from these works are the following thematic conditions, all of which impact

negatively this particular population: sexism and sex-role stereotyping (Pendarvis et al., 1990; Silverman, 1991), conflict between "gifted" female roles and traditional female roles (Coleman, 1985; Silverman, 1995), repression of "gifted" self beginning during preadolescence (Clark, 1992), perfectionism and underachievement (Bell, 1989; Davis & Rimm, 1994), fear of success, poor social self-esteem, and non-assertiveness (Hollinger & Fleming, 1984). These "walls of oppression" (Greene, 1988) also serve to prevent "gifted" girls from reaching their potential or, as Carol Gilligan (1982) has written, from speaking in their own voices.

In order to investigate further these phenomena, Callahan et al. (1994), conducted interviews with five "gifted" girls in grades six through eight. They found that these barriers to success also emerged in their global study. In other words, preadolescent and adolescent girls labeled "gifted" experienced feelings of self-doubt. They also felt an increasing need to conform to traditional social expectations and to hide intellectual abilities. They had unrealistic expectations for the future, were socially manipulative, submerged in their feelings of deference to the feelings of others, and felt the need to overextend themselves. Further, according to Barbara Kerr (1985, 1986), "gifted" girls--more so than "non-gifted" girls--are constantly restructuring these perceptions of self in order to conform to the expectations of society.

African-American Children Labeled "Gifted": A "Dream Deferred"[5]

According to Carnegie Corporation and College Board reports (in Bonner, 2000), black students--especially black males--are three times as likely to be in classes for the behaviorally and academically disabled as are white students. There also exists a plethora of research regarding black children involved in these negative or pejorative situations (Chinn & Hughes, 1987; Connell,

[5] -from "A Dream Deferred" by Langston Hughes (1959)

Spencer, & Aber, 1994; Ford, Obiakor, & Patton, 1995; Franklin, 1992; Kozol, 1991, 1995; Patton and Townsend, 1997). Conversely, disproportionately low numbers of black children have been labeled "gifted and talented" and placed in programs for the "gifted" (Chinn & Hughes, 1987; Gordon & Addison, 1985). Blacks are only one half as likely to be in a class for the "gifted and talented" as Whites. Likewise, there is a paucity of research regarding "gifted and talented" Blacks (Baldwin, 1987a, 1987b; Ford, 1994; Cooley, et al, 1991; Cornell et al., 1992; Ford & Harris, 1990, 1997). In spite of the fact that "gifted" black students experience more barriers to the development of "self" than do white students and perhaps more psychological and emotional problems than black students not labeled "gifted" (Ford-Harris, Schuerger, & Harris, 1991), only two percent of current scholarly literature focuses on minority "gifted," even less on "gifted" black children (Ford, 1990; Ford & Harris, 1990), and even less than that on "gifted" black females (Grantham & Ford, 1998). Of the writings that do exist, most are position papers/commentaries/narratives regarding the following: underrepresentation of Blacks in programs for the "gifted and talented" (Baldwin, 1987a, 1987b; Bonner, 2000; Colangelo & Exum, 1979), identification procedures (Baldwin, 1987a, 1987b; Ford & Harris, 1990; Frasier, 1987; Rhodes, 1992), the concept of resilience/flexibility in black youth (Ford, 1994), and inclusion (Patton & Townsend, 1997). A scant percentage of the remaining work focuses on "gifted" black students' perceptions of their label (Cooley, Cornell, & Lee, 1991; Cornell, Delcourt, Goldberg, & Bland, 1992; Fordham, 1988; Tidwell, 1981; Williams & Apenahier, 1987; Yong, 1992) and from these studies, three main ideas emerge: First, the majority of "gifted" African-American students view their label positively when compared with other groups of "gifted" students (Cooley, Cornell, & Lee, 1991; Tidwell, 1981; Yong, 1992). For example, according to Michele Cooley, Dewey Cornell, and Courtland Lee (1991) who

used Harter's Perceived Self-Competence Scale for Children (1982) to compare high ability preadolescent black and white students in the areas of academic, social, and athletic self-concepts, and physical appearance, both groups had positive perceptions of self in all areas. Second, other African-American "gifted" students view their label negatively (Cornell, Delcourt, Goldberg, & Bland, 1992). For example, Dewey Cornell, Marcia Delcourt, Marc Goldberg, and Lori Bland (1992) compared "gifted" second and third grade black, white, and Hispanic students with their "non-gifted" peers. They found no significant differences between "gifted" and "non-gifted" minority students regarding academic or social self-concepts. However, both minority groups scored significantly lower than the white children in both areas. Third, "gifted" African-American students--perhaps more so than any others because of their superb intelligences and heightened sensitivities--struggle to find personal meaning within the negative tension which exists between dominant society norms of individualism and competition (also reflected in the schools) and black culture norms of loyalty and collectivity (Fordham, 1988; Williams & Apenahier, 1987). For example, Signithia Fordham's (1988) ethnography of an inner city high school revealed that the characteristics required for success contradict an identification and solidarity with black culture. High achieving students who sense the conflict between "making it" and indigenous group identification quite often develop the particular strategy of "racelessness," or disaffiliation from their community.

Interestingly, Katheryn Kearney and Jene LeBlanc (1993), found a significant body of early research from the 1920s through the 1950s by such scholars as Horace Bond, Martin Jenkins, Lillian Proctor, Janet Terwilliger, and Viola Theman who sought to establish a literature base regarding "gifted" African-American children. Kearney and LeBlanc state, "Whether by the accidents of history, the cultural milieu, or racism within the larger society itself,

this literature was never significantly integrated into the larger psychological and educational literature about gifted children" (p. 193). Additional works by Edgar Epps (1969) and Paul Witty and Martin Jenkins (1934) have also been silenced.

African-American Girls Labeled "Gifted"

Research studies which focus solely upon "gifted" African-American girls, their concepts of self, and the label they carry are virtually nonexistent (Ford, 1995; Grantham & Ford, 1998). Ford (1995) writes:

> A review of articles referenced in ERIC since 1982 revealed that 131 focused on gifted females. Similarly, 43 articles on this topic were referenced in PsychLit [sic] since 1987. Noteworthy, however, is that none of the articles in the two database systems specifically addressed the issues of either gifted black or minority females. (p. 165)

In response to her own findings, Donna Ford (1995) conducted a case study of "gifted" adolescent African-American females. She discovered that their perceptions of social variables (peer and teacher relations) and psychological variables (self-concept, personal feelings) can undermine academic achievement. For example, she observed that most "gifted" African-American females were teased by their peers for their academic achievements and one-third were accused of "acting white" (e. g., speaking standard English, making high grades, taking advanced classes with Whites). Further, the girls felt that their teachers did not understand them or their culture. Hence, beginning at adolescence, "gifted" African-American girls become underachievers in order to be accepted by their peers and sometimes by their own families.

Parents of Children Labeled "Gifted"

How do parents (i. e., mothers) of children labeled "gifted" make meaning of the label "gifted"? Pertinent studies--most of which consider the family holistically rather than componentially--reveal that perceptions vary (Ballering & Koch, 1984; Colangelo, 1988; Colangelo & Brower, 1987; Cornell, 1983, 1984, 1989; Cornell & Grossberg, 1989; Fisher, 1981; Hackney, 1981; Johnson & Lewman, 1990; Keirouz, 1990; Louis & Lewis, 1992; Marion, 1980; Mills & Berry, 1979; Peterson, 1977; Robinson, 1989; Scott, Perou, Urbano, Hogan, & Gold, 1992). Margaret Anderson (1987) states, "The identification of a child as gifted may be perceived by parents as awesome, challenging, a blessing, threatening, or even a curse" (p. 236). Further, three perceptual themes are in evidence. First, within families, parents hold positive and negative attitudes toward "giftedness" (Ballering & Koch, 1984; Colangelo, 1988; Colangelo & Brower, 1987; Cornell, 1984, 1989; Cornell & Grossberg, 1989; Fisher, 1981; Keirouz, 1990; Louis & Lewis, 1992; Mills & Berry, 1979). According to Cornell (1983) who interviewed families of elementary age "gifted" children, in many cases, at least one parent approved of the label "gifted" while his/her spouse rejected it, even though their child was enrolled in a program for the "gifted." In a related study, Eleanore Fisher (1981) found that some parents perceived the label as a "badge of honor." In contrast, others equated "giftedness" with problem children and eccentricity. Second, some parents viewed the label "gifted" negatively (Hackney, 1981; Marion, 1980; Peterson, 1977; Scott, Perou, Urbano, Hogan, & Gold, 1992; Sunderlin, 1981). Specifically, it is often associated with exclusivity (Marion, 1980); role confusion between parent and child (Hackney, 1981); and increased competitiveness, sibling rivalry, and disrespect for personal uniqueness (Peterson, 1977). Lastly, many parents' perceptions of the label "gifted" are gender-stereotypical (Bell, 1989; Clark, 1992; Johnson & Lewman,

1990; Kirschenbaum, 1980). For example, Lawrence Johnson and Beverly Lewman (1990) administered questionnaires to parents of "gifted" preschool children. Their analysis revealed significant differences in parental perceptions of their "gifted" children's interests by gender.

Peers of Children Labeled "Gifted"

In the majority of studies reviewed, peer perceptions of children labeled "gifted" were mixed (Austin & Draper, 1981; Cornell, Pelton, Bassin, Landrum, Ramsay, Cooley, Lunch, & Hamrick, 1990; Dauber & Benbow, 1990; Luftig & Nichols, 1990; Lutz & Lutz, 1980; Morgan, 1981; Solano, 1976). For example, Richard Luftig and Marci Nichols (1990) used a sociometric nomination instrument to assess how "non-gifted" children in grades four through eight felt about their "gifted" peers. They found that "gifted" boys were perceived positively and "gifted" girls were perceived negatively. Further, in two other related studies (Morgan 1981; Tannenbaum, 1962), peer attitudes toward the athletically "gifted" were found to be positive while peer attitudes toward the non-athletic and/or academically "gifted" were negative.

Peer attitudes toward children labeled "gifted"--at least through the elementary school years--are generally positive (Clark, 1992; Cohen, Duncan, & Cohen, 1994). According to Robert Cohen, Melissa Duncan, and Sheila Cohen (1994), who used sociometric techniques to study "gifted" and "non-gifted" children in grades four through six, the "non-gifted" perceived the "gifted" as having greater awareness of reciprocity in friendship relationships and as being less often an aggressor or a victim of aggression. Cohen et al. (1994) state, "These children (gifted) did not have more friends or best friends than their peers, but they clearly had more valued positions within the peer network" (p. 36).

Quite often, however, the opposite holds true (Coleman, 1961; Manor-Bullock, Look, & Dixon, 1995; Tannenbaum, 1962). "Gifted" children, especially the academically "gifted," oftentimes feel stigmatized by their label (Manor-Bullock, Look, & Dixon, 1995) and/or different from their peers (Austin & Draper, 1981; Janos, Fung, & Robinson, 1985; Maddux, Scheiber, & Bass, 1982), particularly during adolescence, and hence find it difficult to establish and maintain friendships. Pendarvis et al. (1990), state that the reasons for this are threefold: (1) Gifted children's awareness of existent social ambivalence regarding intellectual ability is made manifest in their own ambivalence regarding their relationships with others. This is frequently reflected in their written and/or oral expression which may be simultaneously angry and self-congratulatory. (2) The gifted are often overly sensitive, argumentative, and/or opinionated, not only with their peers but also with adults as well. (3) Many prefer older playmates who might not necessarily wish to reciprocate. According to Dewey Cornell (1990), who interviewed "gifted" boys and girls in grades five through eleven, "gifted" students who are viewed negatively by their peers hold low social and academic perceptions of self and have parents in less prestigious occupations.

Other research studies revealed indifferent peer perceptions regarding the label "gifted" (Colangelo & Kelly, 1983; Ford, 1978; Norman, Ramsay, Roberts, & Martray, 2000). For example, Colangelo and Kelly (1983) administered a questionnaire to "gifted" and "non-gifted" children in grades seven through nine. Results showed that the attitude of "non-gifted" students toward the "gifted" was neutral. Hence, parents and educators should not be concerned, one way or the other, regarding peer rejection of the "gifted."

Parents of Children Not Labeled "Gifted"

How do other parents (i. e., mothers/female guardians) make meaning of the label "gifted"? Of the few studies in evidence, most parents of children not labeled "gifted" hold negative attitudes toward "gifted" children and the label they carry (Clark, 1992; Davis & Rimm, 1994; Martinson, 1971; Mills & Berry, 1979). For example, in his review of the literature, Robert Marion (1980) found that culturally diverse parents quite often hold negative perceptions of the label "gifted" in reaction to school practices of exclusion (e. g., biased identification procedures).

Teachers/Administrators of Children Labeled "Gifted" and "Non-gifted"

Teacher/administrator perceptions of the label "gifted" may be viewed as a continuum. At one end are those (the majority of whom are teachers/administrators of the "gifted") who view the label positively (Benson, 1996; Coleman, 1994; Cooper, 1995; Galloway & Porath, 1997; Parish, Dyck, & Kappes, 1979; Reschly, & Lamprecht, 1979). For example, Briar Galloway and Marion Porath (1997) used the Social Skills Rating System (Gresham & Elliott, 1990) to assess teacher perceptions of the social skills of "gifted" children, ages six to twelve. Statistical results showed that teachers held positive perceptions toward children labeled "gifted" and believed "gifted" children to be socially skilled. Administrator Carolyn Cooper (1995) writes, "I believe bright individuals are the movers and shakers of our world. They become the creative producers on whom we all depend" (p. 65).

At the other end of the continuum are those (the majority of whom are teachers/administrators of the "non-gifted") who hold negative perceptions toward "gifted" children in general and toward certain populations of "gifted" children in particular (Clark, 1992; Davis & Rimm, 1994; Hickey, 1990;

Houghton, 1995; Jackson, Famiglietti, & Robinson, 1981; Jacobs, 1972; Pattridge, 1989; Pendarvis et al., 1990; Rubovits & Maehr, 1973; Sandoval, 1995). Davis and Rimm (1994) report that some regular classroom teachers are "downright antagonistic, ...[and] might delight in awarding gifted children C's and D's to somehow prove the students are *not* gifted, ...and may subtly attempt to sabotage the gifted program" (p. 60). More specifically, there are those teachers "who respond less positively to ["gifted"] children who are culturally different, economically disadvantaged, low achieving, and unattractive" (Pendarvis et al., 1990) and "gifted" African-American children are particularly vulnerable (Houghton, 1995; Rubovits & Maehr, 1973). "Curiously, teachers also respond negatively to divergent and highly intelligent children" (Pendarvis et al., 1990, p. 271). According to Clark (1992), teachers and administrators hold negative feelings toward the "gifted" because they "fear elitism and snobbishness" (p. 142).

In the middle of the continuum are those whose perceptions are neutral (Ford, 1978). For example, in her study to assess attitudes toward the "gifted" and the programs designed for them, Barbara Ford (1978) found that teachers/administrators were "indifferent" in their reactions and perceptions toward "gifted" students.

Two tensions along the continuum also need to be considered. The first--more fluid--describes teacher/administrator perceptions controlled by such variables as educational background, training, and knowledge of "gifted" children (Copenhaver, R. W., & McIntyre, D. J., 1992; Nicely, R. F., Small, J. D., & Furman, R. L., 1980; Smidchens, U., & Sellin, D., 1977; Weiner & O'Shea, 1963; Weiss & Gallagher, 1980). According to Ron Copenhaver and John McIntyre (1992), a correlation exists between teachers' perceptions regarding the "gifted" and their general preservice and inservice training. In other words, the more

preservice and inservice training a teacher has, the more positive that teacher feels toward the "gifted." In contrast, the less preservice and inservice training a teacher has, the more negative that teacher feels toward the "gifted." The second tension--more static and discrete--describes teacher/administrator perceptions which are incremental and fixed (Hamilton, 1960). According to Norman Hamilton (1960) who surveyed teachers of "gifted" and "non-gifted" adolescents, teachers of the "gifted" supported having programs for the "gifted" but were opposed to using labels. Teachers of the "non-gifted" viewed "the role of any child in the classroom as one of conformity without question and docile obedience to the teacher's orders" (p. 163).

Conclusion and Implications

> What we see depends upon our angle of repose.
>
> (Laurel Richardson, 1997, p.92)

In this chapter many "angles of repose" have been presented, each one reflecting and refracting the historical, political, social, and/or personal context(s) from which it emerged. More specifically, the cyclical attention over time to children labeled "gifted" has been noted. The dichotomous "tug of war" between excellence and equity remains manifest. Advocates for the "gifted" and egalitarians continue to vie for power and position. All write with passionate pens within a political and social arena which by its very nature serves to inspire and direct their rhetoric. Of course it should not be this way. "The tension should not be between ideas of equity and excellence but between these two noble goals and any entity that serves to separate them" (McCall, 1997, p. 21). Lastly, the personal perspectives of children labeled "gifted" and their parents, their peers and their parents, and their teachers/administrators, who struggle to make

meaning of their own experiences, have been revealed in voices that command attention, voices that whisper, or perhaps voices that have not been heard at all.

How did the label "gifted" evolve? Why does the label "gifted" exist? Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls)and their parents, their peers, (i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators? In addition to the responses to these questions offered thus far, and in order to present a more comprehensive review of the literature, several more observations--and their implications for my work--need to be made. First, until recently, most research regarding personal meaning-making has explored the labeling of handicapped children (Guskin et al., 1986). According to Ann Robinson (1986), in order to expand the emerging labeling theory as it applies to "gifted" populations, research efforts need to be less tangential, or digressive. In other words, we need to focus on the labeling of "gifted" children and its effects on them and their families, their peers and their families, and their teachers/administrators. In response--and apart from other populations--, my study will build on the small body of existing literature regarding the label "gifted" by examining this label from the perspectives of children to whom it has been assigned and their parents, their peers and their parents, and their teachers/administrators.

Second, research results cited in the literature have been opinionated and indiscriminate. There is a need to distinguish between attitudes toward the "gifted" and attitudes toward programs designed for them (Robinson, 1986). My primary focus is on children labeled "gifted" apart from the programs designed for them.

Third, research regarding the label "gifted" has been small and limited in scope. We need to conduct studies regarding the label "gifted" wherein we simultaneously compare and contrast the perceptions of multiple groups (and the individuals therein) rather than just one or two groups. Further, each group needs to be examined in context (Robinson, 1986). My study is a multivariate one in which I conduct a concurrent investigation of several groups of individuals within the context of Fagan Elementary School.

Fourth, until recently, most studies have focused on the "gifted" population as a whole. In addition to the need to study groups simultaneously, we also need to involve subgroups and individuals (Bailey & Cross, 1997; Cornell & Grossberg, 1989; Dauber & Benbow, 1990; Franks & Dolan, 1982; Mendaglio & Pyryt, 1995; Ring & Shaughnessy, 1993; Robinson, 1986; Sapon-Shevin, 1987; Tomchin et al., 1996)). "Only by investigating the rich variations of individual response to labeling can educators come to grips with this complex process" (Robinson, 1990, p. 247). Yet few studies exist which investigate the label "gifted" from personal perspectives (Bailey & Cross, 1997). Little is known about how "gifted" children understand their own intelligence (Porath, 1997) and more specifically, how capable minority students--especially African-American girls--view their "giftedness" (Cornell et al., 1992; Ford, 1995; Ford & Harris, 1997; Grantham & Ford, 1998; Ring & Shaughnessy, 1993). Likewise, little is known about how individual peers, mothers, teachers, and administrators perceive the label "gifted." In response, my work focuses on the girls within two "gifted" populations (SEARCH and magnet) and their mothers, a residential population and their mothers, and teachers/administrators. Many of my participants are African-American. Also, the bulk of my data was collected from lengthy, personal interviews.

Fifth, according to Roger Loeb and Gina Jay (1987), most research regarding self-concept in "gifted" children has considered primarily the cognitive sphere. My study is a phenomenological one, hence the affective domain is also considered.

Sixth, the issue of labeling certain children "gifted" needs to be examined via a multi-dimensional approach (Hoge & Renzulli, 1993). In my case, a multi-contextual prism (historical, political, sociological, personal) serves as the lens through which the participants in this study (including myself) struggle to make meaning of the phenomenon of "giftedness" which is so much a part of their lives (and mine).

Seventh, the literature in inconsistent (Field et al., 1998; Hoge & Renzulli, 1993; Loeb & Jay, 1987; Robinson, 1986; Tomchin et al., 1996) for several reasons: (1) measures which are also inconsistent, (2) definitional (Greenspon, 2000) and sample variations (e. g., heterogeneous "non-gifted" groups matched with homogeneous "gifted" groups, recruitment criteria into programs for the "gifted" differing among respondents), and (3) faulty comparisons (e. g., global scales and subscales) (Field et al., 1998). In order to avoid this problem and in a partial replication of the study by Field et al. (1998), my interview schedules are consistent across groups and my research takes place within a single school setting. Also, I will compare and contrast individuals within homogeneous groups (SEARCH, magnet, residential) each with established entrance criteria.

Eighth, a vast majority of the studies regarding the label "gifted" are quantitative studies (Hedges, 1986; Hoge & Renzulli, 1993). Therefore, there is a need for more qualitative work--such as mine--in this area (Hedges, 1986; Hoge & Renzulli, 1993; Vaughn, Feldheusen, & Asher, 1991).

Up to this point, no other studies have matched all of these descriptors. Further, and more specifically, with the exception of Eulouise Williams' (2000)

fine work regarding the history of identification procedures for the "gifted" in Georgia, until now there have been no formal histories of education for the "gifted" in Georgia or Chatham County. I do not mean to imply that my history sketches are complete. The history of education for the "gifted" is a crucial--yet not central--part of this thesis. However, what I have done could certainly serve as a foundational springboard into a more comprehensive historical narrative regarding the label "gifted" for someone whose sole purpose is to open only that particular window.

Chapter IV

Methodology

The March-Lands

Walking through walls of agile air
Hair flaying the borders of my face
I saw a leaf today being chased by an ardent breeze.
The poor thing was unused to such sport
(too green yet)
and as she staggered about in the tangles of grass
the tramples of weeds
she was more than once forced to take to the air.
Tripping heels over head
scooting drunkenly 'round on one leg stem, and
then gaining confidence, she, on the instant
pirouetted into the sky
brushed a cloud aside
and at last permitted herself to be cornered
by clay-brick and oak-fence
(but she did attempt to wrench through).
Wind chortled, pinning Leaf there
until he saw she had given up.
Then because there was no sport in it, he wandered away
and tiny nutbrown Leaf untwined the death-cling on the wooden bars
and fluttered to nestle with her relatives
while panting like tired leaves do.
Squirrel launched himself through gnarled branch arm and
pounced
(tail a-flick along his back)
...onto empty air.
Leaf had left...
because Wind had returned (weary of bullying buttercups)
to play follow the leader and
to claim the next dance.
And so off they fandangoed...
a bit of a tree
and a zephyr
out
tomcatting around.

Malinda McCall, age fifteen

In Malinda's "The March-Lands," Wind leads Leaf in a "forced fandango." Similarly, within the educational landscape, researchers (until recently) have been "forced to fandango" with androcentric methodologies and the measurement and statistical procedures they reflect. As Decker Walker (1996) wrote:

> ...educational research, to meet the highest methodological standards, had to be cast in terms of an experiment in which observable variables were measured with instruments that conformed to elaborate technical standards. For nearly three decades, from the 1940's to the 1970's, neither complaints from researchers holding other views nor criticisms from practicing educators nor devastating philosophical critiques of positivism and behaviorism sufficed to free educational research from the hegemony of this prevailing "scientific" methodology. (p. 101)

Conversely, the field is presently being swept by "fresh breezes" as increasing numbers of scholars participate in qualitative inquiry--a venue wherein one may more easily "espouse trust, reject deception, and abhor harm" (Punch, 1986). In that spirit, I offer the following narrative.

How did the label "gifted" evolve? Why does the label "gifted" exist? Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth grade girls) and their parents, their peers (I. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators? In this chapter, research methodologies which, I believe, best answer these questions will be presented. The qualitative research design I have chosen, the procedures used to implement the design, and the rationale for each will be explained in detail. Additionally, in text and chart format, I will describe each research question and its relationship to the following

five methodologies: techniques, context or setting(s), sample (description of participants/respondents and other sources of information), instruments used for data collection, and data analysis or interpretation.

Research Design

The theme for my study has emerged over time from the perceptual peripheries of my being and doing--past and present. Specifically, my irregular but long-held antipathies toward injustice, my daily witnessing of inequities, and my remembrances of my students' and my own daughter's struggles over the years continued to "bubble to the surface" in my scholarly pursuits, my thoughts, my imagination, and in my written and oral expression. These experiences and the settings from which they arose--personal and professional--led me to my current intimate encounter with the label "gifted."

My research process began globally with a tentative plan--an initial focus--which simply meant using a "wide angle lens" to collect and peruse data from pertinent literature, observe school settings, observe and listen to the participants within the settings, and then transcribe my perceptions of what I had seen and heard. These broad beginnings revealed certain directional specifics. In other words, the literature indicated a need for research to develop labeling theory for "gifted" populations by being multivariate, multi-dimensional, phenomenological in spirit, more discriminatory, more consistent, and more focused on subgroups and individuals. My own observations and professional and personal interactions, most of which were recorded in a field journal, made me increasingly aware of the thick political and social tensions which swirled around the concept of the label "gifted" and around those who are affected by it. From these explorations, my attention was directed toward my own teaching environment, to the pervasive practice of labeling certain children "gifted," and to

the individuals affected most by this practice. At this point, I was able to define and articulate clearly my research questions, purpose, hypothesis, and the philosophical/theoretical framework through which the label "gifted" would be analyzed. I then began designing and building selection criteria charts and interview schedules; taking pictures; locating and reviewing records, files, and statistical documents; contacting system personnel (e. g., cafeteria manager, data clerk); and so on. Formal interviews started next, transcription workers were hired, and manuscript writing began in earnest.

According to Robert Bogdan and Sari Biklen (1992), these events I have just described may be thought of as a "funnel." Global data from individuals and settings are gathered and analyzed. Appropriate data from this initial "toss of the net" are used to guide decisions regarding the research. The "net is tossed" and the data, "sites, subjects, materials, topics, themes" (p. 62) are examined and modified as often as necessary as the study becomes more focused. The "funnel" continues to narrow until hypotheses are proven and/or disproven and conclusions are reached.

The research design that best complements my experiences with this process is the **observational case study**. Consider its following descriptors (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992) and their merger with my work: (1) The focus is on a particular organization (Fagan Elementary School), a particular place within the organization (group domains, classrooms), a particular activity (the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"), and a particular group (or groups) of people ["gifted" children (i. e., fourth-grade girls), their peers, their parents (i. e., their mothers/female guardians), and their teachers/administrators]. (2) The researcher needs to become familiar with the setting, the formal and informal structure of the setting, and the participants therein. (I have been at Fagan Elementary School for ten years and have interacted personally and

professionally with the individuals there during that time.) (3) The main idea, or theme, for the study emerges from the setting and the questions, hypothesis(es) emerge from the study. The theme of my study (the label "gifted") emerged from my school setting. The questions that have been generated by this theme [How did the label "gifted" evolve? Why does the label "gifted" exist? Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of "gifted" children (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators?] and my hypothesis (that my students, especially the girls, have been impacted negatively by a pedagogical system which has created and assigned to them the label "gifted") have emerged from my experiences in general and my teaching and research experiences in particular. (4) There is attention to history. However, this context contributes to--but is not central to--the issues within the contemporary scene (i. e., the personal meaning-making of my respondents). (5) The major data-gathering technique is participant observation which implies varying degrees of researcher involvement within a chosen context and a systematic recording of what is seen and/or experienced. It is a dynamic interactional activity between researcher and researched. Further, Laurel Richardson (1997) states, "Separating the researcher's story from the people's story implies that the researcher's voice is the authoritative one, a voice that stands above the rest" (p. 18). (In addition to my own voice and story, I have included the voices and stories of many of those about whom I have written. My respondents have collaborated with me in interviews, personal narratives, and decision making. I have spent time observing my setting as unobtrusively as possible and interacting with the people and events within this setting--formally and informally--since I arrived.)

In order to verify the merit of my work and my findings, I have used various methods to explore the label "gifted": a multi-dimensional exploration regarding the label "gifted" within and across historical, political, sociological, and personal contexts; mute evidence; interviews with different groups of individuals which probed their perceptions regarding the label "gifted"; direct and indirect observations; and visuals. Clandinin and Connelly (1998c) also describe personal experience methods. These are not discrete but merge with and complement the other techniques. For example, my own personal perceptions and those of the other participants in this study--made manifest in our written and oral narratives, our conversations, and poetry--are woven throughout this whole research experience yet also serve to shape and direct it. In other words, I have examined the label "gifted" historically within and across national, state, and local domains. I have examined it politically, socially, and within and across groups of individuals most affected by it. My final task is to compare and contrast all of these dimensions in search of emerging patterns and/or themes. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (1998b) refer to these activities as "triangulation," or the use of various kinds of methods or data, used as a heuristic tool for the researcher, to strengthen "the validity of their communication" (p. 96). However, I believe I have also moved beyond the idea of triangulation. My focus on context, and interactions within context, support my feminist postures and beliefs regarding communion (Greene, 1988), caring (Noddings, 1984), and community (Hill-Collins, 1991). My research is multi-layered and multi-voiced. Theory and practice interconnect. Dialogue is multi-vocal, self-reflexive, conjunctive, and disjunctive. Richardson (1997) refers to this as "crystallization," or a means of interrupting the master narrative. She states:

> Crystallization, without losing structure, deconstructs the traditional idea of "validity" (we feel how there is no single truth, we see how texts validate

themselves); and crystallization provides us with a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial understanding of the topic. Paradoxically, we know more and doubt what we know. (p. 92)

Procedures

Background: This study takes place in an historic coastal metropolitan area, population approximately 220,000. According to the Georgia County Snapshots (1999), 60% of the county residents are white and 38% are black. Conversely, public school population is approximately 70% minority and 30% white. Nine percent of the households in the county are headed by females and have children under 18 years of age. Total households with children under 18 comprise 33% of all households in the county and 36% of those in the state. Thirty percent of the adult population has completed high school. A total of 44% of the population has at least some college level education. During 1989, 17% of the county's population lived below the poverty level, compared with a statewide level of 15% and a national rate of 13%. In addition, 25% of the children under the age of 18 in the county lived in poverty and 17% of the elderly (persons over 65) lived below the poverty level. Service employment provides 26% of the county jobs and 25% of the earnings, followed by retail trade (19% of the jobs and 10% of the earnings, and manufacturing (12% of the jobs and 20% of the earnings).

Fagan Elementary School/The Academy for the Gifted and Talented provides the immediate context for this study. Fagan is an inner city school in the industrial area of town, named after James Fleming Fagan, a Confederate general and hero at the Battle of Shiloh. It also serves as The Gifted and Talented Academy, a magnet school. It was one of several schools established to meet desegregation needs through voluntary enrollment and to provide an expanded array of educational alternatives to families in the area. Presently, the

district's 15 magnet schools operate within three articulation strands: traditional enrichment, visual and performing arts, and advanced learning academies. One other magnet--a Montessori academy--"feeds" into the other three strands. Fagan continues as a magnet for the "gifted" with an emphasis on Core Knowledge (Hirsch,1988, 1996). There are 40 teachers (including a media specialist and a guidance counselor) on staff. Our approximately 550 students come from varying socioeconomic backgrounds. In our magnet classes, for example, we have children from affluent homes in "gated" communities and also children from inner city homes. Some of the inner city children call themselves "the bathtub kids" because when the shooting begins at night Mom puts them in the tub--the safest place in the house.

Permission to conduct this research was obtained from the Institutional Review Board (IRB), the deputy superintendent of schools, and the principal at Fagan (see Appendixes A, B, and C). The names of people and places have been changed in order to protect the identities of the participants.

Techniques: How did the label "gifted" evolve? Why does the label "gifted" exist? Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth grade girls) and their parents, their peers (fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators? In order to answer these questions, I collected data via the following techniques: mute evidence, interviews, observation, and visuals (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998a).

Mute evidence: Three general areas of writing have been examined: scholarly literature, documents, and records. First, the literature has served as a source for examining the label "gifted" within and across four contexts (historical, political, social, personal) from the perspectives of others

removed from the immediate research context. It has been for me a critical process wherein I was able to deconstruct or "read against" the text (McCracken, 1988). Hence, it has offered a counterpoint for findings that emerged via other techniques. Additionally, it has served to narrow and clearly define my study by revealing needed areas to explore. Second, personal documents (e.g., personal communication, memos, letters, electronic mail, notes, files) were crucial in developing the historical overview of education for the "gifted" on national, state and local levels. Third, information from records (e. g., newspaper articles, birth certificates, socio-economic status data) was used in developing the Selection Criteria Chart (see Table 1).

Interviews: Informal unstructured interviews were conducted over the telephone and in homes and offices. The main purpose here was to understand the label "gifted" and its historical, political, sociological, and personal parameters removed from a preexisting framework (Borg & Gall, 1989; Fontana & Frey, 1998c). More specifically, it was an attempt to obtain copies of statistical data and other information regarding past and current education for the "gifted." These interviews were flexible and open-ended. Each began with friendly conversation to establish rapport. This was followed by my statement of purpose and a "grand tour" question or command such as the following: What do you know about the distribution of "gifted" populations throughout the state? Tell me what you remember about the development of education for the "gifted" in Chatham County. The remaining part of the interview was controlled by the respondent. My task was to listen, take notes, and ask clarifying questions.

Formal structured, or in-depth interviews were conducted for the purpose of discovering what role the label "gifted" plays in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i. e. fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents,

and their teachers/administrators. Formal interview schedules (see Appendixes D, E, F, and G) were developed for the students, their parents, their teachers, and their administrators. Initial questions were preformatted but responses and follow-up questions were open-ended (McCracken, 1988). Question one was actually a preliminary activity the purpose of which was twofold: to offer a statement of purpose regarding my study (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992) and to establish rapport. Question two was a "grand tour" question or command regarding life in general as a fourth-grader, teacher, parent, or administrator (McCracken, 1988). This was followed by global questions which probed respondents' likes and dislikes regarding school, their level of involvement with the school setting, and their level of involvement with others in the school setting. Question three focused on more specific likes and dislikes and levels of involvement in the school and with others. Question four was a probe and follow-up question which also served as a check for the responses to questions two and three (McCracken, 1988). Question five compared and contrasted respondents' perceptions regarding their placement and involvement within the school and their perceptions regarding the placement and involvement of others within the school. Respondents were also asked to compare and contrast the existent programs in the three class levels/strata. Questions six through nine were based on an interview model offered by Guy Manaster, Jason Chan, Celia Watt, and James Wiehe (1994) in their study of adolescents' attitudes toward their own "giftedness." Manaster et al. (1994) divided their questions into four categories: personal meaning of "giftedness" or "non-giftedness," benefits and drawbacks of being labeled "gifted" or "non-gifted," effect of the label "gifted" or "non-gifted," and personal acceptance of "giftedness." Each of these categories was included in my interview schedules with certain necessary modifications. For example, I was working with several

groups of respondents whereas Manaster, et al (1994) were working with only one. Thus, the questions in each category were adapted for each group of respondents. The last question was a photo exercise (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998c), or "auto driving" technique (McCracken, 1988). All respondents viewed and reflected upon the same six photos (the two fourth-grade SEARCH classes, the two fourth-grade magnet classes, and the two fourth-grade residential classes) side by side, all at one time (see Appendix H). The purpose here was threefold: (1) The photos served as visual stimuli, or small subjective "windows" looking in on the settings (classes) being studied. (2) The respondents were able to view all classes at one time, compare and contrast the three settings, then discuss their perceptions regarding their placement (or their child's placement) in one of them. Administrators were asked to reflect globally upon their positions in regard to all of the settings and the students and teachers therein. (3) Questions regarding the photos served as a validity check for responses to questions five and six.

Several additional strategies were used in my interviews: (1) Mary Budd Rowe's "Wait Time," wherein the interviewer remains silent after certain questions and/or responses, elicited broader and deeper levels of thought from my respondents (Rowe, 1974). (2) I "listened in stereo" (Anderson & Jack, 1991) to subjects' responses which helped me to shape and focus semistructured (or more specific) questions for probing and validation purposes. (3) I offered to share data, narratives, and emergent findings with the participants orally and in writing. The Informed Consent letter (see Appendix I) states, "If you wish, I will also be happy to share with you a copy of the results of the study." Also, some of the respondents (especially the girls) asked to listen to portions of the tapes and seemed to enjoy doing so. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) refer to this activity as "client checking."

Observation: Observation, or in my case, participant observation, implies a continuum from complete observer to complete participant with motion along the continuum remaining fluid and the role of the researcher determined as the research process develops (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). My initial position along this continuum was at mid-point, or that of participant/observer. In other words, if I became immersed as total participant then my initial purpose would become blurred. Conversely, if I attempted to become totally removed from the setting, then contextual meaning, especially crucial to feminist thought, would be lost. Also, my work as participant observer has also meant discreetness, professionalism, and a refusal to assume a position with respondents when controversial issues have been discussed (e. g., the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"). "Taking a side" would only serve to limit my understanding of the "other side" and to stifle my perception of context. At the same time, I believe that feelings and the expressions thereof are necessary for establishing researcher-client relationships and for stimulating contextual perspectives. Hence, I have made a concerted effort to reflect upon my feelings (regarding injustice, for example), express them orally, and write about them in a journal.

For each interview, I also used a "clean" booklet. The booklets were designed to have fairly wide margins. Instead of using a notebook, as some others do, I wrote in the margins of each booklet. So, if not awkward, as each interview proceeded, I made a point to jot down notes (observer comments) regarding each person's body language, facial expressions, dialogue before and after the tape recorder was turned on, interruptions, etc. If I sensed that the respondent was uncomfortable regarding my note-taking, then this was delayed until immediately after our meeting. At that time, I recorded my impressions (quite often sitting in my car) while they were still fresh in my mind.

Visuals, or "mirrors with a memory" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998c, p. 38): Using a digital camera, I took a collection of photographs of fourth-grade students and their teachers in their assigned classrooms (see Appendixes J, K, and L). Another teacher on staff (otherwise totally removed from the study) assisted me by also acting as photographer. Nevertheless, this and my other attempts at unobtrusiveness (e. g., standing behind filing cabinets, doors) were largely unsuccessful. Hence, in many cases, the scenes appeared posed and/or theatrical. These moments in time, or subjective tools for pursuing answers (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992), were used in this study primarily for two reasons: First, they offered another view of the setting and hence another means of examining the data. Second, and more specifically, as I have discussed, six of them served as a validity check for previous questions in the formal interview. These six--more so than all the others--seemed to me to reveal more spontaneity regarding the actions and level of involvement of the participants within their respective settings.

The Informed Consent Letter gave permission to observe the fourth-grade participants. Written permission to photograph each child and her classmates is also on file at school. Interestingly, I noted that no matter how hard I tried to be unobtrusive when using the camera, the students and their teachers were very much aware of my presence, as some of the photographs reveal.

Context/Settings:

Throughout this research process, my own personal meaning-making has been expanded and enriched by first observing and reflecting upon the global setting in which ideas and events occur and in which people live and work. From this global perspective, I have been better able to choose appropriate settings within which to examine my research questions. Settings have been numerous and varied: research centers (e. g., data bases, libraries,

internet), board of education facilities, the media center at school, a media center ante-room, classrooms, private homes, and places of business). Within each, subtleties and nuances have been observed, compared and contrasted, analyzed, and recorded.

Sample/Sampling:

As Denzin and Lincoln (1998a) have advised, the theme of the research, not necessarily concerns for generalizability or the creation of theory, should serve to focus sampling. My examination of the label "gifted" and how it has shaped the personal meaning-making of those involved in this research (including myself) is just that--a personal narrative. Hence, it seems that the idea of generalizability, or external validity, is a moot point. For example, a magnet girl's story or that of the SEARCH teacher might not necessarily reflect the stories of the general population, and vice-versa. Therefore, my respondents and the documents/information (e. g., permanent records, attendance and socio-economic data) pertaining to them were selected and examined purposefully (Seidman, 1998) according to the following six criteria. Further, the idea of a "funnel" applies here also. The first two criteria (i. e., grade level and cross-sectional view of fourth-grade) are panoramic and serve as conduits to the last four (i. e., placement strata, sex, race, socioeconomic status) which are more specific. All six criteria are presented in the following narrative. The last four are also presented in chart form (see Table 1). From broad beginnings--which narrow with each tier--seven student respondents emerge.

1. As I have discussed, participant observation implies a continuum from complete observer to complete participant. Position along the continuum is dynamic rather than static. This means that my function as the researcher shifts as the research process develops. Therefore, my initial position along this continuum was at mid-point, or that of participant/observer. Here, I am afforded

greater opportunities for movement in either direction as the setting changes. Fourth graders--and also their peers, parents, teachers, and administrators--best reflect this position. I have worked closely with most of these students as their teacher yet they are also removed by one academic year. Interviewing my current third grade students would place me to the far left as complete participant. Interviewing adolescent fifth graders, some of whom I taught over two years ago, and younger students I have not yet taught would place me near the far right as complete observer. Both positions (complete participation, complete observation) would stifle my understanding of context.

2. Initially, questionnaires for parents, teachers, and administrators were designed and printed. Upon reflection, however, I decided to discard these. I felt they were intrusive, tedious, and most of the information unnecessary for my purposes. Instead, official printed matter (school board publications, etc.); internal documents ("in house" correspondence, classroom files, etc.); external records (brochures for public consumption); student records (permanent records, attendance and socio-economic data, etc.); historical information (primary and secondary); electronic media and software; newspapers; portfolios; calendars; photographs; and personal documents (letters, etc.) were examined. Also, numerous photographs of fourth grade classrooms were taken using a digital camera (see Appendixes J, K, and L). Six of these were chosen for the "photo exercise" part of the interviews (see Appendix H). Through these activities, I hoped, first of all, to "get a feel for"--or a global perspective on--the culture of fourth grade and in so doing determine the "best" possible mix of fourth grade students. In other words, I looked for (1) clues indicating possible connections with the topic; (2) a racial, gender, socioeconomic status (SES) balance; (3) those recently labeled "gifted"; (4) those long term labeled "gifted"; and (5) classroom climate. Further, in case of a "tie" between respondents on the last

tier, this background information would also help me select the respondent who better reinforces my cross-sectional view of fourth grade.

3. In order to present a holistic look at the notion of the label "gifted," yet keep the data manageable, it seems necessary to integrate or "weave together" commonalities and then synthesize all pertinent "ingredients" within the context. Selection of criteria is an example of this process. With this in mind, four additional criteria have emerged as relevant for this study. In descending order of significance are: placement strata, sex, race, and socioeconomic status.

There are three general placement strata at Fagan: residential, magnet, and SEARCH (Students Exploring and Reasoning for Creative Horizons). Our students, including the fourth graders, are "sorted" into one or more of these categories. The residential children are the neighborhood children (those who live in the district for Fagan). The magnet and SEARCH children are "imported" from all over the county. Entrance into the residential program is determined by residence. Entrance into the magnet program is determined primarily by tests of cognitive abilities. Entrance into the SEARCH program is determined primarily by tests of cognitive and creative abilities. Additional considerations for entrance into the magnet and/or SEARCH programs are teacher observation, behavior, and motivation. Residential status is more or less static, or fixed. There is very little movement from residential to magnet and/or SEARCH status or from magnet and/or SEARCH status to residential. Magnet/SEARCH status is more dynamic. All SEARCH students are magnet students.

4. In order to avoid placing myself in a reflexive posture regarding external validity (where qualitative researchers often find themselves), I have exercised caution regarding generalizability (Borg & Gall, 1989). I believe the "funnel" design (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992) that I described earlier is the best

response. From the beginning, I have continually modified my research process (also described earlier) while data collection and analysis narrowed and findings emerged. In other words, my job has been to shift my position, data, etc. and to reformulate my hypothesis again and again if necessary until an hypothesis that "fits"--or reflects commonalities within the data and/or context--emerges. Further, in order to avoid "overgeneralization," or the attempt to generalize to males and females, with the exception of the assistant principal, my sample will be limited to females. In this way too, personal meaning-making and contextual spheres for my daughter, for me, and for the women and girls at Fagan will be more clearly defined.

5. With very few exceptions, Fagan students are classified by their parents either Caucasian or African-American. In fourth grade, for example, one magnet girl's father is Iranian, one SEARCH boy is Asian-American, one SEARCH boy's father is Mexican-American. The remaining fourth graders are Caucasian or African-American.

6. Meal status is determined by socioeconomic status. (see Appendix M). Two major factors--family size and total income (weekly, monthly, and/or yearly)--determine whether a child pays the full price for meals (breakfast and/or lunch), a reduced price, or receives them free. Accordingly, fourth grade students pay the full price for meals, a reduced price, or receive meals free of charge.

As the Selection Criteria Chart (see Table 1) reveals, the last tier of student respondents indicates the following: All residential students are African-American. Sixteen receive free or reduced price meals and only five pay the full price for meals. In the magnet program there are five African-American girls. Two receive free or reduced price meals and three pay the full price for meals. There are two Caucasian girls. Both pay the full price for meals. In the SEARCH

program there are four African-American girls. All four receive free or reduced price meals. There are eight Caucasian girls. All pay the full price for meals. Of course, this means that there are two blank spaces on the Residential SES tier (Caucasian meals statuses), one blank space on the magnet SES tier (Caucasian free or reduced price meals status), and two blank spaces on the SEARCH SES tier (African-American full price status and Caucasian free or reduced price meals status).

The following three options were considered: (1) Interview seven girls, one from each group that "shows" on the last tier. Explanations for the blank spaces would be analyzed in Chapter VI. (2) Interview seven girls plus selected "stand-ins" for the blank spaces. This would mean a total of twelve respondents. Explanations for the blank spaces and "stand-ins" would be offered in this chapter/section and in Chapters VI through IX. (3) Simply interview two girls from each strata--one who receives free or reduced price meals and one who pays the full price for meals. If this option was chosen, a decision would have to be made regarding the magnet girls. Would I interview an African-American girl in the magnet program who pays full price for meals or a Caucasian girl in the magnet program who pays full price for meals?

It seems that the first option--interview seven girls, one from each group that "shows" on the last tier--is best. Further, these girls' initials are shown in green on the Selection Criteria Chart (see Table 1) in order to show their "movement" through the selection process.The blank spaces themselves are significant and inserting "stand-ins" or eliminating the spaces altogether may serve to distort or "mask" the findings. In other words, the empty categories limit or "skew" the study. The "skewness" itself brings forth many questions which will be addressed in Chapters VI through IX. For example, is this "skewness"

representative of "gifted" programs throughout the state and country? What might we learn from this?

Emerging from the research design, the perusal of documents, and the construction of a Selection Criteria Chart are twenty-one participants/observers from Fagan: seven fourth grade girls, their parents (six mothers and one legal guardian), their teachers, their principal, and their assistant principal. According to Bogdan and Biklen (1992), this size sample is more conducive to successful data collection and analysis than an extremely small or large group. Researcher intrusiveness would be a problem with a group of two or three respondents. Managing data, scheduling, and interpersonal relationships may be overwhelming--especially for a beginning researcher--with a group of thirty or more respondents.

Lastly, in addition to the respondents chosen for this study, data was also collected from quantitative materials, scholarly texts and journals, field notes, personal journals, photographs, and personal narratives.

Data Collection/Instrumentation:

According to Richardson (1997), "crystallization" implies a prism, a transparent crystal/body/context wherein light/ideas certainly enter as constants or wholes but then they are reflected, refracted, and dispersed. The colors and patterns we see depend upon our perceptions. Likewise, the instruments used in this research, including myself, began as constants yet were changed (and continue to be changed) by the multidimensionalities of the research process. Specifically, I started with a fixed plan for conducting research regarding the notion of "giftedness." Initially, I intended to focus on the idea of the "stigma of elitism." My original hypothesis was that the "gifted" are the only ones adversely affected by elitism. Since that time, there have been so many modifications, so many changing patterns and arrays, that my original plan seems now like a blur.

Table 1

Selection Criteria Chart

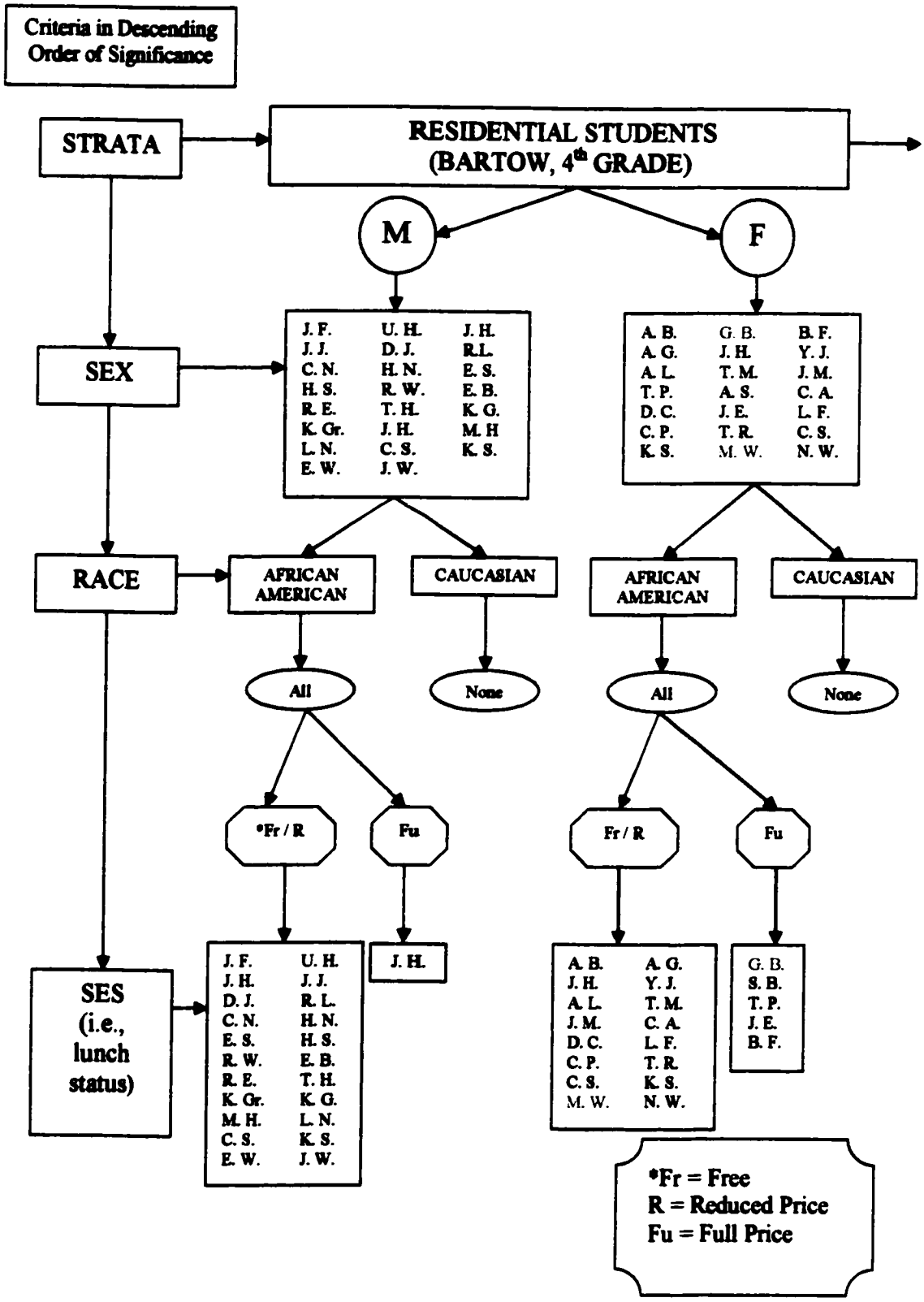
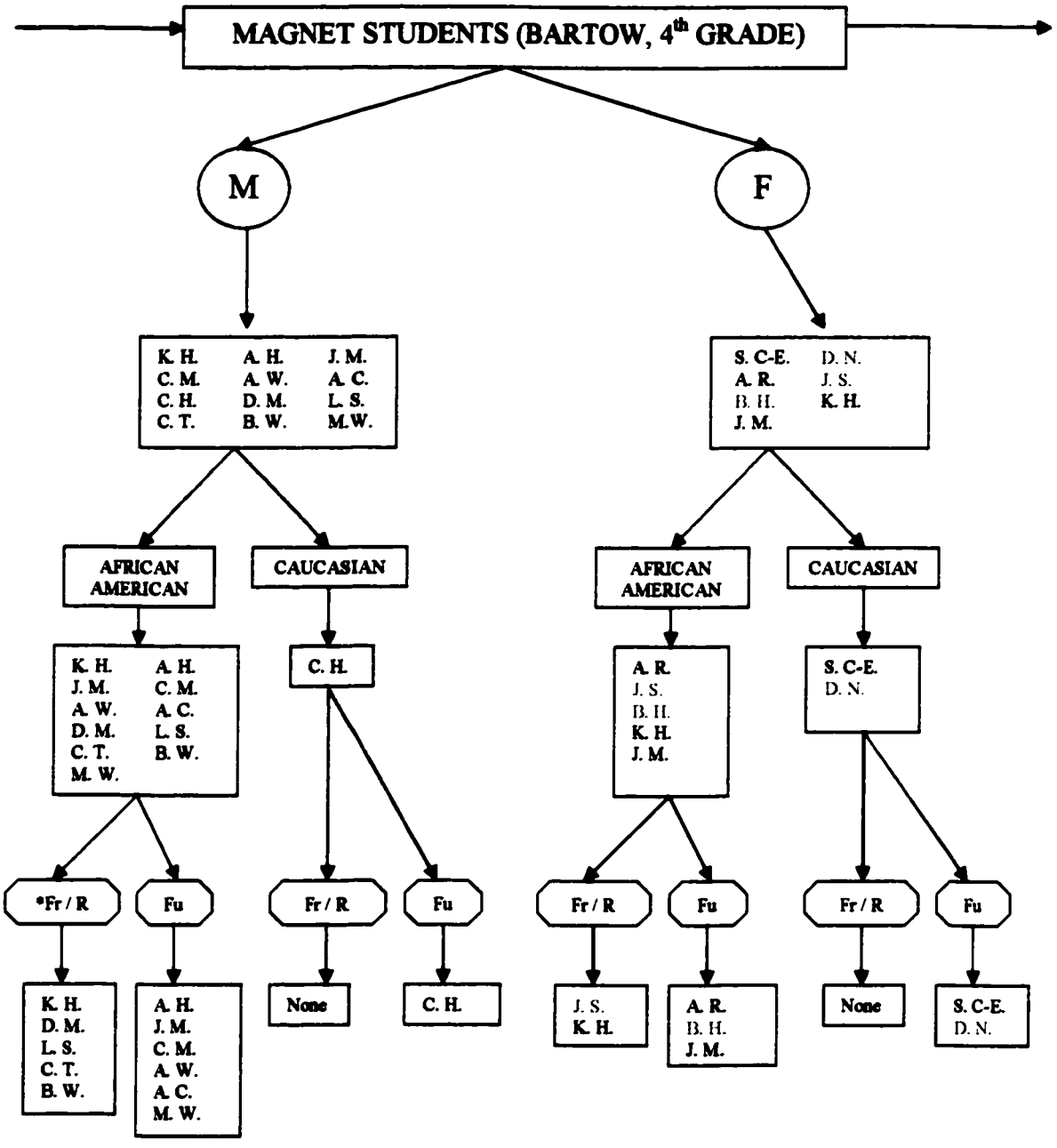
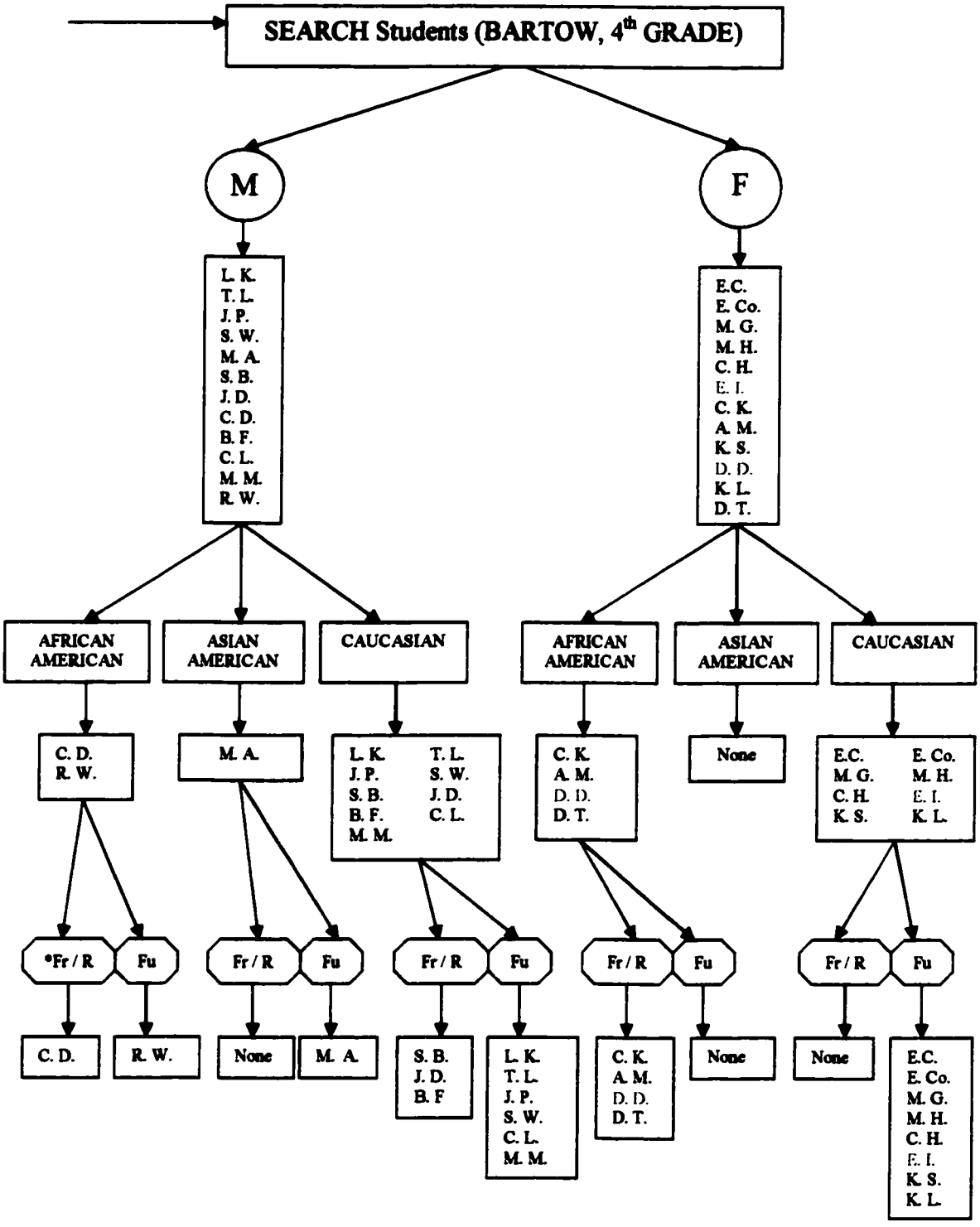


Table 1 (continued)



* SEARCH students are also in the Magnet program but have been removed from this list for criteria selection purposes.

Table 1 (continued)



At this point, my focus is the label "gifted" and my hypothesis is that my students, particularly the girls, have been adversely affected by a pedagogical system which has created and assigned to them the label "gifted." However, I am expecting many more differentiations, refractions, and color transmutations before I put down my pen and turn off the light. I also know that I cannot return to where I began (Richardson, 1997).

Additional instruments utilized in my research were the literature (particularly in the fields of education, education for the "gifted," political science, sociology, and psychology); interview schedules and a tape recorder; personal stories; and a digital camera.

Data Analysis:

Data analysis has been twofold: analysis in the field and analysis after data collection (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Each task and the procedures therein reflect the philosophical and theoretical parameters I have presented. In other words, my work is focused by the following ideas: contextual interactions; historical, social, and political relationships between school and community; personal experience(s); ethical considerations; emancipation; and interactive dialogue. My analysis in the field has involved the following: (1) ongoing decisions that served to narrow the study; (2) narrowing and focusing of questions; (3) planning based on previous findings; (4) writing as many observer's comments (thoughts, feelings, speculations, insights) as possible; (5) reflections (memos) regarding emerging data; (6) information from key informants; (7) perusal and analysis of the literature; (8) use of metaphors, analogies, and concepts which have helped me organize and connect data; and (9) visual devices (e. g., photographs, diagrams, charts, work mats). After data collection, analysis (by hand and computer) has involved three stages: (1) development of coding categories, (2) the sorting of data, and (3) analysis of

emerging themes (Miller & Crabtree, 1998b). Further, as the literature suggests, there needs to be a clear distinction between attitudes toward "gifted" and attitudes toward programs for the "gifted." Therefore, any time these themes emerge, they will be acknowledged as discrete categories.

Three types of analysis have been used to analyze the data in this study: latent/archival, content, and visual (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998c). Each is defined by its own coding procedures. The particular one chosen was determined by the data generated by each research question. Latent/archival analysis may be used to examine historical data with an emphasis on events, individuals who served to shape these events, and trends. Thus, I reviewed and synthesized two broad areas: (1) scholarly literature regarding the history of education nationally, statewide, and locally; and (2) historical documents, records, and personal communication obtained from national, state, and local personnel in the field. Content analysis may be used to analyze scholarly writings and interviews with an emphasis on linguistic structures and perceptions regarding people and objects. Thus, I reviewed and synthesized the following: (1) scholarly literature regarding contemporary/current education for the "gifted," (2) contemporary/current documents and records obtained from national, state, and local personnel in the field, and (3) formal and informal interviews with the participants in this study. My purpose was to identify regularly occurring verbal expressions, and personal perspectives regarding people and objects emerging from the literature, documents, records, and interviews. Visual analysis may be used to analyze photographs and other visual materials with an emphasis on people and objects within a particular setting. Thus, many pictures of the school setting and the individuals therein were taken and studied as a holistic and discrete source of data. As I have mentioned, six of these were selected as a part of the formal interview process. My purpose here was to identify commonalities,

differences, and emerging themes in the pictures themselves and in the conversations about them.

My research questions and the analysis technique I used for each one are as follows: (1) How did the label "gifted" evolve? (latent/archival analysis and content analysis); (2) Why does the label "gifted" exist? (latent/archival analysis, content analysis, visual analysis); (3) Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? (latent/archival analysis, content analysis, visual analysis); (4) What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e. fourth-grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators? (latent/archival analysis, content analysis, visual analysis).

How did the label "gifted" evolve? (Historical)

In order to examine this research question, it has been necessary for me to assume the role of researcher and researcher-as-detective (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998b). The researcher in me spent considerable time in various libraries, media centers, and on my computer perusing the literature regarding national education for the "gifted." Because of the abundance of pertinent scholarly texts, journals, quantitative data, etc., in this particular area, I was able to develop--without much difficulty--a concise yet comprehensive overview of the history of education for the gifted since it began in this country in the late nineteenth century. Informal interviews via telephone and a small number of personal communiques via electronic mail and the postal service filled in the few remaining gaps.

My role switched from researcher to researcher-as-detective when I began gathering information regarding the state history of education for the "gifted."

Some whole bodies of writing regarding state education for the "gifted" in general did appear [e. g., work by Torrance (1966) and Frasier (1996) at the University of Georgia, Georgia Department of Education records, documents I just happened to have in my possession]. However, as I discussed earlier, with the exception of Eulouise Williams' (2000) dissertation work, no other formal writings regarding the history of education for the "gifted" in the state of Georgia are in evidence. Consequently, a large portion of my findings--some in bits and pieces--emerged via informal interviews and electronic mail. For example, Steve Gabrielson in the technology division at the State Department of Education in Atlanta explained statistical analyses of "gifted" populations throughout the state. He followed up our telephone conversation on 7/15/00 with packets of printed information (e. g., *Georgia Public Education Report Card for Chatham County Schools*) and other pertinent materials. On 6/14/01, Carolyn Cooper, Maryland's State Gifted and Talented Education Specialist, shared information with me from the *2000-2001 State of the States Gifted and Talented Education Report*, a national survey regarding each state's current "gifted and talented" education practices (including expenditures). She is also the current chairperson for this project. She and her staff were in the process of preparing this report for publication when we spoke so she was unable to mail a copy to me at that time. Instead, she spent an hour on the telephone with me summarizing its data. She also mailed to me a copy of the 1998-1999 report. Attached was a personal note stating that she would send the latest one as soon as it is published. I also corresponded via electronic mail with Sally Krisel, Georgia's State Gifted Education Specialist, on 7/7/00, 7/10/00, 7/11/00, 7/13/00, 7/14/00, 8/9/00, 8/14/00, 2/10/01, 2/12/01, 6/13/01, and 6/18/01. She has been most helpful defining terms, answering questions, and helping me with statistical analyses regarding "gifted" children throughout the state. She has suggested sources for

research and offered names of other individuals to contact (e. g., Eulouise Williams). Also, electronic correspondence on 8/7/00 and 8/8/00 with Elaine Bolton, immediate past president of the Georgia Association for Gifted Children, revealed additional contacts and suggestions for research.

My detective work intensified when I turned my attention to Savannah/Chatham County. Once again, I was able to locate some whole bodies of writing regarding education for the "gifted" in general (e. g., curricula for the "gifted," methodological booklets, statistical materials). However, no formal history of education for the "gifted" was in evidence. Further, the county archives, housed for some time at the Board of Education building, had been moved and the contents distributed to other sites and apparently lost or destroyed. My search through storage files at Massie Heritage Center and my contact with Kenneth Davis, in charge of records management for the system, also yielded nothing. Consequently, most of my data emerged from informal interviews (lasting from a few minutes to several hours) and documents shared by individuals. Sally Page, Chatham County Coordinator of Programs for the Gifted, has spent many hours with me in her office and on the telephone. Additionally, she has given me access to her storage files. On two occasions--once when she was housed in a middle school and again after her relocation to the Board of Education building downtown--I spent the day sifting and sorting through filing cabinets, cartons, and folders. From these "diggings" pertinent historic information (e. g., old brochures, booklets, pamphlets, reports, letters, memos) emerged.

Numerous other key individuals have been informally interviewed: Alfred Chassereau, Chatham County Coordinator of Programs for the Gifted before Sally Page, shared personal documents and spent hours with me detailing the time line of events regarding the development of education for the "gifted" in

Chatham County. Bernard Hirschberg, teacher of the "gifted" in the 1950s and 1960s, explained his involvement with early programs for the "gifted" at Savannah High School. Anita Marvin, English teacher in the 1940s and 1950s, described for me at length her experiences at Savannah High School. She also offered clarifying details regarding an early survey I had found. Debra Andrews, Board of Education secretary, sent to me statistical data and information regarding the superintendency. Fay Carroll, Nancy Herrington, and Sherwood MacDonald--all former teachers of the "gifted," now retired--described their involvement with programs for the "gifted." Ray Kitchens, first coordinator of Chatham County Gifted Education, and I spent an afternoon at her house where she shared memories, materials, and her homemade "friendship bread" with me.

How did the label "gifted" evolve? In sum, to answer this question the following methodologies were used: techniques (mute evidence and informal interviews); context (research centers, board of education facilities, homes, offices); sample (scholarly texts, journals, documents, records, statistical data, respondents, field notes); instrumentation (literature, researcher, telephone, electronic mail); analysis (latent/archival, content). Printed materials were examined for themes regarding central events, participants in these events, and trends. Field notes were examined for emerging themes, speech patterns, and unique and/or common perceptions. According to Williams (2000), historical analysis also means a merger between narrative and analysis. The analysis is the narrative and vice-versa. Both are completed simultaneously. This certainly held true for me. Throughout the research process and my "detective work," certain themes continued to surface from the data. My task at the end simply meant a written description of these findings. Lastly, emerging global themes for this research question were compared and contrasted with emerging global themes for the other three.

Why does the label "gifted" exist? (Political)

In order to examine this research question, I collected data in the following manners: First, analysis of mute evidence proceeded as follows: (1) Scholarly texts and journals, documents, and records were reviewed. The purpose here was to examine the label "gifted" from a political perspective. Why does it exist? What is its worth? (2) After the literature was reviewed, emergent themes were coded then described in writing.

Second, in addition to my participation in this study and with the respondents involved, I spent much time observing the setting(s) and the individuals therein. Further, I have described and then reflected upon these observations in my field notes and in a journal. My writings were then perused for emerging political themes (e.g., power struggles, competition between groups for funding, the positions of children within this context). Themes were coded and noted.

Third, my observation work also included visual analysis of the collection of photographs (not including the six used during the formal interview process) and has proceeded as follows: (1) An identification code ("r" for residential, "m" for magnet, or "s" for SEARCH)) was written on the back of each photograph. (2) Photographs were grouped accordingly. (3) Each picture/setting was examined with particular attention to emerging political themes. (4) Themes for each one were coded then plotted on a work mat (see Table 2). (5) After each photo had been plotted on the work mat then likenesses and differences across settings were coded then noted. (6) Miscellaneous observations were labeled accordingly.

Why does the label "gifted" exist? In sum, to answer this question the following methodologies were used: techniques (mute evidence, observation, visuals); context (research centers, board of education facilities, school setting);

sample (scholarly texts, documents, records, statistical data, journals, field notes, photographs); instrumentation (literature, researcher, digital camera, computer); analysis (latent/archival, content, visual). Lastly, findings from mute evidence, observations, and visuals were compared and contrasted. Emerging global themes for this research question were compared and contrasted with emerging global themes for the other three.

Table 2

Why does the label "gifted" exist? (Analysis of Photographs)

	Emerging political themes
Residential	
Photograph 1	
Photograph 2	
Photograph 3	
Photograph 4	
Magnet	
Photograph 1	
Photograph 2	
Photograph 3	
Photograph 4	

Table 2 (continued)

SEARCH

Photograph 1

Photograph 2

Photograph 3

Photograph 4

Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? (Sociological)

In order to examine this research question, I collected data in the following manners: First, analysis of mute evidence proceeded as follows: (1) Scholarly texts and journals, documents, and records were reviewed. The purpose here was to examine the label "gifted" from a social perspective. Who benefits from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? Who does not? (2) After the literature was reviewed, emergent themes were coded then described in writing.

Second, in addition to my participation in this study and with the respondents involved, I spent much time observing the setting(s) and the individuals therein. Further, I have described and then reflected upon these observations in my field notes and in a journal. My writings were then perused for emerging social themes (e.g., grouping practices, interpersonal interactions). Themes were coded then noted.

Third, my observation work also included visual analysis of the collection of photographs (not including the six used during the formal interview process) and has proceeded as follows: (1) An identification code ("r" for residential, "m" for magnet, or "s" for SEARCH) was written on the back of each photograph.

(2) Photographs were grouped accordingly. (3) Each picture/setting was examined with particular attention to emerging social themes. (4) Themes for each one were coded then plotted on a work mat (see Table 3). (5) After each photo had been plotted on a work mat then likenesses and differences across settings were coded then noted. (6) Miscellaneous observations were labeled accordingly.

Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? In sum, to answer this question the following methodologies were used: techniques (mute evidence, observation, visuals); context (research centers, board of education facilities, school setting); sample (scholarly texts, journals, documents, records, statistical data, field notes, photographs); instrumentation (literature, researcher, digital camera, computer); analysis (latent/archival, content, visual). Lastly, findings from mute evidence, observations, and visuals were compared and contrasted. Emerging global themes for this research question were compared and contrasted with emerging global themes for the other three.

Table 3

Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? (Analysis of Photographs)

	Emerging social themes
Residential	
Photograph 1	
Photograph 2	
Photograph 3	
Photograph 4	

Table 3 (continued)

Magnet

Photograph 1

Photograph 2

Photograph 3

Photograph 4

SEARCH

Photograph 1

Photograph 2

Photograph 3

Photograph 4

What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators? (Phenomenological)

> What would happen if one woman told the truth about her life?
> The world would split open
> (Muriel Rukeyser, in Levi, ed.,1994, p. 217]

In order to examine this research question, data collection was three-dimensional. First, analysis of mute evidence proceeded as follows: (1) Scholarly texts and journals, documents, and records were reviewed. The purpose here was to examine the label "gifted" from the personal perspectives of individuals other than the respondents in this study. How do others make

meaning of the label "gifted"? Several groups were considered: children labeled "gifted," preadolescent and adolescent girls labeled "gifted," African-American children labeled "gifted," African-American girls labeled "gifted," peers of children labeled "gifted," parents of children labeled "gifted" and "non-gifted," and teachers/administrators of children labeled "gifted." As I have discussed, the literature presents a continuum regarding research in this area. At one end, there is a profusion of information regarding children labeled "gifted." In decreasing volume are studies regarding peers of the "gifted," "gifted" girls, parents, teachers/administrators, and African-American "gifted" children. When we reach the other end, we see that there is virtually no information regarding African-American "gifted" girls (Ford, 1995). (2) After the literature was reviewed for each group, emergent themes were coded then recorded on a work mat (see Table 6). (3) After each group had been plotted on the work mat then likenesses and differences across groups were coded and noted. (4) Miscellaneous responses were labeled accordingly and significant quotes noted.

Table 4

What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted" and their parents, and their teachers/administrators? (Analysis of Mute Evidence)

Groups Considered	Emerging personal themes
1. Children labeled "gifted"	

Table 4 (continued)

2. Preadolescent and adolescent girls labeled "gifted"
3. African-American children labeled "gifted"
4. African-American girls labeled "gifted"
5. Peers
6. Parents
7. Teachers and Administrators

Second, formal interviews were conducted over an eleven week period with the selected fourth-grade girls labeled "gifted," their peers, their parents (i. e., their mothers and one female guardian), their teachers, and two administrators. The following procedure was used:

(1) As I have previously discussed, interview schedules were designed and constructed.

(2) An Informed Consent Letter (see Appendix I) was sent home to parents and in one case the legal guardian of the seven fourth-grade pre-adolescent and adolescent student respondents. All agreed to participate in the study and all gave permission for their daughters to participate.

(3) Interview times were arranged with the respondents. Interviews (all recorded on audio tape) began on April 3, 2000, ended on June 19, 2000, and have lasted from two to twelve hours each. With the exception of Ms. Wade, the fourth grade SEARCH teacher, Ms. Holt, a fourth grade magnet teacher, and Ms. Easton, Marian's legal guardian, all have taken at least two sessions to complete. On several occasions, the girls were excused from class to meet with me during the school day. Most of the adults preferred before and after school hours. Some of the teachers relinquished their planning times, met with me before school, and stayed with me after school until the custodians insisted that we leave. Some of the parents came on their lunch hour and/or took time off from work to meet with me.

(4) Interview sites were arranged with the respondents. The majority of the interviews were conducted at the school, most of the time in a media center anteroom. Others were in the media center itself, the front office, a classroom, a respondent's home, in the back room of a respondent's camera shop, or at my house. The assistant principal preferred his office. Refreshments were provided. Ms. Hale (Brandy's mother), Ms. Smith (Jane's mother), and I talked over lunch. Many of the respondents, particularly the girls and the principal, enjoyed "doodling" as they spoke.

With one exception, all twenty-one respondents have been most cooperative and talkative. It was my feeling that the sessions were therapeutic for some of them. In other words, being able to tell their stories and have someone listen to them in a confidential, warm, accepting atmosphere seemed to be a positive--and perhaps rare--experience, especially for the mothers and for Marian's legal guardian. Further, I often felt guilty for ending the sessions when I did. Many of the respondents--once again particularly the mothers--seemed reluctant to leave. Many continued talking, particularly about personal issues

(e. g., custody battles, family and marital relationships, social and financial struggles, their work) while I packed away audio equipment and other interview materials. Mrs. Smith, Jane's mom, remarked as she was leaving one day that she had enjoyed the "whole experience."

(5) It is also important to note that all of the ways the participants in this study interacted with the setting, with people and events in the setting, and all of the ways they reacted to questions about the label "gifted" told me as much--if not more--than the verbal response(s) on tape. For example, I penned in the margins of the interview schedules varying mannerisms (i. e., tapping on the table, patterns of hand movements); the principal's quiet tears when describing a note from a parent; facial expressions, such as the look of scorn on a residential girl's face when a magnet girl entered the room to deliver a note to me and then the look of fear when the assistant-principal walked in; and "body language" (i. e., the nervous shifting of position and profuse perspiration from one mother while we were working, and the crossed arms and finger-wagging from another mother when she discussed why her daughter was not in SEARCH).

(6) Upon completion of the interview process, thank-you notes were sent to the adults, pizza coupons were given to the girls, and the teachers who participated in the study were invited to dinner.

(7) Then transcription work began. It must be said that this has been a long and grueling--but extremely interesting--process. The audio tapes and preformatted blank discs were turned over to transcribers, each one assigned one particular group of respondents (girls, parents, teachers, or administrators). Transcribing machines were furnished when necessary. Word processing procedures were discussed with each one and fees determined in advance. Also, I made sure that each one knew that this was a time consuming task. Within this past year, nine transcription workers have quit. One moved to New York and

two became ill. The others stated that the process was indeed too lengthy. Kim Brown, the Curriculum, Foundations, and Research Department secretary at Georgia Southern University, has been a tremendous help to me. On at least two occasions, she has agreed to assume and finish incomplete work. Lastly, unfortunately, one child's tapes were almost completely erased, reason unknown.

Once the transcription work was completed, presentation and analysis of the data from the structured interviews began. In order to make this task more manageable, it was necessary to "funnel" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p. 62)--or "winnow" (McCracken, 1998, p. 52; Seidman, 1998, p. 100)--the data as follows: (1) Transcriptions were scanned on the computer, reviewed, and checked for errors. Hard copies were printed. These initial activities were also extremely lengthy as completed transcripts were typed in a small font and have averaged twenty to sixty single-spaced pages each. (2) Each transcription was divided into ten categories/sections--the parameters of which were defined by the design of the interview schedules. Each category/section was given a title: preliminaries, "grand tour," specific levels of involvement, probe and check for two and three, compare and contrast, personal meaning of "giftedness," benefits and drawbacks of being labeled "gifted" or "non-gifted," effect of the label "gifted" or "non-gifted," personal acceptance of "giftedness" or "non-giftedness," or photo exercise. (3) Each transcription was re-read and significant remarks/observations regarding each category were highlighted. (4) Significant remarks/observations emerging from each category within each individual transcription were summarized and described in dialogic/narrative form (see Chapters VI, VII, VIII). An identification code (category number, category title, and the pseudonym chosen for each respondent) was written at the beginning of each category in the margins of the summary. Large wall charts/work mats were

constructed (see Table 5). Each category was listed in order down the left side. Individual respondents were listed from left to right across the top. Summarized remarks/observations for each category were then cut apart and placed side by side on the large wall charts/work mats. As the literature suggests, there needs to be a clear distinction between attitudes toward the "gifted" and attitudes toward programs for the "gifted," so each participant's responses were subdivided when possible/appropriate into these two categories. Emerging themes, speech patterns, and perceptions for each category were noted. (5) Significant remarks/observations emerging from each category for each group of respondents were then summarized and described in dialogic/narrative form (see Chapters VI, VII, VIII). An identification code (category number, category title, and the name of each group) was written at the beginning of each category in the margins of the summary. A smaller chart/work mat was constructed (see Table 5). Each category was listed in order down the left side. Each group of respondents was listed from left to right across the top. Summarized remarks/observations for each category were then cut apart and placed side by side on the smaller wall chart/work mat. As the literature suggests, there needs to be a clear distinction between attitudes toward the"gifted" and attitudes toward programs for the "gifted," so each group was subdivided when possible/appropriate into these two categories. Emerging themes, speech patterns, and perceptions for each category were noted. (6) As Seidman (1998) suggests, after each group has been plotted on the smaller chart/work mat, then likenesses and differences across groups were coded and then summarized and described in dialogic/narrative form (see Chapters VI, VII, VIII). (7) Lastly, miscellaneous responses were labeled accordingly and significant quotes noted.

Table 5

What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls), their peers, their parents (i. e., their mothers, female guardians), and their teachers/administrators? (Analysis of Structured Interviews)

	Emerging Themes					
	Residential		Magnet		SEARCH	
	P*	G*	P	G	P	G
Questions						
1. Preliminaries						
2. "Grand Tour"						
3. Specific levels of involvement						
4. Probe and check for questions 2 and 3						
5. Compare and contrast						
6. Personal meaning of "giftedness"						
7. Benefits and drawbacks of being labeled "gifted" or "non-gifted"						
8. Effect of the label "gifted" or "non-gifted"						
9. Personal acceptance of "giftedness" or "non-giftedness"						

Table 5 (continued)

10. Photo Exercise

*P=Attitudes toward programs for "Gifted"

*G=Attitudes toward "Gifted"

What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls), their peers, their parents (i. e., their mothers, female guardians), and their teachers/administrators? (Analysis of Structured Interviews)

	Emerging Themes					
	Parents		Teachers		Administrators	
	P*	G*	P	G	P	G
Questions						
1. Preliminaries						
2. "Grand Tour"						
3. Specific levels of involvement						
4. Probe and check for questions 2 and 3						
5. Compare and contrast						
6. Personal meaning of "giftedness"						
7. Benefits and drawbacks of being "gifted" or "non-gifted"						

Table 5 (continued)

8. Effect of the label "gifted" or "non-gifted"
9. Personal acceptance of "giftedness" or "non-giftedness"
10. Photo Exercise

*P=Attitudes toward programs for "Gifted"

*G=Attitudes toward "Gifted"

Third, visual analysis of the collection of photographs (not including the six used during the formal interview process) has proceeded as follows: (1) An identification code ("r" for residential, "m" for magnet, or "s" for SEARCH) was written on the back of each photograph. (2) Photographs were grouped accordingly. (3) Each picture/setting was examined with particular attention to individual expressions/emotions and body postures. (4) Inventories were taken of objects and people within this "moment in time" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). (5) Emerging themes for each one were coded then plotted on a work mat. (see Table 6). (6) After each photo had been plotted on the work mat then likenesses and differences across settings were coded then noted. (7) Miscellaneous observations were labeled accordingly.

Table 6

What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls), their peers, their parents (i. e., their mothers, female guardians), and their teachers/administrators? (Analysis of Photographs)

	Emerging personal themes
Residential	
Photograph 1	
Photograph 2	
Photograph 3	
Photograph 4	
Magnet	
Photograph 1	
Photograph 2	
Photograph 3	
Photograph 4	
SEARCH	
Photograph 1	
Photograph 2	

Table 6 (continued)

Photograph 3

Photograph 4

What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth grade girls) and their parents, their peers (fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators? In sum, to answer this question the following methodologies were used: techniques (mute evidence, formal interviews, visuals); context (research centers, school facilities, homes, offices); sample (scholarly texts, journals, documents, records, statistical data, respondents, field notes, photographs); instrumentation (literature, interview schedules, digital camera, computer); analysis (latent/archival, content, visual). Printed materials and interviews were examined for themes regarding central events, participants in these events, and trends. Field notes were examined for emerging themes, speech patterns, and unique and/or common perceptions. Photographs were examined by the respondents as part of the interview process. Lastly, findings from mute evidence, formal interviews, and visuals were compared and contrasted. Emerging global themes for this research question were compared and contrasted with emerging global themes for the other three.

Summary and Conclusion

How did the label "gifted" evolve? Why does the label "gifted" exist? Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth grade girls) and their parents, their peers

(i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators? In this chapter, I have presented research methodologies which, I believe, best answer these questions. An observational case study design, the procedures used to implement this design, and the rationale for each were described. Also, in text and chart format, I have described each research question and its relationship to the following five methodologies: techniques, context or setting(s), sample, instrumentation, and data analysis.

Denzin and Lincoln (1998a) compare qualitative research to a *bricolage*, "a complex, dense, reflexive, collagelike creation that represents the researcher's images, understandings, and interpretations of the world or phenomenon under analysis" (p. 4). The methodologies I have chosen (or better perhaps, the methodologies forged by my questions and concerns) will indeed reflect this tension. Thus, they will serve as a conduit through which a liberatory text may emerge so that we may also, as the Pythagoreans believed, "hear the music of the spheres."

METHODOLOGY (Chart)

QUESTIONS/ISSUES	TECHNIQUES	CONTEXT
How did the label "gifted" evolve? (historical)	1. mute evidence 2. interviews (informal)	1. research centers 2. board of education facilities, homes, offices
Why does the label "gifted" exist? (political)	1 mute evidence 2. observation 3. visuals	1. research centers 2. board of education facilities, homes, offices 3. school setting
Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted" (sociological)	1. mute evidence 2. observation 3. visuals	1. research centers 2. board of education facilities, homes, offices 3. school setting
What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i.e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i.e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their teachers/administrators? (phenomenological)	1. mute evidence 2. interview (formal) 3. visuals	1. research centers 2. board of education facilities, homes, offices 3. school setting



	SAMPLE	INSTRUMENTS	ANALYSIS
es	1. scholarly texts, journals, documents, records, statistical data 2. respondents, field notes	1. literature 2. researcher, telephone, electronic mail	1. latent/archival analysis 2. content analysis
es	1. scholarly texts, journals, documents, records, statistical data 2. journal, field notes 3. photographs	1. literature 2. researcher 3. digital camera	1. latent/archival analysis 2. content analysis 3. visual analysis
is	1. scholarly texts, journals, documents, records, statistical data 2. journal, field notes 3. photographs	1. literature 2. researcher 3. digital camera	1. latent/archival analysis 2. content analysis 3. visual analysis
s	1. scholarly texts, journals, documents, records, statistical data 2. respondents, field notes 3. photographs	1. literature 2. interview schedules 3. digital camera, computer	1. latent/archival analysis 2. content analysis 3. visual analysis

Chapter V

Data Presentation: Historical, Political, Sociological Contexts



H. Malinda McCall

graphite

"Antony Scibelli (re: Messerschmidt article)"

Norman

First is silence thick as wool
Second is a siren
Third is a false rainfall between brick walls
Fourth is a door opening...slamming
Fifth is sweaty feet sticking to oak-planked halls
Sixth is a frigid floor, stretching
Seventh is leaves torn from trees tossed at windows, tapping
Eighth is a television murmuring "home of the brave"
Ninth is a door opening...shutting
Tenth is heels hitting the hall like drumbeats
Ninth is a wind-whipped window rattling
Eighth is a long low car slowing
Seventh is a dog, alert
Sixth is a shot
Fifth is loud noises stripping paint from walls
Fourth is a door opening...swinging
Third is rain swallowed by iron drain grating
Second is silence
First is a siren

Malinda McCall, age eighteen

In contrast to the discrete and hierarchical thoughts contemplated by Malinda's "Norman," critical inquiry confronts and questions existent human structures while focusing on justice, equity, "democracy, and the simple yet enduring morality that underlies the Golden Rule" (Sirotnik, 1991, p. 245). It rejects the notion of "value-free" objective philosophy, theory, and research. Rather, it "continues with a process of informed reflection and action guided by explicit, normative considerations" (Sirotnik, 1991, p. 245). With these thoughts in mind, I have explored the following four research questions: How did the label "gifted" evolve? Why does the label "gifted" exist? Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators?

Each question has been examined via the methodological constructs presented in Chapter IV.

In the next four chapters, emerging data pertinent to these research questions will be presented and described as follows: Chapter V (Data Presentation: Historical, Political, Sociological Contexts); Chapter VI (Data Presentation: Individual and Group Perspectives of Fourth-Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted" and Their Mothers); Chapter VII [Data Presentation: Individual and Group Perspectives of Fourth-Grade Girls Not Labeled "Gifted" and Their Parents (i. e., a mother and a female legal guardian)]; Chapter VIII (Data Presentation: Individual and Group Perspectives of Teachers and Administrators of Fourth-Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted" and Fourth-Grade Girls Not Labeled "Gifted"). For each question, and for comparison and contrast purposes, data obtained from the literature review will be briefly summarized. Then data from my own participation/observations (including photographs) will be presented in detail. As Bogdan and Biklen (1992) have suggested, quotations from respondents and excerpts from my field notes and other materials will also be offered in order to substantiate further my hypothesis, observations, and assertions.

In Chapters V through VIII, summarized thematic data from the literature and my own observational data (including photographs) will be presented according to the plan offered in Chapter IV (Methodology). In Chapters VI through VIII, data from the formal interviews with girls labeled "gifted" (magnet girls and SEARCH girls) and their parents, their peers (residential girls) and their parents, and their teachers/administrators will also be presented according to the general plan and, more specifically, the grid/chart format offered in Chapter IV (see Tables 4, 5, 6). Biographical information for each girl and for all other respondents is offered in the Preliminaries section of each interview report.

Biographical information on each girl and on all other respondents is also offered in chart form at the beginning of Chapters VI, VII, and VIII (see Tables 7, 8, 9, 10). In addition to the Preliminaries section, the responses of individual participants to each of the remaining categories of questions ("grand tour," specific levels of involvement, probe and check for questions two and three, compare and contrast, personal meaning of "giftedness," benefits and drawbacks of being labeled "gifted" or "non-gifted," effect of the label "gifted" or "non-gifted," personal acceptance of "giftedness" or "non-giftedness," and photo exercise) will be summarized in narrative, dialogic form. Then each group's perspectives regarding each category of questions will be presented. The occasional redundancy, especially noted in the individual interviews, serves as a validity check--a purposeful part of the interview schedule design.[6]

In response to one of the needs mandated in the literature for more perspectives of those labeled "gifted" and those not labeled "gifted," the portraits (Denny, 1978), voices, and stories of the respondents (via direct quotations) rather than my paraphrastic comments, interpretation, and translation of their comments will drive the text. Further, responses will be separated--when appropriate--into attitudes toward programs for the "gifted" and attitudes toward the "gifted." Lastly, emerging themes from these individual and group responses will also be noted.

How did the label "gifted" evolve? (Historical)

In order to answer this question, data has been collected via the following techniques: mute evidence and informal interviews.

According to Williams (2000), and as discussed in Chapter IV (Methodology), historical analysis also means a merger between narrative and

[6] Refer to Methodology, Chapter IV, and Appendixes D, E, F, and G.

Table 7

Formal Interview Respondents

4th Grade Girls	Placement	Race	SES (i.e., lunch status)	Family Descriptors	Parents	Teachers	Administrators
Didi	magnet	Anglo-American/ Iranian	full price	lives with both parents, one sibling (sister)	Ms. North (mother)	Ms. Holt	Ms. Early (principal), Mr. Clancy (assistant principal)
Jane	magnet	African-American	free/reduced price	lives with mother, one sibling (brother)	Ms. Smith (mother)	Ms. Holt	"
Brandy	magnet	African-American	full price	lives with mother, one sibling (sister)	Ms. Hale (mother)	Ms. Harris	"
Ellen	SEARCH	Anglo-American	full price	lives with both parents, two siblings (sister, brother)	Ms. Ingram (mother)	Ms. Wade	"
Donna	SEARCH	African-American	free/reduced price	lives with both parents, one sibling (sister)	Ms. Downs (mother)	Ms. Wade	"
Gail	residential	African-American	free/reduced price	lives with both parents, no siblings	Ms. Benton (mother)	Ms. Dunn	"
Marian	residential	African-American	free/reduced price	lives with aunt and uncle (legal guardians), cousins, two siblings	Ms. Easton (legal guardian)	Ms. Blake	"

analysis. The analysis is the narrative and vice-versa. Both are presented simultaneously. Hence, throughout my research activities via mute evidence and informal interviews the following themes or commonalities--across national, state, and local venues--continued to emerge from the data: First, there remains manifest a static yet controversial emphasis on cognition. Second, we fail as a nation to recognize and nurture all intelligences equally. Third, certain children are hegemonically assigned the label "gifted." Inherent in the label is its linkage to geneticism, classicism, and IQ testing, for example. This causes others to form stereotypical assumptions about "gifted" children--their beings and personalities--that are not necessarily true (Davis & Rimm, 1994). Fourth, throughout history, "gifted" children have been exploited and marginalized by society in general and by certain individuals. Fifth, the concept of intelligence has always been culturally constructed. Sixth, superb intelligence has been--and continues to be--equated with power and prestige.[7]

In addition to the commonalities across national, state, and local settings I have just named, two other observations need to be mentioned. First, national attention toward the "gifted" and toward programs designed for them began in the early nineteen hundreds. Three primary factors were responsible: the eugenics movement (Pinar et al., 1995), the influx of immigrants (Hildebrand, 1981), and the "flowering" of American capitalism (Kliebard, 1995). However, in the state of Georgia and in Savannah/Chatham County, organized formal attention toward the "gifted" and education for the "gifted" did not begin until mid century. The primary factor in this case was racial integration. Further, according to Williams (2000), at the time, the majority of identified "gifted" were Anglo-Americans. African-Americans were poorly represented and/or underserved in this particular population.

[7] Refer to detailed discussion of these themes in the Literature Review, Chapter III.

Second, since the decade of the fifties, state and local levels (i. e., Georgia and Chatham County) generally have reflected trends on the national level. Consider the following: In 1957, the launching of Sputnik by the Russians sparked renewed interest in "gifted" children and their potential for superb technological leadership (Gallagher, 1986). Two programs were developed especially for them: The National Defense Education Act of 1958 and The National Science Foundation (Kirk & Gallagher, 1979). In Georgia, in 1958, House Resolution 246 which mandated services for the "gifted" was passed and statewide programs for the "gifted" were proposed and approved (Williams, 2000). In Chatham County, during the mid to late fifties, several services for the "gifted" became available: Advanced Placement classes, a formal program for selected seventh-graders, and acceleration and curriculum compaction for all "gifted" middle school students (Chassereau, personal communication, July 13, 2000).

In the 1960s, the Viet Nam war and widespread social unrest resulted in a national attentional shift from the "gifted" to the intellectually and economically challenged and to the culturally deprived (Cullen & Sreberny, 1976). In Georgia, admission into any programs for the "gifted" also emphasized medical and/or psychological backgrounds (Williams, 2000). In Chatham County, there were no "official" programs for the "gifted" and the school superintendent left amid charges of racism (Chassereau, personal communication, July 13, 2000).

In the 1970s and 1980s, national interest in education for the "gifted" resurged. Bechtel (1980) offers the following reasons: emphasis on individualism, humanism, and personal enlightenment following the Viet Nam War; the issuance of PL 91-230, Section 806 (c) which included provisions for the "gifted and talented," and The Marland Report which extended the definition of "giftedness" beyond cognitive constructs to include other intelligences. In

1972, The Office of Gifted Education in the United States Office of Education was established. In 1983, A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform and in 1988, The Jacob K. Javits Gifted and Talented Education Act were published (Pendarvis, et al, 1990). Lastly, with one exception, all major journals in the field of education for the "gifted" began publication within the decades of the 1970s and 1980s. In Georgia, the definition of "giftedness" was also expanded beyond cognitive abilities to include additional factors such as creativity, motivation, and social and emotional maturity (Williams, 2000). Likewise, Chatham County redesigned its placement options. Now, four delivery models were offered: SEARCH Cluster Classes, SEARCH Resource, Interdisciplinary Classes, and Expanded Middle School Experiences (Chassereau, personal communication, July 13, 2000). Further, the programs for the "gifted" were expanded to include all grade levels and all schools.

In 1993, the federal government, via the publication National Excellence: A Case for Developing America's Talents, pressured states to move away from strictly cognition-based entrance criteria into programs for the "gifted" to multiple criteria-based entrance criteria (Bonner, 2000). In 1994, the Georgia House of Representatives passed House Bill 1768 which required that multiple criteria serve as guidelines for admission into state programs for the "gifted." Chatham County followed suit and adopted the multiple criteria admission guidelines which are followed to this day.

Since these beginning-of-the-decade events, however, the prosperous 1990s have brought renewed nationwide attacks upon children labeled "gifted" and the programs designed for them (Berliner & Biddle, 1995; George, 1995; Sapon-Shevin, 1994; Slavin, 1993). In Georgia, multiple criteria admission policies spurred widespread resistance from lawmakers concerned about spending, teachers concerned about equal access, and certain community

members concerned about increased minority participation (Williams, 2000). In Chatham County, funding for programs for the "gifted" has continued to decrease steadily. (Page, personal communication, April 14, 2002).

Why does the label "gifted" exist? (Political)

In order to answer this question, data has been collected via the following techniques: mute evidence, observation, and visuals.

As discussed in Chapter III (Review of the Literature), there exists in our country a polarization of thought between two opposing forces--excellence and equity. Necessary to the existence of this phenomenon is the sorting and labeling of children (i. e., labeling certain children "gifted") within our system of education. According to Apple (1991), our schools--like our social structures at large--are political arenas wherein contentious forces struggle over power, goals, policy, and decision-making. Also within this context are various groups which compete with one another for limited resources and funding. In order to obtain needed funds, we create categories, assign labels to certain individuals, then group them accordingly. Ensnared by these dynamic political forces are children--including those with superb intelligence(s)--who are hegemonically assigned labels of varying worth. "Gifted" girls and "gifted" African-American girls in particular are further stratified by sexism and racism.[8]

My own observations and investigations at Fagan Elementary School reveal the following political context: There exists in our general community and at Fagan Elementary School in particular a continuum upon which three forces are positioned. At one end are forces which struggle for excellence (advocates for the "gifted"). At the other end are forces struggling for equity (advocates for the "non-gifted"). In constant flux along the middle are a few who struggle for a merger between the two extremes. Two ways these struggles are made manifest

[8] Refer to detailed discussion of these themes in the Literature Review, Chapter III.

in our school are by the existent programs and by the amount of funds allotted for these programs. In place at Fagan--and in addition to the basic curricula and various miscellaneous activities funded by grants--are three general categories of special projects: those which purportedly benefit the "gifted" or magnet and/or SEARCH children, those which purportedly benefit the "non-gifted" or residential children, and those which purportedly benefit both of these groups. According to the Adopted Budget, Savannah-Chatham County Public Schools (2000-2001), monies for these projects are disbursed as follows: The special projects in place for the "gifted" are the SEARCH program which currently receives $213,913.00 per year and the magnet program which currently receives $258,001.00 per year. There are three special projects in place for the "non-gifted" or residential children. First, the EIP (Early Intervention Program) initiated by Governor Barnes targets academically "needy" children. The purpose here is to provide a smaller teacher/pupil ratio in kindergarten through grade five. In this way, hopefully, each child will receive more attention and special needs will be more effectively addressed. The kindergarten program currently receives $316,500.00. First through third grades currently receive $309,823.00, and fourth and fifth grades currently receive $205,145.00 for a total of $831,468.00. Second, the Title I program is designed to assist economically deprived children with the most critical educational needs, particularly in the areas of reading and mathematics. Title I receives $198,600.00. Third, the Title I Summer Program receives $11,586.00. There are three special projects in place for the "gifted" and "non-gifted." First, the pre-kindergarten program is designed to stimulate learning readiness and develop social skills in very young children of all abilities. Strong parental interaction is expected. The pre-kindergarten program receives $59,818.00. Second, Reading First is a program for grades kindergarten through three. Its purpose is to provide funding for supplemental classroom materials

and staff development opportunities. Reading First has been allotted $11,524.00. Third, special education services (for the handicapped and for children with speech, learning, behavior, and orthopedic disabilities) are allotted $80,950.00. If we examine the total amount allotted for each of the three areas, we see that children labeled "gifted" (SEARCH and magnet children) receive $471,914.00. Children not labeled "gifted" (residential children) receive $1,041,654.00. Programs for the "gifted" and "non-gifted" receive $152,292.00.

In addition to the six photographs taken for the "photo exercise" part of the formal interviews, many additional photographs were taken of SEARCH, magnet, and residential settings (see Appendixes J, K. and L). If we examine each of these groups closely, several political themes emerge. Regarding the SEARCH pictures, all of the children are labeled "gifted." Hence, over and above the general fund allotted per student, each SEARCH child receives approximately thirty dollars per year for enrichment and curriculum extension activities. The classroom is rather sparsely furnished. Regarding the magnet pictures, all of the children are labeled "gifted." Hence, over and above the general fund allotted per student, each magnet child receives approximately one thousand dollars per year for accelerated and enriched activities. The classrooms are attractive and filled with various learning materials. At least six computers are in evidence. Regarding the residential pictures, all of the children are labeled "non-gifted" or residential. Additionally, according to their teachers, approximately two of the children from each class are labeled speech-disabled. Further, approximately six receive Title I reading and math instruction, and approximately four attend the Title I Summer Program. Hence, over and above the general fund allotted per student and depending on their labels, over half of the students in the residential classes receive additional funding for disabilities, reinforcement and/or remediation. The residential classrooms are attractive

and filled with various learning materials. There are three computers in evidence in each classroom.

Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? (Sociological)

In order to answer this question, data has been collected via the following techniques: mute evidence, observation, and visuals.

As discussed in Chapter III (Review of the Literature), once categories have been constructed, the labels affixed, and limited resources tapped, attention focuses upon the positive and/or negative descriptors (which often become stereotypical) of these various groups, the individuals within them (Robinson, 1990), and the ameliorative/remediation efforts (if deemed necessary) for them by groups of experts. Therefore, also emerging from the politically contentious setting I have just described and further illustrating the excellence/equity dichotomy is the struggle between two such groups of experts--advocates for the "gifted" and egalitarians.[9]

My own observations and investigations at Fagan Elementary School reveal the following sociological context: There exists in our school a clearly defined hierarchical system of stratification for the participants therein. This system is managed--for the most part--by the administration. Students and teachers are sorted then placed into one of three general settings: SEARCH, magnet, residential. It appears that the SEARCH placement is the most desirable or prestigious, followed by the magnet, then residential placements. Further, a parent's status at the school reflects his/her child's status. Those who are placed in the SEARCH setting are considered "highly gifted." Most are Anglo-American. Most of the SEARCH teachers are Anglo-American. Those who are placed in the magnet setting and are not also SEARCH students are considered "gifted." In the

[9] Refer to detailed discussion of these themes in the Literature Review, Chapter III.

magnet settings approximately half are minority students and half are Anglo-American. Likewise, approximately half of the magnet teachers are Anglo-American and half are African-American. When the SEARCH students leave, however, the majority of the remaining students are African-American. Those who are placed in the residential setting are considered "non-gifted." Almost all of these children are African-American. The majority of their teachers are also African-American.

SEARCH teachers use the Chatham County SEARCH Curriculum, authored by advocates of the "gifted" several years ago. This is supplemented by E. D. Hirsch's Core Knowledge, the American Classical League, and special interest topics chosen mostly by the teachers with some student input. According to Ms. Wade (one of the SEARCH teachers), curriculum and methodology are "competition-driven." In other words, the children are involved in Quiz Bowl, Media Festival, Odyssey of the Mind, etc., and much class time is spent preparing for these activities. Additional descriptors offered by Ms. Wade regarding the SEARCH curriculum are as follows: content-based, product-oriented, perfectionistic (idealistic), challenging, and grounded in classicism.

Magnet teachers use the Quality Core Curriculum required by the state for all students. This is supplemented by E. D. Hirsch's Core Knowledge and accelerated and enriched curricula and activities chosen by the teachers and approved by the administration. In my classroom, for example, my children are taught the Quality Core Curriculum at an accelerated pace. However, the majority of the time we are involved in enrichment activities, decided upon by the children. In other words, I use a brain-based approach to learning. This expanded conceptionalization of intelligence, with its emphasis on interconnection, helps my students "blend and connect details into larger wholes that make sense" (Caine, G., Caine, R. N., & Crowell, S., 1994, p. 133). Brain-

compatible pedagogy also means holistic language activities. These include child/parent/teacher-selected reading materials; Book Share on the Authors' Stool; process and creative writing; research (or Discovery) based on the ideas of Renzulli (1977); listening games; drama; and computer interaction. My students compile portfolios, which may contain such items as letters from grandparents, weavings, family pictures, and postcards from friends.

Most importantly, brain-compatible education incorporates the idea of communion (Greene, 1990). Hence, my colleague (Dan Ailes) and I team-teach. We believe that dialogue, not just between teachers but among everyone in the school community, reduces isolationism and "downshifting"--a "psychophysiological response to threat associated with fatigue or perceived helplessness or both" (R. N. Caine & G. Caine, 1997, p. 18). Therefore, we share all planning, teaching, and evaluation. Mind-brain education also means dialogue among students. Hence, our students interact in such activities as Problem of the Day; science projects; graphing; origami; pentominos; tangrams; brain twisters; tessellations; fractals; manipulation of objects; designing and building thematic Giant Bubbles, Metric People, Rain Forests, paper airplanes, stage props and costumes; solving puzzles and analogies--all of which help them sense and verbalize their responses to content.

We are indeed fortunate. We work with administrators who tolerate, even applaud, our brain-compatible "shenanigans"--subdued lighting, background music, a bottle of water on each desk, walking sideways all day on Crab Day, waltzing to Computer Lab, dancing the Highland Fling on the way to lunch while Dan plays his bagpipes, singing and spinning our way through the parts of speech, writing and performing our own plays, wearing silly hats and costumes on Notable Authors Day. We also believe that a brain-compatible curriculum--such as that which we have developed and implemented ourselves-- can be

offered to all children. Our methodology offers a means for bringing this wish to fruition.

Residential teachers use the Quality Core Curriculum required by the state for all students. This is supplemented by E. D. Hirsch's Core Knowledge when--according to the residential teachers--there is time. Most of their day is spent in remediation work and in teaching, reteaching, and reinforcing. I have also observed that residential teachers are fervently dedicated, extremely diligent, and most consider their work a "mission." Residential children spend a lot of time completing work sheets and are involved in rote drill activities.

In addition to the six photographs taken for the "photo exercise" part of the formal interviews, many additional photographs were taken of SEARCH, magnet, and residential settings (see Appendixes J, K, and L). If we examine the groups closely, several sociological themes emerge. Regarding the SEARCH pictures, the groups are smaller in number, most of the children are Anglo-American, and most are involved in drama, chess, construction work, group activities, and computer games and research. Regarding the magnet pictures, the groups are larger in number and approximately half of the students are Anglo-American and the other half are African-American. Some of the students are seated at desks working on various activities by themselves. Others are working in groups and are involved in puzzles or construction activities. Regarding the residential pictures, these groups are also fairly large and all of the children are African-American. A few of the children are in "Time Out" for poor behavior. Others are out of the room for Title One work or speech therapy. In one class, all of the boys were out of the room working with a mentor from a community church. Most of the children are reading or completing worksheets.

Chapter VI

Data Presentation: Personal Perspectives of Fourth-Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted" and Their Mothers

What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents (see Table 8)?

In order to answer this question, data has been collected via the following techniques: mute evidence, formal interviews, and visuals.

Mute Evidence:

Children Labeled "Gifted"

As discussed in Chapter III (Review of the Literature), four distinct themes emerged regarding children labeled "gifted." First, the majority of "gifted" children view their label positively (Colangelo & Kelly, 1983; Colangelo, Kelly, & Schrepfer, 1987; Colangelo & Pfleger, 1978; Davis & Connell, 1985; Feldheusen & Dai, 1997; Field, Harding, Yando, Gonzalez, Lasko, Bendell, & Marks, 1998; Guskin, Zimmerman, Okolo, & Peng, 1986; Hershey & Oliver, 1988; Jenkins-Friedman & Murphy, 1988; Karnes & Wharton, 1988; Ketcham & Snyder, 1977; Kolloff & Moore, 1989; Robison-Awana, Kehle, & Jenson, 1986; Van Tassel-Baska, Willis, & Meyer, 1989). Second, a smaller population of "gifted" children view their label negatively (Cross, Coleman, & Stewart, 1992; Hamilton, 1960; Kaiser & van Aalst, 1982; Olszewski, Kulieke, & Willis, 1987; Powell, 1982; Sanborn, 1979; Schlichter, 1982; Trotter, 1971; Weiss, 1980; Whitmore, 1980; Zaffrann, 1978). Third, other researchers found no significant differences regarding perception of the label "gifted" within pre-test/post-test and control group/experimental group conditions (Bartell & Reynolds, 1986; Cantor, Klein, & Helfat, 1979; Gallagher, Greenman, Karnes, & King, 1960; Kolloff &

Table 8

Formal Interview Respondents

(Girls Labeled "Gifted" and Their Parents, Teachers/Administrators)

4th Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted"	Placement	Race	SES (i.e., lunch status)	Family Descriptors	Parents	Teachers	Administrators
Didi	magnet	Anglo-American/ Iranian	full price	lives with both parents, one sibling (sister)	Ms. North (mother)	Ms. Holt	Ms. Early (principal), Mr. Clancy (assistant principal)
Jane	magnet	African-American	free/reduced price	lives with mother, one sibling (brother)	Ms. Smith (mother)	Ms. Holt	Ms. Early (principal), Mr. Clancy (assistant principal)
Brandy	magnet	African-American	full price	lives with mother, one sibling (sister)	Ms. Hale (mother)	Ms. Harris	Ms. Early (principal), Mr. Clancy (assistant principal)
Ellen	SEARCH	Anglo-American	full price	lives with both parents, one sibling (sister)	Ms. Ingram (mother)	Ms. Wade	Ms. Early (principal), Mr. Clancy (assistant principal)
Donna	SEARCH	African-American	free/reduced price	lives with mother, no siblings	Ms. Downs (mother)	Ms. Wade	Ms. Early (principal), Mr. Clancy (assistant principal)

Feldheusen, 1984; Maddux, Scheiber, & Bass, 1982). Fourth, mixed results were found in numerous other studies (Brody & Benbow, 1986; Brounstein & Holahan, 1987; Clark & Zimmerman, 1984; Coleman & Fults, 1985; Cornell, Delcourt, Goldberg, & Bland, 1992; Feldheusen, Saylor, Nielsen, and Kolloff, 1990; Ford, 1978; Harty, Adkins, & Hungate, 1984; Hoge & Renzulli, 1993; Janos, Fung, & Robinson, 1985; Karnes & Wherry, 1981; Loeb & Jay, 1987; Manaster, Chan, Watt, & Wiehe, 1994; Moulton, Moulton, & Housewright, 1998; Robinson, 1990; Ross & Parker, 1980; Tidwell, 1980; Vaughn, Feldheusen, & Asher, 1991; Worrell, Roth, and Gabelko, 1998). Interestingly, in only one of these studies, the attitudes of girls were considered apart from the attitudes of boys. Feldheusen et al. (1990) found that in grades seven through eight, "gifted" boys exposed to enrichment continued to have more positive self-concepts than "gifted" students not exposed to enrichment but "gifted" girls exposed to enrichment developed more negative attitudes than the "gifted" not exposed to enrichment.

Girls Labeled "Gifted"

In addition to their inclusion in the general research I have just described, "gifted" girls and their perceptions of self are the focus of numerous other pieces of writing--all of which portray them as reactive and victimized by the label they wear (Badolato, 1998; Bell, 1989; Callahan, 1986; Callahan, Cunningham, & Plucker, 1994; Clark, 1992; Coleman, 1985; Cramer, 1989; Davis & Rimm, 1994; Gilligan, 1982; Hollinger & Fleming, 1984, 1992; Hollingworth, 1942; Kerr, 1985; Klein & Zehms, 1996; Lovecky, 1994/1995; Luftig, 1992; McCormick & Wolf, 1993; Pendarvis, et al, 1990; Reis & Callahan, 1989; Reis, Callahan, & Goldsmith, 1994; Robison-Awana, Kehle, & Jenson, 1986; Shaffer, 1986; Silverman, 1991, 1995; Yong & McIntyre, 1991). For example, Callahan et al. (1994) found that preadolescent and adolescent girls labeled "gifted" experienced feelings of self-doubt. They felt an increasing need to conform to

traditional social mores and to hide intellectual abilities. They had unrealistic expectations for the future, were socially manipulative, submerged in their feelings of deference to the feelings of others, and felt the need to overextend themselves.

African-American Children Labeled "Gifted"

Of the plethora of studies regarding children labeled "gifted," only six focused on "gifted" African-American students' perceptions of their label (Cooley, Cornell, & Lee, 1991; Cornell, Delcourt, Goldberg, & Bland, 1992; Fordham, 1988; Tidwell, 1981; Williams & Apenahier, 1987; Yong, 1992). From these six, three main ideas emerge: First, most "gifted" African-American students view their label positively. Second, there are others, however, who view their label negatively. Third, "gifted" African-Americans struggle to find personal meaning within the negative tension which exists between dominant society norms of individualism and competition and black culture norms of loyalty and collectivity.

African-American Girls Labeled "Gifted"

With only one exception, research studies regarding highly intelligent African-American "gifted" girls are nonexistent (Ford, 1995; Grantham & Ford, 1998). The single case study in evidence revealed that "gifted" African-American girls' perceptions of social and psychological variables can undermine their academic achievement (Ford, 1995). Specifically, they are rejected by their peers for their accomplishments and many believe that their teachers do not understand them or their culture.

Parents (i. e., Mothers) of Children Labeled "Gifted"

How do parents of the "gifted" perceive their children's labels? Pertinent studies--most of which consider the family holistically rather than componentially (e. g., attitudes of fathers apart from attitudes of mothers)--reveal that perceptions vary (Anderson, 1987; Ballering & Koch, 1984; Colangelo, 1988; Colangelo &

Brower, 1987; Cornell, 1983, 1984, 1989; Cornell & Grossberg, 1989; Fisher, 1981; Hackney, 1981; Johnson & Lewman, 1990; Keirouz, 1990; Louis & Lewis, 1992; Marion, 1980; Mills & Berry, 1979; Peterson, 1977; Robinson, 1989; Scott, Perou, Urbano, Hogan, & Gold, 1992). Further, three perceptual themes are in evidence. First, within families, parents hold positive and negative attitudes toward "giftedness" (Ballering & Koch, 1984; Colangelo, 1988; Colangelo & Brower, 1987; Cornell, 1984, 1989; Cornell & Grossberg, 1989; Fisher, 1981; Keirouz, 1990; Louis & Lewis, 1992; Mills & Berry, 1979). Second, some parents view the label "gifted" negatively (Hackney, 1981; Marion, 1980; Peterson, 1977; Scott, Perou, Urbano, Hogan, & Gold, 1992; Sunderlin, 1981). Third, many parents' perceptions of the label "gifted" are gender-stereotypical (Bell, 1989; Clark, 1992; Johnson & Lewman, 1990; Kirschenbaum, 1980).[10]

Formal Interviews:

Individual Perspectives of Fourth-Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted"

(i. e., Magnet Girls)

Didi:

Preliminaries: Interviews with Didi were conducted at school in a media center ante-room. Didi is nine years old and has been enrolled in the magnet program at Fagan since she was in kindergarten. She and an older sister (who is in a fifth-grade magnet class at Fagan) commute back and forth on a school bus everyday. Didi's father is Iranian. Her mother is Anglo-American. Didi's teachers report that she is a conscientious student. She is well-behaved and at times extremely reserved in class. She was an eager--and oftentimes witty-- respondent who seemed quite willing to express her opinions. Didi enjoyed doodling as we spoke.

[10] Refer to detailed discussion of themes regarding children labeled "gifted," girls labeled "gifted," African-American children labeled "gifted," African-American girls labeled "gifted," and parents of children labeled "gifted" in the Literature Review, Chapter III.

"Grand Tour": Didi began by describing her dislikes: "School is boring....Near the beginning of the book you can't really understand anything so I thought that was boring" (p. 1). Also, "study questions are boring" (p. 1). In music [when the teacher] "was just telling us...to use our softer voices and our high voices and outside voices and blah, blah, blah, and um it was like really boring" (p. 2). In Math Olympiad "we just work out these math problems which is extremely boring" (p. 7). Further, she doesn't like tests or computer lab. "In science lab I have to participate with people I don't actually like [who are] annoying" (p. 9) and in the lunchroom "we have to sit in a certain pattern, boy-girl-boy-girl, which I absolutely hate" (p. 5). Lastly, "yesterday, which was a real tragedy, there were ants in my seat [on the bus] and I had to share a seat with my sister" (p. 4).

Conversely, Didi said that she enjoyed reading ("my favorite subject," p. 3). She liked making board games and puzzles ("really fun," p. 1). "Greece was kinda fun because we got to draw chariots and horses and we got to do these pictures on these kinds of pots" (p. 4). The spring music performance "was really, really, really, really, really fun and I liked the song, 'Be a Lady,' because it only required girls" (p. 2).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding Didi's level of involvement with the school elicited the following responses:

> We work, we read....We just about finished studying animals in Science. In Health I think we're still doing the body....We do all kinds of things in Art....[In Music] we learned dances [and] sing, learn songs....In PE we run,... play ball,...and play with parachutes sometimes. (pp. 1-2)

Regarding Computer Lab, she said that she does "just reading and math....If I have to go to the bathroom I ask if I can go" (p. 3). In Spanish "we do Greek and

this week we were just back to Spanish" (p. 4). On the bus "we try to act as rowdy as we want...and we play games...and sometimes I do my homework" (pp. 4-5). At lunch "if we are good then we could sit wherever we wanted in the lunchroom....We stand in the lunch line for a really long time" (pp. 5-6). At recess "we play games,...we play ball, we race with friends....Sometimes I just walk around...and eat honeysuckles" (p. 6). In the afternoons "I used to go to Science Club and Math Olympiad....I don't go anymore" (p. 7). In Science Club "we did these little science sheets and stuff...and sometimes we built things but I can't remember what they were" (p. 7). In Math Olympiad "we just work out these math problems...and watch [the teacher's daughter] do her homework" (p. 7).

Specific questions regarding Didi's level of involvement with others elicited the following responses, all referring only to girls:

> Some of them quit Math Olympiad like I did....They like working with me and I like working with them....They are not like me because they are in fifth grade...and I like science more than they do because science is fun and I like doing all the experiments....I have different friends. (pp. 8-9)

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: When probed regarding settings and behaviors, Didi replied as follows:

> We just read Bridge to Terabithia which is extremely bad for children's usage....They say cuss words like the "b" word and the "d" word and the blah, blah, blah word....When the SEARCH kids go to SEARCH I usually do all my morning work and then I read....I don't go to SEARCH. (pp. 9-11)

She continued:

> Sometimes we get into groups and do art projects....I don't like to do a lot of things when I'm in groups....Most everybody talks.

> Usually I listen....I never actually like to say anything in class....I usually don't like to raise my hand cause I'm afraid I'll say something stupid or I'll have the wrong answer. (pp. 11-12)

Regarding her interactions with the teacher, she stated, "I never have any conferences with the teacher....She tells us to take tests....She doesn't have to do class work,...learn anything,...or do anything" (pp. 12-13).

Compare and Contrast: Regarding her perceptions concerning her placement in the magnet program, Didi responded as follows:

> It all started when I was in preschool and my mom came to school and signed me up and I had to take a test and um, um I passed it and because I passed it I became a magnet student. (p. 15).

She told me that she got the label "gifted and talented" when she "signed up and passed the test" (p. 15).

Didi repeated that she did not like working on study questions in English. She also does not like Health, Science ("taking notes on videos," p. 14), and Social Studies. "It's been so long since we've done Social Studies" (p. 14). In addition to her previous "likes," she added Art and PE because "we don't do class work and we don't write anything" (p. 14).

Regarding her perceptions concerning SEARCH and residential students, she responded, "They [SEARCH students] study mythology and they do activities" (p. 15). The residential students "do math and social studies and health and science and all that other stuff....and they're not as 'gifted and talented'" (p. 16). According to Didi, "In magnet you're more educated and....in a higher class then the residential students....Magnet students would have to do more work than residential students and they know more" (p. 18). When asked how the SEARCH, magnet, and residential teachers are alike, Didi responded, "They yell a lot" (p. 17). They are different because "SEARCH teachers teach

mythology, magnet teachers teach you science and social studies, and....residential teachers teach classes" (pp. 17-18).

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": According to Didi, "gifted" means "talented because you know all the stuff" (p. 18). To become "talented," one must "take a test" (p. 18).

Didi states that she is like the other students in the school because "everybody has a teacher that yells and everybody has a teacher that can be mean and everybody has to do Math, English, Social Studies" (p. 18). She is unlike the other students because "I have a different name....My class has twenty-two people in it and not all classes have twenty-two" (p. 19). She is like the other magnet students because "you have to take a test to get into the magnet" (p. 19). She could not think of a way she is unlike the other magnet students. She is like the SEARCH students because "we have teachers [and] we have work to do" (p. 19). She is unlike the SEARCH students because "I have a different name,...I'm not in SEARCH, [and] I have to stay in the classroom all the time" (p. 19). She is like the residential students because "we all have teachers,...we do different things in class, [and] we all have a classroom" (p. 19). She is unlike the residential students because "I'm a magnet student" (p. 20).

Didi's preoccupation with testing was made manifest by her constant referral to this practice throughout the interviews. For example, according to Didi, the magnet program means a lot because "you had to pass a special test" (p. 20). The SEARCH program "means like you're really well you're very well educated" (p. 20). She further stated, "In the summer I took a test for SEARCH but I didn't pass....It was a creativity test and you know I'm very creative and they just didn't think I was creative enough" (p. 25). The residential program "wouldn't actually mean a lot to me" (p. 20).

Didi told me that the magnet and SEARCH programs are alike because "they have to do work" (p. 20). They are different because "they study mythology" (p. 20). The magnet and residential programs are the same because "we all have teachers" (p. 21). They are different because "you have to pay to take a test" (p. 22) to enter the magnet program and [the residential students] "didn't pass the test and their parents didn't pay the money to get them into the magnet program" (p. 25).

Didi believes that she got into the magnet program because she "took a test....You have to pay to take the test" (p. 22). Regarding placement of students at the school, Didi explained that a student gets into the magnet or SEARCH program by taking a test. A student gets into the residential program if they don't pass the test.

According to Didi, not any student could get into the magnet program "because there's a test you have to take and if you don't pass it you can't get into the magnet program" (p. 22). When asked if any student could get into the SEARCH program, she said emphatically, "No...because they have to take this special test" (p. 22). Lastly, any student could get into the residential program "because not every student can pass the test to be in the 'gifted' program" (p. 22).

Didi believes that all students should not be in the magnet, SEARCH, or residential programs because there would be too many students for the teachers to handle. "There would be like thirty or maybe even forty-eight kids in the classes" (p. 23).

According to Didi, some students are in the magnet program because "they took a test" (p. 25). Others are not because "either they didn't pass the test or, um, their parents didn't want them to take the test" (p. 23). Some students are in the SEARCH program because "they passed the test" (p. 24).

Others are not because "they didn't pass the test or their parents didn't want them to take the test" (p. 23). Some students are in the residential program because "their parents didn't want them to take the test or they didn't pass the test and their parents didn't pay the money to get them into the magnet program....They might just feel happy to be residential students" (p. 25).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": According to Didi, being labeled "gifted" has the following benefits: "It shows how special a student can be with their educated minds and creative minds" (p. 25). Further, "it means a lot to the student even if they [their parents] had to pay two hundred dollars because they [student] wouldn't otherwise be known as 'gifted'" (p. 26). Didi could not think of anything she disliked about her label.

Effect of the Label "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Didi told me that others react to her label as follows: "They [her friends] would still be my friends if I were in the non-magnet (p. 26)." Her teachers are "happy for every student in their class to be in the magnet program" (p. 27). When asked how she knew that she replied, "She [her teacher] is not prejudiced or anything which means she's not against black people or white people and she likes every student in her class" (p. 27). Her parents are happy for her but they also expect her to know a lot. Didi explained:

> I feel stupid for not knowing anything like when I didn't understand long division in third grade....I went home and asked my parents for help and, um, I said I was stupid and didn't want to be in the magnet program anymore but my parents said it should mean a lot to me because I was in the magnet program. (p. 28)

Didi states that she is not treated differently by anyone because of her label "gifted." When asked how other students feel about not being labeled "gifted," Didi said, "I think sometimes they feel left out" (p. 29).

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Didi believes she is "gifted." "I'm smart and well educated and I know a lot of things" (p. 31). She believes that she should be in the magnet program. She also believes that she should be in the SEARCH program. Her defensive comments and sad facial expressions throughout our conversations when "SEARCH" is mentioned reveal her great disappointment that she has not been admitted to the SEARCH program. For example, "I'm very smart for one thing and...I just don't get how I didn't pass that SEARCH test on creativity" (p. 31).

Photo Exercise: According to Didi, all six classes are alike because they all "sit in a classroom for almost six hours and do work....They're all regular people like everybody else....[and] all the teachers are women" (pp. 33-34). They are different because some are residential and some are magnet....Some students are white and some are the other color....like brownish" (p. 33).

Didi states that she got into her own setting because "I took the test" (p. 35). When asked why she is in her magnet setting, she said, "My name just happened to be under the list in Ms. Holt's class...and I'm very happy" (p. 35).

Jane:

Preliminaries: Interviews with Jane were conducted at school in the media center and in a media center ante-room. Her initial enthusiasm steadily diminished as the interviews progressed. During the last session she appeared bored and uninterested with the whole process as manifested by frequent yawning and curt answers. She spent a lot of time "doodling" as she spoke.

Jane is an African-American nine year old girl who has been enrolled in the magnet program at Fagan since she was in first grade. She and a younger brother (who is in a third-grade magnet class at Fagan) commute back and forth on a school bus everyday. Her parents are divorced. Her teachers

report that Jane is well-behaved but at times academically unmotivated. She struggles with math concepts which appear to be difficult for her.

"Grand Tour": According to Jane, school is "fun" (p. 1). She likes "playing games,....going to the computer lab, ...PE,....Art,...going to the science lab" (p. 2). Her dislikes were more numerous: "Sometimes they [teachers] can be mean....The food in the cafeteria is soggy....We can't talk....I don't like the students that are mean to me. It's boring...sitting in class waiting for the teacher to tell you to do something....We can't go outside for the rest of the week because we need to finish up those file card things" (pp. 2-3).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding Jane's level of involvement with the school elicited the following responses:

> We just work....We play on the computer....We do a lot of writing,....Spanish,....[and] coloring sheets....I always use blue, green, and purple....We got to write a friendly letter to an imaginary person, and I wrote mine to Aunt Crazy....[We] play a lot of games" (pp. 3-5).

In Art "she [teacher] like, lets us make little booklets,....color the Rugrats,...watch videos, draw,....and work with clay....She doesn't let us use glue or anything" (p. 5). In Music "we do like, chorus,....sing a lot....Most of the time we don't get to go to Music because she's [teacher] doing stuff with the PTA" (p. 6). In PE "every class does the same thing: third, fourth, fifth....We play games,....race on the scooters,....run around and jump,....do pushups,.... play ball, cheerlead,....get out the parachute....We have Fun Days" (p. 7). In Computer Lab "we go in reading and math" (p. 7). In Spanish "we got to play around and stuff....do Spanish games....She [teacher] teaches new Spanish words...so that's not really fun" (p. 8). On the bus " I just sit down and not talk" (p. 8). At lunch "I talk and eat....and when we go on a red light it's completely silent and all we can do is eat" (p. 9). At

recess "we run around,....play Prisoners' Base,....cheerlead,....practice for the talent show,....jump rope....Sometimes we get put in Time Out....I never got put in Time Out" (p. 9).

Specific questions regarding Jane's level of involvement with others elicited the following responses: "The people who are behind in math, they go to another math class, and the people who are not, they stay with Mrs. Holt....I [go to] Mrs. Harris because like I said before, some things I don't understand....Lots of students in the math class are aggravating. They talk too much" (p. 4). Lastly, "if we don't do what we're supposed to, we will get in trouble. [If] she [teacher] gives us two warnings we have to go to Mr. Clancy [the assistant principal]" (p. 5).

When asked to tell how others are like her, she mentioned only girls. "They're like me because they like basically the same things" (p. 10). Others are not like her because "we don't eat the same food, we don't look the same, and we don't talk the same. We have different kinds of language....And we like been to different places" (p. 10).

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: Regarding settings and behaviors, Jane replied as follows: "We do like worksheets" (p. 12). In math class "I have a hard time in it though. Basically, I have a hard time in it....I do a lot of work" (pp. 10-11).

Jane is involved with her classmates in group projects. "We had to do a chapter [in a book]...and do a visual" (p. 13). She works by herself doing research and "on tests we don't work together because...that's called cheating" (p. 13). When others are interacting with the teacher, "I just sit down because I know the teacher's going to yell and say, 'You can't go outside for PE. You'll get put in Time Out'" (p. 12). The teacher "also eats in our faces because if she doesn't eat for a certain amount of period, she will faint" (p. 15). The art teacher

"is going to Nebraska, so we have to get a new art teacher next year....The boys were taking advantage of her....yelling across the room" (p. 5).

Compare and Contrast: Regarding her perceptions concerning her placement in the magnet program, Jane responded as follows: "I don't really like know how I got in the magnet class. I guess I made good enough grades" (p. 16). When asked how she got the label "gifted and talented," she repeated, "I made good grades" (p. 16).

Jane repeated that she liked PE, Art, and Science. In addition to her previous "likes," she added English. "I do everything there is to do in English because that's my favorite subject" (p. 16). Interestingly, in spite of her struggles, she said that she also liked Math.

Regarding her perceptions concerning other students in the school, she responded, "They do the same thing, but not at the same time" (p. 17). The teachers are different because "they think of different things to do,....they don't look the same,....they don't talk the same" (p. 20).

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": According to Jane, "gifted" means "being smart and doing special things" (p. 21).

Jane stated that she is like the other students in the school because "we have to wear uniforms....We all sit down and actually learn something at school....We go outside and play....We go to stuff like Art, Music, PE, and science class" (p. 21). When asked how she is unlike the other students in the school, she replied, "We don't learn the same things" (p. 21). When probed further, she repeatedly said, "I don't know" (p. 22). More specifically, she could not think of any ways she is like or different from the other magnet students. She is like the SEARCH students because "they learn stuff. We learn stuff about Greece" (p. 22). She is unlike the SEARCH students because "we don't learn the same things....They'll learn something that the fifth graders are learning, but we

don't" (p. 22). When asked how she knew this, she said, "because they [SEARCH students] tell us" (p. 22). She is like the residential students because "we go outside" (p. 22). She is unlike the residential students because "we don't do the same things in class [and]...we don't eat the same things" (p. 23).

According to Jane, the magnet program "means that you are making better grades than some of the people in the residential program" (p. 23). When asked her perceptions regarding the SEARCH program, she replied:

> It means to be smarter than someone else....They make all A's....[The teacher] checks your grades and stuff and if they're not good enough, you don't get in SEARCH. And if they are, they'll ask the SEARCH teacher to give the SEARCH test. And if you pass the SEARCH test, even if it's at the beginning of the year, you go to SEARCH next year. (p. 23)

The residential program "means that you are not smart enough to be in the magnet program" (p. 23) and "they [residential children] act up in class" (p. 26).

Jane told me that she got to be a magnet student because "I made a grade [and]...I listened to the teacher" (p. 24). According to Jane, any student could get into the magnet program "if they make good enough grades" (p. 24). Any student could get into the SEARCH program "if they try hard enough" (p. 24). Lastly, any student could get into the residential program "if you make bad grades" (p. 25).

According to Jane, not all students should be in the magnet or SEARCH programs because "if they don't know something then they could just get a bad grade" (p. 25). All students should not be in the residential program "because you might learn something that you already know" (p. 25).

Jane believes that some students are in the magnet program "because they make good grades and they don't act up" (p. 26). Others are not

"because they [residential students] act up" (p. 26). When asked to explain, she said, " They talk out loud. They call people names and hit people" (p. 26). Some students are in the SEARCH program because "they make better grades than some people" (p. 26). Others are not because "they don't make good enough grades [and]...they might act up in class" (p. 25).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Jane believes that being labeled "gifted" has the following benefit: "You get to learn new stuff" (p. 27). Conversely, Jane does not like being called "gifted" because she is teased by others who are not so labeled. "You'll say 'Hello' and they'll say, 'Just because you're a magnet student [it] don't mean nothing'" (p. 27).

Effect of the Label "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": According to Jane, others react to her label in the following ways: Her friends don't think anything about it because most of them also carry the label. Her parents think "that it's good for me" (p. 29). Her classmates believe that "I shouldn't be in the magnet program when I don't get something" (p. 28). Her teachers think "that sometimes I shouldn't be and sometimes I should" (p. 28). When asked to explain, she said, "Sometimes they say stuff like, 'If you don't know that, you need to learn it'" (p. 29).

Her friends, parents, and classmates do not treat her differently because of her label. However, her teachers do because they give her harder things to learn "than the kids in the non-magnet program" (p. 29). According to Jane, other students who are not labeled "gifted" feel "upset and good at the same time" (p. 30). In other words, "They won't learn stuff as fast but they could actually understand it" (p. 30).

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Jane wavered when asked if she believed that she was "gifted." "Sometimes" (p. 30),

she replied. She believes that she should be in the magnet program, but she does not believe that she should be in the SEARCH program. "Sometimes we have to sit in the SEARCH class and it's like very hard" (p. 31). She does not believe that she should be in the residential program "because I'm smart enough to be in the magnet" (p. 32).

Photo Exercise: Jane stated that all classes are alike because "they're learning something" (p. 32). They are different because "they still don't look the same" (p. 33). Further, "they [the classrooms] don't have the same background....They don't have the same students" (pp. 34-35).

Jane states that she got into her own setting because "I made good enough grades [and] they just put me in that class" (p. 36). Her reason for being there is "to learn something and because I need to go to school everyday" (p. 36). She feels "great" about her placement "because I'm in the magnet class" (p. 36).

Brandy:

Preliminaries: Interviews with Brandy were conducted at school in a media center ante-room. Brandy is an African-American nine year old girl who has been enrolled in the magnet program at Fagan since she was in kindergarten. She lives near the school with her mother and an older sister (now in middle school) who was a residential student at Fagan. Interestingly, she and Gail (a residential student-respondent) are first cousins. Her teachers report that Brandy is a capable student and well-behaved. She was a talkative--yet quite often pensive--respondent who seemed to enjoy "doodling" as she spoke.

"Grand Tour": Brandy's response was mixed. "It's kinda easy and sometimes hard. It's really fun....I like everything at school" (pp. 1-2). When asked about dislikes, she stated, "In the girls' bathroom they don't have any toilet

tissue and there's messes on the floor....in the bathroom and sometimes in the hallway. Like if some kids are fighting or something, like sometimes in the boys' bathroom they fight sometimes and um, yeah, when sometimes if kids have to throw up, um, sometimes, it smells and it really stinks" (p. 2). Further, she doesn't like it when "teachers take away....recess....and they give us more work" (p. 2)."

Individual Perspectives of Fourth-Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted"
(i.e. SEARCH Girls)

Ellen:

Preliminaries: Interviews with Ellen were conducted at school in a media center ante-room. Ellen is an Anglo-American nine year old girl who has been enrolled in the magnet program at Fagan since she was in kindergarten. She was admitted to the SEARCH program when she was in second grade. She has a younger brother in pre-kindergarten at another school and a younger sister in second grade at Fagan. The sister is also a SEARCH student. Ellen and her siblings are driven to and from school each day by their mother.

Ellen was an enthusiastic and a talkative respondent. She enjoyed "doodling" as she spoke. Her teachers report that she is a conscientious student. She is well-behaved and enjoys participating in class.

"Grand Tour": Ellen began by describing her likes: "It [school] is fun because there are a lot of things or stuff that we do....We invent games....I like the hands-on experiments in science" (pp. 1-2). Also, "I like the cafeteria food [except for] the potato salad....I like the plays (pp. 2-3) [and] I like chess a lot" (p. 4). Conversely, Ellen said that she did not like Computer Lab. "I think that's sort of boring" (p. 3). She doesn't like homework. She thinks that lunch is served

[11] The audio tapes revealed nothing further from the lengthy interviews with Brandy.

too early. She does not like having to tuck in her shirt "because sometimes I don't tuck in my shirt and somebody gets mad at me" (p. 2). She doesn't like being kept inside on days she has PE with the PE teacher. "I didn't like that. I thought we should go outside anyway" (p. 6). She quit riding the school bus because "it was really loud [and] I didn't like the radio station the driver listened to" (p. 7).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding Ellen's level of involvement with the school elicited the following responses: "We go outside and do stuff that normally other kids don't do....We do worksheets [and] games in groups" (pp. 3-4). In SEARCH "we watch a lot of videos,....we do creative writing,....we have hands-on experiences....She [the SEARCH teacher] gives us stories and booklets....We play games.... We have free days where you can work on the computer and play chess (p. 4). In Art "we made papier mache',....Egyptian death masks....We colored a lot of Rugrats....We work with clay....We watch Chinese videos....and we drew a lot of still lifes....You can express yourself a lot with art" (p. 5). In Music "we practice and sing a lot...and we learn the scales and other instruments from other places like Africa or something....You do weird dances. I like all that" (p. 5). In PE "we jump rope,....play volleyball and basketball and we do individual stuff like scooters....We play whiffleball, softball, kick ball....We play tug-of-war and we do a lot of like team sports" (pp. 5-6). Ellen also stated, "Soccer is my favorite sport, so next year I think she [PE teacher] should do it" (p. 6). In Computer Lab "we go to math and reading....[and] they fax it [reading and math scores] to the Board of Education" (p. 6). In Spanish "we did BINGO in Spanish [and] we talk about the history of things...The most fun thing she [Spanish teacher] did was ancient Greece because...my friends' moms were in, like groups like Alpha or Beta or something like that....Mexican is my favorite food" (p. 6). At lunch "we sit boy-girl-

boy-girl [and] we talk a lot" (p. 7). At recess "we play games,....we play hopscotch,....and we talk to Ms. Holt [classroom teacher]" (p. 8). Regarding afternoon activities, Ellen stated:

> I usually ride my bike and play with my cat....I play baseball....Our family plays baseball games like in the backyard and that's fun....I'm on a swim team at the Yacht Club....I'm not on a soccer team right now but I'm going to be....I take tennis lessons....I like getting all sweaty because it feels good. (p. 8).

Specific questions regarding Ellen's level of involvement with others elicited the following responses: "She [the classroom teacher] makes us do stuff with the other classes, so we can, like, you know, know what the other class is doing and see if we're doing the same thing" (p. 1). Ellen described other interactions:

> I help people a lot....When somebody gets hurt, I volunteer to help them. I volunteer a lot....like if somebody is in a wheelchair, a lot of people would like stare at them like they're some kind of weird person....I just want to help them, like maybe get across the street. (p. 9)

In SEARCH "we help the first graders with their stuff" (p. 4). At recess "me and my friends have meetings about our club--the Double EMC....What we try to do is raise some money....for a party or something" (p. 8).

When asked to compare and contrast herself with others, she mentioned only girls. "They're like me because they do the same sports,....we have moms that went to Paris,....we both have orthodontic treatments,....we have boats" (p. 11). Regarding differences, she stated:

> They're not like me because some of them are older than me....My mom and her [a classmate] mom are in different levels of the

> school. Like my mom's in the PTA and her mom is in the Board of Education...She [another friend] is black and I'm white, but it doesn't make any difference. (p. 11).

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: When probed regarding settings and behaviors, Ellen replied, "SEARCH class is like having fun but you don't know it....I like SEARCH because sometimes she [SEARCH teacher] picks people to help clean up....I like scrubbing stuff, not picking up toys or something" (pp. 12-13). Further, "lots of people like go to sleep...because we have couches on free days....I usually don't go to sleep....We don't do that much group things in SEARCH. Mostly [that's done] in the regular room" (p. 15). In SEARCH "the boys talk a lot....I usually sit down and read a book or um play on the computer or finish a worksheet or something....I like playing with myself because I always win" (pp. 13-14). Lastly, "I don't do a lot with the [SEARCH] teacher....She usually sits and watches or stands up and sees how we're doing" (p. 16).

Compare and Contrast: Regarding her perceptions concerning her placement in the SEARCH class, Ellen responded as follows:

> When I was in kindergarten I took a test and I got a few wrong and that meant I couldn't do it [be in SEARCH]....I didn't take a test in first grade....Then I went on to second grade....I took a test and I only got like maybe one or two wrong....And I think that's great because now I'm in SEARCH and I love it. (p. 19)

When asked how she got the label "gifted" she continued to speak of her placement in SEARCH. "SEARCH challenges people and you often learn better because in like other classes like a regular classroom you review stuff you know already....And I don't think that's really fun" (p. 19).

Ellen stated that her favorite class was Art. She does not like Music (a contradiction of her previous statement). "It gets boring when she [Music teacher] like tells us the same things over and over....She also yells a lot at other people" (p. 18). She repeated that she does not like Computer Lab ("boring," p. 17).

Regarding her perceptions concerning magnet and residential students, she responded:

> In the magnet class, we usually do stuff that has to do with something that we learned last year....In the residential classes they usually don't work on like experiments or like projects or something....[A residential class] is not as smart as, I mean it's not as good as, SEARCH class....Some of the [residential] students came in our class because they got in trouble and they went to the back table and did worksheets....I looked at some of the worksheets and they were real easy....We know more than them. (pp. 19-20)

According to Ellen, the SEARCH, magnet, and residential teachers are alike because "they're nice and they tell you what projects are due before the day they're due" (p. 22). They are different because "Ms. Wade [SEARCH teacher] is in a higher level because she's in the SEARCH class....She is probably the smartest because she teaches the SEARCH class....Ms. Holt will yell or something when people are bad" (pp. 22-23).

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": Ellen believes that "gifted" means "higher or smarter people....like residential is lower and magnet is higher....[It's] like expanding your creativity....having fun while you're learning" (p. 23).

In comparing herself to the other students in the school, Ellen stated contradictorily, "They're all smart....and they all show all sorts of different

kinds of creativity....We respect the principal and vice principal" (p. 23). In contrasting herself with the other students, she stated, "We're all individuals and we're all different in some ways....Some people...get into trouble...and I don't usually get into trouble" (pp. 23-24). More specifically, she is like the other SEARCH students because "we all work together and we all learn things quickly" (p. 24). She is unlike the other SEARCH students because "some other girls and some other boys are smarter than me" (p. 24). She is like the other magnet students because 'we're all smart, very smart" (p. 24). She is unlike them because "I'm an individual and I don't think anybody else has my style or my brains or anything" (p. 24). She is like the residential students because "we both learn the same things eventually" (p. 25). She is unlike the residential students because "I am quicker than them" (p. 25).

Ellen believes that the SEARCH program "means that you have achieved a level of, um, let's just say 'smartness' and...you learn things that other people don't learn" (p. 25). The magnet program means that "you have achieved a level, but not as high as the SEARCH program" (p. 25). Regarding the residential program, she stated:

> It means that you need to work harder. [You can] try a worksheet from a magnet class and if you get it right then maybe she [teacher] will give you more worksheets and more worksheets and if you get them--if you get a good grade on them--you might be able to get into a magnet class. (p. 25)

According to Ellen, the SEARCH and magnet programs are alike because "they all have students, of course, and teachers" (p. 26). They are different because "you learn more things in the SEARCH program than you do in the magnet program" (p. 26). The SEARCH and residential programs are alike

because "they can both understand what's going on" (p. 26). They are different because "it [SEARCH] is higher [and] you learn things quicker" (p. 26).

Ellen told me that she got to be in the SEARCH program because she "took a test" (p. 26) According to Ellen, not any student could get into the SEARCH program. "Some people even in the magnet class can't because they keep on taking the test over and over again but they just can't like get it" (p. 27). Conversely, any student could get into the magnet program "because the magnet program is, I think, fairly easy" (p. 27). She then stated, "Some people in the residential program don't even want to work hard and don't even want to get into the magnet class" (p. 27). Likewise, any student could get into the residential program "because if they don't do good in [kindergarten] then they get sent to the residential program in first grade" (p. 27).

Ellen does not believe that every student should be in the SEARCH program "because some people don't want to be in the SEARCH program [and] some are not smart enough or quick enough" (p. 27). Likewise, she doesn't think that every student should be in the magnet program "because the magnet program for the residential students may be too hard" (p. 28). Further, [residential students] "don't want to learn....They don't care what they're in....Their parents might care...and want them to work hard but they don't....The people in the magnet program are the people that like work their hardest and work their best" (p.28). When asked if every student should be in the residential program, she once again responded, "No...Usually I see people with worksheets in the residential program that are really easy to me--maybe not to them....People in the residential program probably don't want to be in the magnet program and work their best" (pp. 27-28).

According to Ellen, some students are in the SEARCH program because "they're quick" (p. 29). Her rationale for this comment was that "they

learn stuff...faster than most people in the school do...They want to learn. They want to do projects. They want to earn extra credit" (p. 29). Further, she said, "Most people that want to learn are in the SEARCH program" (p. 29). Others are not "mostly because they're not smart enough or they're not quick enough" (p. 28). Some students are in the magnet program because "they are smart enough to learn and smart enough to do it" (p. 29). Others are not because "they don't want to be there....[and] they're not fast enough or smart enough" (p. 28).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Ellen likes being called "gifted." She said, "I like it because I think that it makes me stand out with everybody" (p. 29). When asked to explain, she said, "It gives you a better chance to...go to a good university and get a good job or something.... Everybody likes a person that's 'gifted' I think" (p. 29). According to Ellen, being called "gifted" has the following benefits:

> You get challenges....It's sort of like a movie....There's mystery about what you're going to do or how you're going to do it. There's adventure, like your challenges through learning....And then there's romance because you love learning and you love what you're doing. (p. 30).

Conversely, according to Ellen, being called "gifted" has the following drawbacks:

> People expect "gifted" children to be perfect....like you're somebody better, you're somebody great....But you're not really perfect. You're just somebody who does good in work and you make mistakes a lot. [For example], if I don't have my homework, she [teacher] is shocked or something. (pp. 30-31).

Effect of the Label "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Ellen explained that others react to her label as follows:

> They [her friends] are proud of me....and they're not shocked that I don't know things....[Others] are jealous because they want to be in the SEARCH program but they can't because...they don't listen and they don't work hard enough....They say I'm Miss Goody Two Shoes. They tease you a lot.....My teachers think it's cool and groovy....They all like me and trust me....My parents believe that I am smart--the best. (pp. 31-32).

When probed regarding her treatment by others because of her label "gifted," Ellen repeated that her friends do not treat her differently. "They think that I am who I am....If I don't know question two [for example],...I just tell them that I don't know that and they don't care. They're not shocked that I don't know it" (p. 32). Likewise, her parents and her teachers do not treat her differently. However, when asked if her classmates treated her differently, she said:

> Mostly the boys actually are mean to me because they say that I'm like teacher's pet...just because I'm in the SEARCH program...and I know more than them....But I don't think they know how it feels to be, um, smart or a "gifted" student. (p. 32).

Ellen stated that other students who wear the "gifted" label " probably think that they like it a lot" (p. 33). Regarding the feelings of others not labeled "gifted," and in contradiction to her earlier comments, Ellen said, "If they want to listen and they want to work...and they want to practice, then they can be in the SEARCH program" (p. 33).

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": When asked if she believes that she is "gifted," Ellen replied:

> Yeah, a lot....I'm in the SEARCH program and I'm in the magnet program...I'm very creative and I'm smart and quick and funny, and

> I think that's what makes a 'gifted' person....I listen very good....I want to learn....I think harder and I get it. (pp. 33-34).

Further, she prefers the SEARCH setting for herself "because we have challenges along the way and I think that's great because I can learn new things and have fun" (p. 34).

Photo Exercise: According to Ellen, all six classes are alike. "They are all working hard and having fun....They are listening to their teacher....They are all learning" (p. 35). When discussing differences between the classes, at first Ellen said, "Actually, I think they're all pretty much the same" (p. 36). She then contradicted herself and said, "Some of the people in here [SEARCH class] are having fun and some [in the residential class] are not....They're not like learning. Some people look like they don't really want to learn" (p. 37). She knew this because of "the look on their faces....She [residential girl] looks like she's asleep" (p. 37).

Ellen stated that she got into her SEARCH setting by "concentrating and learning and wanting to learn" (p. 39). She is there because "I wanted to be here and I wanted to have fun learning" (p. 39). Her feelings regarding her placement were contradictory: "We need to learn more because this is a SEARCH class....We only learned like maybe five things this year....If it [SEARCH] gets more exciting and [we do] more projects and experiments, then people would like it a lot more."

Donna:

Preliminaries: Interviews with Donna were conducted at school in a media center ante-room and at my house with her mother in attendance. Donna is an African-American ten year old girl who has been enrolled in the magnet/SEARCH program at Fagan since she was in kindergarten. Donna has

no siblings. Her parents are divorced. She commutes back and forth on a school bus everyday. Her teachers report that Donna is a capable student, more so in language arts than in math. She was an enthusiastic and witty--yet oftentimes pensive--respondent who seemed to enjoy doodling as she spoke.

"Grand Tour": Donna began by telling me that she gets in trouble because "I talk a lot....My grades--they're pretty good...I'm sort of low in math....In kindergarten I used to love math but I stopped that habit because it's gotten harder....I haven't learned anything new in language or anything in reading...so I just quit....[and] people have stopped making fun of me that I'm going to another reading class, calling me 'smarty pants'" (pp. 1-2). Donna continued to tell me that she sometimes doesn't like work, the computers are old, and the computer games are boring. Lastly, she said, "I don't like it when we get punished or when somebody does something and they don't confess up to it and we all have to pay for it" (p. 5).

Conversely, Donna said that at school "we have the opportunity to do special things" (p. 3). She likes lunch and reading higher level books. Donna advised:

> You should always read because it will extend your vocabulary....You can go to school and say to your friends, "Hey, you're discombobulated," and they're like "What?" and then you say, "Discombobulated. Discombobulated means weird, or something like that." And they're like, "Whatever." So it's like if my friends don't know [the word]...I can psych them out. (p. 4)

She also likes being in the principal's storytellers troupe, going to the gym, and art. Also, "in science I love to mix stuff together and find out what I'm going to make and...[in] music I can express my voice because I think I have a very beautiful voice" (p. 3).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding Donna's level of involvement with the school elicited the following responses: Regarding SEARCH she stated:

> When we do all our work she [SEARCH teacher] gives us gold seals...When you turn in five gold seals...you get to go to the computer or do whatever you want. We've also been working on math,....algebra,....listening to classical music,....studying medieval times, Shakespeare,...scribbling on the board,....and reading just plain old...newspapers. (pp. 6-7)

In Art "we draw pictures,...color flowers,...do oil pastels,.....make things out of numbers,....and color Garfield pictures in silence" (p. 7). In Music "we play the recorder,....learn songs,....play songs on the drums and the xylophone....We did a play called 'Christmas on Candy Cane Lane' and I was Mrs. Claus....The last play called 'Bugz' I didn't perform in" (pp. 8-9). When asked about her activities in PE, Donna stated:

> We have Jump Rope for Heart....[and] any movement or physical activity that will help you strengthen your body...We play basketball,....dodgeball,....we race in the gym....In the five mile race I came in last of everybody...we had twenty-one kids in that class so I was number twenty-one, number twenty-one! Man was I wore out! (pp. 9-10).

In computer lab, "the subjects there are reading....and math" (pp. 10-11). In Spanish, "we learn Spanish songs,....we play 'Around the World with Spanish,'....[and] watch movies about Spain" (p. 11). Regarding her travels on the school bus, Donna said:

> I talk and sometimes just sit there because I don't feel like talking--just looking out the window....I don't read or anything because I get

> car sick or bus sick....We used to do cheers and...hand games...We sit in assigned seats because we had a substitute bus person and people were taking papers and throwing them at people....I didn't want to get into trouble so I didn't throw any paper. (pp. 12-13)

At lunch, "I eat and talk unless it's a silent lunch....Sometimes [I eat] peanut butter and jelly if we [she and her mother] have no money for lunch" (p. 13). Regarding recess, Donna stated:

> We play and we play...Two-hand Touch,....Wall Ball,....hand games,....We eat ice cream and we generally have popsicles....We used to play football. The reason I like playing football is because you get to jump on people and tackle them to the floor.....Sometimes we miss recess because we have a lot of work to do....I'm also in Chorus, but not everybody's in Chorus. (pp. 13-14)

Specific questions regarding Donna's level of involvement with others elicited the following response:

> I have a lot of friends. I'm not lonely. Me and my friends we've just now overcome not speaking to each other....I got tired of her [classmate] telling me who to talk to and who not to talk to so I said, "I'm going to talk to whoever I want. It's my life and she can't rule it"....Now we're all friends. (p. 2).

When asked to tell how others are like her she mentioned only girls. "We're alike because we can sing,....we're in SEARCH,....we wear glasses,....me and [SEARCH classmate] have big feet,....and me and [SEARCH classmate] have attitudes" (pp. 15-16). When discussing how she is different from others she said, "I'm different from [SEARCH classmate] because I have longer hair...I'm different from [SEARCH classmate] because I have more meat

on my bones....I'm different from [SEARCH classmate]...By George, I think I forgot!" (p. 16).

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: Regarding settings and behaviors therein, Donna stated:

> In SEARCH sometimes I just try to draw something or somebody talks to me....We play an African game, well it's some kind of cultural game....Usually we all talk. She [SEARCH teacher] sings. I help her clean off her desk....Sometimes I sit by her desk and watch, like videos, because she wants me to sit by her. Sometimes I give her a hug because she always says, "I need a hug." (pp. 18-19)

Compare and Contrast: Regarding her perceptions concerning her placement in the SEARCH program, Donna responded as follows:

> Well, in kindergarten, about in January or February, Ms. Wade [SEARCH teacher] came to my class a few times and like the second to last time, I raised my hand and she picked me to go take the SEARCH test...It wasn't that easy but...I passed and the next year I was in SEARCH. (p. 23).

Donna believes that she got the label "gifted" because "I read at an early age, which was three....I was very smart and intelligent....Sometimes I wouldn't talk that much....I'm very successful in all academic statuses. I'm really good in everything, basically" (p. 23).

Donna repeated that she did not like math. "I don't keep looking in my lap while she's [classroom teacher] trying to teach or else she'll ask me a question and I won't know the question" (p. 23). She also stated that she did not like computer lab. "I don't talk really loud because [the teacher], she's gonna yell" (p. 23). She verified that she likes Art and PE but previous "likes"--Science

and Music--are now conditional. "But I really don't like my group [in Science] so I don't talk to them because they don't talk to me" (p. 21). In music, "I don't like to get put in the corner so I really don't talk or fidget around or turn my back. I just pay attention to the teacher" (p. 22).

According to Donna, magnet students "do basically the same work as we do....[but] most of them...go to advanced math so they know more math than we do" (p. 24). In SEARCH "we have more work to do, to build up our strength and learn....but it's like fun work" (p. 25). Then she added, "I hate to say it but we have more fun" (p. 27). Residential students "are smart in some ways....They know about as much as we do in different ways" (p. 25). She verified her comment by describing a girl in the residential program who is "really smart. She was the first one in her class to learn all her times tables...and nobody else knew them as fast as she did. She is like really smart" (p. 25). According to Donna, the SEARCH, magnet, and residential teachers are alike because "they're not very strict" (p. 27). They are different because "Ms. Wade [SEARCH teacher] allows more from you....Ms. Harris [magnet teacher] lets you play more....[The residential teachers] have more things in their rooms....like games and construction paper" (p. 28).

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": According to Donna, "gifted" means "smart, intelligent, above all others" (p. 28). When asked what she meant by "above all others" she replied, "Like um very accomplished, good in all subjects, has good behavior, is a good sport, isn't bad, all sorts of good things that has to do with the school" (p. 28).

Donna believes that she is like the other students in the school because "we are all smart....I hope we're all good...We all have different levels but the same intelligence" (p. 29). She is different because "I don't get into fights" (p. 29). More specifically, she is like the other SEARCH and magnet students

because "we are all smart" (p. 29). In contrasting herself with the other SEARCH and magnet students, she repeated the differences in physical attributes (i. e., feet, hair, body frames). Further, she and her classmates do not necessarily share the same interests and she does not talk as much in class as she used to do. In comparing herself to the residential students she said:

> Sometimes we have the same interests...sometimes we have the same interest in finishing other people's sentences....We all like to have fun....We're both going slow, like we're going slow in Johnny Tremain and they're going slow in Bound for Oregon or Black Pearl. (p. 30)

She is unlike the residential students because "I'm in SEARCH...I'm in the magnet class....Some people are really bad....They get into fights and stuff. Usually it's the boys. That's no surprise either" (p. 30).

Donna's perceptions of the SEARCH, magnet, and residential programs varied. Regarding the SEARCH program:

> You have to be in magnet and...you have to take a test...and once you're in SEARCH you get to have much more fun....SEARCH is like an extra class that you take to strengthen your body and mind and have fun....and it's really fun, really....[SEARCH students] always finish first. The work is easy. (p. 30)

Regarding the magnet program, she stated:

> Before you can start...you have to take a test. If you want to take it in private you have to pay two hundred dollars....If you want to take it with everybody else...it's free....Magnet classes have [more] advanced things than what they have in the residential classes. (p. 31).

Lastly, the residential program is "just a regular class where you go at a regular pace instead of going really fast like you do in the magnet classes" (p. 31).

According to Donna, the SEARCH and magnet programs are alike because "we have the same subjects....We both have computers" (p. 31). They are different because "in SEARCH things go much faster" (p. 31). The SEARCH and residential programs are alike because "we both learn the same subjects" (p. 32). They are different because "the SEARCH program is very advanced" (p. 32).

Donna stated that she got into the SEARCH program because "I passed the SEARCH test in kindergarten" (p. 32). She believes that "if they [any students] try their best, I think anybody could get in" (p. 32) the SEARCH program. Any student could get into the magnet program "if they can change their behavior from bad to okay, okay to good, and good to excellent" (p. 32). Likewise, any student can get into the residential program and "if they try hard they can get into the magnet program" (p. 33).

According to Donna, not every student should be in the SEARCH program. She said, "Not if they don't want to because they shouldn't be pushed beyond their level" (p. 33). However, according to Donna, every student should be in the magnet program. Conversely, however, not every student should be in the residential program. "They should not be pushed beyond their level but they shouldn't be way back there" (p. 33).

Donna believes that some students are in the SEARCH program because "they either are 'gifted,' really, really smart and beyond their level...in their own class and they always finish first. The work is easy" (p. 34). Others are not because "they didn't pass the test or they didn't take the test" (p. 33). Some students are in the magnet program because "they were in the magnet program from before...and they probably took the test and passed' (p. 34). Others are not

because "they didn't take the magnet test or they didn't take the test...or their parents just didn't want them to be in magnet" (p. 33).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Donna likes her label "gifted" because "that's a compliment" (p. 34). She believes that being labeled "gifted" has the following benefits: "We get special treats and we get to do special things" (p. 34). Further, she likes "the new things that we are introduced to" (p. 35). Donna could not think of anything she disliked about her label.

Effect of the Label "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Reactions from others regarding her label are as follows: "My friends think it's all fun and games but it's not" (p. 35). She states that her parents are proud of her. Her teachers think that she is special. When asked to explain, she described the special things (e. g., helping out, free days) that are a part of her SEARCH experience. Further, Donna does not believe that others treat her differently because of her label. Donna believes that other students who do not wear the SEARCH label "probably feel left out and unhappy" (p. 36).

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Donna believes that she is "gifted"--"sometimes" (p. 36). When asked to explain, she said, "Sometimes when I can't get a problem...I wonder if she [teacher] is gonna put me out of the 'gifted' class" (p. 37). Donna stated that she would rather be in the magnet program than in the SEARCH or residential program "because you learn more" (p. 37).

Photo Exercise: According to Donna, all six classes are alike because "they're all working in the same manner" (p. 37). They are different because "they're all different classes" (p. 38).

Donna states that she got into her SEARCH setting because "I took a test in kindergarten and passed" (p. 39). She is there because "I'm in the

magnet program and I took the test and I passed" (p. 40). She feels "good" regarding her placement. When asked if there was anything else she could tell me about what she does as a SEARCH student that she hasn't told me so far, she said, "I don't put together jars."

Group Perspectives Of Fourth-Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted" (i. e., Magnet and SEARCH Girls):

Preliminaries: Three girls enrolled in the magnet program and two girls enrolled in the SEARCH program were interviewed. Regarding the three girls enrolled in the magnet program: Two are African-American. One girl's father is Iranian and her mother is Anglo-American. According to their teachers, two of the girls (Didi and Brandy) are capable, conscientious students. The third one (Jane) appears to have motivational problems and is struggling in the area of mathematics. All are well-behaved in class. Regarding the two girls enrolled in the SEARCH program: One is African-American and the other is Anglo-American. According to their teachers, both girls are capable, conscientious students and well-behaved in class.

None of the girls offered any verbal response to my reasons for conducting the study. All seemed to enjoy doodling throughout the interviews.

"Grand Tour": Initial responses from the magnet and SEARCH girls were mixed. "School is boring....I haven't learned anything new in language or anything in reading....School is fun...It's kinda easy and sometimes hard....I talk a lot and usually I can get in trouble for doing that."

Regarding likes and dislikes, the magnet and SEARCH girls like the art activities, special activities, and the puzzles and games. Dislikes were more numerous and generally pertained to teachers and school facilities. "Sometimes they [teachers] can be mean." Two of the girls told about teachers

taking away their recess time outside for various reasons. Also, "the food in the cafeteria is soggy....In the girls' bathroom they don't have any toilet tissue and there's messes on the floor." They dislike the computer lab ("boring") and the work load (i. e., homework).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding level of involvement with the school elicited the following commonalities and differences: Descriptors offered by the magnet and SEARCH girls regarding curricular activities such as art, p. e., music, etc. were similar. For example, regarding Spanish, one girl said, "We do Spanish games....She [teacher] teaches new Spanish words." Another said, "The most fun thing she [Spanish teacher] did was ancient Greece because...my friends' moms were in, like groups like Alpha or Beta or something like that." In addition to these activities, the SEARCH girls described their experiences in SEARCH and listed such activities as algebra, listening to classical music, studying medieval times, studying Shakespeare, and making Egyptian death masks. Further, "we have free days where you can work on the computer and play chess." Regarding extracurricular activities, magnet and SEARCH girls described their involvement in Science Club, Math Olympiad, Chorus, and Jump Rope for Heart. Additionally, one girl said:

> I play baseball....Our family plays baseball games like in the backyard and that's fun. I'm on a swim team at the Yacht Club....I'm not on a soccer team right now but I'm going to be....I take tennis lessons.

Specific questions regarding levels of involvement with others elicited varied responses, mostly pertaining only to girls: Jane discussed math groupings. "I [go to] Mrs. Harris because like I said before, some things I don't understand." Donna discussed her friends, Ellen described her volunteer work,

and Didi told of her involvement in extracurricular activities. When asked how they are like others, all discussed having similar interests. Conversely, all stated that they were different from others because of physical attributes and experiences. "We don't talk the same...and we like been to different places. One girl said, "She is black and I'm white, but it doesn't make any difference."

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: When probed regarding settings and behaviors, magnet girls' responses were similar. They told of doing group projects, reading in class, taking tests. They do not talk in class. "I usually don't like to raise my hand 'cause I'm afraid I'll say something stupid or I'll have the wrong answer." Also, they do not interact with the teacher. "I just sit down because I know the teacher's going to yell and say, 'You can't go outside for p. e. You'll get Time Out.'" The SEARCH girls discussed cleaning the classroom and playing games. Interactions with the teacher are varied. Ellen reports that she has very little interaction with the teacher. Donna, on the other hand, states, "She wants me to sit by her. Sometimes I give her a hug."

Compare and Contrast: With one exception, all girls said that their placement in the magnet and/or SEARCH program had been determined by testing. Jane initially said that she didn't know how she got into the magnet program. She then said, "I guess I made good enough grades." When asked how they got the label "gifted," responses were varied: " I signed up and passed the test...I made good grades....I'm really good at everything."

With one exception, all girls repeated that they enjoyed p. e. and art classes. Critical comments regarding some of their teachers were also repeated. "She [teacher] also yells a lot at other people....She doesn't have to do class work,...learn anything, or do anything....I don't talk really loud because [the teacher], she's gonna yell."

Regarding their perceptions concerning other classes of students in the school, magnet and SEARCH girls tend to place SEARCH, magnet, and residential classes, students, and teachers into hierarchical strata with the SEARCH classes being more advanced and more "fun" and the residential classes being more basic and not as much "fun." Specifically, the magnet girls discussed the varying levels and time frames. "They [other students] do the same thing, but not at the same time....They [SEARCH students] study mythology....The residential students do math and social studies and health and science and all that other stuff...and they're not as 'gifted and talented'." Further, according to one magnet girl, "In magnet you're more educated and...in a higher class then the residential students....Magnet students would have to do more work than the residential students and they know more." One SEARCH girl said, "We have more work to do, to build up our strength and learn....I hate to say it but we have more fun." Another SEARCH girl stated:

> In the residential classes they usually don't work on like experiments or like projects or something....[A residential class] is not as smart as, I mean it's not as good as, SEARCH class...Some of the residential students came in our class because they got in trouble and they went to the back table and did worksheets....I looked at some of the worksheets and they were real easy....We know more than them.

Comparisons of magnet, SEARCH, and residential teachers varied. One magnet girl said that they all "yell a lot." Contradictorily, one SEARCH girl said, "They're nice." Differences between the three groups of teachers were categorical and structural. For example, one magnet girl said, "SEARCH teachers teach mythology, magnet teachers teach you science and social studies, and...residential teachers teach classes." A SEARCH girl said, "Ms.

Wade [SEARCH teacher] is in a higher level because she's in the SEARCH class....She is probably the smartest because she teaches the SEARCH class."

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": According to the magnet and SEARCH girls, "giftedness" is a cognitive construct. It means "being smart....You know all the stuff." Further, the girls view it as an hierarchical concept. It means "above all others....[and] higher or smarter people....like residential is lower and magnet is higher."

Comparisons between themselves and the other students in the school varied among the magnet girls. One magnet girl said, "Everybody has a teacher that yells and everybody has a teacher that can be mean." Another said, "We have to wear uniforms." Responses from the SEARCH girls were alike. In contradiction to their previous remarks, both said that everyone was "smart." One SEARCH girl said, "We all have different levels but the same intelligence." When explaining how they are unlike the other students in the school, the magnet girls' responses were again varied. One discussed class sizes and differences in names. The other discussed subject matter. Responses from the SEARCH girls were again alike. Both discussed behavior. "Some people...get into trouble....I don't get into fights." More specifically, when explaining how they are like the other magnet and SEARCH students, the magnet girls responses focused on academics. The SEARCH girls focused on intelligence. "We are all smart." When asked how they are unlike the other magnet and SEARCH students, the magnet girls discussed differences in subject matter and the fact that they were not in SEARCH. The SEARCH girls described individual differences. When explaining how they are like the residential students, responses focused on shared academics, interests, and the desire to have fun. "We both learn the same things eventually....We all like to have fun."They are different from the residential students because of placement, intelligence, and behavior. "I'm a magnet

student....I am quicker than them....Some people are really bad....They get into fights and stuff. Usually it's the boys. That's no surprise either."

Perceptions of the magnet and SEARCH programs were complimentary, hierarchical, and focused on testing and placement. The magnet program "means a lot because you had to pass a special test....Magnet classes have [more] advanced things than what they have in the residential classes." One girl said, "You have achieved a level, but not as high as the SEARCH program." Regarding the SEARCH program: "Before you can start...you have to take a test....It means that you have achieved a level of, um, let's just say 'smartness'....and it's really fun." Their perceptions regarding the residential program were all derogatory. "It means that you are not smart enough to be in the magnet class....It's just a regular class....It means that you need to work harder." Lastly, one magnet girl said, "I know that, um, it wouldn't actually mean a lot to me."

According to the magnet and SEARCH girls, the magnet and SEARCH programs share several commonalities: Both have students, teachers, similar subject matter and equipment, and both require "good enough grades to get in them." Several differences were also noted. In the SEARCH program the pace is faster and the subject matter is more comprehensive. With one exception, when asked how the classes for the "gifted" are like the residential classes, the girls referred to learning. "We both learn the same subjects." One magnet girl said, "We all have teachers." Two major differences were also noted: entrance criteria and structural positioning. More specifically, one must pass a test to be admitted into program for the "gifted." Testing is not required for admission into the residential program. Lastly, the magnet and SEARCH programs are "very advanced." One SEARCH girl stated, "SEARCH is higher [and] you learn things quicker."

Regarding their entrance into the magnet and/or SEARCH programs, with one exception, all girls replied that they had taken a test. One girl said, "I made a grade....I listened to the teacher." When asked if any student could get into the programs for the "gifted" at Fagan, with one exception, opinions were evenly divided. One girl replied that any student could get into the magnet program "because the magnet program is, I think, fairly easy." However, not everyone could get into the SEARCH program. She explained: "Some people even in the magnet class can't because they keep on taking the test over and over again but they just can't like get it." Lastly, any student could get into the residential program "if you make bad grades."

According to the magnet and SEARCH girls, not every student should be in the programs for the "gifted," or the residential program. One girl explained:

> Some people don't want to be in the SEARCH program [and] some are not smart enough or quick enough....The people in the magnet program are the people that like work their hardest and work their best....The magnet program for the residential students may be too hard.

The magnet and SEARCH girls believe that some students are in the programs for the "gifted" because they're "quick," "smart," and "they passed a test." Others are not because of choice, they didn't pass a test, "they're not smart enough or they're not quick enough," or their behavior is poor. One magnet girl said, "They [residential students] act up...They talk out loud....They call people names and hit people."

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": With one exception, all magnet and SEARCH girls said that they like being called "gifted." "It makes me stand out with everybody....Everybody likes a person

that's 'gifted,' I think....It shows how special a student can be....That's a compliment." An African-American magnet girl said that she did not like being called "gifted" because she is teased by others who are not so labeled. According to the girls, being labeled "gifted" has benefits: One SEARCH girl explains:

> You get challenges....It's sort of like a movie....There's mystery about what you're going to do or how you're going to do it. There's adventure, like your challenges through learning....And then there's romance because you love learning and you love what you're doing.

This same girl also described the following drawback:

> People expect "gifted" children to be perfect....like you're somebody better, you're somebody great....But you're really not perfect. You're just somebody who does good work and you make mistakes a lot. [For example], if I don't have my homework, she [teacher] is shocked or something.

Effect of the Label "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": When asked how others react to their label, responses from the magnet and SEARCH girls were mixed. Their friends accept their label "and they're not shocked that I don't know things." One SEARCH girl said, "My friends think it's all fun and games but it's not." Reactions from classmates were negative. One magnet girl said that her classmates believe that "I shouldn't be in the magnet program when I don't get something." A SEARCH girl said that others "are jealous because they want to be in the SEARCH program but they can't because...they don't listen and they don't work hard enough....They say I'm Miss Goody Two Shoes. They tease you a lot." All of the girls said that their parents held positive feelings about their

label. "My parents believe that I am smart--the best." Parents also hold high expectations regarding their performance. One magnet girl explained:

> I feel stupid for not knowing anything like when I didn't understand long division in third grade....I went home and asked my parents for help and, um, I said I was stupid and didn't want to be in the magnet program anymore but my parents said it should mean a lot to me because I was in the magnet program.

With one exception, all stated that their teachers are supportive of their placements. Jane stated that her teachers think "that sometimes I shouldn't be [in the magnet program] and sometimes I should."

All magnet and SEARCH girls reported that they were not treated differently by friends or parents because of their labels. However, teachers and classmates do manifest differential treatment toward them. According to one magnet girl, teachers give her harder things to learn "than the kids in the non-magnet program." Regarding classmates, one SEARCH girl stated:

> Mostly the boys actually are mean to me because they say that I'm like teacher's pet...just because I'm in the SEARCH program...and I know more than them....But I don't think they know how it feels to be, um, smart or a "gifted" student.

Most of the girls stated simply that they felt "good" about their label. When telling how others feel about not being labeled "gifted," with one exception, all said that they felt excluded. "I think sometimes they feel left out....unhappy." One SEARCH girl said, "If they want to listen and they want to work...and they want to practice, then they can be in the SEARCH program."

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or Non-giftedness": Two of the girls replied that they are indeed "gifted." The others responded that they are "gifted" "sometimes." One SEARCH girl explains: "Sometimes when I can't get a

problem...I wonder if she [teacher] is gonna put me out of the 'gifted' class." When asked which setting they prefer for themselves, all but one preferred the magnet program. One SEARCH girl said, "SEARCH....because we have challenges along the way and I think that's great because I can learn new things and have fun."

Photo Exercise: According to the Magnet and SEARCH girls, all six classes are alike because they are all working and learning. They are different because of their respective placements and all compared the magnet and SEARCH classes to the residential classes. For example, one magnet girl stated, "Some are residential and some are magnet....Some students are white and some are the other color....like brownish." One SEARCH girl contradicted her earlier response that all classes are learning. She said, "Some of the people in here [SEARCH class] are having fun and some [in the residential class] are not....They're not like learning. Some people look like they don't really want to learn." When asked how she knew that, she chuckled and replied that she could tell by "the look on their faces....She [residential girl] looks like she's asleep."

When discussing how they got into their respective settings, responses were mixed. Half of the girls referred to their successful performance on a "test." The others believe that they were placed in their settings because of their hard work and good grades. Reasons for being in their respective settings were once again mixed. One magnet girl cited fate. "My name just happened to be under the list in Ms. Holt's class." Another mentioned the importance of learning. A SEARCH girl said that she was there because of testing. Another said she was there because of choice. "I wanted to be here and I wanted to have fun learning." Lastly, half of the girls stated that they were satisfied and "happy" with their placements. The other half indicated that they were not. In contradiction to her previous positive remarks regarding the SEARCH program,

one SEARCH girl stated, "If it [SEARCH] gets more exciting and [we do] more projects and experiments, then people would like it a lot more."

Individual Perspectives of Parents of Fourth-Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted" (i. e., Mothers of Magnet Girls)

Ms. North (Didi's mother):

Preliminaries: Interviews with Ms. North were conducted at school in a media center ante-room and in the back room of the family-owned camera shop. Ms. North is Anglo-American and her husband is Iranian. They have two daughters--Didi and Didi's older sister who is in a fifth-grade magnet class at Fagan. Ms. North also has two children from a previous marriage. "I'm an older mom, you know" (p. 1). In spite of her right foot being in a cast as a result of a recent accident, she was an enthusiastic and expressive respondent.

"Grand Tour": Ms. North described a busy, exhausting life with an active child. "It's tough sometimes, uh, keeping up. She's got a lot of energy" (p. 1). Life as the parent of a magnet fourth-grader was even more demanding "because of the hands-on and the enriched curriculum and the projects, projects, projects which Didi and I both love" (p. 1).

Ms. North told how she was raised in the mountains of West Virginia in a very backward environment by grandparents who were intelligent yet only had a fourth-grade education. Their ambition for her was to become a beautician or a secretary, "and I'm seeking more than that for my children" (p. 2). In an effort to instill the importance of education in Didi, "we've cut way back on any extracurricular activities" (p. 3). Her job is "to help Didi cope" (p. 3) with the requirements of the rigorous magnet program. She described Didi as being very literal and "bright" but she was never shown to be "gifted" because she had not passed the SEARCH test.

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding Ms. North's level of involvement at Fagan elicited that she tries to interact with the school and to instill proper values in Didi--"that it doesn't matter if someone brought invitations to school and she wasn't included" (p. 3). Further, she tries to take her to the library, to encourage her to use good judgment, to "think things through" (p. 3), and to develop good habits. "That's hard because I'm not a structured person" (p. 3).

Ms. North stated that she "outgrew" the PTA and likes to be at school at the classroom level. "You find out some interesting information that you may need in the future--not as a blackmail thing--just as characteristics of this or that teacher and who may be more suited to your child's personality" (p. 4). She also goes with Didi to the library, helps her understand difficult materials, and goes over her spelling words with her.

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: Ms. North repeated that she considered academics a priority--"rather than little fashion statements" (p. 5). Further, Didi "does well in her studies at school. She's not a behavior problem" (p. 5)....yet she is influenced by peers. For example, she picks up "little tacky rhymes, ignorance, and bad language" (p. 6). When questioned, she assumes "a reeealy [sic] bad attitude" (p. 6). She described Didi's classroom as being structured, with schedules followed and order maintained "without a lot of yelling" (p. 5).

Compare and Contrast: Regarding her perceptions concerning Didi's placement in the magnet program, Ms. North responded that a friend of hers--who happened to be a teacher--told her about the program at Fagan (which also included Spanish instruction). So, she had Didi tested for kindergarten. However, Didi refused to read the story, "Sally and the Monkey" because, according to Didi, it was too "boring." Ms. North continued:

> ....and so we got a nice polite little rejection letter that Didi didn't qualify for Fagan. And I thought, "Oh, please! This is a crock! She's reading already!" You know she was reading at four, and uh, I don't know whether you can still do it, but we had her privately tested, and she tested well above the minimum qualifications for Fagan. (p. 5)

According to Ms. North, the program at Fagan has been positive for Didi. It "gives her something to be proud of and here we go back to the label 'Academy for the Gifted and Talented' where she's not only functioning, but she's thriving....[and] maintaining good grades....and I think it's been good for her self-esteem" (p. 6). Ms. North likes the school structure (i. e., the organization and discipline), the "continuity of being in the same school" (p. 8), the curriculum which is enriched, and the teachers who are also "gifted." Didi's experience in the Chorus has also been a good one. "She and the [music] teacher seem to have clicked" (p.10).

Conversely, it has also been a negative experience for Didi. Her failure to qualify for SEARCH (which Ms. North blames on Didi's not trying and working as hard as she should), the extra work, and the "cliquishness" have been difficult. Further, the fact that she does not attend the same school as the other children in the neighborhood has made it difficult for her to make friends with them. "We've also got a bus driver that screams. She stops at different places to get drinks and pays the kids money to go in and get it" (p. 9).

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": Ms. North believes that "gifted" means an innate ability for intellectual "giftedness"--"a 'gift' from God....and I think if you are 'gifted,' you should be grateful for that 'gift,' and, um, I think if you have a child who is 'gifted' then it's your responsibility to see to it that they're well-rounded" (p. 10). When asked to explain what she meant, she stated that

she did not like labels but "rather than see children turned into 'nerds,' they need to be exposed to sports...music, and some activities that aren't purely intellectual" (p. 10).

In comparing Didi to the other students at the school, Ms. North stated that Didi "comes from a home with caring parents,...she's just an average kid....not mega-intelligent....who likes body gel, platforms, Mary Kate and Ashley movies" (p. 11). Didi is different from the other students because "she has high religious morals....She prays in school" (p. 11). More specifically, Didi is like the other magnet students because she is "on about the same intellectual level,....she doesn't need a lot of individual time from her teachers, and she's able to grasp what's taught her quickly and...understand it" (p. 11). She is unlike the other magnet students because she is involved in fewer "outside school activities....and she comes from a bicultural family" (p. 11). Didi is like the SEARCH students because she is "bright and picks up on ideas quickly" (p. 12). Ms. North then stated that she wished that Didi was "exposed to more of their [SEARCH] curriculum [even though] the little centers are all wasted learning time" (p. 12). She is unlike the SEARCH students because "she's not a SEARCH student and she wasn't exposed to that nice little study on medieval times and she dreeeamed [sic] over those castles....She would loved to have, uh, been building a castle" (p. 12). Didi is like the residential students because "they're starting to grow up and be interested in things outside the home....and she's a minority" (p. 12). She is unlike the residential students because "they [residential students] are not in the magnet program" (p. 13).

Ms. North believes that she is like the other parents in the school because she loves her children, she wants them to be successful, and she "cares about what's going on in their life" (p. 14). She is unlike the other parents at the school because she is not very structured, she is part of an "intercultural

marriage,....and I have high moral standards" (p. 14). More specifically, Ms. North stated that she is like the other magnet parents because she is "very particular about where my child goes to school and...you know the racial thing doesn't bother me one bit" (p. 15). She is unlike the other magnet parents because "they all seem to be organized and structured and as I stated earlier, I'm not" (p. 16). She is like the SEARCH parents because she wishes Didi to do well, she is supportive, and she "spends a fortune on stuff for projects" (p. 15). She is unlike the SEARCH parents because Didi is not in SEARCH. She is like the residential parents because she is "loving and caring....and likes the resident teachers [who] are fabulous too. You don't have to teach 'gifted' children to be a 'gifted' teacher" (p.16). She is unlike the residential parents because they are minority, they live "in a poor neighborhood," and they don't do as much volunteer work at the school as she does.

According to Ms. North, the magnet program "means you'd better be ready for some hard work....and a lot of leg work" (p. 18). The SEARCH program is an "honor and a reward for intelligence" (p. 17). Regarding the residential program, she stated that she hoped "that they [residential families] would want to be involved and [take advantage] of programs available for them like summer reading programs and...family centers...which serve a lot of needs" (p. 18).

Ms. North stated that the magnet and SEARCH programs are alike because there are a "lot of hands-on, additional stuff" (p. 19). They are different because the magnet program offers remediation if necessary. Further, the SEARCH program offers more to the students and there are "people who are far-thinking who can plan ahead and plan strategies and I'd like some of that...in the magnet program and I don't see that" (p. 19). The magnet and residential programs are the same because they both have "good teachers....and the

children are in control and I like that. Because the screamers--the screaming teachers--don't really have control" (p. 19). They are different because of the "racial make-up" and "I know in the residential classes you may have some children not in the the same range intellectually" (p. 20). When asked what she meant, Ms. North explained:

> Some [of the residential students] are in the twentieth percentile and [others] may be in the ninetieth percentile or above and that concerns me which is why I have my kids where they are, because I don't want them held up because of slower learners and I don't want them out-paced because of people who are way above them intellectually....There needs to be some programs in place somewhere, like Fagan, where you can group them intellectually. (p. 20)

Ms. North concluded by stating, "I just get frustrated that I'll say the wrong thing and I would never mean to say it maliciously" (p. 20).

Ms. North cited luck--"luck of the draw" (p. 21)--when discussing how she got to be the parent of a magnet student. Regarding placement of teachers and students at the school, Ms. North explained that a teacher gets to teach in the magnet program if "she is certified to teach the 'gifted'....She [also] has to have a lot on the ball and a lot to offer....The parents at Fagan are demanding. They want their children to go at a fast pace and most parents like the additional hands-on with all the projects and reports" (p. 21). A student gets into the magnet program if they pass the test, "everything is done on time, there is space available, and...the ratio of white versus non-white is met" (p. 21). A teacher gets to teach in the SEARCH program if they "have more background in dealing with 'gifted' children" (p. 22). A student gets into the SEARCH program based on "ITBS, grades, teacher recommendation, and...the something,

something test for creativity" (p. 22). A teacher gets to teach in the residential program if "she goes through the normal channels and applies for a job....If she meets qualifications and if there is a need for a teacher I would assume that she or he would get the job" (p. 21). A student gets into the residential program if they are "a resident of that school district of that particular area" (p. 21).

When asked if any teacher could get into the magnet program, Ms. North responded, "No, I would hope not. Because just like there are 'gifted' teachers all over the country and world, there are ho-hum teachers everywhere. [Also], there's probably a little more criteria for selecting a magnet teacher....[like] more education [and] some experience or training or additional classes in dealing with children in that particular intellectual bracket" (p. 23). Likewise, not any student could get into the magnet program "because you've got to score at a certain level...and [there are] racial criteria" (p. 23) and not any teacher could get into the SEARCH program because "not all [teachers] are qualified educationally and I think they have to have a 'gift'....They [SEARCH students] are a flighty bunch [and] need to be handled in a certain way" (p. 22). She said that not any student can get into the SEARCH program "but I think some more of them ought to be given the opportunity" (p. 22). When asked if any teacher could get into the residential program, Ms. North responded, "No. I would think that the people in the decision-making process would want the best for our school and that eliminates some teachers" (p. 23). Regarding entrance into the residential program, she stated, "You've got to live in that area to get in" (p. 24).

According to Ms. North, all teachers at Fagan should be qualified to teach in the magnet program whether they are a magnet teacher or not. However, not every child should be in the magnet program because "that's your draw...to the school" (p. 25). All teachers should be in the SEARCH program because "the more you know the more you can share" (p. 24). However, not

every child should be in the SEARCH program because "it's supposed to be advanced...and enriched and I think it's more than some students could handle" (p. 25). If all teachers were in the residential program, there would be "much to offer a resident student, or maybe even more" (p. 25). However, not every child should be in the residential program because "being in any resident program might tend to keep [some of] them from getting the things they need" (p. 26).

Ms. North told me that some teachers are in the magnet and SEARCH programs because of choice and because they are qualified. Others are not because "there are no openings available or they are not interested in the additional work" (p. 26). Some teachers are in the residential programs because "they want to teach and they are interested in that school" (p. 26). Others are not because they weren't interested and "there were no openings available" (p. 26). Lastly, some students are in the magnet program because "they are capable and their parents are interested in pursuing what they perceived to be the best for their children" (p. 27). Others are not because "some don't qualify [and] some have parents who are not interested in having them in the magnet program" (p. 27). Some students are in the SEARCH program because they are qualified and they passed the SEARCH test. Others are not because they didn't qualify. Some students are in the residential program because "that's where they live and they don't have much choice" (p. 27). Others are not because because "they don't live in that area" (p. 27).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being a Parent of a Child Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Ms. North likes being called the parent of a magnet student. "It's flattering....It's a prideful thing" (p. 30). According to Ms. North, being called a parent of a "gifted" child at Fagan has the following benefits: Didi's needs are being met "in one of the best programs that this area offers" (p. 28), she is grouped with her intellectual peers, she has good teachers who "go

above and beyond core curriculum" (p. 29), and parents are made to feel welcome. Conversely, according to Ms. North, being called the parent of a magnet student has the following drawbacks: the additional work required to complete special assignments (e. g., Science Fair projects), the long bus rides to school in the morning and back home in the afternoon which leave little time for extracurricular activities, and the lack of school friends in their neighborhood. "I miss that spirit of community" (p. 30).

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Others react to her having a child in the magnet program in several ways: Her friends comment about Fagan being a good school and the fact that there are some good teachers there. Her husband's family recognizes that Didi is "bright" but "if they say anything they say it in Farsi so I wouldn't know" (p. 35)! When mentioning her own family, she stated, "They also recognize that Didi is bright" (p. 35). She then said, "I come from a pretty backwards area but do you know something, in spite of that, I had good teachers, and if I had studied, I would have as good a background as anyone else" (p. 35).

Ms. North does not believe that she is treated differently by others because she has a child in the magnet program at Fagan. Regarding the feelings of parents who do not have a child in the magnet program, Ms. North said, "I don't think it bothers them in the least or they would take, uh, other steps" (p. 37).

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Ms. North does not believe that she is "gifted" or that she is a "gifted" parent because "low self-esteem, uh, has always caused me to underweight my abilities....Even if I look at it objectively, I don't see myself as 'gifted' in any way" (p. 38). Further, she does not believe that one has to be "gifted' to have a "gifted" child. "There's a

genetic throwback to somebody else in your family" (p. 38). She thinks that Didi should be in the magnet and SEARCH programs. She states:

> Her grades have always been good....Teacher recommendations ...have always been good....I've compared her work to others. When she gets in teamwork with a fellow student who happened to be in SEARCH, and compare the quality of the work, it was better. I had a teacher try to, uh, tell me once, "She does better quality work than most of my SEARCH students." Her ITBS scores have always been good enough to qualify her to test but she's never, uh, never been able to get in SEARCH at the final stage and that has disappointed and affected her and through that, it's bothered me. (p. 39)

She does not believe that Didi should be in the residential program. "You have to accept all the kids in your residential school and it puts such a range from the least capable to the most capable and I think that would put her at a disadvantage" (p. 39).

Photo Exercise: According to Ms. North, the six classrooms are alike because they are all "well-behaved and involved....and the classes are appropriately decorated (p. 41)....Learning process goes on in these classes" (p. 43). They are different because "residential classes are, um, all black students" (p. 43). The magnet and SEARCH classes are, "uh, a mix of about everybody--black, white, Asian--with mostly white kids in here [SEARCH]....Some kids wear uniforms. Some kids don't....[In the SEARCH class] they're not focusing strictly on academics...but hands-on....Resident children don't get exposed to foreign language" (pp. 43-44). When asked how Didi got into her setting, Ms. North stated that she wanted Didi "to be exposed to the enrichment" (p. 44). If Didi were not in the magnet program she "might have

fewer opportunities....[On the other hand], we would have more leisure time at home. She wouldn't have the long, long bus ride each day. She probably would have an opportunity to be with more of her friends" (p. 45).

Ms. Smith (Jane's mother):

Preliminaries: Interviews with Ms. Smith were conducted at school in a media center anteroom. She came several times during her lunch hour to meet with me. Ms. Smith is African-American and attended Fagan in first through eighth grades. She remarked, "The work is so much harder now than when I was going to school" (p. 24). She is divorced from Jane's father. She is planning to remarry in the near future. Her fiance' is from Jamaica. She has two other children--a daughter in high school "who is also 'gifted'" (p. 3) and a son who is in a third grade magnet class at Fagan. Ms. Smith was an enthusiastic respondent with a positive, happy demeanor.

"Grand Tour": Ms. Smith began by discussing homework which she described as different from her own experiences. "The kids now need more help. Parents have to be more involved....[There's] a lot more studying and buckling down" (p. 1). According to Ms. Smith, fourth-grade is a challenging, transitional period. Her children want her heavily involved in their work yet she is struggling to have them work more on their own. "They still want that, I don't know, that protection I guess. They want you there all the time and getting them to be more independent is hard" (p. 1).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding Ms. Smith's level of involvement at Fagan elicited repetitive comments regarding homework. Her children have difficult assignments requiring her assistance. Further, she states, "Me being a working parent and coming home late, it is not

easy making sure that it's done" (p. 2). Lastly, "I am very firm....I make sure they get enough sleep [and] I'm constantly on them about meals" (p. 2).

Regarding additional specific levels of involvement at Fagan and in Jane's academic life, Ms. Smith stated, "I'm not that great in English but math is my thing and we play math games" (p. 3). Additionally, she communicates freely with her children ("I always ask them what happened in school and I never settle for 'nothing'", p. 3). She told how Jane likes to write "and I read the things she writes" (p. 3). Lastly, she encourages her children to interact with one another.

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: Ms. Smith repeated that she communicates very closely with Jane. "She tells me everything....I know her favorite subjects. I know what she's strong in and what she's weak in. I know she likes to go outside and play....She tells me about her friends,....what the teacher's doing, and if the teacher's working with her on something special (p. 4). Additionally, she said that Jane "is very emotional and she will start crying" (p. 4) when she doesn't do well in her schoolwork.

Compare and Contrast: Regarding her perceptions concerning Jane's placement in the magnet program, Ms. Smith simply stated that Jane began in the magnet program in second grade. According to Ms. Smith, the program at Fagan has been positive for Jane. "Some of the things that they're doing, we never did, and just the computers alone, just the technology alone, and the curriculum that they have, I think it's excellent" (p. 5). She is also pleased with Jane's developing writing skills and her improvement in science which she attributes to the teachers and "their one-on-one type thing with the students" (p. 5).

Conversely, it has also been a negative experience for Jane. "She's a little, well, 'snooty' about regular programs [and] cheerleading was the most negative thing that happened....Her grades started slipping. She was more

interested in football games, the cheerleading outfit, and remembering the cheers" (p. 6).

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": Ms. Smith believes that "gifted" means "accelerated....in academics,...singing,...sports....They're doing better, faster, learning at a faster rate" (p. 7).

Ms. Smith stated that Jane is like the other students in the school because "they're close-knit here. Everybody knows everybody....They all like to play....All of them come here to learn" (p. 7). Jane is unlike the other students because "she's more social....She's very mature for her age....I don't think she is as sheltered as the other children are" (p. 7). When asked to explain, she stated, "With me now being a single parent...I do what I can to protect her, but I'm not smothering her either" (p. 7). More specifically, Jane is like the other magnet students because "they're all on the same level" (p. 8). She is unlike the other magnet students because she is more "playful [and] social" (p. 8) than the others. Jane is like the SEARCH students in that she is diligent and "they really try to accelerate" (p. 8). She is different from the SEARCH students because "she has a lot of weaknesses....They [SEARCH students] just have that 'gift' to hear it one time and get it....[Jane] has to study. It doesn't come to her that easily" (p. 8). Jane is like the residential students because "they're children and they have that child spirit and mentality" (p. 8). She is different from the residential students because "she takes her work more seriously" (p. 9). When questioned about this, she stated, "Residential students...do not have a sense of importance, but she [Jane] knows that she has to get that work done to be here" (p. 9).

Ms. Smith is like the other parents at Fagan because she is involved with her children, she interacts and communicates with the teachers, and she makes sure her children are "well-behaved and disciplined....If they're not well-behaved and focused, then there's no way they can get out of class

what they're supposed to" (p. 9). She is unlike the other parents because she is more strict with her children. "My kids have a set bedtime...and good sleep and meals" (p. 9). More specifically, Ms. Smith stated that she is like the other magnet parents because "we know how important that education is" (p. 10). She is unlike the other magnet parents because of her strict requirements concerning proper rest and meals. She is like the SEARCH parents because "they concentrate on education and...they know how important it is to start early" (p. 9). She is unlike the SEARCH parents because they "push kids harder" (p. 10). She is like the residential parents because "they also want their children to get an education and...we try to stay involved" (p. 10). She is unlike the residential parents because she is "maybe a little stricter" (p. 10).

Ms. Smith's perceptions regarding the programs at Fagan and the parents of children involved in these programs varied: "They [magnet students] are are at the top academically but they also have some weaknesses that the SEARCH kids don't have" (p. 11). For magnet parents, "keeping up with what's going on in the classroom is hard enough...Just the activities that they do take a lot of involvement" (p. 11). The SEARCH program is "challenging....It means that you are an exceptional student" (p. 10). SEARCH parents have to keep their children "interested...and motivated" (p. 11). Regarding the residential program, she stated, "Just keeping up with what's going on in the classroom is hard enough" (p. 11). "If there is a problem academically...they [residential parents] try and, you know, tutor the child" (p. 11).

According to Ms. Smith, the magnet and SEARCH programs are alike because "the curriculum is maybe a little different ....and they [teachers] are finding new ways of going about it....They [teachers] are trying to get the best out of them [students] and keep them interested" (p. 12). They are different because SEARCH parents pressure their children more to succeed than magnet parents

do. The magnet and residential programs are the same because the "teachers want the same thing...to get these kids educated" (p. 12). They are different because the magnet program "may be a little more demanding....They [students] are pushed" (p. 12).

Ms. Smith told me that she got to be a parent of a magnet student because her children "were tested at the school and then the results were mailed and it said that they were accepted into the program" (p. 12). Regarding placement of teachers and students at the school, she explained that a teacher gets to teach in the magnet program if they have "special training,....more education,...more advanced psychology,....and take special classes" (p. 13). A student gets into the magnet program if they "apply at the Civic Center, set up an appointment, and do testing to make sure that academically they will be able to keep up with the work at school" (p. 13). A teacher gets to teach in the SEARCH program if they "take training, I believe, for them to train 'gifted' children" (p. 13). According to Ms. Smith, admission into the SEARCH program for students is based on testing, ITBS scores, and grades. A teacher gets to teach in the residential program if "they get their degree" (p. 12). According to Ms. Smith, admission into the residential program for students is "automatic. They go to the schools that they live close to" (p. 13).

Ms. Smith believes that any teacher could get into the magnet or SEARCH program--"if they have the right training" (p. 14). Any student could get into the magnet or SEARCH program "if they have...the drive at home and from school" (p. 14). Any teacher could get into the residential program "and...it takes a special teacher with patience. I was in a residential program and the classes were pretty big....You have a range of students [which means] pulling some aside and giving them special help" (p. 14). Lastly, any student could get into the residential program but "I wouldn't recommend it for all children" (p. 14).

According to Ms. Smith, not all teachers should be in the magnet program because "if you're teaching the same message it's not going to work" (p. 15). However, every child should be in the magnet program "if they have the potential...[and] if they can do the work" (p. 15). Not all teachers should be in the SEARCH program--"unless there has been the right training" (p. 15). Not every child should be in the SEARCH program "unless they can do the work" (p. 15). Not all teachers should be in the residential program because "it takes a lot of patience....You have different personalities--all of them are not 'gifted.' A lot of them are going to move at a different pace" (p. 15). Likewise, not every child should be in the residential program because if they are "above academically, they're not going to stay focused and they're going to lose interest in school" (p. 15).

According to Ms. Smith, some teachers are in the magnet program "to work with these 'gifted' children and to see them grow and to bring out their full potential" (p. 16). Others are not because of choice or lack of training. Some teachers are in the SEARCH program because of the desire to challenge "gifted" students. Others are not because of choice or lack of training. Some teachers are in the residential program because of choice. Also, according to Ms. Smith, "It is a good area for training [and] it's more of a challenge...than the magnet or SEARCH programs" (p. 16). Others are not because perhaps they wish to work with "gifted" children. Lastly, some students are in the magnet program because "their parents applied and they [magnet students] are able to meet the curriculum for magnet students" (p. 17). Others are not "because academically they're not, um, able to do the work" (p. 17). Some students are in the SEARCH program "because they meet the criteria of the grades and the testing and um, also they're just excellent" (p. 17). Others are not "because they didn't have high enough test scores or um, academically they're just not where a SEARCH

student should be" (p. 17). Some students are in the residential program "because academically they're not at the levels of the magnet or the parents just didn't apply for them to attend" (p. 17).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being a Parent of a Child Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": At first, Ms. Smith stated that she likes being called the parent of a magnet student. "It means I've done something right as far as with their education" (p. 18). She then contradicted herself by stating that she did not like being called the parent of a magnet student because "I am a parent like everyone else....I mean everyone is sending their child to school to get an education" (p. 19). According to Ms. Smith, being called a parent of a "gifted' child at Fagan has the following benefits: "more one-on-one teaching....Every child has a weakness...and she [the teacher] can recognize that and deal with it or bring it to the parents' attention" (p. 19). Further, "I know they're being challenged....You get to be involved with the kids' work...and...it can bring you closer with the child" (p. 20). Conversely, according to Ms. Smith, being called the parent of a magnet student has the following drawbacks: "It is a lot of work...[and] some of the students are lazy....It's very stressful....If they [her children] were in a regular class, then it would probably come a little easier because there wouldn't be that stress, but then they wouldn't be challenged either....People think that we're pressuring the children" (p. 19). When asked about this last remark, she stated:

> They stereotype the parents as slave-drivers, making them [the children] stay home and study and no social life and no going outside, not being a child....[but] I find it very important that my kids do well on the ITBS [Iowa Test of Basic Skills]. (pp. 19-20)

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Others react in different ways to her having a child in the magnet program. Her friends remark that she must be

proud. Further, they believe mistakenly that the magnet program is college preparatory when actually its purpose is to "bring out their [her children's] capabilities" (p. 21). Lastly, "some people may think of it as a status thing" (p. 22). Family members are proud. "They know that they have these programs that we did not have which I wish that they had had....and they like the idea of having her [Jane] somewhere where they're going to challenge her because kids who aren't challenged usually disrupt the class" (p. 21).

According to Ms. Smith, she is not treated differently by others because she has a child in the magnet program. When asked how other parents feel about not having a child in the magnet program, Ms. Smith said, "I would like to think that the parents understand because all children cannot be 'gifted'" (p. 22).

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Ms. Smith denies that she is "gifted." However, she also stated, "I've been told I'm a genius at my work, but that's just with a lot of training and it's something that I love to do" (p. 23). She also denies that she is a "gifted" parent. However, she also said, "My mom says I am....She [her mother] watched me and she said, 'I know you should be totally exhausted,' and I am at the end of the day. I am exhausted....She just did not see how I did it with me working" (p. 23). When asked if one has to be "gifted" in order to have a "gifted" child she replied, "No, not at all. I'm living proof" (p. 24)! When asked if Jane should be in the magnet program, she was hesitant. "I think she can do the work when she pushes herself" (p. 25). She does not believe that she should be in the SEARCH program. "I don't think she's at that level yet" (p. 25). Lastly, she would not mind Jane "being in the residential program if there was a teacher willing to challenge her intellectually, academically" (p. 25).

Photo Exercise: When comparing the six classroom settings, Ms. Smith first commented--as an aside--that one of the residential teachers was her fifth grade teacher. She then stated that "they all seem to be involved in their work....They all look happy to be learning....There are no frowns. You would think there would be some frowns....The groups look pretty small....They have a good working environment....They're trying to ignore the camera" (pp 26-27). When contrasting the classes, the list was longer. "In the SEARCH pictures...there are different types of learning besides book learning....more hands-on stuff....There are no desks at all. They're at a table....The SEARCH class looks like it's more fun....In the residential classes they are closer together....There seems to be more stuff in the residential classrooms. It's busier....The magnet classes are calmer....with not as much stuff....and in the SEARCH class, it's bare" (p. 25). Lastly, she stated, "I see in the residential classes there are more African-American students....In the magnet there are, um, a mixture of students and then when you look at the SEARCH students, there are more white kids....That's the biggest difference" (p. 28).

Regarding her daughter's placement in a magnet setting, she stated simply, "I applied and she took a test" (p. 30). When asked how things might be different if Jane were not in the magnet program she stated, "I do believe that she would still be in a magnet program because she is a smart little girl....but I don't think she would feel a sense of need to do well....There's no way you can have your children here in this program and not be involved a lot" (p. 30).

Ms. Hale (Brandy's mother):

Preliminaries: All interviews with Ms. Hale were conducted at school in a media center anteroom. On several occasions, she came during her

lunch hour to meet with me. Ms. Hale is an African-American single mother who works outside the home. She has two daughters--Brandy and Brandy's older sister who attended Fagan as a residential student. "She [Brandy's older sister] passed [the admissions test] all three times but was never placed in the [magnet] program" (p. 3). Interestingly, Ms. Hale and Mrs. Benton (Gail's mother) are sisters. Their mother is a middle school paraprofessional who keeps her informed regarding "the books and stuff to get them [the girls]" (p. 2). When Ms. Hale was in elementary school, she skipped a grade "which was quite a transition" (p. 1) for her. She has a college degree in management. "I love words" (p. 6)! Ms. Hale was an enthusiastic and expressive respondent.

"Grand Tour": Ms. Hale described a busy, exhausting life of working full time, then coming home, "checking homework, making sure reports are done and are neat and to my acceptance....After I do the 'homework check,' then I start dinner" (p. 1). She also stated, "All of us are chatterboxes so no one can get a word in edgewise" (p. 1). She portrayed Brandy as not only smart but also "street smart with a lot of common sense--like me" (p. 6). She is also "a little on the lazy side....She likes to rush through things because she knows she can do it. I guess her mind is working faster than the pen so I have to constantly stay on top of her, and I tell her that the work she does is a reflection of her....She's a lot like me in that aspect because she doesn't have to study a lot for tests and things like that" (p. 2). Lastly, she said that this year in fourth grade "her grades haven't been up to par...so that was a little reality check for her" (p. 2).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding Ms. Hale's level of involvement at Fagan elicited that "that magnet label" is often a problem for Brandy. She implied that Brandy worries about not being in SEARCH. "I say [to Brandy], 'Don't worry about that. As long as you're doing well on what you're doing, then that's not a problem'" (p. 2). She also told me that she

struggles to prevent Brandy from being elitist regarding her label. She said that she has to keep Brandy "in line,...a little grounded" (p. 2) because she needs constant reminders that she's "no different from any other child here [at Fagan]" (p. 2). Further, she spends a lot of time with Brandy "going to the library,...constantly checking and double-checking" (p. 2) her work. ....I've always read to them...and I enjoyed it so much" (p. 2).

Regarding additional specific levels of involvement at Fagan and in Brandy's academic life, Ms. Hale stated that she allows Brandy to make choices about her school work--"like science projects....She has to have freedom to make her own choices. Failure is a part of making choices" (p. 3). She repeated that she takes her to the library and "checks her homework [and] her notebooks and notes" (p. 3).

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: In addition to her comments regarding general and specific levels of involvement in Brandy's academic life, Ms. Hale stated, "I'm not familiar with her exact schedule...but I know...that...some kids are pulled out for certain activities and some, you know, are not....I know she is learning and her classroom is conducive to that process....The work that she gets is challenging....I know she enjoys it because if she didn't, I'd be up there more often you know" (p. 4). She also said that Brandy is a "jokester" and "likes to make people laugh" (p. 4). This causes her to "get into trouble" [then] she tells me they [teachers] are picking on her" (p. 4).

Compare and Contrast: Regarding her perceptions concerning Brandy's placement in the magnet program, Ms. Hale responded that, contrary to Brandy's older sister's experience, Brandy was tested and admitted on the first try. According to Ms. Hale, the program at Fagan has been positive for Brandy. "The kids in 'gifted' programs are treated a little differently" (p. 5). When asked to elaborate, she said, "The structure is different....The things they [magnet

students] participate in are different than what the residential kids may participate in....They [magnet students] get special attention....Brandy has an excellent vocabulary....She knows how to interact in different groups" (p. 6). Lastly, she stated that magnet parents participate more at the school than do residential parents. "You see it on parent-teacher nights, you know, when you're walking through the halls....The [magnet classrooms] are full of parents whereas just one or two parents are in the [residential] classrooms" (p. 6). Conversely, according to Ms. Hale, the program has also been a negative experience for Brandy in several ways: She has assumed an elitist attitude toward residential students. She continues to believe that she is a failure because she is not in the SEARCH program and "I don't see her being able to accept failure maybe later on in life" (p. 6). Lastly, Ms. Hale said, "I was not too happy with her teacher this year....There were days when no homework was given [and] she [the teacher] did not seem to want Brandy to participate in the Science Fair" (p. 8).

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": According to Ms. Hale, "gifted" means "someone with unique or special quality....someone who has excelled in a special field [like] the arts, education, music, painting" (p. 8).

Brandy is like the other students in the school because she lives in the neighborhood, is busy, and likes playing outside. "I mean, basically, she's a typical, I would say, nine-year-old" (p. 9). Brandy is unlike the other students at the school because "outside of her being in that program [magnet], she's a little bit tall for her size" (p. 9). More specifically, Brandy is like the other magnet students because her "level of knowledge is a little bit higher than those who are nonmagnet students [and they all] seem like a little bunch of know-it-alls" (p. 9). Ms. Hale could not think of a way that Brandy was unlike the other magnet students. Brandy is like the SEARCH students because "they're all fairly 'gifted'" (p. 9). She is unlike the SEARCH students because "she lives in the area

whereas I don't think most of those SEARCH children do" (p. 9). Brandy is like the residential students because "they're all familiar with the area....They all know each other....She plays with some of them....They all know the same individuals" (p. 10). Brandy is unlike the residential students because she is "in that program [magnet]" (p. 10).

When comparing herself to the other parents in the school, Ms. Hale stated, "I hope most parents care about their children's education....[and] I guess I'm African-American" (p. 11). She is unlike the other parents in the school because she spends more "caring time... with my children than most parents do....you know, me and my two girls....There's a whole bunch of free stuff that happens....so we go to museums, parks" (p. 11). More specifically, she is like the other magnet parents because "we spend more time with our children" (p. 11). When discussing how she is unlike the other magnet parents she replied contradictorily, "I'm not different! I know this! I know I'm different in some kind of way maybe. I'm a single parent" (p. 12). She is like the SEARCH parents because she spends a lot of time with her children and "I care" (p. 11). She was unable to think of a way that she is unlike the SEARCH parents. She is like the residential parents because "we all live in the same area [and] we all have the same concerns, you know, crime and...flooding" (p. 12). She is different from the residential parents because she is a homeowner and most of the people in her area rent....There are a "lot of people on fixed incomes" (p. 12).

To Ms. Hale, the magnet program means a fast "pace" and a "lot of work" [and] the parents have to "stay on top of them [students] and their work" (p. 13). The SEARCH program means "a different academic path [and] a more accelerated pace" (p. 12). Regarding the residential program, she stated that Fagan is the residential children's neighborhood school and that most of the children from the area come "to get an education" (p. 13). The residential

children believe that magnet children are a "little closed-in group that you can't penetrate" (p. 14). Further, "the magnet kids are treated differently....The teachers spend a little bit more time with them [magnet students] than they do with the others [residential students]" (p. 14). Ms. Hale then stated:

> I guess whenever you have kids that are labeled smarter than others...they're gonna be looked at differently....Being smarter sometimes is, uh, a crime, you know....[Others say] "You think you're so smart." One of the problems I ran into when I got skipped from second to fourth grade [was] I wasn't accepted by the fourth-graders because I hadn't come along with them and the third graders--the students I'd left in third grade--didn't like me because I got skipped....I had the opportunity to do it again in seventh grade and Mother was like, "No way!." So being given a label "gifted" is not an honor because it can cause problems. (p. 14)

According to Ms. Hale, the magnet and SEARCH programs are alike because "the lessons are different [and] they are at an accelerated pace" (p. 15). They are different because SEARCH students are "pulled out for a certain amount of time and the others [magnet students] are not" (p. 17). The skills taught in SEARCH "might be a little more detailed [and] go a little bit deeper" (p.15). The magnet and residential programs are the same because "everybody attends Fagan [and] everybody has the same schedule basically" (p. 17). They are different because of "what you're learning and the rate that you're learning" (p. 17).

Ms. Hale stated that she became the parent of a magnet student by "staying on top of them [her daughters] you know, being active, and wanting them to be in this program" (p. 17). She explained that a teacher gets to teach in the magnet program because they are "assigned" [and] they have training in

exceptional children" (p. 18). A student gets into the magnet program "strictly by that test" (p. 18). A teacher gets to be in the SEARCH program with "special training...and I hope they've had at least a master's" (p. 18). A student gets to be in the SEARCH program because of testing. A teacher gets to teach in the residential program because they are "assigned" and a student gets into the residential program because of their "proximity to the school" (p. 18).

Ms. Hale does not believe that any teacher could get into the magnet program. "I would think special training would be in order...to work with children who feel a little differently, absorb more than average students,....work at a faster pace,...think a little 'out of the box,' [and] question things a little bit more" (p. 19). "A teacher would have to be a little bit more experienced also" (p. 20). According to Ms. Hale, any child can get into the magnet program with the proper training, particularly at "the preschool" level (p. 20). Any teacher could get into the SEARCH program "with proper training" (p. 20). Any student could get into the SEARCH program "with good teachers, proper training,...and if they want to bad enough" (p. 20). When asked if any teacher could get into the residential program, Ms. Hale responded contradictorily, "Yes....No, let me take that back....When you talk about residential you're talking about special ed....minor disabilities....behavior disabilities....different types of learners. [These] teachers need special training" (pp. 18-19). Lastly, Ms. Hale stated that any child could get into the residential program if "they live in the area" (p. 19).

According to Ms. Hale, not all teachers at Fagan should be in the magnet program. "It might be a little frustrating to work with such busy minds....You have to know quite a bit about exceptional children and want to work with them....I'm sure that teacher [her teacher in first grade] wanted to pinch me a couple of times for being such a know-it-all" (p. 21)! Likewise, not all students should be in the magnet program because "wouldn't that defeat the

purpose of the program" (p. 22)? Not all teachers should be in the SEARCH program because "you have to want to interact with the parents" (p. 21). Likewise, not every child should be in the SEARCH program because "it's a lot of work....If they [students] are not willing to put forth that extra effort,...they should not be given that opportunity" (p. 21). When asked if every teacher should be in the residential program, Ms. Hale responded contradictorily, "I think that might be a little interesting....Let me retract that. No, I don't think every teacher should be in the residential program....You got to look at training....[and] ask, 'Will the teacher be able to handle the residential children, um, and the problems that they might bring from their neighborhood....like broken homes,...child abuse,...drug addiction,...crime,...latch-key kids,...BD and LD kids,...at risk teens'" (p. 22)? Likewise, not every child should be in the residential program. "My daughter is a prime example....This would be her residential school but she is capable to function in the magnet environment" (p. 23).

Ms. Hale believes that some teachers are in the magnet program because they have the training to work with exceptional children. Others are not "because they don't have the training or maybe they don't want to, period. They'd rather work with the residential children" (p. 24). Some teachers are in the SEARCH program because "they're gluttons for punishment" (p. 23)! Others are not because "they don't have the experience or the training" (p. 23). Some teachers are in the residential program because "that's the choice they made, that they think they can make a difference with the residential children" (p. 24). Others are not because "they wanted to work with special kids [magnet students]" (p. 25). Lastly, some students are in the magnet program because of testing "and their parents wanted to see if they could" (p. 24). Others are not because "maybe they didn't qualify or maybe the parents didn't want them to be in the magnet program" (p. 24). Some students are in the SEARCH program

because of testing. Others are not because "their parents didn't want them to take the test or they were tested and they didn't qualify" (p. 23). Some students are in the residential program because "maybe the parents didn't want them to be in any special programs....so they didn't have them tested" (p. 25). Others are not because "they were tested for the 'gifted' program" (p. 25).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being a Parent of a Child Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Ms. Hale has mixed feelings about being called the parent of a "gifted" child. "I guess that's better than being called the parent of, you know, the dumbest kid in the class!....I prefer to be just the mom of two girls" (p. 26). She then stated:

> That label, like I said, hurts more than it helps....You're always being looked at....You're always on stage....The spotlight is on you....That's talking from my experience. All my family, they always said, "Oh, well, she's so smart, she's so smart, she's so smart."....[and when] I didn't finish college...and it was like "she finally failed at something." I mean eventually I went back and got my degree. But I don't want what happened to me to happen to them [her daughters]....I don't want that [fear of failure] to happen to them. (p. 26)

According to Ms. Hale, being called a parent of a "gifted" child at Fagan has the following benefits: Brandy is "getting a better than average education....She's being prepared academically for the future" (pp. 26-27). Conversely, according to Ms. Hale, the only drawback was her dissatisfaction with Brandy's fourth-grade teacher.

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Regarding the reactions of others to her having a child in the magnet program, Ms. Hale stated that she doesn't make "a big deal" out of her girls being in magnet program but when her friends find out

about it they say, "She got some smart children!...You should be so proud of them! [and] It's not a big surprise....You know how smart she [Ms. Hale] is!" Her family members say, "She [Brandy] is so smart, just like ___ [Ms. Hale]....You know they always just throw me in there, yeah, and their father's pretty smart, too....I don't think they would have expected less...with me being 'gifted' when I was a child" (p. 29).

According to Ms. Hale, she is not treated differently by others because she has a child in the magnet program. She believes that some parents who do not have a child in the magnet program get "upset" and others are "indifferent."...Others "should be pretty happy because Fagan is an excellent school" (p. 32).

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Ms. Hale believes that she is "gifted." She explained:

> I've been tested several times....We've got the numbers and everything....I'm always approached...for help with certain things from colleagues....[I'm] always asked to participate on teams because they value my opinion on certain issues....Now I'm not one to toot my own horn "Toot-Toot!"...[but] I'm smarter than the average bear....What I pride myself on is not just the book smarts but the common sense as well....which is difficult for some "gifted" children to have--that balance between common sense, or street smarts, and book sense. (p. 33)

She believes that she is a "good parent"--not a "gifted" parent. "I don't believe that you can put labels on being a parent anyway....I don't think there is such a thing as a 'gifted' parent" (p. 35). "The only 'gifted' parent I know is my mother" (p. 34). Further, she does not believe that one has to be "gifted" to have a "gifted" child. "Parenting techniques can enable a child to be, um, 'gifted'" (p. 36). She

thinks that Brandy should be in the magnet program but not in the SEARCH program. "It [the SEARCH program] is a fairly demanding program and she [Brandy] is not willing to put forth that effort" (p. 36). She would accept a conditional placement for Brandy in the residential program "if she was afforded the opportunity to attend those classes where she has strengths...or if she was given advanced work" (p. 37).

Photo Exercise: Ms. Hale stated that all six classes are alike because "they all appear to be participating in something....and enjoying what they're doing....[They] seem to be fairly orderly [and] attentive [and] interested in what they're doing....There are desks and chairs, teachers, and, uh, activities going on" (p. 38). They are different because the activities are different. "The SEARCH kids...are playing chess whereas the other children are looking in schoolbooks....Some groups are working separately versus the working in groups....The SEARCH groups seem to be a little bit more interactive with each other....There is more mobility....They're talking to each other and you don't see that in the, uh, other groups....[In] the SEARCH groups you have a table with kids....and in the residential and magnet classrooms you have the individual desks and chairs....You don't see as much stuff on the walls in the SEARCH room as you do the others....The SEARCH room doesn't seem to be as welcoming as the others" (pp. 42-43). When asked how Brandy got into her setting, Ms. Hale replied that she was tested. Further, she said, "There may be two levels of magnet kids....A lot of kids who are in the SEARCH program are in the same class [not Brandy's]" (p. 44). When asked how things might be different if Brandy were not in the magnet program she stated, "She wouldn't know some of the kids that she knows....I don't think she would be learning as much....She wouldn't be as serious a learner as she is now....I wouldn't have to be involved" (pp. 44-45).

Individual Perspectives of Parents of Fourth-Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted" (i. e., Mothers of SEARCH girls)

Ms. Ingram (Ellen's mother):

Preliminaries: Interviews with Ellen's mother were conducted at school in a media center ante-room and at my house. Ms. Ingram is Anglo-American. She owns an art gallery in the historic section of town. Her husband, Ellen's father, is a successful businessman. The family home is situated on a Confederate earthen fort built on a bluff overlooking the intracoastal waterway. They have three children: Ellen who is the oldest, Ellen's sister who is in second grade, and Ellen's younger brother who is in prekindergarten at another school. Both girls are in the SEARCH program at Fagan. Ms. Ingram was an enthusiastic, talkative respondent.

"Grand Tour": Ms. Ingram described a busy, social life, the most difficult part of which is "trying to keep your children on track [with their] schedules, their little agendas" (p. 1). She stated that the teachers at Fagan expected the children to do things themselves but "in reality, certain students don't really have that down yet" (p. 1). She struggles to keep up with all the communications that come home so she can keep her children "organized" (p. 1). She portrayed Ellen as bright. "She is the type of student that...when she does learn it in the classroom, it's pretty much there" (p. 1). Ellen's greatest weakness is spelling. "If we don't study, she'll get a bad grade" (p. 1).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding Ms. Ingram's level of involvement at Fagan elicited that Ellen "volunteers me a lot" (p. 2) for field trips and classroom activities. "I guess she's proud of her mom being, you know, a school mom, working, that's involved in school....That's fun. I like that" (p. 2). She described an "expensive" trip to the beach on the family boat with Ellen and several of her SEARCH classmates to make a video of a barrier

island. Further, she helps Ellen prepare for tests, projects, and written reports. "They're doing something on Shakespeare so I helped her find information on the internet....I always take them to the library for research....In general, I try to encourage her....She's very good at creative writing and writing poems....She has her little collection of poetry" (pp. 3-4).

Specific levels of involvement at Fagan and in Ellen's academic life for Ms. Ingram mean that she helps Ellen with her homework and with her projects. She does not involve herself with the curriculum [as other parents do]. "I feel pretty strongly that they [teachers] are trained to teach labeled 'gifted' children...and I'm not....I do check in with the teacher every now and then [for] clarity [or] if there is a scheduling conflict, [or] projects due at the same time" (p. 4).

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: Ms. Ingram stated that she doesn't know "a whole lot about ...school...because "my children are not very vocal about what they do every day" (p. 7). What she does know about the curriculum and scheduling, etc. she knows "only because I happen to go to the classroom at that time and just see it happening" (p. 7).

Compare and Contrast: Regarding her perceptions concerning Ellen's placement in the SEARCH program, Ms. Ingram responded that Ellen was tested for SEARCH in kindergarten but did not pass. "Then in early second grade I said something to the SEARCH teacher...that I thought my child...had the qualities and I would like for her to be in SEARCH....Anyway, Ellen did okay and got in SEARCH in early second grade" (p. 5).

According to Ms. Ingram, the SEARCH program at Fagan has been positive for Ellen. "It's so much more than they would ever get in the regular classroom....It's enriching....[It] makes them interested in other things outside of a normal fourth grade....They're enriched to know who Shakespeare was [and

then] they want to go see Shakespeare in the Park....They studied opera and she [Ellen] was like, 'Oh I studied the *Barber of Seville* in SEARCH! Can we go?'....So I got the tickets....They were totally interested in the whole opera, the whole time....She [Ellen] studied ancient Egypt....If they didn't study that, it [museums, artifacts] wouldn't be as interesting to them" (pp. 6-7). Additionally, Ms. Ingram likes the social aspect. "She's with a group of girls that she likes. They're good friends" (p. 8). Lastly, she stated:

> Ellen is a responsible child....She has been chosen to do certain things such as being on the school paper,...being a part of [the principal's] storytelling group,...helping with Fun Day,...helping the second grade SEARCH students....I think it helps with her self-esteem to know that a teacher selects her....It's not an intense drive to be a perfectionist. It's just the drive to do well....If you act like you're interested, you know, you raise your hand, you, uh, get involved in the activities,...then other people will look at you and say, "Well, she's a good one." (pp. 8-9).

Conversely, it has also been a negative experience for Ellen. Through the years she has felt rejected at times by the group. Ms. Ingram explained:

> Some [of the children] are intensely competitive and want to be, you know, the Number One Smartest. "I am the smartest. I'm the best," and Ellen...doesn't have a competitive nature....She came home crying once....They had the Accelerated Reader with the little dots to tell you what grade level you were reading and her friends were reading a dot above her....and she thought that she was supposed to be reading at a higher level. I don't know where she got that idea. (pp.10-11)

Also, Ms. Ingram stated that Ellen "might be a little lazy....like she doesn't want to give it her all....I let her make that mistake so she learns that, you know, if you're to excel, you have to put the work into it" (p. 11).

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": According to Ms. Ingram, "gifted" means "children that are, uh, really far above other children, whatever their talent might be" (p.12). She explained:

> Most normal children wouldn't have that same talent as that ["gifted"] child....A "gifted" child is somebody that would get 1600 on an SAT....A five year old that can play Beethoven on a piano, you know, that's "gifted" to me...."Gifted" should be more select...."Gifted" children...might be one in ten thousand or something....A lot of it is parental involvement. (pp. 12-13).

When comparing Ellen to the other students at Fagan, Ms. Ingram stated that most elementary-age children "have a willingness to learn....They love art,...PE,...the computer work,...being read to....They like coming to school [and] seeing their friends" (p. 14). Conversely, Ellen is unlike the other students in the school because "we do a lot of traveling....I take them to other places so they can see other parts of the world. I like them to meet children from other countries....and I don't think a whole lot of children do that" (p. 15). More specifically, Ellen is like the other SEARCH students because "they like using their brains [and] solving problems....They like a challenge [and] they just obviously enjoy learning" (p. 15). She is unlike the other SEARCH students because she is more creative and is more of a risk-taker. "She's not really afraid to try something different...knowing she may fail" (p. 16). When asked how Ellen is like the other magnet students, Ms. Ingram limited her comparison to the girls. "I don't know much about the boys" (p. 16). She stated that the girls all seem "to do well academically" (p. 16). Further, they like the regular stuff, like Brittany

Spears [and] music....They like to get together and do little dances....They like having a girl club and doing girl things like, you know,...cooking....Most girls like to do that" (pp. 16-17). She is unlike the other magnet students because she is more creative and is more of a leader than the others. When asked how Ellen is like the residential students, Ms. Ingram began by stating, "Ellen sees herself as being nothing like the residential students here at Fagan" (p. 17). When the question was repeated, she replied that Ellen is "like all ten-year-old girls....Their games might be different games, you know, their dances might be different dances, but they're all doing the same basic thing" (pp. 17-18). When discussing how Ellen is unlike the residential students, Ms. Ingram offered the following:

> I don't really care [about] going on a field trip with them....The children in the magnet classes are somewhat more behaved....The magnet children would sit and listen and the residential students would make a lot of noise and talk to each other....It embarrasses them [magnet children] a little bit when they're with them [residential children]....The residential students don't travel much or get out...to scenes [that are] richer or entertaining....She [Ellen] is more worldly....She knows more things....She has access to more, like the internet....It's a financial thing....Her father is in sales but he has a lot of international customers....We interact on a social basis....[She is not] afraid of a foreigner....She gets more exposure....She probably has access to more things....We can afford to buy a video camera....We have one in the home so she can use it for her projects, versus a residential student might not have that. (pp. 18-20)

Ms. Ingram stated that she is like the other parents at the school because "we want a good education for our children....[We want them] to not just

be 'brainiacs' but to be socially responsible,...[and] have, you know, a strong set of moral values....whatever our social backgrounds are" (p. 20). She is unlike the other parents because she "could afford to send my children to any school--private or public--but I might not be able to do all the things I want to do, like travel and such, if I had to send...my child to private education....A good number of them [the other parents] really can't afford that" (p. 20). More specifically, Ms. Ingram stated that she is like the other SEARCH parents because "we like our children to be enriched....If they [the children] can soak it up, give it to them" (p. 20)! She is unlike the other SEARCH parents because she is not as "controlling" as they are. "I pretty much leave it [curriculum and methodology] up to the teachers" (p. 21). She is like the other magnet parents because "we...want to have our children grow up...wanting to do their best, um, being responsible, and making the right decisions in life, you know, getting along" (p. 21). Further, she stated, "We all have the same concerns, you know, as far as having a good child versus a bad child....[or] one that gets into trouble....which may lead...to trouble later on in life, like, you know, with drugs or whatever" (p. 21). She is unlike the other magnet parents because she is not "nitpicky." Ms. Ingram stated that she is not like any of the residential parents. Actually, her differences from them were numerous. She explained:

> I don't know any of the residential parents, obviously, you know, that come from the neighborhood which is a low-income neighborhood....I'm an upper middle-class person....I don't know what their education background is, but I have a college degree. My husband has a college degree....We're both raised to get the education and get the good job that goes with the education. (p. 23)

Further, she stated that the magnet parents are more involved in school functions than the residential parents. She explained, "I was trying to put together this carnival...[When I tried] to call one of those residential parents, it's hard for me to get them to understand what's going on, what I need, when I need to get it done" (p. 23). Lastly, she said:

> I'm pretty confident I'm more, you know, family-oriented...meaning, you know, mother, father not divorced...whereas with residential you have a lot of single parents....A lot of times the grandmother is the one that's raising them [residential children]....I think it's, you know, great that they have the grandmother to raise them because they don't have the mother, but it's different, you know. (p. 24)

To Ms. Ingram, the SEARCH program "means you're more intelligent than everybody else....and more active....and an interested participant in learning" (p. 24). Regarding SEARCH parents, she stated, "It makes you feel proud and good....You're treated...with a lot of respect from the faculty because they want you here....They make sure...that you're happy" (p. 26). Regarding the magnet program, she once again stated that it was "definitely different" (p. 24). She explained:

> The [magnet] children separate themselves out....They think they're better,...more intelligent....I think socially they feel like they just live in a different world than the residential....They see different parents....This one residential mother had pink hair and, you know, tons of gold jewelry and like leopard-skin pants....She [Ellen] just couldn't imagine living with a mother like that. (p. 25)

Concerning magnet parents, she stated, "Being in SEARCH and magnet...it's one and the same" (p. 26). The residential program is "just a regular old school day....[however] the faculty at Fagan are just as interested in the residential kids

as they are the magnet kids" (p. 25). Regarding residential parents, she stated, "It might be enough for them to make sure their child goes to school each day....and gets home....I think they feel pretty good that their child can attend this school" (p. 26).

According to Ms. Ingram, the SEARCH and magnet programs are alike because they both try to make the students "think creatively" (p. 27) and use "critical thinking" (p. 26). When asked what she meant, she replied,

> ....to try to use more of those brain cells way back in there that don't get used so much....I'm the type of person--and I think Ellen is too--I could spit it out. You know, you could tell me something [and] I could just spit it right back at you all day long. I just have a good memory, good brain attention and all that, and so does she. (p. 27)

They are different because the magnet curriculum still has "to follow your basic reading, writing, arithmetic-type curriculum...and...it's accelerated....In SEARCH, it's more open-ended....I don't think the Board of Education tells them specifically what...to do....They're more free" (p. 27). According to Ms. Ingram, the SEARCH and residential programs are alike because they have the same access to the computer....They are not alike because "the SEARCH program allows the children to be more free and expressive....Residential would be more basic-type learning....They aren't creative" (pp. 27-28).

When asked how she got to be the parent of a SEARCH student, Ms. Ingram laughingly responded, "I bore her!...It's probably a lot environmental, but also genetics....I was always considered a very intelligent child....My husband's pretty smart" (p. 28). Regarding placement of teachers and students in the school, Ms. Ingram explained that in order for a teacher to get to teach in the SEARCH program, you probably should have a Master's in Education to teach at that level" (p. 29). In order for a student to get into the SEARCH program

they "use standardized testing plus recommendations from teachers" (p. 30). A teacher gets to teach in the magnet program by being "interviewed at the different schools....by the principal....You're supposed to have that 'gifted' certificate, although I know some of them don't" (pp. 28-29). In order for a student to get into the magnet program, "the mother or father or guardian has to go stand in line at the 'Extravaganza.' ...It's first-come, first-served....and at Fagan....you have to pass a test....It's fifty-fifty, white/non-white" (pp. 29-30). When asked how a teacher gets to teach in the residential program, Ms. Ingram at first replied, "I have no idea" (p. 28). She then stated that they go to school, get their teaching degree and certificate, go to the Board of Education and apply for a job. Then "I guess they look at which schools have openings and try to get into the school they want" (p. 28). A student gets into the residential program by "being in the neighborhood" (p. 29).

Ms. Ingram does not believe that any teacher could get to teach in the SEARCH program. "You have to have...experience" (p. 29). She was unsure whether or not a student could get into the SEARCH program. "I think [if] they [teachers] see a student that might do well on a standardized test and is very creative in the classroom and, you know, has a lot of initiative, they will weigh that in with their testing" (p. 30). When asked if any teacher could get to teach in the magnet program, Ms. Ingram responded, "Yes and no....I think any talented teacher can get a magnet spot...knowing that they will continue with their education once they're there. Or they'll get the education and get that spot" (p. 29). When asked if any student could get into the magnet program, she replied contradictorily, "No....because you have to pass a test....[and] we [parents] are not allowed to see the tests when we bring our children and then we're not allowed to be there....In general, any child can get into the Fagan magnet as long as they try" (p. 31). Ms. Ingram believes that any teacher could

get to teach in the residential program "if you have the education and the training and your certificate....You have to go through that interview process...to be accepted by the principal" (p. 29). Likewise, any student could get into the residential program if "they live in the neighborhood" (p. 31).

According to Ms. Ingram, all teachers at Fagan should not teach in the SEARCH program. "A lot of teachers don't have the qualities" (p. 31), or more specifically, the rapport with children and the ability to draw out their inquisitiveness, the ability to interact with parents and students, flexibility, and responsiveness. "You have to be a special kind of person" (p. 31). She believes that "every child should have the opportunity to try to be in SEARCH" (p. 32). She also said that SEARCH should not be limited to those with "super intelligence" but also include those who have "that drive to learn" (p. 32). All teachers should not be in the magnet program because "magnet children are...special and have special, you know, different needs....The teacher's got to be ready....to respond to the curiousness or the creativeness of the children....It takes a certain type of person" (p. 32). Likewise, all children should not be in the magnet program. "Those children [magnet students] learn more quickly than other students and...at higher levels than [those students] in the residential-type programs....In the magnet, you don't have a child in there that's holding the rest of the children back" (p. 33). All teachers should not be in the residential program. "Different teachers...have different qualities, whether it's special education,...magnet,...SEARCH,...or just regular old residential teaching" (p. 32). Lastly, "all children should be in the residential program if they choose not to be in the magnet program" (p. 33).

According to Ms. Ingram, some teachers are in the SEARCH program because "they enjoy watching children....that really enjoy being in school and like to learn" (p. 33). Others are not because there are "only a certain

amount of positions....[or] maybe they just haven't been able to...get to that level yet in their career....Maybe they don't feel like they can be creative enough to work with those types of students" (p. 35). Some teachers are in the magnet program because "they know they'll be working with students who have parents that are willing to work with them [and] they're working with children that like to learn....I think that's a lot easier on the teacher (p. 34). Others are not because they "would rather work with children that need more help learning....They feel like they need to, you know, make their impact there [in the residential program]....Others may be striving to be there [in the magnet program] but, you know, they're waiting" (p. 35). When asked why some teachers are in the residential program, Ms. Ingram responded:

> In that lower income category...there's teachers that would rather make an impact at that level than on the, you know, "gifted" level. I don't know why a teacher wouldn't strive to move on where the "gifted" and SEARCH are....If I was a teacher I would strive to move....go to that higher level teaching....I can't imagine what other reason you would have except you just don't feel like moving on. You're happy in that level of teaching. (pp. 34-35)

According to Ms. Ingram, others are not in the residential program because "it's a very difficult job....You have to work with a wide range of children with different learning capabilities....They [residential teachers] have a tough time communicating with the parents on that level" (pp. 35-36). She explained:

> I don't want to say, uh, [they] don't care about the children....Maybe they work two jobs....Maybe they're just lazy....Maybe they themselves aren't as educated....I don't want to say they can't read...but maybe...they don't understand it. (p. 36)

Lastly, Ms. Ingram believes that some students are in the SEARCH program because it "has an elitist label...for a child....It's a special thing....They know it's different, fun...and they feel like they're special when they get to do that" (p. 36). Others who are not in the SEARCH program "want to be....but they haven't passed whatever criteria there is to get into it" (. p. 36). Further, according to Ms. Ingram, "there might be residential students that have the capability of being in the SEARCH program....If the parent wasn't interested [I would hope] their teacher would recognize their capability and push the issue for them" (p. 37). Some students are in the magnet program because "their parents want them to be there....The parents know...it's probably a better education for their child" (p. 37). Others are not in the magnet program because "their number didn't come up,...they [parents] weren't on the ball,...or they [students] didn't pass the test...Or...I can't imagine this being the reason...they [parents] don't like their children being in with those types of children" (p. 37). Some children are in the residential program because "you have to go to school....That's the law....They [residential parents] know their children have to go to school" (p. 38). Others are not in the residential program "because they are in the magnet program....[and] because they [magnet parents] feel...it [residential program] is not accelerated enough for their child" (p. 38).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being a Parent of a Child Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Ms. Ingram states that she "loves" being called the parent of a "gifted" child. "They've been selected, they're special, and you feel special because your child was selected" (p. 38). Conversely, she also dislikes being called the parent of a "gifted" child. "'Gifted' is not quite the term that should be used for what those children are....'Gifted' should be a more select term for just brilliant-brilliant children" (p. 38). She also stated that she didn't

want people to think that Ellen is "off the scale on IQ tests or anything. She's just very intelligent" (p. 38).

According to Ms. Ingram, being called the parent of a SEARCH child at Fagan has the following benefits: "It's much more fun and interesting. You can interact with your child more, uh, with SEARCH-type things than you would the regular class-type stuff" (p. 39). She also stated that she knew that Ellen was "being exposed to other areas of learning that you know they wouldn't be exposed to in the regular classroom" (p. 39). Conversely, she could think of only one drawback: "When the SEARCH teacher doesn't coordinate with the regular teacher on activities and it gets to be too much for the child,...that's just a pain" (p. 40).

Effect of the Label "Gifted": According to Ms. Ingram, others react to her having a child in the SEARCH program in various ways: "A lot of my friends are not in the public school system so they don't really understand...why I send my child to a public school....[because of its] bad reputation" (p. 40). She explained that our state ranked at the bottom "education wise....I guess that's an SAT thing or something....[Also], they [her friends] "have an idea that it's not so safe" (p. 40). Lastly, she said, "I might not have a great kid, but they [her friends] think that I do because my child's in all these, you know, higher level of learning-type things" (p. 41). She stated that family members "don't know anything about SEARCH" (p. 41). She and other parents of SEARCH students talk about "how much we like SEARCH or we talk about the teacher and, you know, if we like his or her style of teaching" (p. 42). Lastly, she told me that her friends and family treated her differently because she has a child in the SEARCH program:

> They think I'm nuts like crazy to send my child to public school....They also tell me that they admire me for sending my child to a public school....Maybe they don't like them [their children]

> being combined with the residential....But thus far I like it a lot. (pp. 42-43)

Ms. Ingram believes that other parents of SEARCH students feel "lucky [and] it gives then a sense of relief, confidence" (p. 43). Others who are not SEARCH parents "feel a little slighted [because] their child is not being given this opportunity to...broaden their knowledge base" (p. 44).

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or Non-giftedness": Ms. Ingram believes that she is "slightly" (p. 44) "gifted." She explained:

> I'm musically inept....I'm very untalented in the art department....My strengths are math and science....I'm educated. I read a lot....I travel a lot and I feel like I can hold an intelligent conversation with someone about, you know, just about, you know, any issue....I can process information easily....That's more education than anything. It's what I've learned. (pp. 44-45)

When asked if she is a "gifted" parent, once again her response was mixed. "Sometimes I do. Sometimes I don't" (p. 45). Further, she does not believe that one has to be "gifted" in order to have a "gifted" child. "You just have to be on top of things and know what's out there for your child" (p. 45). She thinks that Ellen should be in the SEARCH and magnet programs. She would not place her in their residential school "which is apparently one of the worst elementary schools in the system" (p. 47). She would consider placing her in some of the others that she has heard are "excellent" (p. 47).

Photo Exercise: According to Ms. Ingram, all six classes are alike because there is a teacher involved in all of them and the children are all "learning something....They're well-behaved....very calm....Everything's under control....There's not chaos or anything like that" (p. 49). She further noticed that the classroom environments are "very, very similar" (p. 52) with similar things on

the walls. "All of them have stimulating learning environments" (p. 49) and the residential and magnet classes "look pretty much alike in terms of what they're learning" (p. 51). They are different because the SEARCH students are working at tables rather than in desks and they are interacting with one another rather then working individually as they were in the other classes. Further, she said that the SEARCH students are working on "non-book classwork" (p. 49) such as chess. "I don't think you'd ever see that [chess] going on much in classrooms....The non-SEARCH, of course, are doing more book work....like reading a book,...working in a workbook,...working with note cards" (pp. 49-50). She noted that in the residential classes it looked like one child was sleeping and another had her head down. "I don't know why" (p. 50). "The SEARCH class looks like they're having fun. You see each of them laughing a little bit, maybe smiling....versus the other ones [magnet and residential] don't look...like as much fun" (p. 51). Lastly, she stated, "Obviously, the residential program has all black children and the magnet has a mix and the SEARCH has a mix" (p. 51). When asked how Ellen got into her setting, Ms. Ingram stated that Ellen had expressed an interest in being in the program so she had her tested and she passed. If Ellen were not in the SEARCH program she would not be able to participate in as many activities like SEARCH field trips, Odyssey of the Mind, the Media Festival, and other competitions "that other children don't get involved in" (p. 54). Further, "she would feel not quite as good as the other children. [She] might have a slightly lower self-esteem....[and think that she's] "just not good enough to get into SEARCH....I don't think she'd be as curious about different things" (pp. 53-54).

Ms. Downs (Donna's mother):

Preliminaries: Interviews with Ms. Downs were conducted at my house. Ms. Downs is originally from the West Indies. English is her second language. She was divorced from Donna's father when Donna (her only child) was in the second grade. She is currently working as a nurse's aide in order to put herself through college. According to Ms. Downs, Donna was reading and memorizing books from the library before she was four years old. "She was reading for real so we knew she was 'gifted'" (p. 22). Ms. Downs was an enthusiastic--and oftentimes pensive--respondent.

"Grand Tour": Ms. Downs began by telling me that her life as the mother of a fourth-grader was "at times, very, very difficult" (p. 1). She explained that she felt frustrated because "they're teaching her [Donna] things that I never got taught" (p. 1) and she is unable to help her. Instead, "she teaches me" (p. 1). Further, Donna did not like her fourth-grade magnet teacher. "Of all the other years that we have had, this was the roughest....Oftentimes, we stayed up really well over twelve o'clock trying to get that work done so she wouldn't get a zero or incomplete" (p. 1). Ms. Downs also told me how proud she is of her daughter. "She always does very, very good work" (p. 1).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding Ms. Downs's level of involvement at Fagan elicited that she "tries to keep abreast of what is going on at all times" (p. 2). Because of her job, she is unable to visit Fagan as often as she would like. Hence, a large part of her involvement at the school has meant speaking with the teachers over the telephone at night and sending notes. She described how Donna had complained about being "bored" with SEARCH--of basically sitting and coloring or talking to the others. The SEARCH teacher also had each child write and illustrate a book but, according to Ms. Downs, "she [SEARCH teacher] needs to implement something else

besides just write books....That is all they did mostly and that became awful....She [Donna] got tired of that and she didn't want to do that anymore" (p. 3). Ms. Downs states that she told the SEARCH teacher that she needed to make changes to keep the students from being bored "but I really never gave any positive, I guess, good suggestions in reference to what they should implement for the kids to stay busy or keep their minds thinking" (p. 3).

While discussing additional specific levels of involvement at Fagan and in Donna's academic life, Ms. Downs described her nightly routine with Donna: reviewing papers, notes, and so forth from school then checking homework. Additionally, "I attend a lot of meetings....Sometimes I request time off and just show up in class or go to a parents' workshop" (p. 3).

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: Ms. Downs repeated that she keeps "abreast. I send a lot of notes to her teacher....I'm famous for that and, um, I ask the teachers a lot of questions since I can't be there" (p. 4). Further, she converses with the other parents frequently and to Donna every night. "If I'm not satisfied with Donna's answers, I'll call them [other parents] and write her [teacher] a letter" (p. 4). She said that she also reads all the communiques coming home from the school.

Compare and Contrast: Regarding her perceptions concerning Donna's placement in the SEARCH program, Ms. Downs responded that Donna's kindergarten teacher sent a letter requesting permission to have Donna tested for entrance into the SEARCH program. "We [she and Donna's father] were going to suggest that but she beat us to it....She took the test, passed it, and then she started going to the SEARCH program in kindergarten" (p. 4). According to Ms. Downs, the SEARCH program at Fagan has been positive for Donna. "She can see at an early age that positive things and good things will happen if she continues to do well in school" (p. 5). She further stated:

> She is proud of being in SEARCH and she does very well. She strives to do better and she is not ashamed of being in SEARCH. Usually kids get called names because they're in SEARCH and they're "gifted"...names like geeks, nerds, things like that. (p. 5)

Conversely, it has been a negative experience for Donna because "at times she gets overwhelmed...because she deals with a lot of work" (p. 5).

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": According to Ms. Downs, "gifted" means "the ability to quickly adapt and understand something that is new to you without additional explanation or continuous explanation of that problem" (p. 6). It also means being "versatile,...and willing to continue to learn" (p. 6).

Ms. Downs stated that Donna is like the other students at Fagan because she likes to play and socialize. "She is just a normal kid" (p. 6). She further stated that "she gets along with everyone and I've taught her that it doesn't matter who you are, what you are--male, female, black, white, Hispanic--you should get along with everyone" (p. 6). Donna is unlike the other students in the school because she is in the "gifted" program and goes to SEARCH. More specifically, Donna is like the other SEARCH students because they all have "different specialties" (p. 7). She is unlike the other SEARCH students because she doesn't like some of the same things that the others do, like science projects and playing chess. Donna is like the other magnet students because she loves the computer and "she likes to work in groups" (p. 7). Also, just like many of the other magnet students, "she gets in trouble for talking and not paying attention in class" (p. 7). She is unlike many of the other magnet students because she is an only child and she also likes to sit by herself and draw or read. Further, "she does not like to...make fun of other kids...or join the group that does....She usually is their protector or defender" (p. 8). Donna is like the residential students because at times she is "focusing on one thing--like a birthday party,...a sleep-

over,...a dance,...or different artists that are playing the different types of music" (p. 8). She is unlike the residential students because "she doesn't fight in class or start an argument or a discussion....She tries to be respectful to the teachers and students alike" (p. 8).

When comparing herself to the other parents in the school, Ms. Downs stated that Fagan parents are "interested in making sure our kids get the maximum education possible--that they're continuously learning and not getting bored" (p. 8). She is unlike the other parents in the school because she is working and going to school. More specifically, Ms. Downs stated that she is like the other SEARCH parents because "we are always interested in projects...or field trips" (p. 9). Additionally, she and the other parents work together to give input to the teacher regarding SEARCH activities. She is unlike the other SEARCH parents because she is a single mother, working to put herself through school. Hence, she is not able to be as involved at Fagan during the day as some of the other mothers who do not work outside the home. She is like the other magnet parents because "we all want the best for our kids....We want our kids to feel special,...and that they're loved and admired for their accomplishments" (pp. 9-10). She is unlike the other magnet parents because "I'm a little pushy" (p. 10) and quite often other magnet parents "don't feel comfortable doing that" (p. 10). She explained:

> At times it gets where I'm not satisfied with whatever the teacher's sending home for homework...and I want her to know that so I'll either write a letter letting them know how I feel and what they need to fix or change and/or I'll go up there and sometimes the way I confront them it seems like it's a little too harsh. (p. 10).

She is like the residential parents because "everyone wants their kids to have an education....and they want them to be successful and productive citizens" (p. 10).

She is unlike the residential parents because "most of the parents have not completed high school" (p. 11) and hence are unable to offer an incentive to their children to finish their schooling. "How can you tell or teach your kids something when you don't know yourself" (p. 11)?

To Ms. Downs, the SEARCH program means "prestige....She [Donna] feels special because she is in the 'gifted' program" (p. 11). Regarding SEARCH parents, she stated, "I feel very, very proud....Although it's a lot of work for both the parent and the child it's...like a reward" (p. 11). Regarding the magnet program, Ms. Downs said that it is "rewarding....It makes her keep wanting to do well or better" (p. 11). Regarding magnet parents, she stated, "It makes me feel good....I was an average C student....so for her to be 'gifted' that's a reward for me" (p. 12). Regarding the residential program, Ms. Downs stated, "I think at times they probably feel left out" (p. 12). She explained:

> They feel like they don't get to do certain things...that the magnet classes do....As I said before, if they really study or try hard enough they probably can achieve....All of it has to do with the foundation, the parents, where they're at, the type of living environment, the type of education they get as they're growing up. That would help the kids to learn. But when you don't have parents like that, it's really hard for these kids to do it on their own. (p. 12).

Regarding residential parents, she stated, "It's hard for them....because of their lack of education...and the environment that they live in....Most of them have no control of where they are living or how they grew up" (p. 13).

According to Ms. Downs, the SEARCH and magnet programs are alike because "they're both teaching advanced studies....[They are taught] things that I learned in college" (p. 14).They are different because the magnet program "sticks with the curriculum they send you....and SEARCH teaches things from

high school....She [SEARCH teacher] has...a little more broader spectrum of what she can and can't teach her kids" (p. 14). According to Ms. Downs, the SEARCH and residential programs are alike because "they work in groups and they try to learn....[and the teachers in both areas] teach them [students] things that are probably slightly above their level but yet still not too overwhelming for them" (p. 13). They are not alike because "the SEARCH program is more advanced" (p. 13).

Ms. Downs said that she got to be the parent of a SEARCH student because Donna took a test in kindergarten and passed it. Further, "She's maintained or increased that average to stay in the SEARCH class" (p. 14). Regarding placement of teachers and students in the school, Ms. Downs explained that in order for a teacher to get to teach in the SEARCH or magnet program, "they have to take a separate test that is a little more advanced...They have to measure up to the students and they have to be able to handle the students that are in that class" (p. 14). In order for a student to get into SEARCH, "the teacher or the parent can put in a request for the child to take the test, and once they pass it, they're in SEARCH" (p. 15). In order for a student to get into the magnet program, he/she has to be tested and "score a certain amount of points" (p. 15). In order for a teacher to get to teach in the residential program, "they have to go through the Board of Education,...pass a board exam for teachers, and they get put in a class" (p. 14). In order for a student to get into the residential program, "they apply for school....They might have to get tested because they have to have a certain percentage from each group" (p. 14).

Ms. Downs does not believe that any teacher or student could get into a program for the "gifted." Regarding the SEARCH position for prospective teachers, she stated, "Sometimes you can pass a test but that does not mean you are ready to move on" (p. 15). She described a SEARCH teacher that

Donna had once who "was not ready to be in SEARCH....I had a headache over that" (p. 15). Not any student could get into the SEARCH program unless "they can understand it or grow within their grade level" (p. 15). Regarding the magnet position for prospective teachers, "there should be a test or...classes they should take...showing them the expectations of a 'gifted' child" (p. 16). Not any student could get into the magnet program. "It's always a selective few, just like they have losers, winners, different types. You're not going to have everyone just winning" (p. 16). Conversely, Ms. Downs believes that any teacher could get into the residential program "because residential should be like a basic....'Gifted' is just a step over" (p. 16). Likewise, any student could get into the residential program "but not all children should be because there's such a thing as a 'gifted' child and...thank goodness they have a program" (p. 16).

According to Ms. Downs, all teachers at Fagan should not be in the SEARCH or magnet programs. Teachers are also needed to teach the residential children. "They should have a variety" (p. 17). Likewise, all children should not be in the SEARCH program. "If they don't qualify to be in that program....I think that would harm the child more than help" (p. 17). All children should not be in the magnet program "because everyone has different levels of learning and they need to have the classrooms according to those levels" (p. 17). When asked if every teacher should be in the residential program, she said, "I could see them starting off in the residential program and later on moving on--if they qualify--to a magnet class or a SEARCH class" (p. 17). When asked if all children should be in the residential program she replied, "If they pass [the test] for SEARCH of 'gifted' class, then by all means they shouldn't start off at such a lower level because they're going to get stuck" (p. 18).

According to Ms. Downs, some teachers are in the SEARCH program because "they just enjoy working with the 'gifted' kids and coming up

with challenging work and projects for them" (p. 18). Others are not because "they enjoy working with residential kids and they know they need more help" (p. 19). Some teachers are in the magnet program because "they have probably been exposed to a lot of curriculums or advanced curriculums" (p. 18). Others are not because "they're more beneficial to the residential kids than the 'gifted' kids" (p. 18). Some teachers are in the residential program because "they feel...they can help the residential students better than if they were in a 'gifted' class" (p. 18). Others are not because "they chose...to help the 'gifted' kids to enhance their knowledge or 'gift'" (p. 18).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being a Parent of a Child Labeled "Gifted' or "Non-gifted": Ms. Downs likes being called the parent of a SEARCH student. "It makes me feel that whatever hard work I've done...with my child...has paid off and it is being noticed and it's an incentive to continue" (p. 19). The only time she dislikes being called the parent of a SEARCH student is when "it's being said...to make me feel like there's something wrong with it" (p. 19). According to Ms. Downs, being called the parent of a "gifted" child at Fagan has the following benefits: "I don't have to work so hard" [helping her understand her homework]" (p. 19). Instead, Donna teaches her "new things that she learns that I've never been taught when I was in school" (p. 20). Additionally, she is pleased that Donna is "able to explore and just go as far as her mind would take her in learning and experimenting and coming up with new ideas" (p. 20). Conversely, according to Ms. Downs, being called the parent of a "gifted" child at Fagan has the following drawbacks: It's frustrating when she doesn't understand Donna's assignments. "The parent is the one that is supposed to be teaching the child and sometimes it's not so" (p. 20). Further, the additional work load can be "overwhelming" at times. She explains:

> Sometimes it's overbearing but I can't let her know....I go to school at nights and work in the daytime and then come home and I'm still getting to bed late because I gotta do my homework and help her with hers. (pp. 21-22).

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Ms. Downs told me that others react differently to her having a child in the SEARCH program. Her friends are happy for her and tell her that she is lucky. They also ask, "Where did she get it from--her dad?" Family members are proud of Donna's many accomplishments. "They are always applauding her and telling her that she's going to be really something--like an astronaut" (p. 21). Other parents seem surprised that although "she is 'gifted' that she is still a nice person" (p. 22). Ms. Downs states that she is not treated differently by friends, family members, or other parents because she has a child in the SEARCH program. "They treat me like anybody else" (p. 23).

According to Ms. Downs, other parents of SEARCH children "think that their kids are better than others....I don't want to say 'snooty' [but] I can't think of another word" (p. 23). She believes that parents who do not have a child in SEARCH feel "left out" (p. 23). Magnet parents feel "proud,...happy,...overwhelmed at times [with the work]" (p. 24).Those who are not magnet parents feel indifferent toward their child's status. She explained:

> It doesn't make a difference to them whether their kids pan out....You can't miss something that you've never been exposed to....It's discouraging and stressful...being a single parent, low income, having several jobs and still can't see ends meet....they're trying to help but they can't. (p. 24)

According to Ms. Downs, the residential status doesn't matter to residential parents "because they don't know any better....They settle for whatever they can

get" (p. 24). Parents who are not residential parents do not wish to be involved in the residential program "because that would be stepping down" (p. 24).

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Ms. Downs initially stated that she does not believe that she is "gifted." She told me that she has always been a diligent student but perhaps "my language barrier" (p. 25) has prevented her from succeeding academically. She then stated contradictorily that she was "a fraction of being 'gifted'" (p. 25). She explained, "Once I get something it sticks with me....I've always set my goals to be pretty high....I am determined" (P. 25). When asked if she is a "gifted" parent, she offered a conditioned response:

> Sometimes,...considering Donna is 'gifted' and I helped her to become that way....I try to teach her that school is the key to anything and that knowledge is power and no matter how long she stays in school or how much she learns or what happens to her whatever she learns would always be with her and nobody can take that away. (p. 25)

Further, she does not believe that one has to be "gifted" to have a "gifted" child. "I'm average....I never even thought in a million years I'd have a 'gifted' child" (p. 26). She thinks that Donna should be in the SEARCH and magnet programs. "She likes SEARCH more than she likes the other classes....She is really smart" (pp. 26-27). She does not believe that Donna should be in the residential program. "That would be a waste for her and more than likely she would hate school" (p. 27). When asked whether she would rather have Donna in the SEARCH, magnet, or residential program, Ms. Downs stated, "Magnet, because they teach them about all the different curriculums, they teach her what she needs to know, and they prepare her for the next grade" (p. 27).

Photo Exercise: Ms. Downs stated that all six classes are alike because the students all seem "eager to learn....They're all working quietly,...looking down and writing,...drawing,...reading books,...asking questions....focusing,...taking notes,...paying attention to whatever the teacher is telling them to do....The teachers are helping the students with whatever they're doing" (pp. 27-30). The classes are different because in the SEARCH classes "they're playing games and working with the vase....I don't see any reading going on there" (p. 30). In the magnet and residential classes "there's certainly a lot of [more academic] things going on....The children have an "eagerness to learn" (p. 30). The SEARCH and magnet students are "enjoying themselves....It would take the [residential] teacher a little bit longer to explain something new" (pp. 29-30). She told me that she knew this was true because of the puzzled look or surprised look on their [residential students'] faces" (pp. 29-30). Lastly, she stated:

> In the SEARCH classes the kids are mostly Caucasian. In the magnet there's a variety of kids all colors and races....In the residential classes I don't see any Caucasians....They're all Blacks....They seem to be paying attention and not being hostile or playing around in class....It's not overly-packed. (p. 29)

Ms. Downs stated that Donna got into her SEARCH setting because "she took a test when she was in kindergarten and made it through" (p. 31). If Donna were not in the SEARCH program she "would have gotten bored...and probably would have started disliking school....I'd probably have to give her extra work" (p. 31).

Group Perspectives Of Parents of Fourth-Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted"

(i. e., Mothers of Magnet and SEARCH girls)

Preliminaries: The mothers of the three girl respondents in the magnet program and the two girl respondents in the SEARCH program were interviewed. Three of the mothers are divorced. Two are married. All work outside the home, two on a part time basis. All were enthusiastic and talkative respondents who seemed happy to share their perspectives with me. The interviews were lengthy and detailed. Hence, several sessions for each mother were required. None of the mothers offered any verbal response to my reasons for conducting the study.

"Grand Tour": When discussing life in general as the parent of a fourth-grader, all but one of the initial responses were identical: "busy." One SEARCH mother responded that her life was "at times, very, very difficult." She explained that she felt frustrated because "they're teaching her [her daughter] things that I never got taught" and she is unable to help her. Further, all mothers discussed the demands placed upon them regarding their child's homework and other assignments. Comments offered were as follows: "...projects, projects, projects....[There's] a lot more studying and buckling down....Oftentimes we [mother and daughter] stayed up really well over twelve o'clock trying to get that work done so she wouldn't get a zero or incomplete." One mother told of coming home from work every school night and "checking homework, making sure reports are done and are neat and to my acceptance....After I do the 'homework check' then I start dinner."

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding the mothers' level of involvement at Fagan elicited the following commonality: Once again, all mothers indicated heavy involvement with their daughters regarding their homework and other assignments. One SEARCH mother described an

"expensive" trip to the beach on the family boat with her daughter and several of her daughter's classmates to make a video of a barrier island.

Additional specific levels of involvement were as follows: Two of the mothers told of their efforts to instill positive values in their daughters. For example, Ms. Hale states that she struggles to prevent Brandy from being elitist regarding her "gifted" label. She said that she has to keep her "in line,...a little grounded" because she needs constant reminders that she's "no different from any other child here [at Fagan]." Two other mothers discussed their daughters' superb writing abilities and their efforts to stimulate this particular talent. One mother described her open communication with her daughter. Three of the mothers indicated heavy involvement with the school, particularly on the classroom level. One said, "You find out some interesting information that you may need in the future--not as a blackmail thing--just as characteristics of this or that teacher and who may be more suited to your child's personality." Another said, "I attend a lot of meetings....Sometimes I request time off and just show up in class or go to a parents' workshop."

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: When probed regarding the school setting and their involvement and behaviors therein, responses were mixed. Two of the mothers stated that they did not know a lot regarding curriculum and scheduling. The other mothers stated that their knowledge of curriculum and scheduling is based on their classroom involvement, close communication with their daughters, and/or close communication with the teacher. "I send a lot of notes to the teacher...I'm famous for that." All but one of the mothers discussed their daughters' personalities with comments such as the following: "She is influenced by peers....She is very emotional and she will start crying when she doesn't do well in her schoolwork....She is a jokester and...this causes her to get into trouble."

Compare and Contrast: With one exception, all mothers said that their daughters' placement in the programs for the "gifted" had been determined by testing. Mrs. North described the experience: To begin with, Didi failed the school administered test because she refused to read the story, "Sally and the Monkey" because, according to Didi, it was too "boring." Mrs. North continued:

> ....and so we got a nice polite little rejection letter that Didi didn't qualify for Fagan. And I thought, "Oh, please! This is a crock! She's reading already!" You know she was reading at four, and, uh, I don't know whether you can still do it, but we had her privately tested, and she tested well above the minimum qualifications for Fagan.

All mothers stated that the programs for the "gifted" at Fagan had been positive experiences for their daughters--and good for their self-esteem. Ms. Hale said, "The kids in 'gifted' programs are treated a little differently....The structure is different....They ["gifted"] get special attention." With one exception, all attributed their daughters' successes to the enriched curriculum and, more specifically, to the differentiated activities provided for them. For example, Ms. Smith stated, "Some of the things that they're doing, we never did, and just the computers alone, just the technology alone, and the curriculum that they have, I think it's excellent." One mother did not mention the curriculum. Instead, she said:

> She [her daughter] is proud of being in SEARCH and she does very well. She strives to do better and she is not ashamed of being in SEARCH. Usually kids get called names because they're in SEARCH...names like geeks, nerds, things like that.

Conversely, and also unanimously, all mothers said that the programs for the "gifted" at Fagan had been negative experiences for their daughters. With one exception, all mothers cited social and political reasons.

One mother used the term "cliquishness." One said her daughter is "snooty." Ms. Hale repeated that her daughter had assumed an elitist attitude toward residential students. Two of the mothers also said that their daughters have also been negatively affected by their failure to pass the test for entry into SEARCH. One mother did not mention social or political concerns. Instead, she said, "At times she [her daughter] gets overwhelmed...because she deals with a lot of work."

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": Each mother had her own meaning for the label "gifted." According to Ms. North, "giftedness" means an innate ability--"a 'gift' from God." To Ms. Smith, "gifted" means "accelerated....They're doing better, faster, learning at a faster rate." Ms. Hale believes "gifted" means uniqueness and Ms. Downs said that "giftedness" means versatility and adaptability. Ms. Ingram's view mirrors the hierarchical thinking offered by the magnet and SEARCH girls. She said that "gifted" children are "really far above other children." When asked to explain, she said:

> Most normal children wouldn't have that same talent as that ["gifted"] child....A "gifted" child is somebody that would get 1600 on an SAT....a five year old that can play Beethoven on a piano...."Gifted" should be more select.

When comparing their daughters to the other students in the school, all mothers discussed social interactions and their daughters' "typicalness": "She's just an average kid....who likes body gel, platforms, 'Mary Kate and Ashley' movies....They're close-knit here. Everybody knows everybody....They all like to play....She's a typical, I would say, nine-year-old....They like coming to school and seeing their friends....She's just a normal kid." When contrasting their daughters with the other students in the school, responses were varied and based on moral, social, physical, experiential, and

intellectual themes. "She has high religious morals....She's more social....She's a bit tall for her size....We do a lot of traveling....and I don't think a whole lot of children do that....She is in the 'gifted' program and goes to SEARCH." More specifically, when comparing their daughters to the other students labeled "gifted," all mothers of the girls in the magnet program discussed intelligence hierarchically. "She is on about the same intellectual level....They're all on the same level....Her level of knowledge is a little bit higher than those who are nonmagnet students." The mothers of the girls in the SEARCH program both discussed their daughters' affinity for learning. Additionally, one mother said, "She likes to work in groups." When contrasting their daughters with the other students labeled "gifted," responses varied: "She is involved in fewer outside school activities....and she comes from a bicultural family....She is more social....She has a lot of weaknesses....She lives in the area whereas I don't think most of those SEARCH students do." One mother discussed her daughter's attributes: "She is more creative and is more of a risk-taker." Another mother discussed her daughter's interests and the fact that she is an only child. All mothers said that their daughters are like the residential students because of developmental and social similarities. One mother initially stated that her daughter "sees herself as being nothing like the residential students here at Fagan." When the question was repeated, she then also offered developmental and social similarities: "[She is] like all ten-year old girls....Their games might be different games, you know, their dances might be different dances, but they're all doing the same basic thing." When contrasting their daughters with the residential students, the mothers of girls in the magnet program discussed placement and work ethos. "Residential students do not have a sense of importance, but she [her daughter] knows that she has to get that work done." The mothers of girls in the SEARCH program discussed behavioral differences.

One mother said:

> I don't really care [about] going on a field trip with them [residential students]....The magnet children would sit and listen and the residential students would make a lot of noise and talk to each other....It embarrasses them [magnet children] a little bit when they're with them.

The majority of the mothers stated that they are like the other parents at Fagan because they all believe in the importance of education. Additionally, one mother discussed love and caring for her children and her desire for them to be successful. Another emphasized proper discipline. When contrasting themselves with the other parents in the school, all responses differed. One mother discussed her own personality ("not very structured"), her marriage ("intercultural"), and her morals ("high"). Another said that she was a harsher disciplinarian than most other parents. Others discussed caring and interaction, financial differences, and personal career and educational goals. More specifically, they are like other parents of children labeled "gifted" because they all believe in the importance of education and their support for their children's work. Additionally, one mother discussed morals and behavior. "We...want to have our children grow up...wanting to do their best, um, being responsible, and making the right decisions in life....We all have the same concerns, you know, as far as having a good child versus a bad child." When contrasting themselves with other parents of children labeled "gifted," two themes emerged: personality and marital status. Three of the mothers described other parents of children labeled "gifted" as "organized and structured,...more demanding,...and controlling" and they are not. One mother said that she herself was "pushy" and other parents are not. Two other mothers discussed their marital status. Each told about being a single parent. When comparing

themselves with the parents of residential students, two mothers discussed the importance of education. Remaining responses varied: "We are loving and caring...We all live in the same area [and] we all have the same concerns, you know, crime and...flooding." One mother could not think of any way that she is like parents of residential students. When contrasting themselves with the parents of residential students, several themes emerged: race, income, discipline, education, and school interaction. According to the mothers, residential parents are minority parents. They live "in a poor neighborhood....I'm maybe a little stricter." One mother said, "Most of the parents [residential] have not completed high school." Another said, "I don't know any of the residential parents....I'm an upper middle class person....I have a college degree." Further, she stated, "I was trying to put together this carnival...[When I tried] to call one of those residential parents, it's hard for me to get them to understand what's going on, what I need, when I need to get it done." Lastly, she said,

> I'm pretty confident I'm more, you know, family-oriented...meaning, you know, mother, father not divorced...whereas with residential you have a lot of single parents....A lot of times the grandmother is the one that's raising them [residential children].

Their perceptions regarding the programs for children labeled "gifted" at Fagan were hierarchical and focused on prestige, challenging work, acceleration, and social strata. One mother stated:

> The [magnet] children separate themselves out....They think they're better,...more intelligent....I think socially they feel like they just live in a different world than the residential....They see different parents....This one residential mother had pink hair and, you know, tons of gold jewelry and like leopard-skin pants....She [Ellen] just couldn't imagine living with a mother like that.

Regarding magnet and SEARCH parents, two themes emerged: required parental involvement and pride. Most mothers cited the need to "stay on top of them [students labeled "gifted"] and their work. Another said, "It makes you feel proud and good....You're treated...with a lot of respect from the faculty because they want you here....They make sure...that you're happy."

When discussing the residential program at Fagan, all of the mothers cited economic, social, and educational issues which they believed pertained to residential students. One mother stated that she hoped that they [residential students] "would want to be involved and [take advantage] of programs available for them like summer reading programs and...family centers...which serve a lot of needs." Another said that "it [residential program] is just a regular old school day." Another said, "I think at times they [residential students] probably feel left out." The mother of a magnet girl echoed this sentiment. She told me that the residential children believe that magnet children are a "closed-in group that you can't penetrate." Further, "the magnet kids are treated differently....The teachers spend a little bit more time with then [magnet students] than they do with the others [residential students]." She then said:

> I guess whenever you have kids that are labeled smarter then others...they're gonna be looked at differently....Being smarter sometimes is, uh, a crime, you know....Being given a label "gifted" is not an honor because it can cause problems.

Regarding residential parents, parents of the "gifted" discussed three different issues: academic struggles, economic need, and powerlessness. One mother said, "If there is a problem academically...they [residential parents] try and, you know, tutor the child." Another said, "It might be enough for them to make sure their child goes to school each day....and gets home." Lastly, a mother of a SEARCH girl said, "It's hard for them....because of their lack of education...and

the environment that they live in....Most of them have no control of where they are living or how they grew up."

According to the mothers of fourth-grade girls labeled "gifted," the magnet and SEARCH programs are alike because they both have differentiated, accelerated curricula and methodologies. They are different because the magnet program offers remediation if necessary and it has "to follow your basic reading, writing, arithmetic-type curriculum." The SEARCH program focuses on "higher level skills," the teachers are "more free" to choose that which is taught, the students are "pulled out" of the classroom, and according to one mother, SEARCH parents pressure their children more to succeed than magnet parents do. When asked how the programs for the "gifted" and the residential programs are alike, most of the mothers told me that they both have dedicated teachers. Additionally, one mother said that all students have access to computers and another said that "everybody has the same schedule basically." They are different because the programs for the "gifted" are more advanced, more accelerated, more demanding, and according to one mother, "more free and expressive....They [those participating in the residential program] aren't creative." Lastly, one mother said that they are different because of the "racial make-up" and "I know in the residential classes you may have some children not in the same range intellectually."

When asked how they got to be parents of students in the program for the "gifted" at Fagan, two of the mothers cited testing. Other responses focused on genetics, luck, and desire ("wanting them to be in this program"). Regarding placement of teachers (all referred to as "she" or "her") and students at the school, the majority of the mothers explained that teachers get to teach in the programs for the "gifted," if they have advanced education and training. Others cited the need for a certificate in education for the "gifted," successful

completion of an interview process, and particular personality traits. One mother told me that a teacher of the "gifted" needs to "have a lot on the ball....The parents at Fagan are very demanding." A student gets into the program for the "gifted" at Fagan by successful completion of entrance testing criteria. Teachers get to teach in the residential program if they have a degree, are certified to teach, apply for the job, and "meet qualifications." Two of the mothers also stated that residential teachers are "assigned" to their positions. Lastly, with one exception, all mothers said that a student gets to be in the residential program if they live in the neighborhood. One mother said that residential students "apply for school....They might have to get tested because they have to have a certain percentage from each group."

According to most of the mothers, not any teacher could get into the SEARCH and magnet programs. Two of the mothers said that entry was dependent upon proper training. The mothers' replies varied when asked if any student could get into the magnet program. One mother replied, "Yes." Two replied that entry was contingent upon testing and training, particularly at "the preschool" level. Two others replied, "No." Interestingly, when asked if any student could get into the SEARCH program, all but one mother said that entry was contingent upon training and testing. One mother emphatically said, "No." The mothers' replies were also varied when asked if any teacher could get into the residential program. Two mothers responded affirmatively. For example, one said, "Residential should be like a basic....'Gifted' is just a step over." One mother said that entry was contingent upon proper education and training, having a certificate, and successful completion of the interview process. Two others responded negatively. Both of these mothers said that residential teachers need training to work with special learners--mostly with disabilities. When asked if any student could get into the residential program, all replied affirmatively but

conditionally: "Yes, if they live in the neighborhood." Further, one mother said, "I wouldn't recommend it for all children." Another said, "Not all children should be [in the residential program] because there's such a thing as a 'gifted' child and...thank goodness they have a program."

According to all but one mother, all teachers at Fagan should teach in the SEARCH and/or magnet program. One mother said, "The more you know, the more you can share." According to all but one mother, all students should not be in the SEARCH program. One mother said, "Every child should have the opportunity to be in SEARCH." She also said that SEARCH should not be limited to those with "super intelligence" but also include those who have "that drive to learn." Likewise, according to all but one mother, all students should not be in the magnet program. Another mother said that every child should be in the magnet program "if they have the potential...[and] if they can do the work." The majority of mothers do not believe that all teachers at Fagan should teach in the residential program. One mother responded affirmatively and another said, "I could see them starting off in the residential program and later on moving on--if they qualify--to a magnet class or a SEARCH class." Once again, according to all but one of the mothers, all children should not be in the residential program. One mother said, "All children should be in the residential program if they choose not to be in the magnet program."

According to the majority of the mothers, some teachers are teaching in the programs for the "gifted" because they enjoy challenging "gifted" children and watching them grow and learn, they enjoy working with their parents, and they have the proper training and qualifications. One mother laughingly said, "They're gluttons for punishment!" According to the majority of the mothers, others are not teaching in programs for the "gifted" because of lack of training or choice. For example, one mother said, "Maybe they just haven't

been able to...get to that level yet in their career....Maybe they don't feel like they can be creative enough to work with those types of students." One mother commented that some teachers "enjoy working with residential kids and they know they need more help." Another said, "They [teachers not teaching in the programs for the "gifted"] are not interested in the additional work." All of the mothers said that some teachers are teaching in the residential program because of choice. ""They think they can make a difference with the residential children." However, one mother stated:

> In that lower income category...there's teachers that would rather make an impact at that level than on the, you know, "gifted" level. I don't know why a teacher wouldn't strive to move on where the "gifted" and SEARCH are....If I was a teacher I would strive to move....go to that higher level teaching....I can't imagine what other reason you would have except you just don't feel like moving on. You're happy in that level of teaching.

All but one of the mothers believe that some teachers are not teaching in the residential program because of choice. One mother stated, "It's a very difficult job....You have to work with a wide range of children with different learning capabilities....They [residential teachers] have a tough time communicating with the parents on that level." When asked to explain what she meant, she replied:

> I don't want to say, uh, [they] don't care about the children....Maybe they work two jobs....Maybe they're just lazy....Maybe they themselves aren't as educated....I don't want to say they can't read...but maybe...they don't understand it.

Lastly, according to all of the mothers, some students are in the programs for the "gifted" because their parents wish for them to be there. All but one of the mothers also said that some students are in the programs for the "gifted"

because they have passed entrance testing requirements. One mother said that "it has an elitist label...for a child....It's a special thing....They know it's different, fun...and they feel like they're special." According to all of the mothers, some students are not in the magnet and SEARCH programs because they are not qualified. Additionally, the majority of mothers stated that some parents do not wish their child to be in a program for the "gifted." One mother said, "I can't imagine this being a reason...[but] they [parents] don't like their children being in with those types of children [the "gifted"]." According to all but one of the mothers, some students are in the residential program because of parent choice. One mother said, "That's where they live and they don't have much choice." When asked why some students are not in the residential program, responses were split. Half of the mothers believe that it is because of parent choice. The other half stated that some students are not in the residential program because they are in the magnet program.

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being a Parent of a Child Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": The majority of the mothers stated that they like being called the parent of a "gifted" child. "It's flattering....It's a prideful thing...You feel special because your child was selected." One mother had mixed feelings. She explained:

> That label, like I said, hurts more than it helps....You're always being looked at....You're always on stage....The spotlight is on you....That's talking from my experience. All my family, they always said, "Oh, well, she's so smart, she's so smart, she's so smart."....[and when] I didn't finish college...and it was like "she finally failed at something." I mean eventually I went back and got my degree. But I don't want what happened to me to happen to

> them [her daughters]....I don't want that [fear of failure] to happen to them.

According to the mothers, having a child labeled "gifted" has several benefits, all pertaining to their daughters' school experiences. One mother told me that her daughter's needs are being met because of homogeneous groupings and "good teachers." Another likes the fact that her child is able to work more independently on home assignments. Two mothers are pleased that their daughters are being "challenged" and one magnet mother likes the fact that her daughter's weaknesses are being addressed and that the program stimulates parent-child interaction. Other responses were as follows: "She's being prepared academically for the future....It ["gifted" program] is much more fun and interesting [than]...regular class stuff." Conversely, being called the parent of a child labeled "gifted" has several drawbacks. The majority of the mothers complained about the excessive work load. "Some of the students are lazy....It's very stressful....[and] overwhelming." Others cited the long bus ride to and from school each day, dissatisfaction with a teacher, and lack of coordination between the teachers regarding assignment due dates. "That's just a pain." Lastly, one mother stated:

> They stereotype the parents as slave-drivers, making them [the children] stay home and study and no social life and no going outside, not being a child....[but] I find it very important that my kids do well on the ITBS [Iowa Test of Basic Skills].

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Regarding the reactions of others to their having children labeled "gifted," responses from the mothers were mixed. With one exception, all reported positive feedback from friends. One mother told me that her friends do not understand why she sends her children to a public school because of "their bad reputation." She explained that our state ranked at

the bottom "education wise....I guess that's an SAT thing or something....[Also], they [her friends] "have an idea that it's not so safe." Regarding reactions from family, two of the mothers told me that their families are proud of their daughters. One mother stated that her family members "don't know anything about SEARCH." Two others reported that their families are aware of their daughters' abilities. One mother said, "I don't think they [her family] would have expected less...with me being 'gifted' when I was a child." Regarding reactions from other parents, most of the mothers discussed positive conversations with others regarding their daughters' experiences. One mother told me that other parents seem surprised that although "she [her daughter] is 'gifted' she is still a nice person."

With one exception, none of the parents believe that they are treated differently by friends, family, or other parents because they have a child in a program for the "gifted" at Fagan. One mother said:

> They [her friends] think I'm nuts like crazy to send my child to public school....They also tell me that they admire me for sending my child to a public school....Maybe they don't like them [their children] being combined with the residential....But thus far I like it a lot.

When discussing how other parents feel about having a child in a program for the "gifted," reactions from the mothers were positive and negative. For example, one mother replied that she thought they felt "lucky [and] it gives them a sense of relief, confidence." Conversely, another mother stated, "Some of them do think that their kids are better than others....I don't want to say 'snooty' [but] I can't think of another word." This same mother also told me that parents do not wish to be involved in the residential program "because that would be stepping down." When asked how other parents feel about not having a child in a program for the "gifted," most mothers reported that they [other parents] would

have negative feelings (e. g., "upset,...left out,...slighted"). Miscellaneous comments were as follows: "I don't think it bothers them in the least or they would take, uh, other steps....I would like to think that the parents understand because all children cannot be 'gifted'." Lastly, one mother said:

> It doesn't make a difference to them whether their kids pan out....You can't miss something that you've never been exposed to....It's discouraging and stressful...being a single parent, low income, having several jobs and still can't see ends meet....they're trying to help but they can't.

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness":

Interestingly, when asked if they believe that they are "gifted," only one mother replied affirmatively. Two mothers replied that they are not "gifted." Two others said that they are marginally "gifted." Specifically, one said that she was "a fraction of being 'gifted'" and the other said that she was "slightly 'gifted'." When asked if they believe that they are "gifted" parents, most of the mothers replied that they are not. Two of the mothers responded, "Sometimes." Further, none of the mothers believe that one has to be "gifted" to have a "gifted" child. One said, "I'm living proof." Another said, "There's a genetic throwback to someone else in your family." Lastly, when asked whether they prefer a magnet, SEARCH, or residential setting for their daughters, surprisingly, the reactions from the mothers were mixed. Two said that they prefer their daughters' current placements. One magnet mother said, "I wouldn't mind her [her daughter] being in the residential program if there was a teacher willing to challenge her intellectually, academically." One SEARCH mother said that she prefers the magnet program "because they teach them about all the different curriculums, they teach her what she needs to know, and they prepare her for the next grade."

One magnet mother said that she prefers the SEARCH placement. She explained:

> Her grades have always been good....Teacher recommendations ...have always been good....I've compared her work to others. When she gets in teamwork with a fellow student who happened to be in SEARCH, and compare the quality of the work, it was better. I had a teacher try to, uh, tell me once, "She does better quality work than most of my SEARCH students." Her ITBS scores have always been good enough to qualify her to test but she's never, uh, never been able to get in SEARCH at the final stage and that has disappointed and affected her and through that, it's bothered me.

Photo Exercise: In comparing the six classes, all of the mothers commented that the students and/or teachers are "involved" in their work. The majority of the mothers said that the classroom environments are similar and conducive to learning. Further, the students are "learning" and are "well-behaved....Everything's under control....There's not chaos or anything like that." In contrasting the six classes, all mothers noticed that the SEARCH students are involved in "hands-on" activities (e. g., chess, craft work) and the other classes are involved in "book work." All but one mother noticed the racial distribution in each setting. For example, one mother commented, "I see in the residential classes there are more African-American students....In the magnet there are, um, a mixture of students and then when you look at the SEARCH students, there are more white kids....That's the biggest difference." The majority of the mothers stated that the SEARCH room does not have as much equipment in it as the magnet and residential classrooms do. Further, there are tables in the SEARCH room and desks and chairs in the other classes. Two mothers remarked that it [SEARCH room] is "bare" and "not as welcoming as the others." The majority of

the mothers stated that the SEARCH and magnet children seem to be having "fun" and "enjoying" their activities whereas--as one mother noted--the residential children have a "puzzled or surprised look on their faces" and two residential girls have their heads down.

Regarding their daughters' entry into their respective settings, all but one of the mothers stated that their daughters passed the entrance testing criteria. One mother said that she wanted her daughter "to be exposed to enrichment." When asked to reflect on their feelings and how things might be different if their daughters were not in programs for the "gifted," responses were mixed. Two of the mothers stated that they would not need to be as "involved" in their daughters' school work. Two others stated that their daughters' academic experiences would be limited. Miscellaneous responses were that social experiences would be narrowed and initiative and curiosity stifled. One mother said that her daughter's self-esteem would suffer. Another said that her daughter would be "bored."

Visuals:

In addition to the six photographs taken for the "photo exercise" part of the formal interviews, many additional photographs were taken of the girls labeled "gifted" in their respective settings (see Appendixes K and L). If we examine these settings closely, several personal images/portraits/themes emerge. The three magnet girls are seen working alone and removed from others in the classroom. None are smiling. Specifically, Didi did not wish to be photographed. She appears in only one picture. However, she is hiding behind a classmate and the only thing visible is the top of her head. Jane has removed herself from the groups in the classroom. In one picture, she is perched on a desk away from her classmates staring at the ceiling. The other children are busily involved in various construction activities. Brandy is seen sitting by herself at her desk

writing. She is working independently and not interacting with her classmates. Conversely, the SEARCH girls are seen interacting with others in the classroom. Both are smiling. Specifically, Emma and her SEARCH classmates are pictured gathered around their teacher or rehearsing for a play. Emma is laughing and interacting with her classmates. Donna is seated at a table with her SEARCH classmates assembling a broken piece of pottery. She is also laughing and interacting with her classmates.

Chapter VII

Data Presentation: Personal Perspectives of Fourth-Grade Girls Not Labeled "Gifted" and Their Parents (i. e., a mother and a female legal guardian)

What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children not labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents (see Table 9)?

In order to answer this question, data has been collected via the following techniques: mute evidence, formal interviews, and visuals.

Mute Evidence:

Peers of Children Labeled "Gifted"

As discussed in Chapter III (Review of the Literature), four distinct themes emerged from the literature regarding peer attitudes toward the "gifted." First, most studies reveal mixed reactions (Austin & Draper, 1981; Cornell, Pelton, Bassin, Landrum, Ramsay, Cooley, Lunch, & Hamrick, 1990; Dauber & Benbow, 1990; Luftig & Nichols, 1990; Lutz & Lutz, 1980; Morgan, 1981; Solano, 1976). Specifically, "gifted" boys and the kinesthetically "gifted" rather than "gifted" girls and the academically "gifted" were preferred. Second, a small population of children generally hold positive feelings toward their "gifted" counterparts (Clark; 1992; Cohen, Duncan, and Cohen, 1994). Additionally, the positions of the "gifted" within the context of school are more valued--at least through the elementary years. Third, and conversely, others hold negative attitudes (Austin & Draper, 1981; Coleman, 1961; Janos, Fung, & Robinson, 1985; Maddux, Scheiber, & Bass, 1982; Manor-Bullock, Look, & Dixon, 1995; Pendarvis et al., 1990; Tannenbaum, 1962). Lastly, some research revealed indifference or neutral feelings toward the "gifted" (Colangelo & Kelly, 1983; Ford, 1978; Norman, Ramsay, Roberts, & Martray, 2000).

Table 9

Formal Interview Respondents

(Girls Not Labeled "Gifted" and Their Parents, Teachers/ Administrators)

4th Grade Girls Not Labeled "Gifted"	Placement	Race	SES (i.e., lunch status)	Family Descriptors	Parents	Teachers	Adminis-trators
Gail	residential	African-American	free/reduced price	lives with both parents, no siblings	Ms. Benton (mother)	Ms. Dunn	Ms. Early (principal), Mr. Clancy (assistant principal)
Marian	residential	African-American	free/reduced price	lives with aunt and uncle (legal guardians), cousins, two siblings	Ms. Easton (legal guardian)	Ms. Blake	"

Parents of Children Not Labeled "Gifted":

What are the attitudes of other parents toward "gifted" children? Of the few studies in evidence, most other parents hold negative attitudes toward "gifted" children and the label they carry (Clark, 1992; Davis & Rimm, 1994; Martinson, 1971; Mills & Berry, 1979). Primary reasons offered are bias and practices of exclusivity prevalent in identification of "gifted" children and the program procedures designed for them (Marion, 1980).[12]

Formal Interviews:

Individual Perspectives of Fourth-Grade Girls Not Labeled "Gifted"

(i. e., Residential Girls)

Gail:

Preliminaries: Interviews with Gail were conducted at school in a media center ante-room. Gail is an African-American nine year old girl who is enrolled in the residential program at Fagan. This is her first year at the school. She lives in the neighborhood with her mother and father. She has no siblings. Interestingly, she and Brandy (a magnet student and also a respondent in this study) are first cousins. Her teachers describe Gail as a good student and well-behaved in class. She is also teased by her classmates for being overweight. Gail was talkative and enjoyed "doodling" during our sessions together.

"Grand Tour": Gail began by describing her dislikes and frustrations. "School is...hard because there is a lot of homework" (p. 1). Quite often she does not understand the homework and her mother is unable to help her. Her teacher has been in the hospital and she does not like the substitute. "The whole class got mad at him because we weren't doing nothing and the white student had messed it up for the whole class and...he said the whole class had to suffer" (p. 4). Lastly, she doesn't like Computer Lab, the red light in the

[12] Refer to detailed discussion of themes regarding children not labeled "gifted" and their parents in the Literature Review, Chapter III.

lunchroom (which means "silent lunch"), the fights between other students, or the teacher telling her to "tuck in her shirt...when it is tucked in" (p. 5) and to "put my hand down" (p. 5) when she has a question.

She frequently tells me that the other children hit and tease her and try to get her in trouble. For example, she stated:

> The children...become like snotty and all and then they call people names [like] fat...and Gummy Bears...and I don't like it and there is a girl named ___. She doesn't like it either and then that hurts her feelings and sometimes she cries. (p. 1)

Additionally, "some people that take names [when the teacher is out of the room] they don't like me so they just put my name on the board" (p. 6). She describes how she often becomes tired in physical education class. "I don't like to run because sometimes I get heartaches and headaches...and then I feel like I am about to faint 'cause it's hot to me" (p. 6). She said that her father puts pressure on her to run, "to run as fast as I can but then when I don't run as fast as I can and I tell him he gets mad 'cause he says I need to be on a diet" (p. 8). She also gets "nervous" and has "headaches" when she has to give reports. She gets "scared" when she has to go to another classroom for math. Lastly, she doesn't like it when students from one of the magnet fourth grade classes tell her that they are glad they're not in her class.

Conversely, Gail said that fourth grade "is sometimes very easy for me" (p. 1). She likes her teacher, Ms. Dunn. "She always comes to school with a smile on her face....She wouldn't come...with a frown because she always says, 'It takes more muscles to frown than to smile' [and] she's always willing to help somebody" (p. 21). She likes some of the other "teachers and the way we learn and I like Social Studies....and English....and the way we get right down to

work....I like it sometimes when we go outside and we play games together" (pp. 3-4).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding Gail's level of involvement with the school elicited the following responses: "We talk [about] how to make the classroom more neater and clean....We do assignments...and we go on a lot of field trips....We learn things we never knew before " (p. 6). In Art "we made origami and we made a kite....We draw and...watch movies....We made a foil person" (p. 7). Music "gives me exercise because you move a lot....She gives us reports" (p. 8). In PE "we had to run a mile and there are a lot of races....She [PE teacher] organized a Fun Day" (p. 8). Computer Lab is not my favorite activity to go to 'cause I'm not good at math....and when Ms. Dunn [her teacher] says to 'go to file and exit' I am always reading" (p. 9). At lunch "we have to sit with the same person....and sometimes I get mad....There's a lot of red lights" (pp. 10-11). When asked about recess, Gail said:

> We play tag,...O-U-T,...dodge ball....One time I made up a game called Bases....Me and my best friend___we talk about things....One time we had a club with girls. It was called 'Bad Girls.' Sometimes people get in fights and sometimes this boy named___he allergic to grass...and if he gets thrown down on the grass...he breaks out in bumps. (pp. 11-12)

On her walk to school in the morning "sometimes I have races with my cousin....and I make sure I have all my materials" (pp. 9-10). In the afternoons "I car ride with my grandmother....Me and Brandy [her cousin] take turns sitting in the front and sometimes we have a fight about whose turn it is" (p. 10). Lastly, Gail is a member of the Honor Society. "I was the only person from my class in the Honor Society....I used to be in Chorus but now I'm not" (p. 12).

Specific questions regarding Gail's level of involvement with others elicited the following likenesses: "We go to the same school....We like English and, um, reading and we are in the same wing [building at school]....We like the teachers....We have the same friends" (p. 13). When asked how she is different from the others, Gail replied:

> We are different because of our race...We have different dislikes and likes....I'm not a big Pokemon watcher or collector and the other person might be....We would not have the same parents or brothers and sisters....[We] might like a different group of people. (p. 13)

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: When probed regarding settings and behaviors, Gail responded as follows:

> We have free time....My friends are in a talent show....We review things about what we learned last year....We go to reading and math....For International Week we would make a flag or we would go to the library and, um, look up something for Greece....We make predictions about the weather....If we had nothing to do we might put our heads down or we might just draw....We don't go to the library as often as we used to...and, um, we don't watch movies....I don't answer questions that I know...I don't tell anybody the answer. (pp. 14-15)

Further, she said, "When we make ideas sometimes we get in a fight" (p. 16). According to Gail, the ones who talk are the ones who misbehave and the ones who do not talk in class are "mostly the good people...like___ [a classmate] and me" (p. 14). When others are interacting with the teacher, "sometimes I listen, sometimes I just do my work" (p. 14). When she [teacher] goes out of the room "she would ask me to take names and if she doesn't want to leave the

classroom...she will ask me to go to another classroom or the lunchroom or the office to get something or to tell somebody something" (p. 17). Also, "I help her take up the, um, papers....I help pass out something to students or classmates....I might hand a note to another teacher....Sometimes I take people to the nurse" (p. 17). When asked what she does by herself, Gail said, "I might read or draw or I write in a journal...or diary...and sometimes when I use the bathroom I might sing....I defend myself....and take care of things myself" (p. 18).

Compare and Contrast: Regarding her perceptions concerning her placement in the residential program, Gail responded as follows: "My grandma wanted me to be in this class 'cause she thought Ms. Dunn is more nicer and gives you more opportunities to learn....Other than that I don't know" (p. 23).

Gail repeated that she did not like some of the work, some of the teachers, the fighting between students, and how some of the other students pick on her. In addition to her previous "likes," she added Art and Science Lab. "Sometimes I think I want to be a science teacher 'cause there are a lot of nice, um, experiments you can do" (p. 21). Contradictorily, she stated that she liked math ("...a little bit but it's not my favorite class," p. 21) and PE. "We get points if you behave" (p. 22).

Regarding her perceptions concerning SEARCH and magnet students, she responded:

> They talk and they...start fights and they always talk about which class is better than the other....or [on Fun Day] they might rub it in our faces saying, "You lost."...They go on field trips like us and some of them come to our class for Time Out....Mostly some of them are bad but some are good. (pp. 23-24)

According to Gail, the residential, SEARCH, and magnet teachers are alike because "they all talk" (p. 26). Differences were more numerous. She stated:

> Some teachers are unorganized and some are organized and some teachers might be younger than others. Some teachers might not like one another. Some teachers probably get tired of children and some teachers just love children and like to be around them....Some teachers might say a lot of things to encourage their students and other teachers they might just give lectures about how you act. (p.26)

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": Gail believes that "gifted" means "special,...intelligent, bright, smart, and just 'gifted'" (p. 26).

When comparing herself to the other students in the school, she said:

> We might be in a different class but we are still in the same school....Some of us might want to do more work than others....We might want to meet the same goals and we might be more disciplined than others....We might want to make more successful choices....Our teachers talk to one another--interact. (pp. 26-27)

In contrasting herself with the other students, she said:

> We might have different goals....We still want...high marks but in different subject areas and one person might get more certificates than the other....We might be a different race of people....Some might be mixed or some might be white or some be black in a class. (p. 27)

More specifically, she is like the other residential students because "we all live near the school--near the school or somewhere a little bit further and we all want

to learn" (pp. 28-29). When discussing how she is different from the other residential students, she said:

> Some might have brothers and sisters while other residential students are an only child [like Gail]....Some residential students have both parents with them or some students have a single parent or are living with their grandparents or grandparent. Some have parents who if someone hits you say that you should hit them back while other residential students' parents say...to go tell the teacher. (p. 29)

She is like the SEARCH students because "we all have goals to reach....We can learn from our mistakes" (p. 27). Further, "We all learn the same thing....We might all probably think the same thing" (p. 30). She is different from the SEARCH students because "we have different goals to reach....We might have different things like at home...I'm in this program and the other person is in SEARCH" (p. 27). She told me that she is like the magnet students because "we all want to learn" (p. 28). Also, "we're probably learning the same things but in different ways" (p. 31). She is different from the magnet students because "we might think we're like each other but we're really not....We have different teachers....We act different" (p. 28). Also, "a magnet class might think that another class is bad...Some magnet students might be more athletic than non-magnet students" (p. 31).

Regarding her perceptions of the residential program, Gail stated, "You're kinda tagged 'ungifted' but you're still learning. It's your grades that put you in the class or your parents they put you in a certain class....You might have good grades but you need to improve them" (p. 29). Then she said, "I don't know. It never really came up to me. I never really thought about it" (p. 29). To Gail, the SEARCH program means "to learn more faster than others or you know more

than others [and] when you, um, learn more faster than others you get a higher grade....I see the SEARCH children walking past my class everyday" (p. 29). Also, "probably you have more, um, learning abilities" (p 32). The magnet program means that "you can handle being with other races or you have the ability to work with other races" (p. 29).

According to Gail, the residential and SEARCH programs are alike because "they both take down things [like notes]" (p. 33). They are different because "they [residential students] go on less field trips...[and] they [SEARCH students] are learning science and other subjects that deal with real life" (p. 34). The residential and magnet programs are the same because "there might be the same amount of children or students" (p. 34). When contrasting the residential and magnet programs, she said:

> They are different because of our race and where we live and what, um, background we come from....They probably don't go on the same field trips....The non-magnet might be misbehaving....A magnet class might think that another class is bad....Some magnet students might be more athletic than non-magnet students....The teachers they might ask each other different questions about teaching [and] have a different opinion about different things. (pp. 31-32)

Gail initially told me that she did not know how she got to be in the residential program. She then said, "My grandmother must have put me in the residential program or the school...because of my permanent record" (p. 35).

According to Gail, "any child can get into the residential program if they were in the past year" (p. 35). Likewise, any student could get into the SEARCH program "if they really want to" (p. 35). Admittance into the magnet program, however, is more conditional. According to Gail, students can get into

the magnet program "if their parents and the student feel they can and if the school board says they can and their ability to learn is good" (p. 35).

When asked if every student should be in the residential program, she said, "My mother says that everybody always belongs somewhere" (p. 36). She doesn't believe that every student should be in the SEARCH program because "they might not have good behavior or their parents or the school board just don't think they should" (p. 35). When asked if every student should be in the magnet program, she replied, "That's probably between the school board, their parents, and the child" (p. 35).

According to Gail, some students are in the residential program because "they might have been in the residential program for a long time or their parents or the school board said they can't be in SEARCH or magnet" (pp. 36-37). Others are not "because they've been in magnet" (p. 36). Some students are in the SEARCH program because "the school board said that they are ready for SEARCH or maybe because they are in magnet" (p. 36). Others are not because "they're in a nonmagnet class" (p. 36) She then said, "Why I'm not in SEARCH I don't know" (p. 36). Some students are in the magnet program because "they can work well" (p. 36). She did not know why others are not.

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Gail offered a conditional response when asked if she liked being called a residential student. She said, "It really doesn't matter to me...as long as I have a good name---[as long as people say] there goes that residential kid [and not] that bad kid or the kid that doesn't listen" (p. 37). According to Gail, being labeled a residential student has the following benefits: "You get to go on more field trips and learn more things" (p. 37). Being labeled a residential student has the following drawbacks:

> Other people tease you...and call you names....If you're skinny, people...call you "chicken bones"....And when a magnet class comes by...folding their arms...I would hear one of the teachers in the non-magnet class say, "How come you [the residential students] can't act like that...and not be so disruptive?" (pp. 37-38)

Effect of the Label "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Reactions from others regarding her label are varied. "My friends...want to be the best but not better than anyone....Some...in my class they're bad in most of their subjects and so when the girls raise their hands to...answer they would suck their teeth" (p. 38). Further, "when some children act bad and don't respect her [the teacher], she would say, 'If y'all were in a magnet or SEARCH class and you acted like this, the teacher would put you out'" (p. 38). According to Gail, her teacher "sometimes would say that I need to take a lesson from the magnet...and act like them and not be so bad" (p. 39). Her parents "sometimes will come home and say, 'I wonder what it's like to be in the magnet or SEARCH,' then they would say, um, 'your thing is to be in the residential or non-magnet classes'" (p. 39).

When asked if her friends, classmates, teachers, and/or parents treat her differently because she's a residential student, she replied, "They don't put me down 'cause I'm in residential.... Sometimes I want to know what it's like to be in the, um, magnet class but I think I'm fine where I'm at" (p. 39).

Regarding the feelings of others about their placements, Gail stated:

> The SEARCH students are "happy because people say SEARCH is more fun. Magnet students might feel sad 'cause they probably get more homework....Residential students probably feel happy or sad...because they just don't want to be in the magnet because

> their parents and that student agreed not to be in magnet. (pp. 39-40)

Lastly, she stated that some others want to be in SEARCH or magnet classes but "I'm glad where I am" (p. 39).

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Gail sees herself as partially "gifted." She said:

> I don't think I'm "gifted-gifted" but when I make a lot of friends or when I got Honor Roll and was in the Honor Society [and] I get special awards and trophies...people say that I'm talented [and] that makes me feel "gifted." (p. 41)

When asked which setting she prefers for herself, she said that she did not know if she should be in the SEARCH program. "I don't know what they do in there and my fourth grade teacher didn't talk about it a lot" (p. 41). Regarding the magnet program, she said, "I would like to be in the magnet program to see how it would be...and see if I am able to be in there but other than that I really don't care as long as I'm in school learning" (p. 41). Lastly, she said, "I still want to be in the residential program" (p. 41).

Photo Exercise: According to Gail, all six classes are alike because "they are all trying to learn and probably having a good time....They all have teachers and...books....All the classes are decorated....All the students are doing their best to learn" (pp. 42-43). Regarding differences, she stated:

> This is residential and this is magnet and that's SEARCH....They are learning but in different ways....They all probably have different personalities....In this residential class it's probably hard for some of them....These two SEARCH classes are having fun at playing the game and these two classes [magnet and residential] are working. (pp. 42-43)

Gail told me that she got into her setting because "my grandmother, my father, and my mother put me in this class" (p. 44). Her reason for being there is because "God put me there" (p. 44). When asked how she felt about it, she said, "I like the class and the teacher" (p. 45). Lastly, Gail said, "I don't try to be better than everybody else. I just try to do what I can and just try my best" (p. 45).

Marian:

Preliminaries: Interviews with Marian were conducted at school in a media center ante-room. Marian is an African-American ten year old girl who transferred to Fagan one year ago as a residential student. She lives near the school with her mother's sister and her husband who now have legal custody of Marian and her two siblings. Her mother is mentally ill and unable to care for her. Her teachers describe Marian as a good student and very quiet in class. Marian also goes occasionally into a magnet fourth-grade class for math instruction. She is teased by classmates because she is small for her age. She was a willing but seemingly shy respondent who oftentimes appeared to have difficulty understanding the queries.

"Grand Tour": Marian began by describing her dislikes. "School is hard....I'm little in fourth grade and I can't grow real fast when I am so short....I'm not grown and tall like grown-ups....We do hard work like division...and fractions" (p. 1). Further, "I don't like the people around me when I'm trying to work and they kinda bother me so I have to sit by myself and do my work....They keep on talking to me....I don't like Health [and I don't like it] when teachers yell at the other kids" (p. 2).

Conversely, Marian said that Math and Spelling are her favorite subjects [and] they [the teachers] give us parties" (p. 2).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding Marian's level of involvement with the school elicited the following responses: "While we are in the classroom we practice for the talent show....We sing and we have to dress up to sing....We play games like Math Bingo" (p. 3). In Art "you make um sculptures [and] kites....Mine got stuck in a tree and we couldn't get it down....I had to do mine again....We watch TV about how you make stuff" (pp. 3-4). In Music, "we learn songs....On March twenty-fifth we are going to do a little play....I'm going to be the ladybug" (pp. 4-5). In PE we run and we be doing sit-ups and push-ups" (p. 5). In Computer Lab "it's reading and math [and] you can't cheat" (pp. 5-6). At lunch, "We are quiet in the halls. We walk in and ...cross our arms....Our shirts are tucked in....When we see a red light we can't talk, yellow light we can talk softly....We clean up....We sweep" (pp. 7-8). At recess "we play jump rope, we practice for our talent show, we race, we play games....We run around and do exercise. You need to exercise before we do, um, our spelling test" (p. 8). On her walk to school in the morning, "We say 'Hello' to our auntie....She was sick....We get a good exercise" (p. 6). On the way home after school, "We stop and play with some friends and go home and do our homework and then we go outside and play" (p. 8). When asked about extra curricular activities, Marian told me about the International Tasting Party "that was this week.... I brought me some grease" (p. 9). [She did not understand that her class was to report on Greece and bring foods representative of that particular country.] When I asked her again about her extracurricular activities and offered examples, "How about band or chorus or scouts or brownies," she replied, "Um they smell good when we go in the lunchroom....She [her teacher] brung us some ice cream and cake with some brownies" (p. 10). [She did not understand that I was asking her about Brownie scouts.]

Specific questions regarding Marian's level of involvement with others elicited the following responses: In the afternoons, she and her friends (all girls) practice for the talent show. "We gonna do this on the last day of school" (p. 10). When asked how these girls are like her, she replied, "Me and___ [a classmate] are the same size. We have the same shoes" (p. 10). When asked how these girls are different from her, she said, "They are taller than me and I'm brown skin and they are dark skin" (p. 11).

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: When probed regarding settings and behaviors, Marian replied as follows: "We read books. When we don't have nothing else to do we can work in our workbooks. We do division on the board and multiplication. We play Bingo with division" (p. 11). She then described a recent activity in Social Studies:

> We had to make the Americans and the other people that live in the old days. We had to make they houses and we had to sit them up and let them dry. We did that last week. They didn't dry yet" (p. 12).

Marian continued:

> Ms. Blake [teacher] she let us work on our project.....We help Ms. Blake clean up the classroom so she can do her work in peace....Mostly everybody in my class talks....I don't hardly speak much 'cause I sucked my fingers when I was a little girl. (pp. 13-14)

Marian told me that "there are two people--me and___ [a classmate]" (p. 12) who answer the teacher's questions.

Compare and Contrast: Regarding her perceptions concerning her placement in the residential program, Marian stated that she did not know how or why she was put into her residential class.

In addition to her previous "dislikes," Marian stated that she does not like the fifth grade classes ("...don't know why," p. 18) or Science. "We do

experiments and somebody has to mess it up....We don't hardly watch a lot of movies and we don't touch the animals. Other kids could" (p. 19). In addition to her previous "likes," Marian at first stated that she liked all of her classes. She then said that she liked Computer Lab ("...and we can play with some games," p. 16), PE, Art, and Music.

Regarding her perceptions concerning SEARCH and magnet classes, she responded, "They [SEARCH and magnet classes] always listen....They follow directions. They keep their feets and hands to theirselves (pp. 20-21). Regarding residential classes, she said:

> They [residential classes] don't listen like magnet classes....They fight [and] throw stuff around....They were throwing crayons and pencils at people and throwing paper and spit balls....and they have to sit in Time Out....Ms. Dunn's class is bad....They come to our class and they mess up our whole class. (pp. 21-22)

When comparing the fourth grade teachers, Marian said, "They have children who have to stand outside....They borrow things" (p. 24). When discussing how they are different, she said:

> My class and Ms. Dunn's class they different 'cause Ms. Dunn she don't hardly do nothing when they be bad. My teacher do something when they bad in our classroom....We keep our room clean and they keep it kinda dirty. (pp. 25-26)

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": According to Marian, "gifted" means "our school, um, like when we have a trophy [and]...to give something to the school" (pp. 26-27). Then she said, "I don't know" (p. 27). [She did not understand that I was asking her about the label "gifted."]

In comparing herself to the other students in the school, she said, "I am a cheerleader....I like catching and racing" (p. 27). She is different from the

other students in the school because "I do flips different....I'm not in a magnet class like them" (p. 28). More specifically, Marian could not think of any other ways that she is like or unlike the other residential students or the SEARCH students. She is like the magnet students because "I listen and the children in Mrs. Harris' class listen. I follow directions. I participate in activities in CCC [computer lab]" (p. 29). She could not think of any other ways that she is unlike the magnet students.

Regarding her perceptions of the residential program, Marian asked, "Like me?" She then said, "It means doing subjects like Social Studies, Science, and Health and Math" (p. 30). Regarding the SEARCH program, she said, "They do research and other subjects" (p.29). In the magnet program "they do all these things and subjects and make Honor Roll" (p. 30).

According to Marian, the SEARCH, magnet, and residential classes are alike in that "they [SEARCH and magnet classes] participate in a lot of activities" (p. 30). They are different because "they sing a lot and my class doesn't....They do lots of homework activities and we don't (p. 31). Lastly, she stated, "They [SEARCH and magnet classes] do and we [residential classes] don't" (p. 31).

Marian did not know how she got to be in the residential program. She does not believe that any student could get into the residential program "because you have to go to the residential class or you can go to a regular class" (p. 31). Conversely, she believes that any student could get into a SEARCH or magnet class.

Marian does not believe that every student should be in the residential program. "We study a lot of stuff like social studies, health, science, or math. They got stuff that's different" (p. 31). Conversely, she believes that every

student should be in the SEARCH or magnet program "because we have Honor Roll" (p. 31).

According to Marian, some students are in the residential program because "they grades are low--sixty-nine or below" (p. 32). Others are not because "they grades are higher" (p. 32). Some students are in the SEARCH program because "they need help on other subjects" (p. 32). Others are not because "they don't need help" (p. 32). [She does not understand that SEARCH is for children labeled "gifted." She believes that it is for remediation.] Some students are in the magnet program because "they probably made Honor Roll....and if it [grade average] is seventy-nine or higher then they go to a magnet class" (pp. 31-32). Some students are not in the magnet class "because they are in a residential class" (p. 32). Lastly, she stated that "you have to go to a residential class or one of the others" (p. 33).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Marian does not like being called a residential student "because I don't like anybody to tease me like if I have a sixty-nine or a fifty" (p. 33). According to Marian, being labeled a residential student has the following benefits: "You could learn more. Like say if you're in a magnet class and you don't know nothing about fractions you can probably learn about that in a residential classroom" (p. 33). Conversely, being called a residential student has the following drawback: "Everybody teasing you" (p. 34).

Effect of the Label "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": When discussing how others react to her label, Marian stated that her friends and classmates "think I'm too short....They said, 'I think you're supposed to be in kindergarten, girl. I don't know about you in fourth grade'" (p. 34). She doesn't know how her teachers feel about her placement. Regarding her parents' reaction to her placement, she stated:

> They said that I was in a magnet class in my old school and, um, they said that if I keep on speedin' up with my work...in math, social studies, and science...then I can get in the magnet program....They tell me to speed up 'cause I be wasting lots of time. (p. 35)

Otherwise, according to Marian, she is not treated differently by others because of her placement.

Marian told me that other students in the residential program "feel scared...because it's like a lot of people they be teasing you. They don't like you....because if you twelve and still in the fourth grade they be teasing you about your age" (p. 36). Conversely, other students not in the residential program "feel happy 'cause, um, they grades are higher" (p. 36).

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Marian believes that she is "gifted" because "my teacher say that I am" (p. 38). She does not believe that she should be in the SEARCH program. "I know all of the subjects Ms. Blake taught us" (p. 38). She believes that she should be in the magnet program. "I have good grades. I made Honor Roll" (p. 38).

Photo Exercise: According to Marian, all six classes are alike because "they doing the same thing. They working quietly and they're paying attention to their work....We play the same games....All the classrooms are alike" (pp. 39-40). They are different because "some [SEARCH students] are playing games and the residential classes and the, um, magnet classes they are working" (pp. 40-41). When discussing how and why she got into her setting, she replied, "'cause my grades were like 69 or below" (p. 42). Lastly, I asked her how she felt about her placement. She said, "A little bit scared...'cause when I first came in it was like all tall people" (p. 42).

Group Perspectives Of Fourth-Grade Girls Not Labeled "Gifted" (i. e., Residential Girls):

Preliminaries: Two girls enrolled in the residential program were interviewed. Both are African-American and live near the school. Both have attended Fagan for less than a year. According to their teachers, both girls are conscientious, well-behaved students. Both are teased by their classmates, however, because of their body sizes. (One is overweight. The other is small for her age.) Neither one of the girls offered any verbal response to my reasons for conducting this study. Both seemed to enjoy doodling throughout the interviews.

"Grand Tour": Initial responses from the residential girls were exactly the same and were both negative: "School is hard."

Regarding likes and dislikes, the residential girls like their teachers. "She [teacher] always comes to school with a smile on her face....They [teachers] give us parties." Dislikes were more numerous and generally pertained to academics, their own physical problems, and interpersonal relationships. "We do hard work like division...and fractions....I'm little in fourth-grade....I don't like to run because sometimes I get heartaches and headaches...and then I feel like I'm about to faint....The children...become like snotty and all and then they call people names [like] fat...and Gummy Bears....Some people...don't like me so they just put my name on the board....I have to sit by myself and do my work [because] they [classmates] keep on talking to me." Lastly, both girls told of fights between the other students and of teachers "yelling at the other kids."

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding level of involvement with the school elicited the following commonalities: Descriptors offered by both girls regarding curricular activities such as art, p. e., music, etc. were similar. For example, regarding art, one girl said, "We made origami and we made a kite....We draw and...watch movies....We made a foil person."

However, the residential girls are not exposed to SEARCH or Spanish. Hence, they were unable to offer personal perspectives regarding these two activities.

With the exception of Gail's membership in the Honor Society, neither residential girl is involved in extracurricular activities. One girl said, "We...go home and do our homework and then we go outside and play....That's it." When asked if she belonged to any groups such as a church group or the band or Brownies, this same child responded, "Um, they smell good when we go in the lunchroom."

Specific questions regarding levels of involvement with others elicited varied responses. One residential girl spoke in generalities regarding the school setting and the participants therein. The other residential girl discussed practicing with her friends for the talent show on the last day of school. In comparing themselves with the others, one girl said, "We go to the same school....We like English and,um. reading....We like the teachers....We have the same friends." The other girl spoke of similar physical attributes and personal possessions. She and a classmate "are the same size. We have the same shoes." In contrasting themselves to the others, both girls discussed physical attributes and experiences. "They are taller than me and I'm brown skin and they are dark skin....We are different because of our race....We have different dislikes and likes....[We] might like a different group of people."

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: When probed regarding settings and behaviors, both girls' responses were similar. Both discussed academic activities with others such as reading and social studies. Interestingly, both also described times when they had nothing to do. "When we don't have nothing else to do we can work in our workbooks....If we had nothing to do we might put our heads down." Both told me that they don't talk in class. One said, "I don't hardly speak much 'cause I sucked my fingers when I was a

little girl." According to the other residential girl, the ones who talk are the ones who misbehave and the ones who do not talk in class are "mostly the good people....I don't answer questions I know....When we make ideas sometimes we get in a fight." Both described helping the teacher with classmates, specifically when they [classmates] have to go to the nurse or when the teacher needs to "step out the room to talk to a parent." Both also discussed helping the teacher by running errands and cleaning the classroom so she [teacher] "can do her work in peace" or so she can "make lesson plans."

Compare and Contrast: Regarding their perceptions concerning their placement in the residential program, neither girl knew how or why she was placed in a residential class. Upon reflection, however, one girl said that she thought her grandmother was responsible.

Regarding "dislikes," both mentioned some of the work and some of the other students (i. e., the fifth grade classes) and their poor behaviors (i. e., "the fighting" and bullying). Additionally, one girl repeated that she did not like some of the teachers. Regarding "likes," both girls stated that they liked p. e. and art.

Perceptions of magnet and SEARCH classes were polar. One residential girl was complimentary. "They [magnet and SEARCH students] always listen....They follow directions....They keep their feet and hands to theirselves." The other residential girl was critical. She said, "They [magnet and SEARCH students] talk and they...start fights and they always talk about which class is better than the other....or [on Fun Day] they might rub it in our faces saying, 'You lost'." Regarding their perceptions concerning residential classes, once again opinions were polar. One residential girl offered positive comparisons between the residential classes and the classes for those labeled "gifted." The other residential girl stated:

> They [residential students] don't listen like the magnet classes....They fight [and] throw stuff around....They were throwing crayons and pencils at people and throwing paper and spit balls....and they have to sit in Time Out....Ms. Dunn's class is bad....They come to our class and they mess up our whole class.

When discussing how the fourth grade teachers are alike, descriptors were mixed. "They have children who have to stand outside....They borrow things....They all talk." According to both girls the fourth grade teachers are different because of classroom management and relations with others. For example, one girl said:

> Some teachers are unorganized and some are organized....Some teachers might not like one another. Some teachers probably get tired of children and some teachers just love children and like to be around them....Some teachers might say a lot of things to encourage their students and other teachers they might just give lectures about how you act.

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": According to one residential girl, 'gifted" means "special,...intelligent, bright, smart." The other girl did not seem to understand the concept. At first she said that "gifted" means "our school, um, like when we have a trophy [and]...to give something to the school." Then she said, "I don't know."

When asked to compare themselves to the other students in the school, one residential girl discussed participation in similar p. e. activities. The other girl discussed being in the same school, having the same goals, and making "successful choices." When discussing how they are unlike the other students in the school, with one exception, responses differed. One said,"I do flips different." The other girl said, "We might have different goals....One person

might get more certificates than the other....We might be a different race of people." The only shared response concerned class composition. "I'm not in a magnet class like them....Some might be mixed or some might be white or some be black in a class." More specifically, when comparing and contrasting themselves with the other residential students, only one of the girls could think of similarities and differences. Regarding similarities, she stated that all residential students "live near the school...and we all want to learn." Differences pertained to family composition and interaction:

> Some might have brothers and sisters while other residential students are an only child [like Gail]....Some residential students have both parents with them or some students have a single parent or are living with their grandparents or grandparent. Some have parents who if someone hits you say that you should hit them back while other residential students' parents say...to go tell the teacher.

When comparing and contrasting themselves to the magnet students, both girls discussed academics and the desire to learn. Only one of the girls could think of differences: "We have different teachers....We act different." When discussing how they are like and unlike the SEARCH students, once again, only one of the girls could think of similarities and differences. Regarding similarities, she stated, "We all have goals....We can learn from our mistakes....We might all probably think the same thing." Regarding differences, she cited differing goals, personal possessions, and school placement. "We have different goals to reach....We might have different things at home....I'm in this program [residential] and the other person is in SEARCH."

Regarding their perceptions of the residential program, responses differed. One girl described the core curriculum. She said, "It means doing subjects like social studies, science, and health and math." The other girl

discussed labeling and placement criteria. "You're kinda tagged 'ungifted' but you're still learning. It's your grades that put you in the class." Their perceptions of the magnet program focused on positive academic and social abilities. "They [magnet students]...make Honor Roll....You [magnet students] can handle being with other races." For both girls, their perceptions of the SEARCH program indicated an awareness of the enrichment activities and the accelerated pace. One girl stated, "They do research." The other residential girl said, "When you, um, learn more faster than others you get a higher grade....I see the SEARCH children walking past my class everyday."

According to the residential girls, the residential program is like the magnet and SEARCH programs because activities might be similar and "there might be the same amount of children or students." Differences were far more numerous. According to one residential girl, the magnet and SEARCH students are involved in more singing and homework activities than the residential students. She also stated quite succinctly, "They do and we don't." The other residential girl described different teachers and differing teaching styles. Additionally, she said:

> They [magnet, SEARCH, and residential classes] are different because of our race and where we live and what, um, background we come from....They [magnet and SEARCH students] probably don't go on the same field trips....The non-magnet might be misbehaving....A magnet class might think that another class is bad....Some magnet students might be more athletic than non-magnet students.

When asked how they got to be in the residential program, both girls initially repeated that they did not know. Once again, upon reflection, one girl stated that her grandmother put her there "because of my permanent record."

When asked if any student could get into the residential, magnet, or SEARCH program, both residential girls replied affirmatively but conditionally. Regarding the residential program, any student could enter if he/she was enrolled in a residential class the previous year. Regarding the SEARCH program, one girl believes that effort is the key to admission. Regarding the magnet program, according to one residential girl, students can get into the magnet program "if their parents and the student feel they can and if the school board says they can and their ability to learn is good."

According to the residential girls, not every student should be in the residential program. One girl said, "My mother says that everybody always belongs somewhere." The other girl stated, "They [classes for the "gifted"] got stuff that's different." When asked if every student should be in the magnet and SEARCH programs, their opinions were polar. One residential girl said that everyone should and the other said, "No, because they might not have good behavior."

When asked why some students are in the residential program, the residential girls offered three reasons: prior enrollment, poor grades, and/or their parents or the school board said they can't be in SEARCH or magnet. Others are not in the residential program because "they've been in magnet" and "they grades are higher." According to the residential girls, some students are in the magnet program because of hard work and high grades. "They probably made Honor Roll....and if it [grade average] is seventy-nine or higher, then they go to a magnet class." Others are not because they are in residential classes. Some students are in the SEARCH program because "the school board said that they are ready for SEARCH or maybe because they are in magnet." The other residential girl did not understand that SEARCH is for children labeled "gifted." She believes that it is for remediation. Her reply was, "They need help on other

subjects." According to one residential girl, others are not in SEARCH because they are in a residential class. She also said, "Why I'm not in SEARCH I don't know." The residential girl who believes that SEARCH is for remediation, stated that some students are not in SEARCH because "they don't need help."

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": When asked if they liked being called residential students, one girl replied, "Yes, [as long as people say] there goes that residential kid [and not] that bad kid or that kid that doesn't listen." The other girl stated that she did not like being called a residential student "because I don't like anybody to tease me like if I have a sixty-nine or a fifty." According to both girls, being labeled a residential student has the following benefit: "You learn more." According to both girls, being labeled a residential student means that you are teased regarding your placement. One residential girl explains:

> Other people tease you...and call you names...and when a magnet class comes by...folding their arms...I would hear one of the teachers in the non-magnet class say, "How come you [the residential students] can't act like that...and not be so disruptive?"

Effect of the Label "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Reactions from others regarding their label are mixed. One residential girl indicated that friends [also residential students] reflect communal attitudes. "They [friends]...want to be the best but not better than anyone." Regarding her classmates (i. e., boys), she stated, "Some...in my class they're bad in most of their subjects and so when the girls raise their hands to...answer they would suck their teeth." The other residential girl stated that her friends and classmates also tease her about her stature. "They [friends] think I'm too short....They said, 'I think you're supposed to be in kindergarten, girl.'" Regarding teachers, one residential girl had no opinion. The other residential girl said that her teacher "sometimes would say

that I need to take a lesson from the magnet...and act like them and not be so bad." Regarding their parents, one girl told me that her parents said, "Your thing is to be in the residential or non-magnet classes." The other girl said that her parents told her that she needs to "speed up" so she can move into a magnet class. Both girls stated that they are not treated differently because of their label.

When asked how others feel about their placements, both residential girls stated that the residential students are sad. One girl said that they are "scared...because it's like a lot of people they be teasing you." Those who are not residential students "feel happy 'cause, um, they grades are higher." Regarding classes for the "gifted," one residential girl stated that the magnet students also "feel sad 'cause they probably get more homework." However, the SEARCH students are "happy because people say SEARCH is more fun."

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Both residential girls feel that they are "gifted." When asked which setting they prefer for themselves, one residential girl said, "I still want to be in the residential program." The other believes that she should be in the magnet program. "I have good grades. I made Honor Roll."

Photo Exercise: In comparing the six classes, both residential girls commented that the students all appear to be working and learning, the classrooms themselves are similar, and the students are "probably having a good time....We play the same games." They are different because the residential and magnet students are "working" and the SEARCH students are having "fun."

Responses varied when discussing their own placements. One residential girl stated that her family placed her there. The other said that she was there "cause my grades were like 69 or below." Regarding reasons for their placement, one girl referred once again to her poor grades prior to admission.

The other said simply, "God put me there." When asked how they felt about their placement, one girl said that she was happy. The other girl said that she was scared because "when I first came in it was like all tall people."

Individual Perspectives of Parents of Fourth-Grade Girls Not Labeled "Gifted" (i. e., a Mother and a Female Legal Guardian)

Ms. Benton (Gail's mother):

Preliminaries: The interview with Ms. Benton was conducted in the living room of her modest home located near the school. Pictures of Gail and various trophies and awards that she had received were on display. Gail's father was returning home from work as I arrived. Ms. Benton was cordial but seemed edgy (profuse perspiration, constant shifting of position, nervous laughter) throughout our session. Gail (her only child) wandered in and out of the room as we spoke. Ms. Benton is African-American. She works full time as a receptionist in a doctor's office. Interestingly, she and Ms. Hale (Brandy's mother) are sisters.

"Grand Tour": Ms. Benton's initial comments regarding her life as the parent of a fourth-grader were mixed: "Complicated, but most of the time it's easy-going, really--not hard at all" (p. 1). When asked to explain what she meant, she returned repeatedly to her first reaction: "...complicated with the school work and the questions....It's the homework part that gets me....Sometimes she'll understand more than I do....Everything gets a little complicated....Everyday gets a little more complicated--like this project (my research) for one. Then she did a Science Fair project" (p. 1).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions concerning Ms. Benton's level of involvement at Fagan initially elicited confusion regarding Gail's placement. "What do you mean by residential" (p. 2)? She then stated that

she monitors notes that she brings home [and] "if she has a program at the school...I try to make sure I'm there for her" (p. 2).

Regarding her involvement in Gail's academic life, Ms. Benton stated, "I try to help her....by sending her in the right direction....I just try to make sure I'm there for her and I try to, um, participate and have her participate, you know, and ask questions" (pp. 2-3).

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: Ms. Benton's comments indicated a limited level of involvement with the school. "The only stuff I know is what she [Gail] tells me....We have a little conversation every day...a mother-daughter time" (pp. 3-4). She repeated that she also receives information about school via the memos and letters she receives from the teachers. Further, "if she [Gail] has any problems, I'll call the teacher at the school [or] my mother will stop by the school and inquire with the teacher....She [Gail] lost a book and, you know, I had to inquire about that and how do I pay for it" (pp. 3-4).

Compare and Contrast: Regarding her perceptions concerning Gail's placement in the residential program, Ms. Benton responded, "My mother was instrumental in her getting into that school....She helped out considerably because she knew the black teachers and who she liked" (p. 3). According to Ms. Benton, the residential program has been positive for Gail. "She enjoys reading and she loves doing homework....[and] the Science Fair project....All of that she did on her own....She has made a lot of nice friends....She hates missing school" (pp. 4-5). The only negative experience she could recall is the homework "that me and her couldn't figure out" (p. 5).

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": Ms. Benton believes that "gifted" means "some child who accelerates in their class and gets good grades,...that's good in school, participates in class,...meets their deadlines,...do her homework and is an all-around good kid" (p. 5).

Ms. Benton stated that Gail is like the other students at Fagan because "she likes to be in school. She loves participating....the clothes, you know. Everybody wants to be fancy and the hair-do" (p. 5). Gail is different from the other students because "she wants to have that hundred percent attendance....[Also], most of the other students in Fagan has been there since kindergarten but she's just coming in in fourth grade" (p. 6). More specifically, Gail is like the other residential students because of "participation [and] being a good student, I guess" (p. 7). She could not think of any ways Gail is unlike the other residential students. Gail is like the magnet students because "she gets her grades and, you know, she does her work, and she be dedicated...She could be a good candidate for the magnet program....It wouldn't be a hindrance....She could handle it, I believe" (p. 6). Ms. Benton could not think of any ways that Gail is unlike the magnet students. Gail is like the SEARCH students because "she gets good grades really easily....[She's] on the Honor Roll. So she's a very good candidate." Gail is unlike the SEARCH students because "she's new to the school" (p. 6).

According to Ms. Benton, she is like the other parents at Fagan because "I try to participate as much as I can and be at the programs that they have, the fairs, fundraisers, and stuff. Encourage my child to go to school,...just be a good kid, stay out of trouble" (p. 7). Further, she stated, "I'm sure every parent wants their child to be an Honor Roll student" (p. 7). She differs from the other parents because she is a "working mom and it's hard for me to take off for the special things that they have at the school" (p. 7). Additionally, she stated, "Being from New York,...I'm go-go-going, fast-fast-fast and a lot of parents from [here] are like kinda laid back, you know" (p. 7). More specifically, Ms. Benton stated that she is like the other residential parents because she has Gail "attend school [and] they [residential parents] are close with their children, or I like to

think that they are" (p. 8). She is unlike the other residential parents because she is "pushy" (p. 9). She is like the magnet parents because she wants Gail to "get good grades,...do her Accelerated Reader [reading], and keep up with her work" (p. 8). She is unlike the magnet parents because she knows that "she [Gail] is not going to lose out on anything if she do come home with an S" (p. 8). She is like the SEARCH parents because she wants her [Gail] "to get good grades...She's gonna have outside activities, too" (p. 8). She is unlike the SEARCH parents because "she [Gail] is not in SEARCH. It's not an urgent thing for her to have all E's" (p. 8).

Ms. Benton's perception of the residential program differed from her perception of the magnet and SEARCH programs. The residential program is "not such an emphasis on grades so much as participating in class and doing your homework and stuff,... raising your hand, letting your voice be heard, and respecting the teacher" (p. 10). Regarding residential parents, she stated, "It means making sure they [children] are respecting the teacher and getting their grades up" (p. 10). The magnet program "means you gotta be an accelerated child....Grades gotta be higher than the norm" (p. 9). Regarding magnet parents, she stated, "It's push-pushing for them [children] to get those good grades" (p. 10). The SEARCH program means being "smart [or] being able to adjust and work things out and get those high marks on the report card" (p. 9). Regarding SEARCH parents, she stated, "You gotta keep on your child" (p. 9).

When I asked her to compare the residential and magnet programs, Ms. Benton repeatedly stated that she was not familiar with the magnet program but she would guess that "they both probably would do science projects and...homework" (p. 11). They are different because "the curriculum should be a little more advanced...A residential student, I guess, could become a magnet student with any luck" (p. 11). Likewise, when I asked how the

residential and SEARCH programs are alike, Ms. Benton once again repeated that she was not familiar with the SEARCH program but she would guess that they "would have to have some, uh, different curriculum" (p. 11). They are different because "they [SEARCH children] should be a little more advanced....The residential math probably wouldn't be as accelerated as the SEARCH kids, because I wouldn't expect them to be on the same level, you know" (p. 11).

Ms. Benton stated simply that she got to be the parent of a residential child because "I moved into the neighborhood" (p. 12). Regarding placement of teachers and students at the school, she explained that a teacher gets to teach in the residential program if "they [teachers] apply for a job....[and] that's where they are sent" (p. 12). A student gets into the residential program because of "grades [and] their past records" (p. 12). A teacher gets to teach in the magnet program "if they're assigned by the principal....They [teachers] probably been doing it for a while....It would depend on their background or their knowledge" (p. 12). A student gets into the magnet program by being "chosen by the school....by their grades, um, to participate" (p. 12). A teacher gets "assigned" (p. 12) to teach in the SEARCH program and student placement in the SEARCH program is determined by grades.

According to Ms. Benton, any teacher could get into the residential program. Also, any child can get into the residential program "as long as they don't cut up" (p. 13). Likewise, any teacher could get into the magnet program. Also, any child could get into the magnet program. "With hard work and dedication, it can be done" (p. 13). Conversely, not every teacher could get into the SEARCH program because "they would have to have some prior knowledge....of work with the kids in the program or know what it's all about"

(p. 13). Any child could get into the SEARCH program "with a little hard work and dedication" (p. 13).

Ms. Benton believes that all teachers at Fagan should be qualified to teach in the residential program "so they can get to know different types of students, you know, different levels of reading, different levels of math, you know, just have all-round knowledge of all kids" (p. 14). However, not every child should be in the residential program "because you do have your 'gifted' children" (p. 14). All teachers should not be in the magnet program because "you got to start off somewhere [yet] every teacher should consider their students a magnet student"....All the kids are 'gifted.' Everybody have their own talents" (p. 14). All teachers at Fagan should not be in the SEARCH program "because some teachers probably might not know how to deal with a 'gifted' child" (p.13). When asked if every child should get into the SEARCH program, she responded, "I would like for every child to be in the SEARCH program, but I know every child couldn't be [because] some kids...don't catch on as fast or quick as other kids might" (p. 14).

According to Ms. Benton, some teachers are in the residential program because "maybe they like working with the kids" (p. 15). Others are not because "they like the, uh, accelerated program....[or] maybe they might have a child in the magnet program" (p. 15). Some teachers are in the magnet program "because of their credentials and maybe they chose to do that work with the magnet kids" (p. 15). When asked why other teachers are not in the magnet program, Ms. Benton replied, "The children might have something to do with that" (p. 15). She explained: "Maybe they don't know how to react to a 'gifted' child....Maybe they [teachers] don't like being questioned" (p. 15). Some teachers are in the SEARCH program because they "asked to go there...or they

were assigned" (p. 15). Others are not because of credentials [and/or] past work records....Their accomplishments maybe have something to do with it" (p. 15).

Lastly, some students are in the residential program because of complacency. "They're satisfied with the grades they get and they figure 'I can just slide on through'" (p. 16). Others are not in the residential program because "they try to accelerate" (p.16). Some students are in the magnet program because "they have that drive and they got the knowledge....They ask questions and they get the good grades....Maybe the teacher saw something in them and figured this kid can go forward" (p. 16). Others are not because "maybe they, um, don't strive as hard....They're just satisfied with average, you know" (p. 16). Some students are in the SEARCH program because "they're singling them out to...bring out their knowledge" (p. 15). Others are not "because of their grades and maybe they don't have the drive to accelerate" (p. 16).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being a Parent of a Child Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": When I asked Ms. Benton if she liked being called the parent of a residential student, she replied, "I never considered myself the parent of a residential child....[I am] just a parent of a child going to school" (p. 17). According to Ms. Benton, being called the parent of a residential child has the following benefit: "There is no pressure....It's okay to do the best you can and not have to worry about making hundreds all the time" (p. 18). Conversely, being called the parent of a residential student has the following drawbacks: The SEARCH and magnet students are given "a little bit more respect and a bit more attention" (p. 17). Further, Gail doesn't get "the accelerated work...[or] indepth projects say a magnet or a SEARCH student would get" (p. 18).

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Regarding the reactions of others to her having a child in the residential program, Ms. Benton commented as follows: Her friends and other parents wonder "why she's not in magnet or a SEARCH

student" (p. 19). Family members also question the fact that Gail is not in the magnet or SEARCH program. "They're concerned....They're probably thinking that maybe I should spend more time with her and her schoolwork [and] a bit more time at her school and calling the teacher" (p. 19). Ms. Benton stated that friends, other parents, and family members did not treat her differently because she has a child in the residential program.

When asked how other parents feel about being a residential parent, Ms. Benton responded. "They should be just as proud as a magnet parent and...SEARCH parents" (p. 20). Others who are not residential parents "would be out there trying to push their kids to be even with accelerated students" (p. 20). SEARCH or magnet parents feel "pretty proud of their child with them being picked to be in that program, you know. They know they did a good job raising their child, you know, helping them in their education" (p. 20). Conversely, parents who are not SEARCH parents "might be a little jealous" (p. 20). Parents who are not magnet parents "probably push the kids [to get] into....the magnet program" (p. 20).

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Ms. Benton does not see herself as a "gifted" person. "I think I was a residential student" (p. 21). However, "I believe I'm a 'gifted' mother. I take care of my daughter. She seems to be doing fine" (p. 21). Further, she does not believe that one has to be "gifted" to have a "gifted" child. She thinks that Gail should be in the residential program. She also repeated that she thought Gail was a good "candidate" for the magnet and SEARCH programs. "She's knowledgeable with stuff and catches on pretty quick....She don't seem to be having any problems" (p. 22). When asked to choose which program she thought would be best for Gail, she chose the magnet program. "She has a cousin (Brandy) who is in the magnet program....She has excelled pretty well" (p. 22).

Photo Exercise: Ms. Benton stated that the six classes are alike because the students all seem to be concentrating and "paying attention to the teacher....Everybody's being good....Everybody's doing work....[There is] a lot of one-on-one activity" (pp. 23-27). Regarding differences, she said:

> Seems like they [SEARCH students] are a little more advanced than the rest of them because of their chess playing....I don't even know how to play chess....The magnet students are all reading...good books....and the residential class, it's like they're doing their homework....In the residential, you have the teacher there with a whole group of kids whereas the SEARCH [teacher] is working a little one-on-one....The residential kids don't look like they're concentrating as much. Some kids look like they're just waiting to go home....The groupings are different...There are different kinds of activities posted on the walls. (pp. 23-27)

Ms. Benton told me that Gail got into her setting because "my mother insisted on my daughter being put in Ms. Dunn's class" (p. 28). Further, if Gail were not in the residential program at Fagan "maybe she wouldn't have been such a good student....She probably wouldn't have met all these friends that she has now" (p. 28). Lastly, she stated that Gail "gets very upset if she forgets to do her homework or if she leaves a book in class or forgets to give me a memo....I try to make her understand that it's not the end of the world. It'll work out" (p. 28).

Ms. Easton (Marian's aunt and legal guardian):

Preliminaries: The interview with Ms. Easton was conducted in a media center anteroom. Ms. Easton is African-American. She and Marian's natural mother are sisters. "She [Marian's natural mother] is schizophrenic. She has three children, so she's not able to handle them regular" (p. 2). Hence, Ms.

Easton and her husband have custody of Marian and her siblings. "Before we got them they were basically raising themselves" (p. 2). Ms. Easton was an eager--but seemingly nervous--respondent who became tearful at times during the interview.

"Grand Tour": Ms. Easton began by stating that life in general as the parent of a fourth-grader is "very trying" (p. 1). When asked to explain, she described the homework. "It's a whole lot of homework from the time I get home until it's time to go to bed" (p. 1).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Ms. Easton's initial responses to specific questions regarding her level of involvement at Fagan revealed that she thought Marian was in the magnet program. "I'm learning a lot of new things by her being with the program [magnet program]--things that I didn't learn in fourth grade" (p. 1). [I explained to her that Marian was in a residential class. She occasionally goes to a fourth-grade magnet class for math.]

Additional specific levels of involvement at Fagan and in Marian's academic life for Ms. Easton mean that she "helps with homework, you know, the computer and working problems out" (p. 2). She also comes for the "programs and PTA meetings....I don't volunteer as much as I would like" (p. 2).

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: Ms. Easton stated that she communicates with Marian's teacher as much as possible. She also knows that Marian "is slower, as far as her writing....She wants everything to be perfect....Every time she sees something [she doesn't like] she balls up that piece of paper and starts over" (p. 2). She stated that she doesn't know a lot about Marian's daily life at school "by me being her second mom, so to speak. She [Marian] speaks to her primary mother more than I do" (p. 2).

Compare and Contrast: When asked how Marian came to be in the residential program at Fagan, Ms. Easton continued to refer to the magnet

program. "She took a test and she passed the test because where she came from, uh, she was not in the magnet program" (p. 2). According to Ms. Easton, the residential program has been positive for Marian because "she's more outgoing. She was very quiet. She doesn't make friends easily. Now she is positive about herself" (p. 3). When asked if the residential program has been negative for Marian, Ms. Easton said, "Since she's in the 'gifted' class, she brags and boasts." [At this point, I once again explained to her that Marian is in a residential class. She goes occasionally to a fourth-grade magnet teacher for math.] Ms. Easton then stated, "Marian doesn't like to fail at anything, and when she can't get that math,....she gets frustrated and the whole house is upset" (p. 4).

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": According to Ms. Easton, "gifted" means "smarter,...advanced....knowing a little more than, uh, residential students....like she [Marian] is only fourth grade, but she may be doing sixth grade level math" (pp. 4-5).

In comparing Marian to the other students in the school, Ms. Easton stated, "She's just like, you know, normal little girls, like go home, play dress-up, like go shopping....She gets her homework just like everybody else. She goes to lunch just like everybody else, She goes home" (p. 5). Marian is unlike the other students because "she's quieter. She stays to herself. I think that has to do a lot with her beginning upbringing" (p. 5). More specifically, Marian is like the other residential students because "she doesn't have to stay so much on her toes....If she can be lazy at times, she will take advantage of it" (p. 5). She is different because "she's able to, uh, keep up with the magnet students" (p. 5). Marian is like the magnet students because she has homework, classwork, and "she has to keep up that pace" (p. 5). She is different because she is a residential student who comes occasionally into a magnet fourth-grade class for math instruction.

She was unable to compare and contrast Marian with the SEARCH students. She stated that she was unfamiliar with the SEARCH program.

Ms. Easton stated that she is like the other parents at Fagan because "we attend PTA meetings and I try to get involved with our kids as much as possible" (p. 6). She could not think of any way that she is unlike the other parents. More specifically, Ms. Easton stated that she is like the other residential parents because we all have the "same goal: just giving all for the kids, you know. It's kinda difficult for me to get involved as much as I would like to. Like I said, my job doesn't permit me to" (p. 6). She doesn't see herself as being different from the other residential parents. "I'm just a regular, ordinary woman trying to get my kids through school" (p. 6). She is like the magnet parents because "I'm more interested in the curricula" (p. 6). She could not think of any way that she is unlike the magnet parents. She was unable to compare herself to the SEARCH parents because "I don't know much about the SEARCH program" (p. 6).

Regarding her perceptions of the residential program, Ms. Easton stated, "My child is just in school, just trying to get an education" (p. 6) and being a residential parent "doesn't make me different from anybody else" (p. 6). When asked her perceptions regarding the magnet and SEARCH classes, Ms. Easton repeated that she was not that familiar with these programs. When I asked her to compare the residential and magnet programs, she shifted her response to ways they are different: "The magnet program just has, uh, more for the kids, uh, to accomplish. They have to do more things....Their workload is heavier and...it's on a higher level" (pp. 6-7). She was unable to compare and contrast the residential and SEARCH classes. She repeated, "I know nothing about the SEARCH program" (p. 7).

When asked how she got to be the parent of a residential student, she shifted the conversation away from Marian to her son. "I guess he didn't pass the, uh, test to get into the magnet program so we just put him in the regular classes, so to speak" (p. 7). Regarding placement of teachers and students at the school, Ms. Easton explained that she did not know how a teacher got to be in the residential program. "I don't know if they take tests or go to school for it" (p. 7). In order for a student to get into the residential program, she explained, "First of all, they give 'em a test for the magnet program. If they don't pass, then they just go into the residential program" (p. 7). She stated that she had "no idea" (p. 7) how a teacher gets to teach in the magnet or SEARCH program. However, a student gets into the magnet or SEARCH program if "they take a test" (p. 7).

Ms. Easton believes that any teacher could get into the residential program at Fagan. "I assume after you graduate college and [you get] your degree in teaching, I would think that's where they would place you" (p. 8). However, not any student could get into the residential program "because some kids have special needs and that's where the special needs classes come in" (p. 8). Not any teacher could get into the magnet program because "they have to have certain special qualities" (p. 8). Likewise, not any child could get into the magnet program. "I've seen that for myself. If you don't pass that test, uh, you don't get in" (p. 8). When asked if any teacher could get into the SEARCH program, Ms. Easton responded ambiguously:

> No. They probably need to, um, I...I...as you can see, I can't express myself very well, so I don't think I'd make a good teacher. But I think most teachers, um, would have to know how to talk to students, get down on their level, understand their way of thinking. I think that's what makes a great teacher. I don't know about a SEARCH teacher. (pp. 8-9)

Ms. Easton does not believe that any student could get into the SEARCH program. "They have to be a little more advanced than their age level [and] be able to think, I think, faster than most students" (p. 8).

According to Ms. Easton, all teachers at Fagan should not be in the residential program. "They need....[to] stay on those kids' level so they can help" (p. 9). When asked what she meant by "kids' level" she stated, "They're not advanced, um, you know, they're just regular kids,...normal kids, ...I guess just average" (p. 9). Likewise, not all children should be in the residential program. "If they need to be in the, uh, magnet program, I think that's where they need to be placed" (p. 9). All teachers should not be in the magnet or SEARCH program. "Different students have different needs and...teachers need to be spread out. They need to be everywhere" (pp. 8-9). Likewise, not all children should be in the magnet program ("...once again, special needs, special kids," p. 9). Lastly, not all children should be in the SEARCH program "because most kids, they're not able to handle the pressure" (p. 8).

According to Ms. Easton, some teachers are not in the residential program "because they have that special quality or special 'gift' to help those magnet and, um, SEARCH students" (p. 9). When asked what she meant by "special gift," she explained, "For instance, I know a teacher that loves science and math and to me that should be a magnet or a SEARCH teacher" (p. 9). Some teachers are not in the magnet program because "some average students need them in their, you know, the regular classrooms" (p. 10). Some teachers are not in the SEARCH program because "the teachers...need to be spread out everywhere--residential, magnet, special needs" (p. 10). Lastly, some students are not in the residential program "because they're in the magnet program or in a special needs class" (p. 9). Some students are not in the magnet program "because they're just average-maintaining-their-grade-level students" (p. 10).

Some students are not in the SEARCH program because "they're just average students" (p. 10).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being a Parent of a Child Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Ms. Easton likes being called the parent of a residential student. "As long as they keep up their grades I'm satisfied" (p. 10). According to Ms. Easton, being called the parent of a residential child has the following benefits: "I can come home, um, and not have so much pressure trying to get projects done, deadlines met....I can take a breather as a parent....It's a lot less hectic than being...the parent of a magnet child" (pp. 10-11). When asked about drawbacks to being called the parent of a residential student, Ms. Easton once again shifted the focus to her son. "They just don't push him. I push him when he gets home because I know what he's capable of doing" (p. 11). She then stated, "I have so many kids,....I'm running here and there....Most of them are residential students so I guess I'm accustomed to it" (p. 11).

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Regarding the reactions of others to her being the parent of a residential child, Ms. Easton stated that her friends, family members, and other parents think it is "normal....because their kids are here too" (p. 11). She does not know what other parents think about her having a child in the residential program. "Whatever it is, it doesn't matter to me" (p. 11). Further, she is not treated differently by any of these groups because she is a parent of a residential student.

Ms. Easton assumes that other residential parents feel good about themselves because "their kids are still on task or average" (p. 12). Further, "we can walk up to the school and be with our kids first hand whereas, uh, other parents have to come from different neighborhoods" (p.13). She does not know how parents who are not residential parents feel. Regarding the feelings of magnet parents, she said, "They're proud of their kids....They think it's maybe

something that they've done to get them to that point" (p. 12). Others who are not magnet parents are "angry, because I've been dealing with that this year" (p. 12). She is sure that SEARCH parents feel "proud of their kids and impressed" (p. 12). Regarding the feelings of others who are not SEARCH parents, she said, "I don't know why it would be a big deal...because it's the kids that's going through the program" (p. 12).

Personal Acceptance Of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Ms. Easton does not believe that she is "gifted" or that she is a "gifted" parent. "I consider myself just normal, run-of-the-day middle person. I do nothing out of the ordinary" (p. 13). She then stated that she is raising her children the way her mother raised her. She tearfully explained:

> My mother, she was a school teacher as well. She considered herself "gifted" because she got her Master's Degree....She was working on her doctorate...but she passed away and...forgive me, I get teary-eyed....She did the best she could. There was five of us....She made us go to school and made us get our education....She tried to keep us a family as much as possible but, uh, eventually that didn't happen because, um, I had to leave home....I went to go and make it on my own but I saw her everyday. I saw my brothers and sisters everyday. You know, we did these things that normal kids do....We hung out and sat around the TV, ate popcorn, looked at movies. (p. 14)

Ms. Easton initially stated that one does not have to be "gifted" to raise a "gifted" child. She then amended her statement. "I think it helps a lot....You're able to handle, uh, what they're going through: stress, levels of homework, classwork...because I know it's more than what you would receive in a residential program" (pp. 14-15). When asked if Marian should be in a SEARCH

class, she responded that she was unfamiliar with the SEARCH program. She thinks that Marian should be in the magnet program because "she is more advanced for her age level....It [magnet program] just keeps them busier....I don't see her as average and I see residential as just average....I think she can step up a level" (pp. 15-16). She does not believe that Marian should be in the residential program because "she's bored in the residential program because she makes, uh, all E's" (p. 15).

Photo Exercise: In comparing the six classes, Ms. Easton stated that "the teachers are involved and everybody's learning....The set-up seems to be the same" (pp. 16-17). They are different because "they're learning in different ways....In SEARCH they're doing something completely different [from] the regular classroom...looks like they're doing a thing of their own....I don't see any books" (pp. 17-18). According to Ms. Easton, Marian got into her setting because "we moved her from her mother to our home....Her home was in the neighborhood" (p. 19). When asked how things might be different if Marian were not in the residential program she stated, "It looks in the magnet program you're basically on your own....I'm sure you get some guidance but you don't have the teacher holding you hand....It's like you have to go for yourself....They have the kids expressing themselves more" (pp. 19-20).

Group Perspectives of Parents of Fourth-Grade Girls Not Labeled "Gifted" (i. e., a Mother and a Female Legal Guardian):

Preliminaries: The mother of a girl respondent in the residential program and the female legal guardian of a girl respondent in the residential program were interviewed. Both women are married, both work outside the home, and both live with their families near the school. Both were pleasant, willing--but seemingly nervous and emotionally wrought--respondents.

"Grand Tour": Initial responses from both parents were negative: "complicated,...very trying." Explanations from both regarding these responses focused on the demands placed upon them regarding their daughters' homework and other assignments. Ms. Benton said, "It's the homework that gets me....Sometimes she'll understand more than I do." Ms. Easton said, "It's a whole lot of homework from the time I get home until it's time to go to bed."

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding the parents' level of involvement at Fagan elicited confusion from both of them regarding their daughters' placement. One did not seem to understand what the term "residential" meant. The other thought that her daughter was in the magnet program at Fagan. She said, "I'm learning a lot of new things by her being in the program [magnet program]--things that I didn't learn in fourth grade. [I explained to her that Marian was in a residential class. She occasionally goes to a fourth-grade magnet class for math.]

Responses were similar when discussing additional specific levels of involvement at Fagan. Both parents told how they helped their daughters with their work and both said that they participate in their daughters' lives and at school as much as possible. Mrs. Easton said, "I don't volunteer as much as I would like."

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: When probed regarding the school setting and their involvement and behaviors therein, both parents stated that that they did not know a lot regarding curriculum and scheduling. What they do know is based on their close communication with their daughters ("a little conversation every day...a mother-daughter time") and/or close communication with the teacher. Ms. Benton also told of receiving written communiques from the school and "my mother will stop by the school and inquire with the teacher." Lastly, both discussed their daughters' personalities.

For example, Ms. Easton described Marian as a perfectionist. "She wants everything to be perfect....Every time she sees something [she doesn't like] she balls up that piece of paper and starts over."

Compare and Contrast: Regarding their perceptions concerning their daughters' placement in the residential program, one parent stated that her "mother was instrumental in getting her [her daughter] into that school." The other continued to refer to the magnet program. "She took a test and she passed." Both parents stated that the residential program had been a positive experience for their daughters and both mentioned social interactions. Ms. Benton said that Gail "has made a lot of nice friends." Ms. Easton said, "She [Marian] is more outgoing. She was very quiet. She doesn't make friends easily. Now she is positive about herself." Additionally, Ms. Benton described Gail's positive feelings about her academic work. "She hates missing school." Conversely, both parents stated that the residential program at Fagan had been a negative experience for their daughters and once again both described their frustrations regarding difficult homework assignments. For example, Ms. Easton said, "When she [Marian] can't get that math,....she gets frustrated and the whole house is upset." Also, Ms. Easton stated, "Since she's in the 'gifted' class, she brags and boasts." [At this point, I once again explained to her that Marian is in a residential class. She goes occasionally to a fourth-grade magnet teacher for math.]

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": Both parents believe that the term "gifted" means acceleration ("advanced,...some child who accelerates"). Additional descriptors offered by Ms. Benton were versatility, responsibility, and someone who "participates in class."

When comparing their daughters to the other students in the school, both mothers discussed social interactions and their daughters'

"typicalness." For example, Ms. Easton said, "She's just like, you know, normal little girls, like go home, play dress-up, like go shopping....She gets her homework just like everybody else. She goes to lunch just like everybody else, She goes home." Responses differed when they cited differences. Ms. Benton discussed Gail's desire for perfect attendance and her tenure at the school. "Most of the other students in Fagan has been there since kindergarten but she's coming in in fourth grade." Ms. Easton stated that Marian's personality is different from the others. "She's quieter. She stays to herself." More specifically, responses varied when comparing their daughters to other residential students. Ms. Benton said that Gail and her classmates participate in class and are good students. Contradictorily, Ms. Easton said that Marian is like her classmates because "she [Marian] doesn't have to stay so much on her toes....If she can be lazy at times, she will take advantage of it." Ms. Benton could not think of any ways that Gail is different from the other residential students. According to Ms. Easton, Marian is different from the other residential students because "she's able to, uh, keep up with the magnet students." When comparing their daughters to the magnet students, both parents' responses were similar and both discussed their daughters' ability to keep up with the academic work and "that pace." When contrasting their daughters with the magnet students, Ms. Easton was the only one to differentiate and she discussed Marian's placement. When asked how their daughters are like the SEARCH students, Ms. Benton responded, "She [Gail] gets good grades really easily....[She's] on the Honor Roll. So she's a very good candidate." Ms. Easton stated, "I know nothing about the SEARCH program." When telling how their daughters are unlike the SEARCH students, once again, Mrs. Benton was the only one to cite a difference: "She [Gail] is new to the school."

When comparing themselves to the other parents in the school, both residential parents discussed their participation at the school. Additionally, Ms. Benton stated that she offers encouragement and behavioral guidance to her daughter. When contrasting themselves to the other parents at the school, Ms. Benton described her difficulty being as involved at school as she would like because of her work. She also discussed her own personality. "I'm go-go-going, fast-fast-fast and a lot of parents [here] are like kinda laid back." Ms. Easton could not think of any way that she is different from the other parents at the school. More specifically, when telling how they are like the other parents of residential students, both parents discussed parental involvement. "We all have the same goal: just giving all for the kids....They [residential parents] are close with their children, or I like to think that they are." Responses differed when telling how they are unlike the other residential parents at the school. Gail's mother said that she was "pushy." Marian's legal guardian said, "I don't see myself as being much different, really. I'm just a regular, ordinary woman trying to get my kids through school." When comparing themselves to the magnet parents, both parents discussed academic similarities. Ms. Benton stated that she wants her daughter to "get good grades,...do her Accelerated Reader [reading], and keep up with her work." Ms. Easton said, "I'm more interested in the curricula." When contrasting themselves to the magnet parents, Ms. Benton responded that scoring an "S" rather than an "E" is not as upsetting to her as it is to magnet parents. Ms. Easton could not think of any way that she is different from the magnet parents. When asked how they are like the SEARCH parents, Ms. Benton stated that she wants her daughter to make good grades and also be involved in extracurricular activities. She is unlike the SEARCH parents because Gail is not in SEARCH. Also, she repeated that "it's not an urgent thing for her

[Gail] to have all E's." Ms. Easton was unable to compare herself to the SEARCH parents because "I don't know much about the SEARCH program."

Responses differed when discussing their perceptions of the residential program. One parent emphasized academics. "My child is just in school, just trying to get an education." The other parent deemphasized academics and focused on participation and behavior. "It's not such an emphasis on grades so much as participating in class,...raising you hand, letting your voice be heard, and respecting the teacher." Regarding residential parents, one parent discussed the shared emphasis on academics and behavior. The other parent stated, "It [being a residential parent] doesn't make me different from anybody else." When asked their perceptions regarding the programs for the "gifted" at Fagan, once again, Ms. Easton stated that she was unfamiliar with these programs. Ms. Benton, however, stated that the programs for the "gifted" emphasize acceleration and "high marks on the report card" and parents of the "gifted" have to "keep on" their children.

Both parents stated that they were unable to compare the residential and magnet/SEARCH programs because they were not familiar with the programs for the "gifted." Interestingly, however, both parents were able to cite hierarchical differences: In the programs for the "gifted," the curriculum is more advanced. There are more activities and the "workload is heavier." One parent said, "The residential math probably wouldn't be as accelerated as the SEARCH kids, because I wouldn't expect them to be on the same level, you know."

When asked how they became parents of residential students, one parent changed the subject and the other simply said, "I moved into the neighborhood." Regarding placement of teachers and students at the school, one parent stated that she did not know how a teacher got to be in the residential

program. The other parent said that they [prospective teachers] apply for the job and their placements are determined for them. Responses differed when discussing student entrance into the residential program. One parent explained that testing determines placement. "They give 'em a test for the magnet program. If they don't pass, then they just go into the residential program." The other parent said that grades and "past records" determine entry. When asked how a teacher gets to teach in the programs for the "gifted" at Fagan, one parent replied, "I have no idea." The other parent said that teachers are assigned these positions based on experience, "background," or "knowledge." Responses varied when discussing how a student gets to be in a program for the "gifted" at Fagan. One parent said, "They take a test." The other parent said that these students are chosen by the school and their grades determine entry.

According to both parents, any teacher could get to teach in the residential program. Responses were polar when asked if any student could get into the residential program. One parent replied affirmatively. The other replied, "No...because some kids have special needs and that's where the special needs classes come in." When asked if any teacher or student could get into the magnet program, once again responses were polar. Ms. Benton replied affirmatively. "With hard work and dedication, it can be done." Ms. Easton replied, "No....They [teachers] have to have certain special qualities." Further, "if you [students] don't pass that test, uh, you don't get in." According to both parents, any teacher could not get to teach in the SEARCH program. However, when asked if any student could get into the SEARCH program, opinions differed. Once again, Ms. Benton replied that any child could get into the SEARCH program "with a little hard work and dedication." Ms. Easton replied, "No....They have to be a little more advanced than their age level [and] be able to think, I think, faster than most students."

According to Ms. Benton, all teachers at Fagan should teach in the residential program "so they can get to know different types of students" and different "levels" of instruction. Conversely, according to Ms. Easton, all teachers at Fagan should not teach in the residential program "because they have that special quality or special 'gift' to help those magnet and, um, SEARCH students." She explained that a person with a "special gift" is someone who "loves science and math." Both parents agreed that not all students should be in the residential program because they are in programs for the "gifted." Ms. Benton stated, "You do have your 'gifted' children." According to both parents, all teachers should not be in the magnet or SEARCH program. Their reasons, however, differed. Ms. Benton stated that teachers are needed in different areas. They "need to be spread out. They need to be everywhere." Ms. Easton stated that "you got to start off somewhere" [and] "some teachers probably might not know how to deal with a 'gifted' child." When asked if all students should be in the magnet and/or SEARCH program, responses were polar. One parent stated that she would like to see all children in a program for the "gifted." ("All the kids are 'gifted'.") She then conditioned her response by adding, "I know every child couldn't be [because] some kids...don't catch on as fast or quick as other kids might." The other parent stated that not all children should be in the magnet program ("...once again, special needs, special kids") or the SEARCH program ("the pressure").

Ms. Benton stated that some teachers are in the residential program at Fagan because "they like working with the [residential] kids." When asked why some teachers are not in the residential program at Fagan, responses differed. Ms. Benton surmised that they [magnet and SEARCH teachers] like to work in an "accelerated program" or perhaps they have a child enrolled in the magnet program. Ms. Easton repeated that "they [magnet and

SEARCH teachers] have that special quality or special 'gift' to help those magnet and, um, SEARCH students." When discussing why some teachers are in the magnet program at Fagan, Mrs. Benton cited proper credentials and/or choice. When discussing why some teachers are not in the magnet program at Fagan, responses differed. According to Ms. Benton, "Maybe they don't know how to react to a 'gifted' child....[or] maybe they [teachers] don't like being questioned." According to Ms. Easton, some teachers need to be available to teach "average students." Ms. Benton believes that some teachers are in the SEARCH program because of choice or "they were assigned." Once again, responses differed when discussing why some teachers are not in the SEARCH program. Mrs. Easton repeated that teachers are needed in all areas. Mrs. Benton cited past work record, lack of proper credentials, [or] "their accomplishments maybe have something to do with it." Lastly, some students are in the residential program because of complacency. According to Ms. Benton, "They're satisfied with the grades they get and they figure "I can just slide on through'." Others are not because of special placement or because "they try to accelerate." Some students are in the magnet and/or SEARCH program because of their motivation, grades, "knowledge," or because they have been singled "out to...bring out their knowledge." According to both parents, others are not because of average grades and lack of motivation.

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being a Parent of a Child Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": One parent told me that she likes being called the parent of a residential child. The other stated, "I never considered myself the parent of a residential child....[I am] just a parent of a child going to school." Regarding the benefits of having a child not labeled "gifted," both parent responses were identical: less pressure. Ms. Easton said, "I can take a breather as a parent." Conversely, being called the parent of a residential student has several

drawbacks. According to Ms. Benton, "Gifted" students are given "a little bit more respect and a bit more attention." Further, she doesn't believe that Gail gets "the accelerated work...[or] indepth projects" that a magnet or SEARCH student gets. Ms. Easton once again changed the subject.

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Responses from the parents were mixed when discussing reactions from others regarding their daughters' residential placement. One replied that her friends and other parents wonder why her daughter is not in a program for the "gifted." The other parent replied that friends, family members, and other parents think it is "normal....because their kids are here too." Neither one of the parents believe that they are treated differently by friends, family, or other parents because they have a child in the residential program at Fagan.

Both responses were positive when discussing how others feel about being residential parents. Further, one parent said, "We can walk up to the school and be with our kids first hand whereas, uh, other parents have to come from different neighborhoods." When asked how other parents feel about not being residential parents, Ms. Easton stated that she did not know. Ms. Benton stated that they are "trying to push their kids to be even with accelerated students." Interestingly, regarding the feelings of parents who have children in a program for the "gifted," both parents' replies were identical and twofold. Both said that the parents should be proud of their children and proud of themselves for raising their children properly. Conversely, parents who do not have children in a program for the "gifted" feel "jealous" according to Ms. Benton and "angry" according to Ms. Easton.

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Neither parent believes that she is "gifted." However, one believes that she is a "gifted" parent but the other does not. She said, "I consider myself just normal, run-of-

the-day middle person. I do nothing out of the ordinary." Further, both parents initially stated that one does not have to be "gifted" to have a "gifted" child. Ms. Easton then amended her statement and said, "I think it helps a lot....You're able to handle,uh, what they're going through: stress, levels of homework, classwork." Lastly, when asked whether they prefer a magnet, SEARCH, or residential placement for their daughters, both parents replied that their daughters should be in the magnet program. One parent said that her daughter is a good "candidate" for the magnet and SEARCH programs. The other parent said, "I don't see her as average and I see residential as just average....I think she can step up a level."

Photo Exercise: When comparing all six classes, both parents noted that the children are learning and the teachers are involved in their learning. Once again, responses were similar when citing differences. Both parents discussed the different "levels" of activities. For example, one parent observed:

> Seems like they [SEARCH students] are a little more advanced than the rest of them because of their chess playing....I don't even know how to play chess....The magnet students are all reading...good books....and the residential class, it's like they're doing their homework....In the residential, you have the teacher there with a whole group of kids whereas the SEARCH [teacher] is working a little one-on-one....The residential kids don't look like they're concentrating as much. Some kids look like they're just waiting to go home.

When discussing how their daughters got into their settings, one parent simply stated that "her home was in our neighborhood." The other told me that her mother "insisted on my daughter being put in Ms. Dunn's class." While

reflecting on their feelings and how things might be different if their daughters were not in the residential program at Fagan, one parent said that her daughter would be required to work more independently and would be able to express herself more. The other parent said, "Maybe she wouldn't have been such a good student....She probably wouldn't have met all these friends that she has now."

Visuals:

In addition to the six photographs taken for the "photo exercise" part of the formal interviews, many additional photographs were taken of the girls not labeled "gifted" in their respective contexts/settings (see Appendix J). If we examine these settings closely, several personal images/portraits/themes emerge. The residential girls are seen working independently. Neither girl is smiling. Specifically, Gail is seen sitting by herself at her desk reading. In one picture she is leaning on her hand. Several classmates are sitting at their desks doing nothing. Marian is seen sitting by herself reading or writing. She seems to be ignoring classmates around her who are interacting in various ways or misbehaving.

Chapter VIII

Data Presentation: Personal Perspectives of Teachers and Administrators of Fourth-Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted" and Fourth-Grade Girls Not Labeled "Gifted"

What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of teachers and administrators of fourth-grade girls labeled "gifted" and fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted" (see Table 10)?

In order to answer this question, data has been collected via the following techniques: mute evidence, formal interviews, and visuals.

Mute Evidence:

Teachers/Administrators of Children Labeled "Gifted" and "Non-gifted"

Teacher/administrator perceptions of the label "gifted" may be viewed as a continuum. At one end are those (the majority of whom are advocates for the "gifted") who view the label positively (Benson, 1996; Coleman, 1994; Cooper, 1995; Galloway & Porath, 1997; Parish, Dyck, & Kappes, 1979; Reschly, & Lamprecht, 1979). At the other end of the continuum are those (the majority of whom are advocates for the "non-gifted") who hold negative perceptions toward "gifted" children in general and toward certain populations of "gifted" children in particular (Clark, 1992; Davis & Rimm, 1994; Hickey, 1990; Houghton, 1995; Jackson, Famiglietti, & Robinson, 1981; Jacobs, 1972; Pattridge, 1989; Pendarvis et al., 1990; Rubovits & Maehr, 1973; Sandoval, 1995). In the middle of the continuum are those few teachers/administrators in general whose perceptions are neutral (Ford, 1978).

Two tensions along the continuum also need to be considered. The first--more fluid--describes teacher/administrator perceptions controlled by such variables as educational background, training, and knowledge of "gifted"

Table 10

Formal Interview Respondents

(Teachers and Administrators of Fourth-Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted" and Fourth-Grade Girls Not Labeled "Gifted")

Teachers and Administrators	Placement	Race	Family Descriptors
Ms. Holt	magnet teacher	Anglo-American	divorced, single mother
Ms. Harris	magnet teacher	African-American	married
Ms. Wade	SEARCH teacher	Anglo-American	divorced, single mother
Ms. Dunn	residential teacher	African-American	widow
Ms. Blake	residential teacher	African-American	single
Ms. Early	principal	African-American	divorced, single mother
Mr. Clancy	assistant principal	Anglo-American	married

children (Copenhaver, R. W., & McIntyre, D. J., 1992; Nicely, R. F., Small, J. D., & Furman, R. L., 1980; Smidchens, U., & Sellin, D., 1977; Weiner & O'Shea, 1963; Weiss & Gallagher, 1980). Specifically, the more highly trained one is, the more positive one feels toward the "gifted" and the programs designed for them. Correlatively, the less training one has, the less positive one feels toward the "gifted" and the programs designed for them. The second tension--more static and discrete--describes teacher/administrator perceptions which are incremental and fixed (Hamilton, 1960). Specifically, teachers of the "gifted" support having programs for them but are opposed to using labels. Teachers of the "non-gifted" are more authoritarian and support programs which focus on behavior.[13]

Formal Interviews:

Individual Perspectives of Teachers of Fourth-Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted" (i. e., Magnet Teachers)

Ms. Holt:

Preliminaries: The interview with Ms. Holt was conducted at her apartment. Ms. Holt is Anglo-American. She is divorced and the mother of two grown children. She has one grandchild. Before coming to Fagan, she worked for three years as a behavior specialist in a program funded by the Youth Futures Authority. She has been at Fagan for one year "which is the first time I've ever taught in a magnet school in a 'gifted' program" (p. 1). Further, "this is my first experience as a fourth grade teacher" (p. 1). She was a cooperative respondent.

"Grand Tour": Ms. Holt began by stating that life in general as a fourth-grade teacher is "very interesting....It's been a wonderful experience. Um, the kids are great. They're really, really bright" (p. 1).

[13] Refer to detailed discussion of themes regarding teachers/administrators of children labeled "gifted" and children not labeled "gifted" in the Literature Review, Chapter III.

Global questions regarding Ms. Holt's level of involvement at Fagan elicited additional descriptors of her life as a teacher: "Busy. I have a lot of paperwork, preparing, lesson planning. It's time consuming" (p. 1). Her students are involved in group work, various projects. "They're unbelievable" (p. 1).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Ms. Holt described various student classroom activities. "They're learning how to take notes, study from their notes" (p. 1). There are discussions and individual and group book reports. "If we have a few minutes, we'll do that little Mind Trap game which they absolutely love 'cause they like to try to figure things out" (p. 2). Additionally, she believes that students need to be active participants in their learning. "The more kids are involved themselves rather than me standing there lecturing to them, then they're going to learn" (p. 2). Hence, her students are involved in "a lot of decision-making regarding their lessons and stuff like that" (p. 1). During interactions with her students, she tries "to encourage them,..monitor activities,...and to challenge them. "If they can master a certain thing, why stay there" (p. 2)?

> Ms. Holt told of her "good rapport" (p. 1) with her students:
>
> We have a good time. We have fun....We joke around a lot....We laugh and talk about past experiences that I've had....I think that's real important that they're able to share, um, real life experiences....I try to let them know that I care and that they are important and make them feel special. (pp. 1-2)

Lastly, she explained that her students indicate their "giftedness" with "a style, a way of expressing their thoughts, the way they can put them down on paper" (p. 2).

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: According to Ms. Holt, her students begin the morning at school with a preplanned activity so they

"start the day off without all the chatter, chatter, chatter" (p. 3). The SEARCH students leave at 9:15 and are gone for an hour. During that time, the remaining students finish their morning work and "do AR [Accelerated Reader] tests--that kind of thing" (p. 3). Language arts activities include parts of speech, novel studies, and book reports presented "to the class with some type of visual" (p. 3). She and Mrs. Harris (also a magnet fourth-grade teacher and a respondent in this study) team teach for math. "I have the higher level class and she has the other....We did separate the classes according to test scores and pretests that we did" (pp. 3-4). Math is taught with texts, math games, and the computers. Additionally, her students participate in art, p. e., music, science, social studies. "They have Spanish everyday for thirty minutes" (p. 4).

Ms. Holt stated that her students participate in several extracurricular activities such as cheerleading, gymnastics, tennis lessons. "I have one that's on a swim team....She's always going out of town for swim meets" (p. 4). Additionally, many are involved in the upcoming PTA program and "they like to socialize" (p. 4).

Regarding her students' home lives, Ms. Holt initially stated, "I honestly don't really know a whole lot about their outside lives" (p. 3). She then said that "most of them have really caring parents who want them to do well and who are very concerned of their education" (p. 3). However, a few of her students have unstable home lives. When asked how she knew this, Ms. Holt replied that these children don't discuss their families a lot, the parents are hard to contact, "and they [parents] just don't seem to have the concern for their...children's welfare as much as some of the other parents do" (p. 5).

Compare and Contrast: When discussing how she got to be a magnet teacher, Ms. Holt stated that she interviewed for the position and was hired.

Her favorite subject to teach is health. "As a matter of fact I considered going into nursing before I thought about teaching" (p. 5). She also enjoys teaching social studies (i. e., history). "The children are amazed a lot of times at how things were in the 'olden days'" (p. 5). Interestingly, in spite of being assigned the "top" math group, her least favorite subject to teach is math. "I never was good at math....I despise to grade math papers....It's just kinda boring" (p. 6).

According to Ms. Holt, the magnet and residential curricula are alike because "they use the same math textbook....Other areas like science are all pretty much the same" (p. 6). They are different because "we veer away from using the textbooks....We probably challenge the children a little more....They [magnet children] are given a lot of individual assignments....Residential classes...do that but not on the same level [or] depth" (p. 7). The magnet and SEARCH curricula are alike because of the emphasis on writing, project work, newspaper studies. They are different because the SEARCH teacher "tries to pull in a lot of things I think that the kids may not get a chance to be introduced to" (p. 7) otherwise (e. g., Greek mythology).

Ms. Holt was unable to tell me how the magnet and residential methodologies are alike because "I don't know how they present material to the children" (p. 7). They are different because the magnet classes are "more student oriented [and the residential classes] are more teacher oriented where the teacher stands and lectures" (p. 8). The magnet and SEARCH methodologies are alike because "we both try to encourage the children to...use their own thinking rather than us thinking for them" (p. 8). They are different because "I guess I'm probably more structured in the classroom than they are in the SEARCH class" (p. 8). She explained, "I want everything to be, you know, down the line....I don't like a lot of chaos" (p. 9).

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": According to Ms. Holt, "gifted" means "to think outside the box,...globally" (p. 9). She then stated, "Sometimes I don't really know if I like that term....I think every child is 'gifted' in some area. Maybe 'academically talented' might be a better term" (p. 9).

Ms. Holt initially stated, "I don't know" (p. 10) when asked to compare herself to the other teachers at Fagan. She then said that "we listen to music a lot in the classroom" (p. 10). She is different from the other teachers at Fagan in two ways: "I don't cater to the parents....[and] I like to have fun with the kids....Sometimes I act crazy" (p. 10).

Her students are like the other students in the school in the following ways:

> Sometimes we try to treat them like adults but they're all kids....All enjoy doing the same kinds of things....All have outside interests....All want to go play and they all want to talk....They're here for the same purpose--to learn. (p. 10)

Her students are different from the others because "they know that they can come to me if they have any problems....They know they can cut up with me....I feel like they're my own kids" (p. 10).

Being a teacher in the magnet program means the following for Ms. Holt: "There is a lot of pressure, you know, being a magnet teacher rather than a residential....It's a challenge....I feel like I'm always under the microscope" (p. 11). She explained: "You have a lot of parents who are right there on you to see that...their kids' needs are being met....[Also], we don't use textbooks [so] you have to do a lot of planning and thinking" (p. 11). SEARCH teachers, on the other hand, are able to spend more time with their students covering various topics and residential teachers need to spend more time teaching certain subjects.

According to Ms. Holt, the magnet and SEARCH programs are alike because of the emphasis on research and projects. They are different because the magnet program emphasizes QCC objectives and enrichment whereas the SEARCH program emphasizes enrichment. Additionally, "they probably take things a little further than we do in the classroom" (p. 11). The magnet and residential programs are alike because "the curriculum is probably the same basically....They have to meet the same objectives" (pp. 11-12). They are different because "magnet classes may not take as much time on certain subjects" (p. 11).

Ms. Holt stated that students are admitted to the magnet program if their test scores are high enough "to get them into the magnet" (p. 12). Students are admitted to the SEARCH program if "they meet certain criteria as far as test scores,...creativity,...mental intelligence" (p. 12). When asked how a student gets to be in the residential program, she replied, "They don't test them....I have to be facetious here a little bit, um, I really don't know" (p. 12).

She did not know if any teacher could get into the magnet program. "In the magnet program you can't just pull out the teachers' editions and go strictly by them....You have to use a multitude of resources" (p. 13). She does not believe that any teacher could get into the SEARCH program. "They have to have the 'gifted' endorsement" (p. 12). When asked if any teacher could get into the residential program, she said that there are some people who are and are not "cut out" (p. 13) to be a teacher. There are those who are are "enthusiastic [and] relate well to the children" (p. 13). On the other hand, those who do not "are cold, actually cold to the children....They don't treat the children like they're humans" (p. 13). According to Ms. Holt, not any child could get into the magnet and SEARCH programs "because of the testing, plain and simple" (p. 14).

However, any child could get into the residential program if they "apply there or want to get in" (p. 14).

Ms. Holt does not believe that every teacher should teach in a magnet or SEARCH classroom. "I don't think every teacher is--there's that word again--cut out to teach in a classroom with 'gifted' children" (p.14). Likewise, Ms. Holt does not believe that every teacher should teach in a residential classroom. "There again it takes a special teacher....You see a lot of behavior problems in residential classes....There are different ways to be special" (p. 14). Lastly, according to Ms. Holt, not every child should be in the magnet or residential program. She states:

> The children in the magnet classes [think] "We're brighter than they [residential students] are."...If they were heterogeneously grouped...that could do a lot for the residential children and for the magnet because...the residential children would have those role models and it would give the magnet kids an opportunity to see that "these [residential] kids are smarter than I thought they were." (p. 15)

Likewise, not every student should be in the SEARCH program. "I don't think every student has quite the ability academically I guess to enter the SEARCH program" (p. 14).

When asked why some teachers are in the magnet program, Ms. Holt shifted the conversation to herself. "I was very scared....I heard so much about parents 'til I was just like terrified....It's kinda like you're on display...but I guess I felt, um, honored, flattered...I was chosen" (p. 15). Other teachers are not in the magnet program because "they don't want to...[or] the administrators don't feel like they're qualified.....A lot of teachers to me can't handle the parent pressure and don't have a good rapport with parents" (p. 16). Some teachers are

in the SEARCH program because "they enjoy doing it" (p. 15) and don't mind the paperwork. Others are not because they choose not to be. Some teachers are in the residential program because "maybe it's the only job they could get" (p. 16). Others are not because "they don't want to,...they don't want to deal with all the behavior problems,...[or] maybe they want the challenge of teaching the higher level children that they enjoy" (p. 16). Lastly, some students are in the magnet and SEARCH programs because they passed the entrance testing criteria. Others are not because "every child doesn't possess the capabilities, or have an extra special, um, 'gift'" (p. 17). Some students are in the residential program because they "are in that area" (p. 17). Others are not because "they're tested and qualify for the magnet program" (p. 17).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being a Teacher of Children Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": When asked if she likes being called a teacher of the "gifted," Ms. Holt said, "I don't have a feeling one way or the other on that....I'm just a teacher" (p. 18).

According to Ms. Holt, being called a magnet teacher has the following benefits: "We do have the brighter--so to speak--children....I like the kids....I like a challenge, too" (p. 18). Conversely, being called a magnet teacher has the following drawbacks: "The main thing is the planning and making sure the parents are satisfied" (p. 18).

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Regarding the reactions of others to her being a magnet teacher of the "gifted," Ms. Holt said that her friends, family, and colleagues are indifferent regarding her position as a teacher. Others do not treat her differently because she is a magnet teacher. "I don't think that [her label] has anything to do with friendship, you know, if it's a true friend" (p. 19). Lastly, "my family doesn't know a whole lot about what the magnet program is" (p. 19).

According to Ms. Holt, magnet teachers have two "biggest concerns--the workload and the parent situation" (p. 19). Other teachers who are not magnet teachers "feel satisfied with what they're doing....I think a lot of teachers though, in a way, would prefer to teach magnet children" (p. 19). SEARCH teachers "enjoy it or they wouldn't be doing it" (p. 19). Regarding the feelings of those who are not SEARCH teachers, she said, "If that's something they wanted to do, then they would pursue it" (p. 19). "Residential teachers would prefer to be magnet teachers....A lot of teachers probably don't like it [being a residential teacher]....because of the behavior,...the not grasping concepts as quickly,...not being able to move at a faster pace" (p. 20). Other teachers who are not residential teachers "are probably glad....I don't know why teachers would want to teach in a residential class" (p. 20).

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Ms. Holt believes that she is "gifted" but only "in certain areas" (p. 20). She explained that she was "very athletic" (p. 20). Additionally, she feels that she has good "rapport with the children" (p. 20), and she is dedicated. She also believes that she is a "gifted" teacher. "I think God gave me a 'gift' to teach" (p. 20).

According to Ms. Holt, one needs "to be 'gifted' to teach, period" (p. 20) whether it is in the magnet, SEARCH, or residential program. She prefers the magnet setting for herself. "I'm perfectly content where I am" (p. 21). However, she would also consider placement in a residential classroom. "I do know how to deal with behavior and classroom management" (p. 21).

Photo Exercise: Ms. Holt remarked that all six classes are alike because they are "working, interested in what they're doing....The teacher is right there with them....Most of them seem to be participating" (p. 22). They are different because in the magnet and residential classes the children are involved in more "book work" (p. 22) and the instruction appears to be more teacher-

centered whereas in the SEARCH class, they are into "fun kinds of things [and]...they [the students] seem to be more on their own" (p. 22). Lastly, there are more minority children in the residential classes....You can see a difference" (p. 22). According to Ms. Holt, the curriculum is alike in all three classes because all have learning objectives and "we do the paper-pencil thing [and] textbooks are used" (p. 23) in all three areas. The curriculum is different because the residential classes "probably stick more to the textbooks,...we veer off those and pull in outside resources,...and of course in SEARCH they just totally do what I call the fun stuff" (p. 23). According to Ms. Holt, methodologies are the same in all three programs because "you try to involve the students as much as possible in their learning and try to figure out ways to teach them in their own way" (p. 24). Further, the students "do a lot of group work and working in dyads" (p. 25). Methodologies are different because the magnet and residential classes are more structured whereas in the SEARCH class there is "more freedom,...more creativity, more, um, innovative kinds of things....Every teacher is different and has their own method and style" (p. 24).

When discussing how she got into her setting, Ms. Holt stated that she had worked with children with behavior problems in a program funded by Youth Futures Authority. "The money ran out so I got a call...to come down to Fagan and interview....I was very impressed with Ms. Early. I had known Mr. Clancy....Obviously, they were impressed with me because they offered me the position" (p. 25). When asked why she is in her setting, Ms. Holt replied simply, "I like to teach" (p. 25). Lastly, she tells of her frustration regarding the paperwork. "I don't have enough time to teach" (p. 27). Nevertheless, "I love being here with these kids" (p. 26).

Ms. Harris:

Preliminaries: The interviews with Ms. Harris were conducted at school in a media center ante-room and in her classroom. Ms. Harris is African-American. She is married and has a grown son. She holds a master's degree in early childhood education and is certified to teach "gifted" children. "I just feel like I've been in school all my life you know" (p. 33). She has been at Fagan for six years, two as a residential teacher, and four as a fourth-grade magnet teacher. Ms. Harris was a cooperative and talkative respondent.

"Grand Tour": Ms. Harris began by explaining her reasons for choosing the profession. "I really enjoy working with children and...helping them to, to grow and learn" (p. 1).

Global questions regarding Ms. Harris' level of involvement at Fagan elicited further discussion of her initial comments. "I love being a teacher...I try to be dedicated and to help...them [her students] to learn...to be productive...when they grow up" (p. 1). Further, she described her work as challenging and described her "gifted" students as independent learners.

Specific Levels of Involvement: Ms. Harris first described her teaching strategies. She tries to "engage them [her students] in fun learning activities....They need a variety of ways to learn" (p. 1). More specifically, she explained that "we work with the QCC objectives and we have certain guidelines" (p. 1). Her students participate in group work,"sharing their group presentations" (p. 1), research, creative activities, and worksheets. Additionally, she emphasizes self-expression and project work, and "higher levels of thinking" (p. 1). She cited her students' recent excited involvement in a Fiction/Fact booklet featuring UFO videos and stories.

Ms. Harris told of her morning work with her students. Their first task is to complete "board work...That's some type of skill, um, usually because

of the ITBS test...We've been practicing a lot with grammar, capitalization, punctuation" (p. 2), analogies, language, and spelling. Additionally, she listed reading and journal writings. When the eleven SEARCH students leave, the remaining students finish their morning work, then participate in "free time. They work at computers. They have games" (p. 2) and enrichment/extension/"higher level" (p. 2) activities. If there are others who need remediation "I usually work with them" (p. 2) too.

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: According to Ms. Harris, the majority of her students are "well-adjusted" (p. 2) and their parents are "caring and loving and just try to expose them to a variety of kinds of learning experiences" (p. 4). She said that she knew this because her students share openly with her and "when they come to class they are prepared. They pretty much want to learn" (p. 4). Additionally, most of her students are involved in numerous extra activities. "Most of their lives are busy, very busy" (p. 4). In school activities include Pokemon games, Math-a-Thon, the principal's storytelling troupe, expressive art, p. e. activities such as kickball, dodgeball. Further, "they love to socialize....They are somewhat dominating" (p. 3). Out of school activities include dance, team sports such as softball, church functions, Girl Scouts, and Boy Scouts. She knew this because "a lot of times when I give homework they'll say, 'Ooh, I've got so much going on this afternoon I hope I can get this done'" (p. 4).

Compare and Contrast: In order to become a magnet teacher, Ms. Harris "had to do extensive training" (p. 16). Specifically, she had to take sixty quarter hours of "additional studies,...make sure I passed those classes, and I had to be certified in that area" (p. 16). Later, "an opening came up and I was able to get in that" (p. 16).

Ms. Harris' favorite subject to teach is language arts. "I particularly love language" (p. 4). She enjoys connecting literature to such activities as "main idea [and] letter writing" (p. 4). Her least favorite subjects to teach are math and science. Regarding math, she said, "I was used to teaching the lower grades right? So then I moved up to fourth-grade and that was like almost high school to me" (p. 5). Regarding science, she said, "You know science can be, I would think, a boy thing....You need to do a lot of hands-on and some of the things I just didn't feel that comfortable with....I have to cover the objectives....I find myself going out even getting extra help if I need it" (p. 5). Lastly, she told of her transition from being "a traditional teacher [who] likes everything quiet" (p. 5) to one who accepts student "sharing and interacting....I had to work hard at that because at first I [couldn't]...stand this noise" (p. 5).

According to Ms. Harris, the magnet and residential curricula are alike because "we have objectives that we both have to meet" (p. 6). Further, "they [students] are taking the same subjects" (p. 6), introductory and practice activities are the same, and "we have to test them and if they don't master it we have to retest" (p. 6). They are different because "we're moving at a faster pace,...working with higher level thinking skills like problem solving,...making decisions,...working in groups,...expressing themselves,...comparing and contrasting" (p. 7). When comparing magnet and SEARCH curricula, Ms. Harris described methodological practices. "[We] try to use a variety of activities [because] some of the children will fail although they are bright...if you use one particular teaching method or style" (p. 6). When probed, she continued, "We try to use high level thinking skills [such as] comparing and contrasting,...problem solving" (p. 6). When telling how the magnet and SEARCH curricula are different, Ms. Harris continued to describe methodological similarities. "We try to involve the children in enrichment kinds of activities and enhancements and we

don't have to do a lot of practice work as in the residential classes. We don't have to do drill" (p. 6).

When comparing magnet and residential methodologies, Ms. Harris repeated that they both have objectives that the children are expected to master, and practice and evaluation procedures are similar. They are different because of the enrichment activities, group activities, and the overhead projector, for example, that she uses in her class. Further, "we're moving at a faster pace. We're doing challenging activities....We do a lot of pretest and post test" (p. 8). Her students also enjoy playing games. "They are very competitive" (p. 8) and, in contrast to the residential students, "they don't mind elaborating. They don't mind expressing themselves" (p. 7). Lastly, she referred again to her teaching style transition. "I'm used to a classroom that's very structured and I still like structure but I do realize with these children [those labeled 'gifted'] you do have to allow them to interact,..to just get involved,..to express themselves in different ways" (p. 8). According to Ms. Harris, the magnet and SEARCH methodologies are alike because they "differentiate [and]...we expose them ["gifted" students] to a variety of activities... where they can apply what they've learned" (p. 8). They are different because "our guidelines are different" (p. 8). She explained that she is responsible for teaching objectives in every subject area. The SEARCH teacher is not restricted by mandated objectives and is able to focus on selected "higher level" (p. 8) activities. "They don't have textbooks or anything" (p. 8). Lastly, she stated:

> I know that a lot of times when you're doing those kinds of things you are covering some of the same objectives but it's ...just different....Sometimes I don't even get to those other things that I love to do because I am so worried about getting those objectives done. (p. 9)

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": According to Ms. Harris, "gifted" means "that the children can excel academically" (p. 9). It also means "that the child can express themselves, they can achieve,...excel socially,...be well rounded....Every child is 'gifted' to some extent" (p. 9). She offered the following example:

> I have a child that is weak in reading but this child...can converse with you. She can express herself...but then when you look at her reading and her math grades you're saying, "What is she doing in this class?" and some folks have said to me, "Well, why is she here?" (p. 9)

When comparing herself to the other teachers at Fagan, Ms. Harris offered the following list of descriptors:

> I strive to do the very best....I try to be prepared....I try to be abreast....We are all dedicated....We work with parents a lot....We all try to work together. The children are the reason that we are all here....We want them [children] to be productive citizens of tomorrow....We want them to be lifelong learners. (pp. 9-11)

She is different from the other teachers at Fagan for several reasons. First, she puts in longer hours. "I look around and I'm sometimes one of the only ones here" (p. 10). Secondly, she is reluctant to speak out in a group. "I don't always talk out....I'm not maybe aggressive enough....I sometimes just sort of keep them [feelings] in....I don't want to feel like I'm stirring up anything" (pp. 10-11). Third, she believes that she gets "upset sometimes about some things maybe that some other folks maybe don't even think about" (p. 10). She offered the following example:

> If I know that I didn't get a chance to do something and I knew I was supposed to do it, I mean I worry about it....I know that I'm going to

> be written up....This will be kept in your file saying you didn't turn it in....or it was done incorrectly....I realize that there are some things that you have to do [for the administration] but I mean it seems like it's too much of that kind of thing. And sometimes I feel like we start one thing and we have to stop and do something else....We can't give one thing a chance to really work before someone comes in and says, "No, we're not going to do it this way. Do it this way." And that can become very frustrating. That's the kind of thing I dislike about education....You don't have a lot of input....You've gotta do that regardless of whether you agree with it or not. (p. 12)

According to Ms. Harris, her students are like the other students at Fagan because "they are concerned about learning [and] they have parents that will get on them if they don't do their work" (p. 12). Secondly, they are busy and "involved in a lot of activities at school as well as at home in the community" (p. 12). Lastly, "I see them in the hallways socializing and interacting with other grade levels" (p. 13). Her students are different from other students at Fagan because her students enjoy making decisions, working independently, and prefer "more hands-on, more challenging kinds of activities" (p. 13) while others prefer "traditional, more structure" (p. 13).

Ms. Harris believes that it "is quite a challenge" (p. 13) to be a teacher in the magnet and/or SEARCH program. When probed, she stated that one needs "to move at a faster pace, allowing them [students] to be involved in manipulatives or hands-on, working with higher level thinking skills,...making sure that the children are exposed to a variety of activities" (p. 13). Additionally, "the parents are definitely a challenge....You have to be on your P's and Q's" (p. 13). Residential teachers, on the other hand, focus on basic skills, review, drill work. To be a student in the magnet and/or SEARCH program means to come

prepared to work hard, work independently, be "focused and disciplined,...realize that there are going to be lots of challenging activities [and]...minimum drill work" (p. 13). It also means that "they shouldn't think that they're any better but they should carry themselves in such a way that others will strive to become a magnet student" (p. 14). To be a residential student means to come to school prepared to do one's best and to strive to become a magnet student.

According to Ms. Harris, the magnet and SEARCH programs are alike because the children are encouraged to make decisions, compare and contrast, and work in groups. "There's not a lot of drill work" (p. 15) and there are more connections to the art domain. Magnet and SEARCH students "are just able to handle a lot more and move a lot faster than the residential kids" (p. 15). The magnet and SEARCH programs are different because the SEARCH program is not as structured. "They [SEARCH teacher and students] are just free to do a lot more.... They are not bombarded with objectives....It's more of a relaxed atmosphere" (pp. 14-16). The activities are fun, different, and more challenging. For example, "they're working with Odyssey of the Mind,...Shakespeare,... algebra,...[or] playing chess....They're on the floor doing an activity...and we're sitting at a desk" (pp. 14-15). The magnet and residential programs are alike because "we have to cover the same objectives" (p. 15). They are different because "we [in the magnet program] can move to advanced objectives/enhancements....With the resident classes sometimes they have to do a lot more drill and a lot more reviewing" (p. 15).

Ms. Harris stated that students are admitted to the magnet program if they "make a certain score on the ITBS test and they are well-behaved" (p. 16). Students are admitted to the SEARCH program if they "make a certain score on the ITBS test...[and] they are talented in any of the other areas like music, art" (p.

16). When asked how a student gets to be in the residential program, she replied, "There's really no requirement" (p. 17).

Ms. Harris does not believe that any teacher could get into the magnet program. "They have to be trained and willing to work with children that are bright....They have to know that there are certain changes that they would have to make whereas in the residential class they wouldn't be concerned with those kinds of changes" (p. 17). When asked what she meant, she stated:

> I like structure. I like quietness. I like the kids to come in and sit quiet and work....After working with these children ["gifted"] I know that they like to express themselves....You have to involve them in higher level thinking skills that's gonna keep them interested. (p. 17)

According to Ms. Harris, not every teacher could get into the SEARCH program. "They have to be trained and they have to have the mendacity....They need to really be focused on taking them [SEARCH students] higher" (p. 17). Likewise, not every teacher could get into the residential program but "they don't have to do any extra training although they're in school almost all their lives too" (p. 18). According to Ms. Harris, not any child could get into the magnet and SEARCH programs "because they have to make a certain score on the ITBS" (p. 18). However, any students could get into the residential program "automatically" (p. 18).

Ms. Harris does not believe that every teacher should teach in the magnet, SEARCH, or residential programs. Magnet and SEARCH teachers "have to be trained,...really be committed,...know these children are going to need work on a different level,...[and] be more or less a facilitator" (p. 18) rather than a traditional, or residential, teacher. "Some teachers [of the "gifted"] are geared toward really taking children further and being a facilitator and being

open minded rather then just doing the regular traditional way of teaching" (p. 19). Lastly, according to Ms. Harris, not every child should be in the magnet program because some students "cannot move at that fast pace [and]...cannot do more advanced work" (p. 19). Not every child should be in the SEARCH program because some students "cannot work in that kind of setting....They need a little bit more structure" (p. 19). Not every child should be in the residential program because some students are not as advanced as others, some students are unable to move at a fast pace and/or grasp skills quickly, and some are not "self-motivated" (p. 19) and hence are unable to work "with the facilitator" (p. 19).

Regarding placement of teachers, Ms. Harris stated that some teachers are in the magnet program because they offer enrichment to their students, look at the objectives from "a different perspective,...want to move at a faster pace...and to a higher level,...[and] take them [students] to new heights" (p. 19). Others are not because "they don't like moving at that fast pace" (p. 20). Some teachers are in the SEARCH program because "they want to work above grade level, they want to expose the children to higher levels of thinking,...[and] they're working with multiple intelligences" (p. 19). Others are not because "they're not programmed...and some teachers...may not want to go extra miles" (p. 20). According to Ms. Harris, "it takes a special teacher to teach in the residential program....Some children they do need a lot of drills [and]... move at a slower pace and some teachers feel that they can help these children" (p. 20). Some teachers are not teaching in the residential program because "they feel like, uh, I want to move faster. I want to take my children to higher levels" (p. 20). Lastly, some students are in the magnet, SEARCH, or residential programs because "placement is determined by test scores" (p. 20).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being a Teacher of Children Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Ms. Harris said that she likes being called a teacher of

the "gifted" because she likes "to work with challenging children" (p. 21). She also enjoys being a guide and moving at "a faster pace" (p. 21).

According to Ms. Harris, being called a magnet teacher has the following benefits: She enjoys working with "gifted" children. "I like the way we work together" (p. 21). In contradiction to her previous statements, she said, "I like the support from parents" (p. 22). Lastly, she said that she likes "to move fast" (p. 23) and have her students "work in small groups, uh, sharing ideas and maybe research" (p. 23). Conversely, being called a magnet teacher has the following drawbacks:

> They [administrators] sometimes want to come in and change your rules....It's always your fault the child made this score....Sometimes the parents...think their child can't do any wrong....I mean they will get bent out of shape in a hurry....If they can't get their way in a lot of cases they'll go to 208 Bull Street [Board of Education] and that's a threat....I don't like that because I feel like I'm an educator, I'm professional. (p. 21)

Lastly, she stated, "Some of the children feel that they don't need to be disciplined because they feel like somebody has told them that they don't have to be disciplined" (p. 22).

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Regarding reactions of others to her being a magnet teacher of the "gifted," Ms. Harris said that her friends believe that she is doing a good job but tell her, "I don't know how you can put up with it [discipline problems]" (pp. 23-24). Others believe that the magnet and residential students do not have the same needs. "Sometimes I feel like they do because although they ["gifted"] are creative and they're bright...a lot of times when you give them some of the basics they don't do well" (p. 24). Her family sees her position as a status symbol or a "promotion" (p.24). Most of her colleagues give

her "positive feedback" (p. 24). Others feel that she is unable to collaborate with them because she works with the "gifted." They tell her, "Oh, you're with those bright children....You just go on your own" (p. 23). Lastly, she is not treated differently by friends or family because she works with the "gifted," and other than the reactions mentioned above, she is not treated differently by her colleagues.

According to Ms. Harris, magnet teachers feel that they have "a bigger responsibility...There is more required of you...because you need to expose these children ["gifted"] to more. You need to move them along faster" (pp. 24-25). When asked how other teachers feel about not being a magnet teacher, she said that some tell her they "could not be a magnet teacher" (p. 25) because of discipline issues and parents who try to control the classroom. Ms. Harris stated, "No one controls my classroom" (p. 26). According to Ms. Harris, SEARCH teachers feel that theirs is "a great reward area to work in because they are not bound to objectives....The sky's the limit" (p. 25). Those who are not SEARCH teachers "probably know that it takes special training" (p. 25). Others feel that it is not for them--not because "they're not capable [but because] they may not just like that area well enough to be able to go....steps above the other teachers...[and] keep your wheels turning" (p. 25). According to Ms. Harris, residential teachers "love what they're doing....You're here to make sure that these children learn and to take them where they need to be" (p. 25). When discussing how other teachers feel about not being residential teachers, she offered her own perspective: "I'm not saying anything negative. I'm saying they [residential teachers] are able to do whatever it is they need to do and the parents are not coming on them and they're not getting any problems from administration" (p. 26).

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Ms. Harris believes that she is "gifted" in one area: language. Likewise, when asked if she is a "gifted" teacher, she responded that she is a "gifted" teacher in language. "I try to do a superb job in that area" (p. 26). According to Ms. Harris, one does not have to be "gifted" to teach in the residential program and one does not need to be "totally 'gifted'" to teach in the magnet program. However, regarding the SEARCH program, she said, "I think you would have to have more characteristics than any other teacher" (p. 27). She prefers the magnet setting for herself. "I think I should be in the magnet program....I like a challenge" (pp. 28-29). She does not wish to be in the SEARCH program. "I don't have that many more years to work...and I don't want to go back to school....You have to do extensive training--not that I couldn't do it if I set my mind to it" (pp. 27-28). Regarding the residential program, she stated, "I could be....I love working with children and like I say it's just a joy to see them blossom" (p. 28).

Photo Exercise: Ms. Harris remarked that the six classes "are all engaged in learning and working together....They are attentive....The teacher is more or less guiding them" (p. 29). They are different because some are working in whole groups and others in small groups, they are involved in different activities, and the SEARCH students are working on "higher level thinking skills" (p. 29). When asked how the curriculum is alike in all six classes, Mrs. Harris continued to focus on methodology. "They [students] are all working on completing a task....They seem to be eager about the lesson....They are focused" (p. 31). They are different because there are more choices in the SEARCH class. The activities do not necessarily come from textbooks. The SEARCH and magnet children are "moving at a faster pace,...working in groups, sharing ideas, uh, hands-on. They are able to show their creativity" (p. 30). The [residential] students are "not free to play as many games because of the guidelines....They

are completing a language exercise which may entail more drill, more practice, more teacher directing" (p. 30). According to Ms. Harris, methodologies in all six classes are alike because the teachers serve as guides, and there are "boys and girls working together" (p. 32). They are different because the SEARCH children are "working on a very advanced level" (p. 32). Further, in the SEARCH and magnet classes the teachers seem to be guiding and in the residential classes the teachers seem to be "explaining or reteaching" (p. 32). Lastly, she said:

> I just know that if they [residential children] had somebody to work with them--[if] they had some exposure--they would be probably right up there with some of those magnet students or maybe doing just as good or even better....Some kids have never been to the mall. Some kids have never been to the beach...so they can't really talk intelligently about, you know, those kinds of experiences. (p. 35)

When asked how she got into her setting, Ms. Harris repeated, "I had to complete four years of college,...do extensive work...in 'gifted' education,...[and] I received my master's...in elementary education" (p. 33). When discussing why she is in her setting, Ms. Harris said simply, "I'm here because I love children" (p. 33). Lastly, she stated, "You give, give, give, give and you know there's no letup. You're constantly giving and giving and giving but you know it's all worth it....The child is who is going to benefit" (p. 34).

Individual Perspectives of Teacher of Fourth-Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted" (i. e., SEARCH Teacher)

Ms. Wade:

Preliminaries: The interview with Ms. Wade was conducted at school in the media center. Ms. Wade is Anglo-American, divorced, and the

mother of two grown children. She holds a master's degree in early childhood education and is certified to teach "gifted" children. She has been at Fagan for eleven years, six as a magnet classroom teacher and the last five as a SEARCH teacher. Ms. Wade was a cooperative and at one point, tearful respondent. At times during our conversation, she would ask me to turn off the tape recorder so she could say something "off the record." Further, upon completion of the interview she told me that there were additional comments that she wished to make but did not feel comfortable doing so "on tape." She would put these comments in writing and give them to me. I have asked Ms. Wade about this on several occasions but I have not received her narrative.

"Grand Tour": Ms. Wade began with positives: "It's very exciting. I'm very happy and I feel that I am most fortunate to be working with these 'gifted' students" (p. 1). Conversely, she stated that the parents of "gifted" children are "very demanding" (p. 1). Also, she and her students must deal with stereotypes. For example, she knows that most academically "gifted" children are also socially and emotionally "gifted." Most people, however, believe that the opposite is true.

Global questions regarding Ms. Wade's level of involvement at Fagan elicited further discussion of her initial comments. Being a SEARCH teacher is "very rewarding...[and] challenging" (p. 1). Conversely, "I often think that possibly my colleagues think that we're a breed apart--the SEARCH teacher and the SEARCH students--but we're really not" (p. 1). When asked to explain, she said, "they tend to expect stereotypical behavior from the students and I guess from SEARCH teachers" (p. 1). Then contradicting her previous statement, she said, "They [her colleagues] expect too much from them [her students] behaviorally--If you're smart you're going to be good or well mannered--which is not the case" (p. 1).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Ms. Wade described her enrichment practices which are threefold: enrichment of the state curriculum, Core Knowledge enrichment, and "my own personal enrichment from my own interests" (p. 1). More specifically, she chooses the topics to be studied rather than having her students do so. Hence, she teaches mythology and the classics. "I like them and I know a little bit about them....The first graders have Latin" (p. 1). She also introduced a unit on the barrier islands this year. Methodology involves paper and pencil activities, to begin with. These are expanded into hands-on activities, research, and "a lot of class discussion" (p. 2).

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: According to Ms. Wade, in addition to the regular curriculum, her students also participate in various extracurricular activities such as Math Club, Science Club, Student Council, National Honor Society, Odyssey of the Mind, Quiz Bowl, and Media Festival. She stated that most of the SEARCH students come from "very happy homes" (p. 2). There are others, however, who do not. "There is a divorce occurring, death has occurred, financial worries have occurred" (p. 2). Still others have personal problems (e. g., obesity). Hence, "I want SEARCH to be a refuge. I want it to be a place where they can go and get away from everyday humdrum things....I would say that I'm more concerned about their psyches than their academics" (p. 3). She knows these things because of the conversations she has with her students and their parents. "We talk....The parent or the child confided in me" (pp. 2-3).

Compare and Contrast: When discussing how she got to be a SEARCH teacher, Ms. Wade described how she had been moved--because of a "shake-up at the school" (p. 8)--from a fourth-grade magnet class to a first grade one. "I was not happy in first grade and after about three weeks I asked my

principal...if she would consider me [for a SEARCH position]....She said, 'Yes,' and so I was hired" (p. 8).

Ms. Wade's favorite subject to teach is creative writing via "guided imagery....I take them on a little mind trip to get their creative juices flowing and I play music" (p. 3). She could not think of any subject that she dislikes teaching. She also stated that she is now more accepting of her students than she used to be. "That comes with maturity as a teacher....They don't have to be perfect anymore" (p. 5).

According to Ms. Wade, the SEARCH and magnet curricula are alike because they share Core Knowledge objectives. They are different because "I don't follow QCC objectives" (p. 3) and she takes Core Knowledge objectives to a "much, much higher level" (p. 4). SEARCH and residential curricula are alike because "several of the topics are the same" (p. 4). They are different because in the residential classes there are a "lot of repetitive tasks [and] basic drill" (p. 4)....They don't take it to the level that I do" (p. 4). She explained: "We did a unit on Shakespeare and quite a bit was required of them [the SEARCH students] and I don't think that it could be done in the regular classroom without making some students feel uncomfortable" (p. 4).

According to Ms. Wade, SEARCH and magnet methodologies are alike because "we all lecture" (p. 4) and there are "paper and pencil activities" (p. 4). They are different because "I use more outside materials, more adult materials...I think I use more audio-visual aids....It [SEARCH] is not as structured. There's a built-in accountability in the magnet classroom" (p. 4). When asked how SEARCH and residential methodologies are alike, Ms. Wade initially responded that she was unfamiliar with residential practices. She then stated, "I guess the lecture, the pencil and paper activities would be two blaring similarities" (p. 4). They are different because she uses "higher order thinking

skills....less paper and pencil, less repetition, more creative activities ....We're more project-oriented" (p. 4).

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": Ms. Wade believes that "gifted" means "special abilities in many areas" (p. 5).

When comparing herself to the other teachers at Fagan, she stated that all have degrees, all write lesson plans, and all care about the students and their performance. Also, "we're all under a bit of stress [to] perform well on state tests" (p. 5). When contrasting herself with the other teachers, she stated:

> I've been blessed with many advantages in my life....As a result, I tend to bring these experiences into my classroom. I'm able to do that because I'm a SEARCH teacher....With so many students to take care of in a regular classroom, one cannot always bring in these enriching experiences. (p. 5)

When comparing SEARCH students with the other students in the school, Ms. Wade's list was rather lengthy: "Maturationally, they're about the same. They're all happy, healthy, and in some cases well-adjusted kids. They want to do their best. They want to please you" (p. 6). When contrasting SEARCH students with the other students she said, "They [SEARCH students] have more prior knowledge....They have, based on their IQ tests, the ability to assimilate this information and spit it back out" (p. 6). Further, some of her students are "severely and profoundly 'gifted'" (p. 6) and require private tutoring. She offered the following example:

> I had four boys who took Algebra One their fifth year and went on to middle school and took Algebra Two and outstripped the eighth graders. Now they had their own private tutor that the school board brought in. I thought that was meeting their needs very well. (p. 7).

Ms. Wade also described her students' interactions with the residential students who are quite often sent to her room for "time out" (punishment) by the other teachers:

> It's unspoken. My SEARCH children know that when residential students come in they are to go out of their way to be gracious and helpful, because I tell my students--my 'gifted' students--that with your 'giftedness' comes responsibility....
>
> They [residential students] love to come to my room. I let them do whatever the SEARCH kids are doing and they're very grateful and happy and they ask me how they can get in SEARCH....They love the computer and the software products that I have....I have chess games set up and a lot of our residential kids come in and know how to play chess. They love my games, they love my art area, and they like "Harry Potter" books....They love to come in here because of all the little gadgets and things. I also think they like the freedom that's there. (p. 6)

To Ms. Wade, being a SEARCH teacher means "you're pulled in twenty-nine different ways,...you have to be very flexible, ...and well-versed" (p. 7). She repeated, "The 'gifted' parents are very demanding. They know whether you're doing you job or not" (p. 6). When discussing what it means to be a magnet teacher, Ms. Wade stated that there is a lot of accountability ("what a stress", p. 7) and "contrary to the general thought, these magnet 'gifted' classes are not homogeneous" (p. 7). Lastly, it is "very hard" (p. 7) to be a residential teacher. She explained that residential students often bring problems with them into the classroom and "these have to be solved. Uh, they [residential teachers] are working with average to basic students. Unfortunately, many special ed [education] students are in residential classrooms" (p. 7). Likewise, according to

Ms. Wade, there are "disabled 'gifted' students....Last year I had a magnificent boy who was so 'gifted' artistically, musically, theatrically, but he could not read" (p. 7).

According to Ms. Wade, the SEARCH and magnet programs are alike because "we work with identified 'gifted' students, we try to offer higher order thinking skills, and, uh, creative activities to challenge the 'gifted' child" (p. 8). They are different because of the regime, materials, and experiences offered, specifically Odyssey of the Mind. "Gifted children love competition....That's the norm" (p. 8). According to Ms. Wade, the SEARCH and residential programs are alike because "we're all trying to reach certain educational goals" (p. 8) and similar methods and materials are used "to reach these goals" (p. 80). They are different because of enrichment, grouping, and materials. Also, the SEARCH classroom climate is "freer, not so much structure" (p. 8).

Ms. Wade told me that students are admitted to the SEARCH program based on mental ability, creativity, achievement, and motivation. "For motivation we average the grades of the students for two years" (p. 8).

She does not believe that any teacher could get into the SEARCH program. "I wouldn't think so" (p. 9). She explained, "I think it takes, uh, a particular type of person to meet a SEARCH student's needs" (p. 9). She did not know if any teacher could get into the magnet program. When asked if any teacher could get into the residential program, she replied with a succinct "Yes" (p. 9). Conversely, she does not believe that any student could get into the SEARCH and/or magnet programs. However, she does believe that any student could get into the residential program.

When asked if every teacher should teach in a SEARCH classroom, Ms. Wade responded, "Apprenticing in one might be advantageous"

(p. 9). According to Ms. Wade, not every teacher should teach in a magnet classroom. The ones who do "should be academically gifted" (p. 10). Likewise, not every teacher should teach in a residential classroom. "The residential students have special needs just as the SEARCH students have special needs and I think people trained in meeting their needs, uh, should be hired to help them" (p. 10). Lastly, not every student should be in a SEARCH, magnet, or residential classroom.

According to Ms. Wade, some teachers are in the SEARCH and magnet programs because "they enjoy working with academically 'gifted' students" (p. 10). Others are not because "you're under the gun all the time from administration, faculty, parents, students....You're being watched and you have to perform" (p. 10). Additionally, she stated:

> Many residential teachers tell me that they would never teach in the SEARCH program because they don't like the type of students that they perceive the SEARCH kids to be and they don't want to deal with the parents who can be very difficult. (p. 10)

Some teachers are in the residential program because they are "dedicated,... understand the techniques of instructing students who need assistance, and...are happy to do it....It's not an unhappy thing" (p. 10). Others are not because "it's very, very hard....You only get small rewards" (p. 10). Lastly, some students are in the SEARCH and magnet programs because they are "identified 'gifted' students" (p. 11). Others are not because "they didn't score at the correct percentile on their test" (p. 11). Some students are in the residential program because "this is their neighborhood" (p. 11). Others are not "because their scores are too high to be in the residential program and they qualify for the magnet program" (p. 11).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being a Teacher Of Children Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Ms. Wade initially said that she likes being called a teacher of the "gifted" children. "I do [because] it's fun" (pp. 11-12). She explained, "I think people might perceive you as being, uh, 'gifted' yourself, even if you're not" (p. 12). She also told me that she disliked being called a teacher of the "gifted." She explained:

> Elitism....I'm very intuitive and I could pick up on the fact that they [people] thought I was being a braggart...so I stopped saying it. I do it in my job setting because, uh, of course I'm required to, but I don't in a social setting. (p. 12)

According to Ms. Wade, being called a teacher of the "gifted" has the following benefits: Working with "charming [and] precocious children....is a challenge everyday. It's not boring....Right before I'm getting ready to retire it's kind of like icing on the cake" (p. 12). Conversely, according to Ms. Wade, being called a teacher of the "gifted" has the following drawbacks: "It's hard work....I have a lot of outside preparation and research" (pp. 12-13). Worst of all, however, are the parents. "You've got to be a good communicator....That's...been hard for me because it takes a lot of time....Also, they [SEARCH parents] just expect their children to be...singled out and to be given elitist treatment" (p. 13). She offered the following example:

> A parent met with the counselor and me and said, uh, "My daughter will be in SEARCH"...and I said, "I'm sorry. The scores aren't there." So we went back and my supervisor found an embedded score in some subtest which we used and that's perfectly legal...but I didn't like the fact that someone comes in and demands this for their child....I think the parent concerns that I have [are] because I'm very sensitive. (p. 13)

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Regarding the reactions of others to her being a SEARCH teacher at Fagan, Ms. Wade stated: Her friends are happy for her and think that she is "lucky...to work with such smart children" (p. 13). Family members are "proud of me" (p. 14) and colleagues tell her that they have no desire to work with SEARCH children. Ms. Wade told me that family and friends do not treat her differently because she is a SEARCH teacher but colleagues do. "They feel because I don't have a regular class all day long that my lot is easier than theirs" (p. 14).

According to Ms. Wade, other teachers who are SEARCH or magnet teachers feel "happy" (p. 14). She did not know how other teachers felt about being residential teachers. Lastly, she did not know how other teachers felt about not being SEARCH, magnet, or residential teachers.

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Ms. Wade believes that she is "gifted" because "I just know a lot of stuff and sometimes it's hard for me to communicate with other people" (p. 15). Contradictorily, she stated, "I am very articulate" (p. 15). She offered a conditional response when asked if she believes that she is a "gifted" teacher. "Maybe. I would have to let somebody else say that....I have received 'superiors' every year on my evaluation" (p. 15). Further, she believes that one needs to be "gifted" to teach in a SEARCH, magnet, and/or residential setting. She prefers the SEARCH setting for herself "because I enjoy the academic challenge" (p. 16).

Photo Exercise: Ms. Wade observed that all classes are fourth grade children, they are all attentive and "trying to look their best for the photographer" (p. 16), they are all working hard, and all have academic objectives and goals. They are different because in the SEARCH classes the students are involved in "chess, pottery, crafts, drawing, discussion" (p. 16). She

noted that the magnet children are sitting at their desks doing a worksheet or engaging in art or science activities.The residential classroom students are sitting at their desks...with their heads leaning on their hands copying out of a book" (p. 16). Further, [in the residential classes] "there's more pencil and paper work, um, there's more structure, there aren't as many opportunities to engage in enrichment activities" (p. 17). Lastly, according to Ms. Wade, curriculum goals and objectives are reached differently in all three settings and methodology "varies from classroom to classroom" (p. 18).

Ms. Wade states that she got into her own setting "from a lot of hard work" (p. 18). She then repeated that the SEARCH position became available when she was teaching first grade. She asked the principal if she could assume this position. "She [principal] said, 'Yes,' and I've been here for five years" (p. 18). Within her setting, Ms. Wade states that she tries to provide a classroom climate wherein her students may enjoy "having fun being a kid and [knowing that] it's okay to be 'gifted.' I'm not that different....I'm accepted" (p. 20).

Group Perspectives of Teachers of Fourth-Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted" (i. e., Magnet and SEARCH Teachers)

Preliminaries: The fourth-grade teachers of the three girl respondents in the magnet program and the two girl respondents in the SEARCH program were interviewed. Interviews were conducted at school in the media center, in one teacher's classroom, and at one teacher's apartment. All of the teachers are female. Two are Anglo-American. One is African-American. All hold advanced degrees and all are certified to work with "gifted" children. All were cooperative and talkative--yet at times seemingly apprehensive--respondents. For example, the SEARCH teacher requested several times that I turn off the tape recorder so she could speak "off the record" and one of the

magnet teachers told me that she is oftentimes afraid to speak out. "I don't want to feel like I'm stirring up anything." None of the teachers offered any verbal response to my reasons for conducting the study.

"Grand Tour": All initial responses were positive but varied (e. g., "exciting," "interesting"). One teacher offered her reasons for choosing the profession. "I...enjoy working with children and...helping them...grow and learn."

Global questions regarding their levels of involvement at Fagan elicited further discussion of their initial comments. Additionally, three concerns emerged: paperwork ("time-consuming"), parents ("very demanding"), and the stereotyping of children labeled "gifted." One teacher told me that she knows, for example, that most academically "gifted" children are also socially and emotionally "gifted." Most people, however, believe that the opposite is true.

Specific Levels of Involvement: All three teachers described classroom practices. The SEARCH teacher discussed the "enriched" curriculum offered to her students which is threefold: enrichment of the state curriculum, Core Knowledge enrichment, and "my own personal enrichment from my own interests." Both magnet teachers told me that their students engage in participatory learning and group work. Activities such as research, games, projects, and creative expression are varied, fast-paced, and hierarchical. All emphasize "higher levels of thinking." Additionally, Ms. Holt told of her "good rapport" with her students. "We have a good time. We have fun." Ms. Harris outlined her morning work with her students which involves preparation for the ITBS test, "higher level activities," and remediation if necessary.

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: In addition to the previously described classroom practices, Ms. Holt added several others: Accelerated Reader tests, team teaching, and daily Spanish instruction. According to all three teachers, their "gifted" students are busy and engaged in

various extracurricular activities (e. g., team sports, church activities). Many have caring, involved parents, and many come from "very happy homes." However, two of the teachers stated that they also have students who struggle with personal and family problems (e. g., obesity, divorce, death, financial stress). When asked how they knew these things, two of the teachers said they found out through communication with the children and their parents. Conversely, one teacher said that she had noticed that troubled children are generally reticent about their families. Other "red flags" for her are indifferent and hard-to-contact parents.

Compare and Contrast: When discussing how they got to be teachers of the "gifted," responses varied. Ms. Wade stated that she asked her principal if she could have the SEARCH position. "She [the principal] said, 'yes,' and so I was hired." Ms. Holt said that she interviewed for her position and Ms. Harris stated that she "had to do extensive training." Favorite subjects to teach also varied: language arts (Ms. Harris), health (Ms. Holt), and creative writing (Ms. Wade). Least favorite subjects to teach for the magnet teachers are math and science. "I never was good at math....I despise to grade math papers....You know science can be, I would think, a boy thing." The SEARCH teacher could not think of any subject that she dislikes teaching.

In comparing the magnet and SEARCH curricula, one of the teachers discussed methodological practices. The others discussed the shared Core Knowledge objectives and the emphasis on projects, newspaper studies, and writing. When contrasting the magnet and SEARCH curricula, one of the teachers continued to discuss methodology. The others focused on the SEARCH program wherein Core Knowledge objectives are taken "to a much higher level" and more enrichment is offered (e. g., Greek mythology). According to the teachers, the curricula for the "gifted" and the residential curricula are alike

because several of the "topics are the same." Further, according to Ms. Harris, "we have objectives that we both have to meet." Differences are hierarchical and categorical. For example, according to one teacher, "We're working with higher level thinking skills like problem solving,...making decisions." Another said, "Residential classes...do that but not on the same level [or] depth." Lastly, the SEARCH teacher said, "They [residential teachers] don't take it to the level I do." She explained, "We did a unit on Shakespeare and quite a bit was required of them [the SEARCH students] and I don't think that it could be done in the regular classroom without making some students feel uncomfortable."

Responses varied when comparing the magnet and SEARCH methodologies. "We expose them ["gifted"] students to a variety of activities,...we all lecture,...[and] there are more paper and pencil activities." One teacher described how she and other teachers of the "gifted" encourage their students to become independent thinkers. When contrasting magnet and SEARCH methodologies, two of the teachers responded that the magnet classes are more structured. Another said, "Our guidelines are different." She explained that she is responsible for teaching objectives in every subject area. The SEARCH teacher is not restricted by mandated objectives and is able to focus on selected "higher level" activities. "They don't have textbooks or anything." Lastly, she stated:

> I know that a lot of times when you're doing those kinds of things you are covering some of the same objectives but it's ...just different....Sometimes I don't even get to those other things that I love to do because I am so worried about getting those objectives done.

When comparing methodologies for the "gifted" and methodologies for the residential students, two of the teachers initially stated that they were unfamiliar with methodologies used in the residential classes. Upon reflection, however,

one of them said, "I guess the lecture, the pencil and paper activities would be two blaring similarities." Another teacher noted that practice and evaluation procedures are similar. "We have to test them and if they don't master it we have to retest." Conversely, according to the teachers, many differences exist between the two and most have to do with a hierarchical program design and the activities involved. The SEARCH and magnet teachers use "higher order thinking skills." Activities for the "gifted" are described as more enriched, accelerated, challenging, creative, project-oriented, and competitive than those offered in the residential classes. Lastly, according to one teacher, the classes for the "gifted" are "more student oriented [and the residential classes] are more teacher oriented where the teacher stands and lectures."

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": All responses differed when defining the term "gifted." According to Ms. Wade, "gifted" means "special abilities in many areas." According to Mrs. Harris, it means the ability to "excel." Ms. Holt believes that it means "to think outside the box,...globally." Interestingly, the two magnet teachers expressed dissatisfaction with the term. Ms. Holt stated, "Sometimes I don't really know if I like that term....I think every child is 'gifted' in some area. Maybe 'academically talented' might be a better term." According to Ms. Harris, "every child is 'gifted' to some extent." She offered the following example:

> I have a child that is weak in reading but this child...can converse with you. She can express herself...but then when you look at her reading and her math grades you're saying, "What is she doing in this class?" and some folks have said to me, "Well, why is she here?"

When comparing themselves to the other teachers at Fagan, two of the teachers discussed their concern for the children and their performance--

now and in the future. Additionally, one said, "We're all under a bit of stress [to] perform well on state tests." Another initially stated that she didn't know how she is like the other teachers at Fagan. Upon reflection, she said that "we listen to music a lot in the classroom." When contrasting themselves to the other teachers at Fagan, responses were mixed. The SEARCH teacher said that she is able to bring in more enriching activities into her classroom because she has "been blessed with many advantages in my life." One teacher said that she doesn't "cater to the parents...[and] I like to have fun with the kids....Sometimes I act crazy." Lastly, another said that she was different for several reasons. First, she puts in longer hours. "I look around and I'm sometimes one of the only ones here." Secondly, she is reluctant to speak out in a group. "I don't always talk out....I'm not maybe aggressive enough....I sometimes just sort of keep them [feelings] in." Third, she believes that she gets "upset sometimes about some things maybe that some other folks maybe don't even think about" (p. 10). She offered the following example:

> If I know that I didn't get a chance to do something and I knew I was supposed to do it, I mean I worry about it....I know that I'm going to be written up....This will be kept in your file saying you didn't turn it in....or it was done incorrectly....I realize that there are some things that you have to do [for the administration] but I mean it seems like it's too much of that kind of thing. And sometimes I feel like we start one thing and we have to stop and do something else....We can't give one thing a chance to really work before someone comes in and says, "No, we're not going to do it this way. Do it this way." And that can become very frustrating. That's the kind of thing I dislike about education....You don't have a lot of input....You've gotta do that regardless of whether you agree with it or not.

In comparing their students to the other students at Fagan, all teachers discussed two global similarities: similar maturation levels (i. e., social development) and the desire to learn. Responses varied when discussing differences. One teacher said that her students feel that she is approachable. "My kids know that they can come to me if they have any problems....They know they can cut up with me....I feel like they're my own kids." Another told me that her students' learning preferences are different from those of other students. Specifically, they prefer "more hands-on, more challenging kinds of activities" while others prefer "traditional, more structure." Lastly, the SEARCH teacher stated that her students are different from other students for three reasons. First, they [SEARCH students] have more prior knowledge. Second, some of her students are "severely and profoundly 'gifted'" and require private tutoring. Third, her students need to learn that their label also means a special interaction with others (i. e., residential students). She explained:

> It's unspoken. My SEARCH children know that when residential students come in they are to go out of their way to be gracious and helpful, because I tell my students--my 'gifted' students--that with your 'giftedness' comes responsibility....
>
> They [residential students] love to come to my room. I let them do whatever the SEARCH kids are doing and they're very grateful and happy and they ask me how they can get in SEARCH....They love the computer and the software products that I have....I have chess games set up and a lot of our residential kids come in and know how to play chess. They love my games, they love my art area, and they like "Harry Potter" books....They love to come in here because of all the little gadgets and things. I also think they like the freedom that's there. (p. 6)

All responses were negative when discussing what it means to be a teacher in the magnet and/or SEARCH program. "There is a lot of pressure....It's a challenge....I feel like I'm always under the microscope....The parents are definitely a challenge....The 'gifted' parents are very demanding....You're pulled in twenty-nine different ways....You have to be on your P's and Q's...What a stress." When asked what it means to be a teacher in the residential program, the SEARCH teacher's initial response was "very hard." She explained that residential students often bring problems with them into the classroom and "these have to be solved. Uh, they [residential teachers] are working with average to basic students." Both magnet teachers focused on methodology. Specifically, residential teachers spend more time on basic skills, review, and drill work.

When discussing what it means to be a student in the program for the "gifted" at Fagan, responses focused on learning disabilities, work expectations, and moral responsibility. For example, Ms. Wade stated, "Last year I had a magnificent boy who was so 'gifted' artistically, musically, theatrically, but he could not read." According to the magnet teachers, the "gifted" need to come prepared to work hard and work independently. Also, according to Ms. Harris, "They shouldn't think that they're better but they should carry themselves in such a way that others will strive to become a magnet student." When asked what it means to be a student in the residential program, responses focused on special needs and academic goals. Ms. Wade stated, "Unfortunately, many special ed [education] students are in residential classrooms." According to the magnet teachers, residential students need to come to school prepared to do one's best and to strive to be a magnet student.

When comparing the magnet and SEARCH programs, responses were hierarchical and content-based. The SEARCH teacher said, "We work with

identified 'gifted' students. We try to offer higher order thinking skills." According to the magnet teachers, their students are involved in decision-making, group work, creative projects, research, and there are more connections to the art domain. When contrasting the magnet and SEARCH programs, once again the responses were hierarchical and content-based. "They [those involved in the SEARCH program] probably take things a little further than we do in the classroom." Further, the magnet program focuses on the QCC objectives and enrichment whereas the SEARCH program is more "fun," not as structured, and focuses on enrichment such as the Odyssey of the Mind competition. According to the teachers, the programs for the "gifted" and the residential program are alike because both have learning objectives and goals and similar methods and materials are used "to reach these goals." They are different because "we [in the programs for the "gifted"] can move to advanced objectives/enhancements." The residential classes are more structured and much more time is spent on review and rote drill.

According to the SEARCH and magnet teachers, students are admitted to the magnet program based on performance test scores and behavior. SEARCH criteria also include motivation and tests of ability and creativity. The teachers were unfamiliar with admission requirements for residential students. One said, "There's really no requirement." Another said, "I really don't know."

All teachers believe that not any teacher could get into the program for the "gifted" at Fagan. According to Ms. Harris, "they have to be trained and willing to work with children that are bright....They have to know that there are certain changes that they would have to make whereas in the residential class they wouldn't be concerned with those kinds of changes." She explained:

> I like structure. I like quietness. I like the kids to come in and sit quiet and work....After working with these children ["gifted"] I know that they like to express themselves....You have to involve them in higher level thinking skills that's gonna keep them interested.

When asked if any teacher could get into the residential program, the SEARCH teacher replied with a succinct "Yes." Both magnet teachers replied, "No." According to Ms. Holt, there are those teachers who are are "enthusiastic [and] relate well to the children." On the other hand, those who do not "are cold, actually cold to the children....They don't treat the children like they're humans." Lastly, according the the teachers, not any child could get into the programs for the "gifted." According to one teacher, it is "because of testing, plain and simple." However, all believe that any child can get into the residential program "automatically."

All teachers replied negatively when asked if every teacher should teach in a program for the "gifted." Ms. Wade did suggest that "apprenticing in one [setting for the "gifted"] might be advantageous." Likewise, not every teacher should teach in a residential classroom. According to Ms. Holt, "There again it takes a special teacher....You see a lot of behavior problems in residential classes....There are different ways to be special." Lastly, not every student should be in a program for the "gifted" or in the residential program. According to Ms. Harris, some students are not as advanced as others, some students are unable to move at a fast pace and/or grasp skills quickly, and some are not "self-motivated" and hence are unable to work "with the facilitator."

When discussing why some teachers are in a program for the "gifted," two of the teachers responded that some teachers enjoy working with "gifted" children. Further, according to Ms. Holt, it is an "honor" to be "chosen" to work with the "gifted." She said, "I was very scared....I heard so much about

parents 'til I was just like terrified....It's kinda like you're on display...but I guess I felt, um, honored, flattered...I was chosen." Another teacher's response was hierarchical. She stated that some teachers work with the "gifted" because they "want to move at a faster pace...and to a higher level...[and] take them [students] to new heights." Some teachers are not in programs for the "gifted" because of choice and the inability to handle pressures imposed upon them by others. Ms. Wade explains: "You're under the gun all the time from administration, faculty, parents, students....You're being watched and you have to perform." When asked why some teachers are in the residential program, responses were mixed. They are "dedicated,...special." One magnet teacher said, "Maybe it's the only job they could get." Some teachers are not in the residential program because of choice and because "it's very, very hard....You only get small rewards." Lastly, some students are in programs for the "gifted" because of testing. They are "identified 'gifted' students." Others are not because of testing and as one magnet teacher explained, because "every child doesn't possess the capabilities, or have an extra special, um, 'gift'." Some students are in the residential program because they live in the neighborhood. Others are not because "they're tested and qualify for the magnet program."

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being a Teacher of Children Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Responses varied when asked if they liked being called teachers of the "gifted." Ms. Harris replied affirmatively. Ms. Wade had mixed feelings. "I do [because] it's fun." When asked to explain, she said, "I think people might perceive you as being, uh, 'gifted' yourself, even if you're not." She also told me that she disliked being called a teacher of the "gifted." She explained:

> Elitism....I'm very intuitive and I could pick up on the fact that they [people] thought I was being a braggart...so I stopped saying it.

> I do it in my job setting because, uh, of course I'm required to, but I don't in a social setting.

Ms. Holt said, "I don't have a feeling one way or the other on that....I'm just a teacher."

According to the teachers, being called a teacher of the "gifted" has benefits. All told me that they enjoyed working with "gifted" students. Two of the teachers said that they also enjoyed the "challenge." Conversely, being called a teacher of the "gifted" has several drawbacks. All described the extra planning involved and their frustrations with parents. Ms. Harris also described her struggles with the administration. She stated:

> They [administrators] sometimes want to come in and change your rules....It's always your fault the child made this score....Sometimes the parents...think their child can't do any wrong....I mean they will get bent out of shape in a hurry....If they can't get their way in a lot of cases they'll go to 208 Bull Street [Board of Education] and that's a threat....I don't like that because I feel like I'm an educator, I'm professional.

Effect of the label "Gifted": Regarding reactions from others to their being teachers of the "gifted," responses were mixed. Ms. Holt told me that her friends, family, and colleagues are indifferent regarding her position as a teacher. Ms. Wade states that her friends believe that she is fortunate to work with the "gifted." Ms. Harris states that her friends believe that she is doing a good job but don't envy her. They tell her, "I don't know how you can put up with it [discipline problems]." Ms. Wade said that family members are "proud of me." Ms. Harris said that her family sees her position as a status symbol or a "promotion." Regarding colleagues, Ms. Wade states that they tell her that they have no desire to work with the "gifted," and Ms. Harris states that she is

shunned by colleagues because she does. They tell her, "Oh, you're with those bright children....You just go on your own." When asked if others treat them differently because they are teachers of the "gifted," all replied that family and friends do not treat them differently. Two of the teachers said that colleagues do treat them differently. In addition to the reactions mentioned above, Ms. Wade stated, "They feel because I don't have a regular class all day long that my lot is easier than theirs."

According to the SEARCH teacher, other teachers of the "gifted" and "non-gifted" feel "happy." She states that she does not know how other teachers feel about not being teachers of the "gifted" or residential teachers. According to the magnet teachers, other magnet teachers have negative feelings regarding their position (i. e., work load and the "parent situation"). Others who are not magnet teachers are satisfied with their present positions and according to Ms. Harris, some tell her they "could not be a magnet teacher" because of discipline issues and parents who try to control the classroom. According to the magnet teachers, SEARCH teachers feel positive regarding their position. According to Ms. Harris, theirs is "a great reward area to work in because they are not bound to objectives....The sky's the limit." Others who are not SEARCH teachers have chosen not to be. Ms. Harris explains: [It is not because] "they're not capable. They may not just like that area well enough to be able to go....steps above the other teachers...[and] keep your wheels turning." Regarding the feelings of residential teachers, Ms. Holt stated that they "would prefer to be magnet teachers." Ms. Harris stated that they "love what they're doing." Regarding the feelings of those who are not residential teachers, Ms. Holt said, "Some of them are probably glad....I don't know why teachers would want to teach in a residential class." Ms. Harris said, "I'm not saying anything negative. I'm saying they [residential teachers] are able to do whatever it is they need to do

and the parents are not coming on them and they're not getting any problems from administration."

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Ms. Wade sees herself as "gifted" because "I just know a lot of stuff and sometimes it's hard for me to communicate with other people." The two magnet teachers see themselves as "gifted" in certain areas. Ms. Harris states that she is "gifted' in language and Ms. Holt states that she is "gifted" in athletics and in her communications with children. When asked if they are "gifted" teachers, the SEARCH teacher responded conditionally. She said, "Maybe. I would have to let somebody else say that....I have received 'superiors' every year on my evaluation." The magnet teachers responded that they are "gifted" teachers. Ms. Holt said, "I think God gave me a 'gift' to teach." With one exception, the teachers believe that one has to be "gifted" to teach in any setting. Ms. Harris believes that the degree of "giftedness" required depends on one's position. She stated that one does not have to be "gifted" to teach in the residential program and one does not need to be "totally 'gifted'" to teach in the magnet program. However, regarding the SEARCH program, she said, "I think you would have to have more characteristics than any other teacher." When asked which setting they prefer for themselves, with one exception, all the teachers stated that they liked their current placement. One of the magnet teachers (Ms. Holt), however, told me that she would also consider placement in a residential classroom. "I do know how to deal with behavior and classroom management."

Photo Exercise: All of the teachers remarked that the children in the six classes are working, interested in their work, and attentive. Two of the teachers noticed that the teachers are interacting with the students. When telling how the classes are different, the teachers discussed class structure and activities--all hierarchically arranged. The SEARCH classes are student

centered and the children are involved in creative "fun" activities which, according to Ms. Harris, focus on "higher level thinking skills." The magnet children are sitting at their desks doing a worksheet or engaging in art or science activities. The residential classes are more structured and teacher centered. The children are sitting at their desks...with their heads leaning on their hands copying out of a book." Lastly, one teacher noticed that there are more minority children in the residential classes.

Responses were mixed when comparing the curricula in all settings. Ms. Wade simply said that curriculum goals and objectives are not alike and are reached differently in all settings. Ms. Harris continued to focus on methodology. Ms. Holt said that all settings have learning objectives and "we do the paper-pencil thing [and] textbooks are used." Regarding similarities in methodology, once again Ms. Wade simply said that methodology "varies from classroom to classroom." The magnet teachers discussed the teacher's role as guide and facilitator. For example, Ms. Holt said, "You try to involve the students as much as possible in their learning and try to figure out ways to teach them in their own way." Regarding differences in methodology, the magnet teachers discussed class structure and teacher involvement. Methodology in the SEARCH classes is more creative and "innovative." According to Ms. Harris, the SEARCH children seem to be "working on a very advanced level" whereas in the magnet and residential classes methodology is more structured. The teachers seem to be "explaining or reteaching."

All of the teachers repeated their earlier statements regarding their entry into the program. Ms. Wade told of asking her principal if she could assume the position, Ms. Harris described her extensive training, and Ms. Holt recounted her application and interview process. All said that they were in their respective settings because they love teaching and enjoy working with children. Lastly, all

described their frustrations with the system. Ms. Wade states that she struggles to provide a classroom climate wherein her students may enjoy "having fun being a kid and [knowing that] it's okay to be 'gifted.' I'm not that different....I'm accepted." Ms. Holt struggles with paperwork. She said, "I don't have enough time to teach." Ms. Harris said, "You give, give, give, give and you know there's no let up. You're constantly giving and giving and giving but you know it's all worth it....The child is who is going to benefit."

Individual Perspectives of Teachers of Fourth-Grade Girls Not Labeled "Gifted" (i. e., Residential Teachers)

Ms. Dunn:

Preliminaries: The interviews with Ms. Dunn were conducted at school in the media center. Ms. Dunn is African-American. She is the youngest of seven children, a widow, and has one grown son. She lives with--and cares for--her mother who is an invalid. Ms. Dunn has wanted to be a teacher since she was in elementary school. "That's when I decided that I wanted to be a teacher because, um, some of the teachers that I came up under they were so impressive they were like role models" (p. 32).

She has been at Fagan for eighteen years. Twelve of those years she has been a residential fourth-grade teacher. She has also taught residential third and fifth grade classes and for one year was a magnet fourth-grade teacher. "That was interesting. I enjoyed it" (p. 26). At that time, she was working on her master's degree. She did not hold the required certification in education for the "gifted" so "I came out" (p. 26) of the magnet program.

Ms. Dunn also serves as a Title I reading and math specialist. According to Ms. Dunn, Title I is a "federally funded program that helps children that are below average or below grade level to improve in some of the skills and

concepts that they need help with" (p. 3). Interestingly, Ms. Blake (a fourth-grade residential teacher at Fagan and a respondent in this study) was her student teacher. Ms. Dunn was a cooperative and talkative respondent.

"Grand Tour": Ms. Dunn's initial responses were positive. "I enjoy being a teacher....Teaching has been rewarding for me" (p. 1). She especially enjoys "simply talking to the children [and]...seeing little faces light up in the classroom" (p. 1).

Global questions regarding Ms. Dunn's level of involvement at Fagan elicited a chronology of her tenure there and her preference for teaching fourth-grade. She has taught third, fourth, and fifth grades at Fagan. Fourth-graders "still want to be babied...and I like some of the things that we do in fourth grade that we do not do in third grade and we don't do in fifth" (p. 1).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Ms. Dunn began by describing her instructional routine in great detail. She greets her students at the door each day. They unpack and begin their morning work while "I'm sitting at my desk/table watching them" (p. 1). Next are morning announcements, roll call, lunch report, etc. This is followed by spelling, English, reading, [and] " writing persuasive stories, writing in our journals" (p. 2), vocabulary work, social studies, and science. "After lunch is our play time" (p. 3) then CAMPS (an acronym for computer lab, art, music, p. e., science lab). At this time the children go to various resource areas and "all the fourth grade teachers get together...to discuss things...or to just share things with each other" (p. 3). Sometimes the SEARCH teacher is invited to these meetings. "She's always willing to come in and help out, to give her opinion about something, or to just share materials" (p. 4). After CAMPS is math. Additionally, every week she has Fabulous Friday or Lollipop Friday. "That's where the children get to work at different stations for about fifteen minutes" (p. 2).

Ms. Dunn told me that many of her students are functioning below grade level and hence are heavily involved in the Chapter I program. "I don't give up on them. I keep trying to do skills or some type of strategy that will help them be successful" (p. 4). Some are on medication. Others have been labeled SLD (specific learning disability) students. She works "closely with the SLD teacher to somehow still give them [SLD students] the objectives that fourth-graders are supposed to get, but modify it to a certain extent" (p. 4). Additionally, "practicum students from different colleges and universities" (p.5) and her paraprofessional "pull these children aside or in the back of the classroom, maybe sometimes in the hall, to work with them" (p. 5). Ms. Dunn also uses peer tutoring. "Sometimes children can explain something to their peers a little better than the teacher" (p. 5). Lastly, there are students in her class with social and emotional problems. She described one boy who is an isolate "and his mother says he's the same way at home" (p. 8). Another--a girl--has behavior problems.

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: According to Ms. Dunn, her students participate in many activities at school. In addition to their academic endeavors, some are involved in the Honor Society, the Science Club, St. Jude's Math-a-Thon, Jump Rope for Heart, and school chorus. Others have been chosen as classroom helpers and as assistants to the p. e. teacher on Field Day. Also, "I have children that will go to the office sometimes and recite the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag in front of the entire school" (p. 7).

Ms. Dunn states that she has "a pretty good knowledge or understanding for what's going on in most of the homes" (p. 6). She knows that some of her students live with grandparents and some "live in a home with a mother only. I have a few that live with both parents" (p. 6). Most have siblings. A lot of her students attend an afternoon tutorial called the Deacons Program. Ms. Dunn states that it is not sponsored by the Board of Education but is housed in

one of the middle schools. There, the children are given snacks and receive help with their homework. Following completion of their homework they may participate in supervised enrichment and/or recreational activities. They are also tutored and counseled if necessary. When asked how she knew these things, Ms. Dunn said that she examines her students' permanent records and Data Forwarding Cards, talks with the children and their parents, and makes home visits.

Compare and Contrast: Ms. Dunn became a residential teacher by choice. She stated that when Fagan became a magnet school, the new principal allowed her to choose her placement--magnet or nonmagnet. "We didn't call it residential then. It was magnet or nonmagnet so since I was already in the nonmagnet program I decided to stay" (p. 26).

Ms. Dunn initially stated, "I really don't have a favorite" (p. 9) [subject to teach]. She then said that she liked language arts because she can "be a lot more creative" (p. 9) and integrate language arts skills with other areas. Also, since the language arts block is the longest instructional block "I can get a lot more covered" (p. 10). Her least favorite subject to teach is science. "I have no question about that" (p. 10). She explained that she did not have the materials and equipment to teach the concepts properly. Also, "I need to maybe take more science workshops" (p. 11) so she won't be so dependent on the textbook for ideas.

According to Ms. Dunn, the residential and magnet curricula are alike "because we have to teach the same objectives....Basically,...the curriculum is the same" (p. 11). They are different because "they [magnet teachers] move at a faster pace. They are able to use a lot of different type of enrichment activities....I have to mostly stick with the basics" (p. 11). When asked how the residential and SEARCH curricula are alike, Ms. Dunn only discussed their

differences. The SEARCH curriculum is more varied, there are "more advanced type lessons" (p.12), and the students are able to move at a faster pace.

According to Ms. Dunn, the residential and magnet methodologies are alike because "we do similar things, for example, like I said, reading of the novels" (p. 12). They are different because the magnet teachers and students move at a faster pace. "Wherein a magnet teacher might be able to cover two novels in a marking period, I just cannot do that" (p. 12). Residential and SEARCH methodologies are alike because some of the activities are the same. "We may have different styles of doing it but I feel like basically we're doing the same thing" (p. 13). They are different because of the experiential differences between her students and the SEARCH students:

> They [residential students] don't get to do things. [For example], I had to bring my children to the library here at school to do research for their science project because their parents don't have the time to take them to the regular library [or] to get the materials that they need in order to be successful....They do not have the means...or I would say transportation. (pp. 14-15)

In contrast, most of the SEARCH students' parents are involved in their children's learning and many of these children also have computers at home.

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": According to Ms. Dunn "gifted" means having "a special talent to do something a little better than somebody else" (p. 16). Further, she also believes that individuals are "gifted" in different areas: book knowledge, art, music, communication. She then stated, "I have some 'gifted' children in my classroom....When a child can get another child to understand, that's a 'gift,' a good 'gift' too" (p. 16).

When comparing herself to the other teachers at Fagan, Ms. Dunn offered many descriptors:

> We work hard. We care....I have seen teachers here be friends, mothers, the nurse....Our main purpose is to help them [students] to be successful citizens....We work beyond the hours of the school day....The teachers here at Fagan are always trying to find more ways in which they can help their children by attending conferences, bringing in different people from the community to enlighten us. (pp. 16-17)

Additionally, according to Ms. Dunn she and the other teachers at Fagan attend workshops, are receptive to new ideas, share ideas and materials, and "help out around the school" (p. 17). Regarding differences between herself and the other teachers, she initially said that she could not think of any. When pressed, she said that sometimes she has to work harder than the others. "I find myself going back to the drawing board, trying to find ways of doing the same thing a different way in order for the children to achieve" (p. 18).

Her students are like the other students in the school because they "are eager to learn,...they want to do well. They want to please their teachers and their parents....I always have children that are willing to participate in everything in school" (p. 18). They are different because some of her students take "a lot longer to catch on to different ideas or strategies....[and] some of the other children's ability level may be a little higher" (p. 18).

When discussing what it means to be a residential teacher, Ms. Dunn stated, "As far as being classified as a residential teacher or magnet teacher, SEARCH teacher or whatever, I don't see too much of a difference in it. A teacher is a teacher" (p. 19). The SEARCH teacher "works with a particular group of children and, um, these children are supposed to have a higher ability level" (p. 20). When asked what it means to be a residential student, Ms. Dunn stated:

> In order to get a clear answer to that question you would have to ask a student....I don't try to put labels on children, you know. I don't even use the term in my classroom--you're a residential student, you know. A student is a student. (p. 21)

Regarding the students in the magnet program, Ms. Dunn repeated, "To get a clear picture or a better answer you would probably have to ask those students" (p. 22). When pressed, she said, "Maybe what it means to them is being able to make high scores on tests" (p. 22). When asked what it means to be a student in the SEARCH program, she said:

> I'm quite sure they [SEARCH students] are aware of the qualifications or the criteria that, um, they have to have in order to be in these particular programs so I'm sure it makes them feel very good about themselves or it makes them want to work a little harder to achieve more. (p. 22)

According to Ms. Dunn, the residential and SEARCH programs are alike because "we are all for the same purpose--trying to get children to achieve, trying to take them to a higher level....Even in the residential class that's what we're trying to do" (p. 22). They are different because in the SEARCH program there are "higher level materials [and]....they just maybe present things differently or do different activities" (p. 23). This "allows for them to be a little more flexible" (p. 23). The residential and magnet programs are alike for several reasons: Both "work with a selected group of children based on certain criteria" (p. 24). Further, both programs "use the same textbooks, um, we work with the same objectives,um, we share some of the same materials,...we do some of the same activities, we interact...on field trips....[and] in certain subject areas" (p. 25). They are also different for several reasons: Residential children live near the school whereas most magnet children do not. Magnet children have Spanish

every day and the residential children do not. "We are supposed to interact with the magnet children [for Spanish] but we're only allowed to send a certain number of children to that class" (p. 24). Lastly, "residential classes have to stick to the basics" (p. 25).

According to Ms. Dunn, students are admitted to the residential program "if they live in this district" (p. 27). Students are admitted to the SEARCH and magnet programs based on test scores. Teacher recommendations are also considered for prospective SEARCH students.

When asked if any teacher could get into the residential, SEARCH, or magnet program, Ms. Dunn replied, "Teachers should teach where they want to teach--residential, magnet, uh, SEARCH...because if a person is doing what they want to do I feel like they'll do a better job" (p. 27). According to Ms. Dunn, any student could get into the residential program "as long as they live in this school district" (p. 27). However, not any student could get into the SEARCH and magnet programs. "These children are tested and, um, they have to make a certain score" (p. 27).

Ms. Dunn believes that every teacher should teach in the residential program "at one time or another" (p. 28) and every teacher should teach in the SEARCH and magnet programs. "I think it would be a good experience" (p. 28). She also repeated that "every teacher should teach in a classroom where they want to teach" (p. 28).

According to Ms. Dunn, some teachers are teaching in the residential program because "they chose to do so" (p. 29). Others are not because "they chose not to do so" (p. 29) and/or they completed requirements for certification in education for the "gifted." Some teachers are teaching in the SEARCH program because they chose to do so and there was a position available. Others are not because there was not a position available. Some

teachers are teaching in the magnet program because they were chosen to do so and/or "because they cannot teach in the SEARCH [program]....Maybe they feel as though the magnet program is the next best" (p. 29). Lastly, some students are in the residential program "because they live in this area and this is the school that they're supposed to go to" (p. 31). Others are not because "they're in the magnet program" (p. 31). Some students are in the SEARCH program because they met the entrance testing criteria, they were recommended by their teachers, and they had permission from their parents to participate. Others are not because "they were not able to meet the qualifications...or the criteria" (p. 30). Some students are in the magnet program "because they have an interest in a particular program [and/or] certain test scores" (p. 30). Others are not because they are residential students and "they do not meet the criteria for being in the magnet program" (p. 30).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being a Teacher of Children Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Interestingly, when asked if she likes being called a residential teacher, Ms. Dunn responded, "It doesn't matter....I mean name and title or whatever doesn't bother me you know as long as you just don't rub me the wrong way" (p. 31). She explained, "Like I told you before, a teacher is a teacher" (p. 31).

According to Ms. Dunn, being called a residential teacher has the following benefit: "I'm helping little people" (p. 32). Conversely, being called a residential teacher has the following drawbacks: In contradiction to her previous statements, she is bothered by the labels. "It's not the children that are gung ho about the names....It's more of a parent thing you know, whether my child is in the magnet or whatever. These children are children" (p. 32). Secondly, she is resentful of the fact that when the magnets were created "some of the equipment and the materials that magnet teachers had, residential teachers could not use"

(p. 32). She added however, "It's not like that now....We share everything" (p. 33).

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Regarding the reactions of others to her being a residential teacher at Fagan, Ms. Dunn stated that her friends tell her that she is "doing an excellent job" (p. 33). They also ask her why she is not teaching in the magnet program. In response, she states, "Teaching is teaching to me regardless of where you're teaching or what you're teaching or what label you have" (p. 33). According to Ms. Dunn, family members are older. "I'm the youngest of seven children" (p. 34). Hence, most are unaware of the current structure of schooling "as to magnet and residential and regular" (p. 34) and most tell her, "You know you're doing a pretty good job" (p. 34). Colleagues "think I'm doing a pretty good job because I have heard some teachers say that--and I believe they mean it--'If I had a child I want my child in your class'" (p. 33). Lastly, others do not treat her differently because she is a residential teacher.

According to Ms. Dunn, residential teachers are "alright with it [their position] you know, because it's like I said, if they didn't they would try to get in some other area" (p. 36). Regarding the feelings of other teachers about not being a residential teacher, she said, "They may not be a residential teacher right now but they have been you know, at some time" (p. 36). SEARCH teachers "feel good about, um, being there....If you're in that position and you know what the criteria are, you know what you're supposed to be doing, you're gonna do that if you want to stay there" (p. 35). Regarding the feelings of other teachers about not being a SEARCH teacher, she said, "Everybody just doesn't want to be a SEARCH teacher you know" (p. 35). Magnet teachers "seem to like it [their position]" (p. 35). She then began discussing magnet students' behavior. "At one time...the magnet teachers didn't have that behavior problem....Now...magnet classes...have a behavior problem just like any other" (p. 35). Regarding the

feelings of other teachers about not being a magnet teacher, she said that "the teachers I talk with [are] alright with it...because like I said,...if they wanted to teach in the magnet program they have that choice" (p. 35).

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Ms. Dunn initially stated, "To a certain point I think, um, that I'm 'gifted'" (p. 36) and she sees herself as a "gifted" teacher. "If that child came into my classroom not knowing and they leave knowing, I have a 'gift' of some kind" (p. 36). She then changed her mind and stated that she was not "gifted." She explained, "I've seen some really 'gifted' people as far as knowledge is concerned and I don't feel like I'm 'gifted' in that way" (p. 37).

According to Ms. Dunn, one does not have to be "gifted" to teach in the residential program. She states:

> The only thing, um, that you really need to be is a hard worker, a willing worker, um, a person that is capable of doing their job, your job, and ready to work. You have to be flexible, you have to be creative, you have to be, um,...just a person with common knowledge and common sense. (p. 37)

However, one does need to be "gifted" to teach in the SEARCH and/or magnet program. They ["gifted" students] would need to be working with someone that is classified as that as well or have those type qualifications or qualities" (p. 38). Lastly, Ms. Dunn indicated that she could teach in either a magnet or residential setting:

> The magnet program... wasn't so much different from the residential class....If I...had to teach in the magnet program, um, it wouldn't be a problem to me because I feel like I'm a hard worker and I'm willing to accept, um, challenges....I like teaching residential children because that's a challenge as well. (pp. 39-40)

Conversely, she would not like to teach in the SEARCH program. "I'm not certified in it" (p. 39).

Photo Exercise: In comparing the six classes, Ms. Dunn offered the following descriptors: "They are all participating in an activity....They are really interested in whatever activity that they are working on....They are happy....They are working together....It seems to be a closeness in the classroom" (pp. 40-41). They are different because there are girls and boys in most of the classes. In one setting (hers), however, there are only girls pictured. Second, "in some of the classrooms there are black children and white children and in some of the pictures all the children are black" (p. 41). Third, the SEARCH "children seem to be, um, participating in some type of game" (p. 41). In the other classrooms they are "participating in some type of assignment and activity but it's not a game" (p. 41).

According to Ms. Dunn, the curriculum is alike in all six classes because "there are objectives, um, that must be taught on that particular grade level" (p. 42). Further, these objectives have to be presented to the students. According to Ms. Dunn, the curriculum is different in all six classes in several ways. First, the SEARCH teacher doesn't have to teach all of the objectives that we teach in the regular program or the magnet program" (p. 42). Second, "we do not use the same textbook" (p. 42). Third, the magnet students (including the SEARCH students) receive Spanish instruction every day. "We [magnet and residential] interact [but] I am only allowed to send five of my students into the magnet class to receive Spanish" (p. 43). According to Ms. Dunn, methodology is alike in all six classes in the following ways: First, all classes are allotted the same number of field trips. Second, all fourth-graders have a spelling test each week. Third, "they all do hands-on type things" (p. 45). Fourth, "the SEARCH teacher you know, she shares a lot of ideas and things with the magnet teachers

as well as the residential teachers" (p. 45). Fifth, in all classes one finds teaching/reteaching and testing/retesting. Sixth, all teachers "bring in other resources" (p. 46). Lastly, "we use novels in the fourth grade" (p. 47). According to Ms. Dunn, methodology is different because "we're using different, um, you know, strategies and techniques and ways to cover these objectives" (p. 44). Second, there are five or six computers in each magnet classroom. "I have three" (p. 46).

Ms. Dunn repeated that she got into her setting by choice. "I chose to stay in the residential program" (p. 48). Her reason for being here is "to help these boys and girls to become successful citizens in society" (p. 49). Further, "I feel good about it, um, especially, um, when I feel the majority of the students have accomplished what I set out to do" (p. 49).

Lastly, Ms. Dunn repeated that she has "gifted" students in her classroom. When asked why they are in a residential classroom, she responded:

> They have not met the test requirements....You have to have a certain test score average to be labeled "gifted" in our school. That's the bottom line...I do feel you know, like some of them, if they were able to meet that particular score could function, um, and be successful in the magnet program....Why they cannot make it I don't know. I really don't know. (pp. 51-52)

Ms. Blake:

Preliminaries: The interviews with Ms. Blake were conducted at school in a media center ante-room. Ms. Blake is African-American. She has never married and lives with her mother near the school. Before becoming a teacher she served as a social worker in inner city areas. Interestingly, she was a student teacher at Fagan and Ms. Dunn (a fourth-grade residential teacher at

Fagan and a respondent in this study) was her supervising teacher. She has been at Fagan for four years, one and a half years as a third-grade residential teacher and the last two and a half years as a fourth-grade residential teacher. Ms. Blake was a cooperative but at times seemingly apprehensive respondent.

"Grand Tour": Ms. Blake began by stating that life in general as a fourth-grade teacher "can be hectic" (p. 1) and she cited scheduling as an example. Conversely, she stated that "at times you can feel very good about being a teacher when you see the children are learning and especially mastering the objectives that they need to know" (p. 1).

Global questions regarding Ms. Blake's level of involvement at Fagan elicited further discussion of her initial comments. Being a fourth-grade teacher can be "challenging,...frustrating,...very stressful....when you have to meet certain deadlines [and] when you have certain behavior problems" (p. 1). Conversely, it "can be very fulfilling" (p. 1).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Ms. Blake began by describing her teaching strategies. She uses "a combination of things...that you feel that, uh, would be challenging to them as well as motivate them....That's the key word--motivation" (p. 1). When asked to elaborate, she described the following process: "The first thing that I attempt to do is make an assessment, you know, find out just exactly where they are in their learning" (p. 2). This is followed by "oral questioning [and then] flexible groupings" (p. 2) within her classroom. Additionally, she and Ms. Dunn team teach for reading and math.

Ms. Blake told of her students' interactions with resource teachers (art, music, p.e.) and with the paraprofessional who comes into the classroom to work with small groups of students or who provides "individual tutoring" (p. 2) when needed. Ms. Blake participates with her students "as a whole class" (p. 2) and also individually. "I try to bring in some of their prior experience....Some

children they can tell you certain things but they can't put it on paper....I think that it's important too, to relate to them socially" (p. 2).

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: According to Ms. Blake, her students' day is fairly routine: breakfast at school, getting settled in the classroom, then completion of morning work. Next, the children break into reading groups. Some go to Ms. Dunn and some stay with Ms. Blake. "Sometimes that can be a hindrance in certain areas really because I feel sometimes it wastes time" (p. 3). After reading, they take a bathroom break, complete their language arts work, have social studies, and then eat lunch. After lunch they have recess then work with a resource teacher for art, music, p. e., or science. Math is next "and that's it. The day's over with" (p. 3). In addition to the regular curriculum, her students participate in football (boys) and cheerleading (girls). Others are in after school groups such as Girl Scouts.

Ms. Blake describes her students' personal lives as "very frustrating for them" (p. 3). She explains:

> The majority of my students are from large families. They have lots of siblings...They're really latchkey kids....Some of them have keys around their necks so you can tell when they get home they usually come in the house and turn on the television or go outside....They're usually on their own....Their parents are working constantly...[so] they look at the teacher almost as a second mom....Their parents are having problems financially....It's kinda tough. (pp. 3-4)

She knows these things because she examines her students' permanent records; talks with them, their parents, and their peers; and observes their "physical appearance and...social behavior" (p. 3).

Compare and Contrast: When asked how she got to be a residential teacher, Ms. Blake simply stated, "I was just hired" (p. 12).

Ms. Blake's favorite subject to teach is language arts, specifically reading and literature. She believes that her children can "express themselves" (p. 4) so much more through language arts than they can in social studies and science, for example. Her least favorite subjects to teach are math and social studies. "It seem like it [math] is not as exciting....Maybe math is more practical right now....There's more computation to it" (p. 5). According to Ms. Blake, social studies is boring for the children. "The expressions on their faces when you tell them it's time for social studies...you see frowns....I don't know if I need to try different techniques or strategies or what...in order to make it more exciting" (p. 5). She also told me that she experienced difficulty getting her students to work in groups "so right now I do a lot of lecturing" (p. 5).

According to Ms. Blake, the residential and magnet curricula are the same because they share the same objectives. "The only difference is the enhancements and I still do enhancements but not as much" (p. 5). She defined enhancements as "projects,...book reports,...technology" (p. 5). When asked how the residential and SEARCH curricula are the same Ms. Blake discussed only their differences. The SEARCH classes "are more advanced in their objectives [and]...the objectives are more challenging" (p. 6).

According to Ms. Blake, the residential and magnet methodologies are alike because "we use some of the same teaching strategies....such as working in groups....The teacher introducing the lesson is similar....even some of the projects" (p. 6). They are different because "I have to take up more time with the skills and objectives....They [her students] need more reinforcement and they need more reteaching" (p. 6). The residential and SEARCH methodologies are alike because the students are involved in research, computer work, oral reports,

cooperative group work, and reading and discussing stories. They are different because the SEARCH children are able to "work more independently...without a lot of monitoring by the teacher" (p. 6).

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": According to Ms. Blake, "gifted" means "having an excellent ability in certain areas [and being] capable of doing excellent work" (p. 7).

Ms. Blake stated that she is like the other teachers at Fagan because "all of us are working in a cooperative way to help foster learning, to help the students to be able to master certain objectives....to help the students learn" (p. 7). She is different from the other teachers at Fagan in two ways: "I, uh, need more years of experience in order to be a superior teacher [and] I give really over too much time...to this job....I'm usually the last one to leave for some reason" (p. 7).

In comparing her students with the other students in the school, Ms. Blake replied that they are all children with "the same social needs that other children have as well as physical, emotional [needs]....They want to learn" (p. 8). Her students are different from the others because "some of my students they have low self-esteem....They talk very negative....They try to tear other students down in order to...make themselves look good" (p. 8).

To Ms. Blake, being a residential teacher means that "you need to be dedicated....[and] you're going to really put in a lot of hours" (p. 9). When asked what it means to be a SEARCH teacher, Ms. Blake initially responded, "I'm not sure" (p. 9). Upon reflection she said, "It means smaller classes....[and] If you're a SEARCH teacher then you--not that the children can't be challenged in a residential class--but I believe that you can do more challenging things" (p. 9). Being a magnet teacher means having a lower teacher-pupil ratio which gives magnet teachers "a little bit more time to work one-on-one with the children

[and]....you [magnet teachers] would have the opportunity maybe to participate in...more workshops...in order to make the lessons more challenging for the students" (pp. 9-10). Being a student in the residential program means "you can interact with, uh, other children of the same...cultural backgrounds [and] a lot of children they are related to other students....[and] there's different...federal programs such as Chapter I and the REP, um, remediation program that can help the students" (pp. 9-10). When discussing what it means to be a student in the magnet program, she explained that except for smaller class size and additional enhancements "it's a little similar to...being a student in the residential class" (p. 10). Lastly, for SEARCH students, being in the SEARCH program "gives a child a little bit more confidence than a child that's in the residential class" (p. 10) and the SEARCH students "have better opportunities to participate in extra curricular activities such as the Media Festival" (p. 10).

In comparing the residential and SEARCH programs, Ms. Blake said that "the interests of the children are similar [and] they all enjoy doing different projects" (pp. 10-11). They are different because the residential program focuses "mainly on...mastering the objectives [in a lot of] different subjects" (p. 11) and the SEARCH program focuses on fewer objectives. "They might have more outside activities also" (p. 11). The residential and magnet programs are similar because "you still deal with the academic level" (p. 11). Further, according to Ms. Blake, the activities such as field trips, programs, type of resource classes, subjects studied are similar. The residential and magnet classes are different in several ways: In the magnet classes the pupil-teacher ratio is smaller, there are more enhancements, and the parents are more involved. In the residential classes there is more poverty and there are "more minority students" (p. 11).

According to Ms. Blake, students are admitted to the SEARCH and magnet programs if "they make a certain score" on a test. Admission is also based on race. "They [administrators, public school system] want a certain percentage of minorities in the classroom....I don't know if that's fair or not....I don't know if it's working like they...want it to" (pp. 12-13). Students are admitted to the residential program "by enrolling in the public school" (p. 13).

Ms. Blake stated that any teacher could get into the residential program but "that teacher needs to be certified" (p. 13). Specifically, teachers need to pass certain college courses "as well as the Teacher Certification Test" (p. 14). Conversely, not any teacher could get into the SEARCH and magnet programs. "They need certain credentials....[and] need to be aware of what a 'gifted' child needs" (p. 13). Likewise, any student can get into the residential program "just by being a student really" but not all students could get into the SEARCH and magnet programs. They need "to have a certain score,...they're on a certain level academically....Some students work at a slower pace than other students" (p. 14).

Ms. Blake told me that some teachers should not be in residential classrooms because "they are not really committed to the students [and some are there for] a paycheck" (p. 14). Others do not understand that "it's really a sacrificial job too" (p. 14). She explained: "You need to be committed to the students, love them, care about them, not just teach them what they need to know. The objectives are good, but you also need to love" (p. 15). Likewise, not every teacher should be in the SEARCH or magnet programs because not every teacher is "qualified....They need to know certain teaching strategies" (p. 14). Lastly, according to Ms. Blake, not every student should be in the residential, SEARCH, or magnet programs. "It wouldn't be fair" (p. 15). She explained:

> The ones [residential students] with lower scores....need extra help, individual help [whereas] the SEARCH and magnet students "move at a little faster pace....I'm not saying that some students in the residential program are not at a high achievement level because they are, but more students in the magnet classes and SEARCH program are at a...level where they can work more independently. (p. 15)

According to Ms. Blake, some teachers are teaching in the residential program because "they love working with, uh, well I really don't want to say inner city kids, but, um, they love working with kids who need maybe remediation....or that's just what they were hired to do" (p. 17). When asked why others are not, her list was long: Some teachers prefer to teach in the magnet program and are qualified to do so. Further, they feel that the magnet program is more challenging, they can do higher level work (e. g., research), they can spend more time working individually with the children because of smaller class sizes, they believe that there are fewer behavior problems in the magnet classes, the students are more highly motivated, and the parents are more interested in their children's education. Some teachers are teaching in the SEARCH and magnet programs because they're "more challenging for them, they're working with a smaller group...and they can take a little bit more time with each student" (p. 16). Others are not because they prefer to work with "inner city kids [and/or] they might need some extra courses in college" (p. 16). Lastly, some students are in the residential program because "they enrolled in the public school [and/or] they weren't able to qualify for a magnet program" (p. 19). Others are not because "they qualify for a magnet program [or] they live in a different area of the city" (p. 19). According to Ms. Blake, some students are in the SEARCH program because their test scores show that they have the

"potential" to reach higher levels academically and they need to be challenged. Some students are in the magnet program because their parents "feel that a magnet program is a little bit more challenging than the residential program" (p. 18) and they want their children in a more racially and culturally balanced environment. Others are not in the SEARCH and magnet programs because "academically they're not ready....They need more one-on-one work with the teacher, they work at a slower pace, they're not really independent learners,...and their scores are not at the level that they should be" (pp. 18-19).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being a Teacher of Children Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Ms. Blake does not like being called a residential teacher. She explained:

> When you say residential I feel that you're putting, um, the class and the teacher in a certain category and I don't think that's fair....You normally think about, uh, inner city children who are...poor....They come from...single parent backgrounds,...have free lunch,...are low academically,...need remediation....have behavior problems....You think of students who's struggling [when actually there are] some very intelligent students--smart students--in residential classes....Sometimes you can even hear the, uh, magnet students, even when they are speaking to a teacher,...whispering, "Well, she's a residential teacher."...Children know...exactly what type of class you're teaching....[and they think] that maybe they [residential students] are not getting everything that they need....It just carries a reputation....I don't like that word "residential." (p. 20)

According to Ms. Blake, being called a residential teacher has the following benefits: "The best thing about being a residential teacher is just

seeing your children progress....[seeing] that gleam in a child's eye" (p. 21). She told of how some children come to her reading on a first grade level and by the end of the school year have made great strides in this area. Others come not knowing "how to even sit in their seat or...stay on task but...at the end of the year that child can sit down and work independently" (p. 21). Conversely, being called a residential teacher has the following drawbacks: "The main thing is just dealing with the behavior problems....It can be frustrating because I know that they [disruptive students] still need to learn so many objectives and they're also stopping the learning of other students" (p. 21). Lastly, paperwork and large class size prevent her from working "more with certain students that really need help" (p. 22).

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Regarding the reactions of others to her being a residential teacher at Fagan, Ms. Blake initially stated: "The majority of them [friends] think it's tough....When you say 'residential' they really don't think about it being a good job....It seems like it's a negative....It's a lot of behavior problems and...it's a big sacrifice" (p. 23). She then said that her friends also "feel that, uh, I'm contributing...to society....They really appreciate me teaching but I don't think that they would do it themselves" (p. 23). Family members "love that I'm teaching residential....They feel like it's a calling, um, a ministry....It's a tough job but it's...needed....They're very proud of me" (p. 24). Colleagues say that "it's essential,...it's a good job,...it's needed,...it's tough,...You really have to give overtime,...persevere, and be patient....It's a collaborative job" (pp. 23-24). When asked if others treat her differently because she is a residential teacher at Fagan, Ms. Blake replied, "They treat me with a little bit more respect....They respect me as a person more because they believe that it's a tough job, especially teaching residential kids....Otherwise I'm treated about the same" (pp. 24-25).

According to Ms. Blake, some residential teachers are not happy because of the "stress or pressure,...the student ratio in certain grades is high,...the students are very low [academically], and you have to work harder" (p. 26). Teachers who are not residential teachers feel "happy...because...they believe [there are] more behavior and academic problems with the [residential] students, [and] they [students] are a little slower in their learning....There is stress....There are problems with parents [who] say inappropriate things...about their child" (pp. 25-26). SEARCH teachers feel that their job is "more challenging" (p. 25). Magnet teachers "feel that they might have a little bit more work to do...to think up more creative projects or enhancements" (p. 25). When asked how other teachers feel about not being a SEARCH or magnet teacher, she said, "I don't think they have a lot of feelings...unless it's something that they really desire" (p. 25).

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Ms. Blake does not see herself as "gifted." She said, "I just think of myself just as an ordinary person doing their job really to the the best of my ability" (p. 27). When asked if she sees herself as a "gifted" teacher, she replied contradictorily, "Yes, in certain areas" (p. 28). Specifically, she said, "communicating with children,...being adaptable,...[having] patience, perseverance,..being a problem-solver...I'm flexible" (p. 28). She also told how she is able to "pull them [shy ones] out of that little hole--that little quietness--because my personality is kind of quiet too" (p.29).

According to Ms. Blake, one does not have to be "gifted" to teach in the magnet or SEARCH program. "You can be very 'gifted' but can you communicate with the students? Can you teach them the objectives that you need them to know--or enhancements" (p. 29)? Likewise, one does not need to be 'gifted' to teach in the residential program. "You can be 'gifted' but if you can't

control their behavior you're in trouble....You need to, uh, be more than just 'gifted.'...You need to have patience,...be organized. Lastly, Ms. Blake told me that she prefers the residential setting for herself. "I think I would rather be in the residential class...I enjoy it really....I feel like I'm being productive" (p. 31).

Photo Exercise: In comparing the six classes, Ms. Blake noted that "all of the students are learning in some way,...they're focusing on, um, the textbooks,...their writing,...worksheets, or some type of learning game....They're communicating with each other about their learning" (p. 31). She also noted that "they're the same age,...they're human beings,...they're in groups...[in the] same type of classroom,...the banners or posters are very similar" (p.31). They are different because "the residential class is all black....The magnet and the SEARCH classes they're...integrated....The teachers are black in the residential and, uh, there's a combination in the magnet and the SEARCH classes" (pp. 31-32).

According to Ms. Blake, the curriculum is alike in all six classes because "they're still focusing on specific objectives" (p. 33). It is different because there is more "structure" (p. 32) in the magnet and residential classes than in the SEARCH class. Methodologies are the same in all six settings because of similar teaching, reteaching, reinforcement, and evaluation strategies. They are different because in the SEARCH class "they are playing games....They don't have any paper in front of them. It seems like they're having a bit more fun" (p. 32). She also noted that in the residential and magnet classes they're focusing a little bit more on the teacher...and in the SEARCH classes [there is] more freedom of choice" (p. 32). Further, "the magnet classes might go a little bit beyond just the basic mastering of the objectives....They go on to enhancements {which means] you're being a little bit more creative....They have maybe more cooperative groups" (pp. 32-33).

When discussing how she got into her setting, Ms. Blake initially stated, "It just happened...through the administration" (p. 34). She then said, "I really don't want to bring religion into it 'cause I know they don't like to talk about religion. I feel like I got here really through the help of God....I'm not doing it by myself....I believe in destiny" (pp. 34-35). She also listed "perseverance, hard work,...late nights,...being patient, not giving up,...staying after school, and just knowing children" (p. 35). When asked why she is in her setting, Ms. Blake restated her belief in "destiny,..fate" (p. 35). She also said that she is there "to teach students, to let them know that they're a vital part of society,...to leave footprints in the sand" (pp. 35-36). Her feelings for being there are positive. "I feel good about it....Learning is going on in some way....Even if they're looking at the wall they're learning something" (p. 36). Within her setting, Ms. Blake states that she also models proper social behaviors for her students. She recalled the time that she had told a student not to say, "Shut up." Not long after, she said it herself so "I apologized for saying that word" (p. 37). She also counsels students regarding their personal hygiene.

> Ms. Blake made the following final comments:
>
> We put students in certain categories because of the [achievement] scores....We are really stereotyping them....We say, "Well this child belongs in this class--the magnet class--because of the scores but another child can be in a residential class but with lower scores."...It's a label. This is residential. This is magnet. This is SEARCH...I think that's wrong....Every child learns differently. (pp. 37-38)

She then told of one of her students who was unable to write well but who was "very eloquent in his speech" (p. 38) and another who also had difficulty writing but could draw a "beautiful, creative" story. These children "can produce really

the same...work [as the magnet students] but maybe in a different way" (p. 38).

Lastly, she stated:

> They [students] are learning...that magnet students are better than residential students....Most students in the magnet class their self-esteem to me is better....You talk with the [residential] children. They can tell you they feel that a magnet student has...more qualifications than a residential child....Test scores. That's really the bottom line. Test scores. (pp. 38-39)

Group Perspectives of Teachers of Fourth-Grade Girls Not Labeled "Gifted" (i. e., Residential Teachers)

Preliminaries: The fourth-grade teachers of the two girl respondents in the residential program at Fagan were interviewed. Interviews were conducted at school in the media center and in a media center ante-room. Both teachers are African-American females. Ms. Dunn holds advanced degrees in early childhood education and in special education. Ms. Blake holds a bachelor's degree in early childhood education. Interestingly, Ms. Blake was a student teacher at Fagan and Ms. Dunn was her supervising teacher. Both teachers were cooperative and talkative. However, as their stories reveal, both also seemed defensive and/or apprehensive at times. Neither of the teachers offered any verbal response to my reasons for conducting the study.

"Grand Tour": Ms. Dunn's initial response was positive: "I enjoy being a teacher." Ms. Blake's initial response was mixed. At first, she said, "It can be hectic." She then said that "at times you can feel very good about being a teacher when you see the children are learning."

Global questions regarding their level of involvement at Fagan elicited from Ms. Dunn a chronology of her tenure at Fagan and from Ms. Blake a

further discussion of her initial comments. According to Ms. Blake, being a fourth-grade teacher can be "challenging,...frustrating,...very stressful....when you have to meet certain deadlines [and] when you have certain behavior problems." Conversely, it "can be very fulfilling."

Specific Levels of Involvement: Both teachers described classroom routines and practices. In addition to daily instruction in the content areas, the two teachers team teach for reading and math and meet regularly with other fourth-grade teachers for planning purposes. Ms. Dunn said that sometimes the SEARCH teacher is included in these meetings. "She's always willing to come in and help out, to give her opinion about something, or to just share materials." Additionally, both teachers discussed their children's special needs. Many are heavily involved in the Chapter I program. Many receive help for learning and behavioral disabilities. Still others work with paraprofessionals, student teachers, and peer tutors in order to strengthen skills.

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: In addition to the previously described classroom practices, both teachers told me that their students are engaged in various extracurricular activities (e. g., Honor Society, St. Jude's Math-a-Thon) and after school groups such as Girl Scouts, team sports, cheerleading, and church functions. However, both teachers stated that they also have students who struggle with personal and family problems (e. g. mental illness, broken homes). Ms. Blake describes her students' personal lives as "very frustrating for them." She explains:

> The majority of my students are from large families. They have lots of siblings...They're really latchkey kids....Some of them have keys around their necks so you can tell when they get home they usually come in the house and turn on the television or go outside....They're usually on their own....Their parents are working

> constantly...[so] they look at the teacher almost as a second mom....Their parents are having problems financially....It's kinda tough.

Both teachers said that they knew these things because they examine permanent records, communicate with the children and their parents, make home visits, and observe "physical appearance and...social behavior."

Compare and Contrast: When discussing how they got to be residential teachers, Ms. Blake simply said, "I was just hired." Ms. Dunn stated that when Fagan became a magnet school, the new principal allowed her to choose her placement--magnet or nonmagnet. "We didn't call it residential then. It was magnet or nonmagnet so since I was already in the nonmagnet program I decided to stay." Both teachers' favorite subject to teach is language arts. Least favorite subjects to teach are math and social studies for Ms. Blake and science for Ms. Dunn. According to Ms. Blake, math "is not as exciting" and social studies is boring to the children. Ms. Dunn said that she did not have the materials and equipment to teach the concepts of science properly. Also, "I need to maybe take some more science workshops."

According to both teachers, the residential and magnet curricula are alike because they share the same objectives. According to Ms. Dunn, they are different because the magnet teachers and students move at a faster pace. According to Ms. Blake, magnet students are involved in more "enhancements" such as "projects,... book reports,... technology." In comparing the residential and SEARCH curricula, both teachers only discussed differences and both said that the SEARCH curriculum is more advanced. Additionally, Ms. Dunn said that the SEARCH curriculum is more accelerated and Ms. Blake said that "the objectives are more challenging."

According to both teachers, the residential and magnet methodologies are alike because of similar teaching strategies "such as working in groups." Additionally, some of the projects are the same (e. g., novel studies). Regarding differences in methodology, both teachers said that the magnet program is more accelerated. According to Ms. Blake, "I have to take up more time with the skills and objectives....They [her students] need more reinforcement and they need more reteaching." According to both teachers, the residential and SEARCH methodologies are the same because some of the activities are the same. Ms. Dunn said, "We may have different styles of doing it but I feel like basically we're doing the same thing." In contrasting the two programs, Ms. Blake told me that the SEARCH children are able to work more independently than her students. Ms. Dunn described experiential differences between her students and the SEARCH students:

> They [residential students] don't get to do things. [For example], I had to bring my children to the library here at school to do research for their science project because their parents don't have the time to take them to the regular library [or] to get the materials that they need in order to be successful....They do not have the means...or I would say transportation. (pp. 14-15)

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": The residential teachers offered different opinions regarding the term "gifted." According to Ms, Blake, it means excellence. According to Ms, Dunn, it means having "a special talent to do something a little better than somebody else." Further, she also believes that individuals are "gifted" in different areas: book knowledge, art, music, communication. She then stated, "I have some 'gifted' children in my classroom....When a child can get another child to understand, that's a 'gift,' a good 'gift' too."

In comparing themselves to the other teachers at Fagan, both residential teachers told of working hard to help children learn. Ms. Dunn offered many additional descriptors:

> We care....I have seen teachers here be friends, mothers, the nurse....Our main purpose is to help them [students] to be successful citizens....We work beyond the hours of the school day....The teachers here at Fagan are always trying to find more ways in which they can help their children by attending conferences, [and] bringing in different people from the community to enlighten us.

In contrasting themselves to the other teachers at Fagan, both residential teachers said that they work harder than the others. Ms. Blake, for example, said, "I give really over too much time...to this job....I'm usually the last one to leave for some reason." Ms. Blake also told me that she needs "more years of experience in order to be a superior teacher."

According to both residential teachers, their students are like the other students at Fagan because they all "want to learn." Ms. Blake also stated that they are all children with "the same social needs that other children have as well as physical, emotional [needs]." When telling how they are different, Ms. Dunn discussed ability. She said that some of her students take "a lot longer to catch on to different ideas or strategies....[and] some of the other children's ability level may be a little higher." Ms. Blake discussed social and emotional differences. She said, "Some of my students they have low self-esteem....They talk very negative....They try to tear other students down in order to...make themselves look good."

Responses differed when discussing what it means to be a residential teacher. Ms. Blake stated that one has to be dedicated and "put in a

lot of hours." Ms. Dunn replied, "As far as being classified as a residential teacher or magnet teacher, SEARCH teacher or whatever, I don't see too much of a difference in it. A teacher is a teacher." When asked what it means to be a SEARCH teacher, both residential teachers discussed groupings. For example, Ms. Blake said, "It means smaller classes." Additionally, according to Ms. Dunn, the SEARCH teacher works with "higher ability level" children and according to Ms. Blake, "you can do more challenging things." Responses differed when discussing what it means to be a magnet teacher. Ms. Dunn repeated, "A teacher is a teacher." Ms. Blake said that there is a lower teacher-pupil ratio in the magnet classes giving magnet teachers "a little bit more time to work one-on-one with the children [and]....maybe to participate in...more workshops...in order to make the lessons more challenging for the students."

The residential teachers attached different meanings to the category "residential student." Ms. Blake discussed social interactions and programs available for academic assistance. She said, "You can interact with, uh, other children of the same...cultural backgrounds [and] a lot of children they are related to other students....[and] there's different...federal programs such as Chapter I and the REP, um, remediation program that can help the students." Ms. Dunn stated:

> In order to get a clear answer to that question you would have to ask a student....I don't try to put labels on children, you know. I don't even use the term in my classroom--you're a residential student, you know. A student is a student.

According to Ms. Dunn, being a magnet student means "being able to make high scores on tests." According to Ms. Blake, except for the smaller class size and additional enhancements "it's a little similar to...being a student in the residential class. Both teachers believe that being a student in the SEARCH program

means higher self esteem for those involved. Further, according to Ms. Blake, the SEARCH students "have better opportunities to participate in extra curricular activities such as the Media Festival."

When comparing the residential and SEARCH programs, the teachers' opinions differed. According to Ms. Blake, they are alike because of similar interests and projects. Ms. Dunn discussed the teachers. She said, "We are all for the same purpose--trying to get children to achieve, trying to take them to a higher level....Even in the residential class that's what we're trying to do." They are different because of program design and implementation. For example, Ms. Dunn told me that in the SEARCH program there are "higher level materials [and]....they just maybe present things differently or do different activities." This "allows for them to be a little more flexible." According to both teachers, the residential and magnet programs are alike because of academics, activities, and materials. For example, Ms. Dunn states that both "work with a selected group of children based on certain criteria." Further, both programs "use the same textbooks, um, we work with the same objectives,um, we share some of the same materials,...we do some of the same activities, we interact...on field trips....[and] in certain subject areas." In discussing how they are different, both teachers remarked that the magnet children have broader experiences than the residential children. For example, Ms. Dunn said, "We are supposed to interact with the magnet children [for Spanish] but we're only allowed to send a certain number of children to that class." Additional differences were cited. Residential children live near the school, their instruction is focused on "the basics," the pupil-teacher ratio is smaller in the magnet classes, and magnet parents are more involved. Lastly, Ms. Blake also noted that in the residential classes there is more poverty and there are "more minority students."

According to the residential teachers, students are admitted to the residential program "if they live in this district" and they are enrolled "in the public school." Students are admitted to the SEARCH and magnet programs based on test scores. According to Ms. Dunn, teacher recommendations are also considered for entry into the SEARCH program. Ms. Blake told me that admission is also based on race. She said, "They [administrators, public school system] want a certain percentage of minorities in the classroom....I don't know if that's fair or not....I don't know if it's working like they...want it to."

When discussing if any teacher could get into the residential program, responses were indirect and conditional. Ms. Dunn stated that teachers need to teach where they wish "because if a person is doing what they want to do I feel like they'll do a better job." Ms. Blake stated that residential teachers need to be certified and pass certain college courses "as well as the TCT (Teacher Certification Test)." When asked if any teacher could get into the magnet or SEARCH program, once again Ms. Dunn stated that a teaching position should be one of choice. Ms. Blake said, ""No....They need certain credentials....[and] need to be aware of what a 'gifted' child needs." Lastly, both teachers said that any student can get into the residential program "just by being a student" and "as long as they live in this school district." Both also said that not any student could get into the magnet and/or SEARCH programs without making a "certain score."

Responses were polar when discussing if every teacher should teach in the residential, SEARCH, or magnet classrooms. Ms. Dunn replied affirmatively then repeated her belief that teachers should choose where they wish to teach. Ms. Blake responded that some teachers should not be in residential classrooms because "they are not really committed to the students [and some are there for] a paycheck" (p. 14). Others do not understand that "it's

really a sacrificial job too" (p. 14). She explained: "You need to be committed to the students, love them, care about them, not just teach them what they need to know. The objectives are good, but you also need to love" (p. 15). Likewise, not every teacher should be in the SEARCH or magnet programs because not every teacher is "qualified." Lastly, according to the teachers, not every student should be in the residential, SEARCH, or magnet programs. According to Ms. Blake, "It wouldn't be fair." When asked to explain what she meant, she said:

> The ones [residential students] with lower scores....need extra help, individual help [whereas] the SEARCH and magnet students "move at a little faster pace....I'm not saying that some students in the residential program are not at a high achievement level because they are, but more students in the magnet classes and SEARCH program are at a...level where they can work more independently.

The residential teachers believe that some teachers are teaching in the residential program because of choice. Ms. Blake also said, "They love working with, uh, well I really don't want to say inner city kids, but, um, they love working with kids who need maybe remediation....or that's just what they were hired to do." Others are not because of choice or they are not certified to work with the "gifted." Responses differed when telling why some teachers are teaching in the SEARCH and magnet programs. Ms. Dunn said that some teachers choose to be SEARCH teachers and there was a position available. Regarding the magnet program, she said some teachers were chosen to be magnet teachers and/or "they cannot teach in the SEARCH [program]....Maybe they feel as though the magnet program is the next best." Ms. Blake believes that some teachers choose the SEARCH or magnet programs because of the challenge involved and "they're working with a smaller group." Others are not because of choice. According to Ms. Blake, they prefer to work with "inner city

kids [and/or] they might need some extra courses in college." Lastly, some students are in the residential program because they live in the area and are enrolled in public schools. Others are not because--according to Ms. Blake--"they weren't able to qualify for a magnet program." Some students are in the magnet /or SEARCH program because of test scores and parent choice. Additionally, Ms. Dunn cited teacher recommendation as a necessary requirement. Others are not because--according to both teachers--they do not meet the academic criteria for admission into the program.

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being a Teacher of Children Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": Opinions differed when discussing whether or not they liked being called a residential teacher. Ms. Dunn said, "It doesn't matter....I mean name and title or whatever doesn't bother me you know as long as you just don't rub me the wrong way." Then she repeated, "Like I told you before, a teacher is a teacher." Ms. Blake responded as follows:

> No....When you say residential I feel that you're putting, um, the class and the teacher in a certain category and I don't think that's fair....You normally think about, uh, inner city children who are...poor....They come from...single parent backgrounds,...have free lunch,...are low academically,...need remediation....have behavior problems....You think of students who's struggling [when actually there are] some very intelligent students--smart students--in residential classes....Sometimes you can even hear the, uh, magnet students, even when they are speaking to a teacher,...whispering, "Well, she's a residential teacher."...Children know...exactly what type of class you're teaching....[and they think] that maybe they [residential students]

are not getting everything that they need....It just carries a reputation....I don't like that word "residential."

When asked to name the benefits of being called a residential teacher, each teacher cited one--their work with their students. For example, Ms. Blake told of how some children come to her reading on a first grade level and by the end of the school year have made great strides in this area. Others come not knowing "how to even sit in their seat or...stay on task but...at the end of the year that child can sit down and work independently." Drawbacks to being called a residential teacher were more numerous. Ms. Blake discussed her frustrations in dealing with disruptive students, paperwork, and large class size. Ms. Dunn discussed labeling and unfair distribution of materials: "It's not the children that are 'gung ho' about the names....It's more of a parent thing you know, whether my child is in the magnet or whatever. These children are children." Also, she is resentful of the fact that when the magnets were created "some of the equipment and the materials that magnet teachers had, residential teachers could not use." She added however, "It's not like that now....We share everything."

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Regarding the reactions of others to their being residential teachers, both replied that responses from friends are generally positive. Ms. Dunn states that her friends praise her work but also wonder why she is not teaching in the magnet program. In reaction, she states, "Teaching is teaching to me regardless of where you're teaching or what you're teaching or what label you have." Ms. Blake states that her friends "feel that, uh, I'm contributing to society" but they also "think it's tough." Family members are proud of them. According to Ms. Blake, her family feels like her work is a "calling, um, ministry...It's a tough job but it's...needed." Both teachers also report positive feedback from colleagues. Lastly, when telling whether or not others treat them

differently because they are residential teachers, Ms. Dunn replied, "No." Ms. Blake said, "They treat me with a little bit more respect."

According to Ms. Dunn, residential teachers are accepting of their position. Ms. Blake states that they are unhappy because of the "stress or pressure....and you have to work harder." Conversely, according to Ms. Dunn, those who are not residential teachers are accepting and according to Ms. Blake they are "happy...because...they believe [there are] more behavior and academic problems with the [residential] students [and] they [residential students] are a little slower in their learning." When asked how other teachers feel about being SEARCH or magnet teachers, both residential teachers offered positive comments. Ms. Dunn stated that they are happy with their positions and Ms. Blake stated that they feel their jobs are more "challenging." When asked how other teachers feel about not being SEARCH or magnet teachers, both residential teachers stated that they were accepting of their positions because, according to Ms. Dunn, "if they wanted to teach in the magnet program they have that choice."

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Neither residential teacher sees herself as "gifted." However, both believe that they are "gifted" teachers. According to both teachers, one does not have to be "gifted" to teach in the residential program. Ms. Dunn explains:

> The only thing, um, that you really need to be is a hard worker, a willing worker, um, a person that is capable of doing their job, your job, and ready to work. You have to be flexible, you have to be creative, you have to be, um,...just a person with common knowledge and common sense.

When asked if one has to be "gifted" to teach in the SEARCH or magnet program, opinions were split. Ms. Blake responded, "No" and Ms. Dunn

responded, "Yes." When discussing which setting they prefer for themselves, once again opinions were divided. Ms. Blake stated that she prefers her present setting and Ms. Dunn stated that she could teach in either the magnet or residential program.

Photo Exercise: In comparing all six classes, both residential teachers remarked that the children are interacting with each other and seem interested in their work. In contrasting the six settings, both teachers noticed the racial distribution of the classes. For example, Ms. Blake stated, "The residential class is all black....The magnet and the SEARCH classes they're...integrated....The teachers are black in the residential and, uh, there's a combination in the magnet and the SEARCH classes." Ms. Dunn also noted that the SEARCH children are involved "in some type of game" and the other classes are not.

According to both residential teachers, the curriculum is alike in all six classes because of the attention to objectives. Regarding differences in curriculum, both teachers stated that there is more structure in the residential and magnet classes than in the SEARCH classes. Additionally, Ms. Dunn noted that different textbooks are used and the magnet students receive Spanish instruction daily and residential students do not. She said, "I'm only allowed to send five of my students into the magnet class to receive Spanish." According to both residential teachers, methodologies are the same in all six classes because of similar teaching, reteaching, and evaluation strategies. Additionally, Ms. Dunn noted that all fourth-graders go on field trips, "they all do hands-on type things," and the teachers share strategies and materials. Regarding differences in methodologies, both teachers noted that strategies and techniques vary and are hierarchical. For example, Ms. Blake stated that in the SEARCH class "they are playing games....They don't have any paper in front of them. It seems like they're

having a bit more fun." She also noted that in the residential and magnet classes "they're focusing a little bit more on the teacher...and in the SEARCH classes [there is] more freedom of choice." Further, "the magnet classes might go a little bit beyond just the basic mastering of the objectives....They go on to enhancements [which means] you're being a little bit more creative....They have maybe more cooperative groups." Additionally, Ms. Dunn noted that there are five or six computers in each magnet classroom. "I have three."

When discussing how they got into their settings, one teacher told me that it was her choice. The other said she was there because of destiny and "through the help of God." Both teachers told me that they were there to help their students become successful adults, or as Ms. Blake stated, "...to leave footprints in the sand." When discussing their feelings about their placements, both teachers said exactly the same thing: "I feel good about it."

Coincidentally, both residential teachers chose to end our discussion by reflecting on standardized testing and its impact on students and their assigned settings within the school. Ms. Blake said:

> We put students in certain categories because of the [achievement] scores....We are really stereotyping them....We say, "Well this child belongs in this class--the magnet class--because of the scores but another child can be in a residential class but with lower scores."...It's a label. This is residential. This is magnet. This is SEARCH...I think that's wrong....Every child learns differently.

She then told of one of her students who was unable to write well but who was "very eloquent in his speech" and another who also had difficulty writing but could draw a "beautiful, creative" story. These children "can produce really the same type of work [as the magnet students] but maybe in a different way."

Ms. Dunn repeated that she has "gifted" students in her classroom. When asked why they are in a residential classroom, she responded:

> They have not met the test requirements....You have to have a certain test score average to be labeled "gifted" in our school. That's the bottom line...I do feel you know, like some of them, if they were able to meet that particular score could function, um, and be successful in the magnet program....Why they cannot make it I don't know. I really don't know.

Lastly, Ms. Blake stated:

> They [residential students] are learning...that magnet students are better than residential students....Most students in the magnet class their self-esteem to me is better....You talk with the [residential] children. They can tell you they feel that a magnet student has...more qualifications than a residential child....Test scores. That's really the bottom line. Test scores.

Individual Perspectives of Administrators of Girls Labeled "Gifted" and Girls Not Labeled "Gifted"

Ms. Early (Principal):

Preliminaries: Interviews with Ms. Early were conducted at school in a media center ante-room and in the front office of the school. Ms. Early is African-American. She is divorced, has a grown son, and is a passionate collector of antiques. She began her career as a middle school English teacher ("--my first love", p. 7). She then served at the Board of Education's central office, first as a curriculum specialist and then as the magnet school coordinator. She is certified in education for the "gifted" and has been the principal at Fagan for five years. Ms. Early was a talkative, expressive, and at times tearful respondent who

seemed to enjoy "doodling" while she spoke.

"Grand Tour": Ms. Early's initial comments were mixed: "Life is a potpourri of activities....It's rewarding as well as very, very challenging" (p. 1). Specifically, she discussed three major challenges: parents, children, and busing. Her interactions with parents mean defending existent programs and explaining why others are nonexistent, defending her teachers and their various teaching styles, and serving as liaison between parents and a bus system greatly in need of improvement. Her interactions with children mean trying to meet the needs of a diverse population of students from those who have severe environmental and academic challenges to those who need to "soar" (p. 1). Her service as liaison between parents and the bus company means a frustrating struggle to build parental support regarding the bus system while at the same time defending the bus drivers who must deal with unruly children and a bus company fraught with administrative, financial, and scheduling woes.

According to Ms. Early, an administrator deals primarily "with instruction" (p. 1). Additionally, "the administrator is supposed to be the manager to keep things going" (p. 1). This involves budgeting and awareness of community resources. Ms. Early described her many roles as principal: mother, counselor, listener, "peacemaker" (p. 2), nutritionist, nurse, secretary, Girl Friday. She stated, "A principal is one who has to have a great deal of patience and sometimes wishes she had the wisdom of Solomon....Everything that happens reflects on the principal and she has to recognize that and be ready to accept the consequences" (p. 2).

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding Ms. Early's level of involvement at Fagan elicited that she works "with children. Sometimes I actually go into classrooms to model some lessons" (p. 3) in literature, math, and writing. She described her story-telling troupe composed of

selected students. "I do story-telling because I feel that it is becoming a lost art and I don't want this to happen" (p. 3). Additionally, she works with curriculum committees and "started what we call 'vertical teaming.' We have articulation meetings....We try to share not only what we are doing in the classroom but...what we are doing [across grade groups]" (p. 4). From "instructional magazines" (p. 4) she became interested in the idea of multiple intelligences. She stated:

> There are some people who actually do not know that leadership is a form of intelligence....That child may not have earned a particular score on an intelligence test. We have students who dance, sing, who in art class create things....And these children have talent and we want teachers to recognize it and celebrate it....These are students across the board--magnet as well as non-magnet....I hope I have led my teachers to embrace the fact that there are "gifted" children in regular classrooms. (pp. 4-5)

Additionally, she monitors test scores closely. "We know that there are some peaks and valleys when it comes to test scores, and that's a reality. But we always have our eye on the goal of making incremental gains each year" (p. 13).

Regarding additional specific levels of involvement at Fagan, Ms. Early stated, "I try to participate in practically every aspect....I critique everything that is sent from the school....I get grade group minutes from teachers at least twice a month" (p. 5). Also, she reviews lesson plans, monitors the curriculum, and orders instructional materials she discovers at workshops and conferences. She models lessons in classrooms for teachers who may be experiencing difficulty. She serves on committees such as the School Improvement Team, the NSSE team, Career Education Week Planning Team, and the School Safety Team. She meets with community and business partners who "oftentimes...will

give us some good feedback....[regarding] things we can do to relate learning to 'real life' situations" (p. 6). Participating with her in these activities are "the assistant principal, the school counselor, the teachers, parents, students" (p. 6). She sees her role here as that of "active listener" (p. 6).

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: Ms. Early continued to discuss academics. "A large majority of them [children] come here, ready to learn" (p. 7). In addition to the "core subjects" (p. 7), the children are also involved in science projects, computer education, physical education, music, drama, and art "where the children have the opportunity to use their creativity" (p. 7). She described the "Core Knowledge project that we started two years ago....It's not the end-all but we do expose our children to a core of knowledge that they will build upon as they move from grade to grade" (p. 7). She also believes that the school climate is positive and "inviting" (p. 7) and most of the children are "very, very happy" (p. 9).

Conversely, Ms. Early stated that many of the students come from single parent homes. Many are having problems. "I have a counselor who is very helpful and oftentimes we will let parents know about various agencies who can also help them" (p. 9). Also, some students "will not give messages to parents. When this is the case, I will get in my car and make some home visits" (p. 8). She knows about the students "by being involved in a number of things that are going on [and] by hearing from parents and people who come into the school, and hearing from children and seeing products....I may get feedback too from surveys that we send out" (pp. 8-9).

Compare and Contrast: Ms. Early repeated that she had been a middle school English teacher first, then served as a curriculum specialist and magnet school coordinator for the system before becoming principal at Fagan.

According to Ms. Early, the principalship has been a positive experience for her. "I wake up in the morning wanting to come to work" (p. 9). She enjoys witnessing the feeling of accomplishment that students have when they master concepts that are especially difficult for them. She states:

> It's a sense of excitement to see children happy about achieving something....from test scores to the number of Accelerated Reader points a student earns. We're always charting something and we're celebrating....I love learning....I love to see children writing.... Sometimes tears will come to your eyes because it's so beautiful. (pp. 9-10)

Conversely, it has also been a negative experience for Ms. Early. First, sometimes parents criticize a teacher. "If there are unjust criticisms...then I do become a little perturbed" (p. 10). Second, there is "monumental paperwork" (p. 11). She explains:

> There are so many things in education today that you have to document....[For example], anytime a parent has a concern, if it goes beyond this school, those have to be addressed....We can't let things fester....We just have to write these things up and get them to the proper source....My supervisor needs to know what's going on here at this school....I know ours is not the only school system [experiencing this] because I attend conferences and I hear people talk about it. (pp. 11-12)

Third, the decision to suspend or expel a child is indeed a difficult decision. "I will say to them: 'When I have to do this, you know you cannot afford to be home. You need to be here with us.'...We don't want to lose one child. We don't want to" (p. 12). When asked what offenses merited suspension, she cited three: fighting, stealing, and being "constantly rude to a teacher....We're not rude to them, so we

don't want them to grow up feeling it's fine to be rude to adults" (p. 12). For lesser offenses, "sometimes the assistant principal and I will hold detention in the afternoon. Sometimes, individual teachers will hold detention....We do have a Saturday program here" (p. 12).

When comparing the curricula and methodologies for SEARCH, magnet, and residential classes, Ms. Early said, "All students are expected to master as many Quality Core Curriculum objectives as possible. All students are in Core knowledge reading and mathematics" (p. 41). They are different because the SEARCH and magnet classes have "enhanced objectives" (p. 42). In other words, SEARCH and magnet children are expected to master the basic objectives but also move beyond into more challenging activities. More specifically, "in the residential classes, the children are involved in the same activity....In the magnet classes, the activities are not the same [for all children]....In the SEARCH class, it's hands-on" (p. 42).

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": According to Ms. Early, "gifted" means "special....I think in terms of a present one has" (p. 14). She stated that she used to think "giftedness" was based on test scores. Since becoming familiar with the idea of multiple intelligences, however, she now believes that it means "one's creativity, one's specialty in a specific area....If we close our minds and just say we're going to look at an intelligence test...we have really done a disservice to a child" (p. 14).

In comparing herself to other administrators, Ms. Early stated that "all of us care about children. We want children to be successful. We want to have a safe school environment....I try to attend school on a regular basis....We want to have materials that our children need" (p. 15). Regarding differences, she said, "I'm not sure how I'm very different from other administrators" (p. 15). More specifically, she is like the other administrator at Fagan because "we both

work for what's in the best interest of the children" (p. 16). This means making sure needed materials are ordered, communicating closely with parents, interacting with others in the community, practicing active listening, being timely in returning calls, and asking appropriate questions when on interview committees. Lastly, "we both have a sense of humor" (p. 16). She is different from the other administrator at Fagan because she models more lessons for teachers in the classroom, she interacts more with parents, she is more involved with budgeting, and interacts more with the staff development teams. Lastly, the assistant principal "works a lot with discipline; I work more with instruction" (p. 17).

To Ms. Early, administrative work at Fagan means "working with the school community, the children, parents, teachers. It means becoming involved in instruction, working with the school budget....It means getting teachers to soar, getting teachers to share" (pp. 17-18). Being a teacher at Fagan means "being a member of a team,...wanting to grow, and noticing what a person's colleague does" (p. 18). Being a student means believing that "the school is my second home. When I go there I'm going for many purposes. I'm going to interact with my peers, ...my teachers, other staff members, [and to become] prepared for middle school" (pp. 17-18). Being a parent means "having a site where children can come to be nurtured and challenged, where teachers and administrators will listen,...[and where] children are offered a variety of activities" (p. 19). Lastly--and interestingly--Ms. Early prefaced each of these perceptual responses with "I hope" (pp. 19-20). When questioned about this, she focused on the parents and her interactions--at times conflictive--with them. "On the whole, I think the parents are pleased. Those who are not, who have come to me, I've tried to address issues. Teachers try to address issues....Oftentimes, they [teachers] share with me some of the concerns parents have" (p. 20).

More specifically, when asked her perceptions regarding teachers in the SEARCH program, Ms. Early listed characteristics necessary for becoming a successful SEARCH teacher: One needs to be able to work with children who want to be challenged, who ask questions, who want to know more, who sometimes like to work independently on projects, and who oftentimes feel passionate about a particular subject. "Every waking hour is spent doing something toward that passion" (p. 21). Additionally, one needs to be "well-rounded, patient, willing to learn, willing to listen, willing to interact, willing to have fun, and willing to be serious" (p. 21). Lastly, one needs to know the characteristics of "gifted" children and be able to work with involved parents. Regarding SEARCH children, she stated that they feel "safe" with their peers. When asked what she meant, she said, "They're safe because they are able to show their intelligence without someone belittling them....[or] calling a child a nerd, saying that a child is too smart, a teacher's pet" (pp. 21-22). Regarding SEARCH parents, she stated that they know that Fagan is a place where their children can come and have their needs met, a place where they can interact with the faculty and staff regarding workshops and appropriate field trips for their children, and a place where they can conduct research regarding education for the "gifted." Regarding teachers in the magnet program, Ms. Early listed characteristics necessary for becoming a successful magnet teacher: One needs to take additional staff development courses, read widely, interact with one's peers, be inventive, plan more extensively, and work with children "who are going to want to be involved in higher level thinking skills [and]...who think beyond the little box that we always think we can fit things into" (p. 23). Lastly, one needs to be able to work successfully with parents so they will continue to feel "that it was worth the ride to get here everyday so that my children can be served" (p. 22). Regarding magnet children, she stated that coming to Fagan

makes them feel positive about themselves. Further, they are able to participate in various challenging activities and interact with children who are somewhat like them, or share the same characteristics. Regarding magnet parents, she stated that they feel confident that there is something "special" at Fagan for their children and that their children will feel "excited" about their learning. Further, they know "they're going to be with children with whom they can interact, children with whom they're going to feel okay to let people know I'm smart" (p. 24). When asked her perceptions regarding the residential program and its participants at Fagan, Ms. Early was more succinct: Residential teachers work with children who are in this community. Further, according to Ms. Early, a residential teacher may say, "I'm a teacher...I'm not a resident teacher unless my principal has to fill out a report. I don't have 'resident' on my door....I don't feel that there's anything wrong with me" (p. 25). Residential students "come to school to learn,...come to be accepted,...[and] come to do new things" (p. 25). Further, according to Ms. Early, a residential student may say, "I have the opportunity to go into the science lab and make some predictions that nobody has ever asked me to do before because who cared what I thought" (p. 25)? Residential parents may say, "I enroll my child in a neighborhood school where I know he or she will receive the love, the care, and the education that I would hope he or she would receive" (p. 25).

According to Ms. Early, the SEARCH program and the magnet program are alike because the teachers are certified in education for the "gifted" and the SEARCH and magnet students interact with each other. They are different because SEARCH children sometimes go on different field trips and the fourth and fifth grade SEARCH children participate in Odyssey of the Mind (a creative problem solving competition). The SEARCH program and the residential program are alike because the teachers in both programs hold high

expectations for their students and the teachers interact with one another. She explained:

> The SEARCH teacher has taught some workshops and she's always willing to share strategies, et cetera, to help teachers in the residential program realize that there are 'gifted' students in every classroom....Sometimes she will sit in a class and offer suggestions. (p. 26)

They are different because residential children are not pulled for accelerated activities and most of the residential teachers are not certified in education for the "gifted." The magnet and residential programs are alike because the teachers in both programs are dedicated and have high expectations for their students. They also participate in team planning together. They are different because the magnet teachers are certified in education for the "gifted" by the state of Georgia and "we do not make that request of residential teachers" (p. 27).

Regarding placement of teachers and students at the school, Ms. Early explained that teachers get to teach in the SEARCH and magnet programs if they are certified in education for the "gifted," if they interview well, if positive recommendations are forthcoming, and if their background check is satisfactory. Additionally, they need to be quick-thinking, patient, flexible, creative, and present innovative teaching strategies. A student gets into the SEARCH program based on IQ, standardized test scores, creativity, and/or teacher recommendation. Students are admitted into the magnet program if they pass a cognitive abilities admissions test. Teachers get to teach in the residential program if they apply for work at the school and the interviewing team approves their application. Students are admitted into the residential program if they "live in this school district" (p. 27).

Ms. Early told me that not any teacher could get into the SEARCH program. "There are some teachers who are very structured" (p. 29) and hence should not work with "gifted" children. Likewise, not any student could get into the SEARCH program "because they are not going to meet all of the criteria" (p. 29). Not any teacher could get into the magnet program because "there are some teachers who are not going to want to take the 'gifted' education courses and there are some teachers who are not going to want to change their way of doing things" (p. 29). There are others who are close-minded, who are unable to take constructive criticism, unable to interact well with peers, "unable to work daily with another person, and who do not want anyone else in their space" (pp. 29-30). Likewise, not every child can meet the criteria for entrance into the magnet program. Lastly, not any teacher could get into the residential program "because everyone who earns a degree in education is not a teacher" (p. 30). Any child can get into the residential program if he or she is in this school district.

According to Ms. Early, all teachers at Fagan should not be in the SEARCH or magnet program "because it would really go against the grain for some people to have to do some of the things that one has to do in the SEARCH program....I've seen some [SEARCH and magnet children] on the floor with their feet in a chair with a book in their hands....There are some people [teachers] who would go ballistic seeing that....So we need several kinds of people working in education" (p. 31). Likewise, not every child should be in the SEARCH program. SEARCH children are "continuously pushed and pushed....You've got to get that test score. You've got to do this product. That's not fair to [all] children....Children can be happy in other programs" (p. 31). Likewise, not all children should be in the magnet program because "every child is not going to be able to pass the test. There are some children who don't like tests" (p. 31). According to Ms. Early, every teacher could work in the residential program but "there may be some

teachers though, who may not want to because they want to work with students who are 'gifted'" (p. 32). Conversely, not every child should be in a residential program "because there are some students who need the challenges that are offered in the magnet or the 'gifted' program" (p. 32).

According to Ms. Early, some teachers are in the SEARCH program because "they have taken the courses,...they like to challenge students,...they like to be challenged,...they are willing to give extra time to activities,...and they want to be there" (p. 33). Others are not because "they choose not to be,....they have interviewed...and they have not given the answers the team is seeking,...they just don't want to stretch, or reach," (p. 33) or their recommendations were lacking. Some teachers are in the magnet program because "the principal has seen something in them and she has asked them to go on and take the 'gifted' courses" (p. 32). When asked what she meant by "something in them," she explained, "...that spark, that drive, that sense of wanting to know more and do more" (p. 33). Other teachers are not in the magnet program because "they choose not to be [or] they may not be able to adjust to some of the things that magnet children do. They may not be able to adjust to a large number of learning styles" (p. 33). Some teachers are in the residential program because "they enjoy working with children who are not 'gifted'" (p. 32). Others are not because they choose to work with "gifted" children. Lastly, some children are in the SEARCH and magnet programs because they passed the entrance criteria. Others are not because "they have not passed all the assessments....[or] because their parents "felt that it might be a little too much pressure for them" (p. 33). Some children are in the residential program "because this is their home school [or] they have not shown on the ITBS tests...that they are academically capable...to become magnet students" (p. 32).

Others are not because "we have found that truly they are able to become magnet or SEARCH students" (p. 32).

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being an Administrator in a School for Children Labeled "Gifted" and "Non-gifted": Ms. Early stated that she would rather be called an instructional leader than an administrator. However, being an administrator also means being a manager. "Sometimes I have to do things that are not popular [like] not give a wonderful evaluation to [a teacher] or suspend students" (p. 34). According to Ms. Early, being called an administrator has the following benefits: "...coming to school, meeting the children, and getting hugs in the morning to start the day off right,....a sense of accomplishment...when a child does do something positive,...having the opportunity to interact with teachers. I especially like it when I see a teacher blossom" (pp. 34-35). Lastly, she tearfully told of receiving positive notes from parents. "I read one [note] last night which said, 'I have already thanked God but now I am going to thank you.' And I thought that was beautiful" (p. 35). Conversely, according to Ms. Early, being called an administrator at Fagan has the following drawbacks: student suspensions, scheduling conflicts wherein a "person's schedule has to be redirected" (p. 35), the paperwork, and the emphasis on test scores. Regarding test scores, she stated:

> That's not the end-all but, unfortunately, to society that's one of the 'biggies.' They rate us on how well our students achieve on tests. It's going to be wonderful when we can come to a time when people can look at the broad picture. (p. 35)

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Regarding the reactions of others to her being a principal at Fagan, Ms. Early stated: Her friends "think it's wonderful....Some of them ask, 'Why'? because there are times when I have to change engagements that we have....Some of them wonder if I'm too nice to be

a principal" (p. 36). Family members think "it's wonderful....My son thinks it's a great thing. He's proud" (p. 36). Other principals think she is "a good principal" (p. 36). Some have asked her to share techniques, etc. and others have complimented the school climate--the "sense of warmth" (p. 37) when they entered the building. "They [other principals] will say, 'You know when you go into some places it's so cold that you can tell a difference'" (p. 37). When asked if others treat her differently because she is the principal at Fagan, Ms. Early replied, "The only difference, I would say, is that my friends who would call me [by my first name] in the past in a work situation say 'Ms. Early' now" (p. 37).

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Ms. Early believes that she is "gifted" in literature. She also believes that she is a "gifted" administrator because "I try to challenge my teachers,...my students,...and myself to do more....I have high expectations....I don't want us to stay inside that box, that is, to do the same old, same old lecture/discussion" (p. 38). Further, she does not believe that one has to be "gifted" to have a "gifted" child. "I believe that everyone is 'gifted' to a degree, maybe not 'gifted' the way the district or the state determines that a person's 'gifted'" (p. 38).

Photo Exercise: In comparing the six classes, Ms. Early noted that they are "all engaged in some activity,...most of them are sitting at desks, [and] they all seem to be about the same age" (p. 39). They are different because some of the children are "working in little teams [and] others are working individually" (p. 40). More specifically, according to Ms. Early, the activities are different. "I see a little more variety in the SEARCH class" (p. 40). Further, "in the SEARCH classroom, the children are working at tables....The children are up. They are not so structured" (p. 40). In the magnet classes, "the body language is a little different" (p. 41). She explained: "It seems like they are a little happier. The activity is not so serious" (p. 41). Lastly, "In the SEARCH...and in the magnet

classrooms, I see boys and girls who are black and white and in my residential classrooms, all the students are minority" (p. 40).

Ms. Early stated that she got into her setting because she applied for the position and was selected by the School Improvement Team "along with a team of principals and administrators from central office" (p. 42). She was also interviewed by the superintendent. "He found out that I had been certified in 'gifted' education [and] had taught...honors classes on the middle school level....The next day I received the job" (p. 43). When asked how things might be different if she were not the principal at Fagan, Ms. Early at first replied, "I'm not sure" (p. 43). She then stated:

> A principal who had not been in "gifted" education...might not understand....some of the things they do in "gifted" classes....They may not understand "gifted" teachers [or] that "gifted" children are not always the nicest children. There are times when they have temper tantrums because they are also human beings....Some people feel, oh, they ["gifted" children] are going to get it anyway [but] these children need more, and they need a leader who is going to expect them to do more. (p. 43)

Mr. Clancy (Assistant Principal):

Preliminaries: Interviews with Mr. Clancy were conducted at school in his office. Mr. Clancy is Anglo-American. He is married and has two daughters. He stated that he had been in management positions since he was fifteen when he was a "head lifeguard" (p. 7). Since that time, he has managed a gas station/car wash, a restaurant, and has served in the military. He taught first grade for four years and third grade for one year. He recalled his first teaching experience:

> The first year I went into a classroom where the principal showed me the students that were jumping all over tables and laying all over tables and screaming and yelling. I came in October twenty-fourth in a class that had already gone through four teachers, walked out of the classroom and the principal asked me, "Are you sure you want to come into this?" I said, "Sure." (p. 28)

During his time in the classroom, he received his master's degree in administration. He has been the assistant principal at Fagan for two years. Mr. Clancy was a talkative, expressive, and oftentimes tearful respondent. At times during our conversation, he worked on his computer and thumbed through materials on his desk. Many of his responses began with succinct witticisms.

"Grand Tour": Mr. Clancy began by stating that life in general as the assistant principal of Fagan is "fun. There is really no difference between my life and that of a teacher other than the aspects that I deal with are a little bit different than a teacher" (p. 1). He explained that a teacher deals with one group of children all day whereas he "may run into them and keep on going" (p. 1). Further "I might be a little bit more severe. Where I have 'time-outs' all the way to suspension at my fingertips, a teacher has 'time-out' and sending them to the principal at their fingertips" (p. 1).

According to Mr. Clancy, an assistant principal deals with discipline and academics. Further, he deals with children "in a joyous and a non-joyous manner" (p. 1). He explained tearfully:

> How many professions can you walk down an area and get fifteen, twenty, thirty hugs and become late to a meeting because kids are stopping you and hugging you? Just like a teacher, when you see a light go off in their head, you see it in the hall too. [Conversely], it's never fun dealing with children [who misbehave]. (p. 1)

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding Mr. Clancy's level of involvement at Fagan initially elicited the comment, "I sit around all day" (p. 10). He then stated that he visits classrooms in order to assist teachers. When asked to explain, he said that he monitors classes regarding materials used, appearance of the classroom, type of noise ("positive noise or just noise", p. 10) within the classroom, and child interactions. When probed, he initially stated, "I get thirsty" (p. 10). He then continued to describe how he assisted teachers regarding technology, students, or the appropriateness or inappropriateness of materials. He offered the following example:

> At another school there was a book on the shelf...about AIDS and it had two bodies entwined in the position of making love and it was on an elementary school shelf and I do not think that is quite appropriate and so getting that before the media committee to have it removed from the shelves would be an example of inappropriateness. (p. 10)

Lastly, he stated that he did not make any decisions. "Decisions are made by groups of people [children, teachers, staff]....I just talk through it" (p. 11).

Regarding additional specific levels of involvement at Fagan, Mr. Clancy initially stated, "I hide" (p. 2). He then repeated that he is in charge of textbook ordering and assisting teachers with instruction. Also, he notes the high achievement of the magnet students and how it "rubs off on the resident students" (p. 3). He plays basketball in the school gym on Monday and Tuesday nights with several of the men on staff, he "takes teachers to workshops....[to learn about] Core Knowledge [and] at-risk behaviors" (p. 4), he observes teachers, and he offers suggestions to them for improvement. He stated:

> There is this one teacher that was in the science lesson and the experiment didn't go well and we found out that the teacher did not

> follow the procedure...It was a lesson for the children because all this was stated out loud that when you don't follow procedures, things don't work all the time. (p. 4)

He told me that he spends a lot of time walking. For example, he is in charge of morning and afternoon bus duty, class visitations, and disciplining students in his office. "I need roller skates, roller blades" (p. 6). Lastly, he likes to "joke around, horseplay...with the students" (p. 5). He elaborated:

> One of the things I like to do with the young ladies here is that I will pull on their ponytails and some like it and some don't like it. Those who don't like it, I refrain from, but those that smile and act silly about it, I'll continue doing it. (p. 5)

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: Mr. Clancy stated that he knows some students more than others. The ones he knows best are the ones he visits at home. "Not all kids have a telephone in their house..., so sometimes you have to go visit the house in order to have a conversation....and get them back on the right track" (pp. 7-8). Also, he has observed that Fagan students "come from all walks of life" (p. 8) and their success depends "on the drive of the parents" (p. 8). When asked how he knew these things, he initially responded, "Gee, I don't know" (p. 8). He then stated, "I believe a lot has to do with my background, my spiritual beliefs [and]....by having conversations with the students" (p. 8). He offered the following example:

> Then you have students who will tell you everything and anything that happens with them, some positive, and some negative. Positive things are swim meets and track stars and on the negative, you know, mom and dad may beat them or they stay up until nine, ten, twelve o'clock watching horror movies that I myself wouldn't watch. (p. 8)

Compare and Contrast: When discussing how he got to be an administrator, Mr. Clancy initially stated, "I begged" (p. 27). He then said, "I enjoy administration. I like delegating. I like being in charge. I like knowing what's going on" (p. 27). He repeated that he had been a classroom teacher five years. During that time, he returned to school and received a master's degree in administration. Mr. Clancy believes that a school should be run like a business, especially in the areas of finance and staffing. He explains:

> I think the biggest thing is finance....One of the biggest aspects of running a business is making sure that the money is kept straight. I do believe that we waste a lot of money in education....by buying a lot of things that are not necessarily needed....If we made teachers more accountable for that type of stuff,...our education system would be a little better....[Further], most businesses that are not union run, it is easier to get rid of incompetency and I do believe we need to be able to get rid of incompetency in education too. (pp. 28-29)

Then, contradictorily, he said, "In any bureaucracy you see a lot of waste and that comes from positions that are not actually needed, the supplies that are totally useless" (p. 30).

Mr. Clancy believes that the assistant principalship has been a positive experience for him. "Anytime you deal with children, I think it is going to have a positive influence" (p. 9). Additionally, he disagrees with "all these great intellectual minds of the world supposedly telling us that public schools are going down the toilet" (p. 9). According to Mr. Clancy, "if you are able to separate their [magnet students'] scores [on the ITBS] and show them against any private school, you'd find out that our scores are just as good if not better than every school in town" (p. 9). Lastly, he is able "to sit back and watch the principal and

see what she does" (p. 10). Mr. Clancy could not think of any negatives regarding his experience as assistant principal. "I haven't had the worst parts yet" (p. 10).

In comparing the curricula and methodologies for SEARCH, magnet, and residential students, Mr. Clancy stated that the materials used in all classrooms are similar and methodologies are "all teacher oriented" (p. 45). They are different because the residential classes "have more teacher direction" (p. 45) than the SEARCH and magnet classes. They also use different type books. Specifically, the resident students use "normal textbooks and the magnet students have a variety of books" (p. 45).

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": According to Mr. Clancy, "gifted" is "an open term....it is just something where someone is able to achieve better than the normal or the average person would be able to do" (p. 11). By "normal" he means "the little box that we as humans or adults try to put everybody into" (p. 12). He offered the following example: "In today's society, every woman is 32-24-32 and if you don't fit into that figure, then you are either overweight or you're, you know, so you have to be a certain picture and that is normal" (p. 12).

> In comparing himself to other administrators, Mr. Clancy stated:
>
> I am seen as an authority figure....I don't want to use the term superior...but I am above them as far as the chain goes....[Also], like other administrators I guess I believe in becoming part of the solution, not part of the problem. (pp. 11-12)

He is unlike other administrators because he has a small office ("a prison", p. 15) and sometimes he dresses in ways that "business people wouldn't consider professional....like my train tie or my frog tie, my cowboy and Indian tie or my pencil tie" (p. 13). Additionally, other administrators "tend to be stuffy" (p. 13). He is not. Other administrators would not play basketball with the staff. He does. "I

think it is also very important to associate with your roots and your roots in education is teaching" (p. 14).

To Mr. Clancy, administrative work at Fagan means observing the positive academic and behavioral influence of the magnet students on the residential students. He also stated:

> It means being able to juggle different populations of parents and students,...staff members,...[and] various learning styles....It means that I get to run with the joy that the students bring....Maybe their lives have a little more drudgery but here it's more fun....It means long hours....It means getting a pie thrown at your face at the end of the year [by reading club winners]....More missed than hit but that's how the pie flies. (p. 16)

Being a teacher at Fagan means to have high ideals, high expectations for the students and themselves, and the ability to work together. "You have to be a people person and not a recluse" (p. 17). Further, it means a lot of hard work and dedication, involvement in extracurricular activities, and the ability to leave one's "comfort zone" (p. 18) in order to try new things.

More specifically, when discussing his perceptions regarding SEARCH children, Mr. Clancy stated that SEARCH children "have a lot of fun,...get a lot of enrichments,...do more hands-on activities,...[and] are involved in more things (pp. 18-19). Further, the teacher-pupil ratio is smaller in SEARCH classes and the children get more help with their activities such as "doing videos, editing videos, power points,...Quiz Bowl,...the Media Festival" (p. 19). Regarding SEARCH parents, he stated that they need to encourage their children's inquisitive natures, be involved in their children's activities at school, and "work harder as a parent because their students are going to do more of the

hands-on type things" (p. 19). Regarding children in the magnet program, Mr. Clancy stated that magnet children have more work. Additionally, he said:

> You get extra funds with the magnet program because the resident program doesn't get as much funding....Magnet teachers are able to buy a little bit more as far as supplies. They're able to afford a couple of extra field trips that the residents might not get. (p. 20)

Regarding magnet parents, he stated that they need "to demonstrate a little bit more responsibility for academics....If you don't maintain a certain academic level, then you won't stay in the program" (p. 21).

Mr. Clancy described five groups of residential students: those who attend Fagan because it is their neighborhood school and they have no other choice, those who attend in order to excel as they have seen others excel, and those who have "taken up the call" (p. 22) and serve as leaders. Children in this third group are "setting their sights on how they are supposed to act and showing others how you are supposed to act" (p. 22). According to Mr. Clancy, "Leading doesn't have to be the General Patton style.... It can be a very quiet Dwight Eisenhower. He was not very loud or brash, but he got things done" (p. 22). Other children realize that they "have a burden to bear because you have other students that you have to live up to" (p. 22). Lastly, there are those who ask, "Why do I even have to come to school?" (p. 21). He elaborated:

> They grow up with other siblings that may be out on the streets and they pick up street mentality....standing around on the corner dealing drugs, drinking beer. They don't have to have a education because they can get money doing whatever they want to do. A lot of our students, or some of our students, have older siblings that are in jail or juvenile detention. Some of them [think] that is "real cool"...wearing their pants down below

> their bottom line, hanging around the corner, not having to work, not having to go to school, not knowing how to speak proper English....They find it neat and fun to be able to go around and throw rocks at cars, break windows, carry a gun, smoke dope, smoke cigarettes, drink, and that goes on down....into the elementary schools. (pp. 21-22)

Regarding residential parents, he stated that "more is put upon them" (p. 22) to become involved in their children's school life. "You see other parents doing, so for some it's going to motivate them to do more for their kids" (p. 22).

According to Mr. Clancy, the SEARCH program and the magnet program are alike because students have to pass tests in order to be admitted, both have enhanced curricula, and the teachers involved need to be certified in education for the "gifted." These teachers "are very talented and open to new and inventive ideas in their classrooms and it's not just a textbook style teaching" (p. 25). They are different because the admissions tests are different, there are fewer students in the SEARCH classes, and SEARCH students are able to delve deeper into certain topics. Lastly, magnet teachers are also responsible for teaching the QCC objectives whereas SEARCH teachers are not. The SEARCH program and the residential program are alike because "there are higher expectations for the students to achieve" (p. 24) and both have "very competent teachers [who] genuinely care about them [students]. They are different because residential students are not a "pull-out group,...there are extra funds provided for SEARCH,...[and] SEARCH is a small group and resident is a larger group. SEARCH deals with a specific area where resident deals with everything" (p. 24). The magnet and residential programs are alike because teachers in both programs are required to teach the QCC objectives and they have "a set schedule" (p. 26). They are different because the magnet teachers also teach

"enhanced objectives to take the students farther than just the regular...curriculum" (p. 26). Further, most magnet students are working at or above their grade level whereas many residential students are working below their grade level.

Regarding placement of teachers and students at the school, Mr. Clancy stated that teachers get to teach in the SEARCH program if they are "innovative" (p. 30), if they have "high recommendations" (p. 31) from others, and if the interview process and references are satisfactory. Students are admitted to the SEARCH program if they "have good grades,...good behavior,"... [and] meet the requirements of a standardized test they have taken" (p. 31). Teachers get to teach in the magnet program if they have their "teaching certificate,...some teaching experience,...and their 'gifted' certificate" (p. 30). Students are admitted to the magnet program if they pass entrance testing requirements and there is room for them. Teachers get to teach in the residential program if they hold a teaching certificate and they pass the interview process. Students are admitted into the residential program if they live within the school district for Fagan Elementary School.

Mr. Clancy believes that teachers and students could get into any setting--but with conditions: Regarding the SEARCH program, teachers "have to have a desire to do more than just the basic or the minimum requirements, because that's not going to teach our ["gifted"] students" (p. 31). Prospective SEARCH students "have to have a very strong support at home" (p. 31). Any teacher could get into the magnet program "but not everyone is willing....There is extra work in teaching the 'gifted' students" (p. 31). Any student could get into the magnet program if "the desire is there" (p. 31) and they are willing to work hard. Likewise, any teacher could get into the residential program. Then he stated:

> We also have a lot of teachers that are asked to leave the residential program....for not performing their duties. The primary responsibility of the teacher is to teach, not to berate, belittle, or sit around and tell students to do something and not show them. (p. 32)

Any child could get into the residential if they live in the school district for Fagan.

According to Mr. Clancy, all teachers at Fagan should not be in the SEARCH program because not all teachers have the "desire" (p. 32) to be. Also, some teachers are better able to communicate with the residential students. He then asked, "If you put everyone in the SEARCH program, who is going to teach the resident" (p. 32)? Likewise, not every child should be in the SEARCH program which he also refers to as "a leader's program" (p. 32). [He referred earlier to some residential students as leaders.] If they [students] are not willing to do the required extra work, then they "do not need to be in the program because the only thing they're doing is going to set themselves up for failure" (p. 32). According to Mr. Clancy, all teachers should not be in the magnet program "because not every teacher belongs to be in the classroom period" (p. 33). When asked to explain, he stated, "You have teachers that barely teach at all in the classroom. We have teachers that are able to teach students minimal concepts and not able to go beyond that" (p. 33). He then stated, "The concepts that the magnet teachers use...are sorely needed in the resident classrooms also" (p. 33). In other words, the ideas presented in education for the "gifted" classes need to be applied in the residential classrooms also. Likewise, not every child should be in the magnet program "because the magnet program is for students that are willing to work hard and that want to go beyond the normal curriculum" (p. 33). "Motivation" (p. 34) is the key. According to Mr. Clancy, all teachers should "go through a residential program someplace first....I do believe

you have to have some experience teaching before you get into a magnet class" (p. 34). Conversely, not every child should be in the residential program. "If a child has a desire to move on, to work hard, and do well in school, then they belong in the magnet program" (p. 34).

According to Mr. Clancy, "some teachers are in the SEARCH program because they don't like teaching resident students" (p. 34). He offered several additional reasons:

> They want to help children,...as the army says, 'Be all they can be,'...They have seen a...desire of students to learn and the students haven't received it from other teachers....Some are in it because they are asked to be in it. (p. 34)

Others are not because "some teachers would rather teach the opposite end of the spectrum....the low end students" (pp. 35-36). Some teachers are in the magnet program "because they enjoy taking students beyond the basic curriculum" (p. 35). Others are because "they believe there is a genuine need for students to have the opportunities that are in the magnet program instead of just teaching the basics" (p. 35). Others are not in the magnet program because they are not certified in education for the "gifted," they enjoy teaching "the low achiever" (p. 36), there are no positions available, or "they are asked to leave teaching, period" (p. 36). Some teachers are in the residential program because "they enjoy teaching residential students" (p. 35). He elaborated:

> Residential students here are a minority and a lot of our resident teachers are minority and they want to teach minority students. They want to try to make a difference with the students who have a poor home life, a sad home life that doesn't necessarily encourage education. (p. 35)

Others are not "because some are asked to leave teaching" (p. 36). According to Mr. Clancy, these individuals are asked, in so many words, "Don't you think you would rather do something else besides ruining a child's life" (p. 36)?

Lastly, according to Mr. Clancy, some children are in the SEARCH program "because Mom or Dad have this little thing where they can say their student goes to Fagan Elementary School magnet program" (pp. 34-35). Others are not because "some students aren't technically considered 'gifted' although they are smart and very hard working" (p. 36). Some children are in the magnet program because "their parents told them they would,...because they wanted to come here,...[and/or] because their siblings were in it" (p. 35). Others are not because they don't want to do the "extra work" (p. 36), they do not have the ability, and/or "their parents don't want them in it" (p. 36). Some children are in the residential program because "they have no choice" (p. 35). He explained:

> When you don't have anybody pushing you at home or motivating you towards education, then you don't have a choice in life. You start doing what is common to you....That means...standing on the street corner drinking beer and don't go to work and all day long wearing your pants down to your ankles and you think that's cool. Pushing drugs, things like this, this is reality to them. Education is not part of that reality. So to try to get into the magnet program is the furthest thing from their mind. (p. 35)

Mr. Clancy said that he did not know why some children are not in the residential program.

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being an Administrator in a School for Children Labeled "Gifted" and "Non-gifted": When asked if he liked being called an administrator, Mr. Clancy replied, "I don't care what I'm called" (p. 37). He then stated, "Without good administrators, you're not going to have good

teaching in the school" (p. 37). Regarding the benefits of being an administrator, Mr. Clancy initially said, "Oh, I get to sit back and put my feet on the desk and drink coffee all day" (p. 37). Then he stated that he liked being able to interact with all the students in the school and he likes "dealing with parents" (p. 38). Conversely, and contradictorily, Mr. Clancy stated that the worst thing about being an assistant principal is "dealing with some parents who are very dogmatic that their children don't do anything wrong" (p. 37). Further, finding staff during the summer is difficult "when you have twenty-six schools trying to do the same thing" (p. 38).

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Regarding the reactions of others to him being assistant principal at Fagan, Mr. Clancy stated: "They [his friends] are glad it's me and not them because they couldn't do it" (p. 38). His family members believe that it is "fantastic. It's right where I need to be....They think I can make a difference [because] I am fair and consistent" (p. 38). When asked how other administrators reacted to him in his position, he initially responded, "I have no idea" (p. 39). He then said, "When I see other administrators, it's more on a business level of trying to get things done" (p. 39). Others do not treat him differently because he is assistant principal at Fagan. He said, "I wouldn't allow it" (p. 39).

Mr. Clancy believes that some parents of SEARCH students are "excited [and] humble....Others feel 'of course my kids are in there. What else did you expect'?" (p. 39). Some parents who do not have children in the SEARCH program are indifferent and some are "very disappointed and try to do everything they can to get their kids into the program whether they qualify or not" (p. 39). Parents of magnet students feel "...very happy. The magnet program is highly thought of" (p. 39). Some parents who do not have children in the magnet program "are disappointed" (p. 40) especially if there are siblings who are

enrolled. Some residential parents are indifferent about having children in the residential program and others would prefer having their child in the magnet program. According to Mr. Clancy, parents who do not have children in the residential program have the following feelings:

> I think they are glad they're not a residential parent because they know that [their] children are being pushed beyond the regular curriculum....[Further], their children are going to get more experiences...[in] a more diverse classroom. (p. 40)

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Mr. Clancy believes that he is "gifted" but doesn't know why. "I don't know yet. I'm still trying to figure that" (p. 41). He also believes that he is a "gifted" administrator because he is "able to get people to get things done that sometimes they don't necessarily want to do" (p. 41). He is also able to "motivate" (p. 41) others, he is able "to get things done in an amicable manner before tension arises" (p. 42), and he works well with the parents. Further, he does not believe that one has to be "gifted" to have a "gifted" child. "It is hereditary....It is able to skip generations and/or children" (p. 42). He then stated, "Not all the students in the magnet program are 'gifted.' I would say anywhere from forty-five to sixty percent may be 'gifted' and that leaves a good portion that are not" (p. 42). When asked why "non-gifted" students are in the magnet program, he replied that they had scored well on the standardized test required for admission and "they are motivated to perform by their parents [who have] pushed them academically" (p. 43). Lastly, he does not believe that one has to be "gifted" to be an administrator.

Photo Exercise:In comparing the six classes, Mr. Clancy noted that they [students] are "all in a classroom....which seem about the same size,...they're all doing work,...the classrooms seem cheery,...[and] in every class

someone is not doing something on task" (pp. 43-44). They are different because the resident students are using textbooks, the magnet students are using texts plus other materials, and the SEARCH students are working independently, playing games, and working with pottery. In the residential classes are teacher-directed activities involving small groups. The SEARCH students are seated at tables and the others are at desks. The magnet students are working independently on various activities and the residential students seem involved in one activity with the teacher. There are more students in the residential classes than there are in the SEARCH and magnet classes. Lastly, "you have basic information on the walls in the residential classes and it seems in some of the other classes you have a little bit more advanced stuff on the walls" (p. 44).

Mr. Clancy stated that he got into his setting because he applied for the position and was selected by the interview team "and I guess I did a better job than the other people who applied" (p. 46). When asked how things might be different if he were not the assistant principal at Fagan, Mr. Clancy initially responded, "I couldn't answer that" (p. 46). He then stated that perhaps someone else might not have the "good rapport" (p. 46) with the staff, students, and parents that he does. Also, because he is "jovial...some things could be taken more seriously if I was not here" (p. 46).

Group Perspectives of Administrators of Fourth-Grade Girls Labeled "Gifted" and Fourth-Grade Girls Not Labeled "Gifted"

Preliminaries: The two administrators at Fagan were interviewed. Interviews were conducted at school in a media center ante-room, in the front office of the school, and in the assistant principal's office. Ms. Early, the principal, is African-American. She has spent her entire career in the field of education.

She holds advanced degrees in middle school education and administration. She is also certified to teach the "gifted." Mr. Clancy, the assistant principal (and only male respondent), is Anglo-American. Before entering the field of education, he held various management positions and also served in the military. He holds an advanced degree in administration. Both administrators were cooperative and talkative. Interestingly, both became tearful at times during our conversations.

Because of Fagan's relatively small population, the administrators are able to communicate more significantly with students and staff. Additionally, Ms. Early and Mr. Clancy--perhaps in contrast to principals in other settings--work diligently to complete and then set aside their "administrivia," enabling them to interact more frequently and more meaningfully with others. Hence, they remain highly visible and profoundly influential at the school.

"Grand Tour": Initial responses from the principal and assistant principal were positive (e. g., "rewarding," "fun"). Unsolicited follow-up responses concerned certain interpersonal relationships which are not always deemed positive. For example, Ms. Early told me that her job is also "very, very challenging." She discussed three major challenges: parents, children, and busing. Her interactions with parents mean defending existent programs and explaining why others are nonexistent, defending her teachers and their various teaching styles, and serving as liaison between parents and a bus system greatly in need of improvement. Her interactions with children mean trying to meet the needs of a diverse population of students from those who have severe environmental and academic challenges to those who need to "soar" (p. 1). Her service as liaison between parents and the bus company means a frustrating struggle to build parental support regarding the bus system while at the same time defending the bus drivers who must deal with unruly children and a bus

company fraught with administrative, financial, and scheduling woes. Mr. Clancy contrasted his job with that of a teacher's job by discussing discipline: "I might be a little bit more severe. Where I have 'time-outs' all the way to suspension at my fingertips, a teacher has 'time-out' and sending them to the principal at their fingertips."

Global questions regarding their level of involvement at Fagan elicited that both administrators consider academics their primary responsibility. Additionally, Mr. Clancy deals with discipline issues. Ms. Early described her many other roles: business manager, mother, counselor, listener, peacemaker, nutritionist, nurse, secretary, Girl Friday.

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding their level of involvement at Fagan revealed the following similarity: Both monitor classroom activities in order to assist teachers and hence enhance instruction. Additionally, Ms. Early works to improve curriculum. From "instructional magazines" (p. 4) she became interested in the idea of multiple intelligences. She stated:

> There are some people who actually do not know that leadership is a form of intelligence....That child may not have earned a particular score on an intelligence test. We have students who dance, sing, who in art class create things....And these children have talent and we want teachers to recognize it and celebrate it....These are students across the board--magnet as well as non-magnet....I hope I have led my teachers to embrace the fact that there are "gifted" children in regular classrooms.

Contradictorily, she monitors test scores closely. "We know that there are some peaks and valleys when it comes to test scores, and that's a reality. But we always have our eye on the goal of making incremental gains each year." Mr.

Clancy also orders classroom materials and monitors their appropriateness or inappropriateness. He offered the following example:

> At another school there was a book on the shelf...about AIDS and it had two bodies entwined in the position of making love and it was on an elementary school shelf and I do not think that is quite appropriate and so getting that before the media committee to have it removed from the shelves would be an example of inappropriateness.

When asked about additional specific levels of involvement at Fagan, Ms. Early repeated that she monitors the curriculum and classroom instruction. Additionally, she reviews teacher interactions (e. g., grade group meetings), serves on committees, meets with community and business partners, orders instructional materials, and "I critique everything that is sent from the school." Mr. Clancy repeated that he orders materials and assists teachers with instruction. Additionally, he plays basketball in the school gym on Monday and Tuesday nights with several of the men on staff, he spends a lot of time walking the campus, he monitors the high achievement of the magnet students and how it "rubs off on the resident students," and lastly, he likes to "joke around, horseplay...with the students." When asked to elaborate, he said:

> One of the things I like to do with the young ladies here is that I will pull on their ponytails and some like it and some don't like it. Those who don't like it, I refrain from, but those that smile and act silly about it, I'll continue doing it.

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: Ms. Early continued to discuss academics, including the school's involvement with Core Knowledge. According to Ms. Early, Core Knowledge is "not the end-all but we do expose our children to a core of knowledge that they will build upon as they

move from grade to grade." She also described the school climate as positive and "inviting" and most of the children are "very, very happy." Conversely, Ms. Early and Mr. Clancy also stated that many students have problems. They both told me that they knew these things because they communicated closely with parents, children, and made home visits. Mr. Clancy stated:

> Then you have students who will tell you everything and anything that happens with them, some positive, and some negative. Positive things are swim meets and track stars and on the negative, you know, mom and dad may beat them or they stay up until nine, ten, twelve o'clock watching horror movies that I myself wouldn't watch. (p. 8)

Additionally, Ms. Early observes "products....[and] I may get feedback from surveys that we send out."

Compare and Contrast: When discussing how they became administrators, both Ms. Early and Mr. Clancy reviewed their professional backgrounds, hers in education and his in business, the military, and now in education. Mr. Clancy also stated, "I enjoy administration. I like delegating. I like being in charge. I like knowing what's going on." Further, he believes that a school should be run like a business, especially in the areas of finance and staffing. He explains:

> I think the biggest thing is finance....One of the biggest aspects of running a business is making sure that the money is kept straight. I do believe that we waste a lot of money in education....by buying a lot of things that are not necessarily needed....If we made teachers more accountable for that type of stuff,...our education system would be a little better....[Further], most businesses that are not

> union run, it is easier to get rid of incompetency and I do believe we need to be able to get rid of incompetency in education too.

Both administrators believe that their positions have been positive experiences for them and both cited their work with children as the reason. When asked if their positions had been negative experiences for them, responses were polar. Mr. Clancy could not think of any negatives. "I haven't had the worst parts yet." Ms. Early cited three: unjust parental criticism of teachers, having to suspend or expel a child, and monumental paperwork. Regarding the latter, she explained:

> There are so many things in education today that you have to document....[For example], anytime a parent has a concern, if it goes beyond this school, those have to be addressed....We can't let things fester....We just have to write these things up and get them to the proper source....My supervisor needs to know what's going on here at this school....I know ours is not the only school system [experiencing this] because I attend conferences and I hear people talk about it.

In comparing the curricula and methodologies for SEARCH, magnet, and residential students, responses varied. Ms. Early discussed Quality Core Curriculum objectives and Core Knowledge. Mr. Clancy responded that the materials used in all classrooms are similar and methodologies are "all teacher oriented." In contrasting the curricula and methodologies for SEARCH, magnet, and residential classes, once again responses varied. Ms. Early stated that SEARCH and magnet classes have "enhanced objectives." More specifically, she said, "In the residential classes, the children are involved in the same activity....In the magnet classes, the activities are not the same [for all children]....In the SEARCH class, it's hands-on." Mr. Clancy continued to focus

on teaching and materials. According to Mr. Clancy, the residential classes "have more teacher direction." They also use different type books. Specifically, the resident students use "normal textbooks and the magnet students have a variety of books."

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": The administrators' perceptions regarding the term "gifted" differed. Ms. Early believes that it means "special." She told me that she used to think that it was based on cognition and test scores. Since becoming familiar with the idea of multiple intelligences, however, she now believes that it means "one's creativity, one's specialty in a specific area." Mr. Clancy believes that "gifted" means achievement beyond what "the normal or the average person would be able to do." When asked to explain what he meant by "normal," he said, "the little box that we as humans or adults try to put everybody into." He offered the following example: "In today's society, every woman is 32-24-32 and if you don't fit into that figure, then you are either overweight or you're, you know, so you have to be a certain picture and that is normal."

In comparing themselves with other administrators, Ms. Early spoke of mutual concerns regarding the desire for children to learn and the desire for a safe learning environment. Mr. Clancy spoke of the sphere of power that he occupies and his position within:

> I am seen as an authority figure....I don't want to use the term superior...but I am above them as far as the chain goes....[Also], like other administrators I guess I believe in becoming part of the solution, not part of the problem.

In contrasting themselves with other administrators, Ms. Early was unsure. Mr. Clancy cited several differences: He has a small office ("a prison"). He sometimes dresses in ways that "business people wouldn't consider

professional....like my train tie or my frog tie, my cowboy and Indian tie or my pencil tie." Additionally, other administrators "tend to be stuffy." He is not. Other administrators would not play basketball with the staff. He does. "I think it is also very important to associate with your roots and your roots in education is teaching."

Regarding their perceptions of administrative work at Fagan, Ms. Early and Mr. Clancy both discussed their interactions with parents, students, and teachers. Additionally, Ms. Early discussed her work with the budget and her involvement in instruction. Mr. Clancy stated that "it means long hours." Also, he repeated that he observes the positive academic and behavioral influence of the magnet students on the residential students. When discussing what it means to be a teacher at Fagan, both administrators cited teamwork and the desire for personal growth. Mr. Clancy added high ideals, high expectations, and the ability to leave one's "comfort zone" in order to try new things. Regarding students and parents, students come to learn and interact with others. Parents view the school positively as a proper learning environment for their children and also as a place where they may interact positively with the teachers and administrators. Lastly--and interestingly--Ms. Early prefaced each of these perceptual responses with "I hope." When questioned about this, she focused on the parents and her interactions--at times conflictive--with them. "On the whole, I think the parents are pleased. Those who are not, who have come to me, I've tried to address issues. Teachers try to address issues....Oftentimes, they [teachers] share with me some of the concerns parents have."

More specifically, regarding their perceptions of teachers in the SEARCH program, Ms. Early listed characteristics necessary for becoming a successful SEARCH teacher: versatility, patience, and the ability to understand and interact with "gifted" children and their parents. Regarding SEARCH

children, the administrators' perceptions differed. Ms. Early told of SEARCH children feeling "safe" with their peers. When asked what she meant, she said, "They're safe because they are able to show their intelligence without someone belittling them....[or] calling a child a nerd, saying that a child is too smart, a teacher's pet." Mr. Clancy described the SEARCH children's involvement with the program. According to Mr. Clancy, SEARCH children "have a lot of fun," are involved in more enrichment activities, and are able to interact more with their teachers because of smaller teacher-pupil ratio. Regarding SEARCH parents, once again perceptions differed. Ms. Early described parents' confidence in and positive feelings about the school. She also described Fagan as a place where they can conduct research regarding education for the "gifted." Mr. Clancy said that SEARCH parents need to be involved in their children's learning and "work harder as a parent because their students are going to do more of the hands-on type things."

When asked their perceptions of teachers in the magnet program, Ms. Early listed characteristics for becoming a successful magnet teacher: the ability to interact successfully with colleagues and the ability to understand and interact with "gifted" children and their parents. One must also be wide-read, involved in professional growth experiences, and willing to plan and work harder than others. Regarding magnet children, the administrators' perceptions differed. Ms. Early said that Fagan makes magnet children feel positive about themselves because they are challenged and are able to interact with other "gifted" children. Mr. Clancy stated that magnet children have more work. Additionally, he said:

> You get extra funds with the magnet program because the resident program doesn't get as much funding....Magnet teachers are able to buy a little bit more as far as supplies. They're able to afford a couple of extra field trips that the residents might not get.

Regarding magnet parents, both administrators' perceptions were similar to their perceptions regarding SEARCH parents. Ms. Early described parents' confidence and positive feelings regarding the school. Mr. Clancy said that magnet parents need to be more responsible regarding academics. "If you don't maintain a certain academic level, then you won't stay in the program."

Regarding teachers in the residential program, Ms. Early stated that residential teachers need to consider themselves teachers--not residential teachers. They should say, "I don't have 'resident' on my door....I don't feel that there's anything wrong with me." Regarding residential children, both administrators described residential students as those who come to learn. Mr. Clancy cited four other groups of residential students: those who attend Fagan because it is their neighborhood school and they have no other choice, and those who have "taken up the call" and serve as leaders. Children in the leadership group are "setting their sights on how they are supposed to act and showing others how you are supposed to act." According to Mr. Clancy, "Leading doesn't have to be the General Patton style.... It can be a very quiet Dwight Eisenhower. He was not very loud or brash, but he got things done." Other children realize that they "have a burden to bear because you have other students that you have to live up to." Lastly, there are those who question why they even have to come to school. When asked to elaborate regarding the last group, Mr. Clancy stated:

> They grow up with other siblings that may be out on the streets and they pick up street mentality....standing around on the corner dealing drugs, drinking beer. They don't have to have a education because they can get money doing whatever they want to do. A lot of our students, or some of our students, have older siblings that are in jail or juvenile detention. Some of them [think] that is "real

> cool"...wearing their pants down below their bottom line, hanging around the corner, not having to work, not having to go to school, not knowing how to speak proper English....They find it neat and fun to be able to go around and throw rocks at cars, break windows, carry a gun, smoke dope, smoke cigarettes, drink, and that goes on down....into the elementary schools.

Regarding residential parents, the administrators' perceptions differed. Ms. Early discussed their [residential parents] confidence in the school. Mr. Clancy discussed the burden they bear. He said that "more is put upon them" to become more involved in their children's school life.

In comparing the SEARCH and magnet programs, both administrators discussed the participants therein and both said that SEARCH and magnet teachers need to be certified in education for the "gifted." Ms. Early added one additional descriptor: The SEARCH and magnet students interact with each other. Mr. Clancy added three additional descriptors: Students are required to pass entrance tests before admission, both have enhanced criteria, and the teachers involved "are very talented and open to new and inventive ideas in their classrooms and it's not just a textbook style teaching." In contrasting the SEARCH and magnet programs, the administrators' responses differed. Ms. Early said that SEARCH children go on different field trips and fourth and fifth grade SEARCH students participate in Odyssey of the Mind. Mr. Clancy offered four differences: Admissions tests are different. There are fewer students in the SEARCH classes, SEARCH students are able to delve deeper into certain topics, and magnet teachers are responsible for teaching the QCC objectives and SEARCH teachers are not.

In comparing the programs for the "gifted" and the residential program, the administrators' responses were similar: Students are expected to

achieve and the teachers are highly capable. Ms. Early added that the teachers interact with one another. Mr. Clancy added that all have objectives and schedules to follow. In contrasting the programs for the "gifted" and the residential program, both administrators stated that residential children are not pulled for accelerated/enriched activities. Ms. Early added that residential teachers are not required to have certification in education of the "gifted." Mr. Clancy added that funds are allotted for the "gifted" and "gifted" classes are smaller.

Regarding placement of teachers and students at the school, both administrators stated that a teacher gets to teach in the SEARCH or magnet programs if they are innovative, hold certification in education for the "gifted," and if recommendations, references, and the interview process are highly satisfactory. Ms. Early added that one must also be quick-thinking, patient, flexible, and creative. Both administrators stated that students are admitted into the SEARCH program based on testing. Ms. Early added that IQ, creativity, and teacher recommendation are also necessary. Mr. Clancy added that good grades and behavior are also required. Both administrators stated that students are admitted into the magnet program if testing is successful. Mr. Clancy added that there must also be room for them. According to both administrators, a teacher gets to teach in the residential program if they pass the interview process. Ms. Early added that one must apply at the school and Mr. Clancy added that one must also hold a teaching certificate. Both administrators said that students are admitted into the residential program at Fagan if they live in the school district.

When discussing if any teacher could get into the programs for the "gifted," the administrators' opinions differed. According to Ms. Early, some teachers are too structured and too close-minded to work with the "gifted."

According to Mr. Clancy, entrance into the program is conditional. One must be willing "to do more than just the basic requirements because that's not going to teach our ["gifted"] students." According to Ms. Early, not any student could get into the programs for the "gifted" at Fagan "because they are not going to meet all the criteria." According to Mr. Clancy, entrance into the program is conditional. A child must be willing to work hard. SEARCH students must also "have a very strong support at home." When asked if any teacher could get into the residential program, responses were polar. Ms. Early stated, "No....because everyone who earns a degree in education is not a teacher." Mr. Clancy initially responded affirmatively. He then reversed his position and stated:

> We also have a lot of teachers that are asked to leave the residential program....for not performing their duties. The primary responsibility of the teacher is to teach, not to berate, belittle, or sit around and tell students to do something and not show them.

According to both administrators, any child could get into the residential program if they live in the school district for Fagan.

Both administrators believe that all teachers at Fagan should not be in the programs for the "gifted." Their reasons were categorical. Both believe that certain teachers belong with certain groups of students. Ms. Early stated, "I've seen some [SEARCH and magnet children] on the floor with their feet in a chair with a book in their hands....There are some people [teachers] who would go ballistic seeing that....So we need several kinds of people working in education." According to Mr. Clancy, "If you put everyone in the SEARCH program, who is going to teach the resident?" He further stated that "not every teacher belongs to be in the classroom period." When asked to explain, he said, "You have teachers that barely teach at all in the classroom. We have teachers that are able to teach students minimal concepts and not able to go beyond that."

Likewise, not every child should be in a program for the "gifted" at Fagan. Both administrators cited motivation--or the lack thereof--as their reason for holding this opinion. According to Ms. Early, not every child can tolerate the pressures experienced by SEARCH children who are "continuously pushed and pushed....You've got to get that test score. You've got to do this product." Further, not all children are able to pass the entrance testing criteria. "There are some children who don't like tests." According to Mr. Clancy, not all children are motivated to do the extra work required of the "gifted." When asked if all teachers should be in the residential program at Fagan, the administrators' responses differed. Ms. Early stated that "there may be some teachers...who may not want to because they want to work with students who are 'gifted'." Mr. Clancy believes that one needs to teach in a residential classroom "before you get into a magnet class." Lastly, according to both administrators, not every child should be in the residential program because some belong in the magnet program. Mr. Clancy explained: "If a child has a desire to move on, to work hard, and do well in school, then they belong in the magnet program."

According to both administrators, some teachers are in the programs for the "gifted" because they have been asked to do so by the administration, they have the desire to learn, and they enjoy challenging their students. Ms. Early added that they also "have taken the courses [and]...they are willing to give extra time to activities." Mr. Clancy added that "they believe there is a genuine need for students to have the opportunities that are in the magnet program instead of just teaching the basics." Others are not because of choice. Ms. Early added that possibly their interviews were unsuccessful, their recommendations were lacking, or they are inflexible. Mr. Clancy added that possibly they were not certified, there was no position available, they were asked to leave, or they enjoy teaching "the low achiever." According to both

administrators, some teachers are in the residential program at Fagan because of choice. When asked why others are not, responses differed. Ms. Early cited choice. Mr. Clancy said that some "are asked to leave teaching." According to Mr. Clancy, these individuals are asked, in so many words, "Don't you think you would rather do something else besides ruining a child's life?"

Lastly, according to both administrators, some children are in the programs for the "gifted" at Fagan because of parent choice. Ms. Early also cited successful completion of entrance criteria. Mr. Clancy also cited student choice and/or "because their siblings were in it [program for the "gifted"]. Others are not because of parent choice. Ms. Early also cited failure to pass entrance criteria. Mr. Clancy also cited lack of motivation and/or ability and "some students aren't technically considered 'gifted' although they are smart and very hard working." When discussing why some children are in the residential program at Fagan, responses differed. Ms. Early stated that they live in the district for Fagan or their ITBS scores are insufficient. Mr. Clancy stated that "they have no choice." He explained:

> When you don't have anybody pushing you at home or motivating you towards education, then you don't have a choice in life. You start doing what is common to you....That means...standing on the street corner drinking beer and don't go to work and all day long wearing your pants down to your ankles and you think that's cool. Pushing drugs, things like this, this is reality to them. Education is not part of that reality. So to try to get into the magnet program is the furthest thing from their mind.

According to Ms. Early, other children are not in the residential program because "we have found that truly they are able to become magnet or SEARCH students." Mr. Clancy simply stated, "I don't know."

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being an Administrator in a School for Children Labeled "Gifted" and "Non-gifted": Initial and follow-up comments were contradictory when discussing whether or not they liked being called administrators. Ms. Early stated that she would rather be called an instructional leader yet her position also meant management. Mr. Clancy expressed indifference then stated, "Without good administrators, you're not going to have good teaching in the school."

When discussing the benefits of being called an administrator, both administrators at Fagan described their positive interactions with students and parents. Ms. Early stated that she also enjoyed her interactions with teachers. "I especially like it when I see a teacher blossom." Responses differed when discussing drawbacks. Ms. Early listed student suspensions, scheduling conflicts wherein a "person's schedule has to be redirected" (p. 35), the paperwork, and the emphasis on test scores. Regarding test scores, she stated:

> That's not the end-all but, unfortunately, to society that's one of the 'biggies.' They rate us on how well our students achieve on tests. It's going to be wonderful when we can come to a time when people can look at the broad picture.

Conversely, and contradictorily, Mr. Clancy stated that the worst thing about being an assistant principal is "dealing with some parents who are very dogmatic that their children don't do anything wrong." Further, finding staff during the summer is difficult "when you have twenty-six schools trying to do the same thing."

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Regarding the reactions of others to their positions at Fagan, both administrators said that friends are happy for them but question why they do it. Both also said that their families are proud of them. Responses differed when discussing their colleagues' reactions. Ms. Early

remarked that other principals compliment the school climate--the "sense of warmth"--at Fagan. Mr. Clancy told me that he had no idea how others felt about his being assistant principal. When asked if others treat them differently because of their positions, once again the answers differed. Ms. Early said that those who once called her by her first name now call her Ms. Early. Mr. Clancy said that he "wouldn't allow" others to treat him differently. According to the administrators, parents who have a child in a program for the "gifted" at Fagan are either happy and/or arrogant. Those who do not have a child in a program for the "gifted" are either indifferent or, according to Mr. Clancy, "very disappointed and try to do everything they can to get their kids into the program whether they qualify or not."

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness": Ms. Early believes that she is partially "gifted"--in literature. Mr. Clancy believes that he is "gifted" but doesn't know why. He stated, "I don't know yet. I'm still trying to figure that." Both believe that they are "gifted" administrators. Ms. Early cites her ability to challenge her teachers and students not "to stay inside that box." Mr. Clancy cites his ability to manipulate, motivate, and work well with others. He told me that he is "able to get people to get things done that sometimes they don't necessarily want to do." Further, both administrators believe that one does not have to be "gifted" to have a "gifted" child. According to Mr. Clancy, "It is hereditary....It is able to skip generations and/or children." He then stated, "Not all the students in the magnet program are 'gifted.' I would say anywhere from forty-five to sixty percent may be 'gifted' and that leaves a good portion that are not." When asked why "non-gifted" students are in the magnet program, he replied that they had scored well on the standardized test required for admission and "they are motivated to perform by their parents [who have] pushed them academically."

Photo Exercise: In comparing the six classes, both administrators said that almost all of the children are involved in their work. Ms. Early remarked that all seem to be about the same age. Mr. Clancy remarked that "the classrooms seem cheery....and in every class someone is not doing something on task." In contrasting the classes, both administrators noticed a continuum from basic structured/teacher directed classrooms (residential) to more difficult unstructured/student directed classrooms (SEARCH). Both also noticed that some children are seated at desks and some are seated at tables. Ms. Early stated that the magnet students seem "a little happier." Lastly, she said, "In the SEARCH...and in the magnet classrooms, I see boys and girls who are black and white and in my residential classrooms, all the students are minority."

Both administrators told me that they got into their respective settings because of successful application and interview processes. Ms. Early said that she was also interviewed by a central office team and by the superintendent. When reflecting on their feelings and on how things might be different if they were not in their positions at Fagan, both initially replied that they did not know. Then Mr. Clancy stated that someone else might not be as "jovial" as he or have the "good rapport" that he has with the staff. Ms. Early then stated:

> A principal who had not been in "gifted" education...might not understand....some of the things they do in "gifted" classes....They may not understand "gifted" teachers [or] that "gifted" children are not always the nicest children. There are times when they have temper tantrums because they are also human beings....Some people feel, oh, they ["gifted" children] are going to get it anyway [but] these children need more, and they need a leader who is going to expect them to do more.

Visuals:

In addition to the six photographs taken for the "photo exercise" part of the formal interviews, many additional photographs were taken of the teachers of fourth-grade girls labeled "gifted" and fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted" in their respective contexts/settings (see Appendixes J, K. and L). If we examine these settings closely, several personal images/portraits/themes emerge. The magnet teachers are seen interacting with their students in student-centered language arts and construction activities. Neither one is smiling. The SEARCH teacher is seen interacting with her students in creative activities. She and her students are all smiling. One residential teacher is walking around in the classroom and not interacting with her students. The other is seated and interacting with one of her students who appears to be completing a worksheet. Neither one of the residential teachers is smiling. (The administrators are not pictured.)

Chapter IX

Analysis

Like Delores Liston's (2001) "Opal," Richardson's (1997) "crystal" and "prism," and Meloy's (1994) "crazy clock" wherein the hands "revolve sometimes clockwise, sometimes counterclockwise, sometimes together, and most often in opposition, so that movement forward is sometimes not comfortingly, logically visible " (p. 68), qualitative research is simultaneously reflective and creative, refractive and merging, accepting and rejecting. Further, when analyzing qualitative data, one must be aware of the past, the fleeting present, contextual nuances, and personal juxtapositions upon these settings. As Meloy (1994) stated:

> ...the context took hold of me--we danced, but I left before the music was over. Although I ended my interaction with the immediate context, the lives of the individuals with whom I interacted dance on without me, but also within me. Some of the learning I did there has claimed me. I would like to suggest therefore, that the aphorism "good things never last" is wrong; perhaps good things--by which I mean the emerging sophistication of the researcher as a thinking, feeling, interactive human being who is the research instrument--will last. What we come to 'own', then, is not the context, but our, responsibility to it and our emerging ability to handle it well. (p. 59)

With these descriptors in mind, I shall attempt to understand and explain contextual data in this study and "handle it well."

In this chapter, the data I have presented for each research question [How did the label "gifted" evolve? Why does the label "gifted" exist? Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children

"gifted"? What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators?] will be analyzed according to the methodological plan described in Chapter IV. My task is threefold: First, for each question, I will compare and contrast themes regarding the label "gifted" which have emerged from the literature with the themes regarding the label "gifted" I have noted as participant and observer in the context of Fagan Elementary School. Second, I will look across all four questions and then compare and contrast interglobal themes from the literature with interglobal themes from my own work. Third, and also in response to needs cited in the literature, throughout this chapter I will present my study as unique in several ways. For example, individual perceptions (including my own) regarding the label "gifted," across group perspectives regarding the label "gifted," and attitudes toward the "gifted" apart from attitudes toward programs for the "gifted" will be described and critiqued.

Comparing/Contrasting Intraglobal Themes:

How did the label "gifted" evolve? (Historical)

> So history as a formulated study is but the body of known facts about the activities and sufferings of the social groups with which our own lives are continuous, and through reference to which our own customs and institutions are illuminated.
>
> (John Dewey, 1916, p. 210)

As discussed in Chapter III, a global perspective of national, state, and local contexts--past and present-- reveals several commonalities regarding education for children labeled "gifted": First, there remains manifest a static yet controversial emphasis on cognition. Second, we fail as a nation to recognize and nurture all intelligences equally. Third, certain children are hegemonically assigned the label "gifted." Inherent in the label is its linkage to geneticism,

classicism, and IQ testing, for example. This causes others to form stereotypical assumptions about "gifted" children--about their beings and personalities--that are not necessarily true (Davis & Rimm, 1994). Fourth, throughout history, "gifted" children have been exploited and marginalized by society in general and by certain individuals. Fifth, the concept of intelligence has always been culturally constructed. Sixth, superb intelligence has been--and continues to be--equated with power and prestige.[10]

In addition to the six themes across national, state, and local contexts I have just listed, the following two observations need to be noted. First, according to the literature, national attention turned toward the "gifted" in the early twentieth century in reaction to the eugenics movement (Pinar et al., 1995), relaxed immigration laws (Hildebrand, 1981), and the spread of American capitalism (Kliebard, 1995). In contrast to the literature, my own "detective work" regarding state and local venues revealed that state (Georgia) and local (Chatham County) attention turned toward the "gifted" in the nineteen fifties in reaction to forced racial integration of the schools. Second, studies comparing and contrasting national, state (i. e., Georgia), and local (i. e., Chatham County) venues regarding the label "gifted" are non-existent. My own research and consequent synthesis work reveal that since the decade of the fifties, Georgia and Chatham County education policies and procedures for the "gifted" generally have reflected trends on the national level.

Why does the label "gifted" exist? (Political)

As discussed in Chapter III, emerging from national, state, and local historical landscapes is a polarization of thought between two opposing forces--excellence and equity. Why does this phenomenon exist? According to Apple

[10] Refer to detailed discussion of these themes in the Literature Review, Chapter III.

(1991), our schools are political arenas--reflective of American society at large--wherein contentious forces struggle to control various spheres of power. Also within this context are various groups which compete with one another for funds. In order to obtain these funds, we create categories and assign labels to certain individuals. Ensnared by these practices are children--including those with superb intelligence(s)--who are hegemonically assigned labels of varying worth.[11]

In contrast to the literature, within my own school setting are positioned three opposing political forces: those who strive for excellence, those who strive for equity, and a less powerful group that struggles for a merger between the two extremes. These struggles are made manifest by the existent programs and by the funds allotted for these programs. Programs for the "gifted" (SEARCH, magnet) receive $471,914.00. Programs for the "non-gifted" (EIP, Title I, Title I Summer Program) receive $1,041,654.00. Programs which purportedly benefit both groups of children (the pre-kindergarten program, Reading First, special education services) receive $152,292.00. This is in addition to miscellaneous--and oftentimes small--amounts of money obtained from PTA fundraisers, grants, solicitations, etc.

In efforts to "blur" categorical boundaries, merger proponents at Fagan also work diligently to incorporate interactive activities (e. g., field trips, class performances, physical education classes, recess, Spanish instruction, shared resource presenters, peer tutoring, participation in special projects) between the "gifted" and "non-gifted" into the general school program. Quite often, however, their ideas are subtly and totally rejected or initial enthusiasm quickly fades and children are "snapped" back into their respective settings. Classroom

[11] Refer to detailed discussion of these themes in the Literature Review, Chapter III.

photographs (see Appendixes J, K. and L) and the political analysis thereof verify this final descriptor.

Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? (Sociological)

As discussed in Chapter III, once the structure itself (in this case, an institution called "school") and the categories therein have been created, labels are affixed, and limited resources tapped. Attention then shifts to positive and/or negative descriptors of these various groups, the individuals within them (Robinson, 1990), and the ameliorative/remediation efforts for them by groups of experts. Therefore, also emerging from the politically contentious settings I have just described is the struggle between two such groups of experts--advocates for the "gifted" and egalitarians.[12]

Within my own school setting, the dichotomy described in the literature (i. e., advocates for the "gifted" versus advocates for those not labeled "gifted") is indeed existent. Advocates for the "gifted" struggle primarily for excellence (i. e., academic excellence), intellectualism, individualism, and preparation for eminence. They believe that highly intelligent children have special needs and these needs should be addressed as passionately and fairly as those of any other learners. Conversely, advocates for those not labeled "gifted" struggle primarily for equity, justice, group concerns, and freedom from favoritism. They believe that the idea of equity rather than any concerns for excellence should dominate school policies and practices.

In contrast to the literature, and further defining the dichotomy I have just described, there also exists within our school a hierarchical system of stratification for the participants therein (see Table 11). This system is controlled-

[12] Refer to detailed discussion of these themes in the Literature Review, Chapter III.

-for the most part--by the administration. Students and teachers are sorted into one of three general settings: SEARCH, magnet, residential. Further, a parent's status at the school is determined by his/her child's status. The SEARCH placement is the most prestigious, followed by the magnet then residential placements. In the SEARCH program are the "highly gifted" and most are Anglo-American. In the magnet program are the "gifted." Half are Anglo-American and half are minority students. In the residential program are the "non-gifted" and all are African-American.

Table 11

Hierarchical System of Stratification For Teachers and Students at Fagan

- SEARCH-->"highly gifted"-->most Anglo-American (teachers and students)
- magnet-->"gifted"-->half Anglo-American and half African-American (teachers and students)
- residential-->"non-gifted"-->most African-American (teachers and students)

The ameliorative efforts (i. e., the curricula and methodologies) used for each level also reflect the status of those therein. SEARCH children are exposed to the Quality Core Curriculum required by the state, the magnet curriculum, and the SEARCH curriculum which is supplemented by the American Classical League, Core Knowledge, and special interest topics chosen by the teachers and students. In addition to the "extras" offered by the state (e. g., band, chorus) and the magnet program (e. g., Science Fair competition, performances, research and construction activities), SEARCH students participate in intellectual and creative competitions in which other students are not allowed to take part (e. g., Quiz Bowl, Odyssey of the Mind). Magnet children are exposed to the Quality Core Curriculum and a loosely-defined magnet curriculum which is

supplemented by Core Knowledge and special interest topics chosen by teachers and students. Magnet children are required to learn "the basics." However, most of the time they are involved in various enrichment activities. Residential children are taught the Quality Core Curriculum. This is supplemented by Core Knowledge when--according to the residential teachers--there is time. Residential children spend most of their time in reinforcement and remediation activities. Classroom photographs (see Appendixes J, K, and L) and the sociological analysis thereof verify these descriptors.

What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators? (Phenomenological)

In this section, my task is twofold: First, emergent data from the literature regarding children labeled "gifted," girls labeled "gifted," African-American children labeled "gifted," African-American girls labeled "gifted," peers of children labeled "gifted," parents of children labeled "gifted" and "non-gifted," and teachers/administrators of children labeled "gifted" and "non-gifted" will be summarized then compared and contrasted with data from the formal interviews and from the collection of photographs. Then I will look across all groups in the literature and across all formal interview groups. Emergent global themes will be compared and contrasted.

Viewing Each Group:

Children Labeled "Gifted":

According to the literature, the majority of studies regarding the label "gifted" reflect the attitudes of both boys and girls, and in the general population

of children labeled "gifted" most hold positive perceptions of their label. (Colangelo & Kelly, 1983; Colangelo, Kelly, & Schrepfer, 1987; Colangelo & Pfleger, 1978; Davis & Connell, 1985; Feldheusen & Dai, 1997; Field, Harding, Yando, Gonzalez, Lasko, Bendell, & Marks, 1998; Guskin, Zimmerman, Okolo, & Peng, 1986; Hershey & Oliver, 1988; Jenkins-Friedman & Murphy, 1988; Karnes & Wharton, 1988; Ketcham & Snyder, 1977; Kolloff & Moore, 1989; Robison-Awana, Kehle, & Jenson, 1986; Van Tassel-Baska, Willis, & Meyer, 1989). "Gifted" girls, however, who are submerged in this data, reveal different attitudes when considered as a separate population. Specifically, they develop negative feelings about schooling and about themselves (Feldheusen et al., 1990). Further, many are believed victimized and assume reactive postures to the label they carry (Badolato, 1998; Bell, 1989; Callahan, 1986; Callahan, Cunningham, & Plucker, 1994; Clark, 1992; Coleman, 1985; Cramer, 1989; Davis & Rimm, 1994; Gilligan, 1982; Hollinger & Fleming, 1984, 1992; Hollingworth, 1942; Kerr, 1985; Klein & Zehms, 1996; Lovecky, 1994/1995; Luftig, 1992; McCormick & Wolf, 1993; Pendarvis et al., 1990; Reis & Callahan, 1989; Reis, Callahan, & Goldsmith, 1994; Robison-Awana, Kehle, & Jenson, 1986; Shaffer, 1986; Silverman, 1991, 1995; Yong & McIntyre, 1991).[13] In contrast to the literature, the majority of "gifted" girls who participated in my study--apart from the general population of "gifted" children-- view their label positively. With one exception, all said that they like being called "gifted." "It makes me stand out with everybody....Everybody likes a person that's 'gifted,' I think....it shows how special a student can be....That's a compliment." One girl said that she did not like being called "gifted" because she is teased by others who are not so labeled.

[13] Refer to detailed discussion of themes regarding children labeled "gifted" in the Literature Review, Chapter III.

In similar fashion, within the general population of African-American "gifted" boys and girls, most view their label positively (Cooley, Cornell, & Lee, 1991; Cornell, Delcourt, Goldberg, & Bland, 1992; Fordham, 1988; Tidwell, 1981; Williams & Apenahier, 1987; Yong, 1992). "Gifted" African-American girls however, who are submerged in this data, reveal different attitudes when considered as a separate population. Specifically, according to the single case study in evidence (Ford, 1995), African-American "gifted" girls struggle with rejection from their peers, from their communities, and oftentimes from their own families. Further, many believe that their teachers are unable to relate to them or to their culture.[14] In contrast to the literature, the majority of African-American "gifted" girls who participated in my study--apart from the general population of African-American "gifted" children-- view their label positively. Interestingly, however, and in support of Ford's (1995) work, the one "gifted" girl I interviewed who is unhappy with her label is African-American.

In addition to these findings, and serving to expand the knowledge base pertaining to children labeled "gifted" (i. e., "gifted" girls), the following observations (including photographs)--unaddressed in the literature--regarding "gifted" girls need to be mentioned: (1) "Gifted" girls hold mixed views regarding academic life in general. Clearly, however, the dislikes are more numerous. (2) They are exposed to many extracurricular activities and all express awareness of racial and experiential differences between themselves and others. (3) All claim to be well-behaved and report minimal interaction with their teachers. (4) All believe that their placements have been determined by testing and all are critical of their teachers. Further, teacher and student placements at the school are hierarchical with placements for the "gifted" on top and residential placements on the bottom. (5) They all believe that they are "smart" and that

[14] Refer to detailed discussion of themes regarding African-American children labeled "gifted" in the Literature Review, Chapter III.

intelligence is a hierarchical cognitive and behavioral construct. Further, their perceptions of curricula and methodologies for the "gifted" and the "non-gifted" are categorical and hierarchical. Comments about the program for the "gifted" are complimentary. Comments about the residential program are derogatory. (6) According to the girls, reactions of others toward their label vary. Friends and parents do not treat them differently. Teachers and classmates do. (7) Opinions vary regarding their own "giftedness." (8) They believe that most children work and learn but there are structural, racial, and behavioral differences between them.

Parents of Children Labeled "Gifted":

According to the literature, the majority of studies regarding attitudes of parents of children labeled "gifted" toward their children's label consider the family holistically, and in this general population, perceptions vary (Anderson, 1987; Ballering & Koch, 1984; Colangelo, 1988; Colangelo & Brower, 1987; Cornell, 1983, 1984, 1989; Cornell & Grossberg, 1989; Fisher, 1981; Hackney, 1981; Johnson & Lewman, 1990; Keirouz, 1990; Louis & Lewis, 1992; Marion, 1980; Mills & Berry, 1979; Peterson, 1977; Robinson, 1989; Scott, Perou, Urbano, Hogan, & Gold, 1992). Specifically, regarding "giftedness," some parents hold positive and negative views (Ballering & Koch, 1984; Colangelo, 1988; Colangelo & Brower, 1987; Cornell, 1984, 1989; Cornell & Grossberg, 1989; Fisher, 1981; Keirouz, 1990; Louis & Lewis, 1992; Mills & Berry, 1979), others hold negative views (Hackney, 1981; Marion, 1980; Peterson, 1977; Scott, Perou, Urbano, Hogan, & Gold, 1992; Sunderlin, 1981), and a third group's perceptions of the label "gifted" are gender-stereotypical (Bell, 1989; Clark, 1992; Johnson & Lewman, 1990; Kirschenbaum, 1980).[15]

[15] Refer to detailed discussion of themes regarding parents of children labeled "gifted" in the Literature Review, Chapter III.

In contrast to the literature, the majority of mothers of "gifted" girls who participated in my study--apart from the general population of parents of the "gifted"--view their daughters' label (and their own) positively. With one exception, all said that they like being called the parent of a "gifted" child. "It's flattering....It's a prideful thing...You feel special because your child was selected." One mother had mixed feelings. She cited the pressures put upon her daughter to excel. "I don't want that [fear of failure] to happen to [her]."

In addition to these findings and serving to expand the knowledge base pertaining to parents (i. e., mothers) of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., "gifted" girls), the following observations (including photographs)--unaddressed in the literature--need to be mentioned: (1) The majority of mothers of "gifted" girls describe their lives in general as parents of fourth-graders as busy and demanding. (2) All mothers are heavily involved in their daughters' academic lives. (3) Types of involvement with the school and with their daughters' teachers vary from direct and heavy involvement to very little involvement at all. (4) Most mothers believe that their daughters' placements have been determined by testing. Further, their daughters' experiences in the programs designed for them are positive, or good for their self-esteem, and all believe that their daughters receive special treatment. Conversely, their daughters' experiences have also been negative in that most have developed elitist attitudes. (5) Mothers of "gifted" girls offer varying definitions of "giftedness" and most believe that intelligence is a hierarchical cognitive construct. Further, they believe that their daughters' interests and social interactions are typical of others their age. However, they also believe that their daughters are morally, physically, experientially, and intellectually superior to others their age. They believe that all parents consider education an important part of their children's lives. However, mothers of "gifted" girls also believe that they themselves are educationally and financially

advantaged, are better disciplinarians, and are more involved in the affairs of the school than other parents. Like their daughters, their perceptions of curricula, methodologies, and those responsible for them are categorical and hierarchical. Also like their daughters, their comments about the program for the "gifted" are complimentary and comments about the residential program are derogatory. (6) Mothers of "gifted' girls describe varying but positive reactions from others regarding their daughters' label (and their own). Most mothers believe that they are not treated differently by others. (7) Interestingly, most mothers believe that they are not "gifted" and also interestingly, most are dissatisfied with their daughters' current placement. (8) They believe that students and teachers are involved in the learning process and most students are well-behaved. However, settings, racial distribution within these settings, and activities vary.

Children Not Labeled "Gifted":

According to the literature, the majority of studies regarding peers of the "gifted" reflect the attitudes of both boys and girls, and in this general population of children not labeled "gifted" reactions to the label "gifted" are mixed (Austin & Draper, 1981; Cornell, Pelton, Bassin, Landrum, Ramsay, Cooley, Lunch, & Hamrick, 1990; Dauber & Benbow, 1990; Luftig & Nichols, 1990; Lutz & Lutz, 1980; Morgan, 1981; Solano, 1976). Specifically, "gifted" boys and the kinesthetically "gifted" are valued more than "gifted" girls and the academically "gifted."[16] In support of the literature--and apart from the general population of "nongifted" children--, the residential girls who participated in my study offered varying perceptions regarding the label "gifted." Opinions were also mixed regarding their "non-gifted" label. In contrast to the literature, however, specific descriptors differed. The residential girls value superb behavioral/interpersonal

[16] Refer to detailed discussion of themes regarding children not labeled "gifted" in the Literature Review, Chapter III.

skills in general more so than superb kinesthetic intelligence and the academic abilities of "gifted" boys.

In addition to these findings, and serving to expand the knowledge base pertaining to children not labeled "gifted," the following observations (including photographs)--unaddressed in the literature--regarding "nongifted" girls need to be mentioned: (1) Girls not labeled "gifted" hold negative views regarding academic life in general. (2) Their experiential backgrounds and their exposure to curricular activities are limited. Involvement in extracurricular activities is virtually nonexistent. Further, they are aware of racial and experiential differences between themselves and students in the programs for the "gifted." (3) "Non-gifted" girls claim to be well-behaved and report frequent interactions with their teachers. (4) They are unaware of how or why they were placed in residential classes and opinions toward teachers are mixed. However, the placements of teachers and other students at the school are determined by behavior. (5) They believe that intelligence means "special." Further, their perceptions of curricula and methodologies for the "gifted" and the "non-gifted" are categorical and hierarchical. Comments about the program for the "gifted" are complimentary. Comments about the residential program are derogatory. (6) According to the girls, reactions of others toward their label vary, and they are not treated differently by others. (7) "Non-gifted" girls see themselves as "gifted." (8) They believe that all students work and learn but there are academic, physical, and affective differences between them.

Parents of Children Not Labeled "Gifted":

According to the literature (which is scant) the majority of studies regarding attitudes of parents of "non-gifted" children toward "gifted" children and the label they wear consider the family holistically, and in this general population, most

parents of children not labeled "gifted" hold negative attitudes toward the label "gifted" (Clark, 1992; Davis & Rimm, 1994; Martinson, 1971; Mills & Berry, 1979).[17]

In contrast to the literature, the majority of mothers of "non-gifted" girls who participated in my study--apart from the general population of parents of the "non-gifted"--view the label positively. According to these mothers, "gifted" means "advanced" and a "gifted" person is someone who is versatile, responsible, and "participates in class."

In addition to these findings, and serving to expand the knowledge base pertaining to parents (i. e., mothers and one legal guardian) of children not labeled "gifted," the following observations (including photographs)--unaddressed in the literature--need to be mentioned: (1) The mothers of "non-gifted" girls hold negative opinions regarding their lives in general as mothers of fourth-graders. (2) Residential mothers are somewhat involved in their daughters' academic lives. (3) Involvement at the school is indirect and focused on oral communication with their daughters, written and oral communication with their daughters' teachers, or reports from a grandmother who occasionally visits the school. (4) Perceptions vary regarding class assignments at school and their daughters' placements therein. Further, their daughters' experiences in the residential program have been academically and socially positive. Conversely, their daughters' experiences have also been negative because of frustrations with difficult home assignments. (5) Residential mothers equate "giftedness" with acceleration. Further, they believe that their daughters' interests and social interactions are typical of others their age. They also believe that their daughters are intellectually equal to magnet and SEARCH children. Mothers of "non-gifted" girls believe that all parents nurture yet discipline their children. However,

[17] Refer to detailed discussion of themes regarding parents of children not labeled "gifted" in the Literature Review, Chapter III.

residential mothers believe that they are not as involved in school affairs as are parents of the "gifted." Further, their daughters are somewhat removed from the academic pressures experienced by parents of the "gifted" and their children. Like their daughters, their perceptions of curricula and methodologies for the "gifted" and the "non-gifted" are categorical and hierarchical. Comments about the programs for the "gifted" are positive and negative and comments about the residential program are negative. (6) Mothers of "non-gifted" girls describe varying reactions from others regarding their daughters' placements. They do not believe that they are treated differently by others. (7) Residential mothers do not believe that they are "gifted" and they are dissatisfied with their daughters' current placement. (8) They believe that students and teachers are involved in learning. However, there are hierarchical and behavioral differences between them.

Teachers/Administrators of Children Labeled "Gifted" and "Non-gifted"

Most studies regarding the label "gifted" reflect the attitudes of teachers and in rare cases, teachers and administrators. My study considers the attitudes of administrators and women teachers apart from this general population. According to the literature, teachers/administrators who serve as advocates for the "gifted" view the label "gifted" positively (Benson, 1996; Coleman, 1994; Cooper, 1995; Galloway & Porath, 1997; Parish, Dyck, & Kappes, 1979; Reschly, & Lamprecht, 1979). Conversely, teachers/administrators who serve as advocates for the "non-gifted" view the label "gifted" negatively (Clark, 1992; Davis & Rimm, 1994; Hickey, 1990; Houghton, 1995; Jackson, Famiglietti, & Robinson, 1981; Jacobs, 1972; Pattridge, 1989; Pendarvis et al., 1990; Rubovits & Maehr, 1973; Sandoval, 1995). Further, the more highly educated/trained one is the more positive one's perception of the "gifted" and the programs designed

for them. Conversely, the less training one has, the more negative one's perception of the "gifted" and the programs designed for them. (Copenhaver, R. W., & McIntyre, D. J., 1992; Nicely, R. F., Small, J. D., & Furman, R. L., 1980; Smidchens, U., & Sellin, D., 1977; Weiner & O'Shea, 1963; Weiss & Gallagher, 1980). Lastly, teachers of the "gifted" support programs for "gifted" children but are opposed to the use of labels. Teachers of the "non-gifted" are more authoritarian and support programs which focus on behavior (Hamilton, 1960). [18]

In support of the literature, my study reveals that women teachers of the "gifted" hold positive views of the label "gifted." However, in contrast to the literature, I found that women residential teachers also hold positive views of the label "gifted." Further, both groups hold mixed feelings regarding their own labels. In support of the literature, I found that administrators of children labeled "gifted" hold positive perceptions regarding the label "gifted." Further, administrators hold positive feelings regarding their own labels.

In addition to these findings and serving to expand the knowledge base pertaining to teachers of the "gifted," the following observations (including photographs)--unaddressed in the literature--need to be mentioned: (1) Teachers of "gifted" girls (and in my case, women teachers of fourth-grade "gifted" girls) offer positive descriptors regarding their lives in general as teachers of the "gifted." (2) Teachers of the "gifted" are heavily involved in their students' academic lives. (3) All are aware of--but indirectly involved in--their students' personal lives. (4) Teachers of the "gifted" believe that they are placed in their respective settings because of intensive training and successful interviews. Further, they prefer to teach language arts rather than science and/or math. (5) Teachers of the "gifted" offer varying definitions of "giftedness." They believe that all teachers wish for their students to succeed. They also believe

[18] Refer to detailed discussion of themes regarding teachers/administrators of children labeled "gifted" and children labeled "non-gifted" in the Literature Review, Chapter III.

that they are more personally advantaged and more diligent than other teachers. Their perceptions of curricula and methodologies are hierarchical and content-based. They hold positive and negative views regarding the program for the "gifted" and negative views regarding the residential program. (6) Teachers of "gifted" girls describe positive and negative reactions from others regarding their label. Further, they do not believe that they are treated differently by family and friends. However, they do believe that they are treated differently by colleagues who are envious of their positions. (7) Some teachers of the "gifted" believe that they are "gifted." Others believe that they are "partially gifted" in certain areas. Most teachers of the "gifted" are satisfied with their current placements. (8) They believe that students and teachers are involved in the learning process. However, class structure and activities are hierarchically arranged.

In addition to the general findings described earlier and serving to expand the knowledge base pertaining to teachers of the "non-gifted," the following observations (including photographs)--unaddressed in the literature--need to be mentioned: (1) Teachers of "non-gifted" students (and in my case, women teachers of fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") hold mixed feelings regarding their lives in general as residential teachers. (2) Teachers of the "non-gifted" are heavily involved in their students' academic lives. (3) They are aware of--and moderately involved--in their students' personal lives. (4) Teachers of the "non-gifted" believe that they are in their respective settings because they chose to be or simply because they were "hired." Further, they prefer to teach language arts and social studies rather than science or math. (5) Residential teachers offer varying definitions of "giftedness." They believe that all teachers work hard to help their students learn. However, they believe that they are more diligent than other groups of teachers. Their perceptions of curricula and methodologies are hierarchical and content-based. They hold positive views toward programs for

the "gifted" and negative views toward the residential program. (6) Residential teachers describe generally positive reactions from others regarding their label. Further, except for additional respect, treatment by others is the same. (7) Residential teachers do not consider themselves "gifted." Conversely, and interestingly, they believe that they are "gifted" teachers. Views are mixed regarding their current placements. (8) Teachers of children not labeled "gifted" believe that students are interested and involved in their learning. However, settings, racial distribution within these settings, and activities vary.

In addition to the general findings described earlier and serving to expand the knowledge base pertaining to administrators of children labeled "gifted" and "non-gifted," the following observations--unaddressed in the literature--need to be mentioned: (1) Administrators offer mixed (positive and negative) descriptors regarding their lives in general as administrators of fourth-grade "gifted" and "non-gifted" girls. (2) Administrators believe that involvement at school means monitoring classroom activities in order to improve curriculum and instruction. (3) They are aware of--and moderately involved--in students' personal lives. (4) Administrators believe that they are placed in their respective settings because of their background and personalities. Further, they believe that their experiences in their respective positions are positive. (5) Administrators offer varying definitions of "giftedness." They believe that all administrators wish for their students to learn in safe environments. Perceptions regarding differences between themselves and other administrators vary from uncertainty to differences in office space, style of dress, and personality. Their perceptions of curricula and methodologies are hierarchical. They hold positive views toward the program for the "gifted" and negative yet sympathetic views toward the residential program. (6) Administrators describe generally positive reactions

from others regarding their label. (7) Responses vary regarding perceptions of their own "giftedness." (8) Administrators believe that all children are involved in their work. However, there are hierarchical, structural, and racial differences between settings. Additionally, there are attitudinal differences between the participants within the various settings.

Viewing Across Groups:

As described in Chapter IV (Methodology), and in the introductions to this chapter and to this section, emergent data from the literature regarding children labeled "gifted," girls labeled "gifted," African-American children labeled "gifted," African-American girls labeled "gifted," peers of children labeled "gifted," parents of children labeled "gifted" and "non-gifted," and teachers/administrators of children labeled "gifted" and "non-gifted" has been summarized, compared and contrasted with data from the formal interviews and from the collection of photographs, then analyzed. When possible, distinctions have been made between attitudes toward the "gifted" and attitudes toward programs designed for them. Also as described in the Methodology chapter, my next task is to look across all groups in the literature and across all formal interview groups for emergent global themes.

According to the literature, the following global themes are apparent: (1) The majority of studies regarding the label "gifted" reflect indiscriminate attitudes toward the "gifted" and the programs designed for them. (2) The majority of studies regarding the label "gifted" reflect the attitudes of males and females. (3) The few studies which consider "gifted" girls apart from the general population reveal that "gifted" girls hold negative attitudes toward their label and toward the programs designed for them. (4) The majority of studies regarding the label "gifted" reflect negative or mixed attitudes toward the "gifted" and the programs designed for them. Specifically, in the general populations of girls

labeled "gifted," African-American girls labeled "gifted," parents of "gifted" children, parents of "non-gifted" children, teachers/administrators of "non-gifted" children, most hold negative or mixed feelings toward the label "gifted," toward the children who wear the label, and toward the programs designed for them. (5) Fewer studies regarding the label "gifted" reflect positive attitudes toward the label "gifted" and the programs designed for them. Specifically, in the general populations of children labeled "gifted," African-American children labeled "gifted," and teachers/administrators of children labeled "gifted," most hold positive attitudes toward the label "gifted," toward the children who wear the label, and toward the programs designed for them.

According to the formal interviews with fourth-grade girls labeled "gifted" (i. e., magnet girls and SEARCH girls), fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted" (i. e., residential girls), parents (i. e., mothers) of fourth-grade girls labeled "gifted," parents (i. e., mothers, one female legal guardian) of fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted," teachers of fourth-grade girls labeled "gifted" and fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted," and administrators (i. e., principal, assistant principal), the following global themes, or likenesses and differences across groups of respondents, are apparent:

Preliminaries: A total of twenty-one respondents (seven fourth-grade girls, seven parents, five teachers, two administrators) were interviewed and significant quotes and observer comments have been noted. Fourteen respondents are African-American and seven are Anglo-American. Most were talkative and enthusiastic respondents. However, as indicated by observer comments in individual and group Preliminaries sections, some of the respondents appeared apprehensive and/or defensive at times. The majority of the interviews were conducted at school. None of the respondents offered any verbal response to my reasons for conducting the interviews.

"Grand Tour": Initial responses revealed three distinct themes across groups. First, negative comments were noted from the residential girls, their mothers, and in one case, a female guardian. Both residential girls told me that "school is hard." Their parents stated that school was "complicated" and "very trying." Interestingly, negative comments were also noted from the mothers of fourth-grade girls labeled "gifted." All but one of the initial responses were identical: "busy," and according to the mothers, "busy" in this case means demanding and/or frustrating. One SEARCH mother responded that her life was "at times, very very difficult." Other comments offered were as follows: "...projects, projects, projects....[There's] a lot more studying and buckling down....Oftentimes, we [mother and daughter] stayed up really well over twelve o'clock trying to get that work done so she wouldn't get a zero or incomplete." One mother told of coming home from work every school night and "checking homework, making sure reports are done and are neat and to my acceptance....After I do the 'homework check' then I start dinner." Second, positive comments (e. g., "exciting," "interesting") were noted only from the fourth-grade teachers of girls labeled "gifted." Third, mixed (positive and negative) comments were noted from the fourth-grade girls labeled "gifted," the fourth-grade teachers of girls not labeled "gifted," and the administrators. Comments offered by the girls were as follows: "School is boring....I haven't learned anything new in language or anything in reading....School is fun...It's kinda easy and sometimes hard....I talk a lot and usually I can get in trouble for doing that." One residential teacher stated that her life as a teacher is "hectic." The other residential teacher said, "I enjoy being a teacher." Initial comments from the administrators were positive (e. g., "rewarding," "fun"). However, follow-up comments were not positive. For example, Ms. Early told me that her job is also "very, very challenging." When asked to explain, she discussed three major challenges: parents, children, and

busing. Her interactions with parents mean defending existent programs and explaining why others are nonexistent, defending her teachers and their various teaching styles, and serving as liaison between parents and a bus system greatly in need of improvement. Her interactions with children mean trying to meet the needs of a diverse population of students from those who have severe environmental and academic challenges to those who need to "soar" (p. 1). Her service as liaison between parents and the bus company means a frustrating struggle to build parental support regarding the bus system while at the same time defending the bus drivers who must deal with unruly children and a bus company fraught with administrative, financial, and scheduling woes.

Global questions regarding level of involvement at Fagan elicited from the administrators a discussion of their various roles within the school. All other groups discussed likes and dislikes. Clearly, across groups the dislikes were more numerous. Both groups of parents discussed only dislikes. For example, one residential mother said, "It's the homework that gets me." Another said, "It's a whole lot of homework from the time I get home until it's time to go to bed." Both groups of girls discussed more dislikes than likes. The residential girls like their teachers. However, the girls have many dislikes, generally pertaining to academics, their own physical problems, and interpersonal relationships. Comments offered were as follows: "We do hard work like division...and fractions....I'm little in fourth-grade....I don't like to run because sometimes I get heartaches and headaches...and then I feel like I'm about to faint....The children...become like snotty and all and then they call people names [like] fat...and Gummy Bears....Some people...don't like me so they just put my name on the board....I have to sit by myself and do my work [because] they [classmates] keep on talking to me." Lastly, both girls told of fights between the other students and of teachers "yelling at the other kids." The girls labeled

"gifted" like creative activities, puzzles, and games. However, the girls have many dislikes, generally pertaining to teachers and school facilities. Comments offered were as follows: "Sometimes they [teachers] can be mean." Two of the girls told about teachers taking away their recess time outside for various reasons. Also, "the food in the cafeteria is soggy....In the girls' bathroom they don't have any toilet tissue and there's messes on the floor." They dislike the computer lab ("boring") and the work load (i. e., homework). Both groups of teachers discussed proportionate likes and dislikes but in different ways. The residential teachers' initial and follow-up comments were mixed (e. g., "frustrating,...very stressful,...fulfilling"). The SEARCH and magnet teachers' initial comments were positive. Additionally, three concerns emerged: paperwork ("time-consuming"), parents ("very demanding"), and the stereotyping of children labeled "gifted." One teacher told me that she knows, for example, that most academically "gifted" children are also socially and emotionally "gifted." Most people, however, believe that the opposite is true.

Specific Levels of Involvement: Specific questions regarding level of involvement at Fagan elicited mixed responses within and across groups. Both administrators discussed their monitoring of classroom activities. Additionally, Ms. Early monitors test scores, the curriculum, and interacts with groups of others in school and in the community. Mr. Clancy orders materials and assists the teachers. Additionally, he plays basketball in the school gym on Monday and Tuesday nights with several of the men on staff, he spends a lot of time walking the campus, he monitors the high achievement of the magnet students and how it "rubs off on the resident students," and lastly, he likes to "joke around, horseplay...with the students." When asked to elaborate, he said:

> One of the things I like to do with the young ladies here is that I will pull on their ponytails and some like it and some don't like it. Those

> who don't like it, I refrain from, but those that smile and act silly about it, I'll continue doing it.

Both groups of teachers discussed classroom routines and practices. Additionally, the residential teachers discussed their students' special learning and behavioral needs. Both groups of parents discussed their involvement with their daughters regarding their school work. The mothers of magnet and SEARCH girls indicated heavier involvement with their daughters and with the school than did the mother and legal guardian of the residential girls. One residential parent mistakenly believed that her daughter is in the magnet program. Two mothers of "gifted" girls told of their efforts to instill positive values in their daughters. Two others discussed their daughters' superb writing abilities and their efforts to stimulate this particular talent. One mother described her open communication with her daughter. Three of the mothers indicated heavy involvement with the school, particularly on the classroom level. One mother said, "I attend a lot of meetings....Sometimes I request time off and just show up in class or go to a parents' workshop." In contrast, one residential parent said, "I don't volunteer as much as I like." Both groups of girls offered similar descriptors regarding curricular activities such as art, p. e., music, etc. However, the residential girls are not exposed to SEARCH or Spanish. Hence, they were unable to offer personal perspectives regarding these two activities. Regarding extracurricular activities, magnet and SEARCH girls are heavily involved. For example, one girl said:

> I play baseball....Our family plays baseball games like in the backyard and that's fun. I'm on a swim team at the Yacht Club....I'm not on a soccer team right now but I'm going to be....I take tennis lessons.

Conversely, neither residential girl is involved in extracurricular activities.

Specific questions regarding levels of involvement with others elicited varied responses from the groups of magnet, SEARCH, and residential girls. One residential girl spoke in generalities regarding the school setting and the participants therein. The other residential girl discussed practicing with her friends for the talent show which is to be held on the last day of school. One magnet girl discussed math groupings. "I [go to] Mrs. Harris because like I said before, some things I don't understand." The other "gifted" girls discussed friends, volunteer work, and involvement with schoolmates in extracurricular activities. When comparing themselves to others, both groups of girls discussed having similar interests. Additionally, one residential girl discussed going to the same school and liking the teachers. The other residential girl spoke of having similar physical attributes and personal possessions. When contrasting themselves with others, both groups discussed race, physical attributes, and experiences. For example, one residential girl said, "We are different because of our race." One "gifted" girl said, "She is black and I'm white, but it doesn't make any difference."

Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: When probed regarding the school setting and their involvement therein, similarities are noted within the groups of girls, within the groups of teachers/administrators, and within the groups of parents. However, differences are noted across these three groupings. All of the girls discussed academic activities with others. With one exception, all stated that they do not talk in class. According to one residential girl, the ones who talk in class are the ones who misbehave and the ones who do not talk in class are "mostly the good people....I don't answer questions I know." Further, with few exceptions, all stated that they do not interact with the teacher. One of the "gifted" girls said, "I just sit down because I know the teacher's going to yell and say, 'You can't go outside for p. e. You'll get Time

Out.'" Both groups of teachers stated that many of their students participate in extracurricular activities (e. g., team sports, church activities). Additionally, many of their students come from happy homes. Conversely, there are those who are forced to cope with personal and family problems. For example, two teachers of the "gifted" told me that they have students who struggle with obesity, divorce, death, and/or financial stress. One residential teacher describes her students' personal lives as "very frustrating for them." She explains:

> The majority of my students are from large families. They have lots of siblings...They're really latchkey kids....Some of them have keys around their necks so you can tell when they get home they usually come in the house and turn on the television or go outside....They're usually on their own....Their parents are working constantly...[so] they look at the teacher almost as a second mom....Their parents are having problems financially....It's kinda tough.

All teachers said that their students' personal lives are made known to them through communication with the children and their parents. Three of the teachers said that they observe their students. The residential teachers stated that they also examine permanent records and make home visits. The administrators continued to discuss academics and a positive school climate. Ms. Early said that most of the children are "very, very happy." Conversely, many students have problems. She knows these things because she and Mr. Clancy communicate with parents and children, and make home visits. Mr. Clancy stated:

> Then you have students who will tell you everything and anything that happens with them, some positive, and some negative. Positive things are swim meets and track stars and on the negative, you know, mom and dad may beat them or they stay up until nine,

ten, twelve o'clock watching horror movies that I myself wouldn't watch.

Additionally, Ms. Early observes "products....[and] I may get feedback from surveys that we send out." Both groups of mothers stated that they did not know a lot regarding curriculum and scheduling. What they do know is based on close communication with their daughters and with their daughters' teachers. All but one of the mothers discussed their daughters' personalities with comments such as the following: "She is influenced by peers....She is very emotional and she will start crying when she doesn't do well in her schoolwork....She is a jokester and...this causes her to get into trouble....She wants everything to be perfect."

Compare and Contrast: Regarding their perceptions concerning their respective placements, similarities and differences across groups are noted. With one exception, all "gifted" girls said that their placement in the magnet and/or SEARCH program had been determined by testing. The residential girls did not know how or why they were placed in the residential program. With one exception, all mothers of "gifted" girls said that their daughters' placement in the programs for the "gifted" had been determined by testing. One residential parent stated that her "mother was instrumental in getting her [her daughter] into that school." The other continued to refer to the magnet program. "She took a test and she passed." One residential teacher told me that she was "just hired." Another said that she chose to be a residential teacher. One teacher of the "gifted" told me that she was "hired." Another described her interview process and another said that she "had to do extensive training." Both administrators reviewed their educational backgrounds, hers in education and his in business, the military, and now in education. Mr. Clancy also stated, "I enjoy administration. I like delegating. I like being in charge. I like knowing

what's going on." Further, he believes that a school should be run like a business, especially in the areas of finance and staffing. He explains:

> I think the biggest thing is finance....One of the biggest aspects of running a business is making sure that the money is kept straight. I do believe that we waste a lot of money in education....by buying a lot of things that are not necessarily needed....If we made teachers more accountable for that type of stuff,...our education system would be a little better....[Further], most businesses that are not union run, it is easier to get rid of incompetency and I do believe we need to be able to get rid of incompetency in education too.

Positive comments regarding placements were as follows: The groups of girls and the groups of teachers discussed favorite subject matter. With one exception, all of the girls repeated that they enjoyed art and p. e. classes. With one exception, all of the teachers told me that their favorite subject to teach is language arts. All mothers of girls labeled "gifted" stated that the magnet and SEARCH programs had been good for their daughters' self-esteem. Further, they all believe that their daughters have received special treatment because of their placement. One mother added, "She is not ashamed of being in SEARCH. Usually kids get called names because they're in SEARCH...names like geeks, nerds, things like that." The residential parents said that their daughters' placement had been good for their social development. One mother said that her daughter "has made a lot of nice friends." Both administrators believe that their positions have been positive experiences for them and both cited their work with children as the reason.

Negative comments regarding placements were as follows: With one exception, all of the girls repeated critical comments concerning some of their teachers. "She [teacher] also yells a lot at other people....She doesn't have

to do class work,...learn anything, or do anything....I don't talk really loud because [the teacher], she's gonna yell." Additionally, the residential girls were critical of some of the other students and their poor behaviors. With one exception, all of the teachers told me that their least favorite subjects to teach are math and science. Comments offered were as follows: "I never was good at math....I despise to grade math papers....You know science can be, I would think, a boy thing." Both groups of mothers said that the programs for the "gifted" at Fagan had also been negative experiences for their daughters. With one exception, all mothers of the "gifted" girls cited social and political reasons. Three of the mothers said that their daughters had assumed elitist attitudes. Two of the mothers also said that their daughters have also been negatively affected by their failure to pass the test for entry into SEARCH. The mothers of the residential girls repeated their frustrations regarding difficult homework assignments. Regarding the administrators, Mr. Clancy could not think of any negatives. Ms. Early cited three: unjust parental criticism of teachers, having to suspend or expel a child, and monumental paperwork.

When comparing the curricula and methodologies of the programs for the "gifted" with the residential program, both groups of teachers and the administrators discussed shared objectives and similar methodological practices. For example, one residential teacher said, " We may have different styles of doing it but I feel like basically we're doing the same thing." When contrasting the curricula and methodologies of the programs for the "gifted" with the residential program, the girls labeled "gifted," their teachers, and the administrators offered categorical and hierarchical descriptors. Consider the following comments by magnet and SEARCH girls: "The residential students do math and social studies and health and science and all that other stuff...and they're not as 'gifted and talented'." Further, according to one magnet girl, "In

magnet you're more educated and...in a higher class then the residential students....Magnet students would have to do more work than the residential students and they know more." One SEARCH girl said, "We have more work to do, to build up our strength and learn....I hate to say it but we have more fun." Another SEARCH girl stated:

> In the residential classes they usually don't work on like experiments or like projects or something....[A residential class] is not as smart as, I mean it's not as good as, SEARCH class...Some of the residential students came in our class because they got in trouble and they went to the back table and did worksheets....I looked at some of the worksheets and they were real easy....We know more than them.

According to one teacher, "We're working with higher level thinking skills like problem solving,...making decisions." Another said, "Residential classes...do that but not on the same level [or] depth." Lastly, the SEARCH teacher said, "They [residential teachers] don't take it to the level I do." The administrators ranked curriculum components, teaching, and materials from traditional (residential) to non-traditional (SEARCH). For example, the principal said, ""In the residential classes, the children are involved in the same activity....In the magnet classes, the activities are not the same [for all children]....In the SEARCH class, it's hands-on." According to Mr. Clancy, the residential classes "have more teacher direction."

The residential girls focused on behavior rather than academics and opinions were polar. One residential girl stated, "They [magnet and SEARCH students] always listen....They follow directions....They keep their feet and hands to theirselves." The other residential girl was critical. She said, "They [magnet and SEARCH students] talk and they...start fights and they always talk about

which class is better than the other....or [on Fun Day] they might rub it in our faces saying, 'You lost'." Regarding the residential students, once again one girl was complimentary and the other was critical. She stated:

> They [residential students] don't listen like the magnet classes....They fight [and] throw stuff around....They were throwing crayons and pencils at people and throwing paper and spit balls....and they have to sit in Time Out....Ms. Dunn's class is bad....They come to our class and they mess up our whole class.

Rather than categorical, hierarchical, or behavioral descriptors, the residential teachers discussed learning pace and both described the classes for the "gifted" as more accelerated than the residential classes. Further, one residential teacher described experiential differences between her students and the "gifted" students:

> They [residential students] don't get to do things. [For example], I had to bring my children to the library here at school to do research for their science project because their parents don't have the time to take them to the regular library [or] to get the materials that they need in order to be successful....They do not have the means...or I would say transportation.

Lastly, as discussed earlier, both groups of parents stated that they were not very familiar with the curriculum and methodologies used in their daughters' classes.

When comparing the magnet, SEARCH, and residential teachers, both groups of girls focused on behaviors. One magnet girl said that they all "yell a lot." One residential girl said that they "borrow things." Another said, "They all talk." When contrasting the teachers, the "gifted" girls' responses were categorical, structured, and academically focused. For example, one magnet girl said, "SEARCH teachers teach mythology, magnet teachers teach you science

and social studies, and...residential teachers teach classes." A SEARCH girl said, "Ms. Wade [SEARCH teacher] is in a higher level because she's in the SEARCH class....She is probably the smartest because she teaches the SEARCH class." The residential girls' responses continued to focus on behaviors. For example, one residential girl said:

> Some teachers are unorganized and some are organized....Some teachers might not like one another. Some teachers probably get tired of children and some teachers just love children and like to be around them....Some teachers might say a lot of things to encourage their students and other teachers they might just give lectures about how you act.

Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": According to the magnet and SEARCH girls, "giftedness" is a cognitive construct. It means "being smart....You know all the stuff." Further, the girls view it as an hierarchical concept. It means "above all others....[and] higher or smarter people....like residential is lower and magnet is higher." The residential parents view "giftedness" as accelerated or "advanced." Additional descriptors offered by one residential mother were versatility, responsibility, and someone who "participates in class." The principal, the SEARCH teacher, a residential teacher, and a residential student used the term "special." Other terms offered were "innate ability," "accelerated," "uniqueness," "adaptability," "excellence," and the ability "to think outside the box,...globally." According to the assistant principal, "gifted" means achievement beyond what "the normal or the average person would be able to do." When asked to explain what he meant by "normal," he said, "the little box that we as humans or adults try to put everybody into." He offered the following example: "In today's society, every woman is 32-24-32 and if you don't fit into that figure, then you are either overweight or you're, you know, so you have to be a certain

picture and that is normal." One SEARCH mother's view mirrors the hierarchical thinking offered by the magnet and SEARCH girls. She said that "gifted" children are "really far above other children." When asked to explain, she said:

> Most normal children wouldn't have that same talent as that ["gifted"] child....A "gifted" child is somebody that would get 1600 on an SAT....a five year old that can play Beethoven on a piano...."Gifted" should be more select.

Lastly, one residential girl did not seem to understand the concept.

When comparing themselves to the other students in the school, responses across the groups of girls were different. Descriptors offered by the "gifted" girls were negative and positive: "Everybody has a teacher that yells and everybody has a teacher that can be mean.... We have to wear uniforms." In contradiction to their previous remarks, both SEARCH girls said that everyone was "smart." One SEARCH girl said, "We all have different levels but the same intelligence." Descriptors offered by the residential girls were all positive. The girls discussed participating in similar p. e. activities, being in the same school, having the same goals, and making "successful choices." More specifically, when comparing themselves to the other students labeled "gifted," all of the magnet and SEARCH girls told me that they are "smart." They are like the residential students because of shared academics, interests, and the desire to have fun. The residential girls said that they are like the other residential students because they all want to learn and they live near the school. They are like the "gifted" students because they all want to learn, they all participate in academics, they all have goals, they all learn from their mistakes, and "we might all probably think the same thing."

When comparing themselves to the other parents in the school, two commonalities were noted across parent groups: behavioral guidance and

nurture. Additionally, parents of the "gifted" listed the importance of education and the desire for their daughters' success. Residential parents discussed the importance of school participation. More specifically, parents of magnet and SEARCH girls said that they are like other parents of the "gifted" because they value education and they support their children's work. One mother also discussed morals and behavior: "We all have the same concerns, you know, as far as having a good child versus a bad child." When comparing themselves to residential parents, the parents of the "gifted" offered varied descriptors: the importance of education, love and care for their children, shared concerns (i. e., crime, flooding). Residential parents said that they are like other residential parents because of their involvement in their children's lives. They are like magnet and SEARCH parents because they value education.

When comparing their daughters to the other students in the school, both groups of parents discussed their daughters' "typicalness." More specifically, most of the parents of the "gifted" discussed intelligence hierarchically: "She is on about the same intellectual level....They're all on the same level....Her level of knowledge is a little bit higher than those who are nonmagnet students." Others discussed their daughters' affinity for learning and for working in groups. When comparing their daughters to the residential students, all mothers discussed developmental and social similarities. The residential parents said that their daughters are like the other residential students because they participate in class and are good students. Contradictorily, one residential parent said that her daughter "can be lazy at times." Both residential parents stated that their daughters are like the students labeled "gifted" because their daughters have the ability to do "magnet" work.

When comparing themselves to the other teachers/administrators in the school, both groups of teachers discussed a mutual desire to see their

students succeed now and in the future. The principal mirrored this concern. The assistant principal spoke of the sphere of power that he occupies and his position within: "I am seen as an authority figure....I don't want to use the term superior...but I am above them as far as the chain goes." When asked how their students are like the other students in the school, all teachers discussed one global similarity: the desire to learn. Additionally, the teachers of the "gifted" discussed similar maturation levels. One residential teacher stated that all of the children have social, emotional, and physical needs.

Questions regarding differences between themselves and the other students in the school brought varied responses across the groups of girls. The "gifted" girls cited different class sizes, names, subject matter, and behavior. One SEARCH girl said, "Some people...get into trouble....I don't get into fights." The residential girls cited different physical abilities, goals, awards, and class composition. One girl said, "I'm not in a magnet class like them....Some might be mixed or some might be white or some be black in a class." More specifically, when discussing how they are unlike the other students labeled "gifted," the magnet and SEARCH girls listed individual differences, different subject matter, and the fact that not everyone is in SEARCH. They are unlike the residential students because of different placements, intelligence, and behavior. The following comments from the "gifted" girls were noted: "I'm a magnet student....I am quicker than them....Some people are really bad....They get into fights and stuff. Usually it's the boys. That's no surprise either." The residential girls said that they are unlike the other residential students because of family composition and interactions. One residential girl said:

> Some might have brothers and sisters while other residential students are an only child....Some residential students have both parents with them or some students have a single parent or

are living with their grandparents or grandparent. Some have parents who if someone hits you say that you should hit them back while other residential students' parents say...to go tell the teacher. They are unlike the "gifted" students because of different placements, different teachers, different goals, and different possessions. One residential girl also said that the magnet students might think that "another class is bad....[and] some magnet students might be more athletic than non-magnet students."

Questions regarding differences between themselves and the other parents in the school brought varied responses across the groups of parents. The parents of the "gifted" discussed discipline, caring and interaction, financial differences, and personal and career goals. One mother discussed her own personality ("not very structured"), her marriage ("Intercultural"), and her morals ("high"). The parents of the residential girls discussed their difficulty being as involved in the school as they would like. One mother discussed her own personality: "I'm go-go-going, fast-fast-fast and a lot of parents [here] are like kinda laid back." More specifically, when parents of the "gifted" discussed how they are unlike other parents of children labeled "gifted," two themes emerged: personality and marital status. Three of the mothers described other parents of children labeled "gifted" as "organized and structured,...more demanding,...and controlling" and they are not. One mother said that she herself was "pushy" and other parents are not. Two other mothers discussed their marital status. Each told about being a single parent. When parents of the "gifted" described how they are different from residential parents, the list was long and several themes emerged: race, income, discipline, education, and school interaction. According to the mothers, residential parents are minority parents. They live "in a poor neighborhood....I'm maybe a little stricter." One mother said, "Most of the parents [residential] have not completed high school." Another said, "I don't know any of

the residential parents....I'm an upper middle class person....I have a college degree." Further, she stated, "I was trying to put together this carnival...[When I tried] to call one of those residential parents, it's hard for me to get them to understand what's going on, what I need, when I need to get it done." Lastly, she said:

> I'm pretty confident I'm more, you know, family-oriented...meaning, you know, mother, father not divorced...whereas with residential you have a lot of single parents....A lot of times the grandmother is the one that's raising them [residential children].

In contrasting themselves to other residential parents, responses from the residential parents differed. One mother could not think of any differences. "I'm just a regular, ordinary woman trying to get my kids through school." The other told me that she is "pushy." When asked how they are unlike the parents of magnet and SEARCH students, one parent told me that she was unable to reply because she doesn't know much about these programs. The other residential mother told me that her daughter was not in a program for the "gifted." Hence, she is removed from some of the academic pressures therein.

When contrasting their daughters to the other students in the school, one residential parent and one parent of a "gifted" child discussed their daughters' personalities: "She's quieter....She's more social." The remaining responses were varied. Comments from mothers of the "gifted" were as follows: "She has high religious morals....She's a bit tall for her age....We do a lot of traveling." A residential parent told how her daughter is new to the school and has a strong desire for perfect attendance. More specifically, when contrasting their daughters to the other "gifted" students in the school, responses varied. Descriptors cited were different outside activities, biculturalism, social skills, individual attributes, interests, and academic weaknesses. One mother said that

her daughter "lives in an area whereas I don't think most of those SEARCH students do." When asked how their daughters were unlike the residential students, the mothers of girls in the magnet program discussed placement and work ethos. One mother said, "Residential students do not have a sense of importance, but she [her daughter] knows that she has to get that work done." The mothers of girls in the SEARCH program discussed behavioral differences. One mother said:

> I don't really care [about] going on a field trip with them [residential students]....The magnet children would sit and listen and the residential students would make a lot of noise and talk to each other....It embarrasses them [magnet children] a little bit when they're with them.

The residential parents stated that their daughters are unlike the other residential students because they are able to "keep up with the magnet students." They are unlike the students labeled "gifted" because of placement and one mother said that her daughter is "new to the school."

Responses from the teachers of the "gifted" were varied when they discussed differences between themselves and the other teachers in the school. They cited longer work hours, and the ability to bring in more enrichment activities, have fun with the students, and not be intimidated by parents. One teacher said that she was afraid to speak out in a group and sometimes gets upset "about some things maybe that some other folks maybe don't even think about." She offered the following example:

> If I know that I didn't get a chance to do something and I knew I was supposed to do it, I mean I worry about it....I know that I'm going to be written up....This will be kept in your file saying you didn't turn it in....or it was done incorrectly....I realize that there are some things

> that you have to do [for the administration] but I mean it seems like its too much of that kind of thing. And sometimes I feel like we start one thing and we have to stop and do something else....We can't give one thing a chance to really work before someone comes in and says, "No, we're not going to do it this way. Do it this way." And that can become very frustrating. That's the kind of thing I dislike about education....You don't have a lot of input....You've gotta do that regardless of whether you agree with it or not.

Both residential teachers simply said that they work harder than the others. When asked how their students are unlike the other students in the school, responses from teachers of the "gifted" and residential teachers were varied and the list was longer. Teachers of the "gifted" cited different learning preferences. One magnet teacher said that her students know that she is approachable. Lastly, the SEARCH teacher stated that her students are different from other students for three reasons. First, they [SEARCH students] have more prior knowledge. Second, some of her students are "severely and profoundly 'gifted'" and require private tutoring. Third, her students need to learn that their label also means a special interaction with others (i. e., residential students). She explained:

> It's unspoken. My SEARCH children know that when residential students come in they are to go out of their way to be gracious and helpful, because I tell my students--my 'gifted' students--that with your 'giftedness' comes responsibility....
>
> They [residential students] love to come to my room. I let them do whatever the SEARCH kids are doing and they're very grateful and happy and they ask me how they can get in SEARCH....They love the computer and the software products that I have....I have chess

> games set up and a lot of our residential kids come in and know how to play chess. They love my games, they love my art area, and they like "Harry Potter" books....They love to come in here because of all the little gadgets and things. I also think they like the freedom that's there.

Residential teachers cited different student ability levels and social and emotional differences. One residential teacher said, "Some of my students they have low self-esteem....They talk very negative....They try to tear other students down in order to...make themselves look good." When contrasting themselves to other administrators, the assistant principal is the only one to cite differences. He listed his small office ("a prison"), his style of dress (i. e., his novelty ties), and his personality ("not stuffy"). He also told me that other administrators would not play basketball with the staff. He added, "I think it is also very important to associate with your roots and your roots in education is teaching."

Perceptions of the programs for the "gifted" and the participants therein at Fagan across the group of residential parents and the groups of teachers were positive and negative. The residential parents discussed the accelerated pace and the pressures placed upon the participants to excel. The residential teachers compared their situations to those of the teachers of the "gifted." Specifically, according to the residential teachers, the teachers of the "gifted" have smaller classes, are able to "do more challenging things," and "participate in...more workshops" than they do. The teachers of the "gifted" made the following comments: "There is a lot of pressure....It's a challenge....I feel like I'm always under the microscope....The parents are definitely a challenge....The 'gifted' parents are very demanding....You're pulled in twenty-nine different ways....You have to be on your P's and Q's...What a stress."

Responses across the other groups were generally complimentary, yet hierarchical and focused on prestige, acceleration, testing, and placement strata. According to the girls labeled "gifted," the magnet program "means a lot because you had to pass a special test....Magnet classes have [more] advanced things than what they have in the residential classes." One girl said, "You have achieved a level, but not as high as the SEARCH program." Regarding the SEARCH program: "Before you can start...you have to take a test....It means that you have achieved a level of, um, let's just say 'smartness'....and it's really fun." The residential girls discussed academic achievement, positive social abilities, and content: "They [magnet students]...make Honor Roll....You [magnet students] can handle being with other races." Both girls also indicated an awareness of the enrichment activities and the accelerated pace. One girl stated, "They do research." The other residential girl said, "When you, um, learn more faster than others you get a higher grade....I see the SEARCH children walking past my class everyday." The mothers of the "gifted" focused on their involvement in their daughters' schooling and their pride. Most of them cited the need to "stay on top of them [students labeled "gifted"] and their work. Another said, "It makes you feel proud and good....You're treated...with a lot of respect from the faculty because they want you here....They make sure...that you're happy." One mother of a SEARCH girl stated:

> The [magnet] children separate themselves out....They think they're better,...more intelligent....I think socially they feel like they just live in a different world than the residential....They see different parents....This one residential mother had pink hair and, you know, tons of gold jewelry and like leopard-skin pants....She [daughter] just couldn't imagine living with a mother like that.

According to the administrators, teachers of the "gifted" are versatile, patient, wide-read, willing to work harder, have the ability to interact successfully with "gifted" children and their parents, and are involved in professional growth experiences. "Gifted" children have "fun," are involved in enrichment experiences, interact more with their teachers because of the smaller pupil-teacher ratio and, according to the principal, feel "safe" with their peers. She explained, "They're safe because they are able to show their intelligence without someone belittling them....[or] calling a child a nerd, saying that a child is too smart, a teacher's pet." Lastly, according to the administrators, parents of the "gifted" feel confident and positive toward the school and need to be heavily involved in their children's schooling.

Perceptions regarding the residential programs and the participants therein at Fagan revealed two distinct themes across groups: an overriding awareness of hierarchical placement strata and--with one exception--acceptance of the strata. According to the magnet and SEARCH girls, "It [residential program] means that you are not smart enough to be in the magnet class....It's just a regular class....It means that you need to work harder." Lastly, one magnet girl said, "I know that, um, it wouldn't actually mean a lot to me." According to one residential girl, it [residential program] means doing basic subjects "like social studies, science, and health and math." The other residential girl discussed labeling and placement criteria. "You're kinda tagged 'ungifted' but you're still learning. It's your grades that put you in the class." The parents of magnet and SEARCH students discussed (oftentimes with sympathy) economic, social, and educational issues which they believe pertain to residential program participants. One mother stated that she hoped that they [residential students] "would want to be involved and [take advantage] of programs available for them like summer reading programs and...family centers...which serve a lot of needs."

Another said that "it [residential program] is just a regular old school day." Another said, "I think at times they [residential students] probably feel left out." The mother of a magnet girl echoed this sentiment. She told me that the residential children believe that magnet children are a "closed-in group that you can't penetrate." Further, "the magnet kids are treated differently....The teachers spend a little bit more time with them [magnet students] than they do with the others [residential students]." She then said:

> I guess whenever you have kids that are labeled smarter then others...they're gonna be looked at differently....Being smarter sometimes is, uh, a crime, you know....Being given a label "gifted" is not an honor because it can cause problems.

Regarding residential parents, three different issues were discussed: academic struggles, economic need, and powerlessness. One mother said, "If there is a problem academically...they [residential parents] try and, you know, tutor the child." Another said, "It might be enough for them to make sure their child goes to school each day....and gets home." Lastly, a mother of a SEARCH girl said, "It's hard for them....because of their lack of education...and the environment that they live in....Most of them have no control of where they are living or how they grew up." According to the residential parents, the residential program means attending school, participation, and behavior. One mother said, "My child is just in school, just trying to get an education." Another parent said, "It [being a residential parent] doesn't make me different from anybody else." According to the teachers of the "gifted," the residential program means a focus on basic skills, review, and drill work. One teacher described a residential teacher's job as "very hard." When asked to explain, she said that residential students often bring problems with them into the classroom and "these have to be solved. Uh, they [residential teachers] are working with average to basic students."

According to one of the residential teachers, teaching in the program requires dedication and hard work. Another said, "As far as being classified as a residential teacher or magnet teacher, SEARCH teacher or whatever, I don't see too much of a difference in it. A teacher is a teacher." Regarding residential students, one residential teacher discussed social interactions and programs available for academic assistance. She said, "You can interact with, uh, other children of the same...cultural backgrounds [and] a lot of children they are related to other students....[and] there's different...federal programs such as Chapter I and the REP, um, remediation program that can help the students." Another residential teacher stated:

> In order to get a clear answer to that question you would have to ask a student....I don't try to put labels on children, you know. I don't even use the term in my classroom--you're a residential student, you know. A student is a student.

According to the principal, residential teachers need to consider themselves teachers--not residential teachers. She explained that they should say, "I don't have 'resident' on my door....I don't feel that there's anything wrong with me." Regarding residential children, both administrators describe residential students as those who come to learn. The assistant principal cited four others groups of residential students: those who attend Fagan because it is their neighborhood school and they have no other choice, and those who have "taken up the call" and serve as leaders. Children in the leadership group are "setting their sights on how they are supposed to act and showing others how you are supposed to act." According to the assistant principal, "Leading doesn't have to be the General Patton style.... It can be a very quiet Dwight Eisenhower. He was not very loud or brash, but he got things done." Other children realize that they "have a burden to bear because you have other students that you have to live up to."

Lastly, there are those who question why they even have to come to school. When asked to elaborate regarding the last group, the assistant principal stated:

> They grow up with other siblings that may be out on the streets and they pick up street mentality....standing around on the corner dealing drugs, drinking beer. They don't have to have a education because they can get money doing whatever they want to do. A lot of our students, or some of our students, have older siblings that are in jail or juvenile detention. Some of them [think] that is "real cool"...wearing their pants down below their bottom line, hanging around the corner, not having to work, not having to go to school, not knowing how to speak proper English....They find it neat and fun to be able to go around and throw rocks at cars, break windows, carry a gun, smoke dope, smoke cigarettes, drink, and that goes on down....into the elementary schools.

Regarding residential parents, the administrators perceptions differed. Ms. Early discussed their [residential parents] confidence in the school. Mr. Clancy discussed the burden they bare. He said that "more is put upon them" to become more involved in their children's school life.

When comparing the programs for the "gifted" and the residential program, the residential parents told me that they were unable to comment because they are unfamiliar with the programs for the "gifted." Across the remaining groups, several commonalities were noted. All groups discussed academics. Specifically, the programs for the "gifted" and the residential programs have similar activities and subject matter. Both teacher groups discussed using similar materials. The parents of the "gifted" and the administrators noted that all follow certain schedules and they described Fagan teachers as dedicated. The teachers of the "gifted" and the administrators stated

that both programs have learning objectives. Miscellaneous similarities offered were shared interests, goals, and methods.

When contrasting the programs for the "gifted" and the residential programs, differences--all hierarchically and structurally focused--were far more numerous across groups. First, all groups described the programs for the "gifted" as having "more" of certain things (e. g., work demands, "fun," teacher-pupil interaction because of reduced class size, parent involvement, activities, acceleration, funding, advanced curricula, objectives and enhancements). Additionally, one parent of the "gifted" said that the magnet and SEARCH classes are "more free and expressive." Both residential teachers noted that the "gifted" children have broader experiences than the residential children. For example, one said, "We are supposed to interact with the magnet children [for Spanish] but we're only allowed to send a certain number of children to that class." One SEARCH girl stated, "SEARCH is higher [and] you learn things quicker." One teacher of the "gifted" said, "We [in the programs for the "gifted"] can move to advanced objectives/enhancements." Second, according to most of the respondents, the residential classes are basic, structured, and focused on review and rote drill. One parent of a "gifted" child told me that "they [those participating in the residential program] aren't creative." One residential parent said, "The residential math probably wouldn't be as accelerated as the SEARCH kids, because I wouldn't expect them to be on the same level, you know." According to one residential girl, the magnet and SEARCH students are involved in more singing and homework activities than the residential students. She also stated quite succinctly, "They do and we don't." Third, several of the groups (i. e., parents of the "gifted" and the residential girls and their teachers) discussed the issue of race. One residential girl stated, "They [magnet, SEARCH, and residential classes] are different because of our race and where we live and

what, um, background we come from." Lastly, several miscellaneous differences were noted. The residential teachers stated that residential children live near the school and many live in poverty. The administrators stated that the residential teachers are not required to have certification in education for the "gifted."

Regarding placement of students and teachers at the school, all groups told me that students were admitted into programs for the "gifted" based on testing. Three groups (the girls labeled "gifted," teachers of the "gifted," the administrators) also cited good behavior as a requirement. According to most groups (administrators, residential teachers and parents, parents of the "gifted"), students are admitted into the residential program if they live in the neighborhood. Interestingly, the residential girls and the teachers of the "gifted" stated that they are not aware of entrance requirements for residential students. Entrance requirements for teachers of the "gifted" are lengthy: One must have advanced education and training, a certificate in education for the "gifted," and experience. The administrators added several additional requirements: One must be innovative, quick-thinking, patient, flexible, creative, and recommendations, references, and the interview process must be highly satisfactory. One mother of a "gifted" girl told me that a teacher of the "gifted" needs to "have a lot on the ball....The parents at Fagan are very demanding." In contrast, one gets to teach in the residential program if they have a degree, are certified to teach, apply for the job, and are accepted.

Discussions across groups of respondents portray a static student placement system. Regarding entry into a program for the "gifted," the majority of respondents replied, "No." With one exception, all others responded affirmatively, but with conditions (effort, testing, dedication). Interestingly, effort was cited more than any other condition. One "gifted" girl told me that any child could get into the magnet program "because the magnet program is, I think, fairly

easy." Regarding entry into the residential program at Fagan, with one exception, all respondents replied affirmatively. Admission, however was conditional and living in the neighborhood was cited more than any other condition. Both residential girls said that a residential student must be enrolled the previous year in order to continue in the program. One "gifted" girl told me that any student could get into the residential program "if you make bad grades." Lastly, one residential parent said that not any student could get into the residential program "because some kids have special needs and that's where the special needs classes come in."

Discussions across groups of respondents also portray a static teacher placement system. Regarding entry into the program for the "gifted," the majority of respondents replied, "No." According to one residential mother, "They [teachers of the "gifted"] have to have special qualities." The assistant principal said that a teacher of the "gifted" must be willing "to do more than just the basic requirements because that's not going to teach our ["gifted"] students." Regarding entry into the residential program, the opinions across groups varied. The residential parents and the majority of the parents of the "gifted" responded affirmatively. A mother of a "gifted" girl said, "Residential should be like a basic....'Gifted' is just a step over." Both administrators responded negatively. The remaining groups were mixed. Interestingly, when asked to explain their negative responses, two mothers of "gifted" students replied that residential teachers need training to work with special learners--mostly with disabilities. Two other respondents implied that if an individual could not be a residential teacher then that person should not be in teaching at all. For example, one teacher of the "gifted" stated that some individuals "are cold, actually cold to the children....They don't treat the children like they're humans." The assistant principal stated:

> We also have a lot of teachers that are asked to leave the residential program....for not performing their duties. The primary responsibility of the teacher is to teach, not to berate, belittle, or sit around and tell students to do something and not show them.

When asked if all students should be in a program for the "gifted" or the residential program at Fagan, three respondents replied, "Yes." One mother of a "gifted" girl (who had failed to be admitted into SEARCH) told me that "every child should have the opportunity to be in SEARCH." A girl in the residential program and a residential parent stated that they would like to see all children in a program for the "gifted." All remaining respondents stated that all students should not be in either a program for the "gifted" or the residential program. One "gifted" girl explained:

> Some people don't want to be in the SEARCH program [and] some are not smart enough or quick enough....The people in the magnet program are the people that like work their hardest and work their best....The magnet program for the residential students may be too hard.

The assistant principal explained: "If a child has a desire to move on, to work hard, and do well in school, then they belong in the magnet program." One residential teacher told me that it would not be "fair" to have all students in one program. When asked to explain what she meant, she said:

> The ones [residential students] with lower scores....need extra help, individual help [whereas] the SEARCH and magnet students "move at a little faster pace....I'm not saying that some students in the residential program are not at a high achievement level because they are, but more students in the magnet classes and SEARCH program are at a...level where they can work more independently.

When asked if all teachers at Fagan should be in a program for the "gifted," two respondents said, "Yes." One mother of a "gifted" girl said, "The more you know, the more you can share." One residential teacher said that teachers should choose where they want to teach. All remaining respondents stated that all teachers should not be in a program for the "gifted." Both administrators' reasons were categorical. Both believe that certain teachers belong with certain groups of students.The principal stated, "I've seen some [SEARCH and magnet children] on the floor with their feet in a chair with a book in their hands....There are some people [teachers] who would go ballistic seeing that....So we need several kinds of people working in education." According to the assistant principal, "If you put everyone in the SEARCH program, who is going to teach the resident?" When asked if all teachers at Fagan should be in the residential program, all teachers of the "gifted" replied, "No." Responses varied within and across each of the remaining groups. One residential teacher said that some teachers should not be in residential classrooms because "they are not really committed to the students [and some are there for] a paycheck." Interestingly, three respondents (a residential mother, a mother of a "gifted" girl, and the assistant principal) stated that a residential classroom is also a good training site/starting point for future teachers of the "gifted."

According to the residential girls and their parents, some students are in the programs for the "gifted" because of grades and motivation. One residential girl said that "the school board said that they are ready." All remaining groups stated that some students are in the programs for the "gifted" because they passed entrance testing criteria. One mother of a "gifted" girl said that "it has an elitist label...for a child....It's a special thing....They know it's different, fun...and they feel like they're special." Three groups (residential teachers, parents of girls labeled "gifted," administrators) cited parent choice. Miscellaneous reasons

offered were that the "gifted" are "quick," intelligent, and the teachers recommended them. When asked why some students are not in the programs for the "gifted," responses across groups varied. The majority of respondents (residential teachers and teachers of the "gifted," magnet and SEARCH girls, administrators) stated that some students are not in the programs for the "gifted" because they did not pass entrance testing criteria. Additionally, the group of "gifted" girls also cited student choice and behavior. One magnet girl said, "They [residential students] act up...They talk out loud....They call people names and hit people." Other reasons offered were lack of motivation and/or ability, and parent choice. One mother of a "gifted" girl said, "I can't imagine this being a reason...[but] they [parents] don't like their children being in with those types of children [the "gifted"]."

According to the majority of groups (both groups of teachers, the administrators, parents of the "gifted"), some students are in the residential program, because they live in the area. Miscellaneous responses included school board or parent choice, prior enrollment, poor grades, or poor scores on the ITBS. One residential parent cited complacency as a reason. When asked to explain, she said, "They're satisfied with the grades they get and they figure 'I can just slide on through'." The assistant principal stated that most residential students "have no choice." When asked to explain, he stated:

> When you don't have anybody pushing you at home or motivating you towards education, then you don't have a choice in life. You start doing what is common to you....That means...standing on the street corner drinking beer and don't go to work and all day long wearing your pants down to your ankles and you think that's cool. Pushing drugs, things like this, this is reality to them. Education is

> not part of that reality. So to try to get into the magnet program is the furthest thing from their mind.

According to the residential parents, some students are not in the residential program because of special placement and the fact that some children "try to accelerate." All other groups stated that some children are not in the residential program because they are in the magnet program.

According to the administrators, some teachers are in the program for the "gifted" because they were chosen by the administration to participate in this program. They were chosen because they have a desire to learn, they enjoy challenging students beyond the "basics," and they're willing to give extra time. All other groups of respondents told me that some teachers are in the program for the "gifted" because they themselves chose to be. Additionally, one residential parent said that they [teachers of the"gifted"] "have that special quality or special gift to help those magnet and, um, SEARCH students." One teacher of the "gifted" stated that hers is a prestigious position and another said that some teachers work with the "gifted" because they "want to move at a faster pace...and to a higher level...[and] take them [students] to new heights." When asked why some teachers are not in programs for the "gifted," the majority of the groups (both groups of teachers, administrators, both groups of parents) cited choice. For example, the following comments were made by parents of the "gifted": "Maybe they just haven't been able to...get to that level yet in their career....Maybe they don't feel like they can be creative enough to work with those types of students." One mother commented that some teachers "enjoy working with residential kids and they know they need more help." Another said, "They [teachers not teaching in the programs for the "gifted"] are not interested in the additional work." Three groups (both groups of parents, administrators) cited improper training and credentials. Miscellaneous responses were poor

interpersonal skills, inflexibility, and the inability to handle pressure. Regarding the last descriptor, one of the teachers of the "gifted" explained: "You're under the gun all the time from administration, faculty, parents, students....You're being watched and you have to perform."

Discussions regarding reasons why some teachers are teaching in the residential program elicited one distinct theme across groups: choice. Two respondents qualified their opinions, however. A teacher of the "gifted" said, "Maybe it's the only job they could get." One mother of a "gifted" girl stated:

> In that lower income category...there's teachers that would rather make an impact at that level than on the, you know, "gifted" level. I don't know why a teacher wouldn't strive to move on where the "gifted" and SEARCH are....If I was a teacher I would strive to move....go to that higher level teaching....I can't imagine what other reason you would have except you just don't feel like moving on. You're happy in that level of teaching.

Likewise, discussions regarding why some teachers are not teaching in the residential program elicited one distinct theme across groups: choice. One mother stated, "It's a very difficult job....You have to work with a wide range of children with different learning capabilities....They [residential teachers] have a tough time communicating with the parents on that level." When asked to explain what she meant, she replied:

> I don't want to say, uh, [they] don't care about the children....Maybe they work two jobs....Maybe they're just lazy....Maybe they themselves aren't as educated....I don't want to say they can't read...but maybe...they don't understand it.

Benefits and Drawbacks of Being a Parent of a Child Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-gifted": When asked if they like being called "gifted" or "non-

gifted," two themes emerged across groups: complacency and mixed feelings The majority of the girls labeled "gifted," their parents, and the administrators are satisfied with their labels. Comments from the girls were as follows: "It makes me stand out with everybody....Everybody likes a person that's 'gifted,' I think....It shows how special a student can be....That's a compliment." One "gifted" girl said that she did not like being called "gifted" because she is teased by others who are not so labeled. Comments from the parents of the "gifted" were as follows: "It's flattering....It's a prideful thing...You feel special because your child was selected." Conversely, one mother of a "gifted" girl stated:

> That label, like I said, hurts more than it helps....You're always being looked at....You're always on stage....The spotlight is on you....That's talking from my experience. All my family, they always said, "Oh, well, she's so smart, she's so smart, she's so smart."....[and when] I didn't finish college...and it was like "she finally failed at something." I mean eventually I went back and got my degree. But I don't want what happened to me to happen to them [her daughters]....I don't want that [fear of failure] to happen to them.

Across four groups of respondents (residential girls, their parents, their teachers, the teachers of the "gifted") mixed feelings were noted. One residential girl told me that she did not mind her label as long as "people say there goes that residential kid [and not] that bad kid or that kid that doesn't listen." The other residential girl stated that she did not like being called a residential student "because I don't like anybody to tease me like if I have a sixty-nine or a fifty." One residential teacher told me that she did not mind her label "as long as you just don't rub me the wrong way." When asked what she meant, she repeated, "Like I

told you before, a teacher is a teacher." The other residential teacher told me that she did not like her label. She stated:

> When you say residential I feel that you're putting, um, the class and the teacher in a certain category and I don't think that's fair....You normally think about, uh, inner city children who are...poor....They come from...single parent backgrounds,...have free lunch,...are low academically,...need remediation....have behavior problems....You think of students who's struggling [when actually there are] some very intelligent students--smart students--in residential classes....Sometimes you can even hear the, uh, magnet students, even when they are speaking to a teacher,...whispering, "Well, she's a residential teacher."...Children know...exactly what type of class you're teaching....[and they think] that maybe they [residential students] are not getting everything that they need....It just carries a reputation....I don't like that word "residential."

One teacher of the "gifted" likes her label because "it's fun." She also told me that she dislikes her label. When asked to explain, she said:

> Elitism....I'm very intuitive and I could pick up on the fact that they [people] thought I was being a braggart...so I stopped saying it. I do it in my job setting because, uh, of course I'm required to, but I don't in a social setting.

Regarding benefits and drawbacks of their respective labels, two groups of respondents ("gifted" girls and their parents) cited an equal number of benefits and drawbacks. For example, one "gifted" girl stated:

> You get challenges....It's sort of like a movie....There's mystery about what you're going to do or how you're going to do it. There's

> adventure, like your challenges through learning....And then there's romance because you love learning and you love what you're doing.

This same girl also described the following drawback:

> People expect "gifted" children to be perfect....like you're somebody better, you're somebody great....But you're really not perfect. You're just somebody who does good work and you make mistakes a lot. [For example], if I don't have my homework, she [teacher] is shocked or something.

The parents of the "gifted" are pleased with their daughters' school experiences. Conversely, one mother said:

> They stereotype the parents as slave-drivers, making them [the children] stay home and study and no social life and no going outside, not being a child....[but] I find it very important that my kids do well on the ITBS [Iowa Test of Basic Skills].

Clearly, across the remaining groups, drawbacks were more numerous. For example, a residential mother told me that "gifted" students are given "a little bit more respect and a bit more attention." One residential girl said:

> Other people tease you...and call you names...and when a magnet class comes by...folding their arms...I would hear one of the teachers in the non-magnet class say, "How come you [the residential students] can't act like that...and not be so disruptive?"

A teacher of the "gifted" described her struggles with the administration. She stated:

> They [administrators] sometimes want to come in and change your rules....It's always your fault the child made this score....Sometimes the parents...think their child can't do any wrong....I mean they will

> get bent out of shape in a hurry....If they can't get their way in a lot of cases they'll go to 208 Bull Street [Board of Education] and that's a threat....I don't like that because I feel like I'm an educator, I'm professional.

Effect of the Label "Gifted": Regarding the reactions of others toward their label, the group of "gifted" girls told me that their friends accept their label and as one girl said "they're not shocked that I don't know things." The residential girls' views varied. One said that she and her friends reflect communal attitudes: "They want to be the best but not better than anyone." The other residential girl told me that she is teased. All other groups told me that their friends question their label and/or status. For example, one mother of the "gifted" told me that her friends do not understand why she sends her children to a public school because of "their bad reputation." When asked to explain, she said that our state ranked at the bottom "education wise....I guess that's an SAT thing or something....[Also], they [her friends] "have an idea that it's not so safe." A residential mother said that her friends question why her daughter is not in a program for the "gifted." A residential teacher said that her friends wonder why she is not teaching in the magnet program. A teacher of the "gifted" said that her friends tell her, "I don't know how you can put up with it [discipline problems]."

Across the majority of groups (both groups of teachers, administrators, parents of girls labeled "gifted"), the reaction from family members is pride. One teacher of the "gifted" said that her family sees her position as a "status symbol" or a "promotion." According to a residential teacher, her family feels like her work is a "calling, um, ministry." One mother of a "gifted" girl said, "I don't think they [her family] would have expected less...with me being 'gifted' when I was a child." Varied responses were noted from the residential girls, their parents, and the girls labeled "gifted." For example, one residential girl

told me that her parents said, "Your thing is to be in the residential or non-magnet classes." The parent of this child said that family members consider her daughter's placement "normal" because they also have children in the residential program. The other residential girl said that her parents want her to "speed up" so she can move into a magnet class. Her mother said that her family questions why her daughter is not in the magnet program. According to the girls labeled "gifted," their parents are proud of them but they also hold high expectations regarding their performance. One magnet girl explained:

> I feel stupid for not knowing anything like when I didn't understand long division in third grade....I went home and asked my parents for help and, um, I said I was stupid and didn't want to be in the magnet program anymore but my parents said it should mean a lot to me because I was in the magnet program.

Regarding the responses of others (i. e., peers) to their labels, two distinct themes emerged. First, with one exception, both groups of parents, the residential teachers, and administrators reported positive reactions. One mother of a "gifted" girl told me that other parents seem surprised that although "she [her daughter] is 'gifted' she is still a nice person." Second, all of the girls and all but one of the teachers of the "gifted" reported negative reactions. For example, one magnet girl said that her classmates believe that "I shouldn't be in the magnet program when I don't get something." A SEARCH girl said that others "are jealous because they want to be in the SEARCH program but they can't because...they don't listen and they don't work hard enough....They say I'm Miss Goody Two Shoes. They tease you a lot." One girl said that residential students are "scared...because it's like a lot of people they be teasing you." One teacher of the "gifted" said that her colleagues are indifferent to her placement. The other two teachers of the "gifted" reported negative reactions and one told me that she

is shunned by colleagues because of her position. More specifically, she said that they tell her, "Oh, you're with those bright children....You just go on your own."

Regarding their treatment by others because of their label, once again two distinct themes emerged. With one exception the residential girls and their parents and the parents of girls labeled "gifted" told me that they are not treated differently. One mother of a "gifted" girl said:

> They [her friends] think I'm nuts like crazy to send my child to public school....They also tell me that they admire me for sending my child to a public school....Maybe they don't like them [their children] being combined with the residential....But thus far I like it a lot.

The remaining groups reported mixed reactions from others. For example, the "gifted" girls and their teachers told me that they are not treated differently by family or friends. However, according to the "gifted" girls, teachers and classmates do manifest differential treatment toward them. According to one magnet girl, teachers give her harder things to learn "than the kids in the non-magnet program." Regarding classmates, one SEARCH girl stated:

> Mostly the boys actually are mean to me because they say that I'm like teacher's pet...just because I'm in the SEARCH program...and I know more than them....But I don't think they know how it feels to be, um, smart or a "gifted" student.

According to the teachers of the "gifted," colleagues treat them differently. In addition to the reactions mentioned earlier, the SEARCH teacher said, "They [other teachers] feel because I don't have a regular class all day long that my lot is easier than theirs." One residential teacher and the assistant principal told me that they are not treated differently by others. The assistant principal said that he

"wouldn't allow it." The other residential teacher and the principal told me that they are both treated with more respect.

Regarding the feelings of others about their placements, clearly across groups, the majority of respondents believe that those who are part of the program for the "gifted" have mostly positive feelings whereas those who are a part of the residential program have mostly negative feelings. For example, both groups of girls stated that "gifted" students are happy. The residential girls also said that "gifted" students make higher grades and have fun. With the exception of one respondent, both groups of girls also believe that residential students are sad and feel excluded. One SEARCH girl said, "If they [residential students] want to listen and they want to work...and they want to practice, then they can be in the SEARCH program." Regarding parents of the "gifted," the administrators believe that they are happy and/or arrogant, residential parents believe that they are proud but "pushy," and parents of the "gifted" believe other parents of the "gifted" feel confident and relieved. One mother of a "gifted" girl said that parents do not wish to be involved in the residential program "because that would be stepping down." Regarding parents who do not have a child in the program for the "gifted," the administrators believe that they are indifferent, or according to the assistant principal, "very disappointed and try to do everything they can to get their kids into the program whether they qualify or not." Residential parents believe that other residential parents are accepting, "angry," or "jealous." Parents of the "gifted" believe that parents who do not have a child in the program for the "gifted" feel "upset,...left out,...slighted." One mother cited indifference. She explained:

> It doesn't make a difference to them [residential parents] whether their kids pan out....You can't miss something that you've never been exposed to....It's discouraging and stressful...being a single

parent, low income, having several jobs and still can't see ends meet....they're trying to help but they can't.

Interestingly, regarding teachers of the "gifted" and "non-gifted," both groups of teachers revealed mixed feelings. With one exception, according to the majority of the teachers of the "gifted," others like them hold negative feelings regarding their positions (i. e., work load and the "parent situation"). One teacher said she thought other teachers of the "gifted" felt "happy." Another said, "I don't know why teachers would want to teach in a residential class." According to the residential teachers, teachers of the "gifted" are happy and accepting of their positions. According to the teachers of the "gifted," some residential teachers would prefer to be in a magnet class. Others feel satisfied and are in their positions by choice. One magnet teacher explained: It is not because "they're not capable. They may not just like that area well enough to be able to go....steps above the other teachers...[and] keep your wheels turning." According to the residential teachers, other residential teachers are unhappy and accepting of their position.

Personal Acceptance of "Giftedness" or "Non-giftedness":

Responses to questions regarding their own "giftedness" or "non-giftedness" revealed three themes across groups. First, and interestingly, both residential girls believe that they are indeed "gifted." Second, the residential teachers and the parents of the residential girls do not believe that they are "gifted." Third, across the groups of administrators, teachers of the "gifted," girls labeled "gifted," and parents of the "gifted" responses varied. Specifically, in the groups of administrators and teachers of the "gifted" some respondents told me they are "gifted" and others told me that they are "partially gifted" in certain areas. For example, the assistant principal said that he is "gifted" but doesn't know why. A teacher of the "gifted" said that she is "gifted" in athletics and in her ability to communicate with children. Within the group of girls labeled "gifted," two replied

that they are "gifted" and the others said that they are gifted "sometimes." One SEARCH girl explains: "Sometimes when I can't get a problem...I wonder if she [teacher] is gonna put me out of the 'gifted' class." In the group of parents of the "gifted," one mother believes that she is "gifted," two mothers believe that they are not "gifted," and two others believe that they are "partially gifted."

When asked if they exhibit "gifted" behaviors within their settings, two distinct themes emerged. First, the majority of groups (i. e., residential girls, residential teachers, teachers of the "gifted," administrators) believe that their behaviors are "gifted." One magnet teacher said, "I think God gave me a 'gift' to teach." The assistant principal cites his ability to manipulate, motivate, and work well with others. He told me that he is "able to get people to get things done that sometimes they don't necessarily want to do." Second, within the remaining groups (i. e., "gifted" girls, parents of residential students, parents of girls labeled "gifted") responses varied. For example, one residential parent believes that she is a "gifted" parent but the other does not. She said, "I consider myself just normal, run-of-the-day middle person. I do nothing out of the ordinary."

The administrators and both groups of parents believe that one does not have to be "gifted" to have a "gifted" child. One mother of a "gifted" girl said, "I'm living proof." The assistant principal and a parent of a "gifted" girl explained that "giftedness" is an inherited trait that can "skip generations." When asked if one has to be "gifted" to teach in a residential program, both residential teachers responded, "No." One of the residential teachers explains:

> The only thing, um, that you really need to be is a hard worker, a willing worker, um, a person that is capable of doing their job, your job, and ready to work. You have to be flexible, you have to be creative, you have to be, um,...just a person with common knowledge and common sense.

Conversely, with one exception, the teachers of the "gifted" believe that one has to be "gifted" to teach in a residential setting. When asked if one has to be "gifted" to teach in a program for the "gifted," opinions were divided between the residential teachers. One responded, "Yes," and the other responded, "No." Once again, with one exception, the teachers of the "gifted" believe that one has to be "gifted" to teach in a program for the "gifted." One of the magnet teachers believes that the degree of "giftedness" required is hierarchical and depends on one's position. She stated that one does not have to be "gifted" to teach in the residential program and one does not need to be "totally 'gifted'" to teach in the magnet program. However, regarding the SEARCH program, she said, "I think you would have to have more characteristics than any other teacher."

Lastly, and clearly across groups, most respondents expressed dissatisfaction with their present setting. For example, one residential girl told me that she should be in the magnet program. She said, "I have good grades. I made Honor Roll." Reactions from the parents of the "gifted" were mixed. Two said that they prefer their daughters' current placements. One magnet mother said, "I wouldn't mind her [her daughter] being in the residential program if there was a teacher willing to challenge her intellectually, academically." One SEARCH mother said that she prefers the magnet program "because they teach them about all the different curriculums, they teach her what she needs to know, and they prepare her for the next grade." One magnet mother said that she prefers the SEARCH placement. She explained:

> Her grades have always been good....Teacher recommendations ...have always been good....I've compared her work to others. When she gets in teamwork with a fellow student who happened to be in SEARCH, and compare the quality of the work, it was better. I had a teacher try to, uh, tell me once, "She does better quality work

than most of my SEARCH students." Her ITBS scores have always been good, enough to qualify her to test but she's never, uh, never been able to get in SEARCH at the final stage and that has disappointed and affected her and through that, it's bothered me.

Photo Exercise: When comparing the six classes/settings, all groups of respondents remarked that the students are working, involved, and interested in their learning. Three groups (i. e., administrators, parents of girls labeled "gifted," residential girls) noted likenesses in all six classroom environments (e. g., similar games, activities, wall decorations). Three groups (i. e., both groups of parents, teachers of the "gifted") noted that the teachers are interacting with the students in all settings. Regarding curricula, both groups of teachers said that all classes have learning objectives. Regarding methodologies, both groups of teachers said that all classes have similar teaching, reteaching, and evaluation strategies. Also, one residential teacher noted that all fourth-grade classes go on field trips, all do "hands-on" activities, and the teachers share strategies and materials. Lastly, the residential teachers said that the students are interacting with one another and the parents of the girls labeled "gifted" said that the students are all "well-behaved."

When contrasting the six classes/settings, several distinct themes emerged. First, and interestingly, all but two groups (residential girls and their parents) noted the racial composition and/or distribution of the classes. For example, a "gifted" girl said, "Some students are white and some are the other color....like brownish." One mother of a "gifted" girl commented, "I see in the residential classes there are more African-American students....In the magnet there are, um, a mixture of students and then when you look at the SEARCH students, there are more white kids....That's the biggest difference." The principal remarked, "In the SEARCH...and in the magnet classrooms, I see boys and girls

who are black and white and in my residential classrooms, all the students are minority." Second, most groups described hierarchical and structural differences in the three settings. For example, both administrators noticed a continuum from basic structured/teacher directed classrooms (residential) to more difficult unstructured/student directed classrooms (SEARCH). One teacher of the "gifted" observed that the SEARCH classes are student centered and the activities focus on "higher level thinking skills." The magnet children are seated at their desks doing a worksheet or engaging in art or science activities. The residential classes are more structured and teacher centered. "The children are sitting at their desks...with their heads leaning on their hands copying out of a book." Third, most respondents in all groups remarked that the SEARCH students seem to have more "fun." For example, one SEARCH girl said, "Some of the people in here [SEARCH class] are having fun and some [in the residential class] are not....They're not like learning. Some people look like they don't really want to learn." When asked how she knew that, she chuckled and replied that she could tell by "the look on their faces....She [residential girl] looks like she's asleep." The majority of the mothers of "gifted' girls stated that the SEARCH and magnet children seem to be having "fun" and "enjoying" their activities whereas--as one mother noted--the residential children have a "puzzled or surprised look on their faces" and two residential girls have their heads down. A residential teacher stated that in the SEARCH class "they are playing games....They don't have any paper in front of them. It seems like they're having a bit more fun." Fourth, the administrators and the parents of the "gifted" noted differences in seating arrangements. Specifically, some children are seated at desks and some are at tables. Lastly, one residential teacher noted differences in materials and opportunities between residential and "gifted" classes. She told me that different textbooks are used and the magnet students receive Spanish instruction daily

and residential students do not. She said, "I'm only allowed to send five of my students into the magnet class to receive Spanish."

Contrasting perceptions between the groups of girls and their parents emerged when telling how they got into their respective settings. The majority of "gifted" girls and their parents told me that the girls entered the programs for the "gifted" because of hard work, good grades, and successful performance on entrance testing criteria. The residential girls and their parents told me that their families placed the girls in the residential program. One residential girl said that she was there "because my grades were like 69 or below." The administrators and the teachers of the "gifted" repeated their successful application and interview processes. One residential teacher told me that she was there by choice. The other said she was there because of destiny and "through the help of God."

Shared and contrasting perceptions between the groups of girls and the groups of teachers emerged when telling why they are in their respective settings. Both groups of girls mentioned fate. One magnet girl said that her name just happened to be on the list. A residential girl said, "God put me there." The group of "gifted" girls discussed hard work and the desire to learn. A residential girl referred once again to her poor grades. Both groups of teachers told me that they love teaching and want to see their students succeed and become successful adults, or as one residential teacher stated, "...to leave footprints in the sand."

When reflecting on their feelings and on how things might be different if they were not in their respective settings, mixed responses were noted across groups. With one exception, all "gifted" girls said that they were happy. One SEARCH girl discussed boredom. She said, "If it [SEARCH] gets more exciting and [we do] more projects and experiments, then people would like it a

lot more." One residential girl told me that she was "happy." The other said that she was "scared." Regarding parents of the "gifted," two stated that they would not need to be as "involved" in their daughters' school work. Two others stated that their daughters' academic experiences would be limited. Miscellaneous responses were that social experiences would be narrowed and initiative and curiosity stifled. One mother said that her daughter's self-esteem would suffer. Another said that her daughter would be "bored." Regarding the residential parents, one told me that if her daughter were not in the residential program she would be required to work harder and be more expressive. The other said that if her daughter were not in the residential program perhaps she would not be as good a student and "probably wouldn't have met all these friends that she has now." The administrators discussed their own personalities. The assistant principal told me that someone else might not be as "jovial" as he or have the "good rapport" that he has with the staff. The principal stated:

> A principal who had not been in "gifted" education...might not understand....some of the things they do in "gifted" classes....They may not understand "gifted" teachers [or] that "gifted" children are not always the nicest children. There are times when they have temper tantrums because they are also human beings....Some people feel, oh, they ["gifted" children] are going to get it anyway [but] these children need more, and they need a leader who is going to expect them to do more.

The teachers of the "gifted" chose to discuss their frustrations with the system. The SEARCH teacher told me that she struggles to provide a classroom climate wherein her students may enjoy "having fun being a kid and [knowing that] it's okay to be 'gifted.' I'm not that different....I'm accepted." A magnet teacher struggles with paperwork. She said, "I don't have enough time to teach." Another

magnet teacher said, "You give, give, give, give and you know there's no let up. You're constantly giving and giving and giving but you know it's all worth it....The child is who is going to benefit." Coincidentally, both residential teachers chose to end our discussion by reflecting on standardized testing and its impact on students and their assigned settings within the school. One residential teacher said:

> We put students in certain categories because of the [achievement] scores....We are really stereotyping them....We say, "Well this child belongs in this class--the magnet class--because of the scores but another child can be in a residential class but with lower scores."...It's a label. This is residential. This is magnet. This is SEARCH...I think that's wrong....Every child learns differently.

She then told of one of her students who was unable to write well but who was "very eloquent in his speech" and another who also had difficulty writing but could draw a "beautiful, creative" story. These children "can produce really the same type of work [as the magnet students] but maybe in a different way."

Ms. Dunn repeated that she has "gifted" students in her classroom. Further, test scores have determined their placement. She explained:

> They have not met the test requirements....You have to have a certain test score average to be labeled "gifted" in our school. That's the bottom line...I do feel you know, like some of them, if they were able to meet that particular score could function, um, and be successful in the magnet program....Why they cannot make it I don't know. I really don't know.

Lastly, Ms. Blake stated:

> They [residential students] are learning...that magnet students are better than residential students....Most students in the magnet class

> their self-esteem to me is better....You talk with the [residential] children. They can tell you they feel that a magnet student has...more qualifications than a residential child....Test scores. That's really the bottom line. Test scores.

Summary/Conclusions

Emergent Global Phenomena

Emergent themes from each formal individual interview have been presented. Group and across group perspectives have been summarized and described. Significant quotes and my own personal views have been noted throughout. If we step back and survey the entire landscape, several additional--and global--phenomena become obvious. First, most respondents have been willing and enthusiastic participants. Most have been quite talkative, especially the girls labeled "gifted" and their parents. The transcripts and summary presentations of the "gifted" girls and their mothers are noticeably lengthier than the transcripts and summary presentations of the others. With the exception of one magnet girl, all respondents have been cooperative throughout their lengthy sessions with me. I could not help but notice their incredible spirit, their willingness to share, and their support and positive hopes for my research project.

Second, all adult participants in this study firmly believe that their primary mission is to see their students and children succeed and all believe that education is the key to success, now and in the future. As one teacher said:

> We care....I have seen teachers here be friends, mothers, the nurse....Our main purpose is to help them [students] to be successful citizens....We work beyond the hours of the school day....The teachers here at Fagan are always trying to find more

> ways in which they can help their children by attending conferences, [and] bringing in different people from the community to enlighten us.

Third, I am also convinced that the marvelous children who participated in this study are struggling and straining to excel within their respective settings. One fourth-grade girl told me, "I just try to do what I can and just try my best." Further, it is generally perceived that the "gifted" and the adults with whom they live and work are pressured more so than others to succeed. Expectations for children (especially girls) labeled "gifted," their parents, and their teachers/administrators are more rigorous than those for children not labeled "gifted." Consider the following comments:

Didi: "In the summer I took a test for SEARCH but I didn't pass....It was a creativity test and you know I'm very creative and they just didn't think I was creative enough." (p. 25) She told her parents that she was "stupid and didn't want to be in the magnet program anymore but [they] said it should mean a lot to me" (p. 29).

Ellen: "People expect 'gifted' children to be perfect....but you're not really perfect. [For example], if I don't have my homework, she [teacher] is shocked or something" (pp. 30-31). Further, "my parents believe that I am smart--the best" (p. 32).

Donna: "Sometimes when I can't get a problem...I wonder if she [teacher] is gonna put me out of the 'gifted' class" (p. 37).

Ms. North: "Her [Didi] ITBS scores have always been good enough to qualify her to test but she's...never been able to get in SEARCH at the final stage and that has disappointed and affected her and through that, it's bothered me" (p. 39).

Ms. Smith: The magnet program is "more demanding....They [magnet

students] are pushed" (p. 12) and SEARCH parents "push kids harder" (p. 10). According to Ms. Smith, being called the parent of a magnet student has the following drawbacks: "It is a lot of work...[and] some of the students are lazy....It's very stressful....People think that we're pressuring the children" (p. 19). She explained:

> They stereotype the parents as slave-drivers, making them [the children] stay home and study and no social life and no going outside, not being a child....[but] I find it very important that my kids do well on the ITBS [Iowa Test of Basic Skills]. (pp. 19-20)

When asked if Jane should be in the magnet program, she was hesitant. "I think she can do the work when she pushes herself" (p. 25).

Ms. Hale: Brandy continues to believe that she is a failure because she is not in the SEARCH program and "I don't see her being able to accept failure maybe later on in life" (p. 6). To Ms. Hale, the magnet program means a fast "pace" and a "lot of work" [and] the parents have to "stay on top of them [students] and their work" (p. 13). She stated, "I guess whenever you have kids that are labeled smarter than others...they're gonna be looked at differently....Being smarter sometimes is, uh, a crime, you know" (p. 14). She added, "That label, like I said, hurts more than it helps....You're always being looked at....You're always on stage....The spotlight is on you" (p. 26).

Ms. Ingram: "If you're to excel, you have to put the work into it" (p. 11).

Ms. Downs: "Oftentimes, we stayed up really well over twelve o'clock trying to get that work done" (p. 1). She added, "At times she [Donna} gets overwhelmed" (p. 5).

Ms. Benton: Since Gail is not in a program for the "gifted," it is "not an urgent thing for her to have all E's" (p. 8). Regarding magnet parents, she stated, "It's push-pushing for them [children] to get those good grades" (p. 10).

Ms. Easton: "The magnet program just has, uh, more for the kids, uh, to accomplish. They have to do more things....Their workload is heavier" (pp. 6-7). Further, not all children should be in the SEARCH program "because most kids, they're not able to handle the pressure" (p. 8). As a residential parent "I can come home, um, and not have so much pressure trying to get projects done, deadlines met....I can take a breather as a parent....It's a lot less hectic than being...the parent of a magnet child" (pp. 10-11).

Ms. Holt: "There is a lot of pressure, you know, being a magnet teacher rather than a residential....It's a challenge....I feel like I'm always under the microscope" (p. 11).

Ms. Harris: "You give, give, give, give and you know there's no letup" (p. 34).

Ms. Wade: The parents of "gifted" children are "very demanding" (p. 1). Also, "They [her colleagues] expect too much from them [the "gifted"] behaviorally--If you're smart you're going to be good or well mannered--which is not the case" (p. 1). When discussing what it means to be a teacher of the "gifted," Ms. Wade stated that there is a lot of accountability ("what a stress", p. 7) and "you're under the gun all the time from administration, faculty, parents, students....You're being watched and you have to perform" (p. 10).

Ms. Early: SEARCH children are "continuously pushed and pushed....You've got to get that test score. You've got to do this product" (p. 31). She also stated that some children are not in the programs for the "gifted" because their parents "felt that it might be a little too much pressure for them" (p. 33).

Mr. Clancy: Parents of "gifted" children "are glad they're not a residential parent because they know that [their] children are being pushed beyond the regular curriculum" (p. 40).

Fourth, all participants in this study reveal a hegemonic acceptance of the structure of schooling in general and of Fagan Elementary in particular. Further, this structure is hierarchical. For example, teachers are placed within one of four levels or groups: SEARCH, magnet, residential, and those not suited for the profession at all. Regarding the latter, one teacher of the "gifted" stated that some individuals "are cold, actually cold to the children....They don't treat the children like they're humans." The assistant principal stated:

> We also have a lot of teachers that are asked to leave the residential program....for not performing their duties. The primary responsibility of the teacher is to teach, not to berate, belittle, or sit around and tell students to do something and not show them.

According to one magnet teacher, "We're working with higher level thinking skills like problem solving,...making decisions." Another said, "Residential classes...do that but not on the same level [or] depth." Lastly, the SEARCH teacher said, "They [residential teachers] don't take it to the level I do." Regarding her placement, one magnet girl said, "You have achieved a level, but not as high as the SEARCH program."

Fifth, most respondents noticed the racial distribution in the various settings within the hierarchy--mostly Anglo-American in the SEARCH settings, cultural diversity in the magnet settings, and all African-American in the residential settings. As one residential girl said, "I'm not in a magnet class like them....Some might be mixed or some might be white or some be black in a class."

Sixth, according to the respondents, the "higher" the level/stratum the more "special" the individuals and activities therein. To the respondents "higher" means "better," "smarter," and ethically or morally valid. Further, all groups described the programs for the "gifted" as having "more" of certain things (e. g., work demands, "fun," teacher-pupil interaction because of reduced class

size, parent involvement, activities, acceleration, funding, advanced curricula, objectives and enhancements). One parent of the "gifted" said that the magnet and SEARCH classes are "more free and expressive." A SEARCH girl said, "Ms. Wade [SEARCH teacher] is in a higher level because she's in the SEARCH class....She is probably the smartest because she teaches the SEARCH class." According to one magnet girl, "In magnet you're more educated and...in a higher class then the residential students....Magnet students would have to do more work than the residential students and they know more." One SEARCH girl said, "We have more work to do, to build up our strength and learn....I hate to say it but we have more fun."

Seventh, the "higher" one's place, the more experienced and worldly one is. However, with the exception of the administrators, I also noted that the "higher" one's place, the more elitist one becomes. In fact, three mothers of "gifted" girls told me that their daughters had assumed elitist attitudes. Consider the following comments by magnet and SEARCH girls: "The residential students do math and social studies and health and science and all that other stuff...and they're not as 'gifted and talented'." Another SEARCH girl stated:

> In the residential classes they usually don't work on like experiments or like projects or something....[A residential class] is not as smart as, I mean it's not as good as, SEARCH class...Some of the residential students came in our class because they got in trouble and they went to the back table and did worksheets....I looked at some of the worksheets and they were real easy....We know more than them.

The mother of a SEARCH girl said:

> The [magnet] children separate themselves out....They think they're better,...more intelligent....I think socially they feel like they just live in a different world than the residential....They see different parents....This

> one residential mother had pink hair and, you know, tons of gold jewelry and like leopard-skin pants....She [daughter] just couldn't imagine living with a mother like that.

Conversely, the "lower" one's place, the more fatalistic and powerless one feels. One residential teacher told me, for example, "Some of my students they have low self-esteem....They talk very negative....They try to tear other students down in order to...make themselves look good." One mother told me, "Most of them [residential parents] have no control of where they are living or how they grew up."

Eighth, the closer one is to the presumed top of the hierarchy, or the larger one's sphere of power, the more complacent one seems to be with his/her placement/label. Placements "at the top" are accepted with pleasure. Conversely, the closer one is to the presumed bottom of the hierarchy, or the smaller one's sphere of power, the less complacent one seems to be with his/her placement/label. Placements "at the bottom" are accepted with displeasure. For example, the assistant principal (the only male respondent) discussed his position: "I am seen as an authority figure....I don't want to use the term superior...but I am above them as far as the chain goes." Additionally, he told me, "Without good administrators, you're not going to have good teaching in the school." The SEARCH teacher told me that her job was "fun." A magnet teacher said, "They [administrators] sometimes want to come in and change your rules." A residential teacher said:

> When you say residential I feel that you're putting, um, the class and the teacher in a certain category and I don't think that's fair....Sometimes you can even hear the, uh, magnet students, even when they are speaking to a teacher,...whispering, "Well, she's a residential teacher."...Children know...exactly what type of class you're

> teaching....[and they think] that maybe they [residential students] are not getting everything that they need....It just carries a reputation....I don't like that word "residential."

A "gifted" girl said, "People expect 'gifted' children to be perfect....like you're somebody better, you're somebody great....But you're not really perfect. You're just somebody who does good work and you make mistakes a lot." Lastly, the residential girls have many dislikes, generally pertaining to academics, their own physical problems, and interpersonal relationships. Comments offered were as follows: "We do hard work like division...and fractions....I'm little in fourth-grade....I don't like to run because sometimes I get heartaches and headaches...and then I feel like I'm about to faint....The children...become like snotty and all and then they call people names [like] fat...and Gummy Bears....Some people...don't like me so they just put my name on the board....I have to sit by myself and do my work [because] they [classmates] keep on talking to me." Additionally, both girls told of fights between the other students and of teachers "yelling at the other kids."

Ninth, entrance requirements for those placed at the top of the hierarchy are more stringent than the entrance requirements for those placed at the bottom. SEARCH and magnet teachers, for example, are required to have additional certification, more experience, and more positive interpersonal skills than residential teachers. According to one teacher, one does not have to be "gifted" to teach in the residential program and one does not need to be "totally 'gifted'" to teach in the magnet program. However, regarding the SEARCH program, she said, "I think you would have to have more characteristics than any other teacher."

A child's placement within the hierarchy is determined by testing and behavior. The better one performs on the entrance testing criteria, the higher

one's place within the hierarchy. Conversely, the worse one performs on the entrance testing criteria, the lower one's place within the hierarchy. According to a residential teacher:

> We put students in certain categories because of the [achievement] scores....We are really stereotyping them....We say, "Well, this child belongs in this class--the magnet class--because of the scores but another child can be in a residential class but with lower scores."...It's a label. This is residential. This is magnet. This is SEARCH...I think that's wrong....Every child learns differently.

Another residential teacher said;

> They [residential students] are learning...that magnet students are better than residential students....Most students in the magnet class their self-esteem to me is better....You talk with the [residential] children. They can tell you they feel that a magnet student has...more qualifications than a residential child....Test scores. That's really the bottom line. Test scores.

In similar fashion, the more well-behaved one is, the higher one's place within the hierarchy. Conversely, the more poorly-behaved one is, the lower one's place within the hierarchy. According to Gail, not every student should be in the SEARCH program because "they might not have good behavior" (p. 35). Her teacher "sometimes would say that I need to take a lesson from the magnet...and act like them and not be so bad" (p. 39). According to Marian, "they [SEARCH and magnet classes] always listen....They follow directions. They keep their feets and hands to theirselves (pp. 20-21) and the residential classes "don't listen like magnet classes" (pp. 20-21).

Tenth, placements within the hierarchical structure are referred to categorically and most assume that their current labels and roles and the labels

and roles of others within the hierarchy are static or fixed. Further, there is a "culture of exclusion" or very little movement within and between placement positions. One mother told me, for example, that the residential children believe that magnet children are a "closed-in group that you can't penetrate." According to the assistant principal, "If you put everyone in the SEARCH program, who is going to teach the resident?"

Eleventh, it appears that there is also a culture of silence (or fear) at the school. In spite of their loquaciousness, I felt like many of the respondents' comments were "canned." Also, at different times during our interviews the teachers would signal me in various ways to turn off the tape recorder so they could say something "off the record." One teacher of the "gifted" told me that there were additional comments that she wished to make but did not feel comfortable doing so "on tape." Another told me that she is reluctant to speak out in a group. "I don't always talk out....I'm not maybe aggressive enough....I sometimes just sort of keep them [feelings] in....I don't want to feel like I'm stirring up anything." With one exception, all of the girls told me that they do not talk in class or interact with the teacher. According to one residential girl, the ones who talk in class are the ones who misbehave and the ones who do not talk in class are "mostly the good people....I don't answer questions I know."

Twelfth, all respondents reveal a hegemonic acceptance of the practice of labeling. All accept the existence of the label "gifted" yet each person defines it differently. Further, the majority of respondents hold positive opinions toward the "gifted" but not necessarily toward the programs designed for them. Specifically, group attitudes toward the "gifted" are as follows: The "gifted" girls consider their label a hierarchical cognitive construct and the majority of them report positive feelings regarding the label they carry. Most have assumed an elitist attitude. At the same time--and contradictorily--most discuss their struggles with the stigma

of elitism. One mother of a "gifted' girl told me that other parents seem surprised that although "she [her daughter] is 'gifted' she is still a nice person." A SEARCH girl said that others say "I'm Miss Goody Two Shoes. They tease you a lot." The residential girls consider SEARCH and magnet students as cognitively and socially superior, special, well-behaved, generally happy, and judgmental toward those who do not wear the label. One residential girl told me that "a magnet class might think that another class is bad." Parents of "gifted" girls hold mixed feelings toward the "gifted." The label is a source of pride. It means uniqueness, versatility, acceleration, and superior intelligences. One mother told me that "gifted" children are "really far above other children." When asked to explain, she said:

> Most normal children wouldn't have that same talent as that ["gifted"] child....A "gifted" child is somebody that would get 1600 on an SAT....a five year old that can play Beethoven on a piano...."Gifted" should be more select.

Conversely--and as previously discussed--, the label also means added pressures to excel. One mother stated that her daughter "is very emotional and she will start crying when she doesn't do well in her schoolwork." Residential parents believe that the "gifted" are high achievers, are accelerated academically, are more responsible, and are more participatory in class than those who are not "gifted." SEARCH and magnet teachers all hold positive feelings toward the label. According to these teachers, the "gifted" are global thinkers with the ability to proceed at an accelerated pace. They have different learning preferences (for "higher level," more creative, more project-oriented activities). One teacher told me that the label also carries a certain responsibility: the need for a non-elitist special interaction with residential students. Residential teachers believe that the "gifted" have special talents, high self-esteem, and the

ability to achieve excellence (i. e., high scores on tests). They also told me that there are "gifted' children in the residential program. When asked why they are in residential classrooms, one residential teacher explained:

> They have not met the test requirements....You have to have a certain test score average to be labeled "gifted" in our school. That's the bottom line...I do feel you know, like some of them, if they were able to meet that particular score could function, um, and be successful in the magnet program....Why they cannot make it I don't know. I really don't know.

The administrators' attitudes toward the "gifted" were positive: The "gifted" are special, achieve beyond the norm, are highly motivated, and able to deal successfully with various academic pressures. They also serve as models for the "non-gifted."

Group attitudes toward programs designed for the "gifted" are as follows: Most of the fourth-grade "gifted" girls were complimentary regarding the SEARCH and magnet programs. They told me that they liked the art, p. e., and special activities designed for them. Conversely, they hold negative attitudes toward their teachers and the school facilities. The residential girls believe that the SEARCH and magnet children are involved in more diverse activities and have more "fun." Conversely, they are also aware of the program differentiation for the "gifted." As one residential girl succinctly stated, "They do and we don't." The parents of the "gifted" believe that the programs for the "gifted" at Fagan have been positive, challenging, and prestigious. They like the homogeneous groups and the fact that their daughters are exposed to "more" of everything. Conversely, they also stated that program requirements are oftentimes overwhelming, demanding, and socially and politically challenging. One mother used the term "cliquishness." One said her daughter is "snooty." Another

repeated that her daughter had assumed an elitist attitude toward residential students. Two of the mothers also said that their daughters have also been negatively affected by their failure to pass the test for entry into SEARCH. Lastly, one mother stated:

> They [those not in the program] stereotype the parents as slave-drivers, making them [the children] stay home and study and no social life and no going outside, not being a child....[but] I find it very important that my kids do well on the ITBS [Iowa Test of Basic Skills].

Both residential parents initially stated that they knew very little about the SEARCH and magnet programs. Later comments revealed mixed descriptors: Both believed that the programs are accelerated and address the special needs of the "gifted." Conversely, they believe that the program places intense pressure on the "gifted" and their parents to succeed. Both told me that they wished that their daughters were in the magnet program. Teachers of the "gifted" stated that the SEARCH and magnet programs are exciting, interesting, and more accelerated, challenging, enriched, project-oriented, competitive, and fun. Conversely, they also acknowledged the intense pressures to succeed, the overwhelming paperwork, the false stereotyping of "gifted" children, and having to deal with overbearing parents and the stigma of elitism. One teacher said:

> Elitism....I'm very intuitive and I could pick up on the fact that they [people] thought I was being a braggart...so I stopped saying it. I do it in my job setting because, uh, of course I'm required to, but I don't in a social setting.

Residential teachers' views regarding the programs for the "gifted" were generally positive: They are more enriching, challenging, and accelerated than the residential programs. Further, "gifted" children have more opportunities (e. g., daily Spanish instruction, involvement in activities such as Odyssey of the

Mind, greater access to more technology). Both administrators' attitudes toward programs for the "gifted' were also generally positive: They are less structured and the children are able to interact with their intellectual peers without fear of rejection.

Thirteenth, the majority of respondents hold negative opinions toward those not labeled "gifted" and toward the programs designed for them. Group attitudes toward the "non-gifted" are as follows: SEARCH and magnet girls believe that the residential children are not as "gifted and talented," are poorly behaved, and have no desire to learn. For example, one "gifted" girl said, "I'm a magnet student....I am quicker than them." A magnet girl said, "Some people are really bad....They get into fights and stuff. Usually it's the boys. That's no surprise either." When viewing the photographs of the residential classes, a SEARCH girl said, ""They're not like learning. Some people look like they don't really want to learn." When asked how she knew that, she chuckled and replied that she could tell by "the look on their faces....She [residential girl] looks like she's asleep." The residential girls believe that their label means a "different race," and that one lives near the school, is teased, and as one residential girl told me, "You're kinda tagged 'ungifted' but you're still learning." The parents of "gifted" girls said that the "non-gifted" label belongs to minority students with typical physical and social development. They also believe that residential students do not have a sense of the importance of work, are not as well-behaved, aren't creative, and oftentimes feel left out. One mother said:

> I don't really care [about] going on a field trip with them [residential students]....The magnet children would sit and listen and the residential students would make a lot of noise and talk to each other....It embarrasses them [magnet children] a little bit when they're with them.

The residential parents believe that the residential label belongs to typical children who enjoy school. They also said that it belongs to children who are mostly "average" with "average" grades. Many lack motivation and many have special needs (like the "gifted"). SEARCH and magnet teachers defined residential children as not "gifted." Many have special needs and many have behavior problems. According to the residential teachers, their students are oftentimes labeled as "special needs" children with personal and family problems. They need more reinforcement and reteaching, are more dependent on the teacher, have a lower ability level, lower self-esteem, and many live in poverty. The administrators believe that the "non-gifted" label at Fagan means that you come to school to learn. However, it also means that you are probably a minority child, less advantaged, a low achiever, and perhaps not as happy as a child in the magnet program. The assistant principal cited four other groups of residential students: those who attend Fagan because it is their neighborhood school and they have no other choice, and those who have "taken up the call" and serve as leaders. Children in the leadership group are "setting their sights on how they are supposed to act and showing others how you are supposed to act." According to the assistant principal, "Leading doesn't have to be the General Patton style.... It can be a very quiet Dwight Eisenhower. He was not very loud or brash, but he got things done." Other children realize that they "have a burden to bear because you have other students that you have to live up to." Lastly, there are those who question why they even have to come to school. When asked to elaborate regarding the last group, the assistant principal stated:

> They grow up with other siblings that may be out on the streets and they pick up street mentality....standing around on the corner dealing drugs, drinking beer. They don't have to have a education because they can get money doing whatever they want to do. A lot of our

> students, or some of our students, have older siblings that are in jail or juvenile detention. Some of them [think] that is "real cool"...wearing their pants down below their bottom line, hanging around the corner, not having to work, not having to go to school, not knowing how to speak proper English....They find it neat and fun to be able to go around and throw rocks at cars, break windows, carry a gun, smoke dope, smoke cigarettes, drink, and that goes on down....into the elementary schools.

Group attitudes toward programs designed for the "non-gifted" are as follows: According to SEARCH and magnet girls the residential program is more basic, a lower class, and not as much fun. One "gifted" girl said, "It's just a regular class....It means that you need to work harder." Another told me, "I know that, um, it wouldn't actually mean a lot to me." Both residential girls described their program of learning as "hard." According to one residential girl, it [residential program] means doing basic subjects "like social studies, science, and health and math." Parents of the "gifted" described the residential teachers as dedicated. However, according to this group of parents, the residential program is not as much "fun" and as one parent said, it means a "regular old school day." Residential parents described their daughters' program of learning as focusing on basic academics. Further, the children are expected to behave and participate in class. They also told me that they struggle with difficult homework assignments and the residential program is not as accelerated as the magnet program. SEARCH and magnet teachers described the residential program as being more teacher-centered, more structured, not as broad or "high level" as the programs for the "gifted," and more time is spent on review and rote drill. The residential teachers also described their classes as more structured with less freedom of movement. Further, the pace of learning is slower,

experiences are limited, and many of the children are involved in federal "help" programs. According to the administrators, the residential program is basic-structured, teacher-directed, and not accelerated or enriched. The children all do the same activities and use "regular" texts.

Fourteenth, the principal, the residential students, and the parents and teachers of residential students reject the residential or "non-gifted" label. For example, according to the principal, residential teachers should say, "I don't have 'resident' on my door....I don't feel that there's anything wrong with me." One residential girl stated that she did not like being called a residential student "because I don't like anybody to tease me like if I have sixty-nine or a fifty."

Fifteenth, most respondents report dissatisfaction with their current placements. The teachers of the "gifted" made the following comments: "There is a lot of pressure....It's a challenge....I feel like I'm always under the microscope....The parents are definitely a challenge....The 'gifted' parents are very demanding....You're pulled in twenty-nine different ways....You have to be on your P's and Q's...What a stress." One residential girl told me that she should be in the magnet program. She said, "I have good grades. I made Honor Roll." One magnet mother said, "I wouldn't mind her [her daughter] being in the residential program if there was a teacher willing to challenge her intellectually, academically." One SEARCH mother said that she prefers the magnet program "because they teach them about all the different curriculums, they teach her what she needs to know, and they prepare her for the next grade." One magnet mother said that she prefers the SEARCH placement. She explained:

> Her grades have always been good....Teacher recommendations ...have always been good....I've compared her work to others. When she gets in teamwork with a fellow student who happened to be in SEARCH, and compare the quality of the work, it was better. I had a

> teacher try to, uh, tell me once, "She does better quality work than most of my SEARCH students." Her ITBS scores have always been good, enough to qualify her to test but she's never, uh, never been able to get in SEARCH at the final stage and that has disappointed and affected her and through that, it's bothered me.

Sixteenth, and interestingly, the majority of teachers told me that they preferred teaching language arts and other related subjects rather than math and science. Ms. Holt stated, "I never was good at math....I despise to grade math papers....It's just kinda boring" (p. 6). Ms. Blake said, "It seem like it [math] is not as exciting" (p. 5). Ms. Dunn told me that her least favorite subject to teach is science and "I have no question about that" (p. 10). Ms. Harris said, "You know science can be, I would think, a boy thing" (p. 5).

Likewise, most of the girls told me that they also preferred language arts subjects rather than those dealing with math or science. Didi said, "We just work out these math problems which is extremely boring" (p. 7). Jane told me that she has a "hard time in it [math]" (pp. 10-11). Donna said, "I'm sort of low in math....In kindergarten I used to love math but I stopped that habit because it's gotten harder" (pp. 1-2). Gail said that she gets "scared" when she goes to another classroom for math.

Lastly, according to the majority of respondents, the negative impact of labeling (i. e., the labels "gifted" and "non-gifted") far outweighs its benefits. For example, a residential mother told me that "gifted" students are given "a little bit more respect and a bit more attention." One residential girl said:

> Other people tease you...and call you names...and when a magnet class comes by...folding their arms...I would hear one of the teachers in the non-magnet class say, "How come you [the residential students] can't act like that...and not be so disruptive?"

Two groups of respondents ("gifted" girls and their parents) cited an equal number of benefits and drawbacks.

Summary of Findings

In sum, my own investigations reveal the following: (1) With one exception, all respondents were willing and enthusiastic participants. The girls labeled "gifted" and their parents were more talkative than those in the other groups. (2) All adults interviewed believe in the importance of education. (3) All girls interviewed are struggling to excel within their respective settings. Further, it is generally perceived that the "gifted" (i. e., "gifted" girls) and the adults with whom they live and work are pressured more so than others to succeed. (4) There exists an hegemonic acceptance of an hierarchical structure of schooling. (5) Most respondents noted racial inequities at the school. (6) The higher an individual's position and activities within the school hierarchy the more "special" the individual and his/her activities become. (7) The higher one's position within the hierarchy the more worldly and experienced yet more elitist one becomes. (8) The higher one's position within the hierarchy the more complacent one becomes. Conversely, the lower one's position within the hierarchy, or the smaller one's sphere of power, the less complacent one becomes. (9) Entrance and sustenance requirements for those placed at the top are more stringent than the entrance and sustenance requirements for those placed at the bottom. (10) Placements within the hierarchy are referred to categorically and these placements are considered static or fixed. (11) There exists a culture of silence (or fear) at the school. (12) There exists an hegemonic acceptance of the practice of labeling and all accept the existence of the label "gifted." Further, most respondents hold positive perceptions regarding the "gifted" and negative perceptions toward the programs designed for them. (13) Most respondents hold

negative perceptions regarding the "non-gifted" and the programs designed for them. (14) The principal, the residential students, and the parents and teachers of residential students reject the residential label. (15) The majority of respondents expressed dissatisfaction with their current placements. (16) The majority of teachers prefer teaching language arts and other related subjects rather than mathematics or science. The majority of girls prefer language arts subjects rather than those dealing with science and/or math. (17) The negative impact of labeling far outweighs its benefits.

Transcontextual Analysis

As planned, my final task is to analyze the label "gifted" transcontextually. In other words, I will look through historical, political, sociological, and phenomenological lenses simultaneously and then compare and contrast interglobal themes from the literature with interglobal themes from my own work. In order to accomplish this, I will return at first to the philosophical framework I presented in Chapter II. To begin with, according to the literature, idealism continues to define and focus curriculum and methodology in all areas, including education for children labeled "gifted." Curriculum serves as a metanarrative or paradigm into which children and their needs are "plugged." This is revealed to me through my research and in my work as curriculum developer and consultant with our local system. For example, our school has adopted the teachings of E. D. Hirsch and Mortimer Adler. We have become a "Core Knowledge" school and our "gifted" students are expected to read and respond to Western classics and selections from Junior Great Books.

Second, realism and essentialism are made manifest today by sorting and classification systems and in the hegemonic practice of labeling. In schools, this affects everyone, not just those individuals with superb intelligence(s). At Fagan, the existence of the label "gifted" is generally accepted yet perceptions vary

regarding its meaning and implementation. Some of our students are assigned the label "gifted." They do not choose it for themselves. It is chosen for them. In most cases, they accept it, prophetically internalize it, and behave accordingly.

Historically, Americans have professed passionately to believe in the importance of education. (I have certainly found this to be true.) Yet, ironically, we have also equated superb intelligence with power and prestige. As a result, we admire and sometimes envy the "gifted" while at the same time we remain suspicious of them and their intellectual pursuits. Reflective of this "love-hate" relationship and inherent in the label "gifted" are various descriptors, including its linkage to geneticism, for example. It may also mean "special," "elitist snob," "obsessive-compulsive," "weirdo," "dork," "super geek," etc. This causes others to form stereotypes about my students--about their beings and personalities--that are not necessarily true. My students (especially the girls) are admired but they are also often scorned by others because of their marvelous abilities, their insatiable curiosities, and their academic achievements. This anti-intellectualism permeates our culture and is made manifest in the mediocrity and incompetency that we accept from others and for others, especially in education.

Once again, I do not mean to imply that the label "gifted" is more troublesome than the label "non-gifted." I have witnessed "gifted" children (including my own daughter) and "non-gifted" children experience pain. The girls I have interviewed have expressed this quite passionately in their conversations with me. My daughter has revealed her struggles through her writing, sculpting, and prose. However, I also know that the pain experienced by those being conditioned for eminence must certainly not be as acute as the pain of those being conditioned for failure.

We also see Aristotle's influence in the existence of structures, hierarchies within structures, curriculum design, and classroom management. Fagan

Elementary School is certainly a structure, or more specifically, a system of discrete, static, and recurring patterns of ideas and behaviors. Further, the individuals therein, and the activities and materials used by these individuals are hierarchically arranged. Individuals and things closer to the presumed "top" of the hierarchy are deemed more "special" than those individuals or things at the "bottom." The higher one's placement within the hierarchy, the more complacent and more elitist one becomes. Conversely, the lower one's placement within the hierarchy, the less complacent and more fatalistic one becomes. Admission standards into the "top" levels are more rigorous than the admission standards into the "bottom" levels. Sustenance standards and expectations for those at the "top" are greater and more stressful than sustenance standards and expectations for those at the "bottom." At the top are the administrators and teachers of the "gifted" and the "gifted" themselves. At the bottom are the residential teachers and their students. "Gifted" children experience Renzulli's Enrichment Triad and the "upper levels" of various taxonomies. Residential or "non-gifted" students experience the "basics" and the "lower levels" of various taxonomies. The scientific method and character or "values" education are parts of our curriculum and our children continue to be disciplined via behavior modification techniques.

Third, pragmatism and its inherent notions of practicality, efficiency, and eclecticism more or less define contemporary American education and specifically education for children labeled "gifted." Consider the following: First, as I have shown, the concept of intelligence has always been culturally constructed. In this country, we emphasize cognition and fail to honor all intelligences equally. Second, our economic system, which is characterized by privately-determined investments and competition-driven monetary values, affects materials and people. Hence, and more specifically, rather than the state

being used to benefit our children with superb intelligence(s), the reverse is true. Our "gifted" children are being used to benefit our capitalist state. Further, national, state, and local attention to the "gifted," or the values we assign to them, waxes and wanes depending on presumed threat and/or need. Third, "gifted" children are being exploited and marginalized by society in general and by certain individuals, including their own parents.

Emerging from these philosophical considerations are several additional interglobal themes which need to be mentioned. According to the literature, and as I have discussed, the excellence/equity dichotomy is alive and well throughout our culture. Advocates for the "gifted" and egalitarians vie passionately for power, money, and limited resources. I am witness to these conditions in my own school where they are more clearly--and oftentimes differently--defined. The spectres of racism, ethnocentrism, and sexism continue to alienate and divide us. As I have shown, before the recent implementation of multiple-criteria admission standards in some states (including Georgia), African-American children were essentially excluded from programs for the "gifted" and the literature on this particular population has been virtually non-existent. "Gifted" girls who, for the most part, have been submerged in the literature, speak in different voices when considered apart from the general population. Even more so, African-American "gifted" girls struggle to survive within an androcentric society which not only marginalizes their sex but also their race.

Lastly, silence, when freely chosen, offers to us a private place to go with or without reflection. The unspoken--our thoughts and non-thoughts--are owned by us and are deeply personal. Once thoughts become words, they belong to the world. Conversely, silence, when imposed by others, is immoral and unjust. As a woman and teacher, I have experienced both dimensions of silence, personally

and professionally. The "culture of silence" I have observed at Fagan is imposed and trans-spherical. In other words, women and girls (i. e., the women and girls who participated in my study), regardless of status or placement with the hierarchical structure of the school, at times feel fear when engaging in dialogue and hence are reluctant to express themselves. During these times I believe I received multi-layered messages from them which were only partially presented or perceptions and feelings which were not spoken at all. This is unacceptable. All voices, including those of women and girls, ought to be heard and received with respect. Hopefully, my work with its dialogic format will help--as Rukeyser (1994) wrote--to "split open the world."

I am aware of the risks. I intend to choose my silence. My conscience will not allow me to do otherwise.

Something Blue

To-morrow he would don his man's coat
his man's hat
his man's scowl
to prowl the asphalt jungle.
"Che'rie," he'd say, "*someone's* gotta bring home the bacon."
To-night he pops a movie into the V. C. R.
and makes cigarette butt pyramids
and tears into tomatoes like apples, stares into a beer.
Tomorrow, I, too, would don a man's coat
and carve on a man's scowl
and try to see skyscrapers as silver-coin stacks, shift for myself.
He pushes his way comfortably
in a world of steaming puddles, flickering glass and neon.
Doesn't he see the dangers in it?
I see the random madman...
sudden shocks, nasty knocks, surprises
--the bus with the failed brakes!
I see his reasoning also--
To-day he is here, but he'll go, to-morrow again
boredom forces it
But I borrow the man's coat
the man's swagger
and statistics make me wonder
when the something borrowed
will make me blue
by becoming my own.

Malinda McCall, age sixteen

Chapter X

"Toward the Daylight": Conclusions, Implications/Recommendations

Give justice to the weak and the fatherless; maintain the right of the afflicted and the destitute.
Rescue the weak and the needy; deliver them from the hand of the wicked.

Psalms 82:3-5 (Revised Standard Version)

Administrators, teachers, students, parents, and the general public are heavily invested in a linear, seemingly solid worldview. Even though this worldview is crumbling beneath our feet, our culture keeps marching forward in a futile effort to deny the encroaching contradictions that threaten the Cartesian belief system at nearly every turn. Instead of breaking free from the Cartesian worldview, many educators keep trying to patch up the holes. This worldview may feel temporarily secure because it pretends to provide stability, predictability, and dependability. But even a cursory glance around reveals that the foundations have indeed crumbled.

(Delores Liston, 2001, pp. 206-207)

Whelkept

My life,
like a many-chambered shell,
was squeezing me dry.
I struggled to turn things around
and only got in deeper.
One day I gave up
and let life push me
and I realized
I wasn't trapped
inside spirals of stresses
outgrown anxieties
dead ends.
Instead I was being led
gently
toward the daylight.

Malinda McCall, age sixteen

Within these last few pages, many hearts and many passions (including my own) are all joined together--hopefully not for the last time. First, in summarized form, I will review the research mandates cited in the literature and my responses to them. Then I will list the conclusions and implications for schooling which have emerged from my research. These will be presented concurrently with my visions for the future which I trust will lead us--as Malinda wrote--"gently toward the daylight."

Research Mandates/Responses

Present/conspicuous by their absence in the literature are several research needs regarding the label "gifted." These needs and my responses to them are as follows:

1. Research efforts need to be less tangential, or digressive (Robinson, 1986). In other words, we need to focus on the labeling of "gifted" children and its effects on them and the significant groups of others with whom they live and work. In response--and apart from other populations--, my study has examined the label "gifted" from the perspectives of children to whom it has been assigned and their parents, their peers and their parents, and their teachers/administrators.

2. Findings have been opinionated and indiscriminate (Robinson, 1986). There is a need to distinguish between attitudes toward the "gifted" and attitudes toward programs designed for them. My primary focus has been on children (i. e., girls) labeled "gifted" apart from the programs designed for them.

3. Research regarding the label "gifted" has been small and limited in scope. There is a need to conduct studies regarding the label "gifted" wherein we simultaneously compare and contrast the perceptions of multiple groups (and the individuals therein) rather than just one or two groups. Further, each

group needs to be examined in context (Robinson, 1986). My study is a multivariate one. I have conducted a concurrent investigation of several groups of individuals within the context of Fagan Elementary School.

4. Until recently, most studies have revolved around the "gifted" population as a whole. In addition to the need to study groups simultaneously, we also need to involve subgroups and individuals (Bailey & Cross, 1997; Cornell & Grossberg, 1989; Dauber & Benbow, 1990; Franks & Dolan, 1982; Mendaglio & Pyryt, 1995; Ring & Shaughnessy, 1993; Robinson, 1986; Sapon-Shevin, 1987; Tomchin et al., 1996). In response, my work has focused on the girls within two "gifted" populations (SEARCH and magnet) and their mothers, a residential population and their mothers, and teachers and administrators. Many of my participants are African-American. Also, the bulk of my data was collected from lengthy, personal interviews.

5. The majority of studies regarding self-concept in "gifted" children have focused primarily on the cognitive sphere (Loeb & Jay, 1987). My study is a phenomenological one, hence the affective domain has also been considered.

6. The issue of labeling certain children "gifted" needs to be examined via a multi-dimensional approach (Hoge & Renzulli, 1993). In my case, a multi-contextual prism (historical, political, sociological, personal) has served as the lens through which the participants in this study (including myself) have struggled to make meaning of the phenomenon of "giftedness" which has been and continues to be so much a part of their lives (and mine).

7. The literature is inconsistent (Hoge & Renzulli, 1993; Loeb & Jay, 1987; Robinson, 1986; Tomchin et al., 1996). In other words, incompatible measures have been used. There have been definitional and sample variations (Greenspon, 2000). Faulty comparisons have been made (Field et al., 1998). In order to avoid these problems and in a partial replication of the study by

Field et al. (1998), my interview schedules are consistent across groups and my research took place within a single school setting. Also, I compared and contrasted individuals within homogeneous groups (SEARCH, magnet, residential), each with established entrance criteria.

8. Most studies regarding the label "gifted" are quantitative (Hedges, 1986; Hoge & Renzulli, 1993). Therefore, there is a need for more qualitative work--such as mine--in this area (Vaughn, Feldheusen, & Asher, 1991).

9. Up to this point, no other studies have matched all of these descriptors. Further, and more specifically, with the exception of Eulouise Williams' (2000) fine work regarding the history of identification procedures for the "gifted" in Georgia, until now there have been no formal histories of education for the "gifted" in Georgia or Chatham County. Additionally, no other studies have simultaneously compared and contrasted the history of education for the "gifted" nationally, statewide (Georgia) and locally (Chatham County).

Conclusions/Implications/Recommendations

Emerging from this framework/guide which I have just discussed and the research activities regarding the label "gifted" which have been focused by it are the following conclusions and their implications. Each has been grouped according to the research question that it primarily reflects. Also offered are recommendations for schooling.

How did the label "gifted" evolve? (Historical)

Conclusion

Throughout history, "gifted" children have been exploited and often marginalized by society in general and by individuals, including their own parents. In this country, it seems that political and social contexts have always

determined--in a cyclical fashion--the degree of attention paid to children labeled "gifted." The values we have assigned to them have waxed and waned depending on presumed need and/or threat. Further, many children have been placed into programs for the "gifted" by their parents for vicarious or egocentric reasons.

Implication

Educators and parents need to be made aware of these phenomena. Knowledge of past and present events and trends (e. g., the exploitation of those labeled "gifted") should serve as a mandate to cease the practice of labeling certain children "gifted." Further, this knowledge will enable us to plan more effectively, more appropriately, and more fairly for the future--for ourselves personally and professionally, and for the children with whom we live and work.

Conclusion

From ancient times, the concept of intelligence has always been a cultural construct. In this country there has existed an ironic static predominant emphasis on cognition. Likewise, in academe, we have emphasized cognition and failed to honor all intelligences equally.

Implication

This is unacceptable. The strengths and talents of all children everywhere ought to be honored. Recently, due in part to the work of Howard Gardner (1983, 2000), the concept of intelligence is being broadened. Gardner has identified at least eight intelligences: linguistic, logical/mathematical, spatial, musical, kinesthetic, interpersonal, intrapersonal, and naturalist. He is currently expanding his theory to include two more--the spiritual and the existentialist--which offer a further extension of his ideas.

Conclusion

Anti-intellectualism permeates our society. Historically, we have professed passionately to believe in the importance of education. (My own work verifies this finding.) Yet, ironically, we have also equated superb intelligence with power and prestige. As a result, we admire and sometimes envy the "gifted" while at the same time we remain suspicious of them and their intellectual pursuits.

Some of our children are hegemonically assigned the label "gifted." Inherent in this label is its linkage to geneticism, for example. Hence, this causes others to form stereotypical assumptions about "gifted" children--about their beings and personalities--that are not necessarily true.

Implication

Educators, parents, and children ought to be made aware of anti-intellectualism and its affects on children with superb intelligence(s). Those who are assigned the label (especially girls), their parents, and their teachers need also to be prepared for its consequences. Parents, teachers, and school psychologists need to be trained to counsel the "gifted" who struggle within a system which equates democracy and justice with intellectual pursuits but forces choices between them, a system which claims to prioritize excellence but scorns those who seek it, and a system which claims to value academics but spends many more tax dollars on violence, debt-servicing, luxuries, "administrivia," and bureaucratic nonsense than it does on the education of its children.

Conclusion

National attention turned toward the "gifted" in the early twentieth century in reaction to the eugenics movement, increased immigration, and the spread of capitalism. State (Georgia) and local (Chatham County) attention turned toward the "gifted" at mid-century in reaction to forced racial integration of the schools.

Otherwise, over time, state and local programs for the "gifted" generally have reflected national trends.

Implication

The ethnocentrism and racism evident here ought to reveal to educators (i. e., educators of children labeled "gifted") the faulty and undemocratic beginnings of education for the highly intelligent in this country. Superb intellect should be stimulated and nurtured in all, by all, and not at the expense of some. Likewise, the educational programs which develop and applaud marvelous abilities and talents should spring forth from just beginnings and a keen desire for excellence for everyone.

Why does the label "gifted" exist? (Political)

Conclusion

Emerging from national historical landscapes--and the anti-intellectualism which characterizes them--is a polarization of thought between two opposing forces--excellence and equity. Our schools are contentious political arenas wherein those who strive for excellence and those who strive for equity vie with one another for power, limited funds, and equipment. In order to obtain these things, we create categories and assign labels to certain individuals (e. g., "gifted," "non-gifted"). In my school are three opposing forces: those who strive for excellence, those who strive for equity, and a less powerful group that struggles for a merger between the two extremes.

Implication

The implication here is that some individuals and/or groups are more worthy to receive money and supplies than others. Of course, it should not be this way. The tension should not be between the ideas of excellence and equity but between these two noble goals and any entity that serves to separate them

(McCall, 1997). Educators (i. e., educators of the "gifted") and parents (i. e., parents of the "gifted") need to join forces with merger proponents in order to secure a more equitable distribution of funds. We need to petition state legislators and local officials to reallocate tax monies in order to increase per pupil expenditures. All children ought to have everything they need to develop their intellects and talents. "High-quality public education and the opportunity to learn are *rights*, not privileges, in this democracy of ours. And if we do not uphold these rights for *all* our citizens, we can ultimately kiss our affluent democracy good-bye" (Berliner & Biddle, 1995, pp. 294-295).

Who benefits and who does not benefit from the practice of labeling certain children "gifted"? (Sociological)

Conclusion

Once categories have been created and labels assigned, the attention then shifts to the characteristics of the various groups, the individuals within them, and the ameliorative efforts for them by groups of experts--in this case advocates for the "gifted" and egalitarians. In our school, this dichotomy indeed exists but is further defined by a hierarchical system of stratification for the participants therein. Students and teachers are sorted into one of three general settings: SEARCH, magnet, residential. Further, a parent's status at the school is determined by his/her child's status. It appears that the SEARCH placement is the most prestigious, followed by the magnet then residential placements. Advocates for the "gifted" and the "gifted" students themselves are placed into the SEARCH and magnet positions. Egalitarians and children labeled "non-gifted" are placed into the residential positions.

Implication

Binaries or Cartesian dualisms (e. g., equity/excellence and advocates for the "gifted"/egalitarians) and the hierarchical structures within which they are sometimes found only serve to essentialize then privilege one concept or person over another. In my case, the "privileged" ones are those labeled "gifted" and the individuals with whom they live and work. Ensnared by these conditions are children, including those labeled "gifted." All of us--especially educators, parents, and anyone who lives and works with children--need to commune with one another and work together to eliminate this type of unjust structuring in our schools. We need to move beyond the hegemonic practice of labeling children, erase it, then focus our energies on providing an excellent and equitable education for all.

What role does the label "gifted" play in the personal meaning-making of children labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents, their peers (i. e., fourth-grade girls not labeled "gifted") and their parents, and their teachers/administrators? (Phenomenological)

Conclusion

Almost all of the participants in this study were willing and eager to engage in dialogue with me. I have been impressed by the spirit and resilience of the children (i. e., the girls labeled "gifted" and "non-gifted"), by the caring and passionate expressions of the parents, and by the compassion and dedication of the educators who worked with me on this project. All communed with me, some more openly than others. Further, I also noted that the girls labeled "gifted" and their parents were more talkative than those in the other groups.

Implication

Researchers and educators-as-researchers ought to engage in multi-contextual and phenomenological studies such as this one. The experience has been informative, therapeutic, self-revealing, and personally authenticating for my respondents and for me. Further, my findings offer vast implications for education of the "gifted" in particular and for schooling in general. Lastly, educators and parents need to examine ways to enlarge and enrich the experiential spheres and communication skills of all girls, especially those not labeled "gifted."

Conclusion

"Gifted" and "non-gifted" girls struggle to excel in their respective settings. However, girls labeled "gifted" and the adults with whom they live and work are pressured more so than others to succeed.

Implication

Commensurate with the label "gifted" is the prophetically-fulfilled expectation that one will work harder to maintain one's status as "gifted." Commensurate with the label "non-gifted" is the prophetically-fulfilled expectation that one need not work as hard to maintain one's status as "non-gifted." As Elkind (1988) wrote, "Branded and put into special classes early, many children decide, 'If you have the name, you might as well play the game'" (p. 159). Educators and parents need to work to eliminate the conditions which foster these beliefs and behaviors. All of our children (i. e., girls)--not just those labeled "gifted"--ought to be expected to strive toward excellence. Further, all children need to believe that it is their inherent mission to do so.

Conclusion

Four groups of respondents in this study reveal different attitudes toward the label "gifted" when considered apart from general populations. First, in

contrast to the literature, my research shows that "gifted" girls and, more specifically, "gifted" African-American girls hold positive feelings toward their label. Second, in contrast to the literature, female parents of "gifted" girls hold positive feelings toward their daughters' labels. Third, and likewise, in contrast to the literature, female parents of "non-gifted" girls seem to hold positive feelings toward the "gifted" and the label they carry. Fourth, in contrast to the literature, both groups of teachers and administrators hold positive views toward "gifted" children and the label they wear.

Implication

Educators and parents need to be aware of these findings. This will enable advocates of the "gifted" and others to plan more effectively, more appropriately, and more fairly for themselves personally and professionally, and for the children with whom they live and work. Additional discrete research which focuses on the perspectives of "gifted" girls, "gifted" African-American girls, parents of the "gifted" and "non-gifted," and teachers/administrators removed from general populations is needed.

Conclusion

One group of respondents in this study reveals similar attitudes toward the label "gifted" when considered apart from the general population. Specifically, the general population of "non-gifted" children and the residential girls in this study hold mixed feelings toward the "gifted" and toward the label they wear.

Implication

Educators and parents (i. e. parents of the "non-gifted") need to be aware of these findings in order to plan more effectively for this group of girls. Additional research which focuses on the perspectives of "non-gifted" girls removed from the general population of "non-gifted" children is needed.

Conclusion

There exists an hegemonic acceptance of an hierarchical structure of schooling. Our school is an hierarchical structure, or more specifically, a system of discrete, static, and recurring patterns of ideas and behaviors. Further, the individuals therein, and the activities and materials used by these individuals are hierarchically arranged. Individuals and things closer to the presumed "top" of the hierarchy are deemed more "special" than those individuals or things at the "bottom." The higher one's placement within the hierarchy, the more worldly, experienced, and complacent yet more elitist one becomes. Conversely, the lower one's placement within the hierarchy, the less complacent and more fatalistic one becomes. Admission standards into the "top" levels are more rigorous than the admission standards into the "bottom" levels. Sustenance standards and expectations for those at the "top" are greater and more stressful than sustenance standards and expectations for those at the "bottom." At the top are the administrators and teachers of the "gifted" and the "gifted" themselves. At the bottom are the residential teachers and their students.

Implication

Inequities--such as those made manifest by the hierarchical structure of schools--contradict the meanings of democracy. Teachers, parents, and all of us for that matter need to consider the following suggestions for improving education. Each is presented generically. Specifics are beyond the scope of this thesis. Further, detailed plans tend to develop into structured meta-narratives, the very nature of which I am struggling so hard to reject. Also, as Liston (2001) has written, these suggestions are not meant to be prescriptive. Rather, they are to be considered "anecdotes" for reshaping the present structure of schooling.

First, we need to restructure our schools in order to eliminate hierarchies and the inequitable labeling and placement of individuals, activities, and

materials therein. I have shown the injustices inherent in such arrangements. If magnet schools are to continue, all (not most as is now the case) need to be interest-oriented. I would offer the teachings of Howard Gardner (1983, 2000) as a thematic framework for this program. As John Goodlad has suggested (1984), in order to reduce isolationism and improve communion and interconnectedness with one another, we need smaller schools wherein kindergarten through high school students are housed together. The larger structures already in existence could be subdivided into self-contained schools/communities of learners of approximately four to five hundred students each. We need to move away from the agrarian calendar of the eighteen hundreds and move toward year round schooling. Lastly, schools should be non-graded. Children may enter a chosen program when they are "ready" sometime between the ages of four and six and then proceed at their own rate until they graduate. Liston (2001) explains:

> Educational contexts must support communities of learners in the processes of making meaning. Students and teachers should not be forced to endure their time together. Instead, they should be brought together in common interests. There is no set number of students appropriate for a learning community. The group should be small enough to allow everyone to participate in discussion, dialogue, and meaning-making, yet large enough to introduce a range of diversity. Everyone does not need to be the same gender, age, race, or have the same physical abilities. They need not share religious or sexual preference. They do not need to be at even the same level of educational ability as indicated through standardized tests. (pp. 217-218)

Second, I believe that learning and practice (whatever one's area) need to be grounded in philosophical thought. More specifically--and perhaps more importantly--education (including teacher education) needs to be based in

philosophy and reflective thinking. This is where curriculum planning and methodology ought to begin. A strong philosophical base would give us all purpose, direction, and serve to eliminate "bandwagons," "fluff," and "mindless floundering." We need to emphasize human thought not human materialism. Further, could poor practice be a manifestation of a subconscious aversion to an underlying philosophy unbeknownst to the teacher?

Teachers should be trained to be intellectuals and visionaries--not practitioners of traditionalism and purveyors of lock-step, ineffective curricula and methodologies. How can we teach our children to be scholars and creative problem-solvers when we ourselves are not? Teacher salaries need to be at least equally commensurate with the salaries of other professionals. Further, within our culture, a higher salary indicates a more desirable field and/or position within that field. Hence, employers can be more selective when choosing individuals to educate our young. As Berliner and Biddle (1995) state:

> If we pay teachers substandard wages and treat them like recalcitrant incompetents, won't they eventually come to think of themselves in this light? And if we foolishly structure schools so that many students are regularly bored, threatened, or punished in them, who would be so naive as to assume those students would thereafter love learning? (p. 349)

Third, most curricula are structures, or frameworks, into which children and their needs are "plugged." I am opposed to this idea. I believe that curricula should be dynamic, multi-cultural, and reflect the needs of those who interact with it. Recent discoveries in neuroscience reveal that learning is a mutually interactive process which involves the whole body and both the logical and affective domains of cognition. Brain-based pedagogy, with its emphasis on mutual relatedness, mastery learning, and authentic assessment strategies

manifests these ideas. New understandings of brain-compatible curricula and methodology offer exciting implications for education.[19]

Conclusion

There exists at Fagan an hegemonic acceptance of the practice of labeling and of the label "gifted." Further, the "gifted" are perceived positively but the programs designed for them are perceived negatively. The "non-gifted" and the programs designed for them are perceived negatively.

Implication

These conditions verify the concept of hegemony inherent in the system of stratification at our school. This "conspiracy of silence" (Sapon-Shevin, 1994, p. 43) needs to be broken by oral and written dialogue and additional phenomenological studies such as this one, which give voice to children who are and are not labeled "gifted" (i. e., fourth-grade girls) and their parents, and their teachers and administrators.

Conclusion

The label "non-gifted" is assigned and accepted in practice but not in spirit by the principal, the residential students and their parents, and the teachers of residential students. Further, the majority of respondents are dissatisfied with their current placements.

Implication

Through the vehicle of dialogue, inherent in this phenomenological study, these passions emerged--perhaps for the first time. These revelations are encouraging but also indicate a strong need for further conversations of this nature. The voices of the participants--especially those of the women and children--do indeed offer us hope for the future. As Kozol (1995) wrote:

[19] Refer to detailed discussion of my application of brain-based pedagogy in Chapter V.

> Still, when I look for hope these days, I tend to look less often to external signs of progress such as housing reconstruction--which can be too rapidly arrested and reversed by shifts in public policy--than to the words and prayers of children and the spiritual resilience of so many of their mothers and grandmothers. It is, above all, the very young whose luminous capacity for tenderness and love and a transcendent sense of faith in human decency give me reason to hope. (pp. xiv-xv)

Conclusion

Racial inequities exist in our school. For example, in the SEARCH program are the "highly gifted" and most are Anglo-American. In the magnet program are the "gifted." Due to legal mandates, half are Anglo-American and half are minority students. In the residential program are the "non-gifted" and all are African-American. As one residential girl poignantly commented, "They do and we don't."

Implication

The existent school structure and its system of stratification only serve to sort, stratify, and isolate the individuals therein. It teaches our children the meaning of elitism, and it propagates the classicism and racism which also characterize our society at large. Further, as Apple (1990) stated, "The distribution of labels among a student population is actually a process by which one social group makes value judgments about the appropriateness or inappropriateness of another group's actions " (p. 149). Educators, parents, and others in the community need to join together in open dialogue wherein (1) the restructuring plans discussed are indeed ameliorative and not focused by present conditions and (2) any foreseeable problems are removed. Through collaboration and working together, it is indeed possible to build a school community based on freedom, individual rights, and dignity for all.

Conclusion

There exists a culture of silence (or fear) at the school. The children who speak out in class are considered "troublemakers." The teachers who were reluctant to speak out did not want to "get into trouble."

Implication

In order to tear down these stereotypical barriers, educators, parents, and children need to engage in responsible, accepting dialogue with one another. Counselors and school psychologists, teachers (i. e., the women), and parents need to model interactive, respectful verbal interactions. They need to listen to the children (i. e., the girls), commune with them, and encourage open classroom discussions (e. g., debates). "Silence can be broken by a single voice, but understanding and change come only from a conversation" (Sapon-Shevin, 1994, p. xxviii).

Conclusion

Most women teachers prefer teaching language arts and other related subjects rather than mathematics or science. Most girls prefer language arts-related subjects rather than mathematics or science.

Implication

In reaction to the androcentric culture into which they were born and in which they now live and work, girls and women hegemonically accept their positions as central figures in language arts and marginalized others in math and science. From the beginning, girls need opportunities and experiences which initiate and nurture non-traditional roles. Specifically, educators and parents ought to model non-traditional roles, encourage participation in these roles, involve mentors and successful role models, and work to change the perception that mathematics and science are masculine domains. A multi-

cultural curriculum, support groups, dialogue, and inservice training for adults offer marvelous tools through which these goals may be accomplished.

Conclusion

The negative impact of labeling far outweighs its benefits.

Implication

The concept of labeling and the practices which define it are political and social constructs. Rather than being ameliorative as it is often intended to be, the practice of labeling others--especially children--has been shown to be hurtful. Further, as I have also shown, the labels individuals are assigned prophetically determine their own behavior(s) and the behavior(s) of others toward them.

More specifically, the label "gifted" has evolved in a cyclical fashion, its waxings and wanings determined by current perceived need. It is created as a means of reinforcing the demands of our capitalist state. It serves the interest of the system and not the individuals who hegemonically accept it. The participants in this study, their perceptions of the label "gifted," and their stories which illuminate these perceptions, certainly verify these descriptors.

The label "gifted" has been examined thoroughly and multi-contextually. I have grasped hold of it, reached to the bottom of its conceptual framework with both hands, scraped the sides coming up, and flipped it inside out. In so doing, I have found nothing to justify its existence. My research serves as a mandate for ending this practice now. We need to move away from the practice of labeling children (i. e., labeling children "gifted") and the pragmatic commodity-driven linear themes which define and direct its use. Instead, we need to envision and merge with more democratic spheres wherein the focus is on excellence, dialogue with others, and justice--for our children--and indeed for the future of humankind.

And here I am. "I have considered the days of old, the years of ancient times. I call to remembrance my song in the night: I commune with mine own heart: and my spirit made diligent search" (Psalms 5-6, King James Version). It's time for me to gather my materials, move away from the fire, go in the door, stir the ashes, and pick up my pen.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

PERMISSION FROM INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Georgia Southern University
Office of Research Services & Sponsored Programs

Institutional Review Board (IRB)

Phone: 912-681-5465
Fax: 912-681-0719
Ovrsight@gasou.edu
P.O. Box 8005
Statesboro, GA 30460-8005

To: Linda Ann McCall
Curriculum, Foundations & Research

Cc: Dr. Delores Liston, Faculty Advisor
Curriculum, Foundations & Research

From: Mr. Neil Garretson, Coordinator
Research Oversight Committees (IACUC/IBC/IRB)

Date: January 10, 2000

Subject: Status of Application for Approval to Utilize Human Subjects in Research

---

After an expedited review of your proposed research project titled "The Label "Gifted" : A Critical Analysis," it appears that the research subjects are at minimal risk and appropriate safeguards are in place. I am, therefore, on behalf of the Institutional Review Board able to certify that adequate provisions have been planned to protect the rights of the human research subjects. This proposed research is approved through an expedited review procedure as authorized in the *Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects* (45 CFR §46.110(7)), which states:

> (7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

However, this approval is conditional upon the following revisions and/or additions being completed prior the collection of any data:

1. You will need to revise the last sentence of the last paragraph of your informed consent letter to read: "...(IRB) Coordinator at Georgia Southern University's Office of Research Services and Sponsored Programs at (912) 681-5465."

If you have any questions, comments, or concerns about these conditions of approval, please do not hesitate to contact the IRB Coordinator. Please send a copy of all revised and/or additional materials to the IRB Coordinator at the Office of Research Services and Sponsored Programs (PO Box 8005).

This IRB approval is in effect for one year from the date of this letter. If at the end of that time, there have been no changes to the exempted research protocol, you may request an extension of the approval period for an additional year. In the interim, please provide the IRB with any information concerning any significant adverse event, **whether or not it is believed to be related to the study**, within five working days of the event. In addition, if a change or modification of the approved methodology becomes necessary, you must notify the IRB Coordinator prior to initiating any such changes or modifications. At that time, an amended application for IRB approval may be submitted. Upon completion of your data collection, please notify the IRB Coordinator so that your file may be closed.

Appendix B

PERMISSION FROM DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS TO CONDUCT RESEARCH



"AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER"

The Board of Public Education
208 Bull Street, Savannah, Georgia 31401 912/651-7000

MRS. DIANE M. CANTOR
President
MR. WILLIAM R. KNIGHT, III
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MR. DeWAYNE HAMILTON
DR. OTIS S. JOHNSON
MR. DAVID A. WEGMANN

VIRGINIA EDWARDS
Superintendent

January 3, 2000

Ms. Linda Ann McCall
455 Mall Blvd. #25
Savannah, GA 31406

Dear Ms. McCall:

I commend you on your efforts to earn a doctorate degree in the area of curriculum from Georgia Southern University. I can clearly identify with the personal and professional sacrifices that must be made to accomplish this task!

Sally Page has shared your project proposal with me and it appears that you will obtain valuable information in the area of "gifted" labeling. I will be interested in reviewing the results of your research.

Please be sure that you have obtained permission from parents, students and administrators prior to your observations and interviews. May your observational case study provide positive experiences.

Best of luck.

Sincerely,

Charles Holmes Ed.D.
Deputy Superintendent

C: Dotti Overstreet
Sally Page

Appendix C

PERMISSION FROM PRINCIPALTO CONDUCT RESEARCH

December 10, 1999

To Whom It May Concern:

Linda Ann Hollis McCall has my permission to conduct research at Bartow Elementary School, the Academy for the Gifted and Talented. She also has my permission to examine records; to interview selected students, their parents, and teachers; and to observe on site.

Her study, which will examine the label "gifted", has important implications for society in general and, more specifically, for the areas of curriculum design and implementation.

We at Bartow look forward to being a part of this potentially significant project.

Sincerely,

Lillie Ellis

Lillie Ellis, Principal
Bartow Elementary School
1804 Stratford Street
Savannah, GA 31401
(912) 651-7331

Appendix D

STUDENT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Questions for Students

1. Preliminaries and Statement of Purpose: In order to establish rapport, engage in brief, casual conversation and have respondent discuss herself. Then offer statement of purpose regarding my study. Tell respondent, " I am conducting research on the label 'gifted.' I am trying to find out all I can about the label 'gifted.' I need your help in order to do this."

2. "Grand Tour": Begin questioning with a "Grand Tour" question or command. What is life like for you as a fourth grader? Tell me about fourth grade. What do you like about school? What do you not like?

3. Specific Levels of Involvement: What do you do in your classroom? in art? in music? in physical education? in computer lab? in Spanish class (magnet only)? on the bus? at lunch? at recess? etc. Are you involved in extra curricular activities? If so, which ones? With whom do you engage in these activities? How are these "others" like you/not like you? In what other activities do you participate with "X"?

4. Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: What do you do in class? Who talks in class? Who does not talk? Who answers the teacher's questions? What do you do while "X" is interacting with the teacher? What kinds of activities do you do/not do in class? What kinds of things do you do/not do with other classmates? What kinds of things do you do/not do with the teacher? What do you do/not do by yourself? What does the teacher

the teacher? What do you do/not do by yourself? What does the teacher do/not do?

5. Compare and Contrast: How did you come to be in "X" class? How did you get the label "X"? What classes do you like? What do you do/not do in these classes? What classes do you not like? What do you do/not do in these classes?

(for SEARCH/magnet students): I noticed as we talked that you did not mention your SEARCH/magnet class? How did you come to be in "X" class? How did you get the label "X"? What do the students in "other" classes do? How is what they do different from/like what you do in your class? How are the things you do in your SEARCH class different from the things you do in your magnet class? Do you personally do anything different in these classes? For example, do you talk more or less? How are the activities alike? different? How are the teachers alike? different?

(for residential students): Tell me more about your class. How did you come to be in this class? What do the students in "other" classes do? How is what they do different from/like what you do in your class? How are the activities alike/different? How are the teachers alike? different?

6. Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": Interview questions six through nine are adapted from those offered by Manaster, et al (1994):

What does the term "gifted" mean to you?

In what ways are you like/unlike most other students at Fagan?

In what ways are you like/unlike the SEARCH/magnet/residential students at Bartow?

What does it mean to be in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

In what ways is the SEARCH program similar to/different from the magnet/residential program? the magnet program similar to/different from the SEARCH/residential program? the residential program similar to/different from the SEARCH/magnet program?

How did you get into the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Do you think that any student can get into the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Do you think that every student should be in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Why are some students not in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Why are some students in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

7. Benefits and Drawbacks of Being Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-Gifted":

(for SEARCH/magnet students):

Do you like/dislike being called "gifted" (in the SEARCH/magnet program)? Why? Why not?

What is the best/worst thing about being "gifted" (in the SEARCH/magnet program)?

What else do you like/dislike about being "gifted" (in the SEARCH/magnet program)?

(for residential students):

Do you like/dislike being called a "residential" student? Why? Why not?

What is the best/worst thing about being a "residential" student?

What else do you like/dislike about being a "residential" student?

8. Effect of the Label "Gifted" or "Non-Gifted":

What do your friends/classmates/teachers/parents say (think) about you being in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Do they treat you differently because you are in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program? How so?

How do you think other students feel about being/not being in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

9. Personal Affirmation of "Giftedness" or "Non-Giftedness":

Do you see yourself as "gifted"?

Do you think you are "gifted"?

Do you think that you should be in the SEARCH/magnet program?

Would you rather be in the SEARCH, magnet, or residential program? Why?

10. Photo Exercise: Show respondent three photos (the fourth grade SEARCH class, a fourth grade magnet class, and a fourth grade residential class) side by side, all at one time. Ask: How are these groups of students

alike/different? How are these classes alike/different? What do they do alike/differently in these classes?

One photo is of the respondent's class with her in it. Point to this photo then ask: How did you get here? Why are you here? How do you feel about it?

(Question #10 also serves as a check on the validity of responses to questions #5 and #6.)

Appendix E

PARENT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Questions for Parents

1. Preliminaries and Statement of Purpose: In order to establish rapport, engage in brief, casual conversation and have respondent discuss herself. Say, "Remind me--How long has your child been at Bartow?" Then offer statement of purpose regarding my study. Say to the respondent, "I am conducting research on the label 'gifted.' I am trying to find out all I can about the label 'gifted.' I am interested in how the label 'gifted' affects fourth grade students at this school who are and are not in the SEARCH and/or magnet program(s). I need your help in order to do this."

2. "Grand Tour": Begin questioning with a "Grand Tour" question or command: What is life like for you as the parent of a fourth grader? Tell me about being the parent of a fourth grader.

3. Specific Levels of Involvement: What do you do as a parent of a child in "X" class? How do you participate in your child's academic life? (Probe regarding the level of parental involvement at school.)

4. Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: What do you know about the daily life of your child at school? How do you know?

5. Compare and Contrast: How did your child come to be in the "X" program at Fagan? Has this program had a positive influence on your child? How? Has this program had a negative influence on your child? How? What

are the most beneficial/the worst parts about your child's fourth grade experience?

6. Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": Interview questions six through nine are adapted from those offered by Manaster, et al (1994):

What does the term "gifted" mean to you?

In what ways is your child like/unlike most other students/SEARCH/magnet/residential students at Fagan?

In what ways are you like/different from most other parents/SEARCH/magnet/residential parents at Fagan?

What does it mean to be a student/parent of a student in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program at Fagan?

In what ways is the SEARCH program similar to/different from the magnet/residential program? the magnet program similar to/different from the SEARCH/residential program? the residential program similar to/different from the SEARCH/magnet program?

How did you get to be the parent of a residential/magnet/SEARCH student?

How does a teacher/student get to be in the residential/magnet/SEARCH program?

Do you think that any teacher/child can get to be in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Do you think that every teacher/child should be in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Why are some teachers/students in/not in the residential/magnet/SEARCH program?

7. Benefits and Drawbacks of Being Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-Gifted":

(for parents of children in the SEARCH/magnet program):

Do you like/dislike being called a parent of a "gifted" child in the SEARCH/magnet program? Why? Why not?

What is the best/worst thing about being a parent of a child in the residential/magnet/SEARCH program?

What else do you like/dislike about being a parent of a child in the SEARCH/magnet program?

(for parents of residential students):

Do you like/dislike being called a parent of a "residential" student? Why? Why not?

What is the best/worst things about being a parent of a SEARCH/magnet/residential student?

What else do you like/dislike about being a "residential" parent?

8. Effect of the Label "Gifted" or "Non-Gifted":

What do your friends/family members/other parents say (think) about your having a child in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program at Fagan?

Do they treat you differently because you have a child in the residential/magnet/SEARCH program? How so?

How do you think other parents feel about being/not being a SEARCH/magnet/residential parent?

9. Personal Affirmation of "Giftedness" or "Non-Giftedness":

Do you see yourself as "gifted"? as a "gifted" parent?

Do you think you are "gifted"? a "gifted" parent?

Do you have to be "gifted' to have a "gifted" child? to have a child in the SEARCH/magnet program?

Do you think your child should be in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Would you rather have your child in the SEARCH, magnet, or residential program? Why?

10. Photo Exercise: Show respondent three photos (a fourth grade SEARCH class, a fourth grade magnet class, and a fourth grade residential class) side by side, all at one time. Ask: How are these groups of students alike/different? How are these classes alike/different? What do they do alike/differently in these classes?

One photo is of the respondent's child in his/her class. Point to this photo then ask: How did your child come to be in the "X" program? How might things be different if your child were not in this program?

(Question #10 also serves as a check on the validity of responses to questions #5 and #6.)

Appendix F

TEACHER INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Questions for Teachers

1. Preliminaries and Statement of Purpose: In order to establish rapport, engage in brief, casual conversation and have respondent discuss herself. Say, "Remind me--How long have you been at Fagan? How long have you been a fourth grade residential/magnet/SEARCH teacher?" Then offer statement of purpose regarding my study. Say to the respondent, "I am conducting research on the label 'gifted.' I am trying to find out all I can about the label 'gifted.' I am interested in how the label 'gifted' affects fourth grade students at this school who are and are not in the SEARCH and/or magnet program(s). I need your help in order to do this."

2. "Grand Tour": Begin questioning with a "Grand Tour" question or command: What is life like for you as a teacher?

Tell me about being a teacher/a fourth grade teacher.

3. Specific Levels of Involvement: What do you do with your students?

Who participates?

How? (Probe regarding the level of involvement of student and teacher.)

4. Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: What do you know about the daily lives of your students?

What do they do at school?

In what extra curricular activities do they engage?

What are their lives like at home?

How do you know?

5. Compare and Contrast: How did you get to be a residential/SEARCH/magnet teacher?

What are your favorite subjects to teach? Why?

What do you do in these subjects that you especially like to do?

What are your least favorite subjects to teach? Why?

What do you do in these subjects that you don't like to do?

How is the curriculum in your class like/different from the curriculum in "X" classes?

How is your methodology (activities/materials, things that you do, etc.) like/different from the methodology in "X" classes?

6. Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": Interview questions six through nine are adapted from those offered by Manaster, et al (1994):

What does the term "gifted" mean to you?

In what ways are you/your students like/unlike most other teachers/students at Fagan?

What does it mean to be a teacher/student in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program at Fagan?

In what ways is the SEARCH program similar to/different from the magnet/residential program? the magnet program similar to/different from the SEARCH/residential program? the residential program similar to/different from the SEARCH/magnet program?

How does a student get to be in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Do you think that any teacher can get to teach in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Do you think that any student can get to be in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Do you think that every teacher should teach in a SEARCH/magnet/residential classroom?

Do you think that every student should be in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Why are some teachers teaching/not teaching in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Why are some students in/not in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

7. Benefits and Drawbacks of Being Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-Gifted":

(for teachers in the SEARCH/magnet program):

Do you like/dislike being called a teacher of the "gifted" (in the SEARCH/magnet program)? Why? Why not?

What is the best/worst thing about being a teacher in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

What else do you like/dislike about teaching in the SEARCH/magnet program?

(for teachers of residential students):

Do you like/dislike being called a "residential" teacher? Why? Why not?

What is the best/worst thing about being a SEARCH/magnet/residential teacher?

What else do you like/dislike about being a residential teacher?

8. Effect of the Label "Gifted" or "Non-Gifted":

What do your friends/colleagues/family say (think) about your teaching in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Do they treat you differently because you teach in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program? How so?

How do you think other teachers feel about being/not being a SEARCH/magnet/residential teacher?

9. Personal Affirmation of "Giftedness" or "Non-Giftedness":

Do you see yourself as "gifted"? as a "gifted" teacher?

Do you think you are "gifted"? a "gifted" teacher?

Do you have to be "gifted" to teach in the residential/magnet/SEARCH program?

Do you think that you should be in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Would you rather be in the SEARCH, magnet, or residential program? Why?

10. Photo Exercise: Show respondent six photos (the two fourth grade SEARCH classes, the two fourth grade magnet classes, and the two fourth grade residential classes), side by side, all at one time.

Ask: How are these students alike? different?

How is the curriculum for the SEARCH class like/different from the other classes?

How is the curriculum for the magnet classes like/different from the other classes?

How is the curriculum for the residential classes like/different from the other classes?

How is the methodology like/different from the other classes?

One photo is of the respondent's classroom. Point to this photo then ask: How did you get here? Why are you here? How do you feel about it? (Question #10 serves as a validity check for responses to questions #5, #6.)

Appendix G

ADMINISTRATOR INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Questions for Administrators

1. Preliminaries and Statement of Purpose: In order to establish rapport, engage in brief, casual conversation and have respondent discuss herself/himself. Say, "Remind me--How long have you been at Fagan? How long have you been an administrator here at Fagan?" Then offer statement of purpose regarding my study. Say to the respondent, "I am conducting research on the label 'gifted.' I am trying to find out all I can about the label 'gifted.' I am interested in how the label 'gifted' affects fourth grade students at this school who are and are not in the SEARCH and/or magnet program(s). I need your help in order to do this."

2. "Grand Tour": Begin questioning with a "Grand Tour" question or command: What is life like for you as an administrator?

Tell me about being a principal/assistant principal.

3. Specific Levels of Involvement: What do you do/not do as the principal/assistant principal? How do you participate in Fagan's academic life? (Probe regarding the level of academic involvement at school.) With whom do you engage in these activities? In what other activities do you participate with "X"?

4. Probe and Check for Questions Two and Three: What do you know about the daily lives of the children at school?

What do they do at school?

In what extra curricular activities do they engage?

What are their lives like at home?

How do you know?

5. Compare and Contrast: How did you get to be an administrator?

How did you get to be a principal/assistant principal?

Has your job had a positive influence on you? How?

Has your job had a negative influence on you? How?

What are the most beneficial/the worst parts of your experience?

How is the curriculum/methodology in the SEARCH classes like/different from the curriculum/methodology in the magnet/residential classes?

How is the curriculum/methodology in the magnet classes like/different from the curriculum/methodology in the SEARCH/residential classes?

How is the curriculum/methodology in the residential classes like/different from the curriculum/methodology in the SEARCH/magnet classes?

6. Personal Meaning of "Giftedness": Interview questions six through nine are adapted from those offered by Manaster, et al (1994):

What does the term "gifted" mean to you?

In what ways are you like/unlike most other administrators at Fagan?

What does it mean to be an administrator/teacher/student/parent of a student at Fagan?

What does it mean to be an administrator/teacher/student/parent of a student in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program at Fagan?

In what ways is the SEARCH program similar to/different from the magnet/residential program? the magnet program similar to/different from the SEARCH/residential program? the residential program similar to/different from the SEARCH/magnet program?

How does a teacher/student get to be in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Do you think that any teacher/child can get to be in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Do you think that every teacher/child should be in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Why are some teachers teaching/not teaching in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

Why are some teacher/students in/not in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

7. Benefits and Drawbacks of Being Labeled "Gifted" or "Non-Gifted":

Do you like/dislike being called an administrator/principal/assistant principal? Why? Why not?

What is the best/worst thing about being an administrator/principal/assistant principal?

What else do you like/dislike about being an administrator/principal/assistant principal?

8. Effect of the Label "Gifted" or "Non-Gifted":

What do your friends/family members/other administrators say/think about your being an administrator of children in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program at Fagan?

Do they treat you differently because you are an administrator of children in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program? How so?

How do you think teachers/students feel about being/not being in the SEARCH/magnet/residential program?

How do you think parents feel about being/not being a SEARCH/magnet/residential parent?

9. Personal Affirmation of "Giftedness" or "Non-Giftedness":

Do you see yourself as "gifted"? as a "gifted" administrator/principal/assistant principal?

Do you think you are "gifted"? a "gifted" administrator/principal/assistant principal?

Do you have to be "gifted" to have a "gifted" child? to have a child in the magnet/SEARCH program?

Do you have to be "gifted" to be an administrator/principal/assistant principal of children in the SEARCH/magnet program?

10. Photo Exercise: Show respondent six photos (the two fourth grade SEARCH classes, the two fourth grade magnet classes, and the two fourth grade residential classes), side by side, all at one time.

Ask: How are these groups of students alike? different?

How are these classes alike/different?

What do they do alike/differently in these classes?

How did you come to be an administrator/principal/assistant principal here at Fagan with all these children?

How did you get here?

Why are you here?

How do you feel about it?

How might things be different if you were not here?

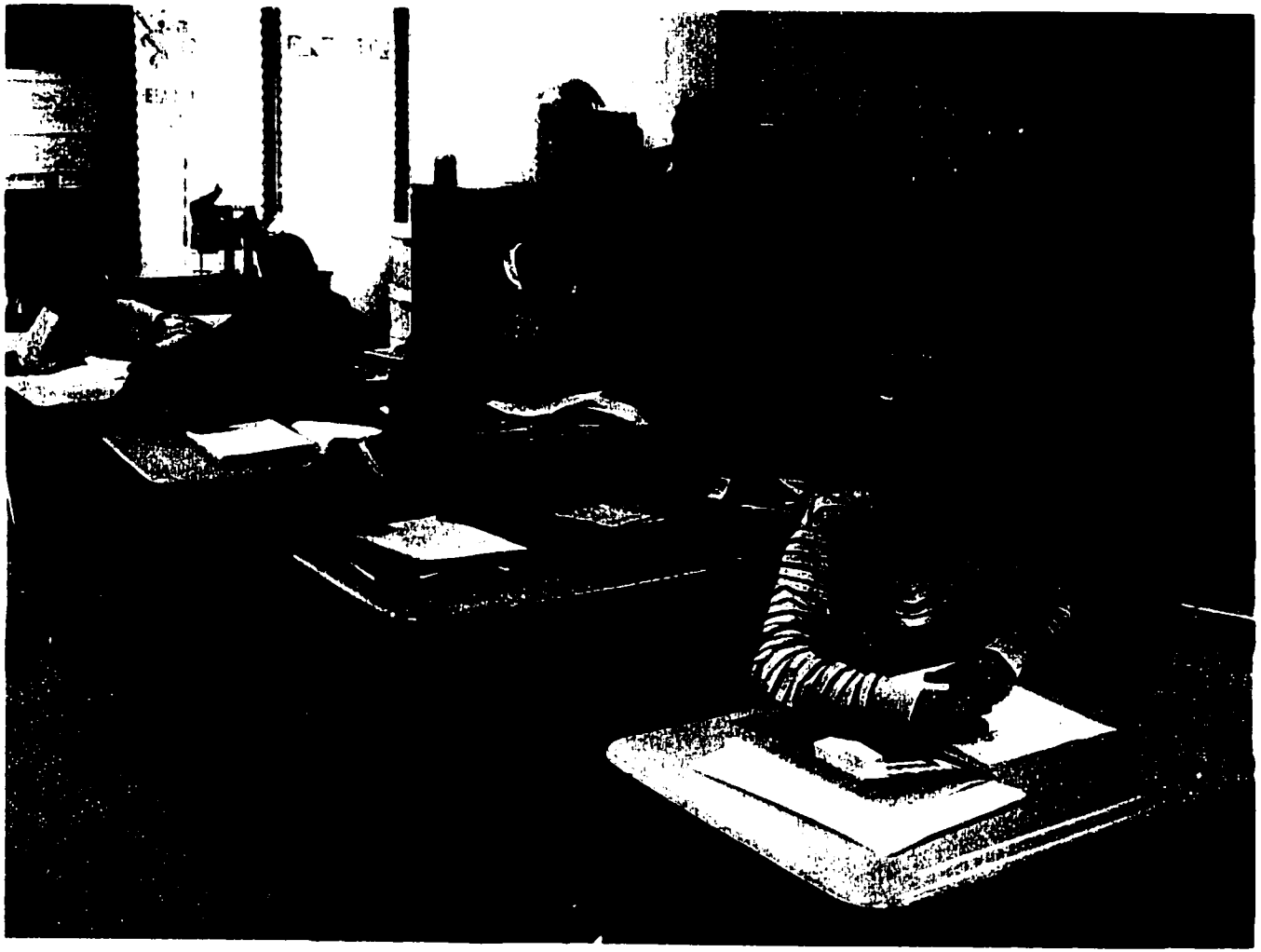
(Question #10 serves as a check on the validity of responses to questions #5 and #6.)

Appendix H

INTERVIEW PHOTOGRAPHS

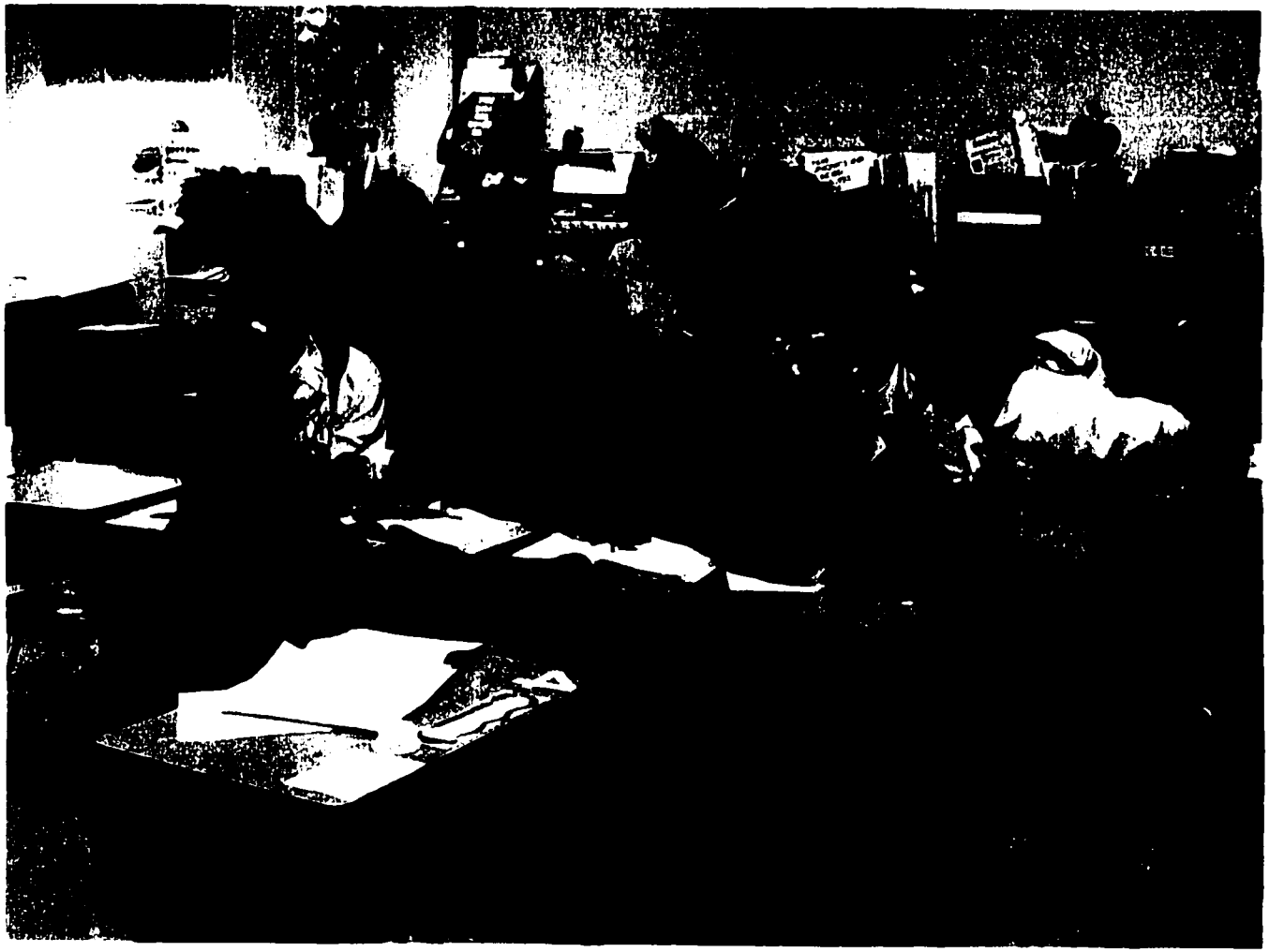
(PHOTO EXERCISE)













Appendix I

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

January 10, 2000

Dear Parent(s)/Guardian(s) of _____,

My name is Linda Ann Hollis McCall. I am a third grade teacher in the magnet program at Bartow. I am also a candidate for the Doctor of Education degree in Curriculum Studies at Georgia Southern University. I am interested in examining the label "gifted" through attention to culture (i. e., the culture of schooling). My research will attempt to answer these questions: Why does the label "gifted" exist? What role does it play in the personal meaning-making of students, their parents, and teachers? How did it evolve? Who benefits from the practice of labeling children "gifted"?

The purpose of this letter is to request your assistance in gathering data to examine and analyze these questions. I also need your permission to observe and/or interview you and your child. There is, of course, no penalty should you and/or your child refuse to answer any of the questions, decide not to participate, or withdraw later from the study. If you agree to participate, please complete and sign the bottom portion of this letter, then return it to me in the envelope provided. Please be assured that your responses and those of your child will be kept absolutely confidential. If you wish, I will also be happy to share with you a copy of the results of the study.

If you have any questions about this research project, please contact me at (912) 201-5300 (W) or (912) 354-8112 (H). If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a research participant in this study, they should be directed to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) Coordinator at Georgia Southern University's Office of Research Services and Sponsored Programs at (912) 681-5465.

Thank you in advance for your assistance is analyzing this concept. The results offer important implications for the areas of curriculum design and implementation.

Respectfully,

Linda Ann H. McCall
Bartow Elementary School
1804 Stratford Street
Savannah, GA 31401

I agree to participate in the study. I also give permission for my child to participate.

Child's Name: _____

Parent's/Guardian's Name: _____

Appendix J

COLLECTION OF PHOTOGRAPHS OF RESIDENTIAL CLASSROOMS

(VISUALS)











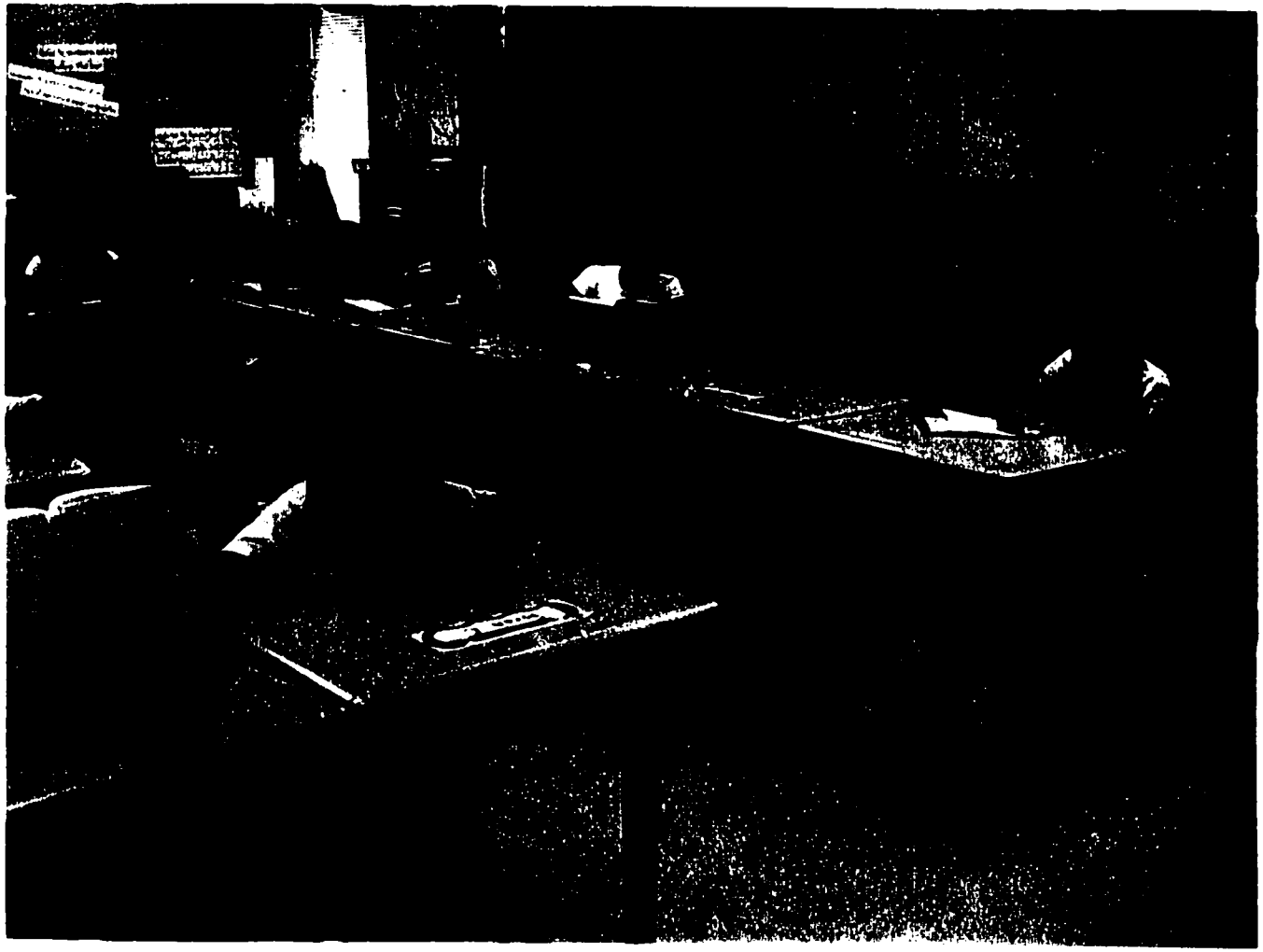

HOMEWORK

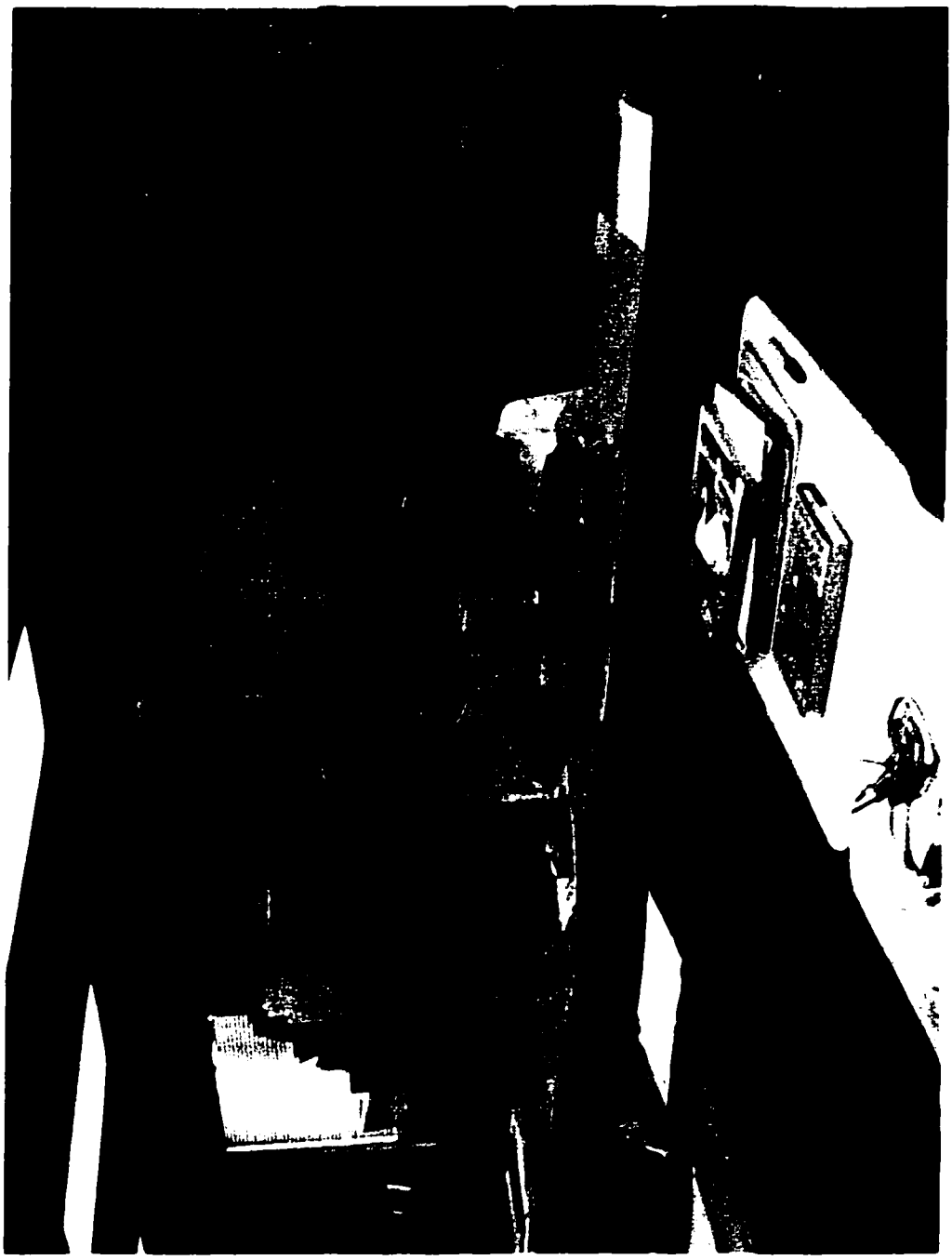
Appendix K

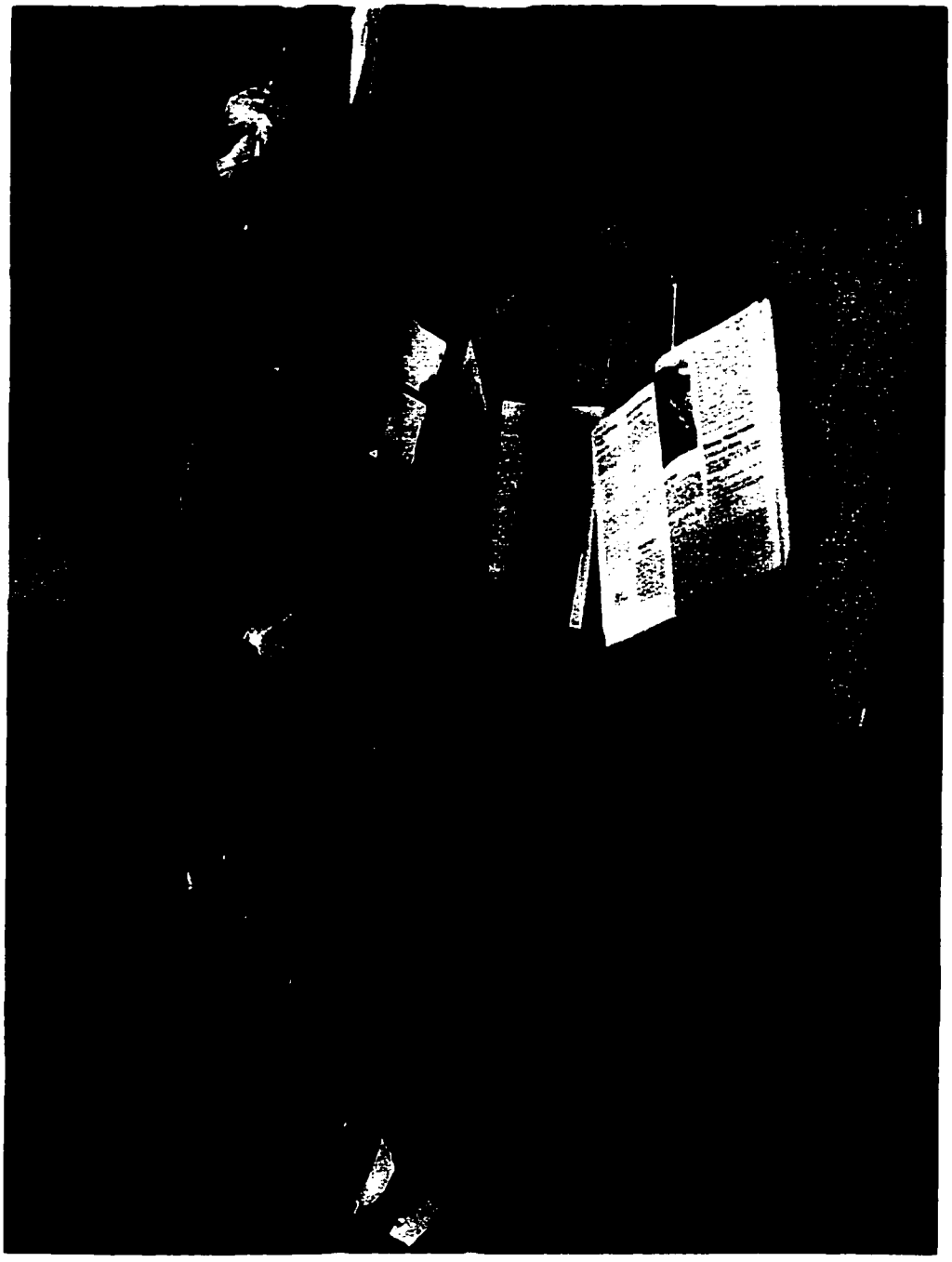
COLLECTION OF PHOTOGRAPHS OF MAGNET CLASSROOMS

(VISUALS)







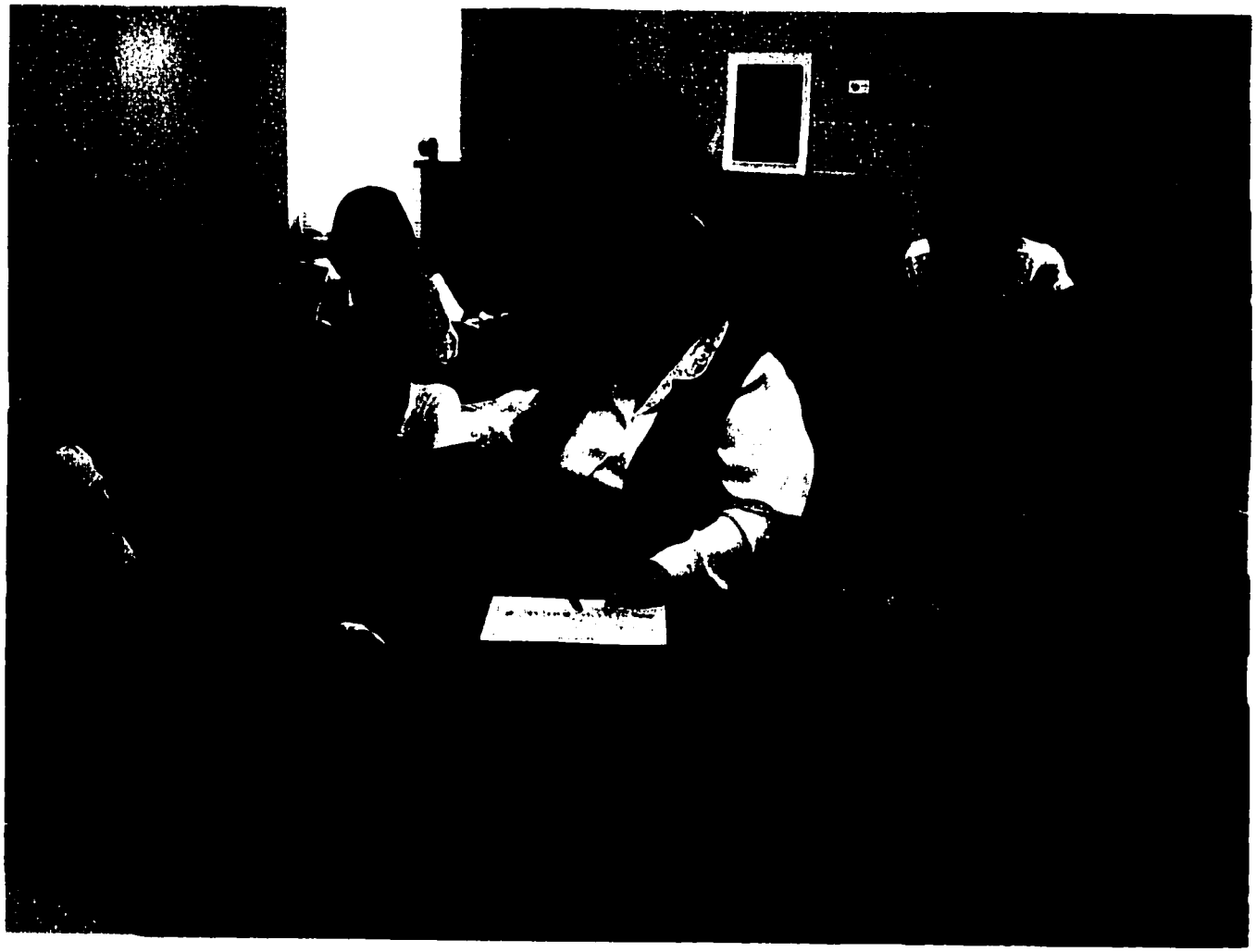


Appendix L

COLLECTION OF PHOTOGRAPHS OF SEARCH CLASSROOM

(VISUALS)







Appendix M

MEAL STATUS FORMS

(SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS)

1999 - 2000

FREE AND

REDUCED - PRICE

MEAL APPLICATION

NOTE:

ONE APPLICATION

PER HOUSEHOLD

NOT

ONE PER CHILD

If you were mailed a notice that your child is eligible for free meals, you may not need to fill out this form

1999-2000 APPLICATION FOR FREE AND REDUCED PRICE MEALS

(School Nutrition Program/Child and Adult Care Program)

To apply for free and reduced price meals, complete this application, sign your name and return the application to the School Food & Nutrition Office at 208 Bull Street. Complete a SEPARATE APPLICATION FOR EACH FOSTER CHILD. Call the School Food & Nutrition office if you need help. # 651-5654

1. Print STUDENT INFORMATION.

2. List each child's FOOD STAMP or TANF case number if any.

NAME	GRADE	NAME OF SCHOOL	FOOD STAMP NUMBER	TANF NUMBER

3. **FOSTER CHILD:** List the child's monthly personal use income. Write "0" if the child has no personal use income. $ _____

4. **HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS AND MONTHLY INCOME:** If you gave a food stamp or TANF case number for the child, skip to **PART 5.**

NAMES OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS	Gross MONTHLY Earnings (Before Deductions) Job 1	Job 2	MONTHLY Welfare Payments, Child Support, Alimony	MONTHLY Payments from Pension, Retirement, Social Security	Any Other MONTHLY Income
	$	$	$	$	$
	$	$	$	$	$
	$	$	$	$	$
	$	$	$	$	$
	$	$	$	$	$
	$	$	$	$	$
	$	$	$	$	$
	$	$	$	$	$
	$	$	$	$	$

5. **SIGNATURE AND SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER:** I certify that all of the above information is true and correct and that all income is reported. I understand that this information is being given for the receipt of Federal funds, that school officials may verify the information on the application; and that deliberate misrepresentation of the information may subject me to prosecution under applicable State and Federal laws.

X _____ X _____

Signature of Adult Household Member — Social Security Number*

HOME TELEPHONE NO _____ WORK TELEPHONE NO _____ PRINTED NAME _____

STREET/APT NO _____ CITY/STATE/ZIP _____ DATE _____

6. **RACE:** Please check the racial or ethnic identity of your child(ren). You are not required to answer this question.

White, not Hispanic | Black, not Hispanic | Hispanic | Asian/Pacific Islander | American Indian/Alaskan Native

*PRIVACY ACT STATEMENT: SECTION 9 OF THE NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH ACT REQUIRES THAT, UNLESS YOUR CHILD'S FOOD STAMP OR TANF CASE NUMBER IS PROVIDED, YOU MUST INCLUDE THE SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER OF THE ADULT HOUSEHOLD MEMBER SIGNING THE APPLICATION OR INDICATE THAT THE HOUSEHOLD MEMBER DOES NOT HAVE A SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER. PROVISION OF A SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER IS NOT MANDATORY, BUT IF A SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER IS NOT GIVEN OR AN APPLICATION IS NOT MADE THAT THE SIGNER DOES NOT HAVE SUCH A NUMBER, THE APPLICATION CANNOT BE APPROVED. THE SOCIAL SECURITY MAY BE USED TO IDENTIFY THE HOUSEHOLD MEMBER IN CARRYING OUT EFFORTS TO VERIFY THE CORRECTNESS OF INFORMATION STATED IN THE APPLICATION. THESE VERIFICATION EFFORTS MAY BE CARRIED OUT THROUGH PROGRAM REVIEWS, AUDITS, AND INVESTIGATIONS AND MAY INCLUDE CONTACTING EMPLOYERS TO DETERMINE INCOME; CONTACTING A FOOD STAMP OR WELFARE OFFICE TO DETERMINE CURRENT CERTIFICATION FOR RECEIPT OF FOOD STAMPS OR TANF BENEFITS; CONTACTING THE STATE EMPLOYMENT SECURITY OFFICE TO DETERMINE THE AMOUNT OF BENEFITS RECEIVED AND CHECKING THE DOCUMENTATION PRODUCED BY HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS TO PROVE THE AMOUNT OF INCOME RECEIVED. THESE EFFORTS MAY RESULT IN A LOSS OR REDUCTION OF BENEFITS, ADMINISTRATIVE CLAIMS OR LEGAL ACTIONS IF INCORRECT INFORMATION IS REPORTED.

FOR SCHOOL USE ONLY — DO NOT WRITE BELOW THIS LINE

MONTHLY INCOME CONVERSION - WEEKLY X 4.33 WEEKS X 2.15 TWICE A MONTH X 2

_____ FOOD STAMP/TANF HOUSEHOLD INCOME HOUSEHOLD: Total household monthly income: _____ Household size: _____

Application approved for: _____ Free Meals _____ Reduced price meals _____ Denied

Reason denied: _____ Income too high _____ Incomplete/missing info _____ Other: _____

Temporary approved for: _____ Free meals, follow-up dates _____, _____, _____

_____ Reduced price meals, follow-up dates _____, _____, _____

Change in status: Reason _____ Date: _____

Withdrawn date: _____ Signature/initial of determining official _____ Date: _____

SAVANNAH-CHATHAM COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION
SCHOOL NUTRITION PROGRAM

Dear Parent/Guardian

The Savannah-Chatham County Board of Public Education serves meals each school day. Children may buy lunch for $1.00 and breakfast for $0.45. Children also may get meals free or at a reduced price. All meals served must meet patterns established by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. However, if a child has been determined by a doctor to be handicapped and the handicap would prevent the child from eating the regular school meal, the school will make substitutions prescribed by a doctor at no extra charge. If you believe your child needs substitutions because of a handicap, please get in touch with us for further information.

If you get food stamps or TANF for your children, your children can get free meals. If your total household income is the same or less than the amount on the Income Chart below, your children can get free meals or reduced price meals. A foster child may get free or reduced price meals regardless of your income. The reduced price is $0.30 for lunch and $0.30 for breakfast.

We cannot approve an application that is not complete.

HOW TO APPLY

Households that are receiving food stamps or TANF for their children may not have to fill out an application. School officials will notify you of each child's eligibility who will be provided free benefits, unless you tell the school that you do not want benefits. If you are not notified by August 16, 1999 submit an application at that time. The application must have the children's names, the food stamp or TANF case number, and the signature of an adult household member.

If you do not receive food stamps or TANF benefits for all the children you are applying for, carefully complete the application and return it to the School Nutrition Program Office, 208 Bull Street, Room 308. The application must list all the children's names, the names of everyone in your household, the amount of income each household member receives, where it comes from, the social security number of the household member who signs the application or the word "none" if the member does not have a social security number, and the signature of an adult household member.

INCOME CHART

Household Size	Yearly	Monthly	Weekly
1	15,244	1,271	294
2	20,481	1,706	394
3	25,678	2,140	494
4	30,895	2,575	595
5	36,112	3,010	695
6	41,329	3,445	795
7	46,546	3,879	896
8	51,763	4,314	996
For each additional member add	+5,217	+435	+101

- **VERIFICATION** Your eligibility may be checked at any time during the school year. School officials may ask you to send papers showing that your children should get free or reduced price meals.
- **FAIR HEARING** You may talk to school officials if you do not agree with the school's decision on your application or the results of verification. You may also ask for a fair hearing. You may do this by calling or writing the School Nutrition Director located at 208 Bull Street, Savannah, Georgia 31401 Rm 308. (912) 651-7101.
- **REPORTING CHANGES** If your children get free or reduced price meals because of your income, you must tell the School Food & Nutrition Office if your household size decreases or your income increases by more than $50 per month or $600 per year. If your children get meals based on food stamp or TANF information, you must tell the School Food & Nutrition Office when you are not getting food stamps or TANF for your children. You may then fill out another application giving income information.
- **CONFIDENTIALITY** The information you give on the application will be used to allow your child to get free or reduced price meals and to verify eligibility. It may also be used to determine eligibility for Title I and/or National Assessment of Educational Progress(NAEP).
- **REAPPLICATION** You may apply for free and reduced price meals at any time during the school year. If you are not eligible now but have a change, like decrease in family income, an increase in household size, became unemployed or get food stamps or TANF for your children, complete a new application.

IN THE OPERATION OF THE CHILD FEEDING PROGRAMS, NO CHILD WILL BE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST BECAUSE OF RACE, SEX, COLOR, NATIONAL ORIGIN, AGE, OR HANDICAP. IF YOU BELIEVE YOU HAVE BEEN DISCRIMINATED AGAINST, WRITE TO THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20250.

We will let you know when your application is approved or denied.

Sincerely,

Althena Y. Maynard

Althena Maynard
Interim Director
School Nutrition Program

1999-2000 APPLICATION INSTRUCTIONS

To apply for free and reduced price meals, complete the application using the instructions given below. Sign the application and return the application to the School Nutrition Program at 208 Bull Street, Savannah, Georgia, 31401, Rm. 308. Call the School Nutrition Program if you need help at # 651-5654.

PART 1 STUDENT INFORMATION: ALL HOUSEHOLDS COMPLETE THIS PART.

1. Write the name, grade, and school of each student.

PART 2 HOUSEHOLDS GETTING FOOD STAMPS OR TANF: COMPLETE THIS PART and PART 5.

1. List a current food stamp or TANF case number for the child.
2. Sign the application in Part 5. An adult household member must sign. SKIP PART 4 - Do not list names of household members or income if you list a food stamp or TANF case number for the child.

PART 3 HOUSEHOLDS WITH A FOSTER CHILD: COMPLETE THIS PART AND PART 5. A foster child is the legal responsibility of the welfare agency or court.

1. List the foster child's monthly "personal use" income. Write "0" if the foster child does not get "personal use" income. SKIP PART 4 - Do not list any other children, household members or income.
2. A foster parent or other official representing the child must sign the application in PART 5.

"Personal use" income is (a) money given by the welfare office identified by category for the child's personal use, such as for clothing, school fees, and allowances; and (b) all other money the child gets, such as money from his/her family and money from the child's full-time or regular part-time jobs.

PART 4 ALL OTHER HOUSEHOLDS: COMPLETE THIS PART and PART 5.

1. Write the names of everyone in your household, whether they get income or not. Include yourself, the child you are applying for, all other children, your spouse, grandparents, and other related and unrelated people in your household. Use another piece of paper if you need more space.
2. Write the amount of income each household member got last month before taxes or anything else is taken out, and where it came from, such as earnings, welfare, pensions, and other income. If any amount last month was more or less than usual, write that persons usual monthly income.
3. An adult household member must sign the application and give his/her social security number in PART 5.

To Figure Monthly Income: Weekly x 4.33 Every 2 Weeks x 2.15 Twice a Month x 2

PART 5 SIGNATURE AND SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER: ALL HOUSEHOLDS COMPLETE THIS PART.

1. All applicants must have the signature of an adult household member.
2. The application must have the social security number of the adult who signs. If the adult does not have a social security number, write "none" or something else to show that the adult does not have a social security number. If you listed a food stamp or TANF number for your child or if you are applying for a foster child, a social security number is not needed.

PART 6 RACIAL/ETHNIC IDENTITY: Complete the racial/ethnic identity question if you wish. You are not required to answer this question to get free or reduced price meals. We need this information to make sure that everyone is treated fairly.

INCOME TO REPORT

Earnings from Work	Pensions/Retirement/Social Security	Other Income	Welfare/Child Support/Alimony
Wages/salaries/tips	Pensions, veteran's payments	Disability benefits	Public assistance payments
Strike benefits	Supplemental Security Income	Cash withdrawn from savings	Welfare payments
Unemployment compensation	Retirement income, Social Security	Interest/Dividends	Alimony/Child Support payments
Workers' compensation		Income from Estates, Trusts/Investments	
Net income from self owned business or farm		Regular contribution from persons not living in the household	
		Net royalties/annuities/net rental income	
		Any other income	

CHATHAM COUNTY SCHOOL NUTRITION PROGRAM NEWS!!!

IF THE STUDENT WAS FREE OR REDUCED-PRICED IN THE PROGRAM ON THE LAST DAY OF SCHOOL IN MAY, THE STUDENT WILL BE FED AT THE SAME STATUS UNTIL OCTOBER 1ST, **OR** THE STUDENT'S NEW APPLICATION IS APPROVED. **EXCEPTION**: IF THE STUDENT WAS TEMPORARYLY FREE OR REDUCED-PRICED THE LAST DAY OF SCHOOL IN MAY, **SEND MONEY, THE TEMPORARY DATE HAS EXPIRED.**

IF THE STUDENT WAS NOT FREE OR REDUCED-PRICED IN MAY, SEND MONEY ($.45 FOR BREAKFAST, $1.00 FOR LUNCH) UNTIL YOU ARE NOTIFIED OF APPROVAL BY MAIL.

TO SPEED THE APPROVAL PROCESS:

IF THE STUDENT IS NEW TO CHATHAM CO. SCHOOLS, INCLUDE HIS/HER SS# ON THE APPLICATION.

YOU WILL BE NOTIFIED BY THE SCHOOL NUTRITION PROGRAM OF STUDENTS WHO ARE DIRECT CERTIFIED BY THE STATE TO RECEIVE FREE MEALS. (**THE SCHOOL MUST HAVE THE STUDENT'S CORRECT SS# AND BIRTH DATE TO IDENTIFY WHO THEY ARE**). IF YOU ARE NOT NOTIFIED REGARDING DIRECT CERTIFICATION, YOU NEED TO COMPLETE AN APPLICATION IMMEDIATELY, AND SEND MONEY UNTIL YOUR APPLICATION IS APPROVED.

PRE-K AND K STUDENTS CANNOT BE DIRECT CERTIFIED; COMPLETE AN APPLICATION.

ALL CHILDREN IN THE HOUSEHOLD SHOULD BE LISTED ON ONE APPLICATION. **EXCEPTION**: COMPLETE A SEPARATE APPLICATION FOR EACH FOSTER CHILD.

BE SURE TO SIGN THE APPLICATION; PARENT'S SS# IS NEEDED IF INCOME IS GIVEN.

USE ONLY FOOD STAMP CASE # OR TANF CASE #; NOT THE MEDICAID # (**MEDICAID NUMBERS MAY HAVE A "P" OR "S" AT THE END**), NOR THE ELECTRONIC BENEFITS TRANSFER (**EBT CARD**) #.

MAIL TO SCHOOL NUTRITION PROGRAM OFFICE IN ADDRESSED ENVELOPE; (**DO NOT SEND TO THE SCHOOL**). **(OVER)**

PREVENT MORNING HASSLES
PREPAY FOR SCHOOL MEALS

(NO MORE HUNTING FOR CASH EACH MORNING!)

MEAL PRICES

BREAKFAST $.45/DAY	$2.25/WEEK
LUNCH $1.00/DAY	$5.00/WEEK

YOU MAY PREPAY FOR YOUR CHILD'S/CHILDREN'S MEALS BY THE DAY, WEEK, MONTH, OR EVEN THE YEAR!

AT ELEMENTARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS YOU MAY:

SPECIFY LUNCH AND/OR BREAKFAST ACCOUNTS

OR

PLACE MONEY IN AN OPEN ACCOUNT TO BE USED FOR MEALS OR ALA CARTE ITEMS, SUCH AS JUICE OR MILK.

WE ACCEPT MONEY, CASHIER CHECK OR MONEY ORDER (**NO PERSONAL CHECKS, PLEASE**). SEND OR TAKE TO THE SCHOOL NUTRITION MANAGER OR CASHIER AT THE SCHOOL.

YOU MAY REQUEST A RECEIPT FOR YOUR PREPAYMENT.

IF YOUR CHILD/CHILDREN CHANGE SCHOOLS, THE REMAINING MONEY CAN BE MOVED TO THE NEW SCHOOL, IF YOU REQUEST IT. (**PLEASE NOTIFY THE MANAGER <u>BEFORE</u> THE STUDENT CHANGES SCHOOLS**).

IF THE STUDENT LEAVES CHATHAM COUNTY SCHOOLS, YOU MAY REQUEST (**IN WRITING**) THE REMAINING MONEY. ADDRESS THE LETTER TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE SCHOOL NUTRITION PROGRAM AT 208 BULL STREET, SAVANNAH, GA 31401.

(OVER)

2000-2001

Attachment A

FOR APPROVING OFFICIAL ONLY

ELIGIBILITY STANDARDS FOR FREE AND REDUCED PRICE MEALS

FAMILY SIZE	INCOME GUIDELINES FOR FREE MEALS			INCOME GUIDELINES FOR REDUCED PRICE		
	WEEKLY	MONTHLY	YEARLY	WEEKLY	MONTHLY	YEARLY
1	209	905	10,855	298	1,288	15,448
2	282	1,219	14,625	401	1,735	20,813
3	354	1,533	18,395	504	2,182	26,178
4	427	1,848	22,165	607	2,629	31,543
5	499	2,162	25,935	710	3,076	36,908
6	572	2,476	29,705	813	3,523	42,273
7	644	2,790	33,475	917	3,970	47,638
8	717	3,104	37,245	1,020	4,417	53,003
FOR EACH ADDITIONAL FAMILY MEMBER ADD	+73	+315	+3,770	+104	+448	+5,365

CURRENT INCOME means income (as defined on parent letter) received during the month prior to the application. If this income does not accurately reflect the household's annual rate, income should be based on projected annual household income.

WEEKLY AND YEARLY INCOME figures are given for convenience of those districts using computerized approval. All hand calculations must be based on monthly income.

CONVERTING INCOME TO MONTHLY:
Weekly x 4.33 Every 2 weeks x 2.15 Twice a month x 2

FOOD STAMP/TANF HOUSEHOLDS
1. Child's name
2. Food stamp or TANF case number of child
3. Signature of adult household member

ALL OTHER HOUSEHOLDS
1. Child's name
2. Names of ALL household members
3. Social Security Number (SSN) of adult who signs application
4. The amount of monthly income received by each household member, identified by source.
5. Signature of an adult household member.