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Lauren Newman
The Translation of Anti-Racism Values
from the Professional into the Personal
for White Social Workers Who Have Lived
in North or West Philadelphia

ABSTRACT

This research explores how white social workers who were exposed to anti-racism values during their social work education, execute these values while living in the gentrifying neighborhoods of North or West Philadelphia. Twelve white social workers participated in semi-structured interviews in which they described their anti-racism education/training, their motivation for moving to North or West Philadelphia, and how they felt they translated the anti-racism values that were learned or reinforced for them in their education into their lives in their gentrifying communities. The findings display the importance in equipping people with the tools to engage within their community and guide them towards living ethically within their community. This study postulates that committing to the lives of oppressed populations both in and out of the workplace could lead to the interruption of the systems and institutions that instigate and perpetuate gentrification.

**The Translation of Anti-Racism Values from the Professional into the Personal for White
Social Workers Who Have Lived in North or West Philadelphia**

A project based upon an independent investigation,
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Social Work.

Lauren Newman
2017

Smith College School for Social Work
Northampton, Massachusetts 01063

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I would like to thank anyone who has had the important conversations with me about gentrification that helped to formulate this work. These conversations were not always comfortable, because recognizing our role in oppressive systems often is not. It is due to time spent in this conversations that we move forward from this research with ways to turn our words into actions, which is a pivotal and frequently overlooked step in anti-racism and anti-oppression work. It does feel essential for me to share with you that these conversations were just the beginning, because it is our ethical obligation not to tire until we dismantle these systems that perpetuate gentrification and all forms of oppression.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

This research explores how white social workers that were exposed to anti-racism values during their social work education, execute these values while living in the gentrifying neighborhoods of North or West Philadelphia. These specific neighborhoods in Philadelphia were selected due to their physical proximity to the researcher and due to the fact that they are undergoing rapid economic and social change. The purpose of this study is to learn how the anti-racism ideology embraced by social workers professionally intersects with the way they exist as a part of the communities they live in. The research question being explored is, “For white social workers who have lived in the gentrifying communities of North or West Philadelphia, how does the anti-racism ideology they embraced during their social work education intersect with the way they live?” This is a necessary area of study due to the lack of research regarding the way that white social workers translate their professional anti-racism values into their lives outside of a clinical context.

For the purpose of this study, anti-racism is defined as the personal and professional work to “identify, critically analyze and intervene against the insidious and lethal effects of racism” (Smith College School for Social Work, 2016). Gentrification is seen through an economic and social lens. The dictionary defines gentrification economically, as, “the buying and renovating of houses and stores in deteriorated urban neighborhoods by upper or middle income families or individuals, thus improving property values but often displacing low-income families (and individuals) and small

businesses” (Dictionary.com, 2016). Butler and Robson define gentrification through the role of social capital, “This form of capital has two analytically distinguishable strains, incorporated, in the form of education and knowledge, and symbolic, being the capacity to define and legitimize cultural, moral and aesthetic values, standards and styles” (p.2146, 2001). The former addresses how gentrification alters the physical landscape of a neighborhood, the latter addresses how it alters a neighborhood’s value system, and this study integrates these two ideas and uses them interchangeably. White social workers are those who do not identify as people of color, that are working in the social work field doing therapy, case management, or education work. In order to define North and West Philadelphia, the attached maps were used (Appendix A: North and West Philadelphia Maps).

In order to examine the research question, twelve white social workers that studied at a school which centralized anti-racism in the curriculum and who live or have lived in North or West Philadelphia were interviewed. The study is qualitative, in order to center the subject’s voice and capture the nuance of their narrative. Participants answered a series of questions in which they described their anti-racism education, explained how they came to live where they do, and how they currently experience living in those neighborhoods as anti-racism change agents.

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to develop a basis for understanding the practical ways in which anti-racism values are applied by social workers living in communities undergoing rapid economic changes related to gentrification, the literature review will explore work by authors who have developed studies about a range of underlying concepts. It is presented in five sections. The first section defines anti-racism from the perspective of authors who have produced work in that area. The second section explores the application anti-racism training in various social work programs and institutions. The third section defines gentrification along the economic and social spectrum. The fourth section reflects studies about the impact of economic and social change on North and West Philadelphia. The final section provides the basis for further study in this area based on the information gathered in the previous four sections of the literature review.

Definitions of Anti-Racism

In anti-racism literature certain authors seek to define the concept in opposition to racism while others “attempted to move beyond anti-racism as simply the opposite of racism” (Berman and Paradies, p.218, 2010). Berman and Paradies cite definitions that focus on the eradication of racism via practices and ideologies that bring about racial equity, and others that converge around the idea of racial justice or a reconstruction of a harmonious society. These authors ultimately define anti-racism as “that which promotes equality of opportunity among ethnoracial groups,” (Berman and Paradies, p.219, 2010) as they emphasize the difference between opportunity and outcome. They present the

concepts of “direct and indirect anti-racism”, the former meaning “efforts to promote equal treatment that results in equal opportunity and hence addresses direct racism,” (Berman and Paradies, p.219, 2010) utilizing efforts to prevent racial-profiling as an example. The latter looks at efforts to combat systemic racism or the indirect racism that has been caused by racism’s history (Berman and Paradies, p.219, 2010).

When looking at anti-racism as an action to be taken in opposition to racism, examining the definition of racism then becomes an imperative. In the critical race theory work done by Miller and Garran, they believe that “that race is a social construction, and racism is a very real, multifaceted, historical, and contemporary force” (p.16, 2008). In critical race theory, these authors point out that the meaning of race changes over time and in differing social contexts. Race is either used to establish one’s sense of identity or deny it, whichever best fits the narrative of the social construction in that context or time period (Miller and Garran, p.26, 2008). Ring quotes H.A. Bulham as he elaborates on a theory about the role of power in racism,

The ideas or actions of a person, the goals or practices of an institution and the symbols, myths or structure of a society are racist if (a) imaginary or real differences of race are accentuated; (b) these differences are assumed absolute and considered in terms of superior and inferior; and (c) these are used to justify inequity, exclusion or domination. (p.74, 2000)

In 2000, Memmi wrote about the psychological and social implications of the oppressed groups being thought of as “less than” by the group in power (as cited in Miller and Garran, p.27, 2008). Miller and Garran say that where we are situated along the

continuum of racial power guides our “perception of others and social actions,” (Miller and Garran, p.27, 2008) and critical race theory believes that white people are both the least aware of this continuum and those whose eyes need to be opened to it most.

Engaging in direct anti-racism work can stem from the realization of the ways in which we preserve and perpetuate oppressive systems (Love, 2010). Love cites awareness, analysis, action, and accountability/ally-ship as the four steps towards the development of what she called, a “liberatory consciousness” (p.602, 2010). Gaining this consciousness is crucial in order to be a liberation worker, “one who is committed to changing systems and institutions characterized by oppression to create greater equity and social justice” (Love, p.601, 2010). According to Love (2010), the first step is “awareness,” because in order to interrupt oppressive systems one must gain awareness that those systems are indeed oppressive. “Analyzing” is noticing why those racist acts around you are occurring and critiquing what role you play in how they transpire (Love, 2010). “Action” means “deciding what needs to be done, and then seeing that into action” (Love, p.602, 2010). “Accountability and ally-ship” functions as a way to bridge gaps that racist systems have created and perpetuated, in order to join with those of your own group and other groups. It keeps liberation workers from remaining stagnant and helps people to “make progress in ways that are not apparent when working in isolation and in separate communities” (Love, p.603, 2010).

Lentin (2016) writes about “frozen racism,” as the problematic way of looking at racism as though it is a feature of our past, not our present. She comments that “by freezing so-called ‘real racism’ in historical time, we allow discrimination and abuse to

continue polyvalently under the guise of purportedly post-racial arguments about cultural incompatibility, secularism versus religion, or sovereignty and security” and due to this outlook racism is only discussed and seen as something from the past” (Lentin, p.35, 2016). By thinking about racism as if it can only occur in big bold strokes such as the Holocaust, slavery, or Apartheid, we neglect to see how the roots of what lead to those larger events might still be impacting us today on a regular basis. Lentin says that by living in a “post-racial” society, where anyone of any positionality can be seen as racist, ultimately “white, western ‘standards’ of objectivity and rational thought, are accorded the right to define the contours of racism” (p.37, 2016). These white, western standards are what Berman and Paradies were speaking about needing to oppose in doing indirect anti-racism work. This concept works in tandem to what Anthias and Lloyd hoped to do by defining anti-racism outside of the scope of racism’s definition (p.12, 2005). They felt that the error in what anti-racism and multicultural work had been, until that point, was that the dominant group was still guiding the conversation and oppressed populations were being invited to a conversation about the terms of their own oppression (Anthias and Lloyd, p.12, 2005).

In a study analyzing anti-racism strategies, done by Pedersen, Walker, and Wise, the authors found that the strategies studied primarily employed were via interpersonal and interpersonal methods (2005). Intrapersonal methods included, “providing specific information about racial issues (in particular false beliefs), creating dissonance about having different values (e.g., believing oneself to be egalitarian, but disliking a certain cultural group), and empathy” (Pederson, Walker, and Wise, p.21, 2005). Interpersonal

strategies included, “intergroup contact, providing consensus information (do other people agree with our views?), the benefits of dialogue with other people, and advertising campaigns” (Pederson, Walker, and Wise, p.21, 2005). The study suggested that due to the fact that there is no sound measure for racism, many of these strategies did not report significant findings (2005). The authors noted that none of these strategies could be employed to reverse racism, and “the best one can hope for is that the session will be a stimulant for ongoing change” (Pederson, Walker, and Wise, p.27, 2005). Berman and Paradies believe that, “anti-racism policies and programs within broader multicultural approaches are a requisite if multiculturalism is to ultimately accommodate diversity and eliminate racism” (p.228, 2010). They then go on to say that, “disentangling notions of disadvantage, multiculturalism and anti- racism makes it possible to bring anti-racism praxis to the fore via policies and programs that focus on broader community attitudes and social systems” (Berman and Paradies, p.229, 2010).

Both macro and micro paths to actualizing anti-racism values show potential, and ultimately deciding which path to take can begin in one’s initial stages of conceptualizing anti-racism, in the classroom.

Anti-Racism Training in Social Work Education

An exploration of various avenues of social work anti-racism education and training provides insight about the way social workers might become grounded in anti-racism activism practices. Social Work centers the need for those who work within the profession to “understand the nature of social diversity and oppression with respect to race,” (National Association of Social Workers, 2008) and the multitude of other

identities that our clients possess. This need to respect and understand the race-based experiences of our clients and our responsibility as social workers to “prevent and eliminate domination of, exploitation of, and discrimination against any person, group, or class on the basis of race,” (National Association of Social Workers, 2008) echoes throughout social work training programs in a variety of ways.

The Social Work Policy Institute (SWPI) produced a report in 2014 that investigated current best practices of institutions actively committed to practicing anti-racism work. In this report they overview the damaging impact of color-blind racism, a theory developed by Dr. Bonilla-Silva (Social Work Policy Institute, p.3, 2014). Those who practice this ideology proclaim that they do not see color and therefore, “create a flexible and virtually impenetrable wall that allows current racial inequity to go on uncontested” (Social Work Policy Institute, p.3, 2014). According to the SWPI, color-blind racism takes on four forms. The first is “Abstract Liberalism” in which people are utilizing their liberalism to promote an “equal opportunity” ideology (Social Work Policy Institute, p.4, 2014) that negates the need to comprehend the true differences between populations that exist. The next is “Naturalization” which is the belief that certain divisive elements of race only occur because people want to “be around people that look and feel like them” (Social Work Policy Institute, p.4, 2014). The third is “Cultural Racism” which explains racial inequity by stating that certain races want things that others do not (Social Work Policy Institute, p.4, 2014). The last is “Minimization of Racism” which believes in the presence of racial inequity, but believes in tandem that opportunities are out there for people who are willing to work hard enough (Social Work

Policy Institute, p.4, 2014). Participants in a think-tank convened by the SWPI verified that these forms of color-blind racism are as prevalent in regular conversations and understandings about race as Dr. Bonilla-Silva believes. They went on to say that “social work educators should ensure that all professionals in the field be equipped to identify it, and interrupt it in themselves, in their institutions, and in others” (Social Work Policy Institute, p.4, 2014).

In effectively combating color-blind racism, the report cites the work of PISAB, the People’s Institute of Survival and Beyond, and the Undoing Racism workshops they implement. The ideology of PISAB “includes proactively bringing culture and humanity back into systems and institutional culture, analyzing and addressing the current arrangements of power and accountability, understanding history as it relates to our current reality, and analyzing internalized racial oppression to enable people to work together more effectively” (Social Work Policy Institute, p.5, 2014). Looking at institutions and systems in a way that allows for people to see how racial inequity is perpetuated, then allows for those people to organize and take action against that inequity in new ways (Social Work Policy Institute, p.5, 2014). The organization stresses the need for white social workers to recognize the ways in which they are socialized to believe racial differences and the power white people have been given and now hold in our society (Social Work Policy Institute, p.5, 2014). The conversation then extends to social work specifically and where social workers fit into these power dynamics. “Whether they intend it or not, social workers typically serve as agents of social control, holding power over people in poor communities rather than always engaging with the communities to

restore decision-making power or to work in ways that establish mutual accountability” (Social Work Policy Institute, p.6, 2014). This concept of gatekeeping (Social Work Policy Institute, p.6, 2014) is what centers the need for social workers, specifically white social workers, to prioritize the needs of the community they work within.

After culminating the philosophies of multiple organizations working to combat racial inequity, the SWPI created a resource that outlines the steps they believe are best to be taken in “combating institutional racism and achieving racial equity” (Social Work Policy Institute, p.12, 2014). The first step is collecting data that is meaningful to the communities social workers work within, and utilizing that data as an organizational tool (Social Work Policy Institute, p.12, 2014). The second step is participating in anti-racist education and training, during which the manifestation of racism within the individual, institutions, languages, and cultures is addressed (Social Work Policy Institute, p.12, 2014). The education and training must include an understanding of internalized racism, the history of racism and the impact of that history has on systems and communities, as well as the understanding that there are no quick fixes (Social Work Policy Institute, p.12, 2014). The third step is an engagement in which a shared analysis, understanding, and principles are created, a sense of urgency is formed, and power and leadership are shared amongst all participating populations (Social Work Policy Institute, p.12, 2014). The fourth step is when the outcome of the work is analyzed (Social Work Policy Institute, p.12, 2014). Racism and power at all levels is analyzed, accountability is maintained, gatekeeping is reshaped, desired outcomes of the work are made clear, and barriers to accomplishing those outcomes are solidified and reversed (Social Work Policy

Institute, p.12, 2014). This process then feeds back into data collection and the process begins again.

The report outlines five steps in combating racism as social workers, “building opportunities to develop, engage, and strengthen leadership of color”, “ensure availability of professional development for social workers to acquire the following core competencies to combat institutional racism”, “engage NASW as a leader in undoing racism”, “be explicit about race and racism and the social work profession”, and “engage social work education” (Social Work Policy Institute, p.17-18, 2014). The SWPI believed that there is a need to “ensure availability and access to core anti-racism/anti-racist curriculum content in social work education programs” (Social Work Policy Institute, p.17, 2014). While there are a great number of social work programs that include a focus on race and racism, a small portion center anti-racism action and ideology within their curriculum. The Social Work Schools/Departments of University of New Hampshire (2016), UNC Charlotte (2016), St. Ambrose University (2015) and Smith College (2016) all have released an “Anti-Racism Commitment” or an “Anti-Racism Statement” from their program. The University of Denver Graduate School for Social Work released a “Solidarity Statement for Racial Justice” in 2015. St. Thomas University in Canada has offered a course entitled “Anti-Racist Social Work” (2016). NYU has offered an elective entitled, “Anti-racism for Social Workers: Understanding the Impact of Structural Racism on Practice, Policies, Programs and Research.” (2016) The University of Washington offers “Anti-racist Organizing for Social and Economic Change” (2016).

USC and UNH specifically cite the relationship between social work and the fight

for social justice. USC's Commitment to Racial Justice believes that, "Social work has a longstanding value of upholding and working toward human rights. Social workers and leaders of human services organizations are obligated to speak out against all forms of racism and address structural racism in our communities and the inequitable and racialized outcomes it produces" (2015). University of Denver seeks to, "Collaborate with the communities most affected by these injustices and participate, as directed by community, in efforts to dismantle systemic oppression" (2015). Both Smith College's Commitment and the course offered by Washington University, name the hope to analyze and disrupt systems that perpetuate white supremacy (Smith College School for Social Work, 2016) (Washington University, 2017). USC notes that, "Our varying experiences with and participation in systems of power and privilege make ongoing conversations about race, structural and systemic racism, and oppression complex and challenging" (USC School for Social Work, 2016) and UNC recognizes that "conversations requires courage, respect, and compassion, and may not always be or seek to be comfortable" (UNC Charlotte School of Social Work, 2016). In addressing the gatekeeper phenomena, Smith College's commitment calls for systems of accountability from all areas of student body and faculty (Smith College School for Social Work, 2016), and the University of Denver commitment aims to "continually address the intersectional nature of power, privilege and oppression in our interactions with clients, students, communities and each other" (2015).

When narrowing the scope to look at social work programs in and adjacent to Philadelphia, the programs have courses that center race within them, but none of them

center anti-racism learning. The University of Pennsylvania, Social Policy and Practice program offers a required course entitled, “American Racism and Social Work Practice” which explores the history and complexity of racism and what the implications are for social work practice (2016). Another required course offered is “Understanding Social Change: Issues of Race and Gender,” which elaborates on the themes of “American Racism and Social Work Practice” as they relate to addressing discrimination based on race and gender (2016). A “Critical Race Theory” elective is offered as well (University of Pennsylvania, 2016). The Penn Field Manual addresses “The Penn Approach,” (University of Pennsylvania, 2016) an ever-changing document off of which the values of the Social Work program are based. “It also reflects the faculty’s commitment to introduce MSW students to a variety of perspectives related to social work practice, social change, social policy, research, racism and oppression, and the nature of human behavior in the social environment” (University of Pennsylvania, 2016). The Bryn Mawr College Graduate School of Social Work and Social Research program offers multiple psychopathology, practice, and policy courses that center the oppression of many marginalized groups (2017), but none that center anti-racism explicitly. In the West Chester University MSW program, no course mentions race specifically, however there are multiple courses that address the connection between social work as a profession and engaging in anti-oppression work (2016). “The Dialectic of Oppression and Liberation,” “examines the impact of discrimination and oppression on members of special groups, i.e., ethnic minorities, women, elderly, disabled, gays, and lesbians while considering the effects of diversity on human behavior and attitudes” (West Chester University

Department of Graduate Social Work, 2016). Of the nine competencies expected by graduation in the undergraduate social work program at La Salle, two center race and social justice. The second, “Engage Diversity and Difference in Practice” aims for students to understand how identities of individuals and communities shape the experiences of clients (2016). The third, “Advance Human Rights and Social, Economic, and Environmental Justice” aims for students to practice with the belief that all individuals have fundamental human rights such as, “freedom, safety, privacy, an adequate standard of living, health care, and education” (2016). The Widner MSW program offers a community-based approach “that strengthen[s] disadvantaged individuals, families, organizations, and communities while contributing to the knowledge base of the profession,” (2016) however nowhere in the Mission and Outcomes is race explicitly mentioned. The Temple University undergraduate social work program cites that graduates will “understand the effects of structural inequities based on race, class, gender, or sexual orientation, as well as other forms of oppression and discrimination that present barriers to individual and collective growth, well-being, and the development of full potential” (2016). The Clinical Practice Concentration in the Temple University MSW program centers the use of a variety of frameworks in addressing, “the presenting problem, culture, social class, race, gender, and sexual orientation” (2016). The Temple University Social Work Program’s Mission and Goals contains the following statement, “Poverty, racism, sexism, homophobia, and other forms of discrimination and disenfranchisement are priority concerns of the school, as are those social problems associated with life in the inner city” (2016).

“Social problems associated with life in the inner city,” (Temple University, 2016) specifically related to the needs of under-served and oppressed populations as the city of Philadelphia changes due to gentrification, is what the next sections of this literature review will explore.

Gentrification

In an article written by Alan Ehrenhalt in 2015, he paints a picture of desirable neighborhood change. He describes the optimal presentation of a city-center:

Vibrant downtown, blessed with myriad dining and entertainment options; storefronts that attract high-end retail shopping; streets that are well-traveled and safe at all hours of the day and night; in the old neighborhoods just outside the center, long, pleasant blocks filled with stately pre-war houses restored by new owners to their original glory; and in the center, a sprinkling of luxury condominium and market-rate rental buildings attracting young couples lured by all the amenities a thriving city can provide. (Ehrenhalt, 2015)

He then goes on to say that any city leadership that hopes to produce this optimal outcome, often hopes just as strongly not to produce a “wave of gentrification” (Ehrenhalt, 2015). This term is one that has been used to describe the negative economic and social impact of neighborhood change. It is an impact that typically leads to or exaggerates economic segregation and displacement of low-income populations (Ehrenhalt, 2015). This section of the literature review will define gentrification in two ways, as it relates to the economy specifically, and then how it relates to social capital.

In a literature review done by the Urban Displacement Project, the typical

economic breakdown of a city center is explained by the concentric zone model (2015). It starts with the “central business district at the center, transitional zones of light industrial and offices next, followed by worker housing, and finally newer housing for the middle class in the outer ring “ (Zuk et al., p.4, 2015). At the time this model was conceptualized, the neighborhood was considered a closed ecosystem.

New residents – distinguished by ethnicity and class – would enter the ecosystem and disrupt the equilibrium. Competition for space followed, and neighborhood succession occurred when less dominant populations were forced to relocate. The dominant groups that stayed established a new equilibrium (Zuk et al., p.4, 2015). This then produced the idea that a dominant population set the standard for the neighborhood they had overtaken (Zuk et al., p.4, 2015). This began a natural segregation of city centers, in which low-income populations needed to locate outside of the dominated area due to their inability to financially and morally assimilate (Zuk et al., p.4, 2015). This kept marginalized communities, “immigrants, African Americans, and low income people” at a distinct distance from being able to immerse themselves in the culture and lives of the dominant class (Zuk et al., p.5, 2015). “Metropolitan areas that conform to the concentric zone model (for example, places like Chicago, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia) tend to be larger and more densely populated metros, often with a higher degree of both affluence and inequality, a larger African American population, and a greater share of population in the suburbs” (Zuk et al., p.6, 2015). This layout of many major cities that have participated in these forms of economic segregation, ultimately contain distinct racial segregation as well (Zuk et al., p.8, 2015).

“African American - White segregation has persisted in major metropolitan areas, especially in the Northeast and Midwest and a large share of minorities still live in neighborhoods with virtually no White residents,” (Zuk et al., p.7, 2015) and this particular phenomenon is what gentrification is based off of. There are two racial trends in changing neighborhoods that the Urban Displacement Project highlights in their literature review, “the increase of previously White neighborhoods that became integrated through the growth of non-white populations, as well as a smaller but accelerating number of previously non-White neighborhoods that became integrated through the growth of White populations” (Zuk et al., p.7, 2015). They found that certain races experience differing levels of integration in predominately white neighborhoods and that, “discriminating institutions ... limit residential movement of African Americans into White neighborhoods, such as biased residential preferences among non Hispanic Whites and discrimination in the real estate market” (Zuk et al., p.8, 2015). The second racial trend, in which White populations are less likely to move into non-White neighborhoods thereby promoting higher levels of segregation, often occurs due to neighborhood “tipping” (Zuk et al., p.8, 2015). The “tipping” point is when the levels of “non-white populations, high levels of discrimination, large homicide rates, and a history of racial riots tip at lower thresholds than other places” (Zuk et al., p.8, 2015). These two ideas of segregation due to “tipping” as well as higher levels of integration are co-occurring in growing cities, (Zuk et al., p.9, 2015) and gentrification theories explore the reasoning behind this.

Gentrification has been looked at as “urban renewal,” (Ehrenhalt, 2015) or

“revitalization” (Zuk et al., p.12, 2015), this idea that an influx of middle class populations into cities improves neighborhood conditions, by bringing in new populations to declining neighborhoods (Zuk et al., p.12, 2015). These are populations that are attracted to the jobs and opportunities of a city and are able to move into homes in low-income neighborhoods because of the low prices (Zuk et al., p.12, 2015). This influx creates more opportunity within the neighborhood itself, the desirability to live there rises, and therefore prices within that that neighborhood then rise as well (Zuk et al., p.12, 2015). Displacement of the low-income population that had originally been living in the neighborhood, while not initially present in what the Zuk et al. describes as “incumbent upgrading,” is ultimately the negative outcome of this change.

“Gentrification does not rely on a singular cause. It may emerge when three conditions are present: the existence of a potential pool of gentrifiers, a supply of inner city housing, and a cultural preference for urban living” (Zuk et al., p.12, 2015).

Gentrification originates from two different points, the “commercial” (Zuk et al., p.15, 2015) and the “cultural” (Zuk et al., p.14, 2015). For those who are motivated to move into low-income neighborhoods for economic reasons, these are neighborhoods that are closer to city-centers and new businesses that arrive into the neighborhood as the population shifts (Zuk et al., p.16, 2015). For those who are motivated by cultural reasons, there is an “aesthetic and lifestyle preferences of gentrifiers, who desire a gritty, authentically ‘urban’ experience” (Zuk et al., p.13, 2015). A study done by McKinnish et al., “suggest[s] that neighborhood gentrification is associated with disproportionate in-migration of college graduates, particularly white college graduates under 40 without

children” (2010) and that there is a “disproportionate exit of black high school graduates” (2010). Their data also points to an influx of middle-class black families into gentrifying spaces, and they attribute this to the diversity and income increase of the neighborhood.

Studies suggest that those who move into low-income neighborhoods seeking an authentic urban experience (Zuk et al., p.13, 2015), are ultimately gaining an experience that is growing increasingly inauthentic due to the “creation of commodified public spaces” (Zuk et al., p.15, 2015). Spaces change just enough to control the culture of the neighborhood and “controlling cities in this sense refers to deciding who belongs and who doesn’t in specific areas of cities” (Zuk et al., p.15, 2015). As the income bracket increases within a neighborhood, the ecosystem within that community appears to improve (Zuk et al, p.16, 2015). This improvement is only accessible to the population that is able to live in the neighborhood, not those who are displaced.

Grier and Grier wrote a report for the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (as cited in Zuk et al., p.25, 2015), and defined displacement as,

Displacement occurs when any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions which affect the dwelling or immediate surroundings, and which:

- 1) are beyond the household’s reasonable ability to control or prevent;
- 2) occur despite the household’s having met all previously-imposed conditions of occupancy; and
- 3) make continued occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous or unaffordable. (1978)

“Given today’s landscape of public investment, advocates and scholars are increasingly

concerned that public investments may create a situation in which incumbent residents have fewer options than they did before and are forced out or can't move in" (Zuk et al., p.24, 2015). The concept of displacement not only applies to those who are forced to leave the neighborhood they have lived in, but also to those who are now unable to "weather the additional costs of remaining in improving neighborhoods" (Ellen and O'Regan, p.93, 2011). Studies suggest that, "residents who move to gentrifying neighborhoods tend to be more socioeconomically advantaged than original residents in the neighborhoods which suggests that less advantaged residents may indeed be entering more disadvantaged neighborhoods" (Ding, Hwang, and Divringi, 2015). The difference to note, is the economic success of changing and gentrifying communities, and the communities that continue to remain unchanged (Florida, 2015). "The displaced are getting pushed out of working class neighborhoods that are 'good enough' to attract people and investment, while the poorest and most vulnerable neighborhoods remain mired in persistent poverty and concentrated disadvantage" (Florida, 2015). Florida went on to say that, "A Harvard study of Chicago found that the gentrification process continues for neighborhoods with over 35 percent of white residents, and either slows or stops if the neighborhood is 40 percent black" (2015). Many studies speak about displaced, poor, and vulnerable populations generally, however Kirkland states that "if widely held beliefs are true that the original residents who are most impacted negatively by gentrification are African Americans and other people of color, and if displacement is the most drastic consequence to original residents, then a failure to adequately study displacement is tantamount to a failure to adequately study the racial element of

gentrification” (2008). Kirkland goes on to say,

[W]e are left with a huge divide between our popular conceptualization of gentrification, which is cast so clearly in racial terms, and the academic depiction which to a great extent skirts the race aspect. Time and again, the very definition of gentrification makes no mention of race and ethnicity, and questions about the racially differential impact of gentrification, and about the racial transformation wrought by the process of gentrification, are largely unexamined. Given the silence, in the bulk of the analyses of gentrification, on the topic of race, it is legitimate to ask, why! Why is gentrification a racial phenomenon, and why is discussion and analysis of that phenomenon avoided? (2008)

This absence of race from the discussion of gentrification is a continuation of our American history to avoid racial discourse, and even to remove race from the conversation entirely (Kirkland, 2008). When looking at the ways that race and gentrification historically and currently intersect, examining the changing neighborhoods of Philadelphia provides a strong framework.

North and West Philadelphia

In 1899 W.E.B. Dubois wrote *the Philadelphia Negro*. He was drawn to the city due to its large population of black citizens (Logan and Bellman, 2016), second in the country in the 1890's with 39,371 black residents living there (Dubois, p.50, 1996). Dubois describes the problem of those black residents as follows, “Here is a large group of people- perhaps forty-five thousand, a city within a city- who do form an integral part of the larger social group” (p.5, 1996). The misconceptions about the condition of living

for black people in Philadelphia at the time ranged from believing that black people are truly free and have the same chance as, “the Irishman, the Italian, or the Swede,” (Dubois, p.8, 1996) to life being even worse there than life in the Southern cities (Dubois, p.8, 1996). Dubois believed that the conditions existed somewhere between those two extremes, and that there was “a different mental attitude, moral standard, and economic judgment shown toward Negroes than most other folk,” (Dubois, p.8, 1996) that he felt was undeniable. In a recent study of the history of segregation in Philadelphia, Logan and Bellman found that high levels of segregation have been occurring in the city since before the Civil War (2016). When Dubois did his original study he defined color prejudice as a black person feeling as though there is a, “widespread feeling of dislike for his blood, which keeps him and his children out of decent employment, from certain public conveniences and amusements, from hiring houses in many sections, and in general, from being recognized as a man” (p.322, 1996). He describes this prejudice as something that impacts every element of a black person’s life in Philadelphia, despite the fact that many felt as though in a post-slavery society, times of prejudice have passed (Dubois, p.326, 1996). The social and physical isolation that black people living in Philadelphia experienced was due in great part to the color prejudice they experienced, as well as the desire to remain living in a space in which their community met their needs. “What we now can measure as a high level of segregation even in 1850 became even higher in the twentieth century” (Logan and Bellman, 2016). In 2014, Philly.com reported that, “Philadelphia is ranked as the ninth most racially segregated metro area in America based on an analysis of the 2010 Census. Many Philadelphians live in

neighborhoods where a single racial group represents 75 percent or more of the population” (Young).

In 2016, the PEW Charitable Trusts did a study on gentrifying neighborhoods in Philadelphia and the changes they have endured in the past 16 years, specifically between 2000 and 2014. The study focused on all neighborhoods in the city experiencing rapid economic change (The PEW Charitable Trusts, 2016). In the mid-twentieth century, many black communities were displaced to South and West Philadelphia due to massive urban renewal projects (The PEW Charitable Trusts, p.14, 2016). The PEW study cites Walter Palmer, “an attorney and activist, [who] grew up in a black neighborhood that was razed to create what is now called University City” (The PEW Charitable Trusts, p.14, 2016). He believed that many black residents are skeptical about whether or not urban renewal projects will benefit them (The PEW Charitable Trusts, p.14, 2016). There is a sentiment that these projects are meant to attract new residents and not to build up the population that is already residing there. “ In PEW’s 2015 citywide poll, 72 percent of black Philadelphians, as opposed to 57 percent of whites, said the city should focus on helping longtime residents stay put rather than trying to attract new residents” (p.15, 2016).

Many of the rapidly gentrifying neighborhoods are ones that are connected to university communities (The PEW Charitable Trusts, p.33, 2016). The areas around Temple University, Drexel University, LaSalle University, University of the Sciences, and University of Pennsylvania all had over 50% black residents in 2000, and in 2014 had less than 50% (The PEW Charitable Trusts, p.34, 2016). Cedar Park, Spruce Hill, and

Walnut Hill are all communities within West Philadelphia and each have experienced a decrease in their black population by almost half (The PEW Charitable Trusts, p.35, 2016). Two tracts of the North Philadelphia neighborhoods closest to Temple University's campus have the same statistic (The PEW Charitable Trusts, p.35, 2016). Ding, Hwang, and Divringi found that between 2000 and 2013, 56 of the 184 low-income census tracts gentrified, and these tracts are found predominantly near Temple University and University of Pennsylvania (2015).

North Philadelphia. In April of 2016, a group of protesters comprised of mainly North Philadelphia locals and Temple University students, marched down Broad Street (Tanenbaum, 2016). They were protesting the University's plan to build a new football stadium directly in the heart of the rapidly gentrifying area of North Philadelphia known as "Temple Town." The Voice quoted a Temple Student as saying, "It's not worth displacing residents to justify a stadium, and I don't think Temple anticipated the backlash" (2016). While many higher-ups at the University feel that the stadium would favorably impact Temple and the North Philadelphia community, in September of 2016, the plans to build the stadium halted (The Associate Press, 2016). The Stadium Stompers, the group formed in protest of the construction of the stadium, are motivated by the rapid gentrification of Temple Town, and the impact it has on the local North Philadelphia population (Stadium Stompers, 2017).

Since 2000, there has been a significant out-migration of long-term North Philadelphia residents (Hilbert, 2016). "Temple vicinity's long-term resident population declined from 5,139 to 2,953, a significant decline of 42.5 percent," and between 2000

and 2014, some areas of Temple Town have experienced a decrease in the long-term population up to 63% (Hilbert, 2016). This trend is not limited to the area around Temple University. The black population of Lower Northern Liberties has gone from 33% in 2000 to 18% in 2010-2014 (The PEW Charitable Trusts, p.20, 2016). In Upper Northern Liberties the black population has decreased from 30% to 9% in the same time frame (The PEW Charitable Trusts, p.20, 2016). The median income of the two neighborhoods respectively has risen by 54% and 83% (The PEW Charitable Trusts, p.18, 2016). Between 2010 and 2014, the rent of Fairmount/Spring Garden had risen by 30%, and in Fishtown it had gone up by 41% (Young, 2014).

West Philadelphia. When interviewing longtime residents of West Philadelphia, PEW found that they “[H]ave mixed feelings about the changes. Some have been pleased with the improved amenities—such as safety patrols and grocery stores near La Salle and the University of Pennsylvania—but they also complain about rowdy parties and a general lack of respect or understanding from the students” (The PEW Charitable Trusts, p.36, 2016). A notable difference between the gentrifying population and the original residents is their levels of mobility. “Residents in gentrifying neighborhoods have slightly higher mobility rates than residents in low-income neighborhoods that did not gentrify, but the higher mobility rates are largely driven by residents who are younger and have high credit scores and occur primarily in rapidly gentrifying neighborhoods” (Ding, Hwang, and Divringi, 2015). “The empirical results further suggest that less advantaged residents generally gained less from gentrification than others, and those who were unable to remain in a gentrifying neighborhood had negative residential and financial

outcomes in the gentrification process” (Ding, Hwang, and Divringi, 2015).

The West Philadelphia Initiatives took place in the 1990’s and early 2000’s as, “the University of Pennsylvania organized and implemented an ambitious policy designed to stimulate neighborhood reinvestment in West Philadelphia” (West Philadelphia Initiatives, p.3, 2004). By the time, Judith Roden took the office of President of Penn in 1994, “the crime rate in West Philadelphia had grown by 10 percent in 10 years” (West Philadelphia Initiatives, p.6, 2004). The Penn community feared how the condition of the neighborhood would impact the University’s future. The Initiatives had five explicit goals, “improve neighborhood services and capacity”, “provide high-quality, diverse housing choices”, “revive commercial activity”, “accelerate economic development”, and “enhance local school options” (West Philadelphia Initiatives, p.18, 2004). Improving housing was a central tenant of the Initiatives and it was done through multiple avenues. The “Guaranteed Mortgage Program,” gave full mortgages to every Penn employee who hoped to buy homes in West Philadelphia (Etienne, p.54, 2012). The “Fund” was a donation made by Fannie Mae (West Philadelphia Initiatives, p.15, 2004) in order to, “to acquire and renovate apartment buildings close to the university campus” (Etienne, p.55, 2012). “Vacant Home Rehabilitation” was an attempt by the University to acquire and rehabilitate homes that had been permanently vacant (Etienne, p.56, 2012). The WPI recognized that for the neighborhood to gain more appeal, something had to be done to address the impact of the failing Philadelphia public schools had on West Philadelphia residents. They then sought, “to create a new school to meet the needs of the communities closest to its campus that it would design and manage itself” (Etienne, p.61,

2012). Penn Alexander opened its door to pre-K to eighth grade students in 2004 (Penn Alexander School, 2016), and with it came the catchment within which families have to live if they wished for their students to attend.

The reviews from community members on the West Philadelphia Initiatives are mixed. Many felt grateful for the efforts of the University, others remained skeptical (Etienne, p.63, 2012). Residents felt that the WPI, “simultaneously presents opportunities in the form of resources and poses threats to the status quo” (Etienne, p.63, 2012). One resident explained, “It’s a good resource for me. I go to the library and use the Internet there. I can go and pick through the garbage there. Stuff like that. As an institution, they’re gobbling up West Philly, and it’s sad because the poor just get pushed out further and further. They should be invested in building up West Philly, not reinventing it” (Etienne, p.64, 2012).

There was a general rise in police presence in the mid-nineties due to the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 (Etienne, p.63, 2012). This led to issues within the community with the local bicycle police officers hired, and the harder hand felt by the Philadelphia Police cops versus the kindness felt by the University of Pennsylvania cops (Etienne, p.65, 2012.) Another issue taken with the decisions being made in the neighborhood was with the lack of transparency (Etienne, p.66, 2012). Many of the West Philadelphia residents in Etienne’s interviews for her book felt as though they “did not fully understand the breadth of the WPI” (Etienne, p.67, 2012) and she found that “sources within the university intimated that this was deliberate. Any suggestion that the initiatives were part of a larger comprehensive planning effort were to be avoided, as

they might have inspired resistance from community groups or recalled the university's long history of troubled relations with West Philadelphia communities" (Etienne, p.67, 2012). Ultimately, there was a sense of appreciation for keeping West Philadelphia's interests and safety at heart (Etienne, p.67, 2012), as well as a feeling of cynicism regarding the cyclical nature of University's involvement in neighborhood change (Etienne, p.68, 2012).

Summary

This literature review points to a need for further study regarding the experiences of white social workers implementing anti-racism values while living in gentrified or gentrifying communities. This need for further study is twofold; it both due to the intersection of race and gentrification and the role of social workers play as anti-racism activists, as well as the fact that there is little research that has been done about this population of social workers. West Philadelphia is a rapidly changing community that draws in the population of interest, and therefore creates an appropriate environment to begin to research their experiences. This researcher hopes that with this study, white social workers will begin to or continue to recognize the important role they play in gentrification as proponents of anti-racism, and how this role can manifest in the lives of their clients.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

In order to examine the research question, “For white social workers who have lived in the gentrifying community of North or West Philadelphia, how does the anti-racism ideology they embraced during their social work education intersect with the way they live?” I interviewed white social workers that have studied at a school that centralized anti-racism in their curriculum and who have lived in North or West Philadelphia. I did a qualitative study, in order to center the subject’s voice and capture the nuance of their narrative. I felt that this subject matter is particularly sensitive and in order to ultimately provide useful data, I created a space where participants felt fully able to disclose their experiences. Participants answered a series of questions in which they explained how they came to live where they do, and how they experience living in those neighborhoods as anti-racism change agents as it reflects the anti-racism focus of their social work education. All participants received the same treatment. Interviews were semi-structured. I had an interview guide but allowed for some deviation as participants shared their experiences.

Sample

Participants for this were social workers who completed or who were in the process of completing a Bachelor’s or Master’s in Social Work program that includes a focus on anti-racism throughout the curriculum and encourages an anti-racism ideology in the praxis of their students. Anti-racism in the case of my study was defined as per the Smith College School for Social Work website, the work to “identify, critically analyze

and intervene against the insidious and lethal effects of racism” (2016). Participants for this study were living or formerly lived in North or West Philadelphia, as defined by the attached maps (see Appendix A: North and West Philadelphia Maps), this was both due my physical proximity as the researcher as well as the fact that it is a neighborhood undergoing rapid economic and social change. This study aimed to gather data about the way white social workers who move into gentrifying neighborhoods implement their anti-racism values; therefore participants could not identify as people of color and had to be working in the social work field engaging in such functions (but not limited to) as therapy, case management, education work or social action functions. I did not be interview any colleagues, fellow Smith College SSW students, or friends for this study.

Ethics and Safeguards

The researcher was the only person who knew the identities of the participants. I am kept all informed consents in a lockbox to which I am the only person with the key. All of the transcripts and audio recordings from my interviews are kept in a separate lockbox, to which I am the only person with the key. This separation is in order to keep the names of the participants separate from the data I will be using in the study. Both lockboxes will be kept at a secure location for three years after the completion of the research. At the end of these three years they will be destroyed legally via shredder.

In addition, I asked that the subject refrain from self-identifying once the tape is going in the interview. I asked that they not give the specific address or location within the mapped area where they live. I used due diligence to de-identify all information used in the report, especially use of quotes.

As the interviewer I adapted the interviews as needed in order to create a comfortable environment for all participants. The content of this study had the potential to create professional risk for the participants. Therefore, I asked that participants did not disclose their specific location within Philadelphia, nor did I interview any colleagues, fellow Smith College SSW students, or friends. My interview style was as free of judgment as possible regarding any of the answers given by the participants. I phrased the questions in my interview in as neutral a way as possible, in order to encourage the full expression of experiences of the participants. Any questions that made the participant feel uncomfortable, we were able to skip. If the participant recognized that the interview process in general was uncomfortable, they were able to leave the interview at any time.

Participants could benefit from partaking in this study by having a space to discuss their professional anti-racism values gained or reinforced during their social work education and the ways in which they have translated these values into their lives in North or West Philadelphia. This had the potential to provide participants with insight as to how they have or have not translated these values in this way. This interview intended to provide a space to discuss values that are of great importance to social worker's professional and personal lives.

Data Collection

In order to recruit participants I used convenience and snowball sampling. I began my recruitment process by reaching out by phone, email, or in person, to local social work professionals with whom I was currently in contact through my current internship at Mastery Charter Shoemaker Campus, my previous Smith internship at Drexel Outpatient

Psychiatry, and my Bachelor's program at Temple University. By phone, email, or in person, I asked these contacts for the email addresses of anyone who met my inclusion criteria and might have been interested in participating in my study (see Appendix B: Initial Recruitment Script) From there, anyone who I was told might be interested received an email, (see Appendix C: Recruitment Email). The recruitment email included a very brief overview of the study purpose, participant inclusion criteria, and my contact information in order for the potential participant to contact me directly to learn more about the study. The recruitment email also asked individuals to contact others who might similarly interested. I then used networking and snowballing to access additional participants.

When contacted by a potential participant, I introduced myself, and also pre-screened them to make sure they fit the inclusion criterion for my study. I reviewed the study with them, their role in the study, and the study process. I discussed the informed consent, and arranged to send them a copy of the informed consent for their review as well as a copy of the interview guide (see Appendix D: Interview Guide). I asked them to read the informed consent and asked for them to contact me afterwards, at which time I answered any questions or concerns they had upon reviewing the informed consent. I also told them that once I had answered all of their questions to their satisfaction, and if they then wished to participate in the study, we would schedule a time for the interview. I had two-informed consents with me on the day of the interview, at which time the subjects would sign one copy for me and would have the other their own for their records. If we did not meet in person, participants received informed consents via email and sent me

back a signed copy.

In my qualitative, exploratory study, subjects participated in semi-structured interviews in which they discussed their experience translating their professional anti-racism values into their personal lives in their North or West Philadelphia community. Interviews lasted for thirty minutes to an hour. If we met in person, we met in a private and confidential location. To assure complete privacy, our interviews took place at the office of the participant if they had one available, or in the counseling suite at Mastery Charter Shoemaker Campus, where my internship took place. If we did not meet in person, I conducted interviews via phone and video chat. When I did this, I was in a private location and asked that clients do the same, in order to protect their confidentiality in this process. They received their informed consent via email, and returned it to me with an electronic signature. The interviews were audio recorded with the subject's permission. At the end of the interview I asked the participant if they had any questions, answered them as needed, and then thanked them for their participation.

I audio-recorded each interview and took hand-written notes of any salient points or themes brought up by the participant. These audio recordings were kept on my password-protected computer for the duration of the study and the handwritten notes were kept with the rest of the data in a lockbox to which I am the only person with the key. Upon uploading the audio files to my computer, I kept them to a password-protected file on my computer. For in person interviews, I brought two copies of the informed consent to the interview, one copy was signed by the participant and is kept in a lockbox that is separate from the data itself, and I am the only person with the key. The second

informed copy of the informed consent is one that the participant kept for their records. For video/phone interviews, participants received their Informed Consent via email, and returned it to me with an electronic signature. I printed the forms that were e-signed by the participant and is kept in a lockbox that is separate from the data itself, and I am the only person with the key. After the interviews were completed I transcribed the data myself as well as with the help of a volunteer transcriber, who completed the required paperwork (see Appendix F: Volunteer or Professional Transcriber's Assurance of Research Confidentiality Form). I then kept the transcripts on my password-protected computer. Upon the study's completion, all of the transcripts were moved to a thumb-drive that is kept in the lockbox containing the notes from the interviews, to which I am the only person with the key.

Data Analysis

Upon completing my interviews I transcribed the data with the help of two volunteer transcribers. Once the transcriptions were entered into Word Documents, I coded the data for themes. I looked for ways in which pieces of the data connected and ways in which certain pieces of information stood out. Coding allowed for me to create response categories, and these thematic responses and outliers helped me to organize my findings.

Summary

This chapter described the sample for my study, as well as the ethics and safeguards for those participants. It then went on to outline the data collection and analysis process I carried out in the research. The study results are fully presented in the

Findings Chapter and then analyzed in the Discussion Chapter.

Chapter IV

FINDINGS

The Findings Chapter presents the key findings from my study. It is organized and presented in terms of the study sample; the key findings, ending with the chapter summary. The findings were derived through the analysis of subject responses. Responses were coded, and analyzed in terms of their commonalities across subject responses; and special content that emerged. The intent of these interviews was to discover the ways in which white social workers translated their professional anti-racism values into their personal lives while living in gentrifying communities. The participants were white social workers who currently or had once lived in North or West Philadelphia, both areas where gentrification is occurring. Each of the social workers completed a BSW or MSW program in which anti-racism was a focus within the curriculum.

The interviews were semi-structured and consisted of three guiding questions, asking subjects to describe the anti-racism education/training they received during their social work program; their motivation for choosing to live in North or West Philadelphia; the ways each was able to incorporate their anti-racism values that were learned or reinforced during their social work education into their lives in their communities. Each of these three fixed sections of the interview led to further questions from the researcher of an open and close-ended nature, which yielded quantitative and qualitative data.

Anti-Racism Education or Training of the Participants

Of the twelve participants, a majority had completed their BSW or MSW program within the past five to ten years and a majority mentioned having a course dedicated to

anti-racism or a course that focused on anti-racism within the curriculum. Many had courses or sequences that centered on anti-racism or race-based learning. However, for many of the participants, the quality of the courses seemed to vary based on the professor or course content. It appeared that course professors played a defining role in the quality of the course and its outcomes. One social worker said, "I had a really excellent professor for that course who made it very rigorous and challenging, emotionally challenging as well as academically challenging." Observations by some subjects suggested that other classmates did not have as positive of an experience in these courses. As noted by one subject,

If you've got a professor who's uncomfortable there's no way that that conversation is going to be open and honest and free flowing and ... I think other classes weren't able to get as deep into the reflections as ... we were.

It also appears that some of these anti-racism courses were either uncomfortable or mistaught. A participant spoke about the newness of the material to her and other members of her cohort by saying, "that class was really stressful. ... that class was interesting because everyone is so new to social work at that point, and it's just really uncomfortable actually," and she followed this up by saying, "I think it's good that a lot of the conversations are uncomfortable and that people are not as comfortable talking in that class." One respondent said she felt her course was a,

missed opportunity to ... really talk in depth about ... not only what this means for the US, for our everyday lives ... but also what it means as a social worker to ... address those issues on an everyday level,

and another said hers was, “taught by a professor who seemed to lack self-awareness in that area so that was a little bit difficult.”

A number of participants spoke about the importance of their time in field and the impact it had on their anti-racism education due to working with people of color in a clinical context. A social worker expressed, “the bulk of my actual learning came from my field placement.” A clinician disclosed that,

Supervisors at my internships were very good at making sure that those were parts of conversations that we were having. And that... I was paying attention to race and my own privilege and the work that we were, I was doing as an intern.

Because I was working with mostly people of color as a white clinician at my internships.

Alternatively, it appears that some programs did not provide enough exposure to experiential learning. As one respondent commented, “There was a lot of talk about being connected to the community and activism. And especially at the school I went to which emphasized social justice and social change there just wasn’t enough connection to the community.”

The whiteness within their academic institutions and the whiteness of their classmates arose in most of the interviews. Many participants cited having Professors of Color teach their anti-racism course or sequence. An issue noted by some subjects was a lack of students of color in the classroom.—Further, the role of institutional racism was noted as it related to their education and the education of their peers. A respondent stated that, “people were both skeptical that the program didn’t have enough black students,

black teachers,” another stated, “I think at the school in general there’s a big disconnect between the ... understanding the history of race relations when it came to building the school and how they interact with it.” When discussing their own self-awareness regarding anti-racism, some participants expressed having previous exposure to these ideas, while one said it was a, “very new conversation.” Participants mentioned student involvement in changing the curriculum and the response of their professors or institutions. One of those participants was involved in a student-formed committee that, “got a group of people together and came up with our own suggested syllabus and curriculum” Another respondent mentioned the importance of learning from her peers by saying, "I feel like ... the way that I learned the best about racism and anti-racism was from the other students."

Motivation for Moving to North or West Philadelphia

Nine of the participants live or have lived in West Philadelphia, three live or have lived in North Philadelphia, and three mentioned having lived in both locations. A number of the participants have spent less than two years living in their neighborhoods, a number more participants have spent less than five years living in their neighborhood, and one participant has lived in her neighborhood for approximately ten. Many others did not specifically disclose how long they had been living in their neighborhood, but based on the timelines they expressed, it is possible to deduce that the majority of the interviewees live or have lived in North or West Philadelphia for less than ten years.

It appears that the motivation for moving to North or West Philadelphia was due to a variety of reasons. Eight participants moved there due to connections to the

neighborhood via school, family, or friends. Seven mentioned the inexpensive, cheap, or affordable nature of the homes as a driving factor. Eight participants spoke about the convenience of the location, “proximity to things that I want to be around, whether its job, people I know, etc.” Five of those eight participants specifically mentioned commuting and public transportation access as a benefit to living in the neighborhood. Five participants appreciated the physical appearance of the homes and the neighborhood itself, four of those five highlighted their appreciation of the greenery and trees. One participant explained that she moved temporarily to the neighborhood due to a mouse infestation where she had formerly been living.

The presence of a diverse community was a meaningful factor for many of the interviewees, one said, “I like the diversity, I mean obviously it is changing a little but, but I like the diversity that I generally see in my neighborhood.” One social worker mentioned the importance of the diversity for her interracial relationship, “it’s one reason that I’ve really loved West Philly because it’s really diverse and seeing that kind of diversity has been really important to me ... for I think our comfort level.” The importance of a community feel was cited by a number of the participants. One respondent explained that she sees, “people are sharing spaces in a way they aren’t in other communities” and another respondent said that, “some people in my building would ... ask ... how your day was and what you did for work, like they were curious and wanted to know.” A clinician disclosed, “Community organizations like Ahimsa House and other spaces that are special and make me feel connected to the community as a whole, across different ... lines that can often be divisive.” Participants appreciated the neighborhood

establishments such as a cooperative, stores, and bars, and the ability to participate in institutions within the community such as a organizing groups and synagogues. One participant mentioned the appeal of the schools in the area for their future family. She said,

If we get to the point that we're ready to have kids. Because we do want them to go to a school like Lee or Penn Alexander where they're going to experience going to school with people from different background and different races.

Participation in gentrification was a perception held by subjects as a pitfall of living in their neighborhood. One said,

I feel very aware of the fact that West Philadelphia is a gentrifying area and that I'm a part of that gentrification. And I don't feel completely comfortable with that. ... I'm in an area where people who have lived there for a long time are getting pushed out by ... young white professionals who are willing to pay more for rent. And that's changing the dynamics of the neighborhood. And I know that I'm involved with that and ... living there contributes to that. And yet I still continue to live there.

Another reiterated,

I still grapple with just the knowledge of gentrification in West Philadelphia and knowing ... my part in that from being someone who's lived outside Philly, ... a white young professional ... who is very much in very ways taking advantage of the cheaper rental market ... in that mix of family and people I'm referring to is ... very much part of that process as well. ... I think like con wise just thinking about

what that means for the neighborhood and where my role is in that, I think is something that I ... still have I don't know, I don't really know where I'm at with that ... it's something that I still kind of grapple with.

Translation of Anti-Racism Values from the Professional into the Personal

Upon learning about the anti-racism education and training the participants received and their motivation for moving to North or West Philadelphia, the final section of the interview aimed to fuse these ideas together in order to learn about the ways in which white social workers apply their anti-racism values to their lives in their neighborhoods. Participants had a wide variety of responses and the following subsections will address this range of responses.

The Micro Approach. When asked, some of clinicians expressed their inclination to take a micro route in their anti-racism advocacy within their community and other respondents touched on micro-based action steps, while not specifically naming this as their approach. Key activities reported by subjects for community engagement were volunteering with local organizations; interacting directly with other community members; participating in drives or personally donating money or food to North/West Philadelphians. POWER and Act Up were two organizations that arose regarding activism and spaces to volunteer. Voter registration was another activity mentioned as a method of direct action.

The concept of being a good neighbor or community member arose in several interviews. One respondent explained that for her it's,

the way I've ... tried to live my life ... when it comes to getting to know neighbors

and being a good neighbor and ... taking care of our property ... our common property ... just trying to be like open and ... a good community member in a very general sense,

and another expressed,

I think that we do tend to influence each other as people and follow each other's behaviors. ... I think when you get enough people reaching out to a community... it ultimately uplifts that community at large. ... I don't think I'm single-handedly uplifting a community by any means, but I like to think that... at the end of the day every time you do work towards something it does end up being a series.

One clinician provided an alternative perspective about the importance of being a good neighbor,

Being friendly and being a good neighbor is an important thing. But I don't know that that's necessarily being anti-racist. Just because I say, 'Hi,' to the black people that live near me. I think that's just part of being a good neighbor.

When asked why a micro approach was preferred, a social worker responded, I tend to focus on the little things that are able to be accomplished in the course of a day, just because the macro seems too big for me. And that's just a personal thing, that's always been a thing for me, if something is too big to wrap my brain around then I just start with the baby steps and so I think that for me, figuring out how to have those micro interactions be more successful is what keeps me connected to the systemic cause.

A participant added, "in the simplest form, it makes a difference in that person's day at

least in that moment.”

The Macro Approach. Many participants cited taking a macro route in their anti-racism advocacy as a way to engage in the community, though some talked about these macro steps without specifically citing this as their preferred approach. These participants opt for a policy avenue, attend community meetings, and participate in protests.

Regarding lobbying, one social worker explained,

I would lobby very strongly for better zoning laws that would prevent the kind of shift in house pricing that West Philly has experienced rather rapidly. To kind of, I think forced mixed income housing is really great idea ... that that would be a way to make sure that communities are able to stay diverse.

One participant discussed her work with Promise Zone and its efforts towards community revitalization.

Participation in community events or meetings was a common thread throughout many of the interviews. A social worker talked about going to community meetings at her synagogue in West Philadelphia, “about anti-Semitism and anti-racism work and how they can go together and how they can impact each other. Felt pretty timely. That was really powerful and was with ... people from different communities in the neighborhood.” Some subjects expressed their desire to participate in community meetings as a way they would like to enact their anti-racism values in their neighborhood. Civic associations arose as an option for macro engagement. One participant felt as though going to community meetings was a positive option, but named the complexity of this option as well.

There might be rightful pushback from the people who have lived in these communities for years and for decades. “Why are you coming into our space now? Why are you trying to change it?” I know that there’s very rightfully that kind of pushback, even if people are trying to help, sometimes it’s helpful and sometimes they can try to take over those kinds of spaces if unintentionally. And so people are right to be weary, people who have lived here for a long time are right to be weary about that as well. ... It’s kind of a difficult balancing act.

The possibility of protest participation was noted in several interviews. One social worker described the way that protesting has evolved recently,

the election has brought out an insane amount of anger and people taking to the streets in a way I haven’t seen as someone who’s been involved in direct action for the last 7 years, who couldn’t get 20 people to come to a protest.” Three respondents expressed a desire to participate in protests more frequently.

When asked why macro work was preferred, a participant said,

I do like health policy and research stuff so that’s where like we have some initiatives around how do we do more community based research, how do we form better partnerships in the work that we do how do we make sure it’s community led and not institutionally led,

and another echoed, “I think it’s a really important perspective. And that’s fine is people don’t want to do it, but they should definitely see it is as an option.”

Homeownership/Transience. The concept of contributing or being unable to contribute to the neighborhood due to purchasing versus renting space was discussed in

many interviews. Two participants had purchased their homes and one specifically felt as though this was beneficial for their neighborhood.

I bought my apartment a year and a half ago, and so becoming a home-owner in the neighborhood is sort of an interesting thing... In some ways investing in the neighborhood, literally, by buying, and contributing to the neighborhood and not being transient. There's a lot of people who are transient. There's a lot of grad students or other young professionals who live here for a couple years and leave. So for me buying in some way is like investing in the community, in the neighborhood. ... My neighbor's property value should go up ... We all have an interest in our neighborhood doing well. ... And also just being able to ... have some of that be challenging and be difficult.... I think we all have an interest, a vested interest in the neighborhood being safe, in there being good options for schools, in property values going up, in there being local business in places we can go and by me investing in the neighborhood it sort of aligns my interest with everyone else who lives here. So doing well in that sense, ... we therefore share an interest in the neighborhood being a beneficial place for people live and grow and work and play and live.

Two other participants spoke about the difficulties of transience and short-term renting in creating sustainable change. One said, "I mean if nobody lived in the super fancy expensive apartments, if they chose somewhere to live that didn't force landlords to raise the prices everywhere else," and later went on to say,

You can't say you're not allowed to buy a place, you're not allowed to rent a

place that's over this much money. Once you graduate and get your economic footing, you're not allowed to buy a house that costs this much. Like you can't do that to people. ... That's not something you can do or enforce.

Another clinician added, "It's really hard to get involved, especially to just insert yourself into spaces where I've been living here for like a year."

Internal Work. Awareness of the ways their whiteness impacts their positionality and mentality within their communities arose in many interviews. Participants discussed their conscientiousness of the space they take up as white people living in a gentrifying neighborhood. This manifested as being, "... very conscious of the decisions I make ..., where I buy groceries, where I choose to rent apartments," and as knowing, "There are a lot of people that look like me and are very similar and that they think they're being very progressive in this space but, who knows how we're actually impacting or how people view us." One participant expressed that they gravitate towards internal work and that they also seek out social connections with POC. She went on to explain,

I do think that I ... live in a pretty white pretty Jewish social community. And I'm very interested in figuring out how to diversify my social world. ... Which is complicated. And I think one of ... the ways that's been most organic and most successful has been building friendships with Jews of color. ... In the context of Shabbat community and of shared language and shared friendships and all that.

Another explained her process as, "Over time I would start to then say, "Why am I doing this?" and I'd be more mindful about it and I'd say, "Why am I feeling this way, is there really a reason for me to feel this way?"

Awareness or consciousness of the economic and racial divides within their neighborhood arose in many of the interviews. A portion of the participants who live in West Philadelphia mentioned the specific street at which a divide within the community occurs.

Certainly you don't find a lot of white people past 52nd street. Right? But yet you do between 40th and 52nd. ... And it's pushing, right you see more white people going up 52nd, 53rd, 54th. But there's definitely a divide there.

One social worker recounted his experience with the division by saying,

You're a little more conscious about the way that you exist in your community.

Like you become very conscious of the informal divides in the neighborhood that you live in. And exactly what's below or above or west or east or certain streets and the stereotypes those mini communities have.

Multiple participants noted tension in the response from the community-members who had been present in the neighborhoods prior to gentrification. One explained,

There was just definitely a sense that we were in somebody else's community and it made sense why they were irritated that were there ... I think we understood that, we felt like it was justified and we got it,

Another said,

Are they gonna see me as just this person who wants to come in and save them, 'save them'? Do they see me as just this outsider who wants to analyze them or study them. That's what I... And sometimes they do! Sometimes people will say you know people will say like, 'well just these white social workers come in,' and

that's a very valid thing to say.

One of the clinicians who had lived in both West and North Philadelphia talked about the difference she noticed between the gentrification that was occurring in the two neighborhoods.

For me the gentrification that's happening in North Philly feels even more uncomfortable than the gentrification happening in West Philly. ... I think a lot of it is how much developers picked out and designed Northern Liberties and I know that Penn has a lot to do with the gentrification in West Philly but it is has felt more gradual and like there were some community benefits that might be happening from it. Whereas Northern Liberties feels like completely a money making scheme.

Role of Education and Educational Institutions. The part University of Pennsylvania played in the experiences the respondents had living in their neighborhoods and the greater role it played in the gentrification process, arose in the majority in the interviews.

Regarding the role Penn plays in the community, one respondent explained, I'm thinking about things Penn has done in terms of really working with Penn Alexander to improve the school. Providing incentives to its staff and faculty to buy property in West Philadelphia including like, negating the closing costs by giving loan that staff and faculty don't necessarily have to pay back if they stay with the university. And I think that those policies, from my understanding, have really shifted West Philly in the last 15 years.

Another participant provides their perspective on Penn's role,

The way that the university has interacted with the community and sort of displacing communities when the school was being built when the campus was being built and displacing certain black communities from that area and ... there's a lot of hostility from the community still ... directed at the university. And so the university as a whole and the student body as a whole does not know that history, doesn't understand it and ... and doesn't make an effort to.

She went on to later say, "I think at the school in general there's a big disconnect between the ... understanding the history of race relations when it came to building the school and how they interact with it." A different respondent added,

I go to school in Philadelphia that has a huge amount of money and that is not shameful about plowing into communities that have been there for decades and just building these new luxury lots, luxury residential lots and academic buildings. And just driving out people who have lived there for decades. They're not at all shameful about that.

When reflecting on how their anti-racism values came to be, many participants did cite their education as a formative piece of the process. "I think that's probably because of the education that I had, it's really impacted the way that I think about things and see things in different light," and she went on to add,

I read an article or I see an advertisement or I see the way that somebody is being treated and I think perhaps if I hadn't had the kind of education I had I wouldn't necessarily notice all of the things that are problematic.

A social worker spoke about a conversation she had with a neighbor and shared,

I felt very comfortable asking him a lot of questions about his feelings on the community and his thoughts on gentrification and all of those things. And ... I just don't think before my social work program I would have felt comfortable ... asking him those questions and having that conversation. I would have never initiated that conversation before my racism class.

When looking ahead to what is needed for future social workers and their educations, many participants contributed their thoughts. One explained the difficulty social work programs might encounter in teaching proactivity regarding the gentrification process by saying,

They didn't touch on that in their classes, how could they? How are they gonna admit all this terrible gentrification that happens that really hurts these communities. We're doing it and we don't care. They're not going to say that," and he went on to say, "I think that the schools need to include, I don't mean like one class, but they overall, across the board, the need to have students take personal responsibility.

A clinician expressed that,

Education is so key and that needs to always be there we can't ever forget what has happened because it's the whole reason why we're in this situation now and I think it's so easy today for people to just tell their kids what they want to tell them and have them not know any of the gory details, and that makes it easier for them to be bigots and racists and be whatever they're going to be because they don't

know about the suffering that's taken place, so there's learning and there's unlearning and both are really important.

Lack of Engagement. For many of the participants, the idea of not doing enough or anything at all to combat anti-racism within their own communities was a prevalent one. This was tied to struggling with the benefits of gentrification, comparisons made to other white people in their neighborhoods, their professional work as their predominant space to channel anti-racism values, and/or a lack of time and energy in their day to day lives. Three social workers spoke about noticing the benefits that gentrification has had for certain aspects of communities.

I bump up against that juxtaposition in trying to figure out whether gentrification is good or bad in the long run because I think we all want to see a more clean and beautiful and well put together world. We all want to see more economic success in neighborhoods ... we want to see growth and development. But I think so often that causes people to forget about what about the people who can no longer afford to live there or who are no longer welcome who are no longer wanting to be seen in those neighborhoods and I think those people get forgotten.

When thinking about the way gentrification could be presented in an academic setting, one clinician felt,

That would a good thing to reiterate in a social work program I think. ... I get it, we want to protect our participants and we want them to stay in their homes... but we also want their communities to be safe and if a little bit of gentrification does that... is that a bad thing?

In comparison with other gentrifiers and white members of changing communities, two participants felt as though their role was not as damaging. One said about her community, “Maybe this is to make myself feel better but, I think ... that the people in West Philly, overall not everyone and everyone all the time, but people overall are more conscious of ... power dynamics and privilege.” Another said about their own positionality,

I don’t know how this is going to sound but I feel like I contribute less to the gentrification. I did attend a nice school, that’s true. Because they gave me money to do so but, ... I still attended it. I didn’t live in a fancy apartment, I didn’t you know, live in one of those complexes that are driving people out. I don’t go to the fancy grocery store that are driving people out. But I still exist here.

For a large portions of the participants, their work on a daily basis manifested as a space that their anti-racism energies are often channeled. A respondent expressed that, “I think that a lot of my anti-racism values are reflected in the work that I do,” and a different respondent echoed,

I sort of stay connected to the macro ideas by staying focused on the small things that can be done sort of in my own interaction my own work ... work with myself and work with my patients that I work with at my job.

A common theme that arose in the interviews was time and energy constraints as a barrier to actively enacting with anti-racism values in the neighborhood. When addressing this idea, a respondent explained, “I generally just don’t have the emotional energy for by the time I leave work,” they later continued with, “There’s not just limited

time but there's limited emotional energy and so you have to choose, is this emotional energy going into family is it going, into my friends, is it going into my work." A different clinician said, "It feels a little hard to try to be more active and involved in community spaces and community things in my actual neighborhood just because of my work schedule and I'm tired all the time." Another social worker disclosed, "My work is very trauma focused and it's very daunting and I often feel really like tapped out at the end of the day."

One of the participants provided an alternative perspective on disengagement, I have mixed feelings about it. I think on the more difficult and demanding days, I don't really care who lives around me I just want to come home and watch TV and have a glass of wine and relax. But I also think that, people generally, and I would like to say that I chose this profession because it's not just a career or something to do from 9 to 5. It's, a lot of my values and the things I think are important and I don't know it to just be 9 to 5 I want it to be the way I treat people day in and day out. ... And I think too ... I don't know how well I guess this always gets emphasized but in Social Work training and in the Code of Ethics it says that. You are a social worker all the time, it's not something that you can just turn off. So I think that's something important to remember too

Summary

A wide range of findings from twelve semi-structured interviews was presented in this chapter. Participants described their education in their social work programs and their motivation for moving to North or West Philadelphia. The participants went on to explain

how they translate the anti-racism values that were learned or reinforced during their time in school into their lives in their gentrifying communities. The Discussion Chapter will analyze these findings while providing the strengths and the limitations of this study.

Chapter V

DISCUSSION

The Discussion Chapter evaluates the findings from this study. My study's purpose was to learn how the anti-racism ideology embraced by social workers professionally intersects with the way they exist in their gentrifying communities. The research was designed to answer the following, "For white social workers who have lived in the gentrifying communities of North and West Philadelphia, how does the anti-racism ideology they embraced during their social work education intersect with the way they live?" This chapter analyzes the study's findings in two ways. Key findings are discussed in terms of the literature reviewed in Chapter III, and in terms of the findings in my study that are different from key factors noted in that literature review; as well as the opinions of the author of the study. In the Conclusion section of this chapter, limitations within the research process and limitations due to my own biases are presented. Suggestions for future research follows. The chapter then closes with implications for social work practice and social justice.

Key Findings

There were many themes present in the experiences the interviewees has as social workers living in gentrifying communities. The following subsections will discuss where the experiences of the interviewees converge and diverge, and what findings are particularly salient due to those patterns.

The Role of Educational Institutions. A common thread between all participants when they described their exposure to anti racism in their social work

education was that anti racism was present within the curriculum in their classrooms and the field experiences at varying levels. However, for very few, was this labeled as “anti-racism” learning or taught from that perspective. As many of them completed their MSWs in the Philadelphia area, this finding is reflected in the literature regarding the requirements and course content of these universities. While many participants spoke about the significant role their field placement had on their learning, there appears to be a gap in the literature that I reviewed regarding the role that field placements plays in anti-racism education of students. Multiple participants spoke about the role of immersion learning during their time in their program and the importance of working with clients in order to fully appreciate what is brought up in their classrooms. One student succinctly stated, “the bulk of my actual learning came from my field placement.” Another elaborated, “Supervisors at my internships were very good at making sure that those were parts of conversations that we were having. And that... I was paying attention to race and my own privilege and the work that we were, I was doing as an intern.” This speaks to the need for social work programs to ensure that field placements are fully utilized as spaces of anti-racism learning, and this is not necessarily true for all institutions.

Ultimately, multiple participants felt that their curriculum could have been more well rounded in terms of how to implement anti-racism values, specifically regarding ways to enact anti-racism values outside of the classroom. This was exemplified in the studies of one participant during which they had to, “identify structures of institutional racism in your agency or ... apparent racism and to try to empower students to address that. But, there wasn’t ... a lot of resources in place for you to actually change things.”

This echoes the sentiment that there is a gap in the curriculum regarding tools to combat racism outside of their work with clients. One participant explained this by saying that their curriculum was a, “missed opportunity to kind of really talk in depth about like not only what this means for the US for our everyday lives ... but also what it means as a social worker to really sort of address those issues on an everyday level.” Another said,

Sometimes I’d be in class and be like, ‘This is ridiculous! Why are we studying this in a book? We should be out.’ You know? ... I definitely felt like there wasn’t enough. There was a lot of talk about being connected to the community and activism. And especially at the school I went to which emphasized social justice and social change there just wasn’t enough connection to the community.

This study uses gentrification as a way of looking at how white social workers could implement anti-racism values in their lives outside of the professional realm.

Moving to the Neighborhood. Moving to neighborhoods of rapid economic change was motivated by several key factors that emerged from participant descriptions. Ehrenhalt’s (2015) description of the gentrification process lined up almost entirely to the description of the reasoning the participants had for moving to North or West Philadelphia. Participants desired the, “in the old neighborhoods just outside the center, long, pleasant blocks filled with stately pre-war houses restored by new owners to their original glory,” (Ehrenhalt, 2015) as they expressed an appreciation for the charm of the homes and being drawn towards the greenery. They utilized the, “vibrant downtown, blessed with myriad dining and entertainment options,” (Ehrenhalt, 2015) as they expressed an appreciation for their access to a city center and what that provides, while

still being able to live in a less central, quiet location. Many delved into the importance of, “streets that are well-traveled and safe at all hours of the day and night,” (Ehrenhalt, 2015) as they expressed their appreciation for their safety as well as the ethical complication that accompany it. The three main patterns that were prominent in the gentrification literature, aesthetic, convenience, and safety, all arose in essentially every interview. Regarding aesthetic multiple participants expressed appreciation of the homes and the greenery, “I just like the neighborhood, the trees, and you can’t find that in other parts of Philly.” Regarding convenience, many explained that they liked living close to center city, places to eat and shop, and to their social communities, “almost every single friend I have in Philadelphia is within a 15 minute walk from my house.” Regarding safety one participant explained, “I feel relatively safe in the part of the neighborhood I live in, which I do not take for granted.” Convenience in the case of the interviews was extended to mean proximity to amenities and a social life, as well as a convenience in pricing. One participant said, “It’s more affordable, that was a big part of it.”

The concept of diversity arose in certain interviews, and the appreciation of it within their neighborhood population. One participant said, “I do like that it’s diverse, also to be honest. ... I feel uncomfortable in areas that are completely just. Whether they’re all white or whether they’re all whatever, it’s just kind of a weird feeling for me,” and another said, “I like the diversity, I mean obviously it is changing a little but, but I like the diversity that I generally see in my neighborhood.” This was lacking in the literature, the idea of shared space, and in fact the opposite was often highlighted. Some of the literature reviewed for this study noted an influx of white populations to certain

neighborhoods leading to a significant exit of populations of color. Cedar Park, Spruce Hill, and Walnut Hill in Philadelphia are all examples of this phenomenon (The PEW Charitable Trusts, p.34, 2016). This led me to wondering what type of diversity interviewees were actually referring to when they spoke of it, and if there are certain non-white populations that make people feel more or less comfortable about a neighborhood's diversity.

An extremely noteworthy finding was that upon discussing the motivations for moving into North or West Philadelphia and their appreciation of their neighborhood, all but one participant mentioned their participation in the gentrification process as a highly conflicting factor to living where they do, prior to being asked specifically about it. One participant said,

I'm like very aware that especially the area I'm in is pretty gentrified, like its very gentrified. And it's probably ruining the neighborhood and it's probably ruining the neighborhood for people who have lived there for you know, many years.

And another said,

It felt like I think uncomfortable to look like in the eyes of people who are being directly affected by your presence and the presence of people who look like you in their neighborhood. And I tried to like go to local places that had been in the community for a while but eventually they just can't afford the rent anymore right so it doesn't matter how much you're buying there, they're gonna get replaced with some like boutique or coffee shop or something like that.

Implementation of Anti-Racism Values. Anti-racism literature often cites and

explains the phenomena itself, uncovering the systemic problem and its global history. Action-based steps, when present in the research, are present around ways to implement these values in a clinical context. Love's "liberatory consciousness" (p.602, 2010) is an example of this. This work, and other works like it, relate more directly to the idea social action generally. Within all of the literature, there was a significant void regarding information about how to be an anti-racism advocate within your community as a white social worker. Few articles even contextualized the responsibility of white people to recognize gentrification as a race-based ethical issue, reifying Kirkland's question, "Why is gentrification a racial phenomenon, and why is discussion and analysis of that phenomenon avoided?" (2008). The lack of information in the literature about the implementation of anti-racism values in gentrifying communities, largely aligned with the experiences of the interviewees. Many of them were able to speak with ease about gentrification and how it has come to transpire in their neighborhood. One participant said,

And the gentrification process, it's really difficult. It's hard to, if you're a white person you're coming into a space that's predominately, you know, people of color and then more white people follow. Prices get higher and people get ousted.

I don't know, there's so... Everyone likes to discuss this issue. It's hard to find a space at part or like at a coffee shop where you don't get into this conversation.

However, when posed with the question of how to combat it, the overall lack of implementation was as present as it was in the literature. On a micro level, interviewees spoke about knowing or wanting to know their neighbors. For some it felt important to

understanding their whiteness in the context of their neighborhood and to do internal work regarding racism while living where they do. One said,

I mean I'm very conscious of who I am in my community. There are a lot of people that look like me and are very similar and that they think they're being very progressive in this space but, who knows how we're actually impacting or how people view us.

Another said,

I mean I think a lot of it for me is very internal work, just like constantly recognizing what assumptions I make, why. Who I'm drawn to, who I'm not drawn to, why. Trying to ... keep up with literature and movies that are about class and race consciousness and ... academic literature too.

Participants spoke about macro steps they took or wished to take, such as protesting, voter registration, donating money, lobbying, and participation in community meetings. One interviewee said that consultation with community felt necessary in their potential anti-racism work within their community,

I think I think it would be really important not to sort of go in with an idea of what I want to do but just kind of be there and be a part of it. Especially just not having been that involved or that involved at all to this point in things that have to do specifically in my neighborhood. ... I think going in and doing help do what needs to be done would be important.

Regarding a tension in the participation in community-based change, one participant did say,

There might be rightful pushback from the people who have lived in these communities for years and for decades. “Why are you coming into our space now? Why are you trying to change it?” I know that there’s very rightfully that kind of pushback, even if people are trying to help, sometimes it’s helpful and sometimes they can try to take over those kinds of spaces if unintentionally. And so people are right to be weary, people who have lived here for a long time are right to be weary about that as well.

Ultimately while micro and macro based suggestions and implementations were brought up, it was clear that no participant felt they were doing everything they could to live ethically. A majority of participants spoke about their reasons for non-involvement and it was clear to me that for many there was a sense of acknowledgement that they should be doing more. I would even say that I noticed a sense of shame in multiple interviews, based on the nature of the responses participants had upon answering certain questions. While for others there was a matter-of-factness about their realities in addressing why they cannot do or do not do more within their communities. One participant said, “There’s not just limited time but there’s limited emotional energy and so you have to choose, is this emotional energy going into family is it going, into my friends, is it going into my work.” Another said, “It feels a little hard to try to be more active and involved in community spaces and community things in my actual neighborhood just because of my work schedule and I’m tired all the time.”

One of the most significant findings in my interviewing process came up around the NASW Code of Ethics. This idea that it sets into motion “a set of values, principles,

and standards to guide decision making and conduct when ethical issues arise” (2008). Notably, the quote states that this is not a set principles for all situations. One could deduce that the way we live in our homes and neighborhoods is beyond the purview of the code. However, it is my belief that gentrification and our participation in it as white social workers is an ethical situation, specifically in the ways that it relates to perpetuating a culture of colonialism and racism when we set out to be anti-racism advocates in our profession. One participant summed up this idea by saying, “You are a social worker all the time, it’s not something that you can just turn off,” and the Code of Ethics echoes, “Ethical responsibilities flow from all human relationships, from the personal and familial to the social and professional” (2008).

Conclusion

In response to the focus of my research, the ways in which white social workers translate their professional anti-racism values into their lives in gentrifying communities, the following themes emerged. There is a curricular void in social work programs regarding the implementation of anti-racism values outside of the professional setting, specifically relating to their role in the gentrification process. This study shows the importance in equipping people with the tools to engage within their community and guide them towards living ethically within their community.

Limitations

In this study there were both researcher-based and population-based limitations. My bias occasionally presented itself as a limitation. I am a white social worker who has participated in gentrification. My shame and my guilt, as well as my anger often arose

during this research process. I sometimes felt frustrated that nobody had figured out a solution or that people quickly expressed barriers, and this came up in certain interviews. Additionally, doing as many concurrent interviews as I did led me to not necessarily ask certain questions or explore certain ideas as thoroughly as I could have due to mild burnout.

The main limitation within the population was a lack of diversity. I never asked the participants how they identified in any way besides their race, therefore there is a distinct potential that there was a lack of gender, sexual orientation, and ability diversity within my subject pool. Most participants were from West Philadelphia and less were from North Philadelphia. Despite the variety in undergraduate experience and pre-graduate school experience, a majority of the interviewees were from one school, therefore receiving a similar type of anti-racism training in the MSW programs.

Suggestions for Future Research

Upon my completion of this research, it became clear that there are many possible directions in which to take the information. A study that could be helpful to the social work community is looking for ways to mitigate compassion fatigue and burnout when we return home after work. Most participants mentioned emotional exhaustion as a barrier to continuing to enact their professional values upon returning home to their personal spaces.

I wondered as a researcher about what role understanding the history of a community plays in the way you live within it. There seemed to be a pattern within my subjects and the literature that indicated that there is a positive correlation regarding

knowledge of a neighbor's history and action taken within it. Additionally, transience versus committing to space can look quite different in the responsibility one feels towards where they live. This could be another area of study.

Another area to examine is the void in the social work curriculum. If the curricular gap closes regarding the action white social workers can take in their gentrifying communities, how they would follow those suggested courses of action would need to be studied.

Lastly, the study that feels like a pivotal next step would be researching what effective anti-racism advocacy within a gentrifying community actually looks like and what white social workers need to be doing within their neighborhoods to combat the negative impact of their gentrification and the gentrification of their neighbors. For my study, the need to interview white social workers felt clear. For the next study, interviewing the communities impacted, specifically communities of color, and learning what work is needed from white social workers and activists feels like an imperative.

Implications for Social Work

What became apparent through my research is that living ethically and radically in one's gentrifying community is a necessity for social workers practicing via an anti-racism lens. To ignore the fact that the populations we work with every day are actively being displaced due to the choices made in our neighborhoods is unethical. To ignore that there are communities of color (The PEW Charitable Trusts, p.14, 2016) that we take part in displacing is unethical. The very first line of the NASW Code of Ethics states,

The primary mission of the social work profession is to enhance human well-

being and help meet the basic human needs of all people, with particular attention to the needs and empowerment of people who are vulnerable, oppressed, and living in poverty.

To ignore the impact gentrification has on people who are vulnerable, oppressed and living in poverty violates the code of our profession.

This lack of translation is important to address on a curricular level since for many white clinicians, their journey towards an anti-racist orientation begins in their social work programs. Therefore, the responsibility to include ways to live ethically within the curriculum is imperative. The callout for it within my research is clear, as well as the need for many universities to take responsibility for their role within this cycle. In the Summer of 2017, Smith School for Social Work implemented a course entitled, “Gentrification, Urban Renewal, and Social Policy” piloted by Dr. Callie Watkins Liu.

The course description is as follows,

The histories of Urban Planning and Social Work are deeply intertwined and interrelated in current urban challenges and opportunities. There is a long history of distinct social power and inequality dynamics that have played out in both professions. This course will focus on unpacking the relationships between social work, the urban environment and housing policy, especially urban renewal and gentrification. The goal of this course is to understand social inequality in the urban environment and how social workers can have agency within that. In this course students will strengthen their ability to identify and analyze power dynamics within urban environments and examine the social worker’s social

responsibility within this context. This course will use perspectives gleaned from power analysis, intersectionality, race and ethnicity, planning theory and history. In this course, students are asked to link social work and gentrification. Students learn the ways that communities have come to be gentrified and what our obligation is as social workers to disrupt the systems involved.

In my opinion, ethical living can only be achieved by recognizing the roots of a community and working collaboratively within one's community to respect and maintain those roots. It is imperative for social workers to recognize whose lives are impacted by their presence in a community and seek out ways to honor those lives. An example of this is the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative. The DSNI describes themselves as follows,

Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative is a nonprofit community-based planning and organizing entity birthed in 1984 out of the passion, ingenuity and determination of Dudley residents seeking to reclaim a neighborhood that had been ravaged by disinvestment, arson fires and dumping. DSNI's mission is *to empower Dudley residents to organize, plan for, create and control a vibrant, diverse and high quality neighborhood in collaboration with community partners.*

When many had given up, DSNI dared to gather neighbors to create a comprehensive plan and a shared vision for a new, vibrant *urban village*. To fulfill the community mandate for *development without displacement*, DSNI gained eminent domain authority, purchased vacant land, and protected affordability and family stability through a community land trust. The once garbage-strewn vacant lots have been rebuilt with quality affordable houses,

parks and playgrounds, gardens, community facilities, and new businesses. (2017)

This exemplifies grassroots organizing done alongside long-term community members in order to overturn the status quo and to benefit the needs of the community at large, not just the needs of the powerful. DSNI shows that it is possible to address oppression collaboratively, centering the voices of those whose lives are most at risk. This community exemplifies the values of our field due to the fact that what is, “Fundamental to social work is attention to the environmental forces that create, contribute to, and address problems in living” (National Association of Social Workers, 2008). It is our ethical responsibility to go beyond addressing and into action in situations that perpetuate oppression, such as gentrification.

Many participants in this study touched on ways that they wished to implement ethical living by going to community meetings, organizing with local groups, advocating for the needs of their neighbors, participating in policy change, and supporting nearby businesses. Yet, without these actions existing collaboratively with the community that has historically lived there, they could have a deleterious effect and ultimately further the negative impact of gentrification. Existing as an active, non-transient community members and committing to the needs of the populations that are at risk of displacement are ways that one can live ethically. This commitment to ethical, collaborative practice could likely bode the social work necessary to combat the systems and institutions that have led us to the state of gentrification in our nation today.

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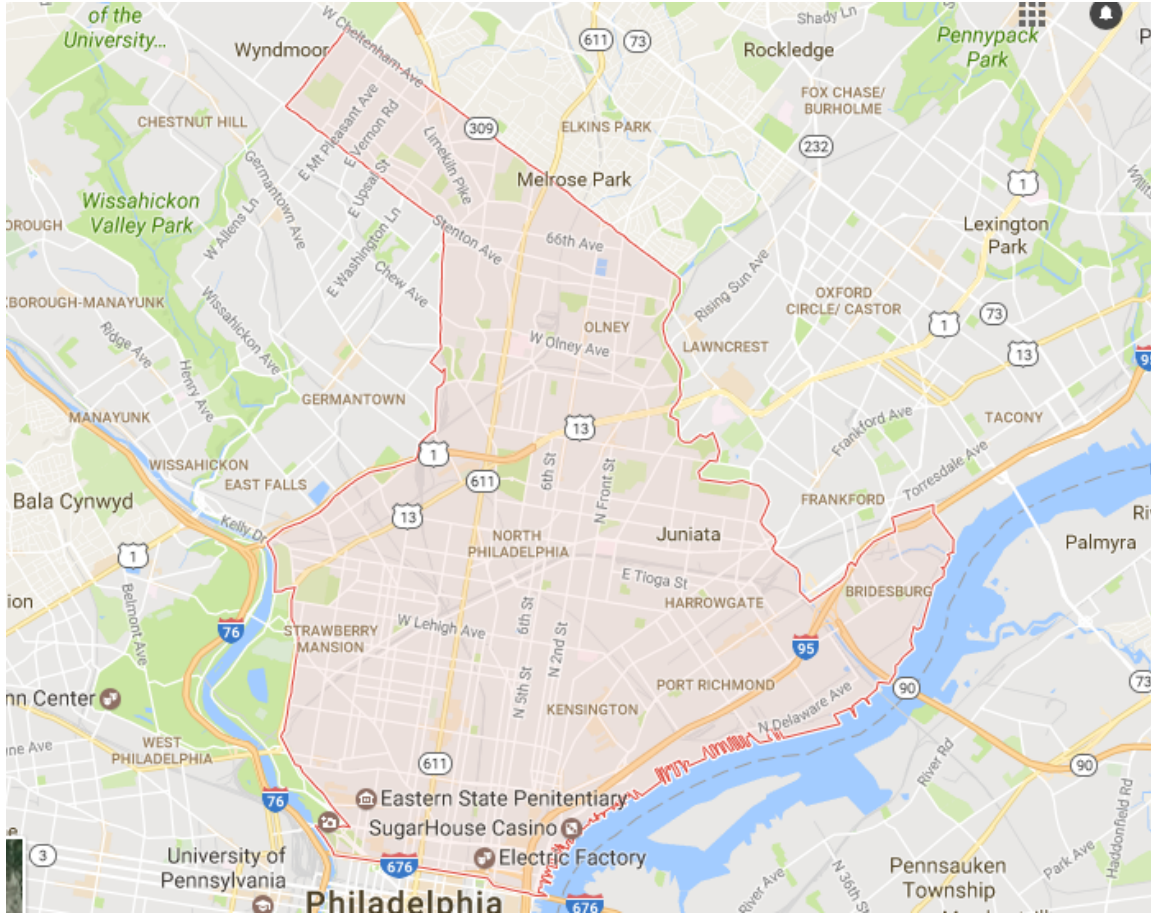
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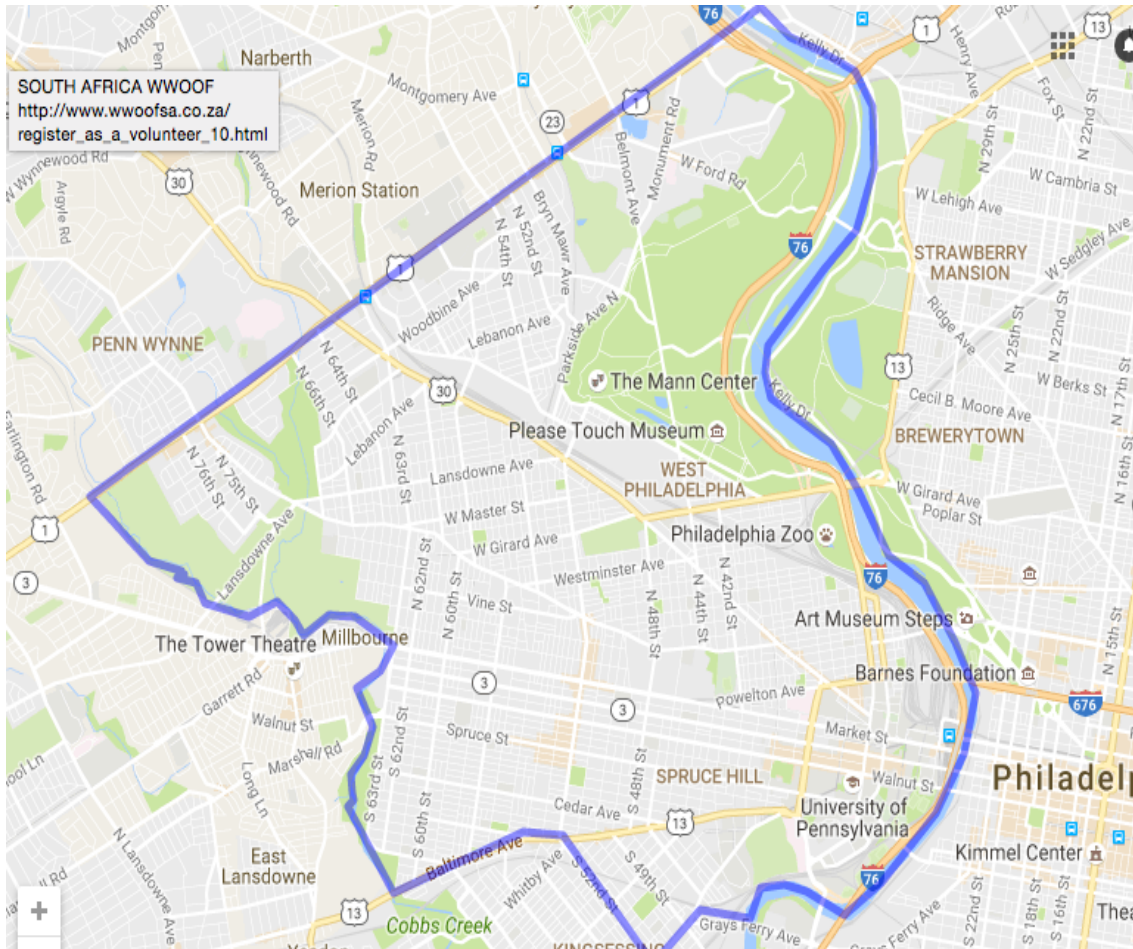
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APPENDIX A
North and West Philadelphia Maps

North Philadelphia



West Philadelphia



APPENDIX B

Initial Recruitment Script

Hi! My name is Lauren Newman and I am currently conducting a study for my MSW degree requirements for Smith College School for Social Work. For this study, I plan to interview twelve white social workers who have completed an MSW program in which anti-racism was a focus within the curriculum, and who are currently living in North or West Philadelphia. There is little research about the translation of anti-racism curricula into the daily life of social workers, and this work hopes to bridge that gap by studying the ways our professional values and personal values regularly intersect. This study hopes to provide a space for white social work professionals to share their stories about their experiences living in North or West Philadelphia and what impact their social work education has had on that experience. This study protocol has been reviewed and approved by the Smith College School for Social Work Human Subjects Review Committee (HSRC). If you feel as though this criteria applies to you and if this is work you would be interested in participating in, please let me know and we can move forward! I am available to answer questions at (*my phone number was present*). Thank you so much for your time!

APPENDIX C
Recruitment Email

Dear Social Worker,

I am a student at Smith College School for Social Work and am conducting a study for my degree requirements. I am looking for participants to interview for my thesis.

I plan to interview twelve social workers who have completed an MSW program in which anti-racism was a focus within the curriculum, and who are currently living or have lived in North or West Philadelphia. There is little research about the translation of anti-racism curricula into the daily life of social workers, and this work hopes to bridge that gap by studying the ways our professional values and personal values regularly intersect. This study hopes to provide a space for white social work professionals to share their stories about their experiences living in North or West Philadelphia and what impact their social work education has had on that experience.

Participants must be:

- White professional social workers.
- Living or have lived in North or West Philadelphia.
- Completed an MSW program in which anti-racism work was a focus of the curriculum.

Being in this study will only take 30 minutes to an hour of the participants' time. Interviews will be recorded but kept confidential. Because I am a student with limited resources, no compensation is available. This study protocol has been reviewed and approved by the Smith College School for Social Work Human Subjects Review Committee (HSRC).

If you are interested in participating, please contact me. If you know someone who may be interested in participating, or someone who is another professional that may know where to locate participants, please have them call or email me. Or, with permission, I can contact the potential participant.

Thank you for your help!

Lauren Newman
MSW Clinical Trainee
Smith College School for Social Work

.....

APPENDIX D
Interview Guide

1. Describe the anti-racism education/training you received during your social work degree education.
2. What was your motivation for moving to live in North or West Philadelphia?
3. How/in what ways are you able to incorporate your anti-racism values that were learned or reinforced during your social work education into life in your community?

APPENDIX E
Informed Consent



SMITH COLLEGE

2016-2017

Consent to Participate in a Research Study
Smith College School for Social Work • Northampton, MA

.....
Title of Study: The Translation of Anti-Racism Values from the Professional into the Personal in the lives of Social Workers Living in North or West Philadelphia
Investigator(s): Lauren Newman B.A. – lhnewman@smith.edu
.....

Introduction

- You are being asked to participate in a research study about the way white social workers integrate their anti-racism values and trainings from social work education into your daily life in their North or West Philadelphia community.
- You were selected as a possible participant because you are a white social work professional living in North or West Philadelphia, who attended a Bachelors/Master’s program in social work in which anti-racism was a focal tenant of the curriculum.
- We ask that you read this form and ask any questions that you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

Purpose of Study

- This study aims to explore how white social workers who were exposed to anti-racism values training/education during their social work education, execute these values while living in North or West Philadelphia.
- This study is being conducted as a research requirement for my master’s in social work degree.
- Ultimately, this research may be published or presented at professional conferences.

Description of the Study Procedures

- If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to do the following things:
Participate in one in person interview lasting thirty minutes to an hour, in which you describe what your experience has been translating the anti-racism ideology you embrace professionally, into the way you live your life in your community. This interview will be audio recorded and the audio file will be kept in a confidential location selected by the interviewer.

Risks/Discomforts of Being in this Study

- The study has the following risks: You will be asked to disclose your experiences, or lack thereof, of incorporating actions related to anti-racism that you have partaken in

while living in North or West Philadelphia. The content of this study has the potential to create professional and personal risk. If you have engaged in this work, recalling some of these experiences might be uncomfortable. If, on the other hand, you have not engaged in this work, you might feel uncomfortable in recollecting and discussing this void as well.

- As the interviewer I will guide the interview in such a way as to create a comfortable environment. Any questions that are too uncomfortable, we are able to skip. If you recognize that the interview process in general is too overwhelming, you will be able to leave the interview at any time without judgment or negative consequences.

Benefits of Being in the Study

- The benefits of participation are having a space to discuss your professional anti-racism values and the ways in which you have translated these values into your life in North or West Philadelphia. This has the potential to provide you with insight as to how you have or have not translated these values in this way. This interview intends to provide a space to discuss values that are of great importance to your professional and personal lives.
- The benefits to social work/society are to create a greater understanding of how the values white social workers prioritize in their education and their work intersect with their lives in gentrifying communities.

Confidentiality

- Your participation will be kept confidential. I plan to keep all informed consents in a lockbox to which I am the only person with the key. A volunteer transcriber will be assisting me with the transcription of my interviews, and they will be required to complete a confidentiality form. All of the transcripts and audio recordings from my interviews will be kept in a separate lockbox, to which I am the only person with the key. This separation is in order to keep your name separate from the data I will be using in the study. Both lockboxes will be kept in a secure location for three years after the completion of the research. At the end of these three years they will be destroyed legally via shredder. In addition, I will ask that you refrain from self-identifying once the tape is going in the interview. I will also ask that you not give the specific address or location within the mapped area where you live. Finally, I will use due diligence to de-identify all information used in the report, especially use of quotes.

Payments/gift

- You will not receive any financial payment for your participation.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw

- The decision to participate in this study is entirely up to you. You may refuse to answer any question or withdraw from the study *at any time* during the interview or up to **April 1, 2017**, at which time I will have written the findings chapter. If you withdraw it will not affect your relationship with the researcher of this study or Smith

College. Further, if you choose to withdraw from the interview, I will not use any of your information collected for this study. You must notify me of your decision to withdraw by email or phone by **4/1/17**

Right to Ask Questions and Report Concerns

- You have the right to ask questions about this research study and to have those questions answered by me before, during or after the research. If you have any further questions about the study, at any time feel free to contact me, Lauren Newman at lhnewman@smith.edu or by telephone at (*my phone number was present*). If you would like a summary of the study results, one will be sent to you once the study is completed. If you have any other concerns about your rights as a research participant, or if you have any problems as a result of your participation, you may contact the Chair of the Smith College School for Social Work Human Subjects Committee at (413) 585-7974.

Consent

- Your signature below indicates that you have decided to volunteer as a research participant for this study, and that you have read and understood the information provided above. You will be given a signed and dated copy of this form to keep.

.....

Name of Participant (print):

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____
Signature of Researcher(s): _____ Date: _____

.....

1. I agree to be [audio] taped for this interview:

Name of Participant (print):

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____
Signature of Researcher(s): _____ Date: _____

2. I agree to be interviewed, but I do not want the interview to be taped:

Name of Participant (print):

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____
Signature of Researcher(s): _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX F

Volunteer or Professional Transcriber's Assurance of Research Confidentiality Form

2016-2017

Volunteer or Professional Transcriber's Assurance of Research Confidentiality Form

This thesis project is firmly committed to the principle that research confidentiality must be protected and to all of the ethics, values, and practical requirements for participant protection laid down by federal guidelines and by the Smith College School for Social Work Human Subjects Review Committee. In the service of this commitment:

- All volunteer and professional transcribers for this project shall sign this assurance of confidentiality.
- A volunteer or professional transcriber should be aware that the identity of participants in research studies is confidential information, as are identifying information about participants and individual responses to questions. The organizations participating in the study, the geographical location of the study, the method of participant recruitment, the subject matter of the study, and the hypotheses being tested are also be confidential information. Specific research findings and conclusions are also usually confidential until they have been published or presented in public.
- The researcher for this project, Lauren Newman shall be responsible for ensuring that all volunteer or professional transcribers handling data are instructed on procedures for keeping the data secure and maintaining all of the information in and about the study in confidence, and that that they have signed this pledge. At the end of the project, all materials shall be returned to the investigator for secure storage in accordance with federal guidelines.

PLEDGE

I hereby certify that I will maintain the confidentiality of all of the information from all studies with which I have involvement. I will not discuss, disclose, disseminate, or provide access to such information, except directly to the researcher, Lauren Newman for this project. I understand that violation of this pledge is sufficient grounds for disciplinary action, including termination of professional or volunteer services with the project, and may make me subject to criminal or civil penalties. I give my personal pledge that I shall abide by this assurance of confidentiality.

Alison Griffin

Signature

2/28/17

Date

Lauren Newman

Lauren Newman

2/28/17

Date

APPENDIX G
Human Subjects Review Committee Approval Letter



School for Social Work
Smith College
Northampton, Massachusetts 01063
T (413) 585-7950 F (413) 585-
7994

January 11, 2017

Lauren Newman

Dear Lauren,

You did a very nice job on your revisions. Your project is now approved by the Human Subjects Review Committee.

Please note the following requirements:

Consent Forms: All subjects should be given a copy of the consent form.

Maintaining Data: You must retain all data and other documents for at least three (3) years past completion of the research activity.

In addition, these requirements may also be applicable:

Amendments: If you wish to change any aspect of the study (such as design, procedures, consent forms or subject population), please submit these changes to the Committee.

Renewal: You are required to apply for renewal of approval every year for as long as the study is active.

Completion: You are required to notify the Chair of the Human Subjects Review Committee when your study is completed (data collection finished). This requirement is met by completion of the thesis project during the Third Summer.

Congratulations and our best wishes on your interesting study.

Sincerely,

Michael Murphy, PhD
Member, Human Subjects Review Committee

CC: Elaine Kersten, Research Advisor

APPENDIX H:
HSR Protocol Change Forms and Approval Letters

2016-2017
RESEARCH PROJECT PROTOCOL CHANGE FORM
Smith College School for Social Work

You are presently the researcher on the following *approved* research project by the Human Subjects Committee (HSR) of Smith College School for Social Work:

The Translation of Anti-Racism Values from the Professional into the Personal for White Social Workers Who Have Lived in North or West Philadelphia

Lauren Newman
Elaine Kersten

.....
Please complete the following:

I/we am/are requesting changes to the study protocols, as they were originally approved by the HSR Committee of Smith College School for Social Work. These changes are as follows:

1. Change my research subject to white social workers who are currently living or *formerly lived* in North or West Philadelphia.
2. I will be reaching out for participants via my Facebook page and Facebook groups to which I have membership.
3. I will be using two volunteer transcribers instead of one. Both will receive the necessary paperwork.
4. I will not be using Dropbox as a storage app while in the process of completing this thesis, I will be simply be storing all of the information on my password protected computer.
5. Upon completing my research I will be storing all of the transcripts on a thumb drive that will be locked in the lockbox with the non-identifiable notes from the interviews, and then deleting them from my computer.

.....

I understand that these proposed changes in protocol will be reviewed by the Committee.

I also understand that any proposed changes in protocol being requested in this form cannot be implemented until they have been fully approved by the HSR Committee.

I have discussed these changes with my Research Advisor and he/she has approved them.

Name of Researcher(s) : Lauren Newman Date: 1/30/17

PLEASE RETURN THIS COMPLETED FORM TO Laura Wyman at LWyman@smith.edu or to Lilly Hall Room 115.

Include your Research Advisor/Doctoral Committee Chair in the 'cc'



School for Social Work
Smith College
Northampton, Massachusetts 01063
T (413) 585-7950 F (413) 585-7994

January 31, 2017

Lauren Newman

Dear Lauren,

I have reviewed your amendments and they look fine. The amendments to your study are therefore approved. Thank you and best of luck with your project.

Sincerely,

Michael Murphy
Human Subjects Review Committee

CC: Elaine Kersten, Research Advisor

**2016-2017
RESEARCH PROJECT PROTOCOL CHANGE FORM
Smith College School for Social Work**

You are presently the researcher on the following *approved* research project by the Human Subjects Committee (HSR) of Smith College School for Social Work:
The Translation of Anti-Racism Values from the Professional into the Personal for White Social Workers Who Have Lived in North or West Philadelphia
Lauren Newman
Elaine Kersten

.....
Please complete the following:

I/we am/are requesting changes to the study protocols, as they were originally approved by the HSR Committee of Smith College School for Social Work. These changes are as follows:

1. In addition to meeting with participants in person, I will also be conducting interviews via phone and video chat. When doing this I will be in a private location and asking that clients do the same, in order to protect their confidentiality in this process. They will be receiving their Informed Consent via email, and returning it to me with an electronic signature.
2. Participants in this study may be in the process of getting their social work degrees. These participants are receiving the necessary anti-racism training in their programs that is required to meet the criterion for this study.

-
- I understand that these proposed changes in protocol will be reviewed by the Committee.
- I also understand that any proposed changes in protocol being requested in this form cannot be implemented until they have been fully approved by the HSR Committee.
- I have discussed these changes with my Research Advisor and he/she has approved them.

Name of Researcher(s) : Lauren Newman

Date: 2/6/17

PLEASE RETURN THIS COMPLETED FORM TO Laura Wyman at LWyman@smith.edu or to Lilly Hall Room 115.

Include your Research Advisor/Doctoral Committee Chair in the 'cc'



School for Social Work
Smith College
Northampton, Massachusetts 01063
T (413) 585-7950 F (413) 585-7994

February 7, 2017

Lauren Newman

Dear Lauren,

I have reviewed your amendments and they look fine. The amendments to your study are therefore approved. Thank you and best of luck with your project.

Sincerely,

Michael Murphy
Human Subjects Review Committee

CC: Elaine Kersten, Research Advisor