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# What Can we Learn about Improving Gifted Identification by Studying how Accurate the Process is in Arkansas? 

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# Office for Education Policy 

## ARKANSAS EDUCATION REPORT

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# What Can We Learn About Improving Gifted Identification by Studying How Accurate the Process is in Arkansas? 

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary ..... 3
I. Introduction: Why Be Concerned About Gifted Students? ..... 4
History Of Gifted Identification ..... 4
Gifted Identification in Arkansas ..... 6
The Current Study ..... 7
II. Data and Sample ..... 8
IV. Method ..... 10
V. Findings ..... 12
VI. Discussion ..... 23
VII. Limitations ..... 25
VIII. Conclusion ..... 26
IX. References ..... 27
APPENDIX ..... A1

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

How might we improve gifted and talented (G/T) identification by learning about the process in Arkansas (AR)? In this study, we examined the accuracy of the gifted identification process in AR by comparing the degree to which students who were academically talented in the top $5 \%$ on the $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade state assessment in reading and mathematics in AR were identified for G/T. Across five years of independent cohorts, we replicate the finding that roughly $30 \%$ of the students in the top $5 \%$ in both reading and mathematics on the 3 rd grade state assessment are not identified as $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$. Multivariate models indicate that high achieving students participating in the Federal Free/Reduced Lunch program were 11 percentage points less likely to be identified as G/T. Our study has policy implications for AR's G/T screening strategies, and more broadly for G/T identification of low-income and historically marginalized groups. Using student achievement on the $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade state assessment in reading and mathematics as a 'universal screening' tool could help these students receive the academic services they need to develop their talent to the fullest.

Keywords: gifted education, gifted identification, minority high achievers, policy research, Arkansas

## I. Introduction: Why Be Concerned About Gifted Students?

The distinguished gifted education scholar James Gallagher (1994, p. 83) asked the question: Why should we be concerned about gifted and talented students if they are already performing above average? To him, the answer is intertwined with the future of our society. Our scientists, artists, writers, businesspersons, political leaders, and inventors are highly likely to come from the gifted population (Terman \& Oden, 1959; Deary et al., 2008; Lubinski et al., 2014; Bernstein et al., 2019; Wai, 2013). Fully developing gifted and talented (G/T) students means moving our society forward to tackle existing and future challenges for all of us (Subotnik et al., 2011).

This paper presents a description of the G/T identification process in Arkansas (AR). We sought to study the G/T screening process in AR to help improve the system to serve these students better. We first start by presenting a literature review of G/T identification in the U.S. and AR. We then sought to identify trends in G/T identification in AR. Finally, we discuss findings, limitations, policy implications, and future research.

## History Of Gifted Identification

The idea of gifted identification is not new. Many ancient thinkers and societies paid significant attention to nourishing people with special abilities, especially in academics and physical aspects, which needed to be identified for special attention in the first place. To identify gifted individuals, Plato in The Republic suggests an ability-tracking system to bring peace, harmony, and prosperity to his city. Ancient China sought to identify the most able candidates through civil service examinations (Kracke, 1947).

In the U.S., Lewis Terman (1877-1956) was the architect of the Stanford-Binet test and creator of the term "intelligence quotient" (I.Q.), which we still use in our daily conversations. In his career, Terman produced "many valuable insights about cognitive ability and its relationship to academic, vocational, and psychological outcomes" (Subotnik et al., 2011, pp. 4-5). This strand of giftedness pioneered by Terman focuses on the "quality of an individual that needs to be recognized and revealed through some type of cognitive assessment or I.Q. test" (Subotnik et al., 2011, p. 5). The broader purposes of gifted education scholars who seek to use ability or other tests as identification tools is to help match students at their level of current developed abilities (Lohman, 2005, 2006) to educational programming that is aligned with their learning rates. This is essentially the idea of appropriate developmental placement (Lubinski \& Benbow, 2000).

Many researchers have conducted research at the national and local levels on exceptionally high academic achievers employing testing as the common denominator in identifying gifted and talented individuals In 1971, Julian Stanley, at John Hopkins University, launched the first large-scale testing of $7^{\text {th }}$ and $8^{\text {th }}$ graders using the mathematics section of the Scholastic Aptitude Test (Assouline \& Lupkowski-Shoplik, 2012, p. 46). This would lead to the lifespan developmental longitudinal study known as the Study of Mathmatically Precocious Youth (SMPY). SMPY is still ongoing as one of the oldest large-scale longitudinal studies on gifted education in the U.S.

The Duke University Talent Identification Program (Duke TIP) is another center for nation-wide talent search. Duke TIP uses above-grade-level testing to identify academically talented students. The center was established in 1980 and served "more than 450,000 students in grades four through twelve annually through its Academic Talent Search and educational
programs" (Duke TIP) as of 2020, the year in which the talent search was formally ended (Boyd, 2020). Many other university-based talent searches also rely on this cognitive approach, including Northwestern, Johns Hopkins, The University of Iowa, Carnegie Mellon, the University of Washington, California State University, and the Center for Bright Kids in Denver (Assouline \& Lupkowski-Shoplik, 2012 p. 48).

## Gifted Identification in Arkansas

In AR, G/T education in public schools was mandated by the AR General Assembly when they passed Act 106 of 1979. The Standards for Accreditation of Arkansas Public Schools adopted by the State Board of Education on February 22, 1984, included a provision that all districts must provide a program for gifted and talented students. In 1983, the School Finance Act provided funding to develop and operate G/T programs. Act 917 of 1995 changed the funding process to local school districts. The most recent standard for G/T education and identification "Gifted and Talented Program Approval Standards" was adopted in 2009. Each school district must use these described standards to screen gifted and talented students and provide them with an approved gifted program.

AR's G/T identification process follows the tradition that looks at giftedness and talents as multifaceted and should be accommodated with appropriate educational services (Renzulli, 1978). The identification process has several stages and can occur at any grade level from Kindergarten to $12^{\text {th }}$ grade. Typically, the students must be nominated for consideration as G/T. This nomination can come from various sources, including teachers, parents, counselors, and students. Next, data must be collected on the nominated students using, per state requirement, at least two objective and two subjective measures with at least one of those being a creativity assessment. A committee consisting of at least five professional educators chaired by a trained
specialist in gifted education will decide to place the student in appropriate programs based on the collected information. This committee can be per campus within the districts and/or at the district level with representatives from each campus (Robinson et al., 2014). There is, however, no consistently applied standard to identify a student as G/T. Districts can determine their process, and identification may not remain with the student if they transfer districts. District's gifted program must have an annual evaluation through a state program approval report. (Robinson et al., 2014, p. 351).

In terms of servicing students that are identified, districts must meet the minimum requirements of services. From Kindergarten through $2^{\text {nd }}$ grade, districts generally provide weekly whole-group enrichment classes. Between $3^{\text {rd }}$ and $12^{\text {th }}$ grade, once students are identified as in need of the gifted and talented program, they are required to receive a minimum of 150 minutes a week of G/T services. Those services vary widely across the state, especially in the secondary setting from G/T seminar and Honors courses to AP/Pre-AP/Concurrent classes. However, there is no consistency in how districts meet the needs of G/T students as local decisions lead to the implementation of services in a wide variety of ways. G/T teachers have to pass the Gifted Education Praxis Examination and meet licensing standards for an add-on endorsement/licensure in gifted education (Robinson et al., 2014, p. 351).

## The Current Study

Our study focuses explicitly on the identification process of gifted and talented students in AR. This descriptive analysis examines whether academically gifted students in AR are being overlooked in the G/T identification process and, as a result, are not being provided the opportunity to participate in $G / T$ or other programming that is tailored to their needs (Assouline et al., 2015; Lubinski \& Benbow, 2000; Subotnik et al., 2011; Wai et al., 2010).

## II. DATA AND SAMPLE

In this study, we examine the alignment between students identified $G / T$ in $4^{\text {th }}$ grade and those who performed in the top $5 \%$ of the state in both reading and mathematics on their $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade assessments. Although G/T students can be identified at any grade, we find that $96 \%$ of AR school districts identify the majority of G/T students by the fall of $4^{\text {th }}$ grade. Students complete the first statewide assessment of reading and mathematics in the spring of their $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade year. We assume that those students who score in the top $5 \%$ of state standardized tests are high achievers and can be considered academically gifted and talented (e.g., Acceleration Institute, 2020; Lakin \& Wai, 2020; Wai et al., 2012). At the Acceleration Institute at the BelinBlank Center for Gifted Education and Talent Development at the University of Iowa, researchers also recommend using the $95^{\text {th }}$ percentile threshold to define "who has mastered the classroom curriculum and needs an intervention that provides more advanced work in a specific subject" (Acceleration Institute, 2020). In this study, we proceed with students who score at or beyond the $95^{\text {th }}$ percentile in state standardized tests, in both mathematics and reading.

We use student $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade reading and math achievement in the years 2013, 2014, 2016, 2017, and 2018 and their $4^{\text {th }}$ grade gifted indicator in the years 2014, 2015, 2017, 2018, and 2019. Note that our analysis does not include the cohort of $4^{\text {th }}$ graders from 2016, as the G/T indicator was not included in the data provided for that year.

The data are anonymized student-level assessment and demographic data from the AR Department of Education. Publicly available district-level characteristics were then matched with student-level data. We included five years of data with a total N of 173,133 students. Table 1 reports summary statistics of the five cohorts. Across our sample, $65 \%$ of students are

Free/Reduced Lunch eligible, 49\% are female, 12\% have Special Education status, 9\% are English Language Learners, $61 \%$ are White, $20 \%$ are Black, $13 \%$ are Hispanic, and $12 \%$ are gifted and talented.

Within the group of top $5 \%$ achievers, $70 \%$ of students were identified as G/T by $4^{\text {th }}$ grade, whereas $30 \%$ were not. White and female students were overrepresented in the group of students who scored in the top $5 \%$ on $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade assessments. In contrast, Black and Hispanic students, as well as those participating in FRL, identified as SPED, or identified as ELL were less likely to be in the high achieving group relative to their share of the $4^{\text {th }}$ grade population.

Table 1: Summary Statistics of Matched $4^{\text {th }}$ Grade Demographics and $3^{\text {rd }}$ Grade Reading and Mathematics Achievement, Full Sample

|  | State $\left(4^{\text {th }}\right.$ Grade $)$ <br> $\mathrm{N}=173,133$ |  | Top 5\% $\left(3^{\text {rd }}\right.$ Grade $)$ <br> $\mathrm{N}=4,330$ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| Mean | Std | Mean Difference |  |  |
| FRL | 0.653 | 0.476 | 0.298 | 0.458 |
| SPED | 0.121 | 0.326 | 0.016 | 0.124 |
| ELL | 0.087 | 0.282 | 0.016 | 0.124 |
| Female | 0.491 | 0.500 | 0.578 | 0.494 |
| White | 0.614 | 0.487 | 0.800 | 0.400 |
| Black | 0.201 | 0.401 | 0.038 | 0.192 |
| Hispanic | 0.130 | 0.336 | 0.067 | 0.250 |
| Other race | 0.054 | 0.226 | 0.095 | 0.293 |

## IV. METHOD

Our method involves two steps. In step 1, we investigated four different groups of students. These groups were:

1. $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ : Students identified as $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ in $4^{\text {th }}$ grade.
2. Top $5 \%$ : Students scoring in the top $5 \%$ in both reading and mathematics on $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade state assessments.
3. $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T} \& \mathrm{Top} 5 \%$ : Students identified G/T in $4^{\text {th }}$ grade who scored in the top $5 \%$ on $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade state assessments.
4. G/T but not Top $5 \%$ : Students identified G/T in $4^{\text {th }}$ grade but who did not score in the top $5 \%$ on $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade state assessments.

We further investigated the same four groups of students, adding more demographic indicators, including Free/Reduced Lunch (FRL) status as a proxy for low socio-economic status (SES), race/ethnicity, Special Education (SPED) status, English Language Learner (ELL) status, and gender. We also controlled for district variables, including region, enrollment, poverty level, and urban indicators. As mentioned, districts vary in their gifted screening process and implementation so controlling for district variables was important for our analysis. With this step, we broadly aimed to explore the G/T identification process' accuracy rate concerning high achieving students from different backgrounds and minority groups.

In step 2 , we ran linear probability models to predict the likelihood that students who scored in the top $5 \%$ on $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade state assessments would be identified as G/T by $4^{\text {th }}$ grade. In other words, we limited our investigation to only those who scored at and beyond the $95^{\text {th }}$ percentile on $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade standardized assessments and predicted their likelihood of being
categorized as $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ controlling for various demographic factors including race/ethnicity, SES, and gender. Considering that G/T identification is largely a matter of district discretion, we also included the school district that the student attends in our models. Our goal was to answer this core question: knowing that these students have demonstrated similar high academic performance, are there any student-related or district-related factors associated to G/T identification?

We run two separate models, one focused on accounting for student level characteristics and the second accounting for both student- and district-level characteristics. In model 1 , we include student-level characteristics. In model 2, we add district-level characteristics. The equations-written in the style of econometrics-are as follows:

$$
\text { gifted }_{i}=\beta_{0}+\beta_{1} X_{i}+\varepsilon_{i}(1)
$$

where gifted takes the value one if the student $i$ was identified as $G / T$ in $4^{\text {th }}$ grade and 0 otherwise; $X_{i}$ is a matrix of student-level covariates;

$$
\text { gifted }_{i}=\beta_{0}+\beta_{1} X_{i}+\beta_{2} D_{i}+\varepsilon_{i}(2)
$$

where ; $D_{i}$ is a matrix of district-level covariates (Schmidt, 2012, p. 4). District characteristics include district enrollment, levels of poverty, regional locale, and urban locale.

## V.Findings

Figure 1 presents an illustration of the relationship between the populations, the top 5\% of achievers, and G/T identification for $4^{\text {th }}$ graders in the 2019 cohort.


Figure 1. Venn Diagram for $20194^{\text {th }}$ Grade G/T Students and Top 5\% Students on $20183^{\text {rd }}$ Grade Reading and Mathematics Assessments

In the year 2019, 4,067 students were identified as $G / T$ by the $4^{\text {th }}$ grade; 1,011 students scored in the top $5 \%$ on both mathematics and reading assessments at the state level. Among these top 5\% students, 721 were identified G/T, which equals $71.31 \%$. Among 4,067 G/T students, 3,346 did not score in the top $5 \%$ on both assessments, which equals $82.23 \%$. That means only $17.73 \%$ of G/T students were academically high achieving on state assessments.

Table 2 presents more detailed information regarding the four groups mentioned in our methodology, using the $20194^{\text {th }}$ graders' gifted status matched with their top $5 \%$ status in $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade. Column 1 shows the student demographics, including race/ethnicity, FRL status, SPED and ELL status, and gender. Column 2 presents the number of students in each category across
the full sample. Column 3 shows the demographic breakdown for G/T students. Similarly, column 4 shows the breakdown for the top $5 \%$ of students. Column 5 shows the breakdown for students identified as G/T and in the top $5 \%$. Lastly, column 6 presents $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ students’ demographic breakdown who did not score in the top $5 \%$ on the state assessment in the $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade. Patterns were consistent and replicated across other years (see Appendix A).

Table 2: Student Demographic Breakdown by G/T Status in $4^{\text {th }}$ Grade and Top 5\% Status in $3^{\text {rd }}$ Grade, 2018-2019 Cohort

|  | State | G/T | Top 5\% | G/T <br> \& Top 5\% | G/T <br> not Top 5\% |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total N | 35,471 | 4,067 | 1,011 | 721 | 3,346 |
| FRL | 23,721 | 2,003 | 324 | 221 | 1,782 |
| SPED | 4,715 | 99 | 16 | 12 | 87 |
| ELL | 2,823 | 77 | 1 | 1 | 76 |
| Female | 17,270 | 2,160 | 555 | 383 | 1,777 |
| White | 21,264 | 2,768 | 797 | 564 | 2,204 |
| Black | 7,069 | 606 | 44 | 34 | 572 |
| Hispanic | 5,004 | 393 | 72 | 48 | 345 |
| Other race | 2,134 | 300 | 98 | 75 | 225 |

Next we describe some noteworthy data patterns from Table 2. First, $11.5 \%$ of all $4^{\text {th }}$ graders were identified G/T. Among them, almost $70 \%$ were White, $15 \%$ Black, $10 \%$ Hispanic, and 5\% are from another race/ethnicity. There were more female G/T students than male G/T students. In addition, $49 \%$ of G/T students had FRL status. On the other hand, only $2.9 \%$ of all
students were in the top $5 \%$ on all state assessments in $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade. Among this group of highest achieving students, $79 \%$ were White, $4 \%$ were Black, $7 \%$ were Hispanic, and $10 \%$ were another race/ethnicity, $32 \%$ participated in the FRL program, and $50 \%$ were female. White students and students from backgrounds of higher economic status were more likely to be in the top $5 \%$ in both reading and mathematics on state assessments.

The 721 students who were identified G/T and in the top $5 \%$ on state assessments accounted for $2 \%$ of all students in the $20193^{\text {rd }} / 4^{\text {th }}$ grade cohort. Among them, $78 \%$ were White, $5 \%$ were Black, $7 \%$ Hispanic, $10 \%$ from another race, $31 \%$ were FRL eligible, $2 \%$ were SPED participants, $0.1 \%$ were identified as ELL and $53 \%$ were female. There were 3,346 students ( $9.4 \%$ of all students in AR) who were identified as $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ in $4^{\text {th }}$ grade but did not score in the top $5 \%$ on state assessments in the $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade. Among them, $66 \%$ were White, $17 \%$ were Black, $10 \%$ were Hispanic, $7 \%$ were from another race, $53 \%$ were FRL eligible, $2.6 \%$ SPED status, $2.3 \%$ ELL status, and 53\% female.

Overall, we observed that about $70 \%$ of students who scored in the top $5 \%$ in both reading and mathematics on $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade state assessments were identified as G/T. Among the students who were identified as G/T, most of them did not score in the top $5 \%$. The current $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ system in AR appears to overidentify certain students when considering the top 5\% achievers in math and reading. On the one hand, we can see many minority students, students from lower SES backgrounds, ELL, and SPED students had the G/T status even though there were fewer of them in the top 5\% of math and reading achievement.

In addition, comparing the two columns "G/T \& Top 5\%" and "G/T not Top 5\%," we found that even though only $4.7 \%$ of the " $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T} \& \mathrm{Top} 5 \%$ " are Black, Black students made up
$20.5 \%$ in the "G/T not Top 5\%" group. Similarly, we saw higher rates in "G/T not Top 5\%" for Hispanic, FRL, SPED, and ELL students compared with the "G/T \& Top 5\%" group.

Table 3: $4^{\text {th }}$ Grade G/T Status Matched $3^{\text {rd }}$ Grade Top 5\% Status and District Characteristics in 2019, Cohort 2018-2019

|  | School <br> District N | Total <br> Students | G/T | Top 5\% | G/T <br> \& Top <br> $\mathbf{5 \%}$ | G/T <br> not Top <br> $\mathbf{5 \%}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Region |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Northwest | 76 | 12,728 | 1,317 | 466 | 323 | 994 |
| Northeast | 67 | 7,081 | 696 | 147 | 98 | 598 |
| Central | 48 | 10,502 | 1,453 | 323 | 236 | 1,217 |
| Southwest | 38 | 3,372 | 401 | 59 | 50 | 351 |
| Southeast | 24 | 1,788 | 200 | 16 | 14 | 186 |

Poverty level

| Low level $(0 ; 43 \%)$ | 25 | 6,621 | 695 | 318 | 210 | 485 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Lower middle $(43 \% ; 52 \%)$ | 27 | 5,177 | 573 | 175 | 115 | 458 |
| Upper middle $(52 \% ; 66 \%)$ | 61 | 7,441 | 786 | 202 | 145 | 641 |
| High $(66 \% ; 100 \%)$ | 140 | 16,232 | 2,013 | 316 | 251 | 1,762 |

## District Enrollment

| Very small $(0 ; 500)$ | 46 | 1,292 | 140 | 27 | 16 | 124 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Small $(501 ; 1,000)$ | 87 | 4,620 | 515 | 73 | 57 | 458 |
| Medium $(1,001 ; 2,600)$ | 77 | 8,982 | 847 | 193 | 114 | 733 |
| Large $(2,601 ; 6000)$ | 31 | 8,782 | 801 | 231 | 160 | 641 |
| Very large $(>=6001)$ | 12 | 11,795 | 1,764 | 487 | 374 | 1,390 |
| Urbanicity |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| City |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Suburb | 27 | 9,629 | 1,289 | 307 | 231 | 1,058 |
| Town | 17 | 4,946 | 503 | 164 | 104 | 399 |
| Rural | 55 | 7,566 | 790 | 181 | 133 | 657 |

Table 3 reports the number of total students, G/T students, students in top $5 \%$ on both mathematics and reading assessments, students identified G/T and in the top $5 \%$, and students who were identified G/T but not in the top $5 \%$, by geographic region, district enrollment, and district poverty levels for 253 school districts in 2019. Sixty-five percent of the student population was located in the Northwest and Central regions. Consistently, $68 \%$ of the G/T identified students, and $78 \%$ of the students in the top 5\% group lived in these regions. Central AR has the most G/T students whereas Northwest AR has the most students in the top 5\%. There were consistent regional differences in identifying the top $5 \%$ of students as G/T across the five years examined. For example, in 2019, although $71 \%$ of the top $5 \%$ scoring students were identified as G/T statewide, regional G/T identification rates for high achieving students ranged from $67 \%$ for students in the Northeast to $88 \%$ in the state's Southeast region.

While we might be concerned that the top $5 \%$ of students may not be identified as G/T due to a lack of available resources (class space, personnel, etc.), we found this was not the case. As presented in Table 2, over $82 \%$ of students identified G/T in $4^{\text {th }}$ grade did not demonstrate high academic performance on $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade state assessments. In Northwest AR, $75 \%$ of G/T students were not in the top $5 \%$, which reaches a high of $93 \%$ for the Southeast. In short, we observe that some regions are more likely to label top $5 \%$ students as G/T to accommodate them, but they also over-accommodate the service to students who are not in the top $5 \%$, which does not indicate a lack of available resources.

Second, examining the four groups by district poverty rates provided additional insight. Districts with the highest level of poverty (>66\% FRL) also identified the highest percentage of students as G/T at $12 \%$ and were also most likely to identify students in the top $5 \%$ as $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$
$(79 \%)$. Districts in the lowest level of poverty had the highest percentage of students in the top $5 \%$ but only identified about $2 / 3$ of those students as $G / T$.

Third, the largest districts had the highest percentage of students identified G/T (15\%) and students identified in the top 5\% (4\%). Small districts (501-1000 students) and the largest districts identified the highest percentage of top performers as $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ at rates of $78 \%$ and $77 \%$, respectively. We again observed the phenomenon of over-identifying G/T students and underaccommodating the top $5 \%$ across all district sizes.

Fourth, compared with cities, suburbs, and towns, rural districts enrolled the most students in AR, approximately $38 \%$ of all $4^{\text {th }}$ grade students in 2019 . Together with school districts in cities, rural school districts had the most G/T students and top $5 \%$ students on all state assessments. However, under-accommodating the top 5\% of students and over-identifying G/T students is again replicated when examining urbanicity. For example, in 2019, rural school districts had the most G/T students, but $83 \%$ of them did not score in the top $5 \%$ on all state assessments. The number was $82 \%$ for cities, $79 \%$ for suburbs, and $83 \%$ for towns. Simultaneously, in rural schools, $70 \%$ of the top $5 \%$ of students were also G/T students. The number was $73 \%$ for towns, $63 \%$ for suburbs, and $75 \%$ for cities. It appears that high achieving students in urban school districts are somewhat more likely to receive G/T services.

In short, from a descriptive analysis of Tables 1,2 , and 3 , we identify three core concerns regarding existing in G/T programs in AR. The first concern is that around $30 \%$ of students who objectively scored in the top $5 \%$ on both state assessments (mathematics and reading) are not identified as $G / T$ by $4^{\text {th }}$ grade. This bright group of students is not provided a service that may help their further talent development. Second, a high percentage of identified G/T students did not demonstrate academic excellence (top 5\%) on state assessments. These students may not top
benefit from gifted programming as much as the students who have demonstrated academic excellence. Finally, because the percentage of students in the G/T group that did not demonstrate academic excellence was so large, efficiency and adequacy of resource usage and distribution are worth thinking more deeply about. If we could improve the identification process to provide more alignment and/or matching, ensuring that students identified as G/T are in need of the services, resources might be more appropriately allocated.

The student- and district-level characteristics that we examined descriptively in Tables 1, 2 , and 3 are often correlated, so we proceeded to step 2 . In step 2 , we used linear probability models to predict the likelihood of being identified $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ by $4^{\text {th }}$ grade, given that the student was in the top $5 \%$ of performers on the $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade state assessments in reading and mathematics. In other words, what student and district characteristics are related to a high performing student being identified as $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ ?

Column 1 reports the probability of being identified as $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ in $4^{\text {th }}$ grade for students in the top 5\% of state reading and mathematics assessments in $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade controlling for student demographics. We found that students with FRL status were nine percentage points less likely to be identified as $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ even though they are academically advanced ( $p<0.01$ ). We did not find any differences between SPED, ELL, and female students and peers. Black students in the top 5\% were nine percentage points more likely to be identified as G/T than similarly high achieving White students ( $p<0.01$ ).

Column 2 reports the probability of being identified as G/T in $4^{\text {th }}$ grade for students in the top $5 \%$ of state reading and mathematics assessments in $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade, controlling for both studentand district-level characteristics. We found that controlling for district-level factors further reduced the likelihood that high performing FRL students were identified as G/T. In particular,

FRL students in the top $5 \%$ on $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade assessments were 11 now percentage points less likely to be identified as $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}(p<0.01)$. Once district characteristics were included in the model, however, there was no significant difference in Black students' likelihood to be identified as G/T. We continued to find no differential identification probabilities among SPED, ELL, female, or students from another race/ethnicity.

When examining the relationship between district size and the likelihood of identifying top $5 \%$ students as G/T, we found that small, large, and very large school districts were more likely to identify their top $5 \%$ students as $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ compared with medium-sized school districts. Small school districts were seven percentage points more likely ( $p<0.05$ ), large districts were 11 percentage points more likely ( $p<0.01$ ), and very large school districts were 21 percentage points more likely ( $p<0.01$ ) to identify their top $5 \%$ students as G/T.

Table 4: Linear Probability Model Prediction of High Achieving 3rd Grade Students Being Identified as G/T in $4^{\text {th }}$ Grade, Full Sample

| Variables | Student-level characteristics <br> (1) | Student and District-level characteristics <br> (2) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| FRL | -0.092*** | -0.112*** |
|  | (0.016) | (0.017) |
| SPED | -0.049 | -0.048 |
|  | (0.058) | (0.059) |
| ELL | 0.051 | -0.018 |
|  | (0.058) | (0.056) |
| Female | -0.005 | -0.001 |
|  | (0.014) | (0.014) |
| Race (base: White) |  |  |
| Black | 0.093*** | 0.035 |
|  | (0.035) | (0.033) |
| Hispanic | 0.004 | -0.015 |
|  | (0.030) | (0.030) |
| Other race | 0.001 | -0.019 |
|  | (0.024) | (0.024) |
| Region (base: Northwest) |  |  |
| Northeast |  | 0.034 |
|  |  | (0.023) |
| Central |  | 0.054*** |
|  |  | (0.017) |
| Southeast |  | 0.152*** |
|  |  | (0.030) |
| Southwest |  | 0.085* |
|  |  | (0.052) |
| Poverty level (base: Upper middle [52\%;66\% FRL]) |  |  |
| Low level (0\%; 43\%) |  | -0.089*** |
|  |  | (0.021) |
| Lower middle (43\%; 52\%) |  | -0.077*** |
|  |  | (0.024) |
| High (66\%;100\%) |  | 0.093*** |
|  |  | $(0.019)$ |

Table 5 (cont): Linear Probability Model Prediction of High Achieving 3 ${ }^{\text {rd }}$ Grade Students Being Identified as G/T in $4^{\text {th }}$ Grade, Full Sample

| Variables | Student-level characteristics <br> (1) | Student and District-level characteristics <br> (2) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| District Enrollment (base: medium [1,001;2,600]) |  |  |
| Very small (0; 500) |  | $\begin{aligned} & -0.050 \\ & (0.050) \end{aligned}$ |
| Small (501; 1000) |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.067^{* *} \\ (0.030) \end{gathered}$ |
| Large (2,601; 6,000) |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.114 * * * \\ (0.024) \end{gathered}$ |
| Very large (>=6001) |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.206^{* * *} \\ (0.025) \end{gathered}$ |
| Urbanicity (base: city) |  |  |
| Suburb |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.030 \\ (0.025) \end{gathered}$ |
| Town |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.106 * * * \\ (0.027) \end{gathered}$ |
| Rural |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.030 \\ (0.021) \end{gathered}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{gathered} 0.721 * * * \\ (0.020) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.543 * * * \\ (0.035) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations | 4,330 | 4,330 |
| R-squared | 0.011 | 0.060 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** $\mathrm{p}<0.01, * * \mathrm{p}<0.05$, * $\mathrm{p}<0.1$

When examining the relationship between district size and the likelihood of identifying top $5 \%$ students as G/T, we found that small, large, and very large school districts were more likely to identify their top $5 \%$ students as G/T compared with medium-sized school districts. Small school districts were seven percentage points more likely ( $p<0.05$ ), large districts were

11 percentage points more likely ( $p<0.01$ ), and very large school districts were 21 percentage points more likely ( $p<0.01$ ) to identify their top $5 \%$ students as G/T.

There were significant differences by geographic region in the likelihood of high achieving students being identified as G/T. Compared with Northwest AR, Central AR school districts were five percentage points more likely to identify their top $5 \%$ students as G/T ( $p<$ 0.01 ). Southeast AR school districts were 15 percentage points more likely ( $p<0.01$ ), and Southwest AR school districts were eight percentage points more likely ( $p<0.01$ ). Urbanicity also played a significant role in the likelihood of high achieving students being identified as G/T. Compared with school districts in cities, we found that school districts in towns were 11 percentage points more likely to identify their top $5 \%$ as $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ ( $p<0.01$ ). There was no significant difference in identification likelihood for students in suburbs or rural settings.

The last comparison of identification likelihood by district poverty levels suggests that districts with a higher poverty level were more likely to identify the top $5 \%$ of students as G/T. In particular, compared with school districts in the upper-middle level of poverty (52-66\% of students FRL), high achieving students in the high-level poverty school districts (> $66 \%$ FRL) were nine percentage points more likely to be recognized as $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}(p<0.01$ ). Conversely, high achieving students in school districts with a low level of poverty ( $0-43 \%$ ) were nine percentage points less likely to be identified as $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}(p<0.01)$, and those in lower-middle poverty level districts (43-53\% FRL) were eight percentage points less likely to be identified as G/T ( $p<0.01$ )

## VI. DISCUSSION

We used the $4^{\text {th }}$ grade $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ identification rates of students in the top $5 \%$ of achievement on the $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade state assessment in reading and mathematics as a way to identify students who are demonstrating high academic performance. Overall, the findings suggest that $30 \%$ of $4^{\text {th }}$ grade students who scored in the top $5 \%$ on both reading and mathematics assessments in $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade are not identified as $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$, and so are not receiving services matched to their learning rate intended to support the further academic development of such high achieving students. Conversely, many G/T identified students were not in the top $5 \%$ of the achievement distribution. To be clear, we are not arguing that these relatively lower-scoring students identified are not gifted. To some extent, $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ is a somewhat arbitrary designation on various continuums that depend on definitions of various abilities or talents and corresponding cut scores (e.g., McBee \& Makel, 2019; Wai \& Lakin, 2020). G/T students who are not in the top 5\% may have creative giftedness and talents required by AR state's guideline on G/T identification. What is at stake here is that $30 \%$ of the students in the right tail of $95^{\text {th }}$ percentile cross all the years we studied are not given G/T services. Had the identification system included this achievement, perhaps we would not have missed a large portion of students who are ready to be developmentally placed at a higher level of curriculum to help develop their talents to the fullest. AR indeed has the resources to accommodate all top $5 \%$ students because the total number of all top $5 \%$ students is much smaller than the number of all G/T students across the state. At present, then, having such high scoring students get $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ services available in their district would seem appropriate.

Of particular concern is the likelihood that a high achieving student from an economically disadvantaged background will be identified as $G / T$. Multivariate models indicate that high achieving students participating in the Federal Free/Reduced Lunch program were 11 percentage points less likely to be identified as G/T. This may be due to a lack of teacher, parent, or counselors' likelihood of referring these students for G/T assessments, or other factors. Using student achievement on the 3 rd grade state assessment in reading and mathematics as a 'universal screening' tool could help these students receive the academic services they need to develop more optimally.

On a positive note, we found no statistically significant differences in the likelihood of G/T identification of high achieving students by race, gender, or special program status (SPED, ELL). In other words, Free and Reduced Lunch was the only subgroup that we detected a potential bias in the G/T identification process in AR. In addition, although some student groups are less likely to be in the top $5 \%$ of achievers, all student groups are represented in the G/T population. We find no consistent pattern between the likelihood of G/T identification of high achieving students and district characteristics, perhaps reflecting the inconsistency in identification processes. Using universal screening in AR, or moving more towards that goal, could potentially increase alignment between district identification, identify more high achieving students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds as $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$, and help address the missing of $30 \%$ academically achieving students in the G/T category.

## VII. LIMITATIONS

We still face several limitations in our study. First, we limited our analysis to the top 5\% of achievers on $3^{\text {rd }}$ grade assessments in reading and mathematics. We assumed the restriction would create two comparable groups within the highest achieving students: those identified $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ by $4^{\text {th }}$ grade those not identified as G/T. We then controlled for a rich set of both student level and district level observable characteristics. However, other unobservable factors may influence students' G/T identification, such as parental involvement, student classroom performance, or teacher quality (Hanushek et al. 2019). In addition, we did not have data to look into the identification of spatially talented students. Researchers have argued that adding spatial reasoning measures to the talent search process will improve the gap in the representation of marginalized students at every level of education (Wai \& Lakin, 2020; Lakin \& Wai, 2020).

## VIII. CONCLUSION

Our study is among the first on the identification accuracy of $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ programs in AR. Our evidence suggests two issues in the current G/T system: the underrepresentation of objectively high achieving but disadvantaged students and considerable variation in students' achievement levels who make it through the G/T identification process. The current $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ system misses a noticeable proportion of objectively gifted math and verbal achievers scoring in the top 5\% of the state achievement distribution. That this group of academically talented students is not being identified for $\mathrm{G} / \mathrm{T}$ services may represent a potential loss both to the students, the state, and beyond. Combining findings from our two analyses, we suggest AR districts consider revising G/T identification procedures, perhaps using the state assessment as a universal screener as a first step. Many individual studies, as well as meta-analyses on G/T programs' effects, have suggested participation in enrichment and advancement programs can be associated with both academic and social development for students (Kulik \& Kulik, 1984; Rogers, 1992; SteenbergenHu \& Moon, 2011; Rogers, 2015). If our goal is to create a system that includes more students deserving to be identified and provided with G/T services, our study provides some strategies and policy recommendations that can help.

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## APPENDIX

Appendix A: Student demographic breakdown by G/T status in 4th grade and top 5\% status in 3rd grade, Cohort 2018, 2017, 2015, 2014*

| Year 2018 | State | G/T | Top 5\% | G/T <br> \& Top 5\% | G/T <br> not Top 5\% |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total N | 35,854 | 4,110 | 1,134 | 760 | 3,350 |
| FRL | 23,668 | 1,895 | 344 | 219 | 1,676 |
| SPED | 4,374 | 76 | 15 | 11 | 65 |
| ELL | 3,075 | 122 | 13 | 10 | 112 |
| Female | 17,650 | 2,192 | 631 | 424 | 1,768 |
| White | 21,572 | 2,725 | 893 | 604 | 2,121 |
| Black | 7,397 | 697 | 39 | 30 | 667 |
| Hispanic | 4,814 | 395 | 84 | 51 | 344 |
| Other race | 2,071 | 293 | 118 | 75 | 218 |
| Year 2017 | State | G/T | Top $5 \%$ | G/T | G/T |
|  |  |  |  | $\&$ Top 5\% | not Top 5\% |
| Total N | 35,864 | 4,210 | 865 | 595 | 3,615 |
| FRL | 23,841 | 1,958 | 280 | 178 | 1,780 |
| SPED | 4,302 | 73 | 16 | 9 | 64 |
| ELL | 3,356 | 173 | 25 | 18 | 155 |
| Female | 17,693 | 2,281 | 461 | 328 | 1,953 |
| White | 21,822 | 2,896 | 685 | 475 | 2,421 |
| Black | 7,225 | 709 | 32 | 24 | 685 |
| Hispanic | 4,859 | 360 | 59 | 42 | 318 |
| Other race | 1,958 | 245 | 89 | 54 | 191 |
| Year 2015 | State | G/T | Top 5\% | G/T | G/T |
|  |  |  |  | $\&$ Top 5\% | not Top 5\% |
| Total N | 32,698 | 4,238 | 637 | 469 | 3,769 |
| FRL | 20,795 | 1,773 | 147 | 95 | 1,678 |
| SPED | 3,873 | 76 | 9 | 5 | 71 |
| ELL | 2,963 | 149 | 10 | 5 | 144 |
| Female | 15,969 | 2,248 | 393 | 284 | 1,964 |
| White | 20,585 | 3,039 | 526 | 380 | 2,659 |
| Black | 6,530 | 692 | 24 | 21 | 671 |
| Hispanic | 4,005 | 289 | 38 | 29 | 260 |
| Other race | 1,578 | 218 | 49 | 39 | 179 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |


| Year 2014 | State | G/T | Top 5\% | G/T <br> $\& ~ T o p ~ 5 \% ~$ | G/T <br> not Top 5\% |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total N | 33,246 | 4,499 | 683 | 475 | 4,024 |
| FRL | 20,978 | 1,773 | 197 | 110 | 1,745 |
| SPED | 3,682 | 91 | 12 | 4 | 84 |
| ELL | 2,889 | 165 | 19 | 14 | 151 |
| Female | 16,400 | 2,418 | 464 | 325 | 2,093 |
| White | 21,141 | 3,154 | 562 | 390 | 2,764 |
| Black | 6,665 | 787 | 27 | 17 | 770 |
| Hispanic | 3,803 | 309 | 37 | 24 | 285 |
| Other race | 1,637 | 249 | 57 | 44 | 205 |

* Note: G/T identifier not available for 2016

Appendix B: 4th grade G/T status matched 3rd grade top 5\% status and district characteristics Cohort 2018, 2017, 2015, 2014*

| Year 2018 | School <br> district N | Total <br> students | G/T | Top <br> $5 \%$ | G/T <br> \& Top 5\% | G/T <br> not Top 5\% |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Region |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Northwest | 76 | 12,830 | 1,281 | 545 | 344 | 937 |
| Northeast | 67 | 7,088 | 696 | 164 | 101 | 595 |
| Central | 48 | 10,654 | 1,562 | 348 | 255 | 1,307 |
| Southwest | 38 | 3,418 | 394 | 61 | 47 | 347 |
| Southeast | 24 | 1,864 | 177 | 16 | 13 | 164 |
| Poverty level (\%FRL) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Low level (0\%; 43\%) | 26 | 6,546 | 651 | 373 | 230 | 421 |
| Lower middle (43\%; 52\%) | 29 | 5,356 | 633 | 192 | 132 | 501 |
| Upper middle (52\%; 66\%) | 61 | 7,373 | 758 | 207 | 128 | 630 |
| High (66\%; 100\%) | 137 | 16,579 | 2,068 | 362 | 270 | 1,798 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## District size (enrollment)

| Very small $(0 ; 500)$ | 43 | 1,241 | 111 | 25 | 13 | 98 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Small $(501 ; 1,000)$ | 92 | 5,034 | 538 | 99 | 62 | 476 |
| Medium $(1,001 ; 2,600)$ | 76 | 9,055 | 770 | 193 | 112 | 658 |
| Large $(2,601 ; 6000)$ | 30 | 8,447 | 865 | 245 | 166 | 699 |
| Very large $(>=6001)$ | 12 | 12,077 | 1,826 | 572 | 407 | 1,419 |

Urbanicity

| City | 26 | 9,803 | 1,382 | 441 | 307 | 1,075 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Suburb | 14 | 4,937 | 506 | 133 | 83 | 423 |
| Town | 54 | 7,685 | 733 | 166 | 119 | 614 |
| Rural | 159 | 13,429 | 1,489 | 394 | 251 | 1,238 |


| Year 2017 | School <br> district N | Total <br> students | G/T | Top <br> $5 \%$ | G/T <br> \& Top 5\% | G/T <br> not Top 5\% |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Region |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Northwest | 76 | 12,833 | 1,269 | 407 | 277 | 992 |
| Northeast | 67 | 6,940 | 792 | 119 | 82 | 710 |
| Central | 48 | 10,550 | 1,579 | 269 | 188 | 1,391 |
| Southwest | 38 | 3,582 | 391 | 48 | 36 | 355 |
| Southeast | 24 | 1,959 | 179 | 22 | 12 | 167 |
| Poverty level (\% FRL) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Low level (0\%; 43\%) | 20 | 5,910 | 598 | 247 | 150 | 448 |
| Lower middle (43\%;52\%) | 25 | 4,224 | 433 | 99 | 67 | 366 |
| Upper middle (52\%; 66\%) | 70 | 9,690 | 1,091 | 220 | 150 | 941 |
| High (66\%; 100\%) | 138 | 16,040 | 2,088 | 299 | 228 | 1,860 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| District size (enrollment) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Very small (0; 500) | 47 | 1,352 | 144 | 21 | 10 | 134 |
| Small (501; 1,000) | 84 | 4,601 | 456 | 67 | 41 | 415 |
| Medium (1,001; 2,600) | 79 | 9,296 | 907 | 172 | 106 | 801 |
| Large (2,601; 6000) | 32 | 9,160 | 994 | 195 | 142 | 852 |
| Very large (>=6001) | 11 | 11,455 | 1,709 | 410 | 296 | 1,413 |
| Urbanicity |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| City |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Suburb |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Town |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Rural | 26 | 9,580 | 1,364 | 308 | 220 | 1,144 |


| Year 2015 | School <br> district N | Total <br> students | G/T | Top <br> $5 \%$ | G/T <br> \& Top 5\% | G/T <br> not Top 5 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Region |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Northwest | 75 | 11,529 | 1,256 | 300 | 216 | 1,040 |
| Northeast | 68 | 6,601 | 757 | 85 | 63 | 694 |
| Central | 44 | 9,753 | 1,637 | 191 | 139 | 1,498 |
| Southwest | 38 | 3,085 | 382 | 39 | 33 | 349 |
| Southeast | 24 | 1,730 | 206 | 22 | 18 | 188 |

Poverty level (\%FRL)

| Low level $(0 \% ; 43 \%)$ | 18 | 5,122 | 663 | 171 | 124 | 539 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Lower middle $(43 \% ; 52 \%)$ | 24 | 3,726 | 393 | 90 | 56 | 337 |
| Upper middle $(52 \% ; 66 \%)$ | 75 | 9,086 | 1,148 | 171 | 125 | 1,023 |
| High $(66 \% ; 100 \%)$ | 132 | 14,764 | 2,034 | 205 | 164 | 1,870 |

## District size (enrollment)

| Very small $(0 ; 500)$ | 41 | 1,092 | 161 | 16 | 10 | 151 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Small $(501 ; 1,000)$ | 88 | 4,246 | 535 | 74 | 50 | 485 |
| Medium $(1,001 ; 2,600)$ | 76 | 7,892 | 803 | 110 | 73 | 730 |
| Large $(2,601 ; 6000)$ | 33 | 8,655 | 917 | 161 | 115 | 802 |
| Very large $(>=6001)$ | 11 | 10,813 | 1,822 | 276 | 221 | 1,601 |

Urbanicity

| City | 19 | 8,584 | 1,290 | 224 | 174 | 1,116 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Suburb | 18 | 4,709 | 624 | 77 | 57 | 567 |
| Town | 55 | 7,218 | 778 | 116 | 82 | 696 |
| Rural | 157 | 12,187 | 1,546 | 220 | 156 | 1,390 |


| Year 2014 | School <br> district N | Total <br> students | G/T | Top <br> $5 \%$ | G/T <br> \& Top 5\% | G/T <br> not Top 5 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Region |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Northwest | 75 | 11,497 | 1,275 | 285 | 186 | 1,089 |
| Northeast | 68 | 6,730 | 767 | 114 | 75 | 692 |
| Central | 44 | 10,110 | 1,822 | 215 | 165 | 1,657 |
| Southwest | 40 | 3,171 | 403 | 52 | 41 | 362 |
| Southeast | 24 | 1,738 | 232 | 17 | 8 | 224 |

Poverty level (\% FRL)

| Low level $(0 ; 43 \%)$ | 21 | 5,311 | 636 | 175 | 110 | 526 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Lower middle $(43 \% ; 52)$ | 25 | 4,034 | 396 | 85 | 50 | 346 |
| Upper middle $(52 \% ; 66 \%)$ | 82 | 10,203 | 1,303 | 196 | 140 | 1,163 |
| High $(66 \% ; 100 \%)$ | 123 | 13,698 | 2,164 | 227 | 175 | 1,989 |

## District size (enrollment)

| Very small $(0 ; 500)$ | 41 | 1,054 | 146 | 18 | 10 | 136 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Small $(501 ; 1,000)$ | 92 | 4,498 | 557 | 80 | 54 | 503 |
| Medium $(1,001 ; 2,600)$ | 75 | 8,139 | 878 | 140 | 89 | 789 |
| Large $(2,601 ; 6000)$ | 32 | 8,581 | 885 | 148 | 95 | 790 |
| Very large $(>=6001)$ | 11 | 10,974 | 2,033 | 297 | 227 | 1,806 |

Urbanicity

| City | 21 | 8,562 | 1,472 | 227 | 170 | 1,302 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Suburb | 19 | 4,928 | 631 | 92 | 66 | 565 |
| Town | 58 | 7,241 | 771 | 108 | 74 | 697 |
| Rural | 153 | 12,515 | 1,625 | 256 | 165 | 1,460 |

* Note: G/T identifier not available for 2016

