## **Chapter 1**

# Gifted Children in the Primary Classroom

#### In this chapter we will:

- Help you think about how your own beliefs about what giftedness is can influence pupil performance.
- Offer a circular model to consider giftedness in the primary classroom.

### What teachers and pupils believe about gifts and talents

In primary school we have a huge advantage over our secondary colleagues. We see the children every day for whole days at a time. We, therefore, have ample opportunity to build important, long lasting and robust relationships with our pupils. Every primary school teacher recognises that this is vital, not only to create a positive and pleasant working environment, but because it makes a huge impact on how well pupils perform in our class.

The way that we build these relationships is affected by what we believe a 'good' pupil to be. The way that we build relationships, the way that we talk to pupils and the expectations that we have of individuals are deeply affected by how we believe the human mind works<sup>i</sup>. Research<sup>ii</sup> suggests that what we believe about how the human mind works is often built on unquestioned assumptions.

Implicit theories...reside in the minds of individuals, whether as definitions or otherwise. Such theories need to be discovered rather than invented because they already exist, in some form, in people's heads.<sup>iii</sup>

Forming these implicit theories, while often done unconsciously, is essential because they help us to function effectively in life. The way that they help us is by guiding the way we behave; both what we say and what we do. It is not just teachers, however, who hold implicit beliefs. Children in our classes will hold these beliefs too. They are formed as a result of the way that parents and teachers talk to them and give them feedback about their behaviours and achievements.

In the primary classroom, beliefs are particularly important. Pupils are still forming their beliefs and the primary teacher can have a huge influence on how these develop. They are important to think about because what individuals believe about their own and others' abilities:

- can account for differences in achievement between pupils and by individual pupils over time;
- make a difference to the amount of effort a learner might put into an activity;
- can help to explain depressive reactions by pupils (yes, even in the primary school), to bad experiences in learning;
- and can be used to judge and label both ourselves and others.

There are two very different implicit theories of intelligence<sup>iv</sup>.

- 1 Intelligence is fixed.
- 2 Intelligence is changeable.

#### What does believing that intelligence is fixed mean for pupils?

If pupils believe intelligence is fixed it means that they are likely to believe that they were born either clever or stupid and that they will stay that way for the rest of their lives. They also tend to believe that school success and school tests are a good indicator of who is clever and who is not. As a result of this they will predict their future success on the basis of today's performance. They will offer reasons for success and failure that are related to personal adequacy or inadequacy. For example, failure may be accounted for by poor memory or low intelligence (I just can't do maths!). Likewise success is because they have a natural aptitude for such things or because their parents were good at them. Such pupils are more likely to show aversion to tasks that they do badly in by saying they are bored or through feelings of anxiety.

Believing intelligence is fixed means that undertaking activities is about performance. Pupils with this belief might worry about how much ability they have or don't have to complete a task. They calculate this by comparing themselves with others. These pupils are more likely to be competitive and can become driven with the need to show that they are the cleverest in the class. They may develop a tendency to choose the easy option and avoid harder tasks that might show them up to be less 'clever' than they thought they were (or that they would want others to perceive them to be). They believe that being clever means that all tasks and activities should be completed very easily therefore having to work hard at something indicates that they are not very clever. Only success that comes easily is valued because this is what indicates high ability.

#### **Questions to consider**

- Can I recognise any pupils who might have a fixed view of intelligence?
- To what extent do I have a fixed view of intelligence of my own learning?

#### What does believing that intelligence is changeable mean for pupils?

If a pupil believes that intelligence is changeable it means that they are likely to believe that how intelligent they can become is in their own hands. If they work hard they can become better at things and this improvement is an indicator of their intelligence. They rely less on test scores to give them a measure of their abilities and do not believe that test scores and school success will predict their future success or failure. Believing that intelligence is changeable means that failure is more likely to be put down to environmental or temporary contributors such as choosing the wrong topics to study. Equally success is generally attributed to sheer hard work.

Believing in changeable intelligence means that undertaking activities is about mastery. Pupils with this belief strive for personal improvement and so tend to be less competitive. They compete with themselves rather than other people. These pupils may develop a tendency to choose challenging work, rather than easy work, because that means they will learn more. Getting things wrong – within reason – does not bother them because failure is perceived as part of the learning process. These pupils have a belief that if you work hard you can become more able. Trying something really hard and achieving even only part of it shows you that you have improved and have learned new abilities that you did not have before. These pupils are more likely to be able to identify some things that they good at and some things that they are not so good at, believing that people are different and there are lots of ways of being able. These pupils seek to try lots of things because the experience of trying is enjoyable.

Teachers sometimes assume that gifted and talented pupils hold a belief that intelligence is changeable. They can be identified because of characteristics such as willingness to choose hard activities, and willingness to work hard. In fact some gifted and/or talented pupils believe strongly that intelligence is fixed. They will avoid hard work, try to do things with the minimum effort, and can be highly competitive. In this way the idea of implicit theories might help us to understand some aspects of underachievement, disaffection and disengagement.

I have presented here characteristics of the extreme positions that implicit theories can create and these two positions mean very different things for individuals (see Table 1.1). You may have started to recognise a few pupils. We need to be

Table 1.1 Comparison of pupils' implicit theories

Questions pupils try to answer	Fixed theory answer	Changeable theory answer
Why am I the way I am?	I was born clever.  I am this way because my mum and/or dad is clever.	I work hard to be good at things. I am this way because my mum and/or dad encourage me. Certain things interest me more than others. I get the chance to try different things.
How do I assess my own intelligence?	People tell me I am clever. My results in tests and in class tell me how clever I am. Being first in the class means I am the cleverest in the class. Doing badly in a test tells me I am not as clever as I thought. How easy or hard I find things tell me how clever I am.	How much I improve tells me how clever I am. If I work hard and do well it tells me I am clever. People tell me that I am working hard and am doing well. I can see that I am better today at things than I was the last time I did them.
What does this tell me?	I will always be clever. I am clever at lots of things. I should get things right first time, most of the time. I should always get good results. I should always do better than those who are less clever than me.	The harder I work the better I will do. I might not be clever at everything. I might just be clever at a small number of things. The things I am clever at might not be in school. I might make lots of mistakes but this helps me learn more. I shouldn't worry too much about whom I am better or worse than.
How might this make me act?	I will avoid failure at all costs. I might panic if I start to find something hard. I may cheat rather than fail. I don't like to ask for help because that would be an admission of failure.	I like to try hard things and learn from trying. If I am faced with a really hard problem I will seek out help from others. I need to work hard to make sure that I do well.
Type of learner	Fragile. Sees learning as a competition.	Robust. Sees learning as a personal journey.

careful, however. We don't want to start labelling pupils as one type of theorist or another; labelling has not helped us in the past. Rather let us be aware that believing certain things can impact on how pupils learn in our classrooms and that as teachers we have the power to support or change their implicit theories. Whether we support or change implicit theories of intelligence in a positive way, however, will depend on the theory that we ourselves hold.

#### **Questions to consider**

- Can I recognise any pupils who might believe that intelligence is changeable?
- To what extent do I believe that my own intelligence is changeable?

It can be useful to find out a little more about what the pupils in your class believe. Asking pupils the questions on the sheet on page 6 will provide you with some more information.

Think about your own beliefs by considering the questionnaire on page 7.

The more that you have agreed with the statements in the questionnaire on what you believe, the more you are likely to believe that intelligence is fixed. The more you have disagreed with the statements in the questionnaire, the more likely it is that you believe intelligence is changeable. What might this mean for how we teach? The examples below describe the extremes of holding one view or another. Most teachers are – quite rightly – somewhere between the two.

#### What does believing that intelligence is fixed mean for teachers?

Teachers who believe strongly that intelligence is fixed are likely to believe that some pupils have more innate ability than others. It is the teacher's job to bring out the best in the children; in other words, help them to make the best of what they were born with. These teachers believe that the best way to provide for gifted and talented pupils is to identify which pupils were born with particular gifts and talents and to educate them accordingly. Although they do not believe education can make children more intelligent and that each child has a limit, they do believe that all children can improve their performance.



	What am I good at?		
1	In school I am good at		
2	Outside school I am good at		
3	I am good at these things because		
4	In school I am not so good at		
5	Outside school I am not so good at		
6	I am not good at these things because		
7	Do you think you could become good at these things? If yes, how?		
8	Is there anything that you think you will never be able to do well? If yes, why is this?		
9	What is more important – to be the best in the class or do better than you did last week?		

### What do you believe?

Try answering the following questions.

	What do I believe?				
1	Gifted individuals form a group that can be identified early in their school career and remains the same over time.				
		Agree	Disagree		
2	Gifted individua	Gifted individuals are born with high intelligence.			
		Agree	Disagree		
3	Gifted and taler children.	Gifted and talented children need different forms of teaching and support from other children.			
		Agree	Disagree		
4	Because of thei	ecause of their differences gifted children need to be educated separately from her children.			
		Agree	Disagree		
5	Teachers need special training and skills to teach gifted children.				
		Agree	Disagree		
6	Giftedness is genetic and cannot be changed.				
		Agree	Disagree		
7	Gifted and talented children need competition to keep them on their toes.				
		Agree	Disagree		
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Belief in fixed intelligence means that intelligence is viewed more as a singular concept, as a general energy (often referred to as 'g') that flows into all that we do. If pupils are intelligent then they are likely to be good at a range of things rather than one very specific area. It is believed that pupils with high intelligence can focus their mental energy (g) towards almost any aspect of school life.

Teachers with this view might be more likely to support the organisation of pupils in or across classes into top, middle and bottom sets or groups. The composition of sets will be viewed as stable because such arrangements reflect the natural order of things in the classroom. Most work required of pupils will be individual in nature and collaborative work will be seen as a way in which 'better' pupils can help out with 'poorer' pupils. Success in school and beyond can be predicted accurately and early in a pupil's school career. In essence this view ascribes to the genetic origins of intelligence as fixed, singular (g), located almost exclusively within the pupil and possible to measure or identify through standardised tests (possibly IQ) and school exams.

A belief in the fixed and general nature of intelligence will support fairly tight frameworks of assessment within schools. Examinations and national testing are seen as good indicators of pupils' abilities. Such teachers might be interested in identifying the strengths and weaknesses that lie within pupils as this is where intelligence resides. They might be less convinced about ongoing classroom assessment because the performance from such assessment may be affected by factors that lie outwith the pupil such as help from parents, other pupils etc.

Teachers who believe in the fixed nature of intelligence tend to encourage performance goals in the classroom. In other words getting things right and performing well is important: mistakes are discouraged and are seen as evidence of a drop in standards. Activities and expectations are tailored to what is perceived to be an individual pupil's intelligence level. Pupils are compared one to another and competition is encouraged within and beyond the classroom as a means of motivating pupils and extending performance. Good work is recognised, valued and celebrated as something for others to emulate.

Believing in fixed intelligence focuses teacher comment and description on the pupils themselves, for example 'you're really good at that'; 'she's very clever'; 'you are a very good boy'. It is also reflected in teachers' expectations of what pupils can achieve. Believing that intelligence is fixed and innate will lead to high expectations of those identified as being born with high intelligence.

#### What does believing that intelligence is changeable mean for teachers?

Teachers who believe that intelligence is changeable tend to believe that the environment is the most important influence on how intelligent an individual becomes. This means that the teacher's role is to help his or her pupils to become more intelligent through the classroom environment. Whether pupils do or do not demonstrate their intelligences depends on whether or not they are given the

appropriate opportunities and encouragement. Every child in the class is a possible gifted pupil.

Because intelligence is determined by the environment it is not possible to group or set pupils by ability successfully since setting and/or grouping can limit opportunities for some pupils. In addition setting, for these teachers, implies that schools can identify capacity within a pupil through school success. For teachers who believe that intelligence is changeable there are no genetic limits or capacities to an individual's intelligences therefore it is not possible to predict success or failure beyond school for any pupil. If circumstances change then much more may become possible for an individual. Conversely, a change of circumstance may limit an individual's progress. All pupils can be gifted and/or talented if they are provided with the right environment and opportunities.

Intelligence is not a singular concept indicating a general energy but much more about separate and distinct areas of ability. Limits cannot be assumed or predicted for individuals nor can intelligences be tested or examined. The role of education is to help all pupils develop and increase their intelligences. This theory is epitomised by the famous quote from Watson<sup>v</sup>:

...give me a dozen healthy infants, well-formed, and my own specified world to bring them up and I'll guarantee to take any one at random and train him to become any type of specialist I might select – doctor, lawyer, artist, merchant-chief and, yes, even beggar-man thief, regardless of his talents, penchants, tendencies, abilities, vocations, and race of his ancestors...

Teachers who believe in changeable intelligence are likely to prefer classroom assessment rather than examinations and standardised tests as a good indicator of pupils' progress and demonstration of abilities. These teachers will attempt to gather a wide range of assessment evidence that accounts for factors that lie in the environment. The information will be gathered from a wide range of sources and cover a wide range of behaviours.

Teachers who believe in changeable intelligence encourage mastery goals in the classroom. In other words working through a problem is more important than getting a correct answer: mistakes are positively encouraged and are seen as an indicator of the learning process in action. Pupils are encouraged to track their own progress over time and not to compare themselves with others.

Good work is recognised, valued and celebrated but not as an example for others to emulate since everyone has to find their own way of doing things. Feedback and description of pupils will focus on their behaviour or their work, for example, 'I particularly liked the style in which you wrote that piece'; 'did you think that was your best piece of work?'; 'this is a really hard problem to solve but you managed to complete three sections.' Collaborative work is encouraged as this is seen as a way in which pupils can learn from one another. Groups can achieve more than individuals working on their own and all individuals in the group benefit from the collaboration.



Table 1.2 Comparison of teachers' implicit theories

Questions teachers try to answer	Fixed theory answer	Changeable theory answer
Why are pupils different from one another?	Intelligence is genetic.  Some children are born with more intelligence than others.	Different life chances mean that there are vast differences between pupils' attainment.
How do I sort out who is able to do what?	Intelligence can be identified through a fairly short list of key abilities. If pupils demonstrate these abilities then they can be identified as gifted and/or talented.  School work and standardised tests are a good way of sorting out who is most intelligent.  Tests of different kinds help to identify capacity in pupils. They can be used to predict who will do well and who will not.	I have to profile pupils across a whole range of intelligent behaviours.  I have to provide opportunities for pupils to demonstrate all the behaviours that I would consider an indicator of developed intelligences.  I cannot predict who will succeed and who will not on the basis of present performance. I can only offer next steps.
What does this tell me?	I cannot make pupils more intelligent, I can only help draw out what they already have.  I can identify who has most and who has least intelligence in my class and then organise them on that basis.  Competitions and comparisons are good methods for motivating pupils and giving feedback.	I can help make pupils more intelligent.  It is not possible to identify a group who might be considered gifted and/or talented.  The combination of strengths and development needs for each pupil will help to tell me what the next steps are.  Schools alone cannot identify all the intelligent behaviours that pupils might demonstrate so I need to gather information from elsewhere.

How might this make	I support streaming or setting	I support mixed ability
me act?	as a way of organising pupils.	groups as a way of organising
		pupils.
	I celebrate and display the	
	best work of the class.	I value collaborative
		achievement very highly.
	I value individual	
	achievement very highly.	I give feedback to pupils on their work and effort in class.
	I feed back on whether or	
	not the pupil is performing	I celebrate and display
	to his or her potential.	pupils' best efforts.
	I can predict who will succeed and who will not.	
	I will identify those pupils in my class who are gifted/talented.	
System of education created	Exclusive.	Inclusive.
	Based on sifting and sorting.	Based on individual needs.

#### Is it best to foster fixed or changeable beliefs?

Some of the literature suggests that the 'right' implicit theory for teachers to hold is a changeable theory i. This is because teachers who believe that intelligence is changeable are more likely to encourage mastery orientated beliefs in the pupils they teach. It would appear that mastery orientated beliefs seem to encourage a more positive response to learning in pupils.

Mastery orientated beliefs, then, might be most crucial for those pupils who are turned off from school learning. For pupils to identify with the purposes of schooling they need to gain a sense of belonging. A sense of belonging requires the individual to believe that they are important and are, or at least can be, an active participant in the learning process. Mastery orientated goals, where the focus is not on the adequacy of one's ability but on factors within the control of the individual, are more likely to provide the conditions necessary for this selfperception to be attained<sup>vii</sup>. Unlike mastery orientated goals, performance goals are more likely to separate individuals from their peers on the basis of performance in class and decrease their sense of belonging.

However, even for those who might ascribe to the need to encourage mastery orientation there are some myths around about how this should be done.

It is often believed that the more pupils experience success in school the more mastery orientated qualities are fostered. However, from research it

would appear that success in itself does little to boost pupils' desire for challenge or their ability to cope with setbacks. In one piece of research children who believed in a fixed intelligence theory, even after a string of successes, assigned their one and only failure to a lack of intelligence. They lost faith in their intellect to the extent that they believed that they could not even repeat prior successes.

- It is believed that praise encourages mastery orientated qualities but we have to be careful with praise. It can matter a great deal: who gives it; when it is given; why it is given and for what it is given. We can cause 'damage' with empty praise<sup>ix</sup>.
- 3 Confidence is a key to mastery orientated qualities. Many so called 'confident' individuals have actually very fragile confidence in their abilities. Their confidence is quickly shaken and they do not wish their intelligence too stringently tested. Such pupils will avoid work that they find difficult and in which they may not perform well.
- 4 Gifted and talented pupils are mastery orientated: this is untrue. Some gifted and/or talented pupils hold strong fixed intelligence theories and are heavily orientated towards performance goals.

The thing to remember is that a bit of both (mastery and performance) might be the best thing. If we think of Olympic gold medallists like Ian Thorpe (swimmer) or Matthew Pinsent (rower) then it would be best for them to have mastery goals for their training sessions (where they try to improve on their own past performances and pay close attention to their own progress over time) and have performance goals for competitions (where the number one goal is to compare themselves to others with the goals of being first and the best). The questions for teachers are three-fold.

- To what extent do I subscribe to a fixed theory or a changeable theory of intelligence?
- Is this having any impact on pupils in my class?
- Do I think I have the balance right?

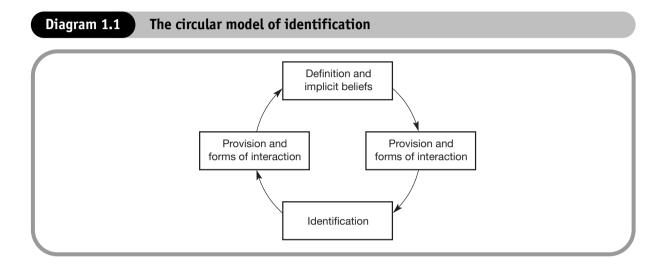
But what does this mean for mainstream schools in the meantime? How might schools review their beliefs and practice? Does practice in the school lean towards a particular view of intelligence? Is the range of provision currently available sufficient and suitable? The next section will try to address some of these issues.

#### A circular model to consider gifts and talents

This model<sup>x</sup> (Diagram 1.1) is based on the idea of identification through provision<sup>xi</sup> and the ways that teachers and pupils interact with one another in the

classroom<sup>xii</sup>. It offers a holistic approach to the identification of gifted and talented pupils. The circular process ensures that the identification of abilities is ongoing rather than a one-off test or activity.

The model has four steps.



#### Step one: What do I believe about gifted and talented children?

You have begun step one by reading through and thinking about the questions posed in the first part of this chapter. What teachers believe can have a huge impact on whether pupils demonstrate abilities or not. These beliefs help to create particular cultures in schools and classrooms. Some cultures are more helpful in facilitating achievement and motivation than others. There are particular difficulties for gifted and talented pupils if the culture that determines provision rests on the idea that intelligence is fixed, biologically determined and is located wholly within the individual. Such beliefs generate a concentration on performance goals in the classroom that is evidenced by social comparisons and normative evaluations.

Rather than compare one pupil with another it may be more helpful to identify the sorts of behaviours that teachers believe a gifted and/or talented individual should be able demonstrate in the different curricular areas. General lists of intelligent behaviours to be encouraged in all pupils exist. One is provided below<sup>xiii</sup>.

- Being open minded and flexible about ideas and solutions.
- Being aware of your own and others' thinking, behaviours and feelings.
- Being able to work with others collaboratively.

- Being accurate and seeking accuracy.
- Being able to monitor and control your behaviour, learning and work.
- Being able to plan appropriately.
- Being able to respond appropriately to feedback.
- Being able to identify and use necessary resources.

There may also be some specific intelligent behaviours that can only be identified when pupils are undertaking particular activities. Such lists, however, should not be seen as a checklist with pupils being identified as being gifted and talented on the basis of a set number of ticks. Rather, it provides a tool to examine the curriculum. This allows us to ensure that the opportunities exist for pupils to demonstrate, develop and learn how to behave in these ways.

There are some key questions that should be considered in step one.

- What definitions of intelligence exist?
- Do I agree with any of these? If not what would my definition be?
- Do I hold a particular implicit theory of intelligence? What does this mean for pupils in my class?
- Do pupils in my class hold a particular implicit theory of intelligence? Is this impacting on their learning in any way?
- Do I identify pupils or sets of behaviour and what criteria do I use?
- Are some criteria specific to particular curricular areas or are they all general?

# Step two: What provision currently exists and how do I relate to pupils in my class?

Once some discussion has taken place about what intelligence is and what might be looked for the next step involves an audit of the curricular provision currently available and the pedagogy currently in place. If provision is dominated by a narrow range of opportunities and limited challenge then it will be impossible for pupils to demonstrate or develop anything other than a small range of intelligent behaviours. Opportunities must exist for intelligent behaviours, not only to be demonstrated but to be developed and taught. If gaps exist in the present provision then they require to be filled.

Once the curriculum has been audited for opportunities that match our definitions and understanding of what the full range of intelligent behaviours might be, the next step is to examine our own practices as teachers. The ways in which we

interact with pupils (how we phrase feedback, how we support and encourage), the messages we give them (both implicit and explicit) and the media we choose to give deliver messages (written, verbal, and non verbal), in other words the culture we create in our classrooms, all have an impact on whether or not pupils will be able or feel able to demonstrate intelligent behaviours. It may be that a range of opportunities exist but if the culture in the class is dominated by performance goals then some children may feel unable to demonstrate intelligent behaviours that they have already mastered. In fact they may be more comfortable demonstrating these intelligent behaviours elsewhere, for example it takes the demonstration of many intelligent behaviours to plan a robbery and work collaboratively to carry it out successfully.

Some questions that might be posed during step two.

- Do I have high expectations of all pupils in my class?
- Do I provide a full range of opportunities for pupils to demonstrate intelligent behaviours?
- Do I teach the skills necessary for these behaviours to develop in those who are not yet demonstrating them?
- How do I feed back on success and failure?
- Is it safe to fail in my class?
- Is it safe to demonstate intelligent behaviours in my class?

### Step three: Who is coping well with the most challenging activities and who might need extra challenge?

Once the opportunities for the demonstration of intelligent behaviours have been identified and put into place the assessment process begins. This process is about recording where and when it is that pupils demonstrate the behaviours that teachers would wish to encourage in all pupils. It is also about asking for help from others to identify where and when a pupil demonstrates them. The pupils themselves should be involved. In this way school starts to reach out into the community and into the pupils' lives for evidence that abilities are beginning to form or have already formed. There are three things to be on the lookout for.

- The regular and sustained demonstration of intelligent behaviours by individuals.
- The occasional and sporadic demonstration of these intelligent behaviours by individuals
- The demonstration of these intelligent behaviours by individuals in contexts other than school.

#### Step four: What additional provision can I put in place?

From stage three there will be a range of opportunities identified as being possibilities for pupils to demonstrate and learn intelligent behaviours. Pupils will be demonstrating these to varying degrees of sophistication and regularity. There will also be a range of contexts identified where certain individuals can demonstrate intelligent behaviours outwith the confines of the school. It is about designing progress and coherence in challenge so that there are always further challenging opportunities available.

It is necessary to go back to provision and make sure that, for those who are demonstrating such behaviours in a regular and sustained way, there are activities and opportunities to extend their already developed abilities. For those demonstrating sporadically it is about searching for opportunities to help develop these so that they become more sustained and regular.

Stage three will also have provided essential information about pupils who might be demonstrating intelligent behaviours outside of school in other contexts. An analysis of where and when this is occurring might help to identify what it is that the school or teacher can do to help transfer these behaviours into learning based activities in the classroom.

Some questions that might be considered in step four

- Are these the pupils I would have expected to be identified?
- Might there be pupils not currently demonstrating abilities who could if the activities or culture changed in the class?
- For those who are already able to demonstate their abilities in particular areas to a high degree (either before or after tuition) are there sufficiently challenging activities and experiences which allow them to develop their abilities further?

# Back to step one: What do I believe about gifted and talented children now?

It is time to revisit out original thoughts about what intelligence means and what it is that we are trying to do.

- Are there new theories or research to think about?
- Does the definition of intelligence require change or amendment?
- How is my theory of intelligence impacting on my class?
- Have I been able to identify pupils in my class with particular views of intelligence?
- Do I need to revisit the criteria I use when assessing intelligent behaviours?
- Does my list of intelligent behaviours require change or amendment?
- Am I collecting information from a wide enough range of contexts?

#### Conclusion

#### Points for reflection:

- How much do you think that the beliefs we hold about intelligence make a difference to pupils' achievements and performance?
- To what extent is the model of giftedness in operation in your school linear or cyclical?
- Does the system of identification in your school rest on the performance of individuals or on the provision made available?