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GENTRIFICATION AND PARENT ENGAGEMENT

IN AN URBAN SCHOOL COMMUNITY:

A STUDY OF SOCIOECONOMIC DISPARITY IN PHILADELPHIA

A Dissertation in

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by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation contributes to a growing research focus on interactive effects of urban housing and education policy within gentrifying urban neighborhoods. Interviews with middle-class and working-class parents from a gentrifying neighborhood enclave in Philadelphia, along with demographic data from the school and school catchment zone have been analyzed with a theoretical framework of social practice to form an understanding of class-based differences in engagement and marginalization within this social sphere. Although an influx of middle-class parent engagement in the school community results in increased resources for all students, pre-existing working-class families are frequently marginalized within the school community. Furthermore, as a result of increased middle-class participation in economically redeveloping neighborhoods, within district stratification has deepened leaving Philadelphia's public schools more economically and racially segregated.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCDC   Center City Development Corporation

CCSI   Center City Schools Initiative

CDC   Community Development Corporation

FG   Friends of Glenmore

FONE   Friends of Neighborhood Education

SRC   School Reform Commission

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Although the effects of White flight from urban communities has been a significant area of research for social scientists, the effects of returning White middle-class families to urban communities and public schools is a fairly new topic of investigation in education and policy research. This case study explores the interactive effects of urban housing and education policy on student enrollment and parent engagement at a public elementary school located within a redeveloping catchment zone in Philadelphia's large public school district. My data suggests the local implementation of Philadelphia's school enrollment policy and the catchment zone's growing housing market contributes to maintaining Glenmore Elementary School's (pseudonym) White enclave status while simultaneously redefining opportunities for engagement along class lines.

During the initial phase of inductive coding of interview transcripts, differences in social class between original residents and newcomers became very apparent and appeared to be significant predictors of positive or negative experiences of engagement in the school community. These class-based distinctions led to the implementation of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice to define social class for participants in this study as well as a conceptual framework for analyzing data. Bourdieu defined class categorizing all forms of capital possessed by an individual, which has been a helpful approach for defining participants' class for this study; therefore, middle-class is defined by those who have achieved at least a bachelor's degree and hold a professional position

of employment and working-class is describes those with less than a bachelor's degree and employed in service or labor industries.

Effects of Gentrification in the Glenmore Elementary School Community

Gentrification, the displacement of a lower socioeconomic group resulting from urban redevelopment, is generally a White phenomenon that is a growing research focus among those who wish to understand racial and economic stratification within large, urban school districts. As policymakers and education reformers in economically redeveloping post-industrial cities, encourage and embrace the return of White middle-class residents, existing residents of lower-socioeconomic status and minorities are at risk of being marginalized in public school communities. Previous investigations of increased participation of middle-class residents in Philadelphia's Center City Schools, as well as those within the boundaries of Center City's extended area, have revealed significant effects of economic and racial segregation resulting from the influence of newly engaged middle-class actors and localized implementation of the district's transfer policy by school administrators.

Professionalized parent and community groups, such as Philadelphia's Friends of Neighborhood Education (FONE), appear to exacerbate the effects of neighborhood gentrification within school communities by hoarding opportunities and resources for individual schools rather than supporting districtwide efforts to improve all schools. Previous studies of professionalized parents groups and their coalitions with Philadelphia's business leaders revealed the micro level behaviors of these coalitions created macro-level consequences in Philadelphia's stratified school district.

Beyond Philadelphia's Center City's extended area is Palisade (pseudonym), a neighborhood that is just beginning to experience the effects of gentrification. Historically, Palisade has been a static White, ethnic enclave of working-class families. Homeownership and family homesteads have been a point of pride for generations; however, the rising costs of living are beginning drive original residents out of the community. Likewise, Glenmore Elementary (pseudonym), a central social space for the community, is being reconstructed by middle-class newcomers.

Friends of Glenmore (FG), the catchment zone's local FONE group, is a professionally organized community organization of middle- and upper-middle-class parents and members of the Glenmore community who are interested supporting the Glenmore School. The group was organized by highly educated, professional newcomers to Palisade who did not have children attending Glenmore Elementary School but wanted to help improve the school for local children currently attending, as well as make the school a better place for their own future children. As other FONE groups, the Friends of Glenmore partnered with the school principal to identify key initiatives, which include fundraising, recruiting kindergarten students, and improving the reputation of the school through community activities. Ben, one of Friends of Glenmore's original organizers, recognizes that if successful, the Friends of group will ultimately hurt the diversity of Glenmore's student population, but sending his children to a potentially dangerous school is not a risk his family is willing to take, and private school is too expensive.

Research Questions

1) How do the interactions of an urban district's school enrollment policy and changing housing market influence the reconstructing of a school community in a gentrifying neighborhood?

2) In what ways are working class family's educational values and traditions marginalized as entering middle- and upper-middle-class residents become more engaged in the school community?

This dissertation will add to the existing body of research on the effects of increased participation of middle-class parents within urban schools by examining interactions of middle-class and working-class community members in Glenmore Elementary School community. The school community is the unit of analysis for the study.

Initial Expectations

Prior to visiting the research site, and prior to making initial contact with my participants, I observed the Glenmore school community from a distance through social media and articles from local news sources regarding the redevelopment of the school community, housing units, and neighborhood amenities. Commentary posted on social media made it clear there were tensions between new and pre-existing parents, as well as between pre-existing parents and the school principal. For example, several points of discontent were shared by original parents who expressed feeling pushed aside by newcomers and ignored by the new school principal. Sentiments such as, "things are not like they used to be" and "no one asked us" were regularly posted on Facebook in response to new activities replacing traditional school events. Likewise, the comment

sections following articles published electronically revealed deeply polarizing opinions on the redevelopment of the neighborhood, particularly in response to increased costs of living and changing social dynamics. In many instances, the incoming "hipsters" were often held in contempt by original residents who felt they were being displaced in their longstanding community.

From the outset of this project, I expected to find disparities in engagement between parents of different social class distinctions, but I expected the root of these differences in agency to be unique to the local community. As a result of this study, I now believe the displacement of original community members, and marginalization of working-class and minority families in Palisade is the result of macro and micro level policy decisions made by the zoning commission, CDC, SRC, and local school administrators in the urban housing and education policy machine. City planners' desires to redevelop Philadelphia as a magnet for White, middle-class families is leading to the displacement and marginalization of those most who could benefit most from enriched educational opportunities and public resources.

Acknowledgment of Limitations

Some readers may question why class, rather than race, is the focus of this investigation of urban policy and parental engagement. It would be remiss to not confront this limitation of the study head-on given the tangled web of class and race in our society. On average, racial minorities continue to achieve lower levels of educational attainment, earn less over the lifespan, and have lower rates of homeownership than their White counterparts, all of which is reflective of significant class-based differences between racial groups. Unfortunately, the scope of this dissertation did not provide the

opportunity to adequately address the interactions of race and class in Palisade or the greater Philadelphia metro area.

While I acknowledge factors of race and social-class significantly contribute to deepening residential segregation and racial isolation within the School District of Philadelphia, I have elected to focus primarily on class-based differences for this project. The decision to limit the scope of this study to differences predicated on social class has been informed by the racial and socioeconomic attributes specific to the research site. For decades this neighborhood enclave has been racially homogeneous, which is indicative of unequal structures; however, the socioeconomic demographics of the enclave are beginning to diversify causing significant social change in the neighborhood and school.

Also, readers will see that in my discussions around race, there is a binary focus on White and Black races with little said about other racial groups. Although there is much to be examined and said about the many other racial groups affected by urban housing and education policy in Philadelphia, I have made the decision to keep the focus of this project on the experiences of White and Black residents because these groups were primarily referenced by this project's participants when discussing topics of diversity and race.

Summary of the Study

In chapter 2, I begin with an introduction to the research site, the Palisade neighborhood, which is situated just beyond Philadelphia's extended Center City, and provide a broader context for the purpose of this investigation. In this chapter, I provide a brief overview Palisade's, and greater Philadelphia's, changing demographics before

discussing the recent reconstruction of the city and school district. A synopsis of state and city policies, in addition to policy actors and notable civic organizations, from the late 1990s and early 2000s is also provided for a foundational understanding of concerted efforts to attract and retain middle-class professionals in a strategic effort to revive the declining city. The chapter concludes with an introduction to the Glenmore Elementary School, agents within the school community, and student demographics.

The following chapter, 3, begins with a discussion about Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus, and field as each relates to power struggles between working-class and middle-class agents in various fields of interaction within the research site. Next, I explain the appropriateness of this sociological theory for understanding class based differences within the Glenmore School community, how those differences benefit middle-class families, and adversely affect working-class families within this restructuring school community.

The second part of the chapter provides a review of previous research on growing middle-class populations in urban areas and the effects of a growing middle-class on local schools. The review of previous work begins with a brief overview of stratification and gentrification in a post-industrial economy before discussing economic and racial segregation in Philadelphia and other gentrifying cities. Next, is a review of the literature on the recruitment and return of middle-class residents in urban areas and a synthesis of previous qualitative research on class-based differences in civic capacity, parent engagement, and exclusion in urban schools. Given the extent of previous research that has been conducted in Philadelphia's Center City, and the sprawling effects of gentrification from Center City to extended municipal districts, the literature review

concludes with studies previously conducted in the city and the Center City Schools Initiative (CCSI).

In chapter 4, I describe the design of the case study, methods for collecting data, and provide a description of the analysis. A qualitative approach was selected to gather stories of parents, school staff, members of the community, and representatives from other constituent groups who are affected by changing neighborhood demographics and the city's school enrollment policy. The primary focus of data collection consisted of interviews, observations, and an extensive review of social media and related websites. In addition, quantitative data sources, such as census reports and school enrollment records, were collected to provide context and to support the qualitative data.

NVivo, a software designed specifically for the analysis of qualitative data, was used to analyze the data. I began the analysis with a deductive set of codes to reduce the data into thematic categories. Then, I developed a second group of codes based on Bourdieu's theoretical framework of class distinctions in power differentials shaped by forms of economic, social, and cultural capital.

Chapter 5 responds to my first research question; How does the intersection of gentrification and the School District of Philadelphia's school enrollment policy contribute to stratification within the district? Based on evidence of qualitative and quantitative data, I argue that Palisade is gentrifying and this, coupled with the local implementation of the district's transfer policy, is creating stratification within the district by limiting the participation of low-income families for the perceived benefit of attracting and retaining middle-class families.

As discussed in chapter two, Palisade is a restructuring enclave of white, working-class families who have resided in the neighborhood for generations. Until the early 2000s, modest family owned homes were passed to younger relatives as a form of generational wealth, which meant there were few newcomers to the neighborhood. Familial and social bonds with well-known neighbors provided the foundation of social capital and a shared habitus within the school community until gentrification began.

Similar to the Center City experience, redevelopment plans initiated by the city's Planning and Zoning Commission and tax abatements began attracting a new demography of educated, middle-class residents to Palisade in 2000. Since that time, Palisade's median home values and market prices have increased significantly, which diminishes the possibility of homeownership for low-income buyers as well as inhibits working-class renters. Newcomers are not entirely unaware of the financial and social hardships created by gentrification of the neighborhood. For example, while discussing the potential for displacement as a result of the changing housing market with Charlotte, a new resident, and member of both the Home and School Association and Friends of Glenmore, she offered the following insight:

"It's about new business replacing old business and housing stock going, pricing going, being much more expensive, parking, I mean, when an influx of people comes in resources get strained, they certainly get changed, resources get changed and that's hard for lots of people."

One of those resources is the local elementary school which receives substantial financial and volunteer support from Friends of Glenmore and their partners. Entry to the Palisade's catchment school, Glenmore Elementary School, is limited to those living

within catchment zone or through highly a subjective districtwide application process that is locally implemented by the school's principal. Although the School District of Philadelphia provides this mechanism for transfer, the acceptance and retention of out of catchment students are largely at the discretion of the receiving principal.

Principal Nelson's criteria for selecting transfers to Glenmore relies significantly on geography and attendance record, both of which disadvantage students from low-income families in the selection pool. The typical profile of Glenmore's successful transfer applicant is a student from one of three neighboring catchment zones, which are also gentrifying, the student must attend school regularly and on time, and preferably be starting kindergarten. Social capital also plays a small role as Principal Nelson gives consideration to transfer students whose parents are actively engaged with the Glenmore Elementary School community or are relatives of other engaged parents. Using Massey's (2007) definition of stratification, I argue the intersection of the district's enrollment policy and the principal's implementation of the transfer policy create in-district stratification by creating inequitable access to the Glenmore Elementary School for low-income families. This chapter also explores Palisade's growing housing market, changing demographics, and social class differences between original residents and newcomers. Qualitative data collected from interviews with participants and accompanying quantitative data derived from the Glenmore School catchment zone support my argument that Palisade's gentrifying housing market coupled with the district's school enrollment policy creates in-district stratification through economic segregation of students.

In chapter 6, I discuss the effects of increased participation of middle-class newcomers in the Glenmore School Community. This chapter addresses my second research question: How are entering middle-class families maintaining Glenmore Elementary as a White enclave school and in what ways are working-class families being marginalized in the school community as the participation of middle-class parents' increases? I argue that working-class families are being marginalized in the school community by the principal and middle-class families, specifically through the principal's partnership with the Friends of Glenmore. The traditions and forms capital of original, working-class families are being replaced by those of incoming middle-class families, who are perceived by the principal as having more valuable forms of capital and the capacity to improve the declining school enrollment. The implication of marginalization is that working-class families, which historically have been the primary population served by this enclave school, are being excluded from participating in the school community as the influence Friends of Glenmore grows.

Bourdieu's conceptual framework is used to determine the ways in which the increased involvement of Friends of Glenmore and their partnership with the school principal creates stratification within the school community. Specifically, I explore the implications of the school principal's value of middle-class forms of capital, which elevates their status within the community while the traditions and forms of capital possessed by working-class, originals are dismissed. My findings have been derived from qualitative analysis of interview transcripts, observations of school and community events, and social media posts. Collected data were coded for capital, habitus, and field to illuminate effective, and ineffective, practices in the school community's changing

climate. The chapter concludes with a discussion of implications resulting from the

diminished status of original residents and other working-class families.

Chapter 2

Context: Philadelphia and Palisade

State and city policy changes went into effect in Philadelphia in 2001 shaping

both the current landscape of the housing market and the city's public school district.

During this transformational year, the city adopted a tax abatement program for new

construction and significantly renovated homes, and the Pennsylvania state legislature

took control of the School District of Philadelphia. These policy agendas significantly

affected the city's housing market and public education opportunities for families by

attracting a new young, professional demographic to the city.

Making Philadelphia Great Again

During the 1940s and 1950s, Philadelphia was one the country's leading cities in

manufacturing but its economy has struggled to bounce back in the post-industrial years.

The loss of industry, disinvestment from the private sector, and White-flight to suburbs in

the decades following resulted in racial and economic enclaves leaving the city's

neighborhoods highly segregated along these lines. By the 1980s and 1990s the

stratification between the city's 18 zoning districts and the city's public schools reflected

the deeper issues of economic and racial segregation of the population.

Mayor Rendell's administration began attempts to revive Philadelphia's economy

during the 1990s, first by enticing visitors with improvements to Center City, then by

encouraging relocation and reinvestment of middle-class professionals. City officials'

first step in doing so was the adoption of a 10-year tax abatement for new construction in

the Center City District, which drew reinvestment from property developers and buyers.

Simultaneously, organizers from the Business Improvement District partnered with

public schools to recreate the image of the neighborhood school in Philadelphia specifically for marketization to white, middle-class families. This private-public partnership between Center City schools and local leaders of the business district became the Center City School's Initiative (CCSI) and marks the beginning of coalition building between Philadelphia's public schools and local businesses. Although this venture was successful in terms of recruiting and retaining upper-middle and middle-class families to Center City schools, it also contributed to the displacement of low-income students and minorities. As a result of the displacement of students, the CCSI later became locally known as the Segregated Schools Initiative by its critics.

Grassroots Movement to Improve City Schools

Ivy Olesh, a relatively new Philadelphia resident and alumna of The University of Pennsylvania, is a prominent leader in civic engagement in Philadelphia's public schools, specifically in the city's Friends of Neighborhood Education movement. In 2007, Ivy established Friends of Chester Arthur, a grassroots, community-school coalition that has since raised over a $1,000,000 for this Center City catchment zone school through grants received, partnerships with corporations, fundraising events and private donations (Chester Arthur Annual Report, 2015-2016). The success of the Friends of Chester Arthur is attributed to the professionalization of the Friends community group, their partnership with the school's principal and their successful recruitment, and retention, of professional-class families to the school.

The popularity and growth of Philadelphia's "Friends" model, a community-school coalition, was the impetus of the Philadelphia Crosstown Coalition's (PCC), a non-profit organization of the city's civic associations, development of the Friends of

Neighborhood Education (FONE) committee to centralize group efforts and facilitate

communication between groups.   FONE's central initiatives include coordination of

realtor tours of schools supported by a Friends group, an annual conference for

community organizers, and internships for those interested in learning how to organize

and sustain a Friends of group.   Although these groups have been quite successful in

accomplishing the coalition's goals for building partnerships with principals, fundraising,

and recruiting, FONE's committee chair admits the lack of racial and economic diversity

of the membership is a legitimate concern. Members of FONE's nearly 40 Friends

organizations are generally White, highly educated, upper-middle or middle-class and are

engaged with individual public schools in catchment zones serving predominantly White,

middle-class student bodies.

Restructuring Philadelphia's Housing Market

Building on the success of Center City's tax abatement, policymakers adopted a

citywide ten-year tax abatement policy benefitting homeowners whose renovations

increase the property value by at least $25,000, which is credited for attracting middle-

class newcomers and real estate developers to invest in the city (www.phila.gov,

Retrieved May 8, 2017). Although there are some concerns for displacement of long-

term residents as a result of reassessed property values and increased property taxes in

redeveloping areas, significant displacement is not an immediate concern being addressed

by the city's Planning Commission or the Crosstown Coalition. Still, policymakers have

taken measures to protect long-term homeowners to ensure protection from displacement.

To address residents' concerns of potential increases in property taxes, the City Council

approved the Long-term Owner Occupant Program (LOOP), a tax relief program, in 2010

for longtime owner-occupants whose homes are reassessed at three times the original valuation (http://philly.curbed.com, Retrieved March 29, 2016).

The Philadelphia City Planning Commission's citywide Philadelphia 2035 redevelopment plan (2007) was the city's first organized attempt to address the city's crumbling infrastructure and declining economy. In partnership with local neighborhood organizations and leaders in business, the Commission developed extensive redevelopment and zoning plans for each of the city's 18 districts for the first time since 1962. The Center City district plan was the first to be approved and implemented by the Commission in 2013, which resulted in widespread gentrification. The city's Planning Commission website highlights the success of this plan for enticing the relocation of young, highly educated professionals and the increased cost of living as a result of redevelopment (www.phila.gov, Retrieved April 11, 2017). In the years following the restructuring of Center City, gentrification has spread to neighboring districts that are enveloped in what is now known as the Center City Extended Area.

Palisade, Philadelphia

Palisade is a slowing gentrifying neighborhood, situated along Center City's northeastern border and the Delaware River. The neighborhood benefits from the cultural influence of highly educated, middle-class and upper-middle-class residents as well as the introduction of new businesses. Redevelopment of aging row houses and abandoned industrial sites is bolstered by the city's cost-saving tax abatements to entice relocation and retention of young professionals. The introduction of newcomers to the housing market, and thus gentrification of the neighborhood, began with the relocation of a community of artists who could no longer afford rising costs of living in gentrified

areas within Center City's Extended Area, then young professionals, followed by families.

Philadelphia's Palisade neighborhood, named for its heritage of working-class families who once relied on the economy of Philadelphia's now defunct manufacturing industries, is experiencing a socio-economic and cultural shift as a direct result of gentrification and reinvestment from the private sector. Similar to many post-industrial neighborhoods, Palisade suffered from decades of economic hardship as middle-class families fled to the suburbs, leaving behind an aging population and vacated business district. During the years of economic downturn, investment of human capital and financial resources in the public sphere, specifically in public schools, diminished significantly.

Similar to Center City, the Palisade housing market and local business opportunities have grown since the implementation of the city Zoning Commission's redevelopment plans. The median list price of homes in Palisade has increased significantly in the last 5 years, marking the sprawling effects of gentrification from the Center City Extended Area. With the growth of the housing market and substantially increased cost of living, the city's tax abatement has been criticized for benefitting upper-middle and middle-class newcomers while contributing to the woes low-income buyers and renters who cannot afford the rising purchase prices of single-family homes (median value rose from $52,600 in 2000 to $215,000 in 2015), or increased rental fees (median monthly payment rose from $600 in 2000 to $1000 in 2015) in multi-family units (www.factfinder.census.gov, Retrieved May 8, 2017).   Empty storefronts and vacant warehouses have been replaced with a flourishing business district that represents the

tastes of the new neighborhood's new millennial demographic, such as gastropubs and trendy boutiques. Although part of a large metropolis, many of Palisade's new and original residents are civically engaged and embrace the ideals of a small community such as supporting neighborhood public schools and local businesses.

Philadelphia and Palisade Demographics

Philadelphia experienced a decrease in overall population between census polls in 1990 (1,585,577) and 2010 (1,526,006). Additionally, the population of White non-Latino dropped by nearly 12% and the Black population grew by roughly 3%. The most significant change in the city's population was the dramatic increase of Latino residents in 1990, which grew by 110%. (http://www.pewtrusts.org, Retrieved March 11, 2016)

TABLE 2.1. Philadelphia's citywide and Palisade's population changes 1990-2010

	Philadelphia			Palisade		
	1990	2000	2010	1990	2000	2010
Total population	1,585,577	1,517,550	1,526,006	7,529	7,303	7,123
Race/Ethnicity						
White-non Latino	848,586 (53.5%)	683,267 (45%)	626,221 (41%)	7,309 (97.1%)	6,666 (91.3%)	6,433 (90.3%)
Black	631,936 (39.9%)	655,824 (43.2%)	661,839 (43.4%)	103 (1.4%)	207 (2.8%)	194 (2.7%)
Asian	43,522 (2.7%)	67,654 (4.5%)	96,405 (6.3%)	88 (1.2%)	117 (1.6%)	176 (2.5%)
Other	61,533 (3.9%)	110,805 (7.4%)	141,541 (9.3%)	29 (.4%)	417 (3.3%)	321 (4.5%)

Source: Social Explorer

As Table 2.1 indicates, the predominance of Palisade's White population continued over a twent- year span from 1990 to 2010 with little growth in the population of Black residents. It is also important to note the disparity in median household income between Palisade residents, $54,205, and the citywide measure, $36,251, provided by the 2010 American Community Survey (www.factfinder.census.gov, Retrieved May 10, 2017). These demographics are indicative underlying racial and economic disparities

with the city of Philadelphia and makes the gentrification of the Palisade neighborhood and the Glenmore School community an interesting case study.

State Takeover of the School District

After years of Philadelphia's public schools underperforming on statewide standards-based assessments and ongoing financial challenges posed by city budget deficits, the Philadelphia School District's school board was disbanded and replaced by a 5 member School Reform Commission (SRC) appointed by the state. In the aftermath of the state takeover of the district, Philadelphia's education system was converted to a market model, similar to that of Chicago, which led to the introduction of private education management companies and the proliferation of charter schools.

A policy window opened in 2001 with the departures of Superintendent Hornbeck and Governor Ridge allowing incoming Governor Schweiker and the city's newly elected Mayor Street to claim the district in crisis, a common tactic used by politicians to create concern among their constituents and to pave the way for moving their agendas forward (Henig, 1994), just before initiating a state takeover the failing district. The new education leaders prioritized centralized management of the district by appointing the SRC and later hiring CEO Paul Vallas, formerly CEO of the Chicago Public Schools, to oversee the leadership of the district. District leaders then moved quickly to form coalitions with universities and non-profits, welcomed the proliferation of charter schools, and formed relationships with education contractors to reform Philadelphia's schools. In the ten years following these reforms, the district's public schools lost 25% of their enrollment (Good, 2016).

Hiring the former CEO of the Chicago schools, Paul Vallas, during the summer of 2002 was the SRC's first major act of leadership. Vallas quickly ended the district's partnership with Edison Schools Incorporated and began the enormous undertaking of balancing the district budget and designing new plans for education reform in Philadelphia. Vallas's most significant and lasting contribution to the district was the introduction of the school choice model and marketization of schools.

The vast expansion of charters in Philadelphia was Vallas and the SRC's most contentious and transformative reform to the district. At the time of the state takeover the School District of Philadelphia included 39 charters, today there are 86. A comprehensive analysis by Frankenberg and Siegel-Hawley (2011) of 40 states and urban areas with large charter school enrollments found there is deeper racial isolation in districts with a large number of charters than found in traditional public school districts. An additional nationwide study from 2001-2014 found the number of Black students from low-income households attending schools with at least 75% homogeneity grew from 9% to 16%, with Pennsylvania school ranked 8th in the nation for Black students attending 90-100% non-white schools (Mezzacappa, 2016). Given these national trends in racially segregated public schools, it should not be surprising that between 2012 and 2013 a disproportionate number of Philadelphia's traditional public schools recommended for closure and replaced by charters were located in low-income, Black neighborhoods (Good, 2016). Superintendent Hite's proposal for these closures was embedded in budgetary policy calling for fiscal responsibility, claiming the minimization of empty seats in schools recommended for closure would increase the number of quality seats by allowing for increased resource allocations in more densely populated schools.

Philadelphia's affluent families have often selected private and parochial school options over public school, whereas poor families did not have access to educational options outside of the public school system. Such has been the case in Palisade where upper-income families historically opted for enrollment in Catholic schools and working-class families enrolled at Glenmore Elementary. Under Vallas, charter and magnet schools proliferated in Philadelphia giving lower-income families a choice in schooling for the first time. The new school choice model was intended to increase the quality of public schools by creating competition among the district's schools and charters; however, the result has been increased stratification and segregation within the district. Upper-middle and middle-class families continue to avoid underperforming public schools by choosing private school options or relocating catchment zones with higher performing public schools while charters and low performing public schools tend to have high enrollments of minority and low-income students.

School District of Philadelphia's School Student Assignment Policy

The School District of Philadelphia is comprised of catchment zones, defined by the SRC, for each of its 150 public elementary schools. Children residing within the district are guaranteed admission the catchment school of their primary residence given space is available for the student. Families who wish to transfer to an out-of-catchment school have a six-week window between September and November of the academic year preceding enrollment to apply to up to five schools and are notified of the desired school principal's decision in the spring. This policy requires parents to make decisions about applying for transfer, and which schools to apply to, almost a full academic year in advance which may disadvantage transient families who either do not have adequate

knowledge to make decisions about which school is most appropriate for their child, or those who move frequently as a result of inadequate access to affordable housing in a preferred catchment.

Applications for transfer to out-of-catchment schools are considered if three conditions are met: 1) the preferred school is at 85% or less of its capacity, 2) the school's entrance requirements are met, and 3) all necessary procedures are followed. The district reserves the right for principals to deny entry to a student, or send a student back to their catchment zone if any of the following infractions occur: 1) The student is late and/or has unexcused absence more than 20 times during the academic year 2) Kindergarten overcrowding 3) Falsified address 4) Student was not given proper approval for the transfer.

Glenmore Elementary School

Glenmore Elementary is a predominantly White, working-class enclave school offering grades K-8, primarily for families residing in the gentrifying Palisade neighborhood. As with all of the city's public schools, students living within the school's catchment zone are guaranteed placement at Glenmore Elementary and those who live out-of-catchment may apply for transfer. Enrollment at the Glenmore School has declined significantly at each data point provided by Table 2.2, and even more so in recent years. Data provided by the district's website, (https://webapps1.philasd.org, Retrieved April 12, 2007) shows a further decline in enrollment for recent years with 358 students enrolled for 2015-16 and only 343 enrolled for 2016-17, which means the school is operating under capacity (450) by nearly 100 students.

Between the 2000-2001 and 2007-2008 academic years, there was little change in the racial composition of Glenmore's student population. White students are the predominant race at each data point over the fifteen-year span represented by Table 2.2. It is also important to note the percentage of White students attending the school rose from 73% during the 2014-2015 school year (www.nces.gov, Retrieved, April 13, 2017) to 79.3% for the 2016-2017 school year (www. webapps1.philasd.org, Retrieved May 8, 2017), while the percentage of Black students enrolled dropped from 8% to 4.1%, respectively. Although there was a significant decrease in the total number of White students between the 2007-2008 and 2014-2105 data points, the vast majority of students continue to be White.

Free and reduced lunch data provided by the National Center for Education Statistics (see Table 2.2) indicates students enrolled during the 2000-01 (85.8% qualified) were generally from a lower-income demographic than those enrolled during the 2007-08 (75.9% qualified) school year, which is indicative of families with increased financial resources moving into the area or transferring to Glenmore. Free and reduced lunch data is not available for 2014-15 because the School District of Philadelphia adopted a policy for free lunch for all students in 2014, which followed a similar policy for free breakfast for all students in 2010, to eliminate burden of paperwork for parents and to alleviate the stigma of free and reduced lunch for low-income students.

Local Leadership at Glenmore Elementary

Since 2014, Glenmore Elementary has been locally managed by Ms. Nelson (pseudonym), a native of the greater Philadelphia area and a veteran principal of Philadelphia public schools. Self-admittedly, the principal is a "stickler for attendance" and she equates attendance with parents' commitment to education, therefore her implementation of the district's transfer policy hinges greatly on attendance records. Additionally, Principal Nelson is a strong proponent of parent and community engagement in schools, particularly the engagement of middle-class parents who she believes to be crucial to the success of the school and the city.

In the years immediately preceding Ms. Nelson's arrival at Glenmore, she was principal of another public K-8 elementary school within the district. Similar to demographic fluctuations experienced at Glenmore, the previous school experienced a reduction in total school enrollment while there was an increase in the White student population and a decrease in the population of Black students (https://nces.ed.gov, Retrieved May 17, 2017). Since Ms. Nelson's departure from this school, total enrollment has grown each year, while the population of White students decreased and the population of Black students increased (https://webapps1.philasd.org, Retrieved May 17, 2017).

TABLE 2.2[1]. Glenmore Elementary School Enrollment

	2000-2001	2007-08	2014-15	2016-2017
Total Enrollment	631	442	409	343
Race				
Black	45 (7%)	24 (6%)	34 (8%)	14 (4.1%)
White	533 (85%)	379 (86%)	294 (73%)	272 (79.3%)
Asian	6 (.01%)	11 (2%)	6 (1%)	4 (1.2%)
Latino	45 (7%)	27 (6%)	49 (12%)	25 (7.3%)
Other	2 (.9%)	1 (0%)	26 (6%)	28 (8.2%)
Free and Reduced Lunch				
	542 (85.8%)	347 (75.9%)	409 (100%)	343 (100%)

Source: National Center for Education Statistics

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[1] Note: The School District of Philadelphia adopted a free lunch policy for all students in 2014.

Community Engagement at Glenmore Elementary

Two parent and community organizations lend support through volunteer efforts and financial contributions. The Glenmore Home and School Association (GHSA) and Friends of Glenmore (FG) work together, and independently, to provide resources to support educational programs and facility improvements. There are clear distinctions between and the two organizations: 1) GHSA is only open to parents of current Glenmore students. 2) FG is a community organization whose majority leadership does not have children enrolled at the school and partners extensively with entities external to the school.

GHSA is bound to the School District of Philadelphia's Home and School Council, which means districtwide standards for operation are determined and enforced by the SRC. The Glenmore School has benefitted from an active Home and School Association for decades. When asked about the GHSA, original residents who attended the school as children fondly recall traditional school activities organized by the group such as a haunted house for Halloween and school dances for upper-classmen.

Currently, nine elected officers fill the group's leadership roles: president, 4 vice presidents, two secretaries, and two treasures. GHSA meetings are generally held during the school's hours of operation, but occasional meetings are scheduled in the evening. The organization primarily organizes special events for children at the school (e.g., holiday parties) as well as fundraisers (e.g., bake sales and book fairs) at the school.

FG is a professionalized community organization of middle- and upper-middle-class parents and additional members of the Glenmore community who are interested supporting the Glenmore School. The group was organized by highly educated,

professional newcomers to Palisade who did not have children attending Glenmore at the time but wanted to help improve the school for local children currently attending, as well as make the school a better place for their own future children. Two of FG's original organizers, Ben and Michael, began by attending FONE meetings in and completed internships with the organization to learn how to create a Friends of group, engage the school principal, and create coalitions with external partners. Today, the primary focuses of the FG, which is a 501(3)C non-profit, are fundraising through building coalitions with external partners and securing grants, recruiting students and families, building a stronger school community for the benefit of Glenmore students. The group continues to maintain a close connection to FONE and is represented on FONE's board by Charlotte, FG's Partnerships Chair, GHSA Vice President, and full-time volunteer at the school.

Chapter 3

Theoretical Framework and Review of the Literature

This chapter presents Pierre Bourdieu's constructs of social practice and the theoretical framework applied to this qualitative study. I begin by discussing Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus, and field as each relates to power struggles between working-class and middle-class agents in various fields of interaction within the research site. Next, I discuss the appropriateness of this sociological theory for understanding class-based differences within the Glenmore School community, how those differences benefit middle-class families, and adversely affect working-class families within this restructuring school community.

The second part of the chapter provides a review of previous research on growing middle-class populations in urban areas and the effects of a growing middle-class on local schools. The review of previous work begins with a brief overview of stratification and gentrification in a post-industrial economy before discussing economic and racial segregation in Philadelphia and other gentrifying cities. Next, is a review of the literature on the recruitment and return of middle-class residents in urban areas market models for school choice and a synthesis of previous qualitative research on class-based differences in civic capacity, parent engagement, and exclusion in urban schools. Given the extent of previous research that has been conducted in Philadelphia's Center City, and the sprawling effects of gentrification from Center City to extended municipal districts, the literature review concludes with studies previously conducted in the city and the Center City Schools Initiative (CCSI).

Theoretical Framework

Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual framework provides social scientists theoretical tools for understanding the significance of class-based differences in power struggles within social spheres. Increasingly, researchers are turning to Bourdieu's theory of social practice to understand differences between socioeconomic classes in educational opportunities and how these differences lead to disparities between middle-class and working-class families in urban school communities (Horvat, 2003). Bourdieu's concept of class is not solely defined by occupation and wealth but includes all aspects of one's socialization such as geography and ethnicity. This framework is especially useful for understanding social dynamics in the Glenmore School Community as Palisade diversifies from decades of a static white, working-class citizenry to a growing middle-class and slightly more diverse racial demographic.

Bourdieu hypothesized agents, or individual actors, understand the social world from a socialized perspective that begins from early childhood and becomes ingrained the subconscious, forming the habitus that shapes each person's understanding of events and perceptions of interactions. This theoretical perspective suggests forms of capital; social, cultural and economic, possessed by individuals is central to one's power and influence over others in the social world. Individuals with similar habitus and forms of capital, symbolic or actual, that are valued by the dominant group in any given field are most influential in those social situations and are better positioned to implement practices to secure preferred outcomes (Bourdieu, 1993). Fields of interaction are described as structured spaces, such as a school community, where each actor's class, habitus, and capital are either valued or diminished depending on the given field. Central to

Bourdieu's theory is the ongoing struggle for power between social groups in the social world and the activation of forms of capital by agents in various fields of interaction to influence desired outcomes.

Forms of Capital

Economic capital is a fairly straightforward; those with access to financial resources, both actual and symbolic, are the beneficiaries of economic capital, but social and cultural capital are a bit more ambiguous. Social capital relies on one's social network and their ability to form coalitions with others who have access to valued resources or those with the power to influence outcomes within fields of interaction. Although never clearly defined by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1993, & 1977), cultural capital is developed from the beginning of socialization and is transferred through socialization within the family and various fields of interaction. Education, appreciation for art and music, as well as professional titles, are all forms of cultural capital that provide distinctions between the middle-class and working-class (Susen & Turner, 2011, Bourdieu, 1993). It is the totality of these forms of capital that shapes individual's habitus and the practices employed by agents to achieve their goals and secure power in social fields.

A Note on Habitus

As previously mentioned, the habitus is one's subconscious dispositions and preferences resulting from socialization that begins during early childhood within the family and continues to develop throughout experience and exposures to various fields of interaction. Bourdieu's original theory surmised the habitus to be shaped by one's gender, ethnicity, and geographic location but did not include race. Horvat's paper

(2003), *The Interactive Effects of Race and Class* makes the argument that given

Bourdieu's conceptualization of habitus as encompassing all social experiences as result

of one's exposure and social position, that race cannot be excluded from this theoretical

framework (p. 2).

According to Bourdieu, the behavior of each agent should not be analyzed

individually, but rather within the context of the field (Susen & Turner, 2011). Within

each field, there are options for practice or action, but only certain practices will be

successful depending on the social setting in which the practice takes place. Thus, it is

those with valued capital and demonstrated habitus deemed appropriate by the dominant

group that will be most successful in the pursuit of their interests.

$$[(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice$$

Figure 3-1. Diagram of Bourdieu's conceptual formula taken from Distinction (Bourdieu,

1984, p. 101)

Applying Bourdieuian Perspective to the Urban School Community

Middle-class residents' forms of capital have the ability to benefit not only their

own children but also those of working-class families in urban schools suffering from

inadequate funding and educational resources. Although these contributions of capital

can be beneficial to all students, the ability of middle-class parents to provide additional

aid appears to contribute to an unequal power differential between parent groups.

Middle-class parents whose social networks are perceived as beneficial in building

coalitions with external partners (e.g., local business leaders) have more valuable social

capital than working-class parents, just as those with cultural capital (e.g., professional

parents with the ability to lead grant writing workshops) are likely to be given more voice in agenda setting for school initiatives. The most significant form of capital in underfunded urban districts is economic capital, the ability to provide direct financial support, which typically yields the most power in parent-school relationships. Posey-Maddox (2012) and Horvat et. al. (2003) found in separate studies of parental engagement in urban schools that parents who possess the highest valued forms of capital within fields of interaction were given more voice in agenda setting than those of lower-socioeconomic status. In both cases, these power differentials between parent groups led to increased tension between parents and significantly limited working-class parents' engagement in school initiatives.

Social Reproduction Theories: Other Considerations

Although there are alternative social reproduction theories to consider, such as Bowles and Gintis's Schools theory and Basil Bernstein's Linguistics theory, the interactions of habitus and class presented in Bourdieu's conceptual framework are most appropriate for examining the complex issues of educational opportunity and community engagement in this particular school environment. Given the habitus is the compilation of all of one's lived experience, including race and geography, I believe the inclusion of habitus in the analysis of interactions between original residents, newcomers, and the school is necessary for understanding the intricacies of these relationships. Additionally, it is important to understand how various forms of capital in fields of interaction (e.g., the school and neighborhood), are valued or devalued in the struggle for power between original residents and newcomers.

Glenmore Elementary School has been a central place of social interaction in the Palisade community for many years. Generations of the neighborhood's working-class families take pride in the fact that they attended the school and now send their children to the same school they grew up in. Until the recent influx of middle-class newcomers joining the school community, this tight-knit group relied on their cultural and social capital to influence policy and decisions affecting the greater school community. As the neighborhood and school are restructured by a growing middle-class, the once powerful influence of the working-class "towners'" cultural, economic and social capital is being diminished by the new economic and social capital of newcomers.

<div align="center">Review of the Literature</div>

Stratification & Gentrification

In *Categorically Unequal*, Massey (2007) defines stratification as "inequitable access to scarce resources" as a result of the unequal distribution of people across social classes. Furthermore, access to resources is ascribed to each person's position in the social hierarchy, which has been exacerbated in a post-industrial economy favoring advanced educational attainment and professionalism. In today's economic system, inequitable access to goods and services is created and perpetuated by mechanisms of exploitation and opportunity hoarding, when those at the top of the social hierarchy control access to resources. Categories by which people are classified in the social hierarchy are dependent on individual's schemas, or ways of classifying others in the social system, are dependent on how individuals use these schemas to evaluate themselves in comparison to others in fields of interaction.

Fischer and Mattson's (2009) review of historical documents tracing class-based divisions in the United States from 1970 to 2005 revealed deeply widening economic inequality as a result of differing levels of educational attainment between low-income and high-income households. This study also found that over time, there has been in increase of college graduates moving to city centers with rising economies whereas those without a college education are residing in declining metropolitan areas and suburban areas (p. 443). Displacement of low-income residents is in part due to incentives for middle-class homebuyers in redeveloping urban areas, such as tax abatements, while low-income homeowners and renters are pushed out by rising costs of living (Chaskin, 2013; Lipman, 2009; Lipman, 2008). According to Flippen's (2001) analysis of data derived from the 1990 census, those at most risk for residential stratification are Black and Latino residents because they are less likely than White residents to own their homes, and therefore are at higher risk for suffering negative effects of inflated costs of living.

Similarly, Lipman's (2009) review of federal housing policies and education policies affecting mixed-income schools in Chicago found urban housing policy to be a lead contributor to inequality, displacement, and racial containment in schools as a result of policies favoring those with more cultural and financial capital. Lipman's pattern of class-based inequality in urban schools was substantiated by Rothwell's (2012) analysis of national metro data on school populations, in which pattern of significant economic segregation emerged in northeastern urban schools with the poorest students attending schools with lowest test scores. For low-income families, the results of gentrification in redeveloping urban areas are often displacement, social exclusion, and isolation from needed social resources (Frankenberg, 2013; de Souza Briggs, 2005).

Divided Cities

In recent years the number of young professionals living and working in cities has been increasing as relocation and retention improves. Unlike their predecessors, the new middle-class is choosing to stay in urban neighborhoods as they begin families rather than relocating to suburban communities (Lipman, 2008). Attractive amenities, cultural experiences, and affordable housing are attracting young families to remain in or move to, gentrifying enclaves (Feldman, 2014). Redevelopment of blighted neighborhoods and conversion of post-industrial wastelands to attractive residential buildings is a national trend that has been enticing gentrifiers (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008) to urban communities at dramatic rates and is predicted to continue for at least another decade (Leinberger, 2008).

As metropolitan areas experience economic growth and cultural change, existing working-class residents and new middle-class residents find themselves at cultural and socioeconomic odds, often avoiding meaningful interaction through participating in parallel play (DeSena & Shortell, 2012), which allows them to acknowledge the existence of the other while maintaining focus on their own social group. In gentrifying neighborhoods, interactions between social classes tend to be easily navigated until conflicting ideologies and priorities collide within fields of interaction (Bourdieu, 1977). Chaskin's (2013) review of Chicago's Plan for Transformation, a policy for integrating mixed-income communities, found that institutional actors (e.g., property developers and community organizations) add to social exclusion and ultimately work against integrating economically diverse groups because they fail to create opportunities for meaningful interactions.

Middle-Class Families in Urban Neighborhoods and Schools

Renewed interest of middle-class families in urban schools often contributes to increased stratification between schools within large districts. Rothwell's (2012) analysis of national data for urban public schools from the 2010-2011 academic year revealed students attending northeastern urban schools were likely to be highly segregated by economic status and students attending schools with lowest standardized test scores were more often from low-income families. Given the tendency for minority families to reside in low-economic enclaves and disparities in homeownership between White and minority families (Good, 2016; Rothstein, 2014; Chaskin, 2013; Rothwell, 2012; & Flippen, 2001), one can reasonably assume poor students of color are more likely to attend some of the lowest quality schools in large urban districts.   Bonilla-Silva (2006) argues this type of color-blind racism is framed in "abstract liberalism" (p. 28), which allows White people ignore structural racism that limits the participation of minorities in the job market and hinders their abilities to reside in middle-class enclaves with high performing public schools.

Robert and Lakes's (2016) qualitative study of middle-class mothers in gentrified, and gentrifying, Atlanta, Georgia neighborhoods with predominantly white, professional class demographics were given preferential treatment by school staff because of strong social ties in their communities, civic engagement and value of shared cultural capital. Interestingly, while these parent-gentrifiers claimed diversity within the school population was a salient reason for selecting urban, public schools for their children, their actions were often counterproductive to enhancing diversity within their schools. Additionally, the researchers found these highly engaged mothers to be savvy at

"working the system" (p. 209) by activating social capital to influence school-based initiatives, which ultimately had an adverse effect on the diversity of school population. Numerous investigations of parental engagement in schools (Roberts & Lakes, 2016; Bloomfield Cucchiara, 2013; Posey-Maddox, 2012; & Martinez-Cosio, 2010) produced similar findings to those of Robert and Lakes; the benefits of middle-class parental engagement may come at the cost of the exclusion of parents of lower-socioeconomic status and may exacerbate social, cultural and economic isolation in schools.

Diem, Cleary, Ali and Frankenberg's (2014) comparison study of two urban-suburban school districts found the micro-level actions of highly educated, middle-class residents contribute to macro-level consequences within the school districts. At these sites, upper-class parents contributed to within district stratification by focusing efforts to improve only the schools within their attendance zones rather than contributing to changes with the potential to benefit the larger district. This study compared county-wide districts in Raleigh, NC, and Louisville, KY, both of which had suburban, white enclaves situated on the borders of densely populated center cities with significant populations of low-income, Black families, allowing for deeply segregated and stratified schools within both districts. Petrilli and Scull's (2010) analysis of 2007-2008 the federal governments Common Core of Data also revealed a national pattern of "Private-public schools," or "enclave schools" (Diem, et. al, 2014), that continue to develop within racially and economically segregated catchment areas as a result of public policies and community based decisions favoring wealthier residents in urban districts.

Middle-Class Parents: School Choice

As increasing numbers of middle-class parents enroll their children in public schools within urban catchments zones and make housing decisions based on school catchment, families of lower-socioeconomic status experience an increase in exclusionary practices (Roberts & Lakes, 2014). Brunar and Ambrose's (2016) ethnographic investigation of a school choice models in Stockholm, Sweden situated within urban communities separated by socio-economic and ethnic distinctions found market models of education providers to be significantly affected by parents' perceptions of symbolic capital, or the school's reputation for providing strong networks and a desirable student population. Similarly, Bloomfield Cucchiara and Horvat (2013) analysis of ethnographic data collected from a large urban district in the Northeastern U.S. revealed district administrators' value of middle-class families' participation in their local schools led to the preferential treatment of desirable parents and reinforced exclusion of those who lacked desirable symbolic capital. In each of these studies, Bunar and Ambrose (2016) and Bloomfield Cucchiara and Horvat (2013) concluded the marketization of education and middle-class parents' perceptions of school quality are strongly correlated to increased racial and economic segregation of students within urban districts

A number of qualitative studies (Bunar & Ambrose, 2016; Roberts & Lakes, 2014; Bloomfield Cucchiara & Horvat, 2013; Kimelberg & Billingham; 2012) examining factors influencing middle-class parents' decisions to enroll their children in urban public schools revealed socioeconomic and racial homogeneity in school demographics and connecting with families who held similar values to be salient in their decision making. Roberts and Lakes' (2014) investigation of middle-class mothers' school selection in

Atlanta, Georgia revealed some participants begin the decision-making process for school

enrollment prior to having children of their own. This investigation revealed highly

educated, middle-class residents engage in their local school communities prior to

enrollment to seek out like-minded parents who share similar habitus and capital.

Additionally, middle-class residents sought out opportunities to influence school-based

decisions to ensure the school would suit the needs of their future children. Middle-class

mothers in this study reported volunteering at the school prior to enrollment was crucial

in the decision-making process and that the school system could be changed "if a critical

mass of like-minded people took an interest" (p. 210) in school-based initiatives.

Civic Capacity: Class Based Differences

Civic capacity, defined by Stone (2001) as "various sectors of the community

coming together to solve a major problem" (p. 4), which is different from social capital,

individual's activation personal social connections to achieve an end. Researchers and

education strategists agree that while both civic capacity and social capital are needed to

effect change in education systems, lasting improvements cannot be sustained without the

civic capacity of middle-class agents. Lewis and Diamond's (2015), *Despite the Best*

Intentions, suggests college-educated, professional parents are more likely to have civic

capacity resulting from successful coalitions with community organizers and education

reformers positioning middle-class parents to confront macro-level issues within the

school context. On the other hand, working-class individuals may have social capital

within the school community but are not able to form long-term partnerships with

education allies to sustain significant change.

Middle-Class Parents and Civic Engagement in Urban Public Schools

Several investigations of middle-class parent networks found middle-class parents are better positioned than working-class parents to activate social and cultural capital to push their agendas forward (Lewis & Diamond, 2015; Horvat, Weininger, & Lareau, 2003; Stone, et. at., 2001).   As the number of middle-class parents choosing urban schools increases so does their participation in school initiatives and agenda setting. Previous investigations of relationships between school personnel and parent networks support the validity of perceived benefits bestowed upon middle-class families. Cucchiara and Horvat's (2009) comparative case study of two urban elementary schools found administrators preferred middle-class families' capabilities to contribute valued forms of capital and gave preferential treatment to these families.   For example, middle-class parents involved in one of the research sites influenced the principal's implementation of the school's transfer policy resulting in the limitation transfer students accepted. Furthermore, parents of transfer students who were accepted were marginalized by middle-class parents and as labeled "others" (p. 994), by middle-class parents during conversations with school staff.

Horvat et al.'s (2003) ethnographic investigation of parent networks in a Midwestern school community illuminated significant class-based differences in parent networks and the successful, or unsuccessful mobilization of these networks in securing desired outcomes. A key finding of this study is middle-class parents' tendencies to employ social networks when confronting issues at school whereas lower-income parents tend to act individually when confronting issues at the school. Similarly, Lewis and Diamond (2015) found middle-class parent networks are more successful activating

collective social and cultural capital or civic capacity, to achieve desired outcomes within the school, therefore, middle-class parents are better positioned than low-income parents to influence school agendas and initiatives (Lewis & Diamond, 2015). Social capital and civic capacity advantages middle-class parent networks in moving their agendas forward, whereas working-class parents tend to lack civic capacity and often prefer to confront situations as individuals rather than as a collective unit (Stone, et. al., 2001).

Working-Class Parents and School Engagement

Structural inequalities, political and economic structures that are patterned by race (p.9), reinforce class and racial hierarchies limiting participation in school engagement and create, or reinforce, inequalities between low-income and upper-income student populations (Lewis & Diamond, 2015). Additionally, working-class and minority parents with lower levels of education are not as effective as professional and middle-class parents in influencing the school experience for their children because they lack capital (Lewis & Diamond, 2015; Rothstein, 2014) and frequently report feeling alienated in the educational process (Cuccharia & Horvat, 2009; Evans & Shirley, 2008). Martinze-Cosio (2010) found ineffective communication practices and cultural differences in determining appropriate behaviors for confronting problems at the school compound barriers to engagement for minority and immigrant parents.

Neighborhood leaders from Philadelphia's low-income municipalities believe they and their constituents have been forgotten by city policymakers as resources continue to be allocated to redeveloping neighborhoods for the benefit of attracting middle-class residents rather than fix existing problems within declining neighborhoods. These political decisions intensify a lack of trust between working-class citizens and

policymakers, which inhibits coalition building between members of these communities and city leaders (Gold, et. al., 2007). Further complicating the matter is the district's market model of educating the city's children. Philadelphia's school choice model promotes an environment of centralized parental and community focus on individual schools rather than macro level changes that have potential to benefit the entire district. As depicted by Diem et. al's (2014) study, micro-level actions of upper- and middle-class parent and community organizations have potential to cause macro-level consequences for low-income and minority students in large, stratified districts.

Coalitions are crucial for achieving district-wide, macro-level changes and for sustaining change. Philadelphia's Friends of Neighborhood Education (FONE), a professionalized organization of upper-class and middle-class parents and community members, whose partnerships with principals to recruit and retain middle-class families (Cohen & Palazzolo, 2014) has been very effective in building coalitions in gentrified, and gentrifying neighborhoods have a great deal of influence within the School District of Philadelphia. Friends of groups appear to contribute to stratification within the district by focusing efforts only on the public school within their catchment.

Professionalizing Parent Groups & Consequences of Exclusionary Behaviors

Martinez-Cosio (2010) and Posey-Maddox's (2013) qualitative investigations of organized parental involvement in urban schools found middle-class parents have significant leverage over working-class and lower-class parents due to differences in their social, financial and cultural capital. Each of these studies employed Bourdieu's forms of capital framework, as well as concepts of habitus and field to understand the effects of increased middle-class parental engagement. In each case, the investigators concluded

middle-class parents were able to successfully activate forms of capital in fields of interaction, which allied them with school personnel and effectively excluded the participation of lower class parents in school initiatives and agenda setting.

Martinez-Cosio's (2010) ethnographic study of parent engagement at an urban, California school examined the effects of class and race in agenda setting during a contentious period of school reform. This study is of particular interest because examines the role of racialized groups in utilizing resources and capacity to affect change in contested fields of interaction (p. 287).   Of the three participant groups: affluent, white parents, working-class, Latino and working-class, Black parents, the affluent, white parents were best positioned to activate civic capacity and forms of capital within the field of interaction.

Although previous research overwhelmingly concludes adverse effects of increased middle-class participation in urban schools, there are outliers such as Evans and Shirley's (2008) study of parent and community engagement in Boston Public Schools. This study focused on community-based organizations and the Boston Parent Organizing Network, which together took a moral leadership approach to improving the school experience for minorities, working-class, and immigrant groups that had previously experienced marginalization in the school community. Findings from this study are so unique because it is one of the few that highlights positive school community outcomes as a result of civically engaged working-class, minority parents.

Center City Schools

Maia Bloomfield Cucchiara's, *Marketing Schools Marketing Cities* (2013), is an ethnographic study of parent and community engagement Philadelphia's Center City Schools. The study examined the coalitions between Philadelphia's Center City Business Improvement District and the Center City Schools Initiative. Specifically, Bloomfield Cucchiara studied a highly professionalized parent group at Grant Elementary (pseudonym) and the effects of increased participation of upper-middle-class and middle-class parents on the reconstruction of the school community. Over the course of two years, Bloomfield Cucchiara attended parent-teacher organization meetings, observed community, and school events, and conducted semi-structured interviews with parents, school and district personnel, as well as coalition partners. An analytical lens derived from Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework of social practice was used to create unique codes for class, habitus, and forms of capital to provide an understanding of the effects of increased middle-class engagement in the Center City Schools.

Parental participation in Grant Elementary activities was prolific, although there were observed differences in the types of activities parents engaged in depending on their socioeconomic position and race. Upper-middle-class and middle-class parents took the lead on core curriculum issues, marketing, communication, student recruitment, and significant fundraising efforts for the redevelopment of the school's playground and refurbishing of the library. Whereas working-class parents were more likely to organize smaller fundraising efforts such as direct sales and volunteer at back to school night activities. Bloomfield Cucchiara explains parent's agendas for Grant differed depending on their socioeconomic class. For example, upper-middle-class and middle-class parents

were continually looking for ways to make the school better, while working-class parents were more interested maintaining the status quo (p. 142).

Benefits and Consequences of Middle-Class Involvement in Center City Schools

Benefits and unintended consequences of increased upper-middle-class and middle-class involvement in the Center City schools are equally analyzed by Bloomfield Cucchiara. The resurgence of the "neighborhood" public elementary school, infusion of upper-middle-class and middle-class forms of capital, improved facilities, and parental engagement are cited as benefits of the middle-class involvement. Additionally, supporters of the interventions argue the improved image of the schools slowed urban middle-class flight to the suburbs thereby increasing benefits upper-middle-class and middle-class capital within Philadelphia. On the other hand, critics of the CCSI's involvement and the Neighborhood Catchment Area Admissions and Transfer Policy argued that these schools were already prospering before the interventions, therefore the resources should have been allocated to failing schools in disadvantaged neighborhoods that were most likely to serve socioeconomically disadvantaged students. Among the unintended consequences of these initiatives, racial segregation and unequal access to educational resources were most apparent to opponents (p.85).

Need for Additional Research

As the interest of middle-class professionals grows in urban areas, and middle-class parents continue to consider urban public schools for their children, so does the need for more research on parental engagement in urban schools. A number of previous studies illuminate class-based power differentials between parents in urban school communities, but the majority of this research focuses solely on the actions and

perceptions of middle-class parents rather than taking a holistic approach to understanding the social dynamics within the school community. To ensure equitable opportunity for participation in urban schools as the redevelopment of neighborhoods in Philadelphia increases, there is a need for additional investigations of school community and administrator's responses to growing socioeconomic differences.

Chapter 4

Research Design

This is a case study of a restructuring school community situated within a post-industrial neighborhood that has been home to generations of a white, working-class populace and is currently experiencing drastic social and cultural changes with the introduction of a growing middle-class demographic. The study examines the implications of local implementation of the School District of Philadelphia's school enrollment policy and a growing middle-class in this deeply rooted working-class school community situated in Palisade (pseudonym), Philadelphia. The unit of analysis is the Glenmore Elementary School community. Data collection took place between September and December of 2016, which allowed for observations of school-based and neighborhood events, as well as interactions with parents and various members of this gentrifying community.

 Although my study is largely qualitative in design, quantitative data from the United States Census Bureau and the National Center for Education Statistics was also analyzed to answer my research questions and support the findings of this study.

Research Questions

1) How do the interactions of an urban district's school enrollment policy and changing housing market influence the reconstructing of a school community in a gentrifying neighborhood?

2) In what ways are working class family's educational values and traditions marginalized as entering middle- and upper-middle-class residents become more engaged in the school community?

Statement on Research Interest

My research focus is influenced by a general desire to understand access to educational opportunity from a policy perspective as well as motivations for parental engagement in school communities. The particular interest in Philadelphia's Friends of Neighborhood Education movement was sparked by previous work by Maia Bloomfield Cucchiara, specifically *Marketing Schools, Marketing Cities*, which unpacks the Center City Schools Initiative from the perspective of urban housing and educational policy in Philadelphia's Center City region. Although the use of pseudonyms makes it impossible to be certain, I believe many of the key figures identified in Bloomfield Cucchiara's text are central to the current Friends of Neighborhood Education movement that is driving stratification and opportunity hoarding within newly gentrifying catchment zones such as Palisade.

Initial Stages of Data Collection

My introduction to Glenmore Elementary began in August 2016 with a survey of websites and social media, followed by introductory emails to the Friends of Glenmore general email address and the school principal to express an interest in learning more about the school community. A Friends of Glenmore board member, Michael, was quick to reply and offered to speak by phone at my convenience, thus began my relationship with Friends of Glenmore. Principal Nelson was equally amenable to a preliminary phone call, during which she extended an invitation to visit the school and provided a phone number for the president of the Home and School Association, who later became a valued source of information throughout the study.

Following these initial phone calls, 8 site visits took place between September and December 2016. Site visits were typically scheduled to coincide with organized school and community events, such as Back to School Night and Parent – Teacher Conference Day, to maximize interaction with parents and opportunities for observations of the school community. A recruitment flyer (see Appendix A) was distributed at Back to School Night, Halloween events hosted by the Home and School Association and Friends of Glenmore, and parent-teacher conference day, but the flyers proved to be ineffective. I quickly realized the necessity of having a frequent presence at school functions and the importance of making connections with trusted gatekeepers for securing participation in interviews, particularly with the original residents, and for collecting other sources of data for this study.

Entering the Community as Researcher

It is important to note that my entrance to the community of newcomers at Glenmore was incredibly easy, as was forming a relationship with the Principal Nelson. On the other hand, gaining access to original residents of the community was incredibly challenging. It took some time to understand why one group of participants would be so readily willing to work with me, while others resisted by either not showing up for scheduled interviews or flat out turning down my requests, both types of rejection were hard not to take personally. Ultimately, it was a conversation with my co-chairs that helped me realize that newcomers, many of whom earned graduate degrees, were likely more eager participants because they identified with me as a graduate student conducting dissertation research. Also, I more closely resemble the outward appearance of many of the newcomers in my style of attire and social behavior (e.g., shared forms of capital and

habitus). It is also very likely that these similarities that helped me gain access to newcomers were off-putting to original residents.

My breakthrough with original residents was the result of a casual conversation with Mrs. Murray, an original resident with a long history in the community, who identified me as "one of us" when she learned I share her daughter's name and university alma matter. With the help of Mrs. Murray, I was able to interview most of the original residents who participated in the study during my last site visit. These interviews provided a crash course in the art of being an effective researcher in the field. It was through trial and error that I learned the delicate dance of asking questions without the use of jargon and the importance of maintaining a professional distance when participants asked me personal questions.

In addition to how others' perceptions of me effected access to these two distinct participant groups in the Glenmore community, I also recognize that my positionality as "researcher" may have affected participant's responses to interview questions. I believe the results of this qualitative study may be slightly influenced by preconceived notions of me as the researcher and the social desirability of both newcomers and pre-existing residents when answering interview questions.

Methods

This is a case study of the Glenmore Elementary School community located in the neighborhood of Palisade, Philadelphia. A qualitative approach was selected to elicit the stories of parents, school staff, members of the community, and representatives from other constituent groups who are affected by changing neighborhood demographics and the city's school enrollment policy. The primary focus of data collection consisted of

interviews, observations, and an extensive review of social media and related websites. In addition, quantitative data sources, such as census reports and school enrollment records, were collected to provide context and to support the qualitative data.

NVivo software was utilized to analyze interview transcripts and screenshots of pertinent social media posts. I began the analysis with a deductive set of codes (see Table 3) to reduce the data into thematic categories. Then, I developed a second group of codes based on Bourdieu's theoretical framework of class distinctions in power differentials shaped by forms of economic, social, and cultural capital. These codes were used to analyze qualitative data to illuminate the influence of participants' ability to activate financial resources, employ civic capacity, and the ability of effectively interact with gatekeepers within the fields of interaction (e.g., the housing market and greater school community). For the purpose of this study, social class has been defined by occupation, educational attainment, and place of origin, all of which shape one's habitus. Therefore, working-class is defined by employment in the labor industry, having some, or no, college experience, and raised in Palisade or another post-industrial community and middle-class is defined as a professional who has completed a bachelor degree, or attainment of a post-graduate degree and originated from a community of moderate-income, professionals. These definitions of class are congruent with those of previous researchers (Cucchiara, 2013; Cucchiara, Horvat, 2009; Horvat, Weininger, & Lareau, 2003) who were interested in understanding class-based differences in access to educational opportunities in stratified, urban districts.

Participants

Twenty-two participants (see Table 4.1) were interviewed for this study beginning with the school's principal, president of the Home and School Association, and a board member from the Friends of Glenmore community organization. Interviews began with this small, purposeful sample to gain insight into each of their roles within the school community and to learn the context of the principal's relationship with each of these supporting organizations. The principal and the president of the Home and School Association became valued allies and constant sources of information throughout the course of this study. Both opened their doors to me whenever needed shared helpful insights, invited me to opportunities for observations, and connected me to additional participants.

My first attempts at securing participants for interviews with a recruitment flyer (see Appendix A) were ineffective. In fact, not a single interview resulted from sharing the flyer at Back to School Night, Home and School and Friends of Glenmore Halloween events, or the Parent-Teacher Conference Day that I attended. Recruiting participants for interviews required me to participate in a number of school events and to form relationships with gatekeepers to three distinct groups; newcomers (e.g., entered community after 2001), original residents (e.g., engaged in community prior to 2001), and external stakeholders (e.g., civic organizer and real estate agent).

I found newcomers and external stakeholders to be fairly open with their availability and verbose in their responses to my questions, which was quite helpful. Original residents were much more difficult to recruit. Despite verbal commitments from a few to participate in the study, my attempts to secure interviews failed. Luckily, I gained in the interest of a long-time school employee, Mrs. Murray, who is also an

original Palisade resident and she recruited 4 more original residents for interviews during my final site visit. Unlike the newcomers, original residents appeared to be more guarded with their responses and asked more questions about the purpose of my study.

Given that a significant percentage of Philadelphia's population is Black, 41% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016), it is important to acknowledge the dearth of Black participants in this study. As previously noted, Palisade has been a racially homogeneous neighborhood for decades and the school's population is reflective of the neighborhood demographics. Although Palisade is beginning to racially diversify, there are few Black parents with children attending the school and only 1 of these parents is engaged with the school's support groups.

TABLE 4.1. Participants Interviewed (n. 22)

Relationship to School	Origin	School Zone	Gender	Race	Class
Glenmore parent, Home and School Association and Friends of Glenmore Interviewed in person	Newcomer	Catchment	Male	White	Middle-class
Glenmore parent, Home and School Association Interviewed via phone	Newcomer	Catchment	Female	Black	Middle-class
Glenmore parent, Home and School Association Interviewed in person	Original	Catchment	Female	White	Working-class
Glenmore parent, Home and School Association Interviewed in person	Newcomer	Out-of-catchment	Female	White	Working-class
Glenmore parent, Friends of Glenmore and Home and School Association Interviewed in person	Newcomer	Catchment	Female	White	Upper-middle-class
Glenmore parent and alum Interviewed in person	Original	Catchment	Female	White	Working-class
Glenmore parent and alum Interviewed in person	Original	Catchment	Male	White	Working-class
Glenmore parent and alum Interviewed in person	Original	Catchment	Female	White	Working-class
Glenmore parent and alum Interviewed in person	Original	Catchment	Female	White	Working-class
Friends of Glenmore Interviewed via phone	Newcomer	Catchment	Male	White	Middle-class

Friends of Glenmore Interviewed in person	Newcomer	Catchment	Female	White	Middle-class
Friends of Glenmore Interviewed via phone	Newcomer	Catchment	Male	White	Upper-middle-class
Principal (2) Interviewed in person	Newcomer	Out-of-catchment	Female	White	Middle-class
Teacher Interviewed in person	Original	Out-of-catchment	Female	White	Working-class
Teacher Interviewed via phone	Newcomer	Out-of-catchment	Female	Asian	Middle-class
School administrative staff, parent of alumni Interviewed in person	Original	Catchment	Female	White	Working-class
Parent, pre-kindergarten Interviewed via phone	Newcomer	Catchment	Male	White	Upper-middle-class
Parent, pre-kindergarten Interviewed in person	Newcomer	Out-of-catchment	Female	White	Middle-class
Parent, children attend Catholic school Interviewed via phone	Original	Catchment	Female	White	Upper-middle-class
Friends of Neighborhood Education organizer Interviewed via phone	Original	Out-of-catchment	Male	White	Upper-middle-class
Realtor, Center City Interviewed in person	Original	Out-of-catchment	Male	White	Upper-middle-class
Realtor, 3 blocks from Glenmore Interviewed in person	Original	Catchment	Female	White	Middle-class

Data Collection

Interviews, both in person and those conducted by phone, were audio recorded and transcribed. I personally transcribed each interview to ensure accuracy and to become more familiar with the data. All audio recordings and transcripts were stored in a data collection file on a secure computer provided by the university. In addition to data collected from interviews, I documented observations and composed memos in a field journal, these notes were typed and also saved in the data collection folder. Social media, such as a blog about local schools and Facebook, were viewed, almost daily, throughout the course of this study and screenshots were taken of pertinent posts about school events and differences of opinion. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 22 participants, each approximately 45 to 60 minutes. (See Appendices B-F for interview protocols.) Purposeful sampling of middle-, upper-middle, and working-class parents and members of the community was employed to derive a balanced account of perceived changes to the neighborhood and school community. The purpose of interviews with original residents and newcomers was to determine the effects of their habitus and activation of forms capital in achieving preferred outcomes within the changing fields of interaction in Palisade. The school's principal, community liaison, as well as a fairly new teacher, and a veteran teacher were interviewed to learn their perceptions of parent and community engagement in the school as well as to determine if changing neighborhood demographics may be influencing the reconstructing school community. In addition to representatives from the school community, interviews with two city realtors and a community organizer from the city's Friends of Neighborhood Education network were

conducted to glean a larger picture of demographic changes and the effects of a growing

middle class in Philadelphia's neighborhoods and public schools.

Interviews were conducted in-person whenever possible, but scheduling

constraints and the preference of some participants required phone interviews (7).

Interviews conducted in-person were typically at the school in a private office or local

cafes. The Home and School Association president, who was interviewed twice,

preferred to be interviewed at his home. Both of the realtors were interviewed in their

offices, one in Center City and the other just three blocks from Glenmore Elementary.

All of the phone interviews were conducted from my office. Principal Nelson and Home

and School president were the only participants interviewed twice.

Each interview was approached with a standard protocol (see Appendices B-F),

dependent on the participant's relationship to the school community, but because the

questions were open-ended, each interview varied as individual responses were given.

For example, follow-up questions were asked when respondents offered interesting

insights (e.g., those who reported they did not follow standard district procedure for

transfer) that did not necessarily fit the protocol.

Site visits provided opportunities for observations at Glenmore Elementary

School activities and events within the neighborhood (see Table 4.2). Observations, such

as differences in attendees at events sponsored by each organization, were documented in

a field journal or audio recorded to be compiled in data collection memos at a later time.

I frequently took pictures, always making sure to shield faces of children, to capture

images of the neighborhood landscape, school facilities, and posters reminding parents

and students of the school attendance policy.

TABLE 4.2. School and Community Activities Attended

Activity, Location	Sponsor
Back to School Night, school	Home and School Association
Kindergarten Open House, school	Friends of Glenmore
Trunk or Treat, school	Home and School Association
Halloween Happy Hour, microbrewery	Friends of Glenmore
Home and School Association meeting (2), school	Home and School Association
Grant Writing Workshop, school	Friends of Glenmore
Joint meeting of Home and School and Friends of Glenmore officers, school	Home and School Association and Friends of Glenmore
Winter Movie Night, school	Home and School Association

Both the Home and School Association and Friends of Glenmore have designated Facebook pages for sharing announcements of upcoming events, future initiatives, and provide a place for members to exchange ideas and concerns. The Home and School Association's Facebook group limits access to parents of current students and school staff, so I had to request permission from the president of the organization to join the group, but the Friends of Glenmore group is open to anyone. I used Facebook as an opportunity to observe the school community from a distance, which was most helpful for learning about the original residents' opinions of school events and policy changes.

Unlike the Friends of Glenmore Facebook page, which is generally used as an electronic community message board, the Home and School Association's page was a place for people to air grievances concerning the replacement of traditional school activities, request information about homework assignments and in-school activities, as well as to recruit parents for organizing special events (e.g. bake sales and school

dances).   Posts from disgruntled parents, particularly original residents, were helpful for

learning about social dynamics within the school community and tensions resulting from

the replacement of traditional activities with new programs. Posts from disapproving

original residents were especially helpful for developing my understanding of the social

and cultural dynamics in the school community because original residents tended to be

more guarded with their responses to my questions about changes to the community

during interviews and informal conversations at school events.

To support the validity of my data analysis, I regularly checked-in with my

participants to be sure I understood their responses to my interview questions by asking

for clarification or repeating back my interpretation of what was said to validate my

understanding of their perspective.   I also employed the use of triangulation to compare

data sources for validation. For example, cross-referencing conversations with

participants about a particular issue (e.g., the replacement of a traditional holiday activity

with a new event) with comments posted on Facebook to ensure my understanding of the

point of contention or event was correct.

Data Analysis

Analysis of the data began with data management techniques suggested by Miles

and Huberman's (1994) *Qualitative data analysis* and Saldaña's (2016) *Coding manual*

for qualitative researchers. Miles and Huberman's was most heavily relied on for

organizing, coding, and visualizing data. I began with the book's recommendations for

reducing the data with inductive codes before developing coding matrix (see Appendix

H.) to link these to theoretical codes derived from Bourdieu's framework of social

practice. This text was also helpful for developing visual representations of my analysis (see Figure 4.1).

I began my process by identifying common themes and interesting quotes from the interview transcripts, then developed an extensive document in Microsoft Word to categorize quotes from each transcript. Next, interview transcripts and screenshots collected during the course of fieldwork for this study were uploaded to NVivo and I coded each document using the deductive codes. This initial approach to coding the data resulted in 32 codes (see Table 4.3) used to analyze interview transcripts, screenshots from both Friends of Glenmore and the Glenmore Home School Association Facebook pages, and a community blogger's online survey of parent satisfaction with the school. These initial codes helped form my understanding of matters of importance to both original residents and newcomers. Table 4.3 reflects the themes commonly discussed, how many of the sources mentioned a particular theme, and the number of times the theme was referenced. The most prevalent themes were parent engagement (103), restructuring the school community (94), challenges (88), and newcomers (86).

TABLE 4.3. Inductive codes (number of sources, number of references)

Catchment (19, 40)	Challenges (28, 88)	Civic Capacity (17, 62)	Commitment (27, 79)
District (17, 37)	Diversity (14, 29)	Economic Segregation (12, 30)	Educational Values (23, 70)
Enrollment (10, 36)	Friends of Glenmore (24, 76)	Goals (17, 46)	Home and School Association (32, 73)
Kindergarten (14, 28)	Marginalization (24, 46)	Middle-Class (15, 47)	Motivation for Involvement (15, 33)
Negative Principal Relationship (7, 11)	Newcomers (21, 86)	Out-of-Catchment (12, 27)	Parent Engagement (38, 103)
Policy (23, 54)	Positive Principal Relationship (22, 44)	Race (8, 19)	Racial Segregation (8, 19)
Reputation (15, 43)	Restructure Neighborhood (18, 76)	Restructure School (29, 94)	School Capacity (10, 16)
Stories of Success (17, 44)	Towners (20, 74)	Traditions (17, 32)	Working-Class (12, 30)

This first round of coding indicated that engagement is important to all involved in the school community; however, types of engagement appeared to be different depending on the respondent's place of origin and class, or habitus. Similar patterns were discovered in conversations about the restructuring of the neighborhood and school, but in addition to habitus, forms capital also appeared to shape participants' responses. Given the significance of habitus and capital, Pierre Bourdieu's conceptual framework

was selected to provide the foundation for the second phase of coding. Code hierarchies

were developed from Bourdieu's theory of social practice (see Table 4.4) to draw on

relationships between individual's habitus, capital, fields of interaction, and strategies to

determine how class distinctions enhance opportunity and engagement in the Glenmore

School community for middle-class families while disadvantaging working-class

families.

TABLE 4.4. Bourdieu's theoretical framework

Agents		
Community Alumni	Community Member	Friends of Glenmore Member
Home and School Member	Parent	Principal (current)
Principal (past)	Realtor	Teacher
Capital		
Social	Economic	Cultural
Habitus		
Middle-Class	Newcomer	Towner
Working-Class	White	Minority
Fields of Interaction		
Community Event	District Policy	Friends of Neighborhood Education
Friends of Glenmore	Home and School Association	Neighborhood
School	School Event	School Policy
Practices		
Coalition Building	District Policy	Diversity
Fundraising	In-school Support	Media
Non-conformist	Principal Ally	Recruit Residents
Recruit Students	Restructure Neighborhood	Restructure School
School Choice	School Policy	

For the second wave of coding, each document was analyzed using the following interaction codes: habitus, capital, and field of interaction. Individual transcripts and other documents were first given an "Agent" code to delineate the participant's, or social media commenter's, position with the school community. Then, each passage within the document was coded for habitus, capital, field of interaction, and practice, to label class

characteristics possessed by each agent within a particular field of interaction and the

practice initiated by the agent (see Figure 4.1). Together, these interaction codes tell the

story of how habitus and capital affect each actor's engagement within fields of

interaction and the practices used to influence the school community.
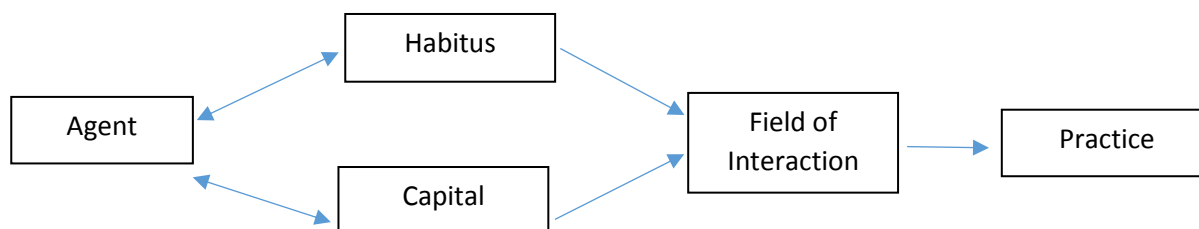
Figure 4-1. Theoretical Analysis Display

TABLE 4.5. Inductive Codes and Interaction Codes

Inductive Codes	Interaction Codes		
	Capital	Habitus	Fields of Interaction
32	3	3	9

Challenges

The most significant challenge during data collection was generating interest in

participation amongst working-class, originals. It was not until I formed a friendly

relationship with Helen Murray (pseudonym), or Mrs. Murray, as the "towners"

affectionately refer to her, that I gained access to this group. My initial interview with

Mrs. Murray happened by chance during a site visit and ended up being one of the most

valuable interviews for understanding the history of the Glenmore School community and

original residents' value of social capital. At the conclusion of this interview, Mrs.

Murray offered to recruit original residents and Glenmore alumni for this study, and she arranged the interviews with all four of those participants for my final site visit. Even with the assistance of Mrs. Murray, some of the participants from the population of original residents were guarded, if not skeptical of my intentions, when answering questions about newcomers and diversity. I attribute the reluctance of original residents to their perceptions of me as being aligned with other newcomers to the community.

Maintaining distance between researcher and participants was another challenge that I experienced during this project. I spent a lot of time at the school and with the president of the Home and School Association, which enabled me to establish congenial relationships, but also created an interest from participants in my personal life and questions about my background. There were also times that I was asked for my opinion on matters that would not be appropriate to comment on, so I had to be aware of those boundaries and deflect questions.

Chapter 5

Restructuring the Palisade Community

This chapter responds to my first research question; How does the intersection of gentrification and the School District of Philadelphia's school enrollment policy contribute to stratification within the district? Based on evidence of qualitative and quantitative data, I argue that Palisade is gentrifying and this, coupled with the local implementation of the district's transfer policy, is creating stratification within the district by limiting the participation of low-income families for the perceived benefit of attracting and retaining middle-class families.

As first discussed in chapter 2, Palisade is a restructuring enclave of White, working-class families who have resided in the neighborhood for generations. According to original residents interviewed, it was commonplace until the early 2000s for modest family-owned homes to be passed to younger relatives as a form of generational wealth, which meant there were few newcomers to the neighborhood. Familial and social bonds with well-known neighbors provided the foundation of social capital and a shared habitus within the school community until gentrification began.

Similar to the Center City experience, redevelopment plans initiated by the city's Planning and Zoning Commission and tax abatements for redeveloped properties began attracting a new demography of educated, middle-class residents to Palisade in 2010. Additionally, citizens began efforts to improve the local public school, which were predicated on the same basic philosophy of the Center City's Development Corporation's (CCDC) for "improving the quality of schools and customer focus" to attract and retain

families to the neighborhood (*Growing Smarter*, 2004). Since that time, Palisade's median home values and market prices have increased significantly, which diminishes the possibility of homeownership for low-income buyers as well as inhibits working-class renters. Newcomers are not entirely unaware of the financial and social hardships created by gentrification of the neighborhood. For example, while discussing the potential for displacement as a result of the changing housing market with Charlotte, a new resident, and member of both the Home and School Association and Friends of Glenmore, the following insight was shared with me:

> "It's new about business replacing old business and housing stock going, pricing going, being much more expensive, parking, I mean, when an influx of people comes in resources get strained, they certainly get changed, resources get changed and that's hard for lots of people."

One of those resources is the local elementary school which receives substantial financial and volunteer support from Friends of Glenmore and their partners. Entry to the Palisade's catchment school, Glenmore Elementary School, is limited to those living within catchment zone or through a highly subjective districtwide application process that is locally implemented by the school's principal. Although the School District of Philadelphia provides this mechanism for transfer, the acceptance and retention of out of catchment students are largely at the discretion of the receiving principal. The district website provides very little information about the transfer application and appeals process for prospective families, which makes it difficult for parents to question the fairness unfavorable application decisions. During an open forum at the kindergarten open house observed during a site a visit, Principal Nelson was a reluctant participant in a

conversation regarding her selection criteria for transfer applicants and frequently returned the conversation to the district's attendance policy and parents' commitment, or lack thereof, to their child's education.

Principal Nelson's criteria for selecting transfers to Glenmore relies significantly on geography and attendance record, both of which disadvantaged students from low-income families in the selection of transfer applicants. The typical profile of Glenmore's successful transfer applicant is a student from one of three neighboring catchment zones, which are also gentrifying, the student must attend school regularly and on time, and preferably be starting kindergarten. Social capital also plays a small role as Principal Nelson gives consideration to transfer students whose parents are actively engaged with school or are relatives of other engaged parents. Using Massey's (2007) definition of stratification, I argue the intersection of the district's enrollment policy and the principal's implementation of the transfer policy maintain this enclave school by creating inequitable access to the Glenmore Elementary School for low-income families.

Gentrifying Housing Market

The city of Philadelphia is undergoing a vast transformation as a result of the sprawling effects of a redeveloped Center City and increasing numbers of young, middle-class professional returning to, and remaining in the city. Redevelopment plans have contributed to extensive overhauls to the city's infrastructure by reconstructing vacant lands and warehouses to office space and residential units. For example, residential building permits issued in the Philadelphia metro area increased from 984 in 2010, the year following the nation's housing bubble, to 3,973 in 2014, with a slight dip, 3,666, in 2015. Meanwhile, the number of homes sold in the city steadily increased from 2011

(11,836) to 2015 (15,601). This growth in construction and home sales is attributed to the policymakers' efforts to increase the city's population through extensive district specific redevelopment initiatives and a citywide 10-year tax abatement for new construction and significantly rehabbed homes (http://www.pewtrusts.org, Retrieved March 15, 2017).

Although approved redevelopment plans are improving infrastructure and amenities in Center City and neighboring districts, other areas, specifically low-income Black enclaves and those with significant blight are not experiencing similar benefits. When speaking with John Berger, chair of the Crosstown Coalition's Friends of Neighborhood Education Network, he acknowledged the longstanding problem of economic segregation within Philadelphia as well as the importance of recruiting and retaining a middle-class foundation for the success of the city. John said the following when asked to elaborate on class distinctions between the city's neighborhoods:

> "You either live in what I call Bostonadelphia, like the nice neighborhoods in Queen Village, Society Hill or the rest of Center City, West Philly, and parts of Chester Hill, or you live in Detroitadelphia, there's not too much mixing but what is starting to happen as Center City expands outward and middle-class White people move into these neighborhoods. They (low-income neighborhoods) are starting to gentrify and I use that it in the good sense of the term, adding value, adding amenities, increasing property values, doing things we haven't seen in the city in 4 or 5 decades." – John Berger, chair of Friends of Neighborhood Education.

The success of city planners and policymakers' efforts to attract and retain middle-class residents can be attributed in part to the Planning and Zoning Commission's strategic effort to redevelop neighborhood districts one by one. This approach allows for middle-income buyers to break into the housing market while it is affordable, then watch their property values grow as the neighborhood gentrifies. Such is the case for the newcomers interviewed, and specifically for Palisade residents Eric and his wife, who have resided across the street from Glenmore Elementary for nearly 5 years and just recently became engaged with the school community. Although the couple, as well as three others who were interviewed, purchased their home prior to having a child, because of its affordability and close proximity to their jobs in Center City, they intend to stay in the area and enroll their child in Glenmore because they value the diversity of the city and value public education. The decisions of these couples to remain in Palisade after having children are similar to Lipman's (2008) study of young gentrifiers which concluded young middle-class residents are choosing to stay in urban neighborhoods after having families rather than relocate to the suburbs when children reach school age.

Steven Meyer, a center city realtor who has been selling homes in the city for over 30 years and is a participant in the Friends of Neighborhood Education's realtor tours for schools supported by a Friends group, believes there is little reason for concern over gentrification because it is happening slowly. Steven believes that while low-income buyers will eventually be priced out of neighborhoods, the process is slow enough that displacement should not be a reason concern.

"Philadelphia has a history of the next neighborhood over. So like what are people willing (to pay), it was Northern Liberties was moving outside Center

City and it took them 25 years to really catch on and now Northern Liberties is ultimately benefiting all of Philadelphia's residents because this supports improvements to infrastructure and citywide resources."

Long-time residents of Palisade, such as Mrs. Murray and Jimmy, provide contradictory opinions to Steven's regarding the pace of gentrification in the neighborhood. All of the original residents interviewed shared stories of people moving out of the neighborhood because they could either no longer afford the rising costs of living, or because they could profit from the sale of property and invest in a less expensive home outside of the neighborhood. Additionally, original residents shared frustrations resulting from lack of parking, constant construction, and a general distaste for the new multi-family housing units.

Gentrifying Palisade

As Center City and its adjacent neighborhoods become increasingly expensive the sprawl of young college-educated buyers spreads to the next neighborhoods over. Leaders at Palisade's Community Development Commission (CDC) anticipated the movement of gentrifiers to the neighborhood and began preparing for this influx of middle-income buyers by land banking properties for greenspace and earmarking blighted properties to be sold to developers. During our interview, Steven Meyer spoke of the CDC's success in attracting initial gentrifiers who were priced out of other areas before relocating to Palisade's vacant commercial sites:

"They were artists who move from Old City up to Northern Liberties…..
And then the Community Development Corporation really promoted the Arts

Corridor and so you've got like hip, edgy, college educated, but poor folks

moving up, so that first wave was, they, they found out, wait, I can buy a building

on the avenue that has like a storefront and I can do my art, like my pottery studio

and I can live upstairs and I can buy this for $65,000." – Steven Meyer, Center

City Realtor

Soon after this initial wave, real-estate developers took notice of the shifting

demographics in the neighborhood and thus began extensive rehabbing of historic

rowhomes and the conversion of vacant industrial sites to residential buildings. Mrs.

Murray, an original resident and Glenmore school employee, told me of the many

inconveniences created by ongoing construction projects and her displeasure for the

newly built high rise apartment buildings. She also expressed annoyance with

representatives from the City Planning Commission who attended Palisade Neighborhood

Association (PNA) meetings to respond to the concerns of original residents by

promising increased property values that would result from enticing newcomers to the

neighborhood:

> "Years ago at the PNA, meetings we would even get told, some of the
>
> newer people were coming in and it seemed their whole thing then was you know,
>
> you know your property values are going to up. When you sell your house you'll
>
> get three times. Well, we don't sell our homes. We buy a house and we live 'til
>
> we drop dead into a coffin, you know, and when I drop dead it will go to my
>
> daughter." – Mrs. Murray

Much to the chagrin of Mrs. Murray, the housing stock in Palisade did increase in

numbers and in value. Standard 2-story homes that were once priced anywhere from

$25,000-40,000 started selling for $100,000 in 2000 (Steven Meyer, personal

communication) and have steadily increased. As Table 5.1 indicates, the number of

owner-occupied housing units and the median values in Palisade's two primary census

tracts have increased by tens of thousands of dollars between the publication of the 2006

and 2015 American Community Survey. While these increases in the housing market

benefit real estate developers and established homeowners, they are also reflective of the

increased available incomes of educated, middle-class buyers who have more financial

capital than working – class, original residents. Additionally, potential low-income

buyers are being priced out the historically low-income neighborhood.

TABLE 5.1. Owner-occupied housing units and number of rental units

	2006-2010		2011-2015	
	Census Tract A	Census Tract B	Census Tract A	Census Tract B
Median home value	$178,500	$168,100	$232,000	$196,500
Owner-occupied	373	1,645	709	2,618
Rental units	284	226	664	925

Source: American Community Survey, Unites States Census Bureau

The stories of original residents' experiences with gentrification in the

neighborhood contradict Steven Meyer's claim that gentrification is slow and not

contributing to the displacement of low-income families. Mrs. Murray said those of her

daughter's generation, those in their 30s and 40s, are the first to leave the previously self-

contained neighborhood. Much to Mrs. Murray's disappointment, her daughter left the

city for the suburbs for a house with a yard after selling her home for a handsome profit.

Two other original, working-class residents who are in their 30s and 40s told me of personal hardships, as well as their friends, who could not afford to relocate within the neighborhood after personal situations (e.g. divorce) forced them to vacate previously owned homes. Jimmy, a Glenmore alumni, and father of a current student, was shocked by the sale of a property that recently sold for $500,000 on his parents' street. To provide some context he said, "I remember when I was working, my union job, you could get a house for $40,000 around here. You are talking maybe 12 years ago. Change. Talk about change." Jimmy continued talking about the rising cost of living, so I asked if young families like his were finding it challenging to purchase in the neighborhood to which he replied, "People won't buy around here. They will move up to North East or move to Jersey. They usually move out." Amy, an unemployed and recently divorced mother of 4 who was preparing to move outside of the catchment zone said, "A normal house around here that would cost you $46,000 is now worth $200,000 something. It's crazy, beyond crazy. If I moved here now, I wouldn't be able to afford it."

A recent search (www.remax.com, Retrieved April 26, 2017) for properties currently listed within the Glenmore catchment zone indicates there is no end in sight for inflating costs of property in Palisade. For example, a rehabbed 3-bedroom rowhome of approximately 2,500 square feet is currently listed for $450,000, this same home was last sold in 2011 for $240,000 (www.redfin.com, Retrieved May 15, 2017), and a newly built 3-bedroom townhome of 3,800 square feet is listed for $650,000. The less expensive homes listed, such as a traditional 3-bedroom rowhome of 1,100 square feet at $194,900, are older homes that have not been renovated, which means buyers cannot qualify for the

city's 10-year tax abatement unless the property is rehabbed by the buyer to increase the

value by $25,000 (www.phila.gov, Retrieved May 15, 2017).

Interviews with original residents and Steven Meyer revealed the financial capital

of new residents has replaced the social capital and familial bonds of original residents in

influencing the housing market. Previous generations were likely to keep homes in the

family as a form of family wealth, or homeowners sold to friends from within the

community rather than listing with an agent. Steven Meyer's anecdote of Palisade's

transforming housing market best reflects the replacement of social capital for financial

capital:

> "Well, now when they move, instead of having, you know, cousin Laura
> and Kevin buy the house from them because, oh we're moving, hey Laura you
> guys just got married and you guys need to start a house, they are selling it
> Jennifer and Jason (laughing) who can pay $300,000 for a row house. So, what
> I'm seeing is the new construction even in the last 3 years, whereas the new
> construction was $350,000 to $500,000 in Palisade is now, in the Glenmore
> catchment, the new construction now is like $475,000-$700,000." – Steven
> Meyer, Center City Realtor

Increased costs of living in Palisade's market are prohibitive to low-income

buyers and renters within the catchment zone is also a challenge for those without

financial capital. As shown in Table 5.1, the number of rental properties in Palisade have

grown by 1,589 between 2006 and 2015 American Community Survey's data collections.

As with single-family homes, the growth of rental units is attributed in-part to tax

abatements for real-estate developers; however, low-income families are once again at

risk for exclusion in this market. Evidence from interviews with original residents and a

local real-estate agent, coupled with quantitative data derived from the American

Community Survey support my argument that interactions between the current housing

market and incentives for middle-class residents is reinforcing Palisade's status as a

residential enclave within the city of Philadelphia. My research findings align with those

of Chaskin's (2013) study of residential displacement of low-income, urban homebuyers,

and renters caused by incentives benefitting middle-class residents and Lipman's (2009)

study which found Chicago's public schools to be segregated by socioeconomic class.

Race in Palisade

Palisade has a deeply rooted history as a segregated, Whitespace nestled within

Philadelphia's historically Black majority population. For decades this racial enclave has

been home to generations of working-class, Irish descendants with a history of espousing

racist attitudes and violent behavior toward minorities. Both original residents and

newcomers spoke of the neighborhood's reputation for being unwelcoming, and at times

openly hostile, toward minorities, but each claimed this tenor is slowly changing as more

new middle-class, educated residents move into the area. Articles in Philadelphia

Magazine, such as Sandy Smith's (2014) editorial on racism, and other local media

outlets, substantiated the claims made by participants about past acts of racism as well as

statements of a more welcoming racial climate today. Alicia, the only Black participant

in my study, shared her experience as a minority living in this predominantly White

neighborhood for several years:

> "Palisade has changed a lot in general. (laughing) Give me time 'til now
>
> and Palisade has changed a lot, especially being Black in Palisade. I mean, it's

still probably one of the least diverse neighborhoods in the city and that

sometimes is an obstacle, but you know what I think it is good for my kids to

know that they are in a city with a lot of people that look like them but they might

not be on their street and they still get to be exposed to a lot of different things.

So I think that is pretty important."

Alicia was the only participant to immediately speak of the racial climate in the

neighborhood and did so without any prompting. During my phone interview with her,

the conversation turned to lack of diversity and race relations almost immediately. I

expect Alicia's immediacy in discussing race is a result of a habitus that is more affected

by race, whereas the other participants have the luxury of White privilege and therefore

may not have the same level of awareness of race relations in the community. Generally,

when participants were asked to describe differences between original and new residents

the conversation turned to descriptions of physical appearance or class, but Alicia

responded with the following:

"Well historically Palisade has a very bad reputation for race relations.

Yeah. I mean, if you ever did a basic Google search, it's like the Palisade race

riots and things like that of the late 80s are like things legends are made of and

they still run into, some, some individuals…I had written Glenmore off for quite

some time. When my kids were first born, because I started following their

Facebook page and some of the things that were showing up I just couldn't

imagine ever having my kids exposed to and then it changed. Like Ms. Nelson

got there and she put the kibosh to some of those things and it, I feel like, the new

community involved and the new people involved have also tried to stop some of

the things that I felt were racially insensitive on their best and racist on their

worst."

Although I was not able to locate articles regarding race riots in the neighborhood,

an editorial (2014) in Philadelphia Magazine corroborates Alicia's account of racism in

Palisade. The tenor of the article, written by a Black woman and longtime Philadelphia

resident, was, Black Philadelphians had long known to avoid Palisade because of

harassment and potential violence toward non-Whites. The following conversation

overheard on a neighborhood street by a White friend of the author in 2005 is provided in

the article as anecdotal evidence of residents' openly racist behaviors:

> *"I was looking for houses in Palisade. At the first house I visited, I was*
> *told by neighbors that it was a nice neighborhood because there were "no Blacks*
> *or anything." At the second, as I was leaving, two White dudes were screaming to*
> *each other in the street, "Hey Frank! You seen Jimmy?" "Jimmy's the n---r?"*
> *"Naw, man, Jimmy's a sp-c. He just looks like a n---r.""*

Table 5.2 provides quantitative data from the 2000 and 2010 census, which shows

the vast majority of Palisade's population is White, with only a slight decline in White

residents between data points. The table also shows the neighborhood's total population

is declining and the only growth in diversity is attributed to a slight increase in the Asian

population (117 to 176). Although the table does not reflect an increase in the Black

population, participants claim that with the introduction of more educated newcomers and

the exit of original, White racists the racial climate is improving in the neighborhood.

TABLE 5.2. Changes to Palisade's racial makeup between 2000 and 2010.

	2000 Total Population: 7,407	2010 Total Population: 7,124
White	6,666 (91.3%)	6,433 (90.3%)
Black	207 (2.8%)	194 (2.7%)
Asian	117 (1.6%)	176 (2.5%)
Other	417 (3.3%)	321 (4.5%)

Source: Social Explorer

Interview participants who spoke of race relations typically attributed the changing in attitudes toward race and a climate of openness toward others to the introduction of newcomers. It was also interesting that all but one of the original residents interviewed expressed an awareness of racist behaviors and knew of racist people living in the neighborhood, but all claimed they personally are not racist, the responses of these participants' are be categorized by Bonilla-Silva (2006) as racism without racists. For example, Amy, original resident and parent volunteer at Glenmore, expressed both sentiments when asked to describe diversity in the neighborhood:

> "When I was younger, never in a million years would a Black family
> move into this neighborhood. Never. It never would happen. Other people, like I
> am far from racist, okay, but like people that were racist would chase them out.

In my younger years, yeah. It was bad. But now look at the neighborhood, it's coming up."

In addition to asking original residents and newcomers about diversity in Palisade, I also asked the question of Principal Nelson. The resulting response provides valuable insight into the principal's perceptions of original residents and newcomers, as well as her personal value for educated, middle-class parents.

"So, the original Palisaders were Caucasian and they did not want diversity in this neighborhood. So, they have left and…..you know, this is the thing people don't understand, racism is really ignorance, so they weren't educated people, okay? They were working class people, they were not educated. They were racist. So there was no Blacks living in this neighborhood. They have now left and people who are educated, of course, are coming in, they think it's great, right? Like, they have no problem with a Black family or a Spanish family. So, the gentrification of the neighborhood caused the openness, the acceptance of the diversity."

Given the district's allowance for discretion in the implementation of enrollment policy, which is discussed later in this chapter, Principal Nelson's perceptions of original residents, value for those with increased educational attainment, and approval of gentrification are especially significant. The principal's value statements regarding educated, middle-class families infers a bias for families fitting this profile and a higher probability of discriminatory practices in the review of transfer applications from working-class families to further protect the enclave school.

Age of Palisade's Residents

Between the 2010 Census and the collection of data for 2011-2015 American Community Survey, Palisade's population of school-age children, 5-9 years of age, dropped in both census tracts, while the number of pre-kindergarten children rose slightly in tract B (see Table 5.3).   At both data points, the most significant growth in population was those between the ages of 25 to 44 years, specifically those in the 25 to 34 age bracket, which marks a growth in millennials and those most likely to either have young children or who are likely have children in the near future. These trends are similar to those included in Center City Development Corporation's Growing Smarter (2004), which reported significant growth in the 25 to 34 age group in only a few short years after the Center City CDC partnered with the Center City Schools Initiative to attract and retain middle-class families. Growth in numbers of young children and young adults is a sign of success attributed to Palisade's CDC's efforts to attract millennials to the neighborhood in recent years. The challenge will now be in retaining young adults and their children in the neighborhood, as well as encouraging enrollment of newcomers' children at Glenmore Elementary.

TABLE 5.3[2]. Age of Palisade Residents between 2010 and 2015

	2000[3] Census Total Population: 7,303		2010[4] Census Total Population: 7,138		2011-2015[5] 5-Year Estimates Total Population: 7,391	
	Census Tract A	Census Tract B	Census Tract A	Census Tract B	Census Tract A	Census Tract B
Under 5 years	75 (5.2%)	351 (6%)	70 (4.9%)	268 (4.7%)	58 (4%)	303 (5.1%)
5 to 9 years	95 (6.6%)	358 (6.1)	43 (3%)	215 (3.8%)	32 (2.2%)	70 (1.2%)
25 to 34 years	250 (17.3%)	919 (15.7%)	399 (27.7%)	1,467 (25.8%)	418 (28.7%)	1,560 (26.3%)
35 to 44 years	241 (16.6%)	860 (14.7%)	219 (15.2%)	846 (14.9%)	225 (15.5%)	1,032 (17.4%)
45 to 54 years	211 (14.6%)	820 (14%)	179 (12.4%)	661 (11.6%)	240 (16.5%)	659 (11.1%)
55 to 59 years	63 (4.3%)	312 (5.3%)	86 (6%)	340 (6%)	96 (6.6%)	283 (4.8%)
60 to 64 years	59 (4.1%)	237 (4%)	56 (3.9)	277 (4.9%)	59 (4.1%)	321 (5.4%)

Source: United State Census Bureau

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[2] Note: Ages included in Table 5.3 reflect pre-kindergarten, early elementary students, and those of traditional post-college years to retirement.
[3] Note: Data for 2000 is derived from the 2000 Census Summary Report
[4] Note: Data for 2010 is derived from the 2010 Census Summary Report
[5] Note: Data for 2011-2015 is derived from 2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-year Estimates

Increasing Income and Educational Attainment

Median income (see Table 5.4) for residents of Palisade between the ages of 25 to 44 years, residing in census tract A increased between the 2006-2010 and 2011-2015 data points but decreased for those living in census tract B by roughly $2,600.00. Those in the 45 to 64 age bracket living in census tract A experienced a smaller increase in median income between the data points, while those residing in census tract B had a significant loss, nearly $10,000, in median income. Although the reason for loss of income in tract B is not known, it is understandable that those living in census tract A would have a more substantial median income considering the median home value for owner-occupied units was $35,500 (see Table 5.1) more than those in tract B at the 2011-2015 data point and there are fewer rental units in census tract A.   The median household income for the 2011-2015 data point for both census tracts in Glenmore's catchment zone was significantly more than Philadelphia's citywide median income, $38,253 (www.census.gov, Retrieved May 2, 2017), which is reflective of the catchment zone's status as a developing middle-class enclave within the economically stratified city. This finding parallels Rothwell's (2012) findings of significant economic segregation in northeastern urban public schools in his analysis of national data for public urban schools.

TABLE 5.4. Median income in the past 12 months

	2006-2010		2011-2015	
	Census Tract A	Census Tract B	Census Tract A	Census Tract B
25-44 years	$58,068	$65,774	$71,029	$63,145
45-64 years	$55,625	$53,182	$58,594	$43,829

Source: American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates

In addition to Palisade's growth in millennials and an increase in residents'
median income, residents of the neighborhood also have higher levels of educational
attainment than their predecessors did. Table 5.5 documents educational attainment for
Palisade residents 25 years of age and older between the 2006-2010 and 2011-2015
American Community Surveys for each census tract in the Glenmore catchment zone.
This table shows the number of residents in both census tracts with a college education is
growing, both those with bachelors and graduate or professional degrees, which supports
Fischer and Mattson's (2009) analysis of widening class-based divisions in the United
States between 1970 to 2005. In terms of those with college experience, only the
percentage of those with associate degrees decreased in tract A between 5-year estimates.
Additionally, residents with a high school diploma or less have decreased between data
points. This data reflects Palisade's new residents' are achieving higher levels of
educational attainment than the original residents they are replacing.

While increased educational attainment and median income may be a selling point
for some, it is also a sensitive topic for original residents who feel demeaned when
comparisons are made by the media between existing residents and newcomers to the
area who have higher levels of education. The sensitive nature of this issue came to light
when discussing differences between the two groups with Mrs. Murray:

"I don't like saying educated because I really hate, you know when some
of the media has been putting out there like, you would think we're a bunch of
cave people in this neighborhood until the new enlightened people have come
forward into it, you know, and it's a really sore spot for me….Philadelphia

Magazine was doing a whole breakdown of neighborhoods, their big perk for

Palisade was, "Oh they're, you know, college-educated numbers have gone up."

The changing demographics presented in these findings are reflective of the gentrification of the research site. Although the demographics of Palisade's population are changing in terms of age, median income, and increased educational attainment, the neighborhood remains a White enclave in a city with a majority population of Blacks. I conclude the gentrification of Palisade is economically diversifying the community while reinforcing the Whiteness of this enclave, and therefore the Glenmore catchment zone. These findings support my argument that the intersection of Palisade's growing housing market and the district's catchment zone attendance policy contribute to stratification within the district by reinforcing Glenmore's status as an enclave school.

TABLE 5.5. Palisade resident's educational attainment for ages 25 years and over between 2006-2010 and 2011-2015.

	2006-2010		2011-2015	
	Census Tract A	Census Tract B	Census Tract A	Census Tract B
	Total population: 1,037	Total population: 4,064	Total population: 1,192	Total Population: 4,532
Less than 9th grade	9 (0.9%)	227 (5.6%)	36 (3%)	105 (1.7%)
9th - 12th grade, no diploma	131 (12.6%)	423 (10.4%)	94 (7.9%)	392 (6.3%)
High school graduate	271 (26.1%)	1317 (32.4%)	169 (14.2%)	1,331 (10.3%)
Some college, no degree	132 (12.7%)	585 (14.4%)	231 (19.4%)	510 (14.8%)
Associate's degree	102 (9.8%)	167 (4.1%)	42 (3.5%)	314 (4.5%)
Bachelor's degree	301 (29%)	951 (23.4%)	424 (35.6%)	1,253 (42.5%)
Graduate or professional degree	91 (8.8%)	394 (9.7%)	196 (16.4%)	627 (19.9%)

Source: American Community Survey, United States Census Bureau

Out of Catchment Transfer Policy and Local Implementation

District enrollment policy ensures children whose primary residence is within the Glenmore Elementary catchment zone are guaranteed enrollment at the school as long as space is available for the student. Until recently, there was little reason for parents to worry about placement within their catchment zone that was until Meredith Elementary, a Center City school, addressed over-enrollment (108% capacity) with the implementation of a lottery system for the 2017 school year. Meredith Elementary is a highly sought public school with a predominantly White (78%), affluent student population, and a very active Friends of Meredith group (http://www.philly.com, Retrieved May 16, 2017). According to Principal Nelson, parents in the Glenmore catchment zone should have no immediate concern for over-enrollment at Glenmore, which has the capacity for at least 450 students and is currently serving only 342 students. However, if gentrification of the catchment zone continues, as it has in Center City, there could be cause for concern in the future.

Additionally, the district's transfer policy which allows the school principal to exercise great discretion in the review process provides ample opportunity for the marginalization of families who do not fit the profile of preferred middle-class families. As previously discussed in Chapter 2, applications for transfer to out-of-catchment schools are considered if three conditions are met: 1) the preferred school is at 85% or less of its capacity, 2) the school's entrance requirements are met, and 3) all necessary procedures are followed. The district reserves the right for principals to deny entry to a student, or send a student back to their catchment zone if any of the following infractions occur: 1) The student is late and/or has unexcused absence more than 20 times during the

academic year 2) Kindergarten overcrowding 3) Falsified address 4) Student was not given proper approval for transfer. The district website provides no more information about selection criteria for transfer applicants than points 1-4 listed here, which appears to allow principals a great deal of latitude in local implementation of the policy. The amount of discretion awarded to Principal Nelson in the selection of transfer applicants combined the lack of transparency from the school and district provides the opportunity to further ensure the safeguarding of this enclave school for White families, particularly middle-class. Furthermore, it is difficult for anyone to question the local implementation of the transfer policy because there appears to be no accountability for the school or the district when parents ask for further explanation of the implementation of the policy.

I had the opportunity to observe a tense exchange between Principal Nelson and a Black mother of a pre-kindergarten child who wanted clarification of criteria used to select out-of-catchment kindergartners at an open house hosted by Friends of Glenmore. When the mother asked how kindergarten students are selected for transfer, Principal Nelson responded with application instructions. The mother persisted, "but, how do you decide?" Ms. Nelson began to answer the question by talking about available space for kindergartners, then quickly brought up the importance of attendance. She said, "I am a stickler for attendance. If there is a record of being late, or not showing up, I'm not accepting them." Before allowing time for another question about the policy, Ms. Nelson began talking about the school's highly qualified kindergarten teachers who are at the school "because they want to teach, not redirect or correct bad behavior, so the teachers want to teach at Glenmore."

During a follow-up conversation with the principal about her implementation of the transfer policy, she informed me of the previous principal's decision to accept a number of transfer students with poor attendance records from an over-enrolled school, which she would not have done. During Nelson's first year of tenure, she warned the transfer parents of consequences if tardiness and absence persisted. At the conclusion of the school year, many of the students from this group of transfers were sent back to their catchment school, which is reflected in the decline in enrollment between the 2014-2015 and 2015-2016 school years (see Table 5.7). Although the primary catchment school for these children shares a predominant population of White students (83.9%), I cannot say for certain that race or socioeconomic status were not factors in the decision for sending children back to catchment because there is no available information to identify characteristics of these students. (https://webapps1.philasd.org, Retrieved May 16, 2017). Principals are protected in their local implementation of the transfer policy because there is no transparency regarding which children are sent back to their neighborhood catchment school, or if these students are then sent to other out-of-catchment schools as a result of continued overcrowding. The following is Principal Nelson's account of the events leading up to her decision to send transfer students back to catchment:

> "Yeah, I know, I say it over and over….it's like, they say you're sending
> everybody to jail. Um…so the first year I was here, at the end of the year, the
> school district policy is that if you are not here and on time you will be returned to
> your neighborhood school. So the first year I was here we sent some kids, then
> last year we sent a large chunk of kids, a large chunk because now you are year 2.

You can whine, you can tell me whatever you want to tell me, but now I'm done.

Like I'm done."

In addition to a preference for students a record of regular school attendance,

Principal Nelson also has a preference for kindergarten and first-grade students over more

senior students because "they don't have to be retrained." Principal Nelson claimed there

were 140 transfer applications for the current academic year, of which she accepted 40.

The pool of accepted students included 16 kindergarteners, a number of first graders, and

a few additional students for advanced grades. Although the school offers up to the

eighth grade, applications for fifth grade and above are typically denied by Ms. Nelson,

"Cause you have to understand I had a huge number of 5th and 6th graders because they

are coming from schools that end in 5th and they are looking for something and I don't

really want to get into that. I can't manage all that. I can't manage a larger upper school,

we're not set up that way." It is difficult to determine if there is a pattern for those

being denied admission to Glenmore because there is no transparency within the school

or district to account for who was denied admission through the transfer application

process or the reason for denial of entry.

The principal's implementation of the district transfer policy positions the school

to attract and retain middle-class families by securing opportunities for their participation

and by limiting the participation of students from low-income families. Given that

middle-class newcomers to Philadelphia living in gentrifying catchment zones that

neighbor Palisade are also more likely to have very young children (e.g., kindergarteners)

their children are more likely to be accepted through transfer application than older

children from pre-existing low-income families. Additionally, the attendance policy,

which counts tardy as an absence, is also more likely to negatively affect working-class and single parent families who might not have access to preventative healthcare (Rothstein, 2014) or reliable transportation because the district does not offer transportation services to children below the fifth grade. From Principal Nelson's point of view, it is a lack of commitment from the parents that cause students to be late and therefore they only have themselves to blame when their child is sent back to their original catchment zone:

> "So what they do now is they, if they get in, the parent has to transport the child, and they are like a good…I want to say 5th grade and up, they'll give them a transport pass through SEPTA. They don't transport kindergarten kids ever, for anything. Kindergarten they won't put on public buses. So like, if you have a first grader, so I guess it also goes back to commitment, right? If you really want your kid to go to that school, as a parent you have to make that commitment to get them there, on time, every day, even when it snows and it rains. So, what I have found in my lifetime is…people do that and then...if they're not really committed the kid doesn't come, and so I say to them it's a nice idea that you wanted to do this, but you are not really following through with it, so then they go back their neighborhood school."

Exceptions to the Rule

The principal also uses discretion in the implementation of the transfer policy to help families who have missed the mid-November application deadline and to help members of the school community who are actively engaged in the school. For example, she informed me that the window to apply is very short and knows people will miss it, so

in the past she has accepted transfers even if parents missed the district deadline. Additionally, two interview participants who regularly volunteer at the school reported Ms. Nelson had helped them either keep a child in the school or assisted with the transfer process to get relatives in the school. The principal's willingness to assist with transfer applications for these families is a result of their expressed commitment to the school, record of good attendance, and the guardians' willingness to support school based-initiatives through their volunteer work.

Amy, an unemployed mother of an older student who volunteers daily at Glenmore said Principal Nelson offered to allow her to keep her daughter in the school even though she was moving out of catchment because she can no longer afford rising costs of living. She said, "I'm moving about ½ hour away. The person Ms. Nelson is, she said if you can get her here she is more than welcome. So I'll stay with my girlfriend during the week and go home on the weekend. I can't just uproot my daughter. I couldn't just uproot her from her friends."

Another school volunteer, Diane, a guardian and grandmother of current students, reported a similar arrangement with the principal,

> "Like the principal helps out a lot. Like I had a situation, my grandson didn't live here in the area and but I had him during the day, after school and before, because (of my daughter's job), so she took him right in, like no questions asked. She was like my god, you got so many here and, like I said, one was a biter that I brought in there, and 2 of them are from foster care, and the other two kids are DHS (Department of Human Services), so she works with ya."

In this case, Diane said the school secretary completed the transfer application and supplementary paperwork to complete the transfer and that she did not have to do anything more than provide transportation of the child to the school.

Declining Enrollment and Racial Enclave

Given the steadily declining student population at Glenmore Elementary (see Table 7), it seems a precarious move to deny access of transfer applicants or to send children back to their original catchment in a district known for closing schools that are under capacity. However, Glenmore is a predominantly White school and, as Good (2016) found, school closures attributed to under-enrollment by the SRC are typically in low-income, Black neighborhoods. Additionally, based on the success of the partnership between the Center City Development Corporation and CCSI to attract and retain White, middle-class families, it is in the best interest of the Palisade CDC and School District of Philadelphia to maintain Glenmore Elementary as an enclave school serving predominantly White, middle-class students.

TABLE 5.6. Philadelphia Glenmore School Enrollment by Grade

	2000-2001	2007-2008	2014-2015
Total Enrollment	631	442	409
Kindergarten	59 (9.3%)	50 (11.3%)	50 (12.2%)
1st Grade	59 (9.3%)	51 (11%)	50 (12.2%)
2nd Grade	72 (11.4%)	44 (10%)	24 (5.8%)
3rd Grade	50 (7.9%)	53 (12%)	37 (9%)
4th Grade	60 (9.5%)	35 (7.9%)	46 (11.2%)
5th Grade	59 (9.3%)	42 (9%)	37 (9%)
6th Grade	84 13.3%)	54 (12.2%)	58 (14.2%)
7th Grade	92 (15%)	59 (13.3%)	55 (13.4%)
8th Grade	96 (15.2%)	59 (13.3%)	62 (15%)

Source: National Center for Education Statistics

A continuous decline in enrollment across all grades between 2000 and 2015 at the Glenmore Elementary School is represented by table 5.7. Principal Nelson and interview participants, both original residents and newcomers, attribute the decline in student population to a reduction in the number of school-age children living in the catchment zone (refer to Table 5.3), return of transfer students to their catchment zones, increased opportunities for school choice, and large graduating classes that are not replaced by equal kindergarten enrollments (refer to Table 5.7). Principal Nelson is adamant the decline is not a result of catchment students leaving the school before completion of the eighth grade.

TABLE 5.7[6]. Glenmore Elementary School Enrollment

	2000-2001	2007-08	2014-15	2016-2017[7]
Total Enrollment	631	442	409	343
Race				
Black	45 (7%)	24 (6%)	34 (8%)	14 (4.1%)
White	533 (85%)	379 (86%)	294 (73%)	272 (79.3%)
Asian	6 (.01%)	11 (2%)	6 (1%)	4 (1.2%)
Latino	45 (7%)	27 (6%)	49 (12%)	25 (7.3%)
Other	2 (.9%)	1 (0%)	26 (6%)	28 (8.2%)
Free and Reduced Lunch				
	542 (85.8%)	347 (75.9%)	409 (100%)	343 (100%)

Source: National Center for Education Statistics

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[6] Note: The School District of Philadelphia adopted a free lunch policy for all students in 2014.

[7] Note: National Center for Education Statistics does not have information available for the 2016-2017 school year. Data provided in this column is provided by the School District of Philadelphia.

Racial diversity at the school is reflective of Palisade's demographics, the school population is overwhelmingly White. In fact, as the total school population continues to decline, racial diversity of the school population also decreases (see Table 5.7) as the percentage of White students increases. For example, data provided for the 2014-2015 school year, the last available data point provided by NCES, the population of White students was 73% and the school's Black student population was 8%. Fast-forward two years to the 2016-2017 school year and the School District of Philadelphia reports the White student population has grown to 79.3% while the Black population dropped to 4.1%. Considering the under-enrollment of the school, it appears increasing racial diversity could be achieved through the district's transfer mechanism if having a racially diverse student body at Glenmore was a priority for district leaders or the principal.

Friends of Glenmore has partnered with Principal Nelson to recruit in-catchment and out-of-catchment families to the school and although FG organizers claim to have an interest in increasing diversity and inclusion their efforts have been insufficient. For example, a diversity committee was established by the newcomers, and of course, Alicia was recruited to participate as the only Black committee member, but the newly formed committee faced immediate pushback at recruitment event when a prospective parent questioned the lack diversity of the school's population and amongst Friends of Glenmore members. Principal Nelson's telling of the event, and her own attitude toward diversity indicate a lack of interest in increasing racial diversity at the school:

> "So, they asked me to do a diversity committee. Mel and Charlotte, and I was like we hardly have any diversity, like I don't get it, but they were initially all gung-ho and I try to be reflective. I try even though I might not think it's, I said

you know what, I'll let you guys run it. I'll get my counselor on the committee because I didn't, that's the other thing I pick and choose, because I was like I'm not going to be able to do this. I put him on it. So they were at a (kindergarten recruitment event) and they are standing up there going we have this diversity….and this parent said, "You are white, what's your diversity like? You don't have anyone on the committee that's diverse." When Charlotte told me that, my response would have been, for me personally, I believe it's more about, in life, not just in this situation, it's more about class than race, right? Because, if you are poor you have the same issues as if you are Caucasian, White, Black. I mean, I've lived in poverty so, I've always related to kids of poverty because I lived that life. I know exactly. So, you may look at me and say she's Caucasian but I was a minority."

Ben also recognizes the lack of diversity in the neighborhood will continue to create an obstacle to increasing diversity at the school as additional White, middle-class residents continue to move in and enroll at Glenmore. During our conversation about the overall lack of diversity in Philadelphia's Friends of movement he acknowledged the detriment to diversity created by gentrification and FONE, "If we succeed at our work, at Friends of Glenmore's work, we will actually probably hurt the diversity of the school. I hate that, but it's true." Given the downward trend of the school's racial composition since the arrival of Principal Nelson and her partnership with Friends of Glenmore, I conclude this partnership contributes to segregation by reinforcing the Whiteness of the enclave school under the guise of improving the school's curriculum and resources for the benefit of attracting middle-class families.

Conclusion

Gentrification of Palisade is creating a cost-prohibitive housing market limiting the participation of low-income buyers and renters thereby shifting this historically White, working-class enclave to a White, middle-class enclave. The increase in residents between the age of 25 to 34, who also have the highest median income and median property values in the catchment, signals a growing population of highly educated, middle-class residents of child-bearing age, which city and district leaders are striving to retain. Behaviors and ideals expressed by middle-class newcomers to Palisade mirror those of Center City gentrifiers who were strategically recruited by the Center City CDC through improvement to public amenities such as the local schools, "Create a strategic opportunity for (Palisade) to become a premier neighborhood of choice for young families with children – if we can improve the quality and customer focus of public schools." (Growing Smarter, 2004).

The School District of Philadelphia's school enrollment policy and the local implementation of transfer policy limits participation of low-income and minority families in the Glenmore Elementary School. Original residents and working-class families who reside out-of-catchment are at risk for being marginalized, and excluded from, in the school community by the intersections of the growing housing market and school enrollment policy. Based on Bloomfield Cucchiara's investigation of the Center City School's Initiative and the paralleled experiences of participants in this case study, I conclude Friends of Glenmore and Principle Nelson's efforts to attract and retain middle-class families at Glenmore Elementary reinforce barriers to the White enclave school.

Chapter 6

Reconstructing the School Community:

Recruiting & Retaining Middle-class Families

In this chapter, I address my second research question: In what ways are entering professional-class families maintaining Glenmore Elementary as a White enclave school, and in what ways are working-class families marginalized in the school community as the participation of professional-class parents' increases? I argue the partnership between Glenmore Elementary principal and Friends of Glenmore, an organization of middle-class, newcomers, maintains the boundaries of the White, enclave school while also marginalizing working-class families. Values and behaviors of newcomers contribute to maintaining the White enclave school, as original residents had in the past, but the difference lies in newcomers' abilities to veil racially charged conversations and racially motivated actions in more socially acceptable language and practices. The implication of marginalization is that working-class families, which historically have been the primary population served by this enclave school, are being displaced in the school community as the influence Friends of Glenmore grows.

Bourdieu's theory of social practice provides the conceptual framework for analyzing interviews with members of the Glenmore School community to understand the various ways the partnership between Friends of Glenmore and the school principal maintains the White enclave school. Specifically, I explore the implications of the school principal's validation of professional-class forms of capital for the purpose of recruiting and retaining White professional-class families at Glenmore Elementary. My findings have been derived from analysis of interview transcripts, observations of school and

community events, as well as social media. The chapter concludes with a discussion of implications resulting from the amplified status of White, middle-class newcomers to the school community and diminished status of working-class originals.

Capital and Habitus: Differences between Glenmore's Parent Populations

Original residents and newcomers differ in various ways as a result of forms of capital, practices in the activation of capital, and conflicting habitus shaped by diverse life experiences. The habitus of participants originating from Palisade has generally been influenced by White, working-class social networks and homogeneous a social field. Shared habitus resulting from socialized values and norms in this White, low-income enclave influences many of the original residents' perceptions of the school community and appropriate practices for accomplishing goals within fields of interaction.

The idea of a community being socially isolated within Philadelphia may seem strange, given the geographical sprawl of Philadelphia and the size of the city's population, however, original residents interviewed all spoke of the close social bonds within this closed off neighborhood. Mrs. Murray's description of the neighborhood's social field best describes relative social isolation and development of shared habitus: "We've always been, I would say my kids' generation which would be the ones in their 30s, 40s, I think they were the first that really…Years ago you just didn't leave the neighborhood, like you know, leaving the neighborhood would be going over to Center City to shop. Even that though, people shopped up the Avenue, up Main Street and stuff. We were pretty self-contained. A lot of people had factory jobs in the neighborhood, you know, so it was pretty much, and like nobody, I know our family, we had three of us on

the one block. My kids all joked, "friends, what are friends? We have cousins." They're not friends, we have cousins, everyone was related to us."

Newcomers to the Glenmore School community share few similarities with original residents. Unlike original residents of Palisade, newcomers' habitus is typically defined by higher levels of education, access to forms of capital valued by school and city administrators, and capacity to build relationships with external partners. The only significant commonality between originals and newcomers is race, as both tend to be White. Differences in habitus and capital is often a source of conflict between the two groups when engaged in fields of interaction, whether within the neighborhood or the school community. When asked to describe differences in social norms and habitus between original residents and newcomers, Principal Jenkins offered the following anecdote as an illustration:

"So you have the original Palisaders, which they've been here, so they've been here a long time and they have the history. You have new people coming in, and I mean you've seen that before where it's like they want to be respected for their heritage. You know what I mean? And they are very different. I can give you an example, smoking, right? The people who are used to living here, they smoke. It's a very old habit, right? The new people, they don't smoke and they also find it offensive. So, it's like, something as simple as that can create a little bit of (tension), you know? I mean they are very different and this is what I try to say, and we've said since I came 3 years ago, not one is better is or worse than other."

This description of newcomers' conflicting habitus during interactions in the school's student arrival zone in the morning is only one example of conflicting habitus during parallel play (DeSena & Shortell, 2012), but sheds light on cultural differences that may appear insignificant on the surface, yet are at the root ongoing conversations about school policy and implementation of the policy between originals, newcomers, and Principal Nelson.

Differences between forms of capital and habitus are also apparent in the memberships of the Home and School Association and Friends of Glenmore. Glenmore Elementary School's Home and School Association (GHSA), which is similar to most traditional Parent and Teacher Organizations, has historically been a membership of working-class parents from the catchment zone who organized small, school-based fundraisers (i.e., bake sales) and holiday events. According to Tim, newcomer and current president of the GHSA, the board was disbanded two years ago "as a result of improprieties," which created the opportunity for a reorganization of the board and the introduction of newcomers to some of the leadership positions. It was at this time he along with Alicia, another newcomer and the organization's only Black participant, as well as Charlotte, also a newcomer, became officers on the GHSA board.

Also supporting the school is Friends of Glenmore (FG), a professionalized community organization of middle-class newcomers whose entrance to the school community coincided with Principal Nelson's arrival. The group's membership is comprised of highly educated, professionals who have the ability to activate financial, social, and cultural capital to enhance the school's curriculum and facilities. Unlike the GHSA, members of this group activate social capital for the purpose of forming

coalitions with external partners, rather than for individual gains. FG's ability to form

partnerships with the greater school community translates to civic capacity (Stone, et. al,

2001) for effecting change within Glenmore Elementary, which has been shown by

previous investigations of parent engagement to be more effective than working as

individuals within the school context to obtain desired outcomes.

 Social networks and social capital are important to originals and newcomers;

however, as the once socially stagnant field of interaction is diversifying, effective

practices within the field are changing. In the past, original residents successfully

affected change in the school by working unilaterally within their social networks, which

in many cases traced back generations in the community. As explained by Mrs. Murray,

school staffer and longtime Palisade resident, generations of families have attended the

school and those social relationships were, and still are, honored by longtime teachers

and staff. The following example was provided by Mrs. Murray to highlight original

resident's activation of social capital to influence the local implementation of the school

district's truancy policy to avoid sanctions from city authorities:

> "Years ago it was grand-mom lived on this block, and your aunt on this,
>
> and your aunt over here and your cousins. It was the same thing with my job, you
>
> know. If one of the kids had a mother that wasn't going to respond, well their
>
> cousin is, and so then I'd get on the phone to that mother and would say, "Your
>
> cousin, you know I'm trying to find her and we're not getting anywhere." "Ok,
>
> ok, I'll tell her mom to tell her to get over there." And I have still have it, I still
>
> have a few of the old traditional families here that I've called and said, do me a
>
> favor and tell your sister she's gotta respond, this isn't looking good, she's got to

call us. And, you know, they will. One got brought in last week by her sister,

like, ha, here she is! (laughs) So it's good, we all kind of know who is who."

As gentrification shifts, the field of interaction, the previous practice of activating

individual's social capital within the school community is no longer as effective as it

once was.   Original residents' social bonds have been disrupted with the exit of longtime

residents and the introduction of professional-class outsiders, who are described by Mrs.

Murray as "transient." Jimmy, another original resident, and father of a current

Glenmore student, also described changes to the social field as a result of newcomers

entering the neighborhood:

> "You don't have the interaction with your neighbors like you used to.
> Back in the day you just go to your neighbor's house and be sitting on the step
> talking. There's no interaction now. I don't know exactly what it is. I would like
> to know who is moving in. A lot of different personalities."

Although original residents and newcomers interact during parallel play, they

typically do not engage in meaningful interactions that lead to shared social networks.

This means each group often acts independently of one another within the school

community and experiences different outcomes when activating social capital within the

field of interaction. Newcomers, who share a middle-class habitus, are better positioned

to influence Principal Nelson and to effect change within the school community because

they activate their collective social capital to influence change rather than working

unilaterally to achieve individual goals.

Civic Engagement in Philadelphia's Schools: Friends of Neighborhood Education

Organized initiatives for supporting and improving public education with the intention of recruiting and retaining professional-class millennials in Philadelphia, such as the current Friends of Neighborhood Education (FONE), are not new on the scene of civic engagement or the city's policy agenda. The first significant attempt to do so was a partnership between the Center City District (CCD) and the Philadelphia School District, which established the Center City Schools Initiative (CCSI) in 2004. Beginning in 2001 the CCD began attempts to revitalize Center City with improvements to infrastructure and amenities to secure the engagement of highly educated professionals in the business and residential sectors. Soon after experiencing success in these areas, the CCD turned their attention to improving Center City's public schools with the intention of improving public education for the purpose of retaining professional-class residents with children so they would not leave the city for the suburbs as previous generations had.

Strategic efforts to gain the support of the School Reform Commission, city policymakers, and residents started with the publication of the CCD's growing Smarter Report (2004), which marked the CCD's first attempt to draw political and community support for improving Center City's Public schools. The basic premise of this report was simply, improve the schools and retain a middle-class workforce. Soon after, the CCD, headed by prominent business leader Paul Levy, partnered with the SRC, then led by district CEO Paul Vallas, marking the first public-private partnership in Philadelphia's public schools. One of CCSI's first public presentations in 2005 was at a citywide conference of real estate developers, "The Learning Curve," to educate the group about

the city's schools. Thus begins the current state of intertwinement between public education and the housing market in Philadelphia.

The effects of the CSSI, which later became known as the Segregated Schools Initiative, on Center City Schools was significant in recruiting and retaining professional-class families in Center City. During the coalition's brief existence, CCSI was able to rezone the catchments of Center City's public elementary schools to create the Center City Academic Region (CCAR), ensuring the enrollment of Center City children within one of the city's 3 most desired elementary schools. The group also influenced the SRC to modify the district's transfer policy giving enrollment preference to Center City residents within any of the Center City elementary schools located within the new CCAR, a benefit that was not replicated elsewhere in the district.   Arguably, CCSI's most significant and enduring initiative was the strategic rebranding of Center City Schools to match the reputation and resources of top private schools. This integral effort of the CCSI continues to contribute to today's elitist housing market in Center City that caters to upper-class residents who move to Center City for access to its preferred schools.

Ultimately, CCSI became a political nightmare for city leaders and the SRC, which led to the dissolution of the coalition in 2008. Critics of the CCSI, both city residents and representatives of struggling schools, blamed the coalition for hoarding opportunities for those schools that were already benefitting from a wealth of community resources and leading to increased stratification within the district. Although dissolved nearly 10 years ago, lasting effects of the CCSI remain in Center City's Schools. For example, as increasing numbers of White, professional-class families continue enrolling

their children in Center City's public schools, the percentage of underserved minority
populations continues to decrease.

In addition to having lasting effects on Center City's schools, the philosophy of
the CCSI has been picked up by other civic organizations such as Friends of
Neighborhood Education (FONE).   FONE began as a project of the Philadelphia
Crosstown Coalition, formed in 2008 by Mayor Street, but was not formally established
as one of the Coalition's civic organizations until 2013.   Presently, FONE is a centrally
organized committee of concerned citizens and business leaders engaged in efforts to
support Philadelphia's public schools through coalition building with principals,
fundraising, and student recruitment. FONE is essentially a reinvention of the CCSI with
tentacles spread throughout Philadelphia's gentrifying neighborhoods. The group's goals
and objectives are mirrored after the work of Ivy Olesh, an upper-class, White newcomer
to Philadelphia who partnered with her Center City elementary school, Chester Arthur, to
rebrand with school with resources and amenities to attract and retain upper-class
families.   John Berger, chair of FONE, and also such an admirer of Ivy's work that he
considers her a "pioneer in public education," described FONE participants as follows:

"So what's starting to happen, led by people like Charlotte, Michael, and
Ivy Olesh and there is this whole incredible group of people who meet every
month. They are really doing something kind of unusual. They are middle-class,
White people who are sending their kids to neighborhood schools that are largely
not professional-class, White kids. I say it like that because that is how it is.
Right?"

FONE's membership is reflective of John's statement, FONE participants are

typically White, professional-class, and generally newcomers to Philadelphia. Catchment specific "Friends" organizations, which are generally located in gentrifying catchments, focus their efforts on contributing resources to individual schools rather than contributing to the entire district. Similar to the CCSI, FONE's goal is to empower localized Friends groups to improve their catchment schools through fundraising efforts, curriculum and facility enhancements, and recruitment initiatives targeting professional-class families. As a result of micro-level behaviors of FONE and catchment specific Friends groups, there are vast differences in infrastructure and curricular enhancements between schools supported by "Friends" and those that are not, just as there were between Center City Schools and those outside of the CCAR. For example, sophisticated playground redevelopment projects that are synonymous with Friends groups are supported by significant fundraising efforts and grant writing experience, which schools without the support of "Friends" cannot easily replicate. The enhancements to individual schools in catchment zones with increasing populations of professional-class residents are repetitive of opportunity hoarding behaviors attributed to the former CCSI.

It is also important to mention John Berger's civic experience with the Crosstown Coalition did not begin with the intention of supporting public schools, rather his initial committee affiliation was organized for contributing to the city's zoning plans. As previously highlighted by the relationship between the CCSI and city real estate developers, there is a constant intertwining of movements between Philadelphia's public schools and residential development. For example, when I asked John, a White, upper-class man who does not have children of his own, why he and residents like himself would be interested in supporting the public schools, he said, "Like, hey, you want your

real estate values to continue to increase, we need to support this school because there is incredible research that shows that the better the school, the more desirable the school, the higher the property values."

Friends of Glenmore

Friends of Glenmore (FG) is a FONE satellite group, organized by middle-class newcomers to Palisade. Founding members, Ben and Michael along with their spouses, are White, middle-class, college graduates all of whom have professional experiences enabling them to contribute valued forms of capital to the school community. Mel, Ben's wife and president of FG, shared with me a pivotal experience with neighbors, also newcomers to Palisade, who influenced the couple's decision to contribute to efforts for improving the school with the hopes of making it a better educational resource the community:

> "So (neighbors were) refusing to go to Glenmore and also public schools in general. So we did see a couple people I know move out and then one of the first times I met my neighbor across the street was when she brought us a giant box of boys clothes and said they were moving because they didn't get into the charter school they wanted to go to and they immediately put their house up for sale that summer and moved out to the suburbs. She was devastated, the mom was crying because she didn't want to leave. I think the culmination of just watching all of that, I mean, part of me wanted to be not part of that, and constantly in the city hearing people talk about filling out charter school applications and spreadsheets (for ranking schools)."

Plans for FG began with a conversation among newcomers regarding how to best support the neighborhood school in a manner that would improve conditions for current students as well as for their own children who will eventually enroll at that school. As Michael explained:

> "I mean even though I didn't have school-age kids I will in a few years and the idea was that we wanted to invest our time in the school to try to improve it both for our future kids but also for the current residents and current kids going there. It's sort of driven by a philosophy that a successful and happy neighborhood school really can be an anchor for the community. It doesn't necessarily have to benefit people who have school-age kids. It benefits everybody."

Michael's early engagement at Glenmore is similar to that of middle-class mothers who participated in Roberts and Lakes (2016) investigation of parent engagement in a gentrifying Atlanta neighborhood. Comparable to those mothers of pre-school children, Michael and other professional-class newcomers to the Glenmore School community are using their social networks and activating forms of capital to influence changes within the school prior to enrollment to ensure the school is adequately resourced when their children to attend.

Friends of Glenmore was initially born out of a regional civic organization committed to advancing improvements to community resources within 3 neighboring catchment zones, all of which were experiencing various stages of gentrification. The organization of FG began in 2013, independently of other Friends groups, but also simultaneously with the development of the Philadelphia's FONE organization. As Mel

explained, "It was more independent because I think they (FONE) were also developing. It was kind of parallel. I mean I don't know at what point they formed, but a lot of these organizations in the city, who are probably behind, maybe 2 years behind or so what was going on in Center City."

Ben and Michael's first introduction to the Crosstown Coalitions' Friends of Neighborhood Education committee was through their attendance at an organizational meeting, "Friends 101," an educational seminar to teach others how to create a "Friends" group for supporting their local school. Soon after, each participated in mentorship experiences, which were effectively brief internships, with members of Friends of Chester Arthur, FONE's flagship school, to learn how to build a positive relationship with the principal, the importance of coalition building with external partners and effective practices for recruiting students. These three pillars of FONE closely resemble CCSI's goals for improving Center City's public schools by rebranding, building private-public partnerships between schools and private partners, as well as recruiting and retaining middle-class professionals.

Although FG attempted a relationship with Glenmore's previous principal members found her to be inexperienced and uninterested in building a relationship with the group. Furthermore, Mel described her as unpredictable when engaging external partners, "She was young and didn't understand the importance of being positive, you couldn't trust what she might say at FG meetings with the community." To the relief of FG's organizers, there was an opportunity for a change in local leadership when the former Principal chose to leave for a position in the suburbs and Mel was invited to participate on the hiring committee to select a new principal

"I was able to be on her, the hiring committee for her and just so thankful we all were more or less in agreement that she should come because she clearly had the experience to know how to bring different populations together and has been a leader for so long in a public school and she got it. She knew what she had to do to harness resources in the neighborhood and to do community building."

Although Mel did not elaborate on her reasons for believing in Principal Nelson's ability to work with diverse populations, enrollment data provided in Table 6.1 suggest Mel's opinion of Ms. Nelson's ability to do so is either askew or misinformed. As the table shows, during the final 3 years of Principal Nelson's leadership at Perry Elementary School, there was a downward trend in total enrollment while the percentage of White students increased and the percentage of Black students decreased. These enrollment trends at Perry Elementary mirror enrollment trends at Glenmore Elementary since Ms. Nelson's arrival.

TABLE 6.1 Perry Elementary School Enrollment by Race during Principal Nelson's Last 3 years of Leadership and the Current School Year.

	2011-2012	2012-2013	2013-2014	2016-2017
Total Enrolment	517	540	471	462
White	227 (43.9%)	257 (47.6%)	240 (50.9%)	206 (44.6%)
Black	219 (42.4%)	209 (38.7%)	159 (33.6%)	179 (38.7%)
Latino	14 (2.7%)	17 (3.1%)	14 (2.9%)	12 (2.8%)
Other	55 (10.6%)	55 (10.2%)	58 (12.3%)	64 (13.8%)

Source: National Center for Education Statics (2011-2014) and Philadelphia School District (2016-2017).

The scope of this case study does not include significant analysis of Perry Elementary to draw substantial conclusions about Ms. Nelson's implementation of the district's enrollment and transfer policies; however, it is important to note the similarity in enrollment patterns between Perry and Glenmore. It is equally important to recognize the shift in enrollment trends since her departure from Perry Elementary with a decrease in the percentage of White students and an increase in the Black student population.

Partnership between Friends of Glenmore and Principal Nelson

Members of Friends of Glenmore have high regard for Principal Nelson and benefit from a close partnership with her, which is sometimes resented by originals who feel pushed aside. There appears to be a misconception among originals who believe FG

is responsible for setting the agenda for events and policy at the school. When asked about this, all of FG's members independently said it is Principal Nelson who sets agenda for the school. Michael, newcomer and Vice President of FG describes the relationship as follows:

> "Our view is that she is the head of the school and that she should set the priorities. With that said, we are an independent, free-thinking group and we do have our own interests, things of that nature. But we try to, our view particularly is that she knows best in terms of what is going on in the school and what needs the most help. We tend to go along with her views. When we disagree, we have a conversation about it."

Throughout the interview process, I was never made aware of significant disagreements between the principal and FG; however, Ms. Nelson did express a belief in member's hesitancy to be forthright with topics that they feel she might disagree with, "I think that sometimes…they don't always tell me exactly what they are thinking because I don't know if they know how I'm going to respond or whatever."

In general, it appears Principal Nelson is swift to take action on any complaints or concerns brought to her attention by members of FG. The removal of sugary foods from school lunches provides a perfect example. Within one day of a complaint from an FG mother whose son had just begun kindergarten, chocolate milk was removed from the school lunch options due to sugar content. In addition to removal of chocolate milk from Glenmore, this discovery led to Mel, an FG member with a background in food security, to obtain labels from all of the food served by the district to review the nutritional value of each item. As it turned out, many of the foods served are in violation of the district's

nutrition policy, particularly the sugar content, which motivated the two FG mothers to schedule a meeting with a representative of the Philadelphia Public Health Department.

Although all members of FG report having close working relationships with Principal Nelson, the main conduit to between the administrator and the group is Charlotte. Charlotte, an upper-class mother of two, volunteers at the school every day in a makeshift office adjoined to Ms. Nelson's. In addition to volunteering in the school, she also attends recruitment events in the community with the principal, coordinates FG's grant writing initiatives, serves in a leadership role on the GHSA board and is a board member of the city's Friends of Neighborhood Education Network. Essentially, Charlotte to Glenmore what Ivy Olesh is to Chester Arthur.

Ms. Nelson described her relationship with Charlotte to me as follows:

"We only met a year ago, what happened was she ran that realtor tour last year and that's when we met. Then her, me and her husband went for coffee and we all fell in love and we've been thick as thieves since. She's like a great friend to me, too. She's so smart and so efficient. Like I said, she's giving a ton of time with no compensation."

Charlotte admitted her initial motivation for participating at the school was to create a support network for her own children's needs, specifically those of her son who suffers from learning disabilities, but she has grown to appreciate the altruistic value of supporting other children as well.

Original residents credit the partnership between Principal Nelson and FG for enhancements to the school's resources, many also attribute this relationship to the

termination of some valued school traditions. During my period data collection, original residents' displeasure with changes initiated by newcomers was vehemently expressed over a period of four days in a series of more than 25 Facebook posts on the GHSA page after a traditional holiday activity was replaced. Original residents blamed the principal and newcomers for ruining tradition, while GHSA President and FG Events Chair, Tim, fired back at originals for lack of participation in planning school-based events.

Principal Nelson echoes preferences outlined by Center City's *Growing Smarter* (2004) and district's administrator's preferences for attracting and retaining middle-class families to Philadelphia, specifically their participation in the public schools. She values professional-class newcomers' elevated levels of education, the resources they are able to bring into the school, and strongly believes the participation of professional-class families is essential for a successful revival of the city. Ms. Nelson described the benefits of retaining professional-class newcomers at Glenmore as follows:

"And, not because it's me. I do think that everything we are doing is positive for kids, and parents, and the community, and the city. Cause you know, one thing I say to the school district is, I'm keeping the city alive, because if this wasn't a good school these people would all be going other places and we would be gone. I mean, it's not like I have 700 kids here. We're in the 3…, we're not a huge place, but we have a lot of commitment, we have a big commitment from (FG and private partner), different universities, you know we are investing in the city as we should."

As a follow up to this, I asked Ms. Nelson if she believes the school would be able to survive with only the enrollment of children of original residents if newcomers to

were to leave the city, to which she replied, "I mean the only reason I would say not really is because they don't live here anymore. They sold their houses to the new. Yeah, I think it would affect enrollment, again, unless you're getting when those people go, you get a whole new crop. I mean I don't know, I don't envision it. Like I said my plan is not for that to be. My plan is to do everything I can to keep people here for the long haul.

 Analysis of interview data supports my claim that the partnership between FG and Principal Nelson elevates the status of professional-class newcomers in the Glenmore School community, and enables newcomers to shape the school's curriculum and facilities to reflect symbolic capital valued by middle-class parents. The foundation of FG's relationship with Ms. Nelson, district administrators, and private partners, is professional-class parents' agency and ability to have informed conversations regarding contemporary topics in schooling, both of which create opportunities for coalition building and civic capacity. In addition to activating cultural capital to form relationships within the school's administrative community, professional-class parents activate social capital within their social networks to inform and recruit additional middle-class families to Glenmore Elementary. Both FG and Principal Nelson have the ability to leverage valuable capital and preferred outcomes, which makes their partnership a reciprocal relationship that intentionally, or unintentionally, marginalizes the values and norms of original participants in the school community.

Changing Perceptions: Making Glenmore a Preferred School

As previously stated, the Palisade neighborhood has been predominantly populated by White, working-class families for decades, which explains Glenmore's longevity of educating White, low-income students.   This is not to say there have not

been middle-class families residing in Palisade before the current influx of millennials, but middle-class families of the past opted for parochial school, which is not entirely surprising given the number of Catholic schools located within the neighborhood.

During data collection, I had the opportunity to discuss the topic of school choice within the neighborhood with Chelsea, a professional-class pre-existing resident of Philadelphia who is married to an attorney raised in Palisade. Chelsea's children attend Catholic school rather than Glenmore Elementary for the same reasons their middle-class grandparents chose a Catholic school for their six children: religion, better educational resources, and safety. (It is important to note that not all of the families selecting Catholic school are Catholic, but tuition at these schools tends to be less than other private options.) Chelsea described her personal experience with Glenmore Elementary and the decision to enroll her children in Catholic school as follows:

> "I visited, I did, so did (Sam). Glenmore, when, so my daughter would have been going to school there in 2009-2010, I think. It was not a good option. It was not a good school. The principal was well-meaning….It doesn't matter anyway because it wasn't their fault. Palisade was a different neighborhood, so the public school buy-in was very different. That is important to note. It was different from a socioeconomic perspective, Glenmore."

In response to this, I asked Chelsea to elaborate on her perception of the Glenmore School community, particularly the socioeconomic differences between families making the decision to enroll versus those choosing private school options. Chelsea's response, which follows, echoes many of the characteristics of symbolic capital that are relevant in middle-class parents' selection of schools revealed in previous

investigations of middle-class school choice (Bunar & Ambrose, 2016; Roberts & Lakes, 2014; Bloomfield Cucchiara & Horvat, 2013), as well as those reported by professional-class newcomers in this study.

"So my husband and I both went to four-year universities and we wanted to live in Philadelphia and we wanted to live near Center City. Many people, then, were not making that choice. If they grew up Palisade and went to college or had a good technical degree and had a good job, they chose to move to a different neighborhood in Philadelphia or maybe to NJ. They did not want to live near Center City. So there were less married couples with children, or parents with children, who had a college degree then, even though it was only six years ago. Palisade has more and more people who are choosing to live here who are younger, with a college degree or with a master's degree. So my husband also went to law school and I have my master's. So, at the time, the principal was not very organized. There were a lot of disruptive behaviors in Glenmore. The teachers were overwhelmed and it was very much an urban, inter-city, public school with too many children in the class. Not enough resources, like all the traditional struggles intercity schools had, Glenmore had. Not well kept up, though they tried. Teachers who were overwhelmed because of not just the big classes, but not enough resources and books, little things."

Chelsea's remarks allude to changing socioeconomic demographics within the school community and also demonstrates the effects original residents' departure from the community is having on total school enrollment. Currently, the school continues to serve its traditional population of White, low-income families, however, an increasing

number of children from White, professional-class families are enrolling and changing

the culture of the school. For the city's professional-class newcomers, peers' perceptions

of the school environment and curriculum play a very important role in their decisions

about school enrollment. Ben, a former journalist, and FG's communications chair,

shared his awareness of parents' emotional decision making and the importance of social

networking in appealing to professional-class parents who are essentially shopping for

schools. His perspective, and others from FG, is those community events, such as

monthly FG Happy Hours at local micro-breweries, allow prospective, professional-class

parents to form a social network within the Glenmore community, which helps to ease

fears about enrolling in the public school:

> "These people aren't crazy. I know that guy, oh, I played pick-up
>
> basketball with that guy, he seems alright" that kind of subconscious level of,
>
> "these people kind of look like me, oh that guy seems alright, I've seen him speak
>
> at a meeting or something like that." I think that does a lot to build the whole
>
> image."

In addition to hosting community events and developing a website to share FG's news, an

open Facebook group has been central to organizing activities and sharing current events

for supporting the school. Ben credits the use of Facebook not only for attracting

audiences of parents to fundraisers and recruitment events, but also for catching the

attention of Philly School News, which is a high traffic web resource, and other media

outlets. Still, Ben admits changing the narrative of Glenmore from that of the typical

"troubled" Philadelphia public school has been one of the group's most difficult tasks.

When discussing the challenge of changing the perception of the school, Ben also stated his awareness of potential displacement of low-income students as the school attracts the attention of additional professional-class families.

"So when we started that was the biggest hurdle for us to overcome, this impression fed by the media that everything was terrible. When Mel and I scouted out the schools, it's like, it's not terrible. I'm not saying it's the greatest thing ever, but it is a good school. Like, it's not all that different from the public school that I went to growing up in the suburbs. I was like, huh, but see the media is like a real, real challenge. For some of the reasons, the access reasons (media access) I talked about but the other thing is there is always a lot more good happening in schools than is fed by the evening news. So the perception is tilted towards doom and gloom for so many reasons and for Philadelphia that has been the case for generations, you know, for at least 25 years. So the entire, the (Philadelphia Public School) Notebook has been that, like THAT, so you can't fight against that on a macro scale, you can't try to change the narrative of somebody in like Southwest Philly, about like, um Palisade about the overall school district, you can't, but what you can do is make a micro difference on a micro scale. Like changing perceptions a little bit. Now, uh there are some promising developments on having, what's happening at Glenmore and other schools energized by the Friends of groups, Friends of Neighborhood Education Coalition, um you know 19125 Parents Coalition, other kids of cross-city, you know cross-neighborhoods partnerships, but I'll just tell ya the part that troubles me most is the compounding of the injustices of gentrification that everything I

do, and we do, is caught up in. I don't know how to get around that except to

acknowledge it and to occasionally work to subvert it, but that does not change

the underlying dynamic."

Charlotte also expressed concern for displacement, as well as a fear of "leaving people

behind" as Glenmore continues to improve and becomes a preferred school for more

middle-class gentrifiers. At present, neither the school district nor local school

administration is implementing safeguards to protect low-income residents from

displacement or marginalization with the Glenmore community or other public schools in

gentrifying neighborhoods.

In addition to Ben and Mel, many of the newcomers interviewed for this project

commented on the importance of a positive school image in influencing their decisions

about enrollment. Eric, the father of an infant, shared the following sentiments regarding

the importance of the school's reputation at an FG Happy Hour event:

"One knows that a certain school one goes to at any level, the reputation

of that school can influence decisions after. So, whether it is in, where you to

high school, where you go to college, where you go to graduate school. Where

you went to school matters to some people no matter how well or poor the school,

so the idea that Philadelphia public schools have a bad reputation I think is a

concern because, um, ah, whether one gets a good education or not, there will still

be a reputation of a certain kind that sometimes means more or less to other

people."

Eric's statements reflect his habitus, which has been influenced by his parents' educational values and his personal educational experience. Similar to other professional-class families in 1970s and 1980s, his father, a physician, and mother, president of his suburban school's Parent Teacher Organization, moved from Philadelphia to the suburbs for access to better quality schools. Unlike his parents, Eric and his wife, both of whom fit the profile of Philadelphia's target audience of professional-class millennial, intend to remain in the city as their son reaches the age of school enrollment, but have not committed to the idea of enrolling at Glenmore. Although Eric expressed a personal value for public education as well as his belief that the school is an anchor for the neighborhood, he also recognizes the significance of a school's reputation in helping or hindering future educational opportunities, such as getting into selective high schools. Eric's concerns about school reputation are a legitimate concern for parents in Philadelphia because students within the School District of Philadelphia can apply for admission to traditional public and magnet high schools and admissions decisions for the highly selective schools are dependent on previous school records.

Charlotte also shares a similar philosophy of the neighborhood school as a community resource for both newcomers and original residents. Like Ben and Eric, she believes changing the perception of Glenmore to recruit and retain middle-class families has been an essential contribution of FG to the school community:

> "At Glenmore we've managed to change that narrative to where it's not, people are not aghast when they hear we are sending our kids to Glenmore. You know the typical reaction is now, today, "I've heard great things about that place.

What is going on up there? What are you guys doing, I heard you have a coding

club." I mean this is the kind of feedback we get now when people hear where

our kids are going. So being able to change that. I, while I think it doesn't put

money in the bank so to speak, it does allow people to consider the school as a

realistic option for their family and the more engagement we can get on the

ground like that, front lines people, families like mine, and families like, even the

old the people who have been here a long time. The families who have lived in

Palisade for a long time, many of them have opted for parochial school and for

those of us who come back to engage with the school and have our kids there, it

does bring money."

Charlotte's comments regarding the relationship between student enrollment and

financial resources highlight a major budgetary concern that was also expressed by

Principal Nelson on more than one occasion. Glenmore Elementary, like all schools in

the district, receive an annual budget from the central administration that is based on the

SRC's annual projections of student enrollment. The math is simple, more students

equate to more financial resources for operating the school. In addition to the district's

allotment for Glenmore, professional-class parents who become involved with FG's

fundraising efforts have potential to lend support to grant writing initiatives and other

contributions of financial capital.

The statements of Glenmore's newcomers are indicative of middle-class habitus

and align with findings from previous investigations of middle-class school choice

(Bunar & Ambrose, 2016; Roberts & Lakes, 2016; Horvat, et. al., 2003). Middle-class,

newcomers who participated in this case study are committed to improving forms of

social and cultural capital reflected by Glenmore Elementary because they understand the importance of reputation and what it symbolizes to others about their children. My data also show that professional-class parents of prospective Glenmore students rely heavily on their social networks and social media to acquire information about Glenmore Elementary because public perceptions of their school choice are important to them.

Reconstructing Glenmore as a Middle-class Amenity

In market models of education, particularly in stratified urban districts such as Philadelphia's, symbolic and cultural capital reflected by schools significantly effects middle-class parents' perceptions of school quality (Bunar & Ambrose, 2016). Leaders of Center City's CDC and FONE organizers credit the successful recruitment of professional-class families to Center City schools in-part to early initiatives for improvement through the addition of amenities typically found at private schools. Building on the success of Center City's FONE groups, FG has worked with Principal Nelson to improve Glenmore's image with the redevelopment of aging school facilities and the introduction of new curricular programs. Examples of these additions to traditional curriculum are; coding club, chess club, STEM, a school garden, mindfulness classes, and courageous conversations (e.g., conversations about diverse populations) all of which have been added to enhance the standard curriculum to make the school a more pleasant learning environment for young children, and symbolizes cultural capital to attract professional-class families.

Reconstructing the exterior of the school began with masking the aging brick facade with large, colorful murals. Although the public artwork is only a small improvement to the school's exterior aesthetic, which was described by Charlotte as

previously resembling an abandoned factory, it was a first step rebranding the public face of the school. Currently, underway is a drastic transformation of the original asphalt schoolyard to a professionally designed multi-purpose play structure and outdoor classroom. In terms of amenities resembling frills provided by private schools, this improvement to the school's exterior will symbolize forms of capital valued by professional-class families, which contributes to their perceptions of preferred status. The redevelopment is the result of pro-bono design work recruited through FG's social network and a large grant from the Philadelphia Water Department, which was secured by FG's grant writing committee. In addition to benefitting the school's infrastructure, the new schoolyard also benefits Palisade residents as it will improve the neighborhood's infrastructure with a new water drainage system, which Eric brought to my attention.

In addition to appealing to professional-class families with the school's exterior, Michael also discussed the importance of welcoming prospective families inside the school, which can be a challenge because, "something that people don't necessarily think about but, you know a lot of, particularly in Philadelphia, a lot of people have never stepped foot in their local elementary school." FG has developed a number of informal activities to encourage school visitation such as story hour in the refurbished library and community concerts in the reconstructed auditorium, both FG sponsored projects. Additionally, FG hosts kindergarten information sessions for preschool families at the Palisade community center and a neighborhood daycare. These events attract collectives of professional-class parents in a room and provide the opportunity to socialize the experience of selecting Glenmore. Similar to the parents described by Kozol's *Shame of the Nation* (2006) and Cucchiara and Horvat's (2014) comparative analysis of

professional-class parents' engagement in urban public elementary schools, Michael acknowledged the importance of social networks in middle-class parents' perceptions of school quality and school selection:

> "I think that can be really, a really powerful moment for people when they look around the room and they see 20 families who are all considering sending their kid there. They realize they are not alone and they like and feel a connection with the parents who are considering sending their kids there."

Alicia, a Black mother who was introduced in chapter 5, originally dismissed Glenmore Elementary as a result of her experiences with racism in the school community, believes FG's open house events are effective recruitment tools because her perception of the school was changed after attending:

> "I think, honestly, that is how they identified that I could be helpful. You know, one of the things I knew, it was one of the members of FG that convinced my husband and I to go look at Glenmore, whereas we had had it written off and they were the ones that convinced us to go to some of the, um, like the different things (the principal) was having. The kindergarten, you know (information session), or come to back to school night, those kind of things."

Reconstructing Glenmore's facilities and enhancing the traditional curriculum with programs reflective of professional-class parents' values has been a central strategic effort of FG and Principal Nelson. Both parties are aware of the significance of public's perception of the school for gaining the attention of professional-class parents and the importance of social networks in school choice. Efforts to reconstruct Glenmore's image

as a school with promise mirror those of Center City Friend's groups and appear to be working as Tim and others reported increased numbers of professional-class families are attending FG events at the school and within the Palisade community. Additionally, the success of the group's social networking seems to contribute to a stabilizing enrollment and retention of kindergartners and first-graders as indicated by Table 5.7 while also reinforcing the boundaries of the White enclave school. As previously noted, newcomers to Palisade are predominantly White, middle-class millennials, so it comes as no surprise the percentage of White students enrolling in kindergarten and persisting to first and second grade is also increasing. Furthermore, the beginning of a steady decline in both Black and Latino student populations at Glenmore intersects the introduction of Principal Nelson's partnership with professional-class newcomers, which leads me to believe the school is being reconstructed to appeal to a homogenous demographic of White, professional class families.

The Role of Class in Parent Engagement

There are distinct differences in the types of activities newcomers and originals facilitate as well as differences in organizational styles. For example, professional-class newcomers to the Glenmore community more likely to be found at FG events and participate in collective efforts to build coalitions with external partners. On the other hand, original residents often participate in school-based activities, such as holiday celebrations in their child's classroom, and participate in low yielding fundraisers such as bake sales rather than participate in grant writing efforts. Mrs. Murray, who has the longest tenure at Glenmore, describes the differences between the two groups as follows:

"To me, I think the newer people are doing the more cerebral part of volunteering. Writing the grants, they'll do PR, things like that. The towners are the ones out there hustling books right now! They'll be here helping with a book sale, a cake sale, that type of thing."

Newcomers and originals also have distinct differences in approaches to communicating concerns and desires with Principal Nelson. Newcomers, like Tim, go directly to the principal, and sometimes to district administrators with issues whereas original residents are more likely to communicate with Ms. Nelson through Mrs. Murray. Differences in styles of communication between the two groups with administrators are attributed to differences in habitus and social capital. For example, Tim, president of the GHSA and FG events chair, described a personal level of comfort addressing Principal Nelson directly because he was formerly a teacher and understands school and district policy, but also added that her intensity can be misinterpreted by some. On the other hand, Mrs. Murray reported original residents typically approach her to act as mediator with the principal because originals have a longstanding social relationship with her and her children.

Although original residents did not divulge negative feelings toward the principal or newcomers during interviews, they did not hold back from expressing feelings of diminished status in the school community on social media. The influence of Principal Nelson's partnership with newcomers, which has been attributed to the replacement of traditional school activities with new initiatives is a particularly hot topic of conversation on the GHSA Facebook page. When asked about these complaints, Principal Nelson and Tim defended decisions to replace traditional activities by pointing the blame at original

residents who they claim are less likely to follow school procedures, such as seeking

approval from the GHSA to host events. Principal Nelson also perceives originals to be

less reliable than newcomers because she claims originals lack the ability to follow

through with their plans. A snapshot of this frustration was captured on the GHSA

Facebook page after the replacement of a traditional holiday celebration with a new

event:

> "(Glenmore) has not been the same for the past two years it seems like
>
> everything the kids enjoyed has been taken away without the kids or parents
>
> say….it's the parents and the kids that make Glenmore what it is they should have
>
> a say."

What may seem an insignificant holiday event to some led to over 25 posts, spanning

four days, from angered original residents and defensive retorts from Tim, who put the

blame on original residents for not "stepping up" to assist with events. Ms. Nelson

acknowledged the frustration of original residents during a follow-up interview but was

unapologetic. As with everything else, she attributed her decision to replace the

traditional event to a lack of commitment from the original residents:

> "I find that most of the originals, they want us to continue things that they
>
> have always done. They are very tradition based. And that's fine, and we have
>
> kept some of the traditions, right? And they are not good with change, right?...
>
> I'm a big proponent for change because I think it exposes you to different
>
> opportunities. The other thing is that they fail to realize is that because we don't
>
> have that many original parents left, when you try to run something that was their

project, you don't have the volunteers, you don't have the people to run it. So

everyone wants it, but no one comes in and says I'm going to give you the time."

Originals' perceived lack of commitment by Principal Nelson is likely a

misinterpretation of their ability to attend GHSA meetings, which Tim has scheduled to

convene during the school's hours of operation. The group's bylaws, which are defined

by district administrators, requires individuals to be present at the meetings to participate

in the process of proposing and selecting school based activities, which present obvious

challenges for many parents in the school community.

Members of FG are credited by Principal Nelson as being more committed than

original residents, but three of the five FG members interviewed are stay-at-home parents

whose schedules permit volunteerism during school hours. Members of this group also

have access to more valuable forms of capital and are better positioned to activate civic

capacity, which solidifies their elevated status in partnership with Ms. Nelson. Also, as

previously established, newcomers with middle-class habitus are better prepared to

engage in conversations regarding curriculum and advancement of school-based

initiatives.

Mrs. Murray, who has the longest tenure in the school community of all this

study's participants summed up differences in originals and newcomers' participation in

school-based initiatives as follows:

"I would say the towners are more able to come in, be on site doing, like

setting up for this or holding a party in a room. And I get it, they probably have

jobs that are harder to be freed up but they are very good at bringing resources to

the school. They are the ones who go, you know I have a friend who has a business and you know. But I have to say, even the towners years ago would go, you know my mom works at (a bakery), she can get you pound cakes, and my uncle works at the bakery and we can get bagels for the meeting. We always had resources, we've always been resourceful, it's just the newer people have bigger resources."

Another factor in reducing the number of traditional events and replacing these with new activities proposed by newcomers is likely attributed to prospective audiences. Interview participants confirmed my observations of attendees at FG and GHSA events, newcomers typically attend events hosted by FG and originals attend GHSA events. Given the purpose of FG's events is to recruit professional-class families to Glenmore, perhaps Principal Nelson and FG are attempting to limit the profile of GHSA events to limit potential exposure of original residents to professional-class parents.

During site visits, I had the opportunity to observe two FG events and two GHSA events. The crowds at FG events appeared to be young professionals who personified the typical White, professional-class hipsters. On the other hand, GHSA hosted working-class parents and grandparents, and there was a lot of yelling. For example, as I was making arrangements for an interview with a professional-class mother of a first-grader who was new to the school, a member of the GHSA board walked by, and as she did, she screamed to a group of rowdy children, "I'm going to beat ya's!" The woman I was speaking with looked like she was in shock and excused herself from our conversation before an interview could be arranged.

What Is Not Being Said About Race: Maintaining the Enclave

Participants in this study, predominantly newcomers, self-reported the importance of Glenmore's reputation and perceptions of school quality within social networks. Typically, quality was equated to facilities, curricular enhancements, and the responsiveness of the principal; however, race was also part of these conversations. At times race was discussed openly, but professional-class participants often had a more finessed approach to talking about Black students without actually saying "Black students." For example, Ben described other schools with large populations of poor Black kids in the city as intimidating, unsafe, and dangerous to differentiate them from Glenmore. Meanwhile, John Berger, chairman of FONE and Steven Myer, a Center City real estate agent, discussed the plight of poor, Black schools, as if schools with poor, White kids have an elevated status among public school options. Bonilla-Silva's book, *Race without Racists*, (2006) discusses this phenomenon of White people, particularly middle-class, expressing racist ideas and judgments without using racialized language. Beyond their words, the mere decision to reside in a predominantly White enclave, and to enroll their children in a predominantly White school in a city that has a significant population of Black people contradicts newcomers' stated values for diversity and ultimately reinforces the boundaries of the enclave.

Maintaining Glenmore as a White enclave school is done through the recruitment efforts of FG, Principal Nelson's implementation of the district transfer policy, and city realtors' steering practices. Members of FG and Principal Nelson expressed great satisfaction with the newly established annual realtor tour of Glenmore Elementary for the promotion of the school to potential middle-class buyers. The idea for the tour was

originally initiated by CCSI, adopted by FONE, and later picked up by localized Friends groups. John Berger discussed the significance of realtor tours in schools affiliated with FONE and explained how realtors' workaround Fair Housing laws when discussing school demographics:

> "One of the initiatives that has come out of has been realtor tours. In four different sub-regions of the city where we have pockets of strength, the northwest, lower northeast, southeast, and the lower side of Broad St. They've put four or five, or six Friends groups have co-sponsored a realtors tour where they've got a bus, got realtors to sponsor the bus, then taken realtor on tours of four or five neighborhood schools cause the realtors are the gatekeepers. They are the ones who subtly, legally or illegally persuade people to live in our neighborhoods and of course the question is often, "what is the school like?" and under Fair Housing laws you are not allowed to say directly, "Oh that school sucks, it's full of poor Black kids." they all, of course, have ways of, "Oh there's great private schools nearby." That kind of thing."

Charlotte organized the first realtor tour at Glenmore in 2016, which was celebrated as an outstanding achievement. Tim, newcomer, and president of the GHSA, credits the realtor tour for attracting new professional-class families to Palisade and Glenmore:

> "For the first time in, God knows how long, the realtors are starting to actually advertise the school as a selling point. That it's walking distance to the Glenmore Elementary. So, you see it, it's in some of the local real estate ads. So,

it's starting to get to the tipping point now that this neighborhood is being looked at not only by young professionals but by young professionals with families."

After discussing the perceived success of the realtor event at Glenmore with Tim and Charlotte, I followed up with Steven Myer, who participated in the tour along with other realtors from Center City and neighboring residential districts that are gentrifying. Steven shared the following regarding realtors' conversations with clients about school demographics and strategies used for steering clients to preferred schools:

"You see we run a fine line because of what we are legally allowed to say and not say. So, I mean, we can say, things like Glenmore is getting a lot of news, Glenmore is one a lot of people are talking about, go to the school, look at the website, meet the principal, you know and we are absolutely not allowed to talk about any of the demographics."

The actions of FONE, FG, and city realtors representing new middle-class residents maintain Palisade as a White enclave, which also protects and maintains Glenmore as a White enclave school. The difference between original members of the school community and newcomers is social class and habitus. With higher levels of education and socialization amongst professionals, the new residents have learned to veil racism in socially acceptable language.

Original residents, who have not been socialized to mask racism, are quicker to be labeled racist because they tend to be more forthright when discussing the problems of racism in the community. For example, Principal Nelson reported closing the school Facebook page when she arrived because original residents were posting racists

comments on the public page. Although the original residents I have interviewed claim they are not racist themselves, all spoke of others who are racist as well as personal observations of racism in the community.

As with newcomers, original residents said they believe the community is growing more accepting of racial diversity and becoming more welcoming of Black residents, but perceptions of these changes differ considerably. For example, original residents were more likely to report drastic changes to community demographics whereas newcomers believe the neighborhood is racially stagnant. Differences in perceptions of racial diversity in the community can be attributed to individuals' habitus and previous life experiences with diverse cultures and racial groups. For original residents who have lived in the White enclave for the entirety of their life, the small fluctuations in Palisade's and Glenmore's racial demographics are likely to represent more significant change than would register for newcomers who have experienced living in more diverse communities.

Finally, it is important to share a powerful exchange I shared with Ben when discussing the lack of racial diversity at Glenmore and the role of FG in maintaining the White enclave school through recruitment efforts that do not address this issue. Ben said, "It's true and here's a good example. If we succeed at our work, at Friends of Glenmore's work, we will actually probably hurt the diversity of the school. I hate that, but it's true." I followed up by acknowledging Ben's stated awareness of the problem, to which he responded:

> "I know, I know, but it, it, but it's just a snapshot. It's not a diverse neighborhood. Some of the diversity numbers were helped by out of catchment transfers and as we increase the ratio of in catchment folks, it is going to look

more like the neighborhood and the neighborhood demographics are not changing nearly fast enough for what the change would be from losing the higher percentage of out of catchment transfers. It's a thing, a dynamic I recognize. It's a microscale thing, but like, you know, on the one hand, you can't blame folks for wanting to go to a school that has promise. Few people want to be pioneers. Few people are such true believers in the ideals of public education that they want to go to what's an intimidating school, and you can interpret that a million different ways, but one that doesn't that seem to have made some of the progress that other schools have made. That's so much to ask for parents who are then not able to bear the risk themselves, they have to pass it onto their children, that's like almost impossible to ask of someone. There has to be some other great incentive and obviously diversity being an incredible incentive, right? But do people equate the benefits of having a more diverse school with the benefits of safety? No, they are on totally different scales. It's like, I don't know how to get around it."

Ben's statement is loaded with significance because he captures the complexity of this school community. He, like the other newcomers, believes he and his wife are investing in a broken educational system for the benefit of all children, yet openly acknowledges the neighborhood and school are racially segregated. Additionally, to differing degrees, the members of FG have an awareness that through their efforts the school is not only remaining racially segregated but could ultimately become a professional-class enclave as well. Ben also unknowingly acknowledged Principal Nelson's contribution to maintaining the White enclave school through local implementation of the district's out-of-catchment transfer policy. Referring back school

enrollment data provided in Table 5.7, and Principal Nelson's admission to sending students back to their original catchment a year after her arrival, it appears increasing racial diversity through the implementation of the transfer policy is not a goal. Despite newcomers' stated value for diversity and assertions of interest in enhancing the Glenmore Elementary for all children, Principal Nelson's actions maintain an overwhelming population of White students and the actions of FG marginalize low-income families in the school community.

Conclusion

The gentrification of Palisade is reflected in the in the Glenmore School Community. Just as low-income families are experiencing exclusion from the housing market, they are also being marginalized in the school community as a result of deficient forms of capital. While the social sphere of the Glenmore School community is experiencing drastic changes as a result of class-based differences, the White enclave remains. Although newcomers to the community have finessed socially acceptable language for discussing racist attitudes, their reconstruction of the school community and recruitment practices maintain the historically White enclave school.

In addition to largely excluding minorities from the enclave school, original residents are also being marginalized in the school community as a result of deficient forms of capital and habitus that conflicts with professional-class values. Principal Nelson's partnership with FG is mutually beneficial for transforming the school into a place of preference for new professional-class families. This partnership between school administrator and gentrifiers mirrors the objectives and practices of the Center City Schools Initiative, which was appropriately labeled the Segregated Schools Initiative by

critics before being disbanded. Similar to Center City schools, Glenmore Elementary is

being transformed to an amenity for White, professional-class families who are choosing

to remain in the city rather than relocating to suburban communities for school

enrollment while marginalizing low-income students and excluding minorities.

Chapter 7

Discussion and Conclusion

With this dissertation, I sought to contribute to a growing body of research on the effects of gentrification and increased participation of White middle-class parents in urban school districts. Specifically, I wanted to understand the combined effects of Philadelphia's residential redevelopment strategies and the School District of Philadelphia's school enrollment policy within a local context. My data concludes Philadelphia's attempts to attract and retain middle-class residents significantly contributes to the displacement of working-class families in economically redeveloping neighborhoods. The city's short-sited policies benefitting middle-class homebuyers contributes to deepening lines of residential and school segregation within the district, which significantly limits the participation of working-class families in schools that benefit from middle-class economic and cultural resources.

My findings concur with previous studies that have utilized Bourdieu's theoretical framework of social practice. Social, cultural and economic capital possessed by upper-middle-class and middle-class newcomers is central to their influence in this gentrifying school community. This conceptual framework was especially useful for understanding changing social dynamics between newcomers, original residents, and school administrators. Those with similar habitus and forms of capital, symbolic or actual valued by the school's principal and SRC are most influential in the extended school community and are better positioned to activate social and financial capital to help secure preferred outcomes.

While Friends of Glenmore's contributions of capital are beneficial to the community, the ability of upper-middle-class and middle-class parents to provide more highly valued capital contributes to an unequal power differential between these parents and working-class parents. As I expect, forms of middle-class capital are salient are salient in achieving preferred outcomes within this field of interaction, the most significant of which is direct contributions of economic capital to the school. Additionally, newcomers are privileged by a shared habitus with civically engaged education reformers and district administrators which enables them to effectively participate in conversations within the social sphere of education policy.

Discussion

At the outset of this study, I expected to find Philadelphia's macro-level redevelopment policy agenda to be at the root of gentrification and marginalization of working-class families within the school district. As a result of this investigation, I now understand the micro-level nuances of gentrification as these result in deepening stratification and segregation between neighborhoods and within the Philadelphia School District. Macro-level redevelopment policies make it possible for upper-middle-class and middle-class newcomers to strategically influence education policy and demographics within their catchment schools leading to the creation of public-private elementary schools within this stratefied district.

Similar to the gentrification of Philadelphia's greater Center City area, the interactions of the community development plans initiated by the city Planning and Zoning Commission, the ten-year tax abatement, and the actions of the Palisade CDC have all contributed to the gentrification of Palisade. The effects of gentrification have

been slower than experienced in Center City; however, in recent years the growing population of professional-class newcomers has drastically changed this once stagnant working-class neighborhood with the infusion of a growing middle-class population. Salient changes to the neighborhood's demographics include an increase in the 25-34 year age group, increased educational attainment, increased household incomes, and growing housing market. Surprisingly, what has not changed between the 1990 and 2010 Census is the predominance of Palisade's population of White residents (97% and 90% respectively.

Given the School District of Philadelphia' enrollment catchment zone policy, it comes as no surprise the student body of the Glenmore Elementary School is largely representative of the neighborhood demographics with a majority of White students. Rather than diversifying with the influx of middle-class newcomers, racial isolation within the school has deepened with the arrival Principal Nelson and Friends of Glenmore, the population of White students has increased from 73% to 79% while the population of Black students decreased from 8% to 4.1%. Additionally, the total school enrollment has decreased significantly as the gentrification of Palisade increased, which is likely be attributable to the increase of young professionals who either do not have children or have children who are not of age for school enrollment. Additionally, Principal Nelson's local implementation of the district's transfer policy appears to be contributing to increased racial and economic segregation by limiting the acceptance of transfer students to neighboring catchment zones, which are also gentrifying. I attribute the principal's policy for returning children with poor attendance to their assigned catchment to be a factor in the Glenmore's under-enrollment and decreasing diversity.

Working-class families are also marginalized by the actions of newcomers in the school community, specifically through the principal's partnership with the Friends of Glenmore. Newcomers are perceived by the principal as having more valuable forms of capital and the capacity to improve the declining school enrollment through social networking to recruit additional children from professional-class families. As gentrification persists, Glenmore Elementary is being reconstructed to by Principal Nelson and FG to project symbolic capital and habitus of professional-class families for the purpose of recruiting and retaining additional professional-class millennials to the catchment zone. Meanwhile, original residents push back at these new initiatives because they value traditional school activities and want their heritage to be respected in the school community. The significant implication of marginalization is that working-class families are being excluded from participating in the school community as the influence Friends of Glenmore grows, as is happening in other city schools supported by Friends groups.

Although race was not intended to be an integral part of this investigation of urban policy, deepening residential and within district segregation cannot be ignored. Racism is embedded in the city's residential zoning plans, the tax abatement policy, zoning of school catchments, local implementation of the district's transfer policy, as well as within the actions of Philadelphia's Friends of Neighborhood Education. As is the case with systematic racism, Philadelphia's colorblind housing and education policies disadvantage minorities by marginalizing their participation in the market and block entrance to preferred schools.

Social desirability of newcomers and original residents during interviews may have led to biased interview results. I believe participant's social awareness and reactions to the researcher may have influenced responses to questions regarding contentious community issues, such as gentrification and diversity. For example, newcomers may want to be perceived as socially conscientious, which may have influenced their expressions of concern for marginalizing original residents and deepening racial segregation. Additionally, original members of the community may have reported positive relations with newcomers during interviews because they perceived me as an ally of the newcomers.

The school is largely reflective of the enclave neighborhood, which explains the predominance of White students, and it could be the principal's implementation of the transfer policy is not race based, but rather strictly a decision of geography and record of attendance. Surrounding catchment zones were not included in this study; however, these neighboring catchments are also beginning to gentrify and may have unbalanced racial populations reflected in the transfer applicant pool.

Policy Implications

Philadelphia's city planners and policy-makers continue to be successful in recruiting and retaining White middle-class families, therefore the continuation of redevelopment and gentrification if likely inevitable. The SRC is in a position to address stratification and racial segregation within the School District of Philadelphia by modifying the school catchment zone enrollment policy to ensure economically and racially mixed schools. Given the propensity the city's "next neighborhood over" pattern of gentrification, simply rezoning the district would likely not effectively address the

district's issues. Perhaps a "tipping point" policy to diversify racially and socioeconomically homogeneous schools, particularly under-enrolled schools such as Glenmore, should be considered. Desegregation policies were in place prior to the dissolution of the district's transportation of elementary students, so pre-existing policies could be revisited if racial and economic equity between schools were made a priority of the SRC. In addition to modifying the school catchment zone enrollment policy, the SRC should also reconsider the level of discretion bestowed to principals in their local implementation of the district's transfer policy. As it is currently, there is no transparency required in the implementation of this vague policy that appears to be very open to interpretation of each principal.

Final recommendations have been saved for Friends of Neighborhood Education. Although FONE is a citywide civic organization that is not bound by district policy, the SRC should consider creating some level of oversight of the partnerships between principals and Friends groups to ensure their efforts are not contributing to increased economic and racial stratification between schools. However, I suspect the SRC has no interest in regulating Friends of Neighborhood Education's contributions because the SRC initially supported the CCSI before the coalition drew heated public opposition. If FONE truly intends to be a champion for public education in Philadelphia, the organization should make more strategic efforts to increase the diversity of its leaders to ensure the membership of those in position to activate civic capacity are more representative of children enrolled in the district. Additionally, the group should take steps to contribute the district's poorest catchment zones rather than only schools in gentrifying areas.

Relevance of Findings in Urban Policy Research

The interaction of urban housing and school policy creates an arena for significant influence of middle-class actors in setting the priorities for urban education. Although previous urban policy research focuses largely on middle-class parents motivations for engagement in schools and school selection, this study contributes a key piece to the literature as it examines the intersection of gentrification and race in urban schooling. This study also illuminates the underlying workings of policymakers, real estate agents, and civic organizations to recruit and retain young professionals to urban areas through strategic efforts resulting in gentrification and racial enclaves within catchment zones.

Suggestions for Future Research

Additional investigations of the interactions of housing and school policy targeted at attracting middle-class newcomers to urban areas, combined with the effects of gentrification on school communities have focused predominantly on Center City and the immediate Center City extended area, however, very little research has been conducted in outlying areas. Because this study is one of few investigations of outlying communities, I recommend additional research be conducted in school communities within Philadelphia that are just beginning to gentrify. It is also imperative to study gentrifying communities with more balanced racial diversity to determine if racial segregation truly is central to gentrification. Future researchers should also include representation from the current SRC and local CDC in future studies to provide the opportunity to contribute alternative explanations for policy and recruitment objectives.

Conclusion

As policymakers in Philadelphia continue strategic efforts for recruitment and retention of middle-class families for the sake of improving the city's economy, gentrification persists to new communities. Evidence of significant gentrification and stratification occurring in targeted areas as a result of the interactions of the Philadelphia Zoning Commission, neighborhood CDCs, and the ten-year tax abatement policy abounds in the city landscape. Additionally, the SRC's school catchment enrollment policy and the work of FONE contribute to signification racial segregation and stratification with the School District of Philadelphia.

Short-sited economic and education redevelopment policies created in haste to recruit middle-class residents have created an environment of displacement for working-class and minority residents within Philadelphia's metro area. With the influx of new upper-middle-class and middle-class residents, racial isolation has deepened between neighborhoods and within the school district. Rather than infuse resources throughout the city schools to benefit all, the new middle-class hoards educational resources within gentrified catchment zones leaving working-class and minority students isolated the city's most resource-challenged public schools.

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Appendix A

Recruitment Flyer

**Requesting volunteers for participation in a research study
of parent and community engagement in public schools.**

Are you are the parent of a student currently enrolled at Glenmore Elementary School, or considering enrolling your child in this school? If so, please consider volunteering for a research study being conducted by
Angela Rothrock, a graduate student at The Pennsylvania State University.

The purpose of this research is to learn more about motivations for parental and community engagement in public schools.

What will happen in this research study?
Participants in this study will be asked to meet with researcher for an initial interview (approximately 1 hour) and a potential follow up interview (that may take up to 30 minutes) if additional information or clarification of a previous response is needed. If it is not convenient to meet with the researcher in person, alternative interview methods such as phone call, skype, or email can be arranged.

*In the event of any publication or presentation resulting from this research, no personally identifiable information will be shared.

If you are interested in participating in this study, or if you would like more information, please contact:
Principal Investigator: Angela Rothrock
Address: 210 Patterson Bldg, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16802; arb184@psu.edu
Telephone Number: (814)XXX-XXXX

Appendix B

Parent Interview Protocol

1) Are you originally from Philadelphia?

    a. If yes, which neighborhood are you from?

    b. If no, tell me about where you lived prior to moving to Philadelphia.

2) Do you currently live in the school catchment zone?

    a. If not an original resident, did you move to the catchment for Glenmore Elementary?

    b. If not in the catchment zone, in which neighborhood do you reside?

    c. If your family is not within the catchment zone, did you enroll at Glenmore through the district's transfer process? If so, what can you tell me about this policy and process?

3) What is your profession?

4) In what ways do you engage with the school community?

5) Are you engaged with either the Home School Association or Friends of Glenmore?

    a. What is your role within the group?

    b. What differentiates the two school support groups? Do they serve different roles within the school community?

    c. Who sets the agenda for the Home School Association and Friends of Glenmore and how are decisions made about the groups' initiatives and activities?

  d. Do the two groups partner on initiatives? Is there any tension between the two groups?

6) Tell me about your relationship with the school's principal.

7) Did you interact with previous principals at the school?

  a. Tell me your relationship with previous principals.

8) Tell me about your relationships with other school staff and teachers.

9) Given your participation in the school community, what are your goals for the school?

10) Tell me about your proudest accomplishments in terms of your service to the school community.

11) From your perspective, what are some of the biggest challenges for the school?

12) Do you believe the school community is diverse?

13) It seems the neighborhood has been experiencing some changes within the last few years. From your perspective, what can you tell me about those changes?

  a. Who is moving into the area and who is moving out?

  b. Is it becoming difficult for original residents to purchase homes in the neighborhood?

  c. In what ways, if any, has community engagement in school changed as a result of the changes in the neighborhood?

14) If you were conducting a study of Glenmore's school community and parent engagement, what are the questions you would be asking?

15) What didn't I ask you that you think I should know about the school community?

Appendix C

Principal Interview Protocol

1) Describe your leadership experience in public schools.

2) Before coming to Glenmore, you were a principal at another school in the district, why did you choose to come to this school?

   a. How are principals selected for schools within this district?

3) What are your expectations for parent and community engagement in the school?

4) Given Philadelphia's school choice model, do you ever feel the need to compete with other schools for students?

5) How do you explain fluctuations in school enrollment between 2013 and the current academic year?

   a. How many students are enrolled per grade?

   b. This is a K-8 school, so do students typically stay from kindergarten through the 8th grade?

6) The school district allows for out-of-catchment families to apply for transfer, how are these students selected?

   a. How does this process work for those interested in kindergarten?

7) I understand Friends of Glenmore hosts a number of recruitment activities for kindergarten. Do you have any oversight of the group's recruitment efforts or is this done independently?

8) What can you tell me about diversity, or lack thereof, within the school?

   a. Are there any efforts in place to increase diversity at the school?

9) What is the capacity of the school?

10) Your enrollment is stabilizing this year. Do you expect to see an increase next year?

11) With the kindergarten class coming in, you are expecting or hoping to have 3 classes.

Right   now you have 2.

12) Is the Friends of Glenmore group doing a lot of work to recruit?

13) With the new families coming in to kindergarten, do you have any sense of whether

not they will stay through the 8th grade?

a. Does that worry you, the uncertainty of the young families?

14) Another question I have for you about, because we've talked about the differences

between the new parents and those who have been here for a while, and the level of

engagement is a bit different. So, if the new parents were to leave do you think that

those gaps would be filled by the existing parents?

15) A number of schools in the district end at 5th grade, but your school offers up to the

8th grade, so do you receive applications for 6th-8th grade?

a. Do you find it more difficult to acclimate older transfer students?

16) What haven't I asked you, but you think I should be aware of?

Appendix D

Realtor Interview Protocol

1) Tell me a little about your background and your experience selling homes in the
   Philadelphia area.

2) How has the Palisade market changed in recent years?

   a. How has the price of homes in the Glenmore catchment fluctuated since
      2001 and has the type of homebuyer changed?

   b. What effect, if any, do you think the city's tax abatement has on buyer's
      decisions?

3) Are there many renters in Palisade in relation to homeowners?

4) Describe the demographic shifts that have taken place in Palisade in recent years.

   a. Between original residents and newcomers, are there any differences I
      should that you've noticed that I should explore?

5) Do potential buyers ask you questions about Glenmore Elementary? If so, what
   do they tend to ask?

   a. Is Glenmore becoming an "It" school among potential buyers?

6) How do you describe Glenmore to clients? Do you discuss other school options
   with those buyers who are exploring the Palisade neighborhood?

7) Based on your experience, do you believe people are moving to Palisade because
   of the Glenmore School?

8) Did you tour the school before being invited to do so by Friends of Glenmore?
   What were your general impressions of the school when you visited?

9) Do you think it is becoming more difficult for original residents of Palisade to purchase new homes in the neighborhood?

Appendix E

Friends of Neighborhood Education Representative Interview Protocol

1) Tell me about the history of Friends of Neighborhood Education (FONE); how, why, and when was the organization developed?

2) What is your role as Education Committee Chair? What does your committee do?

3) Do individuals contact FONE when interested in organizing a local group or does your group reach out to school communities? Tell me about this process.

4) How many Friends of groups are there?

5) What does it take for a Friends of group to be successful? Does success require a certain type of membership?

    a. If one of the things you are wanting to do is build a bridge between socioeconomic groups, and it appears from what you are saying that many of the Friends of groups are developing in gentrifying or gentrified neighborhoods and property values go up when quality of school increases, are you then concerned that in the long run that stratification might grow deeper as a result of gentrification and people of lower socioeconomic status not being able to get into the catchment schools that are improving as a result of some of your work?

    b. You've talked about white middle class parents and community members getting involved with Friends of groups, what about white working class?

6) What are some of FONE's significant accomplishments?

7) What the biggest challenges for the organization?

8) Diversity, or lack thereof, appears to be an issue for the group. What can you tell me about the diversity of FONE members and within local school community groups?

9) Are steps being taken to increase diversity in FONE's membership?

10) As I'm looking at parent engagement in school communities, are there particular questions I should be asking?

Appendix F

Teacher Interview Protocol

1) Tell me a little about your background; where you are from and your teaching experience.

2) How long have you worked at the Glenmore school?

3) Have you taught at other schools?

4) How many students are currently in your class? Is this the typical size of your class, or does enrollment fluctuate?

5) What can you tell me about parent engagement at the school?

6) Do you receive support from both the Home and School Association and Friends of Glenmore? In what ways do these groups support your class and the school?

7) Tell me about student demographics at the school.

    a. Do you consider Glenmore to have a diverse student population?

8) If you were conducting a study of parent and community engagement at Glenmore Elementary, what are some of the questions you would ask?

9) Is there anything that I have not asked about, but that you would like to share with me?

Appendix G

Pseudonyms for Participants

Relationship to School	Origin	Pseudonym	Gender	Race	Class
Glenmore parent, Home and School Association and Friends of Glenmore	Newcomer	Tim	Male	White	Middle-class
Glenmore parent, Home and School Association	Newcomer	Alicia	Female	Black	Middle-class
Glenmore parent, Home and School Association	Original	Leanne	Female	White	Working-class
Glenmore parent, Home and School Association	Newcomer	Diane	Female	White	Working-class
Glenore parent, Friends of Glenmore and Home and School Association	Newcomer	Charlotte	Female	White	Upper-middle-class
Glenmore parent and alum	Original	Amy	Female	White	Working-class
Glenmore parent and alum	Original	Jimmy	Male	White	Working-class
Glenmore parent and alum	Original	Kim	Female	White	Working-class
Glenmore parent and alum	Original	Chrissy	Female	White	Working-class
Friends of Glenmore	Newcomer	Ben	Male	White	Middle-class
Friends of Glenmore	Newcomer	Mel	Female	White	Middle-class

Friends of Glenmore	Newcomer	Michael	Male	White	Upper-middle-class
Principal	Newcomer	Sandra Nelson	Female	White	Middle-class
Teacher	Original	Karen	Female	White	Working-class
Teacher	Newcomer	Julie	Female	Asian	Middle-class
School administrative staff, parent of alumni	Original	Mrs. Murray	Female	White	Working-class
Parent, pre-kindergarten	Newcomer	Eric	Male	White	Upper-middle-class
Parent, pre-kindergarten	Newcomer	Victoria	Female	White	Middle-class
Parent, children attend Catholic school	Original	Chelsea Markel	Female	White	Upper-middle-class
Friends of Neighborhood Education organizer	Original	John Berger	Male	White	Upper-middle-class
Realtor, Center City	Original	Steven Myer	Male	White	Upper-middle-class
Realtor, 3 blocks from Glenmore	Original	Loraine	Female	White	Working-class

Appendix H

Inductive Codes, Theoretical Codes, and Code Tree

Catchment	Community event, district policy, neighborhood, school, school event, school policy
Challenges	Coalition building, diversity, media, non-conformist, recruit residents, recruit students, restructure neighborhood, restructure school, school choice, school policy
Civic Capacity	Middle-class, newcomer
Commitment	Middle-class, newcomer, towner, working-class
District	District policy
Diversity	Habitus
Economic Segregation	Neighborhood, school
Educational Values	Middle-class, newcomer, towner, working-class
Enrollment	Coalition building, district policy, diversity, media, recruit residents, recruit students, restructure neighborhood, restructure school, school choice, school policy
Friends of Glenmore	Agents
Goals	Practices
Home and School Association	Agents
Kindergarten	Media, recruit residents, recruit students, restructure school, school choice, school policy
Marginalization	Neighborhood, school
Middle-Class	Capital
Motivation for Involvement	Habitus
Negative Principal Relationship	In-school support, non-conformist, restructure school
Newcomers	Habitus – middle-class, white, newcomers
Out-of-Catchment	Community event, district policy, neighborhood, school, school event, school policy
Parent Engagement	Practices
Policy	Practices – Coalition building, district policy, fundraising, principal ally, school policy
Positive Principal Relationship	Practices
Race	Habitus

Racial Segregation	Fields of interaction - District policy, Friends of Neighborhood Education, Friends of Glenmore, neighborhood, school, school policy
Reputation	Media, recruit residents, recruit students, restructure neighborhood, restructure school, school choice
Restructure Neighborhood	Practices – restructure neighborhood
Restructure School	Practices – restructure school
School Capacity	School policy
Stories of Success	Practices
Towners	Habitus – working-class, white, towners
Traditions	In-school support, restructure neighborhood, restructure school
Working-Class	Capital

Agents

- Community Alumni

- Community member

- FONE Organizer

- Friends of School Member

- HSA member

- Parent

- Principal (current)

- Principal (past)

- Realtor

- School Staff

- Teacher

Capital

- Cultural

- Economic

- Social

Fields of Interaction

- Community Event
- District
- Friends of Neighborhood Education
- Friends of School
- Home and School Association
- Neighborhood
- School
- School event
- School Policy

Habitus

- Middle Class
- Newcomer
- Race - minority
- Race - white
- Towner
- Working Class

Practices

- Coalition Building
- District policy
- Diversity
- Fundraising
- In-school support
- Media
- Non conformist
- Principal ally
- Recruiting Residents

- Recruiting Students

- Restructure Neighborhood

- Restructure School

- School Choice

- School Policy

VITA

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EDUCATION

Ph.D., Educational Theory and Policy, December 2017
The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA

M.Ed., College Student Affairs, May 2007
Minor: Counselor Education
The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA

B.S., Criminal Justice, December 2001
The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA

TEACHING

Cultural and Social Explorations in the Visual Arts, Sydney, Australia

Career Development in the Visual Arts

School of Visual Arts First-Year Engagement Seminar

Sustainable Tourism and the Environment

Field Studies in Sustainable Tourism: Australia and New Zealand

Global Leadership Initiative

JumpStart: First-Year Seminar and Leadership Experience

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT AND MANAGEMENT

- Developed international program curriculum and managed the School of Visual Arts' Social and Cultural Explorations in the Visual Arts, an embedded education abroad program in Sydney, Australia.
- Assisted with development of international program curriculum and development of summer study abroad programs in Australia and New Zealand, an embedded program in Fiji, and a student exchange with Breda University of Applied Science in the Netherlands.

ACADEMIC AND CAREER COUNSELING

- Provide academic advising and career counseling for undergraduate students enrolled in the School of Visual Arts, and previously for students enrolled in the Department of Recreation, Park, and Tourism Management.
- General honors adviser for the College of Arts and Architecture and lead honors adviser for the School of Visual Arts (SoVA).