Miriam Marini

Professor Thomas Trimble

ENG 3020

9 December 2017

An Analysis of the Effects of Gentrification on Public Education

Using public data and previously published peer-reviewed articles on the subject, I studied the effect of gentrification on public education. Specifically, I set out to study whether gentrifiers send their children to local public schools, and if they do not, how is this affecting the quality of the schools—and ultimately, the students’ abilities to attain quality education and pursue higher education. As Detroit is over taken by gentrifiers with the intention to “revitalize” the city, it is important to examine how gentrification is affecting the city in all aspects, including the upbringing of the next generation of Detroiters.

As seen throughout this course, there are many definitions of gentrification and gentrifiers. For the sake of this research I am defining gentrification as the renewed investment in urban areas to cater to a newer, richer, and whiter population while disregarding natives of the region and their baser needs. Gentrifiers are the newcomers who actively displace natives by having the funds to afford rising housing prices and the cost of living. In the case of Detroit, it is shown in the raise in the quality of areas like downtown, midtown and Corktown because of investment from city officials and entrepreneurs. While this “revitalization” is occurring, the natives of Detroit who live in the neighborhoods are forgotten and systemically silenced.

For this paper, I am particularly interested in gentrifiers’ economic mobility and their freedom to choose from a multitude of options rather than what’s convenient and available. This especially rings true in the Detroit Public Schools district where students are allowed to choose their own school. Therefore, gentrifiers are able to send their children to better schools within—or outside of—the district or even to private and charter schools. In this paper, I will be investigating the relationship between gentrification and public education by comparing the median household incomes with the number of students in that zip code who receive free and reduced lunch and their overall performance on the ACT exam.

**Literature Review**

*Geography*

Numerous studies suggest that giving parents the right to choose their child’s school regardless of their location is a contributing factor of gentrification and it further perpetuates the consequences of urban revitalization. In “School Choice, Gentrification, and the Variable Significance of Racial Stratification in Urban Neighborhoods,” Francis Pearman and Walker Swain examined the link between gentrification and the demographics of urban neighborhoods and how they are influenced by the existence of school of choice—an option which allows students to choose their school regardless of their location and district. In their study, Pearman and Swain define gentrification as the process by which urban neighborhoods experience disinvestment followed by renewal, reinvestment, and the influx of higher-socioeconomic status white households. Pearman and Swain argue that school of choice policies are a catalyst for gentrification as it reduces white families’ concerns about putting their children in neighborhood schools that have high African American and Hispanic populations (Pearman and Swain, 2017). The study found that there’s a need for change in both housing and school policy because of their roles in shaping gentrification and the “U.S. urban landscape” as a whole (Pearman and Swain, 2017). They found there’s a need to change hosing policies to reduce the displacement of low-income minority households which result from rising housing costs that facilitate gentrification (Pearman and Swain, 2017). The study also found that urban neighborhoods of color with no school of choice option gentrify 18% of the time whereas neighborhoods of color with charter and magnet school options experience gentrification 40% of the time (Pearman and Swain, 2017).

Research also shows that despite location, parents will do what’s best for their child’s future, not the future of the neighborhood. A 2009 study done by Judith DeSena and George Ansalone analyzed the facets of gentrification, the migration of the middle class to “socially marginal areas” of urban areas, and how it may perpetuate school tracking. School tracking is the separation of students based on their skill levels and academic abilities for particular classes within a school, it ensures students are surrounded by other students of the same level of overall academic achievement. Tracking has been criticized before for limiting students’ opportunities and separating students according to race and socioeconomic statuses (DeSena and Ansalone, 2009). This study defined gentrification as the transformation of a socially marginalized and working-class urban areas to affluent residential spaces. DeSena and Ansalone focused on Greenpoint and Williamsburg, neighborhoods located in Brooklyn, New York—which has the largest public education system in the United States—and the dissatisfaction parents feel with the local schools (DeSena and Ansalone, 2009). The results from this study show that gentrifying residents make the move based on housing prices, not the quality of local schools, which results in them sending their children to outside schools rather than investing money in local schools to bring them up to par. DeSena and Ansalone explain that it’s easier for parents to drive their children each day to farther schools than it is to mobilize change within the nation’s largest public education system. This easy way out comes with serious consequences including the loss of funding for public schools and the segregation of children by social class which lessens social integration (DeSena and Ansalone, 2009). On a larger scale, DeSena and Ansalone linked this choice to the perpetuation of segregation and social class privilege.

Because of the existence of options when it comes to schooling, the quality of a school does not necessarily have to match the quality or prosperity of the neighborhood it resides in. Gentrification was measured in a linear method in Micere Keels, Julia Burdick-Will, and Sara Keene’s study by using percent change in census indicators of socioeconomic statuses. The study acknowledged that gentrifying families rarely send their children to local, public schools rather than sending them out of the district, so the relationship between the gentrification of neighborhoods and test scores may not be strong. The study honed in on Chicago Public Schools—the third largest public education system in the nation—and the one-mile radius surrounding the schools to assess the neighborhoods and how the change in the socioeconomic status of the neighborhoods correlated to test scores of the public schools. The overall neighborhood socioeconomic status was measured by median household income and the percentage of residents with bachelor’s degrees (Keels et. al., 2013). They found that gentrifiers often don’t have children, which reduces the population of young children in neighborhoods, but if they do have children, they are likely to exercise their school of choice option which reduces the student population of public schools, thus decreasing their funding (Keels et al., 2013).

*Race*

As gentrifying families move into up and coming neighborhoods, they choose to and have the economic mobility to send their children to better educational institutions. Some better options include charter and private schools. Charter schools promise private school-quality education at public school cost, but they cannot always deliver. Maria Paino, Rebecca Boylan, and Linda Renzulli analyzed the increased number of charter school closings and why this matters in comparison to the closures of public schools. Charter schools are independently-run schools that receive public funding and have flexibility in their operations like that of private schools. They are thought of as avenues of opportunities to create racial equity as they provide higher-quality education to minority students who cannot afford private education. This study focused on how the racial demographics of charter schools link to the probability of its closure. Charter schools enroll higher numbers of African American students than public schools. The study ultimately found that as the proportion of African American students increases, the likelihood of that charter school closing also increases (Paino et al., 2016).

Whether people will admit it or not, the culture of the school your child goes to is as important as the education they receive and gentrifying families have the ability to hand pick the environment their child learns in. Wieher and Tedin analyzed 1,006 responses from Texan households on why they chose charter schools and how race factored into that choice. Hispanic, African American, white parents filled in surveys asking questions about their priorities when choosing a school for their child including test scores, the instilling of moral values, and discipline (Wieher and Tedin, 2002). White parents responded with test scores being their highest consideration, African American parents said the teaching of moral values, and Hispanic parents ranked good discipline as their first priority; none of the parents cited the racial makeup of the school as their highest (Weiher and Tedin, 2002). Despite this, Wieher and Tedin found that each race of student transferred into a school with a higher percentage of their race (Weiher and Tedin, 2002). The average African American student transferred to a school with 14.88% higher population of black students than the school they left, the average white student transferred to a school where the percentage of white students was 8.1 points higher, and the average Hispanic student chose a school 3.7 points higher (Weiher and Tedin, 2002). While none of the parents ranked race as a priority, the numbers show that race is a “powerful predictor” of the schools the students ultimately choose (Weiher and Tedin, 2002).

With gentrification comes more opportunity for prosperity, but who gets to define prosperity is where the real power and privilege lie. In their study, “Selective Enrollment, Race and Shifting the Geography of Educational Opportunity,” Quiroz and Lindsay argued that shifting demographics and educational policies to assist with the results of gentrification comes at the expense of minority groups, especially African Americans (Quiroz and Lindsay, 2015). They also analyzed the relationship between the “geography of opportunity” and race and class and how diversity is used as a marketing tool to appeal to gentrifying households (Quiroz and Lindsay, 2015). The study found that education is one of the main weapons the middle class has to protect their monetary and cultural distance from the poor and working class—and, by definition, minorities (Quiroz and Lindsay, 2015). The study specifically studied the gentrified neighborhood where the Selective Preparatory Academy—which was a vocational-training school and is now a college-preparatory high school—is located (Quiroz and Lindsay, 2015). The data shows the difference in the residents in the SPA and the neighborhoods of the students partaking in the school’s student diversity initiative. 65% of people living in the SPA neighborhood had college degrees compared to less than 6% of the SDI students’ neighborhoods (Quiroz and Lindsay, 2015).

Children are a product of their environment, and providing them with a home life which can foster a successful and emotionally fulfilled child is the goal of every parent, but not every parent can provide their child with this environment—is it their fault or the system’s? A study conducted by Geoffrey Wodtke, David Harding, and Felix Elwert concentrated on the effects of long-term exposure to underprivileged neighborhoods on high school graduation rates. The experiment followed 4,154 children for 18 years—from when the children were 1 until the age of 17—to monitor their neighborhood context (Wodtke et al., 2011). They defined impoverished neighborhoods by high poverty rates, unemployment, welfare receipt, the number of female-headed households, and the education level of adults (Wodtke et al., 2011). It was found that exposure to disadvantaged neighborhoods leads to an 80% decrease in the odds of African American graduating high school and a 60% decrease for nonblack people of color (Wodtke et al., 2011). The study acknowledges that family characteristics—such as income level and parental marital status—can also attribute to the decrease in likelihood to graduate high school.

**Methods**

To analyze how the effects of redlining and gentrification affect the quality of public schools and the demographics which make up these schools, I will use census data. I will look for the average socioeconomic statuses of the households in the neighborhoods which surround these public schools and what kind of relationship they have. I will use the data on average household income to determine the quality of the neighborhoods—because for the sake of this research, I’m assuming the higher the average household income is, the better the neighborhoods will be. Then, I will use the available data to study the quality of the schools.

Majority of public schools in the United States are largely funded by property taxes. However, the money collected from property taxes are gathered into one pool and distributed to schools based on the number of students. The condition of the school—quality of the building itself, the availability of resources like art supplies and working computers—is not calculated when federal funds are disbursed. Therefore, this is how poor-quality schools can exist even in the richest neighborhoods. The higher people are paying in property taxes, the more valuable that real estate must be, meaning the percent of gentrification is also higher. Drawing on that point, gentrified neighborhoods can consist of over-priced lofts and a school with the ceiling tiles falling on students’ desks. Using the census data, I will also compare the average household incomes of families living in the zip codes Detroit Public Schools encompasses to the number of students in the school district that qualify for the free lunch program. Ultimately, I will be able to conclude whether gentrifying households—although, previous research has shown gentrifiers are often couples without children—are sending their children to local public schools and how their presence affects these schools in terms of resources—including qualified and experienced faculty, after-school programs, and the availability of Advanced Placement and honors courses.

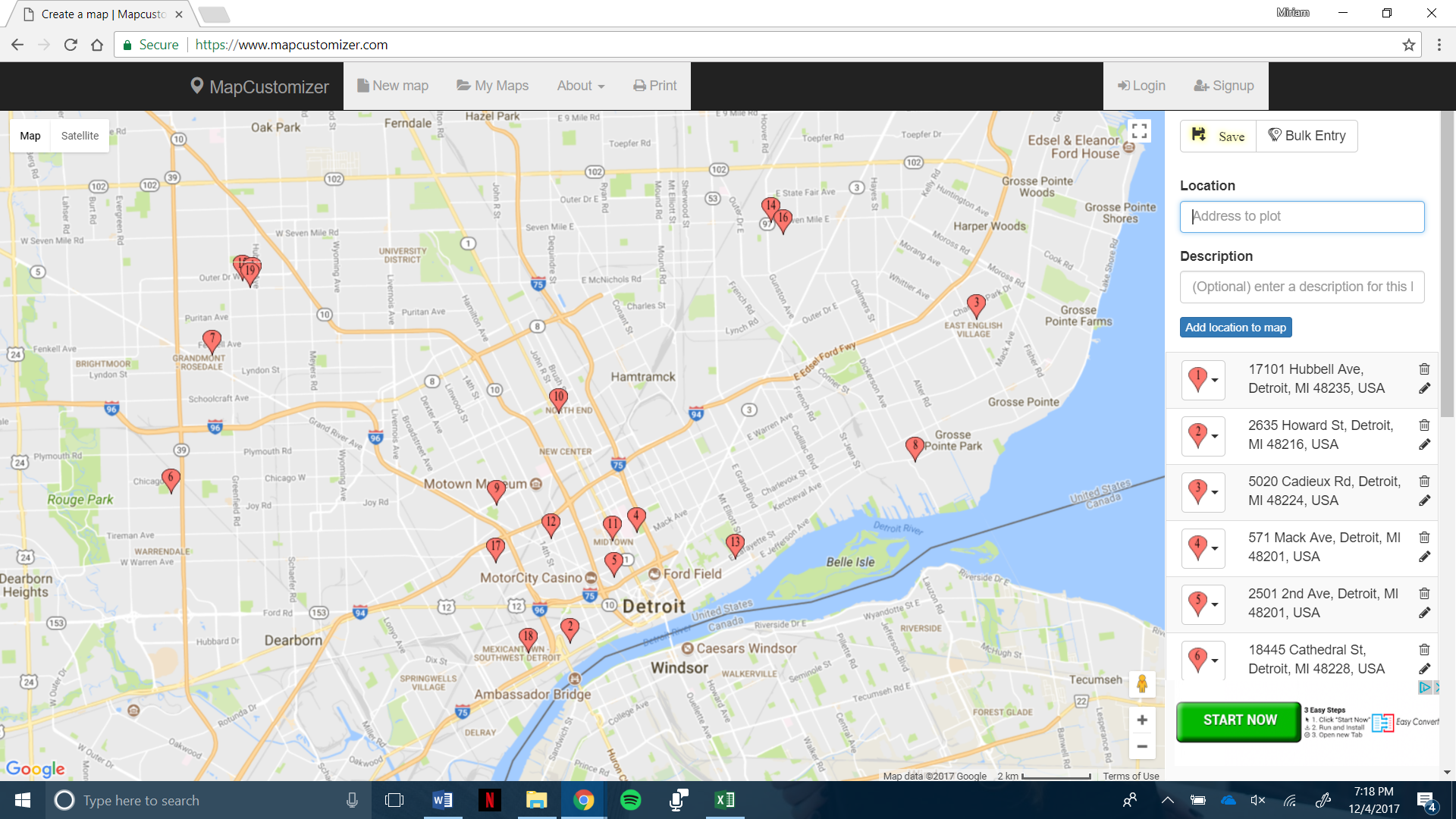
The National School Lunch Program is a federally-funded program for public and non-profit private schools which was signed by President Harry Truman in 1946. It provides free or price-reduced nutritious lunches for children whose families are eligible for the program. In Michigan, to qualify for the program, families with incomes at or below 130% of the national poverty level are qualified. For example, to qualify for free lunch, a family of four must make $31,005 or below annually. To qualify for reduced lunch, a family of four must make $44,123 or below. According to Michigan.gov, in the 2013-2014 school year, 49% of all students in k-12 schools were eligible for free or reduced lunch.

*Data Collection*

For my research, I primarily relied on public data which I found on the internet. The average median household income was available on the census website and I was able to find the median household income of families living in the zip codes that make up Detroit Public Schools. The number of students in each high school who receive free or reduced lunch along with the total number of students in each school was available on the school district’s website. I took these numbers and added them together according to the zip code of each school. Some zip codes had more high schools than other zip codes. Finally, the individual school’s average composite ACT score was available online. The website I used to find these numbers compared the school’s average composite score to that of the county and to the state’s average composite score.

**Results**

As shown in figure 1.1, the Detroit Public Schools district spans across 12 zip codes and encompasses 24 high schools. The highest median household income, as shown in figure 1.2, I found was in the 48224 zip code which was $28,688. This zip code has two DPS high schools, the Diann Banks Williamson Education Center and the East English Village Preparatory Academy. The two schools combined have 1,409 students in total and of those students, 1,082 are eligible for free and reduced lunch. 48224 had the second-highest percent (76.79%) of students receiving free and reduced lunch. ACT composite scores were only available for the East English Village Preparatory Academy which has an average composite score of 13.9. This high school tied for the second-lowest average composite score with the Osborn College Preparatory Academy in the 48205 zip code.



**Figure 1.1** Map showing the 24 high schools in the Detroit Public Schools district

As shown in Figure 1.3, the highest percentage of students receiving free and reduced lunch was in the 48208 zip code. This zip code has three high schools: Detroit Collegiate Preparatory, Frederick Douglass Academy for Young Men, and West Side Academy of Information Technology and Cyber Security. With 1,175 high school students in total and 965 of those students qualified for the National School Lunch Program, 48208 tops the rest of the zip codes with the highest percentage shown in my data, 82.13%. The median household income in 48208 is $19,284. This is the second-lowest median household income of the Detroit Public Schools zip codes, topped only by 48201. This zip code also has the lowest average ACT composite score of 13.4 from the Detroit Collegiate Academy. ACT scores for the Frederick Douglass Academy for Young Men were unavailable. However, the third high school in this zip code was another low scorer on the ACT with West Side Academy of Information Technology and Cyber Security scoring an average composite score of 14.1.

**Figure 1.2** Chart showing the median household incomes for each zip code that makes up Detroit Public Schools. Data collected from factfinder.census.gov.

Composite scores on the ACT are on a scale from 1 to 36 with 36 being a perfect score. Composite scores are calculated by finding the average of the four separate sections of the ACT exam. Students are tested on four subjects: English, mathematics, science, and reading. Michigan switched to the SAT test in Spring 2016, however many high schools still administer the ACT and the scores for both tests are able to be converted for college applications.

The average ACT composite score for the state of Michigan is 19. Of the 15 high schools shown in figure 1.4 whose information on their average ACT composite scores was available online, only two schools were above the state average. Cass Technical averages 19.3 and Renaissance High School averages 21. Cass Technical is located in the 48201 zip code, the area which has the lowest median household income ($14,299) and second-highest percentage (76.79%) of their students qualifying for the National School Lunch Program. Renaissance High School is located in the 48235 zip code. 48235 has the second-highest median household income ($28,556) and the second-lowest percentage (54.18%) of students receiving free and reduced lunch, beat by 48216 who has 0 of their 110 students receiving free and reduced lunch.

**Figure 1.4** Chart showing average composite ACT scores for 15 of the 24 high schools in the Detroit Public Schools district.

**Figure 1.3** Chart comparing the total number of students in each zip code and the number of students who qualify for free and reduced lunch.

The two schools that tied for the second-lowest average ACT composite score (13.9), Osborn College Preparatory Academy and East English Village Preparatory Academy, were also located in the zip codes with the two highest median household incomes ($28,688 and $28,319). These zip codes, 48205 and 48224, were also the second and third placing for the highest percentage of students qualifying for the National School Lunch Program. 48205 had 71.52% of its high school student population receiving free and reduced lunch and 48224 had 76.79%.

The three next-highest average composite ACT scores were found in the Benjamin Carson High School of Science and Medicine (17.4), David Aerospace Technical (16.6), and Western International (16.2). The Benjamin Carson High School for Science and Medicine is located in 48201, David Aerospace Technical in 48215, and Western International in 48209. 48201 had the lowest median household income of the zip codes in the Detroit Public Schools district at $14,299; 48215 had the fourth-lowest median household income at $20,562 and 48209 had the fifth highest median household income at $25,759. These zip codes had mid-ranging percentages of their students receiving free and reduced lunch, 48215 has 70.97%, 48209 has 63%, and 48201 has 57.88%.

The zip code with the highest percentage of their students receiving free and reduced lunch is 48208. With 1,175 total high school students and 965 of them eligible for the National School Lunch Program, 48208 tops all of the other zip codes with 82.13% of its students receiving free and reduced lunch. 48208 was also the zip code with the second-lowest median household income, $19,284. This zip code has three high schools: Detroit Collegiate Preparatory, Frederick Douglass Academy for Young Men, and West Side Academy of Information Technology and Cyber Security. As revealed above, this zip also contained two low-charting average composite ACT scores.

The second-highest average ACT composite score, 19.3, was found in the zip code with the lowest median household income. Cass Technical is located in 48201 which had $14,299 as its median household income. This could lead to the conclusion that there is no correlation between a student’s performance and the state of the neighborhood surrounding the school. However, Cass Technical, which was the school with the second-highest average composite score, is located in midtown. A region where there is a huge income gap, with many making next-to no money annually and very few making millions—maybe not millions but hundreds of thousands. The median household income gauges the “middle” of wages, whereas in this case it would have been more accurate to analyze the mean, or average, household income. Therefore, Cass Technical is an outlier in this study.

**Analysis**

In general, high schools in the Detroit Public Schools district do not perform exceptionally well on the ACT. In fact, of the two high schools which average a composite score higher than the state average, neither are greater by much. Cass Technical is a miniscule 0.3 points higher than the state average and Renaissance High School is only 2 points higher than the state average. The opposite is true, Detroit high schools perform significantly worse than average Michigan high schools. The lowest average in the district is 13.4, 5.6 points lower than the state average of 19.

The case of the two high schools located in zip codes with higher median household incomes that tied for the second-worst average ACT composite score shows these schools have poor, low-performing students but are located in wealthier—in comparison to the other zip codes in the Detroit Public Schools district—neighborhoods. Therefore, it can be assumed the students who are going to these schools are likely not residents of the area surrounding their school. These schools are likely located in gentrified neighborhoods with families sending their children to other schools perhaps outside of the Detroit Public Schools district or to private and charter schools. Although the schools are located in wealthier areas in comparison to the other high schools in the district, they still do not have the resources available to provide their students with the tools needed to succeed on these standardized tests. This lack of monetary funds could be the reason the kids are not performing well on the exam due to the to lack of staff and faculty, access to practice test materials, proctors for the exam, and after school tutoring.

However, not all of the data collected followed the same pattern, as shown in the case of the zip codes with the highest percentage of student receiving free and reduced lunch where the students performed poorly on the ACT and the median household incomes were also low. This shows there are low-performing, poor—as defined by the federal and state government—students attending a school located in an area with struggling households. This goes against my argument that gentrifiers are changing the demographics and culture of the neighborhoods while flexing the economic freedom by sending their children to better schools in more-developed neighborhoods.

The data collected does not strictly support my argument, this may be because of the large economic gap in place in the city of Detroit as gentrifiers begin to take root in these historic neighborhoods. The median household income measures the middle of the incomes found in a zip code, not the average income. In one zip code there can be a cluster of well-off gentrifiers surrounded by the lower-class majority. Therefore, collecting the mean household income in a zip code may have yielded more accurate results to support my claim.

The ACT is a nationally-administered, standardized exam which has a huge impact on students’ future. The scores the students get on this exam directly impacts their college choice and the amount of scholarships they receive from the universities they apply to. However, while the test is a general measure of students’ all-around ability in four core subjects, it is not an accurate measure of the quality of the schools. Therefore, the average composite scores are not the best way to determine the type of environment these students are being educated in. On the other hand, because it tests students’ general knowledge on various topics and their test-taking abilities, it is a good measure of how well they are learning in school and how well their teachers are able to prepare them for this exam.

**Discussion**

*Limitations*

I ran into many limitations during my research. The first of which was the time constraint. To study the effects of gentrification on public education, it is important to first understand the American educational system and how funding works on a federal and state level. It is also important to study the effects of gentrification through the year which it begins to take place and how that has affected school funding through the years. However, these would best be investigated in the future.

The second limitation I encountered was the inconsistency in data availability. Some schools had their data available on the Detroit Public Schools’ website and others I was able to find on various websites. However, I trusted the data available on the district’s website the most. This obstacle with data availability caused a restraint on my choices of variables when considering how to measure the quality of the high schools. In the beginning I was going to choose the amount of Advanced Placement courses each school offered, but this data was not available for all schools and it was not a standardized variable. Just because a school offers an AP course does not mean the students are taking it and if they are taking it, how well they’re doing on the AP test. Average composite ACT scores were something I could find for almost every school, therefore offering me the most consistent data which would show the quality of the school.

The third and final major limitation I faced was the structure of the schools themselves. Some of the schools, like the Diann Banks Williamson Education Center and the Frederick Douglass Academy for Young Men, offered a different set of grades than the traditional high school levels. Rather than offering grades ninth through twelfth, the Diann Banks Williamson Education Center offers grades 9-14 and the Frederick Douglass Academy for Young Men offers grades 6-12. Although I subtracted the number of students who weren’t in grades 9-12 from the total number of students and the number of students receiving free and reduced lunch, it offset the data I was able to collect. I was unable to find the average ACT composite scores for both schools. Also, the Detroit International Academy for Young Women offers all levels from preschool to the twelfth grade and Turning Point Academy also offers all grades from kindergarten and up. I also accounted for the removal of all grades except the traditional set of high school grades from 9-12 grade.

Another issue I had with the structure of the schools themselves was the types of schools Detroit Public Schools offers, not all of the schools are traditional academic schools. For example, the Cody Academy of Public Leadership is listed under the same address as Cody-Detroit Institute of Technology College Prep High School and Cody-Medicine and Community Health Academy. However, I was only able to find the demographics and data on the Cody Academy of Public Leadership. This left me with a lot of questions as to whether the student population of all three organizations are counted together and whether their listed average ACT composite score was an average of all three or just the Cody Academy of Public Leadership. I think being in contact with the district itself (i.e. a district representative or a school counselor) could have easily solved this issue.

*Future Work*

There are multiple facets of gentrification that I would want to research in the future, specifically its effect on public education. While doing my research for this paper, I kept running into peer-reviewed journals on gentrification’s effects on the demographics of schools, the racial makeup of schools in particular. While gentrification is a primarily economic movement, it also has undertones of racial supremacy. Systemically, some races are granted higher economic mobility than others and this affords them the privilege to have corporate investments catered to their needs and interests. Seeing the shift in the racial makeup of schools as their surroundings become more gentrified would be interesting to study. It would also be interesting and very important to study the student-teacher ratio and how much of this is affected by teacher’s salaries. On that note, the difference in teachers’ salaries in gentrified versus not-gentrified areas would make for an interesting study.

Another, more time-intensive, study would be to investigate the availability of after-school and college-preparatory clubs and organizations are available in high schools in gentrified areas versus high schools in lower-class areas. It would be worthwhile to investigate students’ participation and how it affects their college prospects and their eventual success in higher education. On another level, pick one neighborhood or school district and compare this in public, private, and charter schools.

Annotated Bibliography

Data Access and Dissemination Systems (DADS). “American FactFinder.” *Census Quick Facts*, 5 Oct. 2010, factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml.

I used this site to search each zip code and find the median household income.

“Detroit Public Schools.” *Detroit Public Schools*, detroitk12.org/.

This is the website I used to find the 24 high schools in the Detroit Public Schools district and the demographics of each school’s student body. The demographics page of each school shows the break down of the student population, including gender and number of students who receive free and reduced lunch.

DeSena, Judith N., and George Ansalone. “Gentrification, Schooling and Social Inequality.” *ProQuest.* Educational Research Quarterly, September 2009. Web. 2 Nov. 2017.

I found this article by searching “gentrification, schools.” This was my favorite source as it pertained to my topic exactly and it had all of the elements I was looking for while researching. This was my easiest find of all of my sources. The article basically talks about how school of choice increases the segregation of children by social class and lessen social integration.

Keels, Micere, Julia Burdick-Will and Sara Keene. “The Effects of Gentrification on Neighborhood Public Schools.” *ProQuest.* City and Community, 13 September 2013. Web. 2 Nov. 2017.

I originally found this article through ProQuest by searching “gentrification, schools.” Then, I lost it, but then found it again when going through the citations on one of my other sources. This article focuses on Chicago Public Schools and the one-mile radius surrounding the schools to assess the neighborhoods and how the change in the socioeconomic status of the neighborhoods correlated to test scores of the public schools.

“The National School Lunch Program.” *United States Department of Agriculture*, fns-prod.azureedge.net/sites/default/files/cn/NSLPFactSheet.pdf.

This is a pdf fact sheet on the National School Lunch Program.

“MDE State Board of Education & Superintendent Superintendent Press Releases.” *Michigan Department of Education*, [www.michigan.gov/mde/0,4615,7-140-5373\_6526\_6551-333997--,00.html](http://www.michigan.gov/mde/0,4615,7-140-5373_6526_6551-333997--,00.html).

I used this site to find the guidelines for families to qualify for the National School Lunch Program. It shows what families of different sizes should be making monthly and annually.

Paino, Maria, Rebecca L. Boylan and Linda A. Renzulli. “The Closing Door: The Effect of Race on Charter School Closures.” *ProQuest*. Sociological Perspectives, 26 October 2016. Web. 2 Nov. 2017.

I found this source by searching “race, schools.” This article analyzed the increased number of charter school closings and why this matters in comparison to the closures of public schools and how race factors in.

Pearman, Fancis A., and Walker A. Swain. "School Choice, Gentrification, and the Variable Significance of Racial Stratification in Urban Neighborhoods." *ProQuest*. SageJournals, 24 May 2017. Web. 2 Nov. 2017.

I chose to include this study because it is very recent and very relevant to my topic. It hit on everything I want to focus my research on including how school of choice affects the public schools in gentrified neighborhoods.

“Public Schools.” *Best Public Schools | Review Schools & Compare Key Facts*, public-schools.startclass.com/.

This is the website I used to find each high school’s average composite ACT score. This website is really useful and has information on schools including teach-student ratio, racial makeup, and test scores.

Quiroz, Pamela A., and Vernon Lindsay. “Selective Enrollment, Race and Shifting the Geography of Educational Opportunity.” *ProQuest.* SageJournals, 30 September 2015. Web. 2 Nov. 2017.

I found this article by searching “race, education.” This study argued that shifting demographics and educational policies to assist with the results of gentrification comes at the expense of minority groups, especially African Americans.

Weiher, Gregory R., and Kent L. Tedin. “Does choice lead to racially distinctive schools? Charter schools and household preferences.” *ProQuest*. Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, Winter 2002. Web. 2 Nov. 2017.

I found this by searching “race, schools.” This study analyzed 1,006 responses from Texan households on why they chose charter schools and how race factored into that choice. The results of the study show that each race of student transferred into a school with a higher percentage of their race.

Wodtke, Geoffrey T., David J. Harding, and Felix Elwert. "Neighborhood Effects in Temporal Perspective: The Impact of Long-Term Exposure to Concentrated Disadvantage on High School Graduation." *American Sociological Review* 76.5 (2011): 713-36. *ProQuest.*Web. 5 Nov. 2017.

I found this study by searching “neighborhoods, school.” It is interesting because it directly tied neighborhood environment to academic success. The researchers followed thousands of children throughout 18 years to track the children’s environment as they grew.