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The purpose of this study is to get a better understanding of the impact that anchor institutions like colleges and universities can have on the neighborhoods they expand into. More specifically, I look at the impact that a college or university's expansion can have on the vitality of local neighborhoods. Through interviews and document analysis, I first explore the definition of gentrification and then apply it to the relationship between The University of North Carolina at Greensboro and the Glenwood community that they expanded into. The results of this study touch on some of the implications of gentrification concerning institutions of higher education. While the implications of anchor institutions expanding have been referenced as a "necessary evil," I argue that some of these "evils" are only necessary in the eyes of the institution in power. This study looks at the goals of UNCG in relation to Glenwood, to see where community vitality is incorporated into expansion plans as well as identify areas where it was left out.

THE EXPANSION EFFECT:  
MOVING COLLEGE INTO THE NEIGHBORHOOD

by

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Approved by

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Committee Chair

## DEDICATION

*Dedicated to the GGNA.*

Thank you for taking the time to share your experiences with me. I not only was able to learn a lot about the Glenwood community, but also was made aware of the importance of going beyond the books to learn about my chosen subject.

To Ms. G. Bell and my circle,

Whether in person or here, you all continue to inspire me and pick me up when I am down. Thank you for having my back during this journey, with you hard things feel easy.

#EatGlitterShineAllDay

APPROVAL PAGE

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## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The quality of life a person can acquire is often tied to the space they are allowed to occupy. The ability to expand one's geographical area ensures that there is more space to claim the opportunities required for social mobility. So, what happens to the individuals who are not able to expand with you? Expansion requires the acquisition of land, but what about those who inhabited it before and how do things change for the people who stay? When it comes to acquiring land, the options available to you are a reflection of your legal and financial power. Businesses are often recognized as one of the groups with this power to change the neighborhoods around them; however, public institutions of higher education have a similar power. (Cole, 2020) (Jackson, 2018) Though anchor institutions are more community oriented, they also have the power to alter neighborhoods around them. When it comes to institutions of power, the door for a conversation of gentrification opens up and moves beyond its usual discussion of race. In this paper I explore gentrification as it relates to institutions of higher education. The goal here is to determine the impact that a university's expansion can have on a neighborhood's vitality. The University of North Carolina at Greensboro (UNCG) is a public institution whose expansion was able to impact the communities around them. Institutions like UNCG have the power to obtain new spaces for their students (or general audience) to utilize. However, one of the downsides to this power is that it can sometimes be exercised at the expense of others. Whether that expense is paid directly (through exploitation) or indirectly (through things like gentrification) there is always a group that gets left out of the perceived community benefits. In the case of UNCG, the Glenwood community got a mixed experience.

In the Glenwood community, there is a diversity that extends beyond racial identities. This is a neighborhood that is about a third white, Black, and Hispanic. Around 11% of the

residents in Greensboro were born outside of the United States. There is also a small number of people (around 5%) who either speak no English at all or very little (because almost 20% of the households here use Spanish as their household's primary language). When asked about the kinds of people that live in Glenwood, one interviewee said that “from block to block you'll see all kinds of different folks we've got refugees who live here, immigrants, old folks, young folks, people in the middle.” (R. Wilson, personal communication, 2022) This interviewee goes on to note that this community is home to professors and students of UNCG as well as people from outside the world of academia. Glenwood is also a community that was essentially founded on the principle of affordability.

I chose to look at the Glenwood community for this project because UNCG’s expansion into their neighborhood meant that they had a closer relationship not only with UNCG but also with the results of the expansion. The construction and changes were occurring in their backyard, so it stood to reason that there would be lots of thoughts, conversations, and steps (both documented and undocumented) to explore. Within the Glenwood community, the Greater Glenwood Neighborhood Association (GGNA) is a powerful voice that has been able to organize and represent them in conversations with UNCG. In this community, there are also a lot of ideas for the neighborhood. The Glenwood community has been included in several revitalization attempts. However, these attempts have either been inconsistently funded or were inconsiderate of the residents (which puts a limit on sustainability when financial resources for a project run out). In this project, I focused on the attempts by UNCG to expand their campus while also adding to the Glenwood community.

My goal was to look at the relationship between the University of North Carolina at Greensboro (UNCG) and the Glenwood community in relation to my research question. How has

UNCG campus expansion impacted the vitality of the Glenwood community in the past 10 years? Neighborhood vitality is described as a neighborhood that creates an environment of belonging and is sustainably affordable (both for residents as well as local businesses). (Hatch,2018) (Silverman et. Al, 2014) In this project, vitality is also whether or not actions would contribute to the overall existence of the Glenwood community members in a positive, negative, or neutral manner. Additionally, I wanted to see which actions (if any) made living locally harder. This research question allowed me to study the way campus expansion impacted their lives as a community. I wanted to know how potential changes were considered in the planning phases of the expansion. In other words, were there actions taken to expand UNCG that meant that Glenwood residents would have a harder time in their preexisting routines (where are these difficulties taken into consideration)? Conversations that discuss the wellbeing of residents that look beyond an institution's need for more space are ongoing in literature.

Scholars have studied the impact of the expansion of anchor institutions like colleges (and hospitals) and their role in community change (Penn Institute for Urban Research, 2010). An anchor development is any development or expansion efforts made by institutions like hospitals, colleges, and other entities whose business is essentially tied to their locations “because of real estate holdings or capital investment, history, or mission” (SCAG, 2020) These studies found that despite the benefits associated with their presence, these institutions can have some negative impacts on the neighborhoods around them (ex: displacement and pushing services/jobs further away). The general approach to discussions on anchor institutions is to open up with the benefits before getting into the things that they could do to better support the community. In other words, these institutions provide their communities with beneficial services, and as such, the side effects are described as a necessary evil. (Koh et al, 2019) Among the

necessary evils is displacement. Displacement becomes an important factor in these conversations because those without the financial or legal power to sustain themselves (namely the residents) are at the most risk. Displacement is the process by which people leave their communities as a result of outside forces. (Chapple et al., 2021) These outside forces could come from a variety of sources, but some of the more common reasons relate to the tenant's ability to cover housing costs. This could mean that the tenant is unable to afford their rent in general, but it could also mean that a tenant is unable to keep up with price increases due to changes in their community. In some cases, tenants also are forced to consider selling or forcefully leaving their current housing in response to an outside financial force.

When it comes to displacement and gentrification, there is a general understanding that the people who inhabit an area can impact the local value without it having to be about the conditions of the property. (Harris, 1999) The occupants of an area have a direct impact on the local property values. There are many studies and scholars that talk about the implications of Black and Brown bodies on property value. These studies discuss the ways that race and perceptions of race allow for properties owned by people of color to be devalued. (Perry et. al, 2018) However, a bigger concern stemming from this devaluing process is that a group of properties with lower initial values become more easily obtained by outside institutions looking for space to expand. These conversations usually discuss the impact that large businesses and corporations have on the local communities. Scholars have even studied the role of racial gentrification (people of color being pushed out of a community by an incoming white population) and the negative impacts of forced relocation (Ding and Hwang, 2016) After understanding that businesses have the power to impact the areas around them, the next layer of this conversation requires looking at how these findings could be applied to institutions of higher

education and their surroundings. Colleges and universities can bring in businesses and opportunities for their students, but at what cost? Schools have a responsibility to their students and sometimes catering to campus needs requires more space. Acquiring that space can be done in many ways, but there is often some sort of displacement associated with it. (Silverman et. Al, 2014) There are many ways that this displacement can occur, but one such way is through a more forced version of revitalization that comes with anchor developments. William Worth's 1960's ideas around institutional force was originally used to describe this revitalization effort in urban communities, but scholars like Robert Mark Silverman, Jade Lewis, and Kelly Patterson use it with campus expansion. In doing so they focus more on the forceful nature of these projects. (Silverman et. Al, 2014)

In their study, they look at an area like Glenwood, which is a small neighborhood located near a public university. This paper will examine How has UNCG's expansion into the Glenwood neighborhood has affected the community's vitality in the past ten years? I will answer this question through document analysis and interviews with residents of the Glenwood neighborhood and members of the Greater Glenwood Neighborhood Association. Glenwood is a neighborhood that is still in the process of being gentrified by the UNCG populations and incoming businesses. Being in proximity to UNCG meant that there were ties there that needed to be explored. My expectation going into this project was that Glenwood was a victim of an expansion process that didn't fully recognize the neighborhood's goals. My goal is not to place blame on an institution for putting their student and business needs first, but rather to learn about the impact of these decisions. I will conclude this paper with suggestions and ideas for further establishing a more symbiotic relationship between the involved parties.

I do this in three main sections. The first section of this paper will walk through the literature surrounding gentrification. Here I look to explain what gentrification is and what scholars have said about it before bringing it back to universities and their correlation to gentrification. In the second section of this paper, I dive into what I've come to learn about Glenwood and its relationship with UNCG. I explore the expansion process from documents found in the UNCG archives as well as interviews conducted with members of the Glenwood community. In UNCG's expansion, I focus primarily on the construction of the Leonard J. Kaplan Center for Wellness because this was the first step in UNCG's expansion into the Glenwood neighborhood. When put in juxtaposition with the interviews and other supportive documents, I will also compare the expectations of construction with the outcome. This comparison opens the door to exploring the compromises made by the involved parties. These compromises are detailed in a memorandum of understanding that exists between the Glenwood neighborhood and UNCG. To better understand the asks and compromises made by the involved parties, I also discuss the explanation created by the Glenwood Neighborhood Association (GGNA).

The last part of this paper will be the analysis and discussion of the data and literature. In this last part of the paper, I will respond to my research question while also identifying the actions along with their corresponding implications. In other words, what were the actions taken and did they have a positive, negative, or neutral effect on the community? Here I will also include suggestions made by members of the community for ways to improve the relationship between UNCG and the neighborhood before my conclusion.

As a public institution, UNCG's main responsibility is to its students and academic community. Sometimes catering to campus needs requires more space. Expansion always

requires space but the measures required to obtain that space can change. It is known that smaller neighborhoods like Glenwood do not always have the power to defend their boundaries and can suffer from displacement as the result of larger institutions needing to expand. However, there is not always a clear understanding of what that looks like within these smaller communities.

## CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

Race, class, and community belonging work together to dictate the kind of experience a person has in a given area. These themes are not only central to the general and more scholarly conversations on housing and displacement, but they were also themes in the interviews I discuss later in this paper. In this section of my project, I look at housing and gentrification as it applies to the three themes (race, class, and community belonging), touching on key conversations occurring between those themes and displacement associated with anchor institutions.

### **Gentrification**

Gentrification is a term coined by Ruth Glass in the 1960s. Glass used this term to explain the process by which “higher-wealth residents (“the gentry”) [moved] into working-class neighborhoods and [replaced] poorer residents.” She also notes that this was not always a “binary or linear process.” (Glass, 1989) These “higher-wealth residents” have historically been white. This process occurs in areas that John Palen and Bruce London describe as “physically deteriorated, run-down, and of low economic value.” (Palen and London, 1984) While they argue that no part of the housing market should be seen as rational, they note that in such conditions it becomes rational for some of these areas to receive the kind of attention that gentrification prescribes. The process by which these areas become worth less is called the “devalorization” process and is driven primarily by the capitalist economy that works to maintain the “production of wealth [which] therefore requires the continual reproduction of a working-class.” (Palen and London, 1984) In other words, the topic of gentrification includes the act of



higher wealth moving into areas of lower wealth but also the process that allows for areas of low wealth to fall into conditions that “rationally” call for rehabilitation.

So, when a community or neighborhood begins to lose its value it begins to catch the eyes of developers looking for spaces to expand or beautify. When it comes to gentrification, it is common for incoming developers to discuss the “improvements” they plan to make in the community. While these improvements might be seen as such by developers, it is hard to say whether their process took the needs of the community into consideration. In a chapter by Sharon Zukin, she discusses the understanding of gentrifiers as “urban pioneers” saying that “just as white settlers in the nineteenth century forced Native Americans from their traditional grounds, so gentrifiers, developers, and new commercial users have cleared the downtown “frontier” of existing populations.” (Zukin, 2010, pg. 37) While it is hard to truly identify intentionality, many scholars discuss the timed nature of these expansions. Zukin reinforces this notion writing that “reinvestment in housing in the center relies on capital disinvestment” which she notes is exactly what makes the “supply of gentrifiable building stock available.” (Zukin, 2010, pg.37) However, there would not be a need for this stock to be made available without there being a corresponding interest in it. One of the last point she makes in this section notes that this demand is “shaped by a cultural shift” ( Zukin, 2010, pg.37) In these cases there is also a desire to restore or preserve the more historical parts of an area, but it is often done in a way that is not only destructive to the community makeup, but it also usually caters to the incoming population over the more historical person of the existing population.

This focal shift from the existing population to the incoming population comes with its own set of risks when we look at the kinds of amenities and public services that are available. The kind of housing and the stature of the area can dictate the kind of resources a person has

access to. So even outside of displacement of residents, there are many other implications of gentrification. Local services can often be put out of reach by a lack of stable housing. (Wang and Woo, 2017) Local services, such as access to transportation, local housing subsidies, or programs that give free use of services based on residency in a certain area can be pushed when the population around them changes. In other words, outside of a potential rise in local housing costs, residents can now also be without the services that their daily routines depend on. This is because more affluent areas tend to not need public services like transportation. (Wang and Woo, 2017)

Regardless of the cause (buyout, price raises, a lack of public support), moves can be risky for lower income individuals. In situations where there is a shorter time frame for finding housing, there are often fewer options which means that lower quality units are sometimes the only options. Housing can increase the quality of life that a person or family can experience but it can also have an inverse impact when not properly done. People of color have the highest risk of getting subpar and low-quality housing options. Whether these options are due to the general negligence of the property or simply negligence based on the current residential demographics it is common. In an article following an individual living through this experience, the resident notes that when she complains about the poor living conditions “the manager says, why don't you leave if you don't like it here?” (Penaloza, 2021) Leaving is not always an option because individuals with better options tend to choose those over lower-quality options. This means that many of the other options available to them upon leaving put them at risk of ending back in similar conditions. An attorney assigned to this resident's case notes that “landlords wouldn't feel so emboldened to have homes in disrepair if people had more of a choice” and goes on to say that “people are often tied to their neighborhood, whether it's their job, transportation, local

schools - even language barriers play a role.” (Penaloza, 2021) As previously noted anchor institutions are labeled as such because of their ties in the areas, but many people in various communities experience similar ties. Forcefully severing ties can cause disorientation that can not only impact housing stability but other areas of a person’s life as well.

Displacement of individuals, local businesses, and resources are often the main things that are discussed around gentrification, but scholars are constantly discussing the cause of that displacement. Scholars argue about “the extent to which gentrification produces the displacement of longtime residents.” (Brown-Saracino, 2010, pg. 278) Some scholars argue that gentrification is a direct cause of displacement (LeGates and Hartman, 1982). Other scholars argue that the literature on displacement “overstates” the number of displaced individuals following gentrification. Here the issue is that displacement is hard to track. It is hard to figure out why people leave, but it is even harder to find them when they do. (Atkinson, 2000) The other main debate on the topic of displacement is on whether or not the process is actually beneficial or not (and to whom it is beneficial if at all)? While it is less common, some scholars argue that gentrification can give a neighborhood a second life. Lance Freeman touches on some of the more positive aspects of gentrification. Freeman discusses a reinforcement of social ties that “one might use for a small loan until payday, to watch the kids, and to confide in.” (Freeman,2006) In other words, Freeman argues that gentrification can in many ways create a sense of community and belonging that fosters relationships within the community. He also goes on to mention all of the kinds of institutional resources that gentrification can bring into an area like “ chain stores, police, or public schools” since they are able to rely on the financial resources of this (now) more affluent community. (Freeman,2006) A much larger population of scholars acknowledge arguments like Freeman’s but add that while gentrification might have its

beneficial features, not only will residents be put at risk of displacement before they can experience these benefits, but also that the process for creating these beneficial features destroys many components of the original community. This argument is one that my project falls most in line with. While there are areas where gentrification can have positive effects, it is hard to see that as a net positive effect when the resulting community looks so different from the original.

When it comes to the Glenwood community and UNCG, the issue is that the involved parties have common goals but different ideas for execution. In other words, the “improvements” made during this gentrifying process catered more to the existing and potential student body. This meant that there were places where existing residents felt left out. After examining both the positives and negatives of gentrification in her study, Emily Chong agrees with many other scholars concluding that “gentrification usually leads to negative impacts.” (Chong, 2017). Not only can these more beneficial factors be more racially exclusive, but the displacement they cause also creates a new community makeup by working against community integration. Chong notes that “most gentrification occurs because of a lack of policies that value community input, offer equitable rezoning policies, and provide intentional housing options.” (Chong, 2017) The intentionality associated with the various steps of gentrification is what allows certain populations to feel the impact more than others. Though the argument here is not that gentrifiers target certain populations specifically, it is a consequence of not having policies that actively work to include residents from the existing community. Chong’s study covers one of the main issues that came up in the conversations between the GGNA and UNCG. The GGNA and many residents were constantly wondering and asking where they fit into UNCG’s plans (considering UNCG was moving into their neighborhood).

## **Race and Class**

Among the concerns of the Glenwood residents, was the impact that expansion would have on their neighborhood's diversity and if incoming amenities would be available at price points accessible to the existing community. Race and class often go hand in hand in the housing conversation. Outside of the many privileges given to White people based on the color of their skin, they are in control of a large portion of the nation's wealth. This not only makes them the more favored party when it comes to housing applications. As stated earlier, people of color are more likely to end up in subpar living conditions than their white counterparts. (Christensen et al., 2021) In a research article by Matthew Desmond and Tracey Shollenberger, they found that “renters who experienced a forced move relocate to poorer and higher crime neighborhoods than those who move under less demanding circumstances.” (Desmond and Shollenberger, 2015) Lack of high-quality living conditions that are also affordable means that people with a lower income are being forced to settle for living in subpar conditions. This means risking the health of their family and even themselves to provide shelter. Madden and Marcuse go on to write that many of the people who are in charge of making housing decisions can use their homes as a haven that doubles as “tools for personal fulfillment, economic accumulation, and social advancement” (Madden and Marcuse, 2016, p.54). Many other individuals are not able to have the same experience in their homes (especially if they are forced to go without housing). Individuals in less than desirable living conditions are more likely to have to continue daily life while also dealing with things like dispossession, evictions (or displacement in general), homelessness, and many other unfortunate experiences.

These unfortunate experiences can be heightened by the lasting effects of more historical efforts to keep people of color confined to a certain community, but property values also work to

put certain areas out of reach to these groups. Gentrification allows for areas to be reshaped by an incoming population, but the long lasting effects of housing discrimination have also played a part in shaping various communities. (Orfield, 2005) During the 1930s, red lines were used to identify neighborhoods that were deemed dangerous. Areas within these red zones were labeled risky and undesirable. These labels lowered the value of all the houses and property. Since these areas were now worth less, they were also easier for minorities to afford (without having to get loans and create excessive debt). These constraints remain even when the area is no longer being redlined. A study done by the New York Times researchers showed that a plethora of the boundaries and restrictions that were set in place are still affecting the minority populations in those areas. (Badger, 2017) In other words, even when redlines are removed it is common to see the demographics in those previously redlined locations remaining the same. A lot of the areas whose makeup was caused by segregation still hold a similar demographic and property value breakdown because of racism. If we acknowledge that these neighborhoods of color are deemed to be worthless, then in many ways we are also explaining one of the ways race is able to set the stage for gentrification.

Displacement in itself is a rather difficult experience to navigate. Social activists usually take it a step further to include the erasure of previous cultures (essentially whitewashing an area to make it more appealing to a potential white population). When it comes to race a hierarchy exists on the premise that white people are largely in control of national wealth. In 2019, white people were identified as owning 85.5% of the national wealth, which was only down 5.2% from 1990. (Federal Reserve, 2021). It has also long been known that property value is higher in areas where there are fewer people of color. (Howell and Korver-Glenn, 2020) That hierarchy can be by things like race or the spatial needs of an incoming business. or essentially whitewashing an

area to make it more appealing to a potential white population). Since diversity was among the recurring things that Glenwoodians mentioned as something they loved about their neighborhood, they frequently mentioned wanting to maintain that following UNCG's expansion. Residents feared that gentrification would lead to the population becoming more homogenous as prices increased

During gentrification, the cost of living locally increases as new businesses and populations move in. Some of the original components (both people and infrastructure) of the community might remain, but oftentimes a lot of individuals are forced to move because they are unable to keep up with the rising prices. Scholars like Sue Easton and Loretta Lees often debate about what part of gentrification (if any) causes displacement. (Easton et.al, 2019) A common concern among these scholars is the correlation between gentrification and displacement because there are no solid ways to measure it. Though many scholars try different ways to quantify the impact of gentrification, there are a few different issues that arise. One problem is that it is hard to find and keep up with individuals who have been displaced because of gentrification. Since this is the case another prominent issue is that discussing the part of gentrification that led to a person leaving (financial reasons, buyout, community changes) is hard to acquire. These scholars don't argue against the notion that gentrification can result in displacement long term but rather that it only indirectly does so. However, studies also show that the impact depends on the individual's level of residential and social mobility. In other words, how financially stable are these individuals, and how equipped are they for financial emergencies and requests that may arise? The more common cause of displacement with gentrification is primarily connected to an increase in the cost of living associated with social and racial inequity and has less to do with the actual people and businesses moving in. (Hwang and Ding, 2020)

Regardless of race, there is also the risk of financial burden. In a study done by scholars at the Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University, researchers found that one in four renters (which would be 11.2 million individual households) were having to spend over half of their income on maintaining their housing (rent and other housing payments). (Charette, et. Al, 2015) Housing payments that consume more than one-third of an individual's income are then deemed unaffordable and can become a financial burden. (Eggers and Mormon,2012)

Overpaying for housing (rented or not) can place a strain on the resources that an individual has available to tend to other areas of their life. Gentrification can also impact renters and homeowners alike because it can mean pushing out services (like public transportation and standard grocery stores) that many members of the community rely on. It can also mean that minimum wage/general skill jobs are being moved further away. These more affluent areas typically also lack "social services such as food pantries, social workers, domestic violence shelters, free medical clinics, and doctors who take Medicaid" (White, 2015). There is less of a need for subsidized services in the more affluent area as these individuals and families usually have the resources to find and use these services on their own and sometimes these services were included in the benefits that came with their jobs. Madden and Marcuse note that many renters will, unfortunately, be unable to keep up with rising rent costs, since the areas being gentrified are usually lower-income communities, they are usually unprotected (or only partially). He writes that "either they are protected by some form of partial de commodification, such as rent control or public housing policies which, as we have shown, are being actively undermined by the day- or they are lucky enough to have an economically irrational landlord" (Madden and Marcuse, 2016, p.43). Rental properties within the private market come with fewer forms of protection for the tenant, which means that the tenants' housing fate is left in the hands of their



landlord. When it comes to affordability housing costs can often take up a large portion of a person's financial budget. HUD says that a household spending over about 33% of their income on housing is cost-burdened. The problem with going over this percentage is that there is less of a financial cushion to cover unexpected costs. These financial cushions can also be threatened further by the financial requirements associated with different locations. As the cost of living in an area increases, there is less of a financial cushion to rely on.

Moving into more affordable areas allows a kind of financial cushion for incoming businesses as well. Businesses and local housing markets are some of the forces that can decide the financial requirements a person has to meet, which also gives them some influence over the cost of living in that area. Most of the work done on gentrification and displacement examines the impact of local businesses and the private housing market. When it comes to institutions of higher learning and hospitals the potential for gentrification to occur is overlooked as a necessary evil. In "Gentrification, Displacement, and Neighborhood Revitalization," J John Palen and Bruce London reinforce this notion by writing that "the displacement of poor and powerless residents through eviction, condominium conversion, and massive rent or property tax increases constitutes an unfortunate side effect of middle-class reinvestment in central city housing." (Palen and London, 1984) They go on to note that sometimes this period of displacement is seen as a signal for "a new era of urban health." (Palen and London, 1984) In other words, displacing people might not be the intention when looking to "improve" various areas, but when it occurs there are certain expectations of what will follow.

One approach that does look at the impact these schools have on local neighborhoods is done by looking at the changes in housing costs over time. Gentrification based on race (White people moving into minority communities) is one part of this narrative. Another part of it is the

gentrifying force that students create when moving into an area solely for their education. While the students themselves might not be responsible for gentrification, it does raise the question about if neighborhoods are gentrified in anticipation of them or if gentrification is brought on by an entirely different force. Many studies identify the correlation between real estate prices and the property's proximity to a college or university. Generally, neighborhoods that are close to a college or university will have higher housing prices than they would otherwise. These prices also seem to be highest in areas home to medium-sized universities (10,000-20,000 students). (Rivas et al, 2019) Several things contribute to this. One of the more prominent contributions is that those environments attract real estate investors who aim to cater to the potential housing needs of the students. Jobs and businesses make up a key part of a community, but they are also dependent on the population and general market of the area. In response to the amenities that colleges bring into the various areas, there are property owners who enjoy being in proximity to those amenities. Cui et al point out that not only are these amenities set up with the incoming population in mind, they are also priced as such because people with more money to spend on housing do not mind paying to obtain access to higher-quality amenities. Unfortunately, this means that current residents excluded from this portion of neighborhood change. This was one concern that the GGNA brought up in relation to the construction of the Kaplan Center. Residents were curious how the new recreation center would benefit them (if at all). Cui et al address this concern by explaining that after considering the proximity to places of employment, public transit, and higher education the price is often adequately reflective of those amenities. (Cui et al, 2018) Put another way the prices and requirements associated with the community additions are not feasible for existing residents because they were set with the potential incoming

population in mind. This is a problem of affordability, but it is not felt by the kind of audience the various local businesses end up catering to.

The same applies to students moving into the area for school. So, what part of the process is done with the initial residents in mind? Here the concern is that the target market of the renters and property owners near these universities changes from current residents to potential incoming students. When this is the case, price raises are justified by the notion that a building with four rooms can now be rented to four different individuals as opposed to one family. Renting one space to multiple renters increases the overall rent associated with the property (ex: \$400 per roommate means \$1600 total for four roommates). This means that while \$400 might be affordable for the student roommates, it might now be out of reach by the family (whose price would be \$1600). Ober (2019) notes that the size of the institution is more influential than the presence of the college or university on its own. She explains that in areas closer to a larger institution the rent is higher but only for units that are not marketed as student housing. The potential for student housing attracts real estate investors who aim to offer units fit for single families and split the price among multiple roommates for students.

### **Belonging**

One side effect of gentrification is that not only are people moved away from people who resemble them (physically and culturally as well as in terms of life choices and paths) but the community's make-up can be altered in a way that makes them feel like a stranger. Outside the financial and race-based ties, there is also the notion that communities can foster a sense of belonging among the residents. This theme usually becomes the most important among the population that remains following many of their neighbors being displaced. For many who stay, the new environment they are left with can be just as jarring as the completely new environment

that the displaced individuals move into. Removing this sense of belonging breaks down one of the last lines of defense against gentrification (people no longer fight for their neighborhood because it is no longer in the condition they were fighting for). Gentrification can also cause the individuals who were able to remain to feel isolated in their environments as they change. This is also a concern when the communities experiencing the expansion are feeling overlooked in the expansion plans. Expanding into existing communities without having properly integrated them into the plan can alter the community pride within this community. In the conversations about gentrification, a common theme is isolation. Individuals can either feel isolated in that they have to leave their homes, or in that they look around the place they once identified as home and do not see themselves being represented. Many scholars focus on the impact that displacement can have on the individual financially but other social implications can be better understood by looking at the social consequences of displacement. Durkheim discusses some of these consequences through his discussion of anomie and unanimous adhesion. Neighborhoods are composed of whole groups as well as smaller family units, but there is a sort of adhesion that exists between residents in more ideal living situations. When that adhesion isn't present the residents are more likely to feel like they don't belong (anomie).

Durkheim believed that society was an external coercive power that influenced/decided how a person's life went. The actions of an individual were based on what they were led to believe based on the group they were associated with or societal standards. Neighborhood communities go beyond being a group of houses to create spaces where residents feel like they are included in the community makeup. This sense of belonging is common in neighborhoods with a more homogenous makeup and can be disrupted by individuals from "othered" groups. This homogeneity exists among neighborhoods of color despite the presence of differing

ethnicities (regardless of their origin they are still all individuals of color. (Burgers and Zuijderwijk, 2014) In their study, Burgers, and Zuijderwijk discuss this feeling of belonging, but here people stand out because of their ethnicity. They find that “there are limits when bridging social differences and thus making everybody feel at home in [a] public space.” So, when a kind of “unanimous adhesion” is accomplished, disruption of it can be hard to resettle especially when new factors and characters are being introduced.

When these individuals do not find their place in their group, they enter anomie. Anomie is the state a person enters when they are not able to integrate into society. Durkheim further discusses this in his book *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* where he acknowledges that as populations grow and individuals diversify, the only thing that is common among all men is the fact that they are all humans with personalities. When this tie is cut, individuals struggle to find their place in society and begin to struggle. While displacement might not be a life or death situation for individuals within the Glenwood community, feelings of anomie work against the community goals to push for a new kind of neighborhood independence and vitality. This can be seen in the way that some individuals spoke about their desire to hold onto their property solely to sell to UNCG for a high price. Later in this paper, I walk through some of the thoughts that were shared with me during the interview portion of this project, with anomie and the idea of feeling out of place, the comments made by people who chose not to participate in my interviews are almost just as important. While some people felt as though my project was misguided, others opted against participation because “it would get them riled up without leading to change.” Many examples were shared with me about instances where the community came together to do something for their neighbors, but in each of those examples, there was mention of people who choose to abstain for similar reasons. Durkheim’s theory is relevant concerning Glenwood

because they are constantly referred to (by local news outlets) as the community that got "left behind." Greensboro in general is sometimes referenced in the same way throughout literature about the housing and racial climate and this is even evident in the many attempts made to 'save' Glenwood.

### CHAPTER III: METHODS

Vitality requires that residents are not only able to take care of themselves, but also that they are able to find a place where they feel comfortable doing so. Displacement associated with gentrification comes with not only the risk of higher costs of living but also the risk of isolation. Residents in gentrifying areas might feel that displacement socially before the prices are even altered or they could feel displaced socially following the prices rising and the demographics of their neighborhood changing. Regardless of how the displacement occurs (or even the kind), security in an area is necessary for the vitality of that neighborhood to be maintained. The constant disruption of one's environment that comes with gentrification is one of the primary forces that work against vitality. This force is one that I look more intently at in this portion of my paper as UNCG was the source of this continuous disruption. So, to analyze the impact that their disruption had, I first walk through points where the disruption occurred and some of the reactions associated with them. To do this, I drew from two groups of information. The first was archival data and the second was interviews. Together these allowed me to create a timeline to understand how UNCG's expansion looked in relation to the Glenwood community. With this view, I was able to see the cause-and-effect relationship that existed between the parties. The goal was to see how UNCG's expansion impacted the Glenwood community, and the timeline exposing the cause-and-effect relationship made this easier. There were a lot of times when one action would directly feed into the response, which became even more interesting when parties were taking action while also trying to predict the response they'd get. In this portion of the paper my goal is to set the stage for a discussion of my findings by explaining what I did and why.

## **Archival Data**

The archival materials referenced in this project came from a series of locations. Most of these articles and documents were either given to me by Glenwood residents or obtained from UNCG's online archives. Each source of information usually came with its own rabbit hole of other sources, which allowed me to further fill in the gaps of this narrative.

Among these documents were many news articles. With them, I was looking to learn more about the steps taken to introduce the Kaplan Center to the Glenwood community. I also wanted to learn more about how UNCG viewed their plans and where (if at all) they worked to include the Glenwood community. In spaces where the Glenwood community was included, I was able to learn about the reactions UNCG received from the community as well as some of the ways that UNCG handled these reactions. There were also more official documents that were put out by UNCG (like the FAQ sheet and letters sent to residents) that aim to help them show what they thought was important and why. These documents talked about the actions UNCG wanted to take and also gave a brief look at the results they expected. UNCG's expansion plan did this in a more direct way than other documents, but there were other documents where members of the UNCG were able to build on things mentioned in the initial plan. I received similar documents from various GGNA members (news articles they'd written, speeches, notes taken from community meetings, and statistics sheets they'd made). With these, I looked for their 'asks'. What did the Glenwood community want? What did they think went into creating a successful neighborhood integration? I looked at these in conjunction with their neighborhood expansion plan.

In the documents from UNCG, there is a discussion of the goals and efforts being put into the expansion process as well as a brief timeline for construction. Before any expansion



construction, UNCG crafted and released its campus master plan that covered its goals for the more immediate future. UNCG's expansion plan details their ideas for each of the areas they chose as well as brief explanations for why each of the chosen areas would be beneficial to the campus as a whole. One of my goals for this project was to get a better understanding of the impact that UNCG's expansion into the Glenwood community. To do this I looked for material that detailed similar accounts written by people outside of the UNCG community. From UNCG I found newspaper articles written by UNCG officials, as well as students. UNCG's archived documents create a sort of timeline of events and steps taken during the various steps of the construction. Ideally, I would have been able to analyze similar documents for the Glenwood community. Unfortunately, most of this content was not available to the public. While I did find a neighborhood, plan made by the Greater Glenwood Neighborhood Association (GGNA), that alone wouldn't have been enough to create a foundation for analyzing neighborhood vitality against UNCG's expansion. Though many of these documents were not available in a public manner, I came to learn that they were obtainable through Glenwood residents. As I will discuss later, the interviews I conducted often came with their own documents. These supporting documents were either from the interviewee's time in the GGNA or from their time protesting the expansion efforts. I received statistics sheets, notes from neighborhood association meetings, newspaper articles, among other things. Halfway through the interviews, I recognized there were specific documents that were frequently being referenced by different individuals. One such document was a memorandum of understanding between UNCG and The Glenwood Neighborhood Association. I was able to obtain this directly from the chancellor's office at UNCG. In this interaction, I was also able to obtain the amendments that were made by both parties.

Overall, the goal was to use the documents to create a background narrative detailing UNCG’s construction of the recreation center while also earmarking areas of tension between the school and neighborhood. In these earmarked areas I looked to understand who was upset and what was written to explain why. Within the documents, sources varied. To find them I did a series of general searches on google and within the UNCG library site. Table 1 below lays out the kinds of sources I used, the kinds of search terms used to find them, as well as where I found the sources. I changed the time frame that the search would pull up (limiting it to posts no earlier than 2012). Articles dating before 2012 usually discussed the construction of the police department building that falls on the other side of the street. I chose to start after that building was constructed because it was not considered an expansion into the Glenwood community. This building is across the street from Glenwood and lies outside of Glenwood's geographical boundaries.

**Table 1: Sources, Uses, and Origins**

<b>Periodical Name</b>	<b>Key Terms Used</b>	<b># of Main Articles</b>	<b># of Editorials</b>	<b>Authors</b>
<b>News and Records</b>	Glenwood, UNCG, Kaplan Center	5	7	UNCG student UNCG Admin Glenwood Resident
<b>Yes! Weekly</b>	“Don’t Rec Glenwood”, Rec Center Protest,	3	1	Yes! Weekly Author

	UNCG, Glenwood, Recreation Center, Kaplan Center			Glenwood Resident
<b>UNCG</b>	Student Rec	5	4	UNCG Student
<b>Newspaper</b>	Center, Expansion, Construction			UNCG Admin
<b>Triad City Beat</b>	Expansion, Glenwood	1	3	Triad City Beat Authors

### Interviews

When it came to the interviews, I was looking to fill in any remaining holes while also getting a better understanding of the expansion from the resident perspective. I completed six total interviews. These interviews were 50-70 minutes long and all occurred over Zoom. My criteria for these interviewees were that they were legally aged individuals who were current or former residents of Glenwood. I also opted to not interview anyone pregnant to avoid high-risk groups. I used a UNCG template to create a consent form (see Appendix A and B for materials). In the interviews, I learned a lot about the actions that went into understanding and supporting or pushing against the campus expansion. All but one of my interviews were with former or current GGNA members. This meant that I was able to speak with individuals who were directly involved in the conversations with Glenwood residents as well as representatives from UNCG. Ultimately the kinds of people I was able to speak with made up for having fewer

interviews since a lot of them were in positions that made them more aware of community details.

To obtain these interviews, I reached out to several Glenwood Neighborhood pages on Facebook, found email addresses for all the members of the current board of the GGNA, and even went to a couple of community events. One of these events was a people's market that occurred close to winter break. The other events were online. I didn't have the opportunity to attend any community meetings because they hadn't yet been resumed following the pandemic. Before posting on any of the Facebook pages I found (and with the prewritten scripts used in my IRB application) I messaged the admins of the page to see if it would be okay. These posts specifically asked for people who were interested and talking about the dynamic between the community and UNCG. My emails to the various individuals briefly explained my project and goals and ended with a call to action for anyone who felt they were open to further discussions. The GGNA members I spoke with also put out requests for interviewees on my behalf (most of this occurred over phone calls to individuals they thought might be able to add to this conversation). I was also permitted to reach out to individuals referred to me by the GGNA members and say that they were referred to me by that individual. This helped a lot. I reached out and spoke to over 50 people with the hopes of securing more interviews; however, I did run into quite a bit of pushback. Over 20 people declined to participate for reasons ranging from questions of safety to participation seeming unnecessary because they were no longer Glenwood residents. Even in these instances, I was able to learn about the different perceptions people had about the community (both from current and previous residents). Before the interviews and even with people who turned down official interviews, there were a lot of discussions about my project and things I should consider. There were a few times when

individuals would decline an official interview but follow up with documents that they thought might be helpful.

With the documents, it was easy to understand where different details fit and see how and where different articles fit together, the timelines within the interviews were not this simple. The interviewees sometimes discussed details without a firm timestamp. This meant that sometimes we were having conversations about different times and events together. In the interviews I looked to understand what the interviewee's relationship with the neighborhood was, what their perception of the community's interaction with UNCG was, and where they noticed changes in their way of living. Since I promised each interviewee that their identity would be kept private, I assigned each person an alternative name. These names have nothing in common with their actual names and have no potential ties to their positions (whenever that position became relevant). Table 2 lists the pseudonym and gives a brief look at the kinds of interviewee they were.

**Table 2: Interviews**

<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Currently Part of the GGNA?</b>	<b>Former GGNA Member?</b>	<b>Current Neighborhood Resident?</b>
Ramona Wilson	Yes	—	Yes
Lana Alston	No	No	Yes
Rachel Thomas	No	Yes	Yes
Victoria Williams	No	Yes	Yes
Francine Witherspoon	Yes	—	Yes

Jada Mitchell

Yes

—

Yes

There were some limitations to my ability to acquire as many interviews as possible. Most of these limitations were placed by the ongoing pandemic. Glenwood has a mixed population when it comes to age, but most of the people I ended up talking to were older adults who had lived in the community for over 15 years. At the time of my interview search, there was still a mask mandate in Guilford county and there was also a lot of worry about another spike in COVID cases. This meant that community events were hard to find and of the ones that were still happening, there was a much smaller turnout. During one of the events I attended, there were more vendors present than residents (and most of the vendors were from other parts of Greensboro). Many people were wary about in-person interviews out of fear of contracting COVID. This was a fair thought process when we consider that students may have more contact with other people than many people in the Glenwood community do daily. Other limitations were based on the lack of technology that existed in the Glenwood community. A lot of the residents I intended to speak to were unable to do so due to a gap in technical understanding. In some cases, the fix would have been as simple as a phone call, but this placed a time constraint on my project since I anticipated only doing these interviews over Zoom. The main issue that I was asked about this was how I would go about recording phone conversations in a way that was similar to Zoom recording. Over the phone, the recording would have been done by my iPhone (as well as stored there before I moved it to Box), which was not something discussed on my IRB application. To get around this I used the Zoom call-in function when possible. Sometimes technical difficulties I experienced fell on me because I was unable to accurately prepare for accommodating visual and audio disabilities. In cases

where technology was not an issue, a lot of individuals were concerned that this project was an attempt to find out information for UNCG. These individuals would say that while they could appreciate a project like mine, they were untrusting of how it could be used in the future. I believed that these were fair responses considering the tough history the community has with UNCG. While I did my best to ensure that there were no malicious intentions or consequences associated with participation in my project, I also did my best to understand why this would be hard to believe. Even if it was of no consequence to them, it still comes off as not being genuine when I explain that this project was for my master’s thesis. However, it is also worth noting that even though a lot of people declined the interview there were a few people in this group who still emailed me documents and pictures to review for my project. The last thing that came up was that people didn't want to be recorded, which led to more casual conversations about where I could look for other sources.

Within the interviews, I had 10 base questions and I asked these questions in the same order each time. Table 3 lists the questions I ask in the order they were asked in.

**Table 3: Interview Questions**

Order Number	Question
1	Are you a current resident in Glenwood? If so, how long have you lived here?
2	Are you a renter or a homeowner?
3	What can you tell me about the kinds of people who live here? (demographics)
4	What do you like (or dislike) most about this neighborhood?

5	What kind of changes have you experienced while in this area?
6	What kind of changes would you like to see?
7	Do you have any thoughts about UNCG's expansion into the area?
8	Do you think this expansion impacted this neighborhood? If so, how
9	Were people pushed out by this expansion? Did you know any of these individuals?
10	Is there anything else you would like to add?

I ended up only speaking to the GGNA and no other local groups in my interviews. Initially, I reached out to other groups and while they were also less willing to participate, I also realized that the GGNA was the group to prioritize. This was because the documents of conversations UNCG had with the community were done via the GGNA. So, members of the GGNA were in a more informed position than other community groups were because they were the ones being invited to UNCG based meetings as well as hosting their own. The GGNA was the organization in the best position to speak for the neighborhood because while in conversation with UNCG a couple members mentioned that they were also surveying the area and talking to residents about their thoughts and concerns.

It is one thing for residents to be welcomed in the GGNA community meetings, but the GGNA went a step further with their surveys to ensure they got as much of a response as possible. A lot of the results from these surveys were used to create their initial Neighborhood



plan, but later ones were used to craft the list of things they requested in the MOU. To ensure that my initial question about the impact that UNCG's expansion had on the neighborhood received some kind of answer, I made sure that one part of the analysis process involved identifying direct actions and their reactions. For example, how did UNCG introduce the plans for their expansion to the community and what kinds of responses did they receive? I was also very interested in UNCG's expansion plan compared to the Glenwood neighborhood plan.

## CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

After obtaining both sets of data, the tasks remaining involved aligning the narratives for the involved parties. I chose to focus on the key parts of each timeline and the conversations going on around those times. One of these key parts was the construction process for the new student recreation center.

In each of the interviews, the first two questions were more definitive answers. With the first question, I learned that all of the respondents were current Glenwood residents. In response to question two, all but two of the respondents were homeowners who had been in the area for more than 10 years. The other two respondents rented their homes and one of them mentioned also being in the area for more than 10 years. Since all of the respondents came into the interviews with the understanding that I was interested in learning more about the impact that UNCG's expansion had on their community, the answers for questions four through ten were usually based on that premise. All of the respondents had some interaction with the GGNA (either as current and former members or as active community residents). Since this was the case, each of the respondents answered the questions presented with the same documents. This also meant that their responses ended up being less tied to the original question and more related to the specific part of UNCG's expansion they wanted to cover. To keep these thought processes together, I bring the interviews in with the Glenwood portion of this section.

My analysis of the documents and interviews has four main parts. First, I go over UNCG's expansion plan and the points relevant to Glenwood (as the expansion plan covered a lot of different projects in different areas). Second, I go over Glenwood's expansion plan and the goals they had set prior to UNCG's announcement of the recreation center. This section is where

most of the responses to questions four through ten come in. In the third section, I go through the MOU since this was an agreement between both parties that was not reflected in the initial plans. This leaves the last section for analyzing similarities and differences between the initial plans which also involves acknowledging the overlooked agreements in the MOU. The last section is also where I am able to respond to my initial question about the impact UNCG's expansion had on neighborhood vitality and identify patterns in interview responses. Since this expansion step has been completed, there is space to see how certain actions played out (whether they had a positive, neutral, or negative impact).

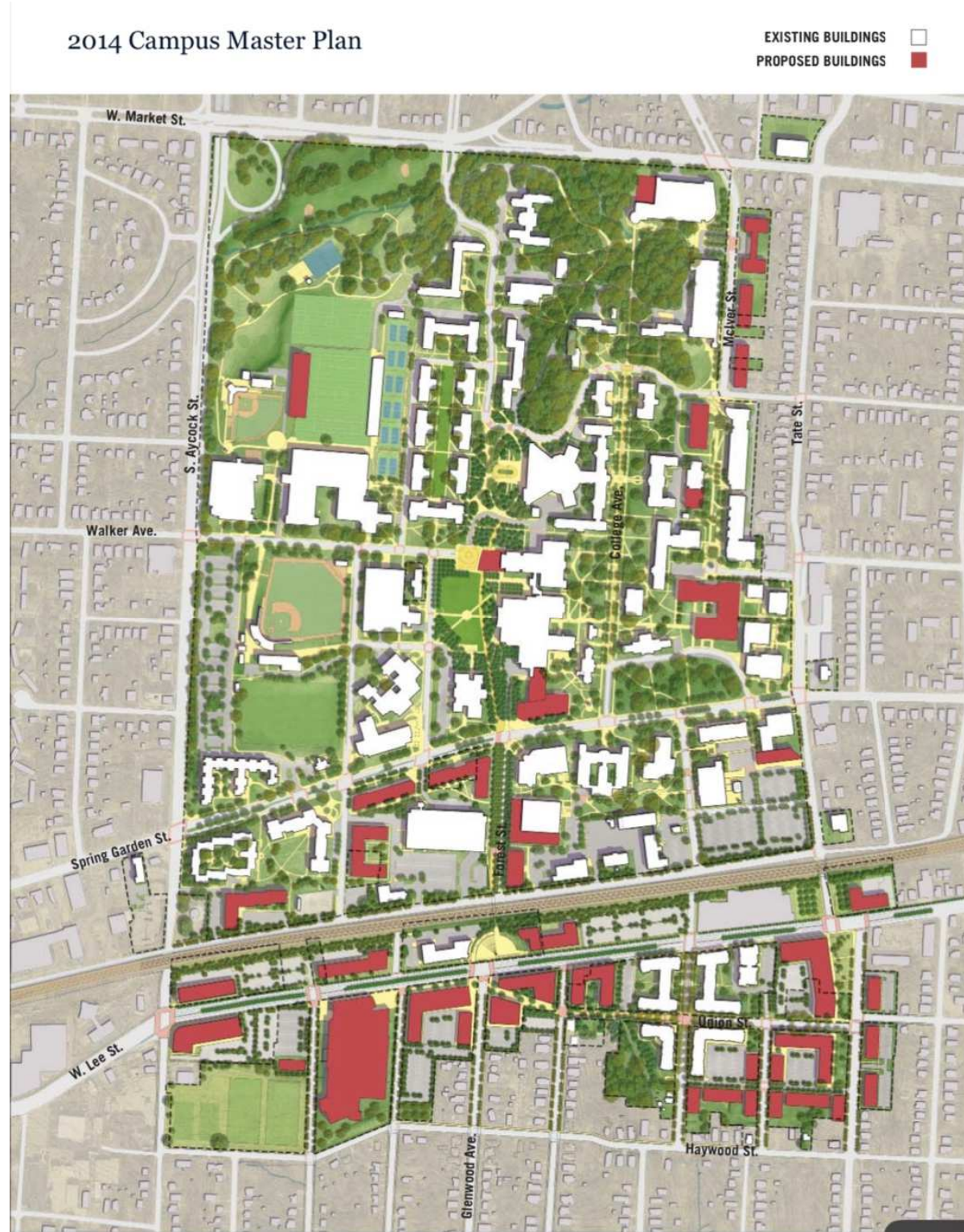
### **UNCG's Plan**

There are two versions of UNCG's master plan (the latter being the updated version of the first). The updates in the second version include changes that had occurred in the 7 years since the first plan came out (in 2007). Some of these changes were based on land they had just acquired on what was then West Lee Street (renamed Gate City Boulevard). There were also changes made in this plan that account for some of the agreements made in the memorandum of understanding they had with the GGNA.

Figure 1 is the map UNCG begins their plan with. It shows the buildings that they currently have and the spaces they would like to expand into. Figure 2 shows the specific changes they had made since the first plan. Together these figures create a sort of progression to not only show what buildings were new, but also show a change in their geographical footprint in comparison to their initial plans. In their plan, they listed four main "drivers." Their drivers were their desire to expand onto Lee Street and fill campus in to meet the capital needs which was based on prior research they'd conducted on their expansion plans. The last driver was the notion that they could do all of this expansion without ever needing state funding. UNCG used

MyCampus to gauge the student responses to their plans, for the surrounding community there were open forums and a website dedicated to discussing the master

plan.



**Figure 1: Existing and Proposed Buildings**

## Campus Changes Since 2007 Campus Master Plan

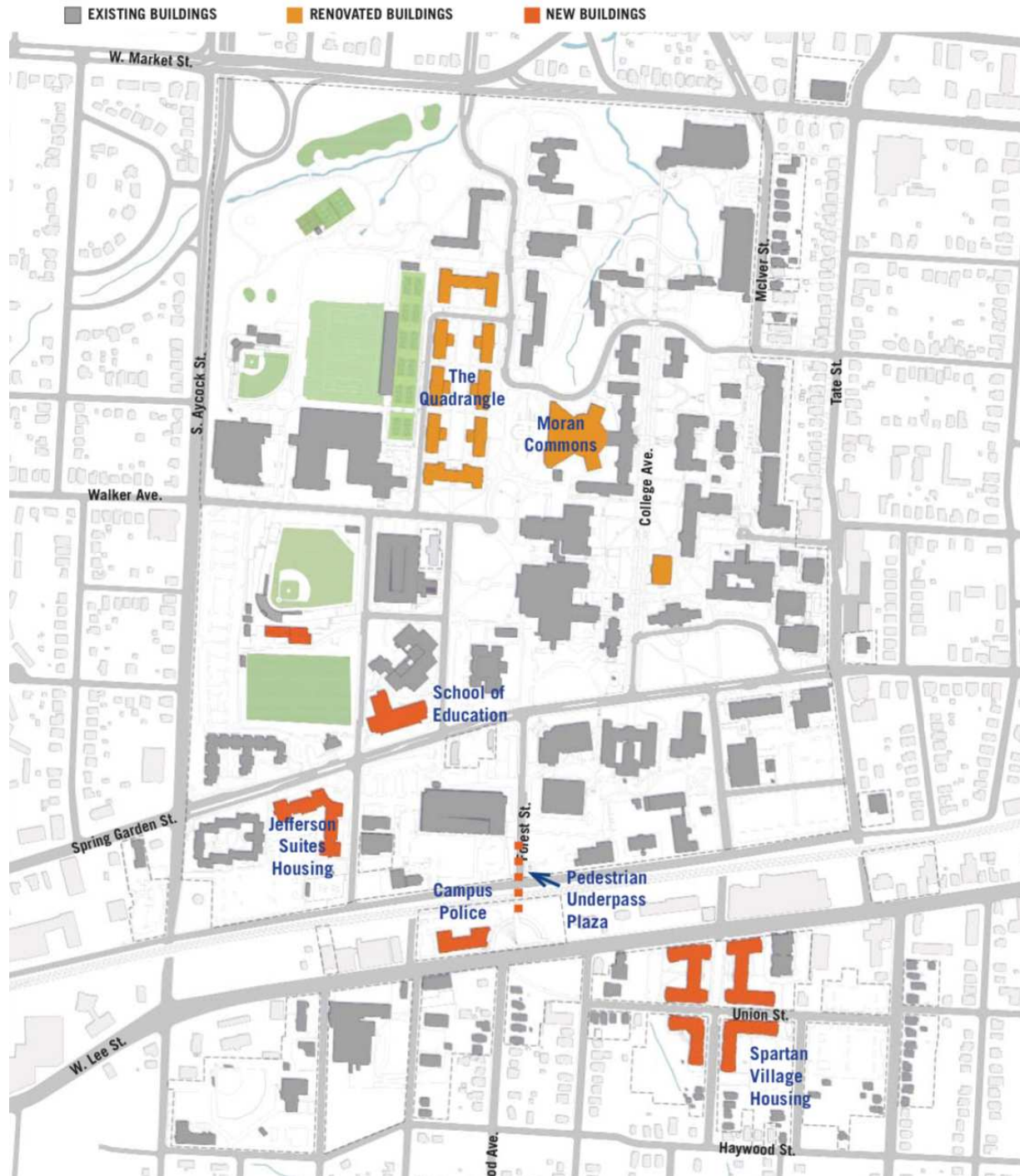


Figure 2: Campus Changes Since 2007

UNCG's desire to have a prominent campus presence is one of the underlying desires laid out in their plan. They wanted their boundaries to be defined so that locals knew when they were entering campus. One of the main ones was expansion into West Lee Street. In their plan they touch on their dream for that space saying that "this corridor will feature a strong campus identity while also creating spaces for dining, socializing and shopping bringing the campus and community life together." (UNCG, 2014, pg. 18). The Lee Street Corridor was essential to this plan because, for some, Lee Street served as the first impression of UNCG. The authors of this plan note that "many visitors and members of the campus community enter the campus by way of Lee street" and go on to say that this essentially makes it UNCG's responsibility to create "a sense of arrival through welcoming signage and streetscape elements." (UNCG, 2014, pg. 28) Essentially, UNCG wanted to ensure that the campus felt safe and inviting even along the borders.

There were smaller changes made before 2012, but during this year the plans for the Leonard J Kaplan Center became a priority. The plans for the center were continued and the construction began in 2014. The planning portion of this project included meetings with students, faculty, and Center community members to see what was most important and helpful for everyone. The term integration is frequently used in this plan. In reference to the new recreation center, they said that "the goal should be to have the Student Recreation Center feel completely integrated into the campus pedestrian network, rather than being an isolated building at the edge of campus." (UNCG, 2014, pg.33) UNCG's goal for expansion into the Glenwood community included constructing a new recreation center, creating a promenade between that and the student housing they planned to build later. On the bottom floors of those dorms, was a living-learning center as well as retail shops. In 2015, UNCG released a Frequently Asked Questions document

to further reinforce the importance of the new recreation center. One of the questions they addressed was why UNCG even needed a new student recreation center, to begin with. This question was heavy on the minds of students and other community members because the announcement of the wellness center was followed up by protests. To answer the question of why a new center was necessary, UNCG said that “the new student recreation center will limit overcrowding and ensure equipment and programs are easily accessed to provide students with a healthy avenue for engagement. The new center will also have the ability to host campus events that have grown too large for the Elliott University Center and respond to student demand for concerts, dances, career fairs, etc.” (UNCG, 2015) They go on to essentially say that the new center was designed so that “all” students have access to it. Other commonly asked questions were “why is the Student Recreation Center Important?” and “how is UNC Greensboro working with members of the Glenwood Community?” In response to the first question UNCG began with statistics that support the idea that campus recreation facilities helped the “freshman to sophomore retention rates,” while also helping them keep their grades up. This, they hoped, would help encourage more students to live on campus and boost graduation rates. In response to the second question, UNCG said that they “[have] held several open meetings with members of the Glenwood neighborhood (which is adjacent to the site for the new center).” They went on to show they were actively listening during those conversations as they note that “feedback from the Glenwood Community resulted in the recreation center site being moved one block west.” In this same question, they also mention that they are working on a memorandum of understanding with the Glenwood community. In one of these aforementioned meetings, a current Glenwood resident asked if they (the residents of Glenwood) would be able to use the new recreation center. The response was posted on the “Glenwood Affiliate Membership” portion of the UNCG



recreation and wellness website. To obtain membership residents would have to be from the neighborhood “defined as the area bounded by Freeman Mill Road, W. Gate City Blvd, and Coliseum Blvd.” They would then also need proof of residence. The cost of the membership was \$100 per academic semester and \$75 per summer semester or \$250 annually. Each additional membership (even within the same household) would cost the same as the initial membership. The protests that occurred were primarily students and UNCG faculty members who thought the new center was too expensive. Many students also voiced their disapproval of their fees being increased to cover the cost of the new center. Another portion of this pushback came from Glenwood residents who didn't want UNCG to "rec" their community. "Don't Rec Glenwood" became a popular slogan in the community during the pre-construction phases. (V. Williams, personal document, 2022)

While there were a lot of different ideas about the recreation center when it was announced, it was a part of UNCG’s Campus Master Plan which mentions “expansion into the Lee Street Corridor” as its first goal .From UNCG’s perspective all necessary steps to ensure that most people were happy with this plan (including the residents of Glenwood” when they write that “The [campus expansion] plan respects the partnership established between UNCG and the Glenwood neighborhood by integrating the agreements of the Glenwood/UNCG Memorandum of Understanding (MOU).” To address concerns within the Glenwood community, UNCG includes that “Building height will be reduced toward the Glenwood neighborhood, reaching a maximum of two stories within a seventy-five-foot buffer of neighborhood building “and also that they took parking in Glenwood into consideration. ( UNCG, 2014, pg.33)Before and during each stage of the construction process, UNCG officials were assigned to attend GGNA meetings to answer questions about what the future of the recreation center would look like. When

residents became overwhelmed with the noise associated with construction, these officials were the ones who stepped in to listen to resident complaints and (when possible) make suggestions for solutions.

To get a better understanding of what the residents of Glenwood envisioned for their community, I started by looking at their Neighborhood Plan. The original plan was created in February 2008 (with conversations on the topic beginning in November 2006) and amendments were completed by September 13th, 2011. It was created with the help of the Greensboro City Council. Since Glenwood is located in a prime real estate location the conversations around this plan caught the attention of many different parties ranging from local landlords/ property owners to the UNCG administration. This plan had six main goals which were to “Increase homeownership and maintenance, improve walk and bike-ability, promote desirable infill development, reduce crime and perceptions of danger, promote vibrant accessible retail and services, and strengthen community fabric.” (GGNA, 2008) Included in this plan were not only ideas for the neighborhood itself, but also suggestions for future land use. On the Greensboro North Carolina government there is also a section that tracks the successes of this plan over time. One of these successes is that “UNCG and the neighborhood successfully collaborated to craft a cooperative agreement for developing the campus expansion in harmony with the intent of the Glenwood Neighborhood Plan” (the City of Greensboro, n.d). The agreement mentioned here is the memorandum of understanding that was created in response to the introduction of the Leonard J. Kaplan Center for Wellness construction.

In their plan, the GGNA note that they realize that a lot of Glenwood’s “original luster has faded” and that they wanted to try restoring their community so that it could “once again become a thriving neighborhood with high quality of life and a strong social fabric, which

remaining its present diversity and affordability.” (GGNA,2008) A key thing in Glenwood is neighborhood diversity. In all of the interviews, the diversity of the community was mentioned. Four of these interviews mentioned a fear of that diversity being disrupted.

As mentioned earlier, areas around colleges and universities create a special kind of opportunity for incoming businesses and even landlords. This is something that the Glenwood community tried to account for in their plan saying that “Glenwood’s low residential property values make it a likely target for future apartment construction. Especially to accommodate the UNCG student market.” (GGNA, 2008) At this time the GGNA concluded that while it was common for off-campus students and staff to live within 1 mile of camps, there was a piece of Glenwood (south of the railroad tracks) that had "not yet become an obvious choice of location for staff and students” as a barrier was created by the railroads.

Before the MOU, Glenwood community members had an array of concerns about UNCG’s expansion. Most of those concerns can be categorized as being about aesthetics, residential inclusion, and community aspirations. In the aesthetics category are concerns that mention wanting there to be some sort of unison between UNCG’s buildings and the ones already there. Residents also mentioned a desire for the upkeep to not end where UNCG’s campus did. In other words, they wanted UNCG to contribute to the sustained beautification process of the community they would become a part of. The last commonly mentioned concern was about the greenery that Glenwood had. Residents wanted to ensure that they kept as many trees, flowers, and natural spaces as possible. In the next category (resident inclusion), residents just wanted to be sure that the needs of the community were not being overlooked. Here the main concerns were that UNCG’s expansion would work to erase parts of Glenwood’s presence over time, residents wouldn’t be able to benefit from any of the things being added to their

community, and that these changes would not only work against any progress they'd made in restoring Glenwood into something they could be proud of but also that it would make their lives harder. This category is where concerns about signage that shows where the Glenwood community begins are brought up. It also covers the use of things like the student recreation center as well as the business spaces. Residents wondered if incoming shops or grocery stores would be ones they would even want to shop at. Some residents were worried that plans to expand the campus and increase the student population would mean that their daily routines would be disrupted by the added traffic and lack of spaces for their own events and cars. Residents were distrustful of UNCG and made it clear in a plethora of ways. In a speech given during a meeting with UNCG a community, a member said that they "didn't want the Recreation Center built on the Glenwood side of Lee Street because [they didn't] trust UNCG. It's that simple." (L Alston, community documents, 2011) Following the creation and enactment of the MOU, members of the Glenwood community felt that there were promises that UNCG broke despite constantly reassuring the residents that their requests were heard. A lot of the "broken promises" line up with the initial concerns that the residents had. Aesthetically, residents thought that the recreation center stood out. It was a point of concern for residents because in addition to the building's "boring" appearance they were worried they were going to lose their community identity to "university monoculture." (F. Witherspoon, 2016)

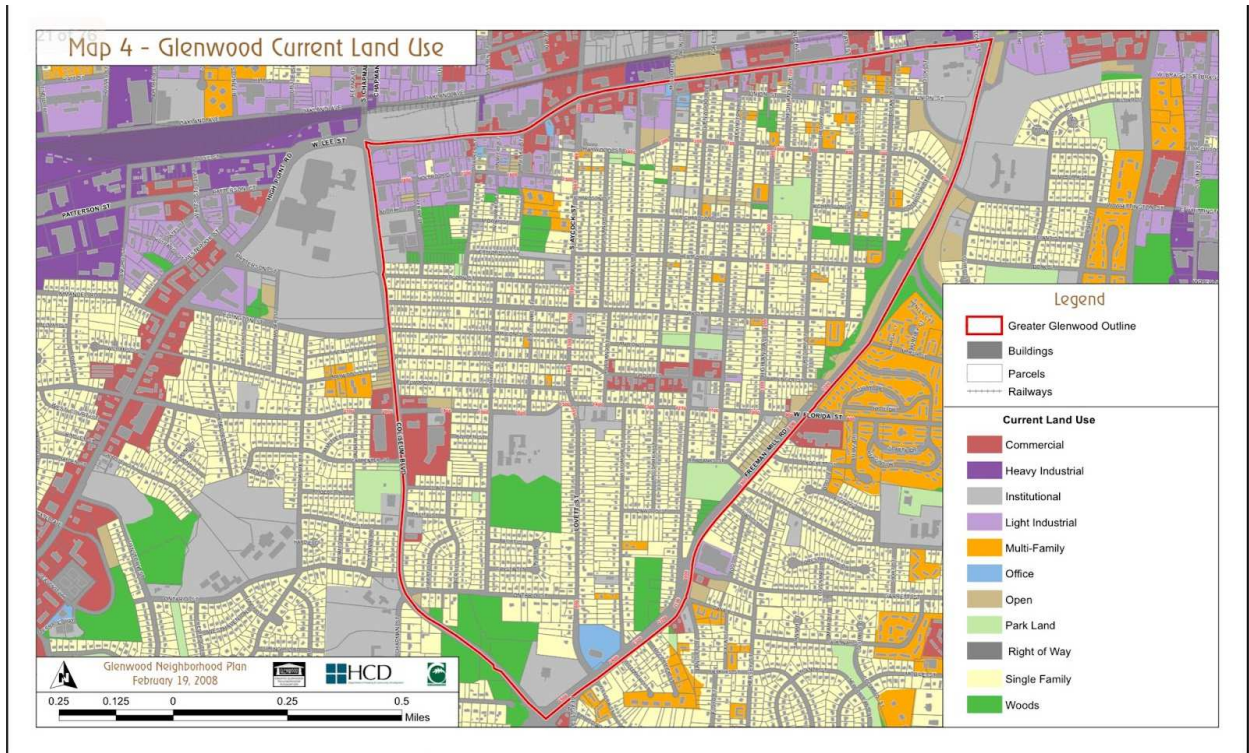
When it came to residential inclusion, residents were frustrated with the cost of being able to use the recreation center. Further frustration came when the new dorms were constructed because the aforementioned "mixed-use areas were not inclusive of Glenwood's neighborhood plan. While they were given some restaurants, they were not ones that the residents thought fit into their community's patterns. While most of the conversations around this were about the

kinds of businesses residents would like to see, there were also individuals who wanted to be one of those businesses. Lana was one such resident. In one interview, Lana mentions that those mixed-use business spaces were not inclusive of Glenwood businesses because they lacked storage so there was no room for inventory-based businesses. This meant that preexisting businesses who could not afford to buy their inventory in smaller quantities or store their materials elsewhere were not able to sustainably exist in that space.

For the GGNA, it was small inconveniences like these that encouraged their anti-campus expansion views. Though small in comparison to other issues they were facing, they were seen as such obvious places to show the neighborhood that they were being considered in UNCG's plans. Missing the smaller details chipped away at the patience that residents had when it came to larger issues. There was also a discussion about a grocery store for the community, to which a Bestway was UNCG's response. While the groceries offered were not necessarily in line with what Glenwood had hoped to achieve another issue was created with parking. (R. Thomas, personal communication, 2022) With the construction of the Kaplan Center came a need for more campus parking, which meant less space for residents to park without needing a campus-issued permit. UNCG suggested a parking deck be constructed in the area to fix this solution, but after some discussion this was turned down by the Glenwood community. (J. Mitchell, personal communication, 2022) The solution that UNCG and Glenwood ended up with was residential parking stickers that allowed residents to park in certain areas within the community. During my interviews the recurring complaints I received about the parking program was that the passes were hard to get (since they required people to go to a Greensboro office downtown to sign up), they were difficult to maintain (and easy to forget), and they were confused about where people could park. In some of the parking stories, I heard various residents reported being fined for

parking in front of their own homes because of their parking stickers or being fined for not having the proper documentation for guests.

Within the documents provided by various members (former and current) of the GGNA, there was a timeline that essentially showed the order in which UNCG's "destruction" of Glenwood came in. The timeline begins in 2005 when Glenwood receives a grant from Greensboro Beautiful to plant 80 new trees. In 2008 Glenwood's neighborhood plan was approved and the City of Greensboro recognizes "Glenwood's extensive tree cover as a significant asset." In 2010 UNCG announces its plans to build a new set of dorms that would be constructed over mixed uses spaces. From 2011 until the construction of the Recreation Center, there are a lot of conversations about Glenwood's trees, the creation of the MOU, and many other meetings planned to get community needs heard and met. This document also reinforces the residents' disapproval of the recreation center plans saying, "it duplicates facilities in [the] existing recreation center and newly constructed aquatic center." (F. Witherspoon, meeting notes, 2012)

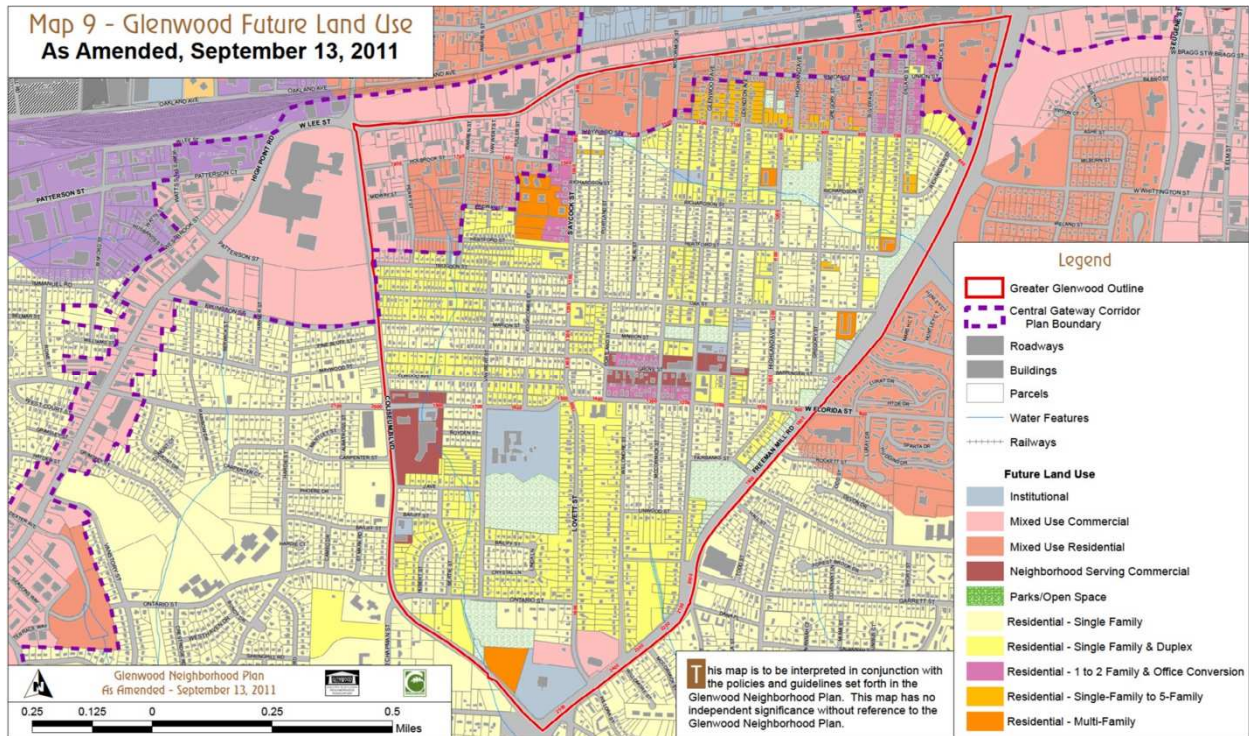


**Figure 3: Glenwood Current Land Use**

**Table 2 - Acreage of Glenwood Zoning District Categories**

Zoning District Category	Acreage	Percentage
Single Family Residential	539.5	70.1%
Industrial	89.2	11.6%
Multi-Family Residential	81.0	10.5%
Commercial	35.4	4.6%
Office	16.9	2.2%
Mixed Use	6.8	0.9%
Institutional	0.9	0.1%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>769.7</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Figure 4: Zoning Amounts and Percentages**



**Figure 5:Glenwood Future Land Use**

Most of the land in Glenwood was being used for residential purposes, but residents were voicing a desire to have more space for commercial endeavors. Figure 3 was one of the many maps included in the neighborhood plan. It shows the space that Glenwood was in occupation of at the time and also how that space was being used and figure 2 shows the numerical breakdown of the map, which helps us better quantify just how little diversity there is in the usage of the property. Figure 5 essentially shows the way they planned to change the properties already in their community outline as well as the areas they hoped to expand into. Here it is shown that while a good portion of Glenwood is still residential, there are now also other spaces that will be able to serve other functions. The Glenwood community (then as well as now), does not have many apartment complexes or even multi-family duplexes. This was one area that the community was hoping to diversify themselves in for the sake of not only being able to



accommodate the incoming populations (whether that be people coming into Greensboro or just going to school at UNCG), but it also would present more opportunities for property ownership. In the 50 years between 1910 and 1960, Grove Street was a business district that was primarily comprised of Glenwood residents. They were able to own and operate a lot of these businesses (they had everything from a butcher shops to barber shops). Grove street between 1910 and 1960 is the time of vitality that is so often referenced as the kind of atmosphere they'd like to recreate in Glenwood. Glenwood was founded with the idea of affordable housing in mind and constructing these duplexes and apartments within their community's geographical borders gives them the ability to have a say in the kind of housing that should be available. They add that “beginning in the 1970s, business on grove street began a slow decline which has been accompanied by elevated criminal activity and deteriorated condition of some buildings and street feature.” (GGNA, 2011, pg.18) Changes in the community (encouraged by the GGNA and changes in land ownership) inspired residents to believe that they could restore Grove street to its previously known glory. While this renewal of Glenwood's glory days is a common dream among many of my interviewees, they are all at least vaguely aware of gentrification. After a brief discussion about the rise in housing and rental costs one interviewee says that “depending on who you ask, some people like the change.” However, she was not one of those individuals who liked the change since she thought these changes put the community at risk. She notes that some of these changes (like the cost of living locally) make it harder for people who have been in the area for a long time to afford to stay). (R. Wilson, personal communication, 2022)

Just like with UNCG, safety was an important part of Glenwood's neighborhood plan. This was something that the community had been working on even before UNCG's plan for expansion. Ramona Wilson notes that at one point “there was a lot more drug activity, there was a lot of

prostitution like literally walking up and down the streets, prostitutes” (R. Wilson, personal communication, 2022). The Glenwood community had a lot of mixed ideas about what should be done about these situations. Part of the population thought a crime and punishment approach would clear out current offenders and scare others straight, while other parts of the community thought that there should be “real change” to encourage people to change their lives. Most of the members of the GGNA that I spoke to fell in the second group, but this left the issue of how they would go about acquiring this change. Over time residents recognized a shift in Glenwood becoming a safer neighborhood, which one interviewee believes created the climate for UNCGs expansion. (J. Mitchell, personal communication, 2022)

Reasons, why UNCG chose the Glenwood community over others to house their expansion, is something that my interviewees had a lot of guesses for. One interviewee's guess describes the unofficial reason in a way that shows just how aware the community was about what was going on. She says that “it is not lost on me that if you look at a map, [of] the directions that UNCG could have expanded, we were the cheapest direction.” She goes on to break down the kinds of wealth associated with the other communities and concludes by noting that she knew UNCG expected pushback regardless of the direction they expanded into but that it would be “less of a fight than they would have had in wealthier communities.” (R. Wilson, personal communication, 2022) After looking at the neighborhood plan, I needed to get to talk to some of Glenwood’s residents. However, before this, I found that I needed to refamiliarize myself with some housing concepts. When revitalization efforts are brought into areas like Glenwood, they are often also referred to as attempts to beautify the area. Here the focus shifts from housing in general to housing that is also appealing to the eye. As mentioned earlier this can impact property value and cost of living which is not always beneficial to renters. Since

Glenwood's community is made primarily of people who rent their homes, increases in property values locally could be detrimental to their livelihood. This area also had a lot of older homes that were built with specific designs. Shifting focus from housing in general to creating beautiful housing means that more people are left trying to keep up with more expensive houses than before. The designs of the new homes were also made without considering the designs of the previous homes, so you had homes being renovated in a way that stood out from those around them. On another note, this also means that the housing market was being flooded with houses and rental units that lower-income people cannot afford making it harder for them to find a place to live. In some conversations, affordable housing is used interchangeably with section 8 housing. Section 8 housing, in its ideal state, is housing that is subsidized by the government for "very low-income families, the elderly, and the disabled". There are usually limited availabilities for this kind of housing so there is an application process that creates a waiting list. There are general qualifications necessary to be considered for this kind of housing that is set by the federal government, but there is also an individual screening done by the local public housing agencies that ultimately decides. Since there are a limited number of units, many areas also have a waitlist that closes when the number of families on the list begins to outnumber the number of people they can house in the near future. (HUD, n.d.). This improper use of the phrase neglects the portion of people who make too much money to qualify for section 8 housing, but don't make enough to be able to afford the higher-end options. Affordable housing refers to housing units whose price falls in the range that is deemed affordable for an area.

Here housing concepts became important as there was a generalized other that was frequently mentioned by some of the white people I interviewed. Though usually framed in an anti-racist way, the comments showed where some of the racial lines fell. In one interview I had

with one of the only individuals of color I was able to speak with it was described as the “thing where white people sometimes will make their voice quiet and then like feel like the thing there about the really racist thing, they're about to say isn't racist anymore.” (J Mitchell, personal communication, 2022) As a current member of the GGNA, this individual was able to provide a plethora of examples from meetings and daily life where this quiet voice came with loud and racial undertones. Again, it is important to re-center on the fact that this community was established as an area with affordable housing. This however did not equate to section 8 housing. I thought of housing affordable housing in Glenwood as income considerate but not dependent on income. There are no limits to how much a person can make while living in this area, but prices were initially set with lower-income residents in mind. There were even measures taken by incoming revitalization programs to ensure that this standard was upheld. (F. Witherspoon, personal communication, 2022) To add extra context, these particular comments about section 8 housing referenced the parts of the community where lower-income people lived. To be clear, there are no actual section 8 units in this community, so these comments usually referenced a decline in community standing with an unspoken tie to those lower-income populations. Warnersville is a neighborhood close to Glenwood that is usually the neighborhood older white people mentioned as the neighborhood they feared becoming like. This neighborhood is predominantly African American. However, when I asked the same interviewee, they responded that “I actually would hypothesize that Warnersville is like safer than Glenwood in terms of crime statistics.” (J. Mitchell, personal communication, 2022) Whether these original comments were tied to the presence of individuals of color or just the conditions of the neighboring town, there was still a desire to create something safer for Glenwood residents.

This desire for better meant that the residents remained against the construction of the recreation center. From Glenwood's point of view, the few compromises that UNCG made to try and resolve issues were simply symbolic gestures. In a speech that was given during the community meetings, one speaker makes it known that despite the nice mutual relationship that is portrayed as existing between the university and the Glenwood community is not real. This speaker aims to call out UNCG in the planning stages of the recreation center for broken promises and hints at actions that were taken with the intent to mislead the Glenwood community. On the list of broken promises and unaddressed concerns that the speaker gave were the "underhanded" methods UNCG took to "coax" homeowners into selling their homes, the inclusion of buildings in details that weren't previously discussed, and trees that were displaced by parking lots.

Even before UNCG initiated its expansion Glenwood's proximity to the school gave residents the unfortunate experience of seeing things change financially. One interviewee mentions that in her time in Glenwood she witnessed "three-bedroom houses go from like \$650 a month to like \$1200 and people's wages have not kept up." (J. Mitchell, personal communication, 2022). In this portion of the interview, she goes on to respond to the question many sociologists have about the displacement process associated with gentrification (which is the bigger force between more immediate forced moves and long-term displacement). She says that "it may be that people are just doing incremental changes, while they have the same tenant and then like as soon as they get rid of that tenant they're like jacking up the prices to catch up with the market, and I also know that, like this is something that is happening around the city" (J. Mitchell, personal communication, 2022). This was a common sentiment across my interviews. It seems as though Glenwood is in a unique position where they want to maintain the affordable

prices to do their part in taking care of the residents and their neighborhood, but in the phases where that is not their immediate concern (like when people move), they find themselves having to play catch up with the market.

One other key sentiment that was presented during these interviews was that what's going on with UNCG is normal. In one interview an individual went as far as to say that “ the administration [at UNCG] is going to push to get whatever they want and like universities around the country devour the working class neighborhoods next to them that's what they do it's cheaper than trying to go to war with the rich neighborhoods next to them.” (J. Mitchell, personal communication, 2022) This was also something that came up a lot when talking to the current leaders of the GGNA. Their understanding of the expansion process was that while UNCG could have chosen to move into one of the other surrounding neighborhoods, Glenwood was the most affordable option for them because of the lack of financial and legal power that the community had to fight back. If UNCG had chosen to expand into another community, not only would the initial cost be higher, but the buyout processes would be more expensive as well.

In each of the interviews, I asked about the changes the individuals have seen in the community. In response to this question, one interviewee said that “it's like we've been a victim of their expansionist ambitions which is not great.” (L. Alston, personal communication, 2022) They go on to say that most of these changes weren't really for the better but that if they wanted to see a change, they would have to increase homeownership. This was an interesting point since it was also one of the goals that the GGNA listed in the Glenwood Neighborhood plan. The active residents in this community were aware of the things that needed to be done to accomplish the goals they'd set; however, it seems that they lacked the financial support to put their goals into action.

At a glance, Glenwood is a diverse community (that is predominantly people of color) which means that race is able to play a part in deciding property values for homes. Even if there are no racist intentions, people of color have less wealth, and this reflects in their housing choices. Since this area is also mostly renters, this means there were fewer options for fighting to keep their homes. When it comes to class, you see that while there are a lot of local efforts to obtain more wealth, the diversity within the community makes it hard for everyone to pursue this effort from common starting points. In turn, this means that there is no unity around what the community can afford. Conversations about rising housing costs put homeownership in that area out of reach for some individuals while other individuals mention being upset that their homes weren't worth more.

Across all of the interviews, it was unanimously decided that in the Glenwood community it was common for residents to feel safe and included. Whether this was based on the ease of community organization or simply individuals of color feeling like they could ask their white neighbors for help if they needed it (the context for this statement was associated with police violence). Following these statements, four of the interviewees mention fear of this environment being destroyed by UNCG's expansion into their neighborhood. They mention that now there were not only more people leaving and selling their homes to UNCG, but also more people holding onto their properties (without proper upkeep) for the sake of selling them to UNCG at high prices. So, moving away from the daily complications that they were experiencing, interviewees were also discussing UNCG as a threat to community adhesion.

### **The MOU**

Before receiving and reviewing the MOU for myself, I'd only interacted with it from the point of view of the Glenwood residents who believed that UNCG disregarded a lot of stuff in

their agreement. However, I also found that when I asked about the specific things that UNCG overlooked, there were a lot of different takes on what that answer could include. Since this was the case, I sought out the MOU and received it from the Chancellor's office at UNCG. In the preamble of this document both parties

“recognize that UNCG has a public responsibility and mission to provide education, research and public service for the benefit of the State and that [the] GGNA exists and has been formed to protect and enhance the Greater Glenwood Neighborhood.” (Final MOU, 2012, pg.1)

In other words, both parties acknowledged that they each have their responsibilities that might differ because of their goals. This section goes on to say that

“the purpose of this MOU is to establish a mutually agreeable framework for cooperatively addressing the short and long term effects of UNCG's expansion into the Greater Glenwood Neighborhood, thereby promoting excellent relations between the parties, establishing clear and accepted areas for UNCG development”. (Final MOU, 2012, pg.1)

Following the preamble, the MOU began with foundational responsibilities for UNCG. These items were things like UNCG agreeing to pay reasonable prices to families/individuals who would be displaced and not use eminent domain to obtain properties. Another item like this was an agreement to ensure the current rent price (at the time of signing) would remain in place. Individuals in good standing with their payments and active leases would also be allowed to stay there until demolition (if they were in the construction zone). Those not in the construction zone



would be allowed to remain and UNCG agreed to get a property manager for those occupants. UNCG also agreed to maintain these properties even if the buildings on them would eventually be torn down (ensuring that current residents were not run out of their homes due to poor upkeep) among other things. In the section designated for “neighborhood character issues”, UNCG agreed to several design standards. A few of these standards were written as follows:

“14. structures adjoining West Lee Street shall not exceed 4 above-ground stories in height. 15. No portion of any building located within 75 [feet] of a single-family home outside the RVP footprint may exceed 2 stories in height as they approach Haywood St. or any residence bordering the RVP. 16. The existing predominantly residential character of Haywood Street within the RVP Footprint will be preserved, and no UNCG structures will be situated nearer than 75 feet from Haywood St.” (Final MOU, 2012, pg. 3)

The last thing in this section mentions spaces that were coded as mixed-use in the agreed-upon buildings will be

“marketed as commercial space, with attractive lease rates (at or below market rates) and leasing priority given to locally based business, small businesses, and businesses that offer goods or services oriented toward the needs and preferences of the Glenwood Neighborhood as well as the UNCG campus community.” (Final MOU, 2012, pg.3)

In the addendum, UNCG agreed to “landscape the south portion of the SRC (student recreation center) property with the same commitment that earth the Tree Campus USA designation” and

“recovered the city landscaping ordinance for new plant material” (including extra tree coverage replacing every tree lost with at least two trees). (MOU,2012) This addendum is also the first place where the parking issues (discussed during the interviews) are brought up to which UNCG agreed to work with the City of Greensboro to find a solution. One key part of this addendum says that

“UNCG agrees to support the preservation of the neighborhood and its residential environment accordingly, UNCG agrees to limit its campus expansion to the north of Haywood Street and north of the southern boundaries as described in the RVP and the [initial] MOU.” (MOU, 2015)

There are other details covered in this MOU and the addendums, but the ones included the ones that became points of tension later on. There were a lot of similarities between UNCG’s plan for Glenwood and the neighborhood’s plan for themselves. One such similarity can be seen in how both parties wanted to use the areas designated as mix use. Both parties were interested in building a sort of shopping village in the area that also had restaurants and a grocery store. The difference here exists in the kinds of shops and restaurants the parties wanted. UNCG wanted student-friendly restaurants and shops that would respond to student needs (like an art store and a student grocery store). On the other hand, Glenwood wanted residents to have the opportunity to set up shops in that area. They also wanted more modern restaurants for families. One note about the restaurants made was that residents wanted them to have additional outdoor seating when possible. I didn't see a spot where Glenwood specifically asks for restaurants that sold alcohol, but one pushback from UNCG was that Glenwood’s ideas for these restaurants could not be

agreed upon because of the alcohol factor. UNCG also pushed back on the outdoor seating because of the potential danger of being next to a busier street.

Another similarity was that UNCG and Glenwood both mention a commitment to community upkeep and especially the upkeep of green spaces and their trees. The only difference here is when that commitment began. For UNCG this commitment began after the construction of the Kaplan Center was completed (and the trees could be replanted). The Glenwood community wanted their trees and greenery to be protected even during construction. Several documents following the initiation of construction mention the number of trees that were taken up (especially when those trees were over a hundred years old). The last main similarity between the plans was the understanding that any expansion would require a conversation about how to handle the issues associated with new traffic. Where would there be space for more cars? How would these new parking spaces impact the parking options that residents had? Here their issue wasn't the topic itself but rather how the common goal should be accomplished.

One difficulty associated with these expansion plans is that it is admittedly difficult to figure out the actual boundaries set in the revised vision plan (especially considering the whole campus plan is well over 100 pages long). One complaint from the Glenwood residents that I received was that UNCG didn't stay within their boundaries, but all of the people with this to say were also unsure about the boundaries after Haywood street. Those boundaries were that UNCG agreed to not extend "south of Haywood Street, south of 820 Glenwood Avenue or south of 1019 Union street). (Final MOU, 2012) Though mentioned in the final version of this MOU it is not easy to find where those boundaries are mentioned in either of the revised expansion plans (from either party). From my observations, I don't see where UNCG extended beyond their barriers, but

I also recognize that a Glenwood resident would have a different eye for these locations than I would (as I am not from or even a current resident of the area).

When it came to the mixed-use commercial and residential areas, there was a lot of concern about the kind of businesses that could be an option for inclusion. It seems that instead of presenting a list of acceptable business options, the GGNA members were presented with several reasons why the options they chose would not work. Their plans for their neighborhood were laid out in a similar way to the UNCG expansion plan; they simply lacked the power and financial backing to ensure they were applied in the ways they intended. Since this was the case, UNCG using alcohol as a reason why the requested dining options were not acceptable was enough. After looking at UNCG's expansion plan and the plan for the Glenwood community, it was clear that some things fell by the wayside. The items that were overlooked ended up being the details that led to further issues within the communities. In general, one flaw of this MOU is that it left far too many details out. At some points they were specific and other times they left things pretty open-ended. A lot of the complaints I heard from the interviewees I spoke to were on points that were left open-ended (except for the one about there being fewer trees than they asked for). One thing that seemed to be overlooked in the MOU and all other notes that cover the conversations between the involved parties is the details of what specifically they each had in mind for the commercial spaces. From UNCG's point of view, it is not hard to see that they wanted to create things that their students would enjoy, but this is not necessarily representative of the kinds of businesses that the Glenwood community had in mind. One point of critique that was offered by the GGNA president was that UNCG could have looked into the incorporation of local neighborhood businesses into their commercial plans. While I understand this perspective, it wasn't something that UNCG agreed to and should've been a point that was further clarified. It

is also unclear if the GGNA members knew about the incoming dorms that would be built right beside the Kaplan Center. If they were unaware of this, then their lack of clarification about their commercial intentions makes sense (as they were not yet aware that they would even need to specify those points). UNCG's expansion plans incorporated something being built in that location, but it seemed that this didn't become a point of importance until well into Glenwood's fight against the recreation center (meaning they had fewer resources available to tend to that anyway).

In addendum 1 to the MOU UNCG did agree to “use a majority of materials that are less imposing than featureless solid brick on the south end of the building.” This point does seem to be one that was overlooked in the final product of the Kaplan Center as the majority of the features of that building are towards the north end. The grey brick does have an interesting texture that could arguably be an attempt to move away from the “featureless” solidity of a basic brick wall. However, since there was no further clarification on this point there is room for both the argument that UNCG upheld their agreement as well as the argument that they did not. This is an example of one of the many conflicts that could have been resolved by adding an extra line of detail to the initial MOU or even the addendum. While I don't doubt that members present during the MOU's creation discussed other details, the ones they included in the final document left a plethora of things open for discussion which ultimately created a lot of loopholes for UNCG.

Another issue was that there was no real consequence associated with a breach of this agreement, which meant that even in the case that UNCG did overlook a portion of their agreements nothing would happen. Since MOUs are not legally binding, UNCG is not obligated to uphold any of the promises they made. UNCG has the power to find a way around community

pushback when necessary so there is no downside to not agreeing with the community.

Glenwood on the other hand does not have this power, which meant the MOU meant more to them and was one of the only ways they could get their voices and needs acknowledged. Should UNCG fall through on those agreements, Glenwood would have no actual way to go about getting those agreements met. Even when the GGNA brought up points of concern they were ultimately brushed off with letters that say things like “all of the input the Board has received is a strong reminder for all of us that academics and scholarship have to be our main focus.” (UNCG Board, 2015) While this might come off as cold or inconsiderate of Glenwood, it falls in line with the statement about responsibilities in the preamble of the MOU. That aside while I understand that UNCG’s priority to its students was made clear, comments like this are dismissive of the opinions that residents of that community had. They do not establish a strong foundation of inclusion and give off the impression that they are not looking to foster a relationship with the community they are now a part of.

In reference to the possibility of retail space, the Glenwood community was met with a construction design that did not support those retail designers. One speaker notes that there were “no exterior doors except for one in the middle that allows you into the building and one on the end. The spaces are too small for retail with no storage.” (R. Thomas, personal communication, 2022). On a Glenwood statistics sheet, it says that not only was Greensboro as a whole ranked number 1 in the US for food hardship in 2015 but also that Glenwood was considered a food desert. The GGNA writes that “13.4% of households located more than 1/2 mile from a grocery store don’t have a car or truck” and goes on to say that “20.6% of Glenwood’s households receive food stamps” this number increased to 63.5% when looking at the census tract. This

meant that not only was Bestway not a full solution to the community's food hardship, but it was also another area where UNCG missed an opportunity for inclusion.

Among the interviews, these missed opportunities were where the most patterns existed in the responses. Most respondents thought that there were breached agreements listed in the MOU though there is some disagreement around which ones. Respondents were unanimous in their statement that while Glenwood was currently a diverse community, there were concerns about how campus expansion would change that. In terms of vitality, UNCG's expansion was more harmful to Glenwood's vitality. UNCG's expansion into the mixed-use spaces in the Glenwood community had a negative impact overall as it diminished community visibility and independence. At one-point Gate City Boulevard served as the clear boundary between UNCG and the beginning of the Glenwood community. Now that boundary is created the difference in building heights and the lack of general upkeep in areas around UNCG. Their expansion into this space also limits the options for Glenwood businesses (both current and future endeavors). Unfortunately, this also limits the ways that the neighborhood can go about regaining that original luster that they mention in their Neighborhood Plan. Also, since the area was already not in its prime conditions, these expansive steps were likely more harmful than they would've been to a Glenwood in its prime. There are parts of UNCG's expansion plan where little opportunities to include Glenwood into their plans were missed. These missed opportunities often also end being the places where residents incurred further difficulties moving forward.

## CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

As expressed earlier, there was a certain level of obscurity surrounding various parts of the discussions between UNCG and the GGNA. From UNCG's perspective, the amount of negotiation they even participated in was them being generous. UNCG had the power to simply acquire the land they wanted through eminent domain, which means that realistically they were under no obligation to even speak with the Glenwood residents about their plans. Their only real obligation was to their students, staff, and faculty. So, on one hand it was rather fortunate for the Glenwood community that UNCG chose not to take that more oppressive route opting instead to try and include the community. On the other hand, if UNCG didn't want to fully consider the community and not uphold all of the promises they were making, then they didn't need to create this false sense of hope and unity within that community. In a lot of documents, UNCG mentions wanting to be a good neighbor. However, these statements become clouded by the number of other documents (mainly letters sent to residents) that say things like UNCG has to consider the future of their campus first. One of the agreements in the MOU was that UNCG would help take the necessary steps to maintain and support the community's sustained wellbeing. However, there were simultaneously actions being taken that worked against this agreement. This can be seen in the list of houses that while purchased for demolishing are still present and vacant. When it came to buying properties like houses, UNCG agreed to maintain upkeep until demolition. The MOU did not cover what would be done in the case that UNCG no longer needed those properties so that these vacant homes are not just being left empty and deteriorating.

My initial understanding of the relationship between the UNCG and the Glenwood community was that while initiated in good faith, there were things caused by UNCG's



expansion that ultimately allowed them to benefit from the unintentional degradation of the Glenwood community. After doing research on this topic over the past year, I am now a little more unsure about the good faith standpoint that I had originally. I do think that there were many disservices done to the Glenwood community that should be resolved sooner rather than later.

Among these disservices were the hassles around parking, the lack of effort in restoring Glenwood's lost trees, and a lack of participation in community upkeep. I also think that unfortunately, the power that UNCG has in comparison to the Glenwood community means that sometimes they are not getting held responsible for things that really could be chalked up as miscommunication. As mentioned above, there are a lot of points in the MOU that are specific and detailed (like the replace one tree with two portions), but there were other things that should have been further clarified by the Glenwood community in that document. I do also realize that there were likely other ways that the community members voiced their concerns; however, since that MOU was what UNCG was using to make changes to their initial campus plan everything should have been put in that document. Things like how the backside of the Kaplan Center should look for the residents should have been specified (they at least should have put examples of acceptable things in the MOU. Simply saying that it should not be "featureless" can mean a lot of things. Since a lot of residents were so distrusting of UNCG it stands to reason that they would take that extra step to ensure that they were not only being heard but also being understood. While I also don't put it past UNCG to simply ignore parts of the MOU, it also works to their benefit that those details would be left out because it means that they essentially could continue as planned as long as there was some way that they could view their actions as falling in accordance with the MOU. The main problem that Glenwood has is that a lot of the expansion efforts that UNCG completed, do a thing that Glenwood wanted to be done anyway

but leaves them out of it entirely. When scholars discuss the power that intuitions have, it's small neighborhoods like Glenwood that are overlooked to maintain this power. Despite having similar goals as UNCG, Glenwood lacked the financial resources and general power to push back at the anchor institution looking to expand into their community. Their inability to pushback puts their community diversity and dynamic at risk but is an example of a "necessary evil" occurring for the sake of students without consideration for existing residents.

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## APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM

Project Title: Neighborhood Vitality: The impact of campus expansion on a local neighborhood

Principal Investigator: Margaret Reliford

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Zachary Levenson

What is this all about?

I am asking you to participate in this research study because I want to understand the impact of campus expansion on Glenwood from all possible sides. This research project will only take about one semester and will involve you being interviewed. Your participation in this research project is voluntary. The interviews themselves will be recorded for transcription and last about an hour.

How will this negatively affect me?

No, other than the time you spend on this project there are no known or foreseeable risks involved with this study.

What do I get out of this research project?

There are no direct benefits of your participation.

Will I get paid for participating?

There is no compensation for your participation.

What about my confidentiality?

We will do everything possible to make sure that your information is kept confidential. All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential unless disclosure is required by law. We will not ask for any identifying information. In the final report, we will use a pseudonym and store all data securely with Box. Absolute confidentiality of data provided through the Internet cannot be guaranteed due to the limited protections of Internet access. Because your voice will be potentially identifiable by anyone who hears the recording, your confidentiality for things you say on the recording cannot be guaranteed although the researcher will try to limit access to the recording as described in this section.

What if I do not want to be in this research study?

You do not have to be part of this project. This project is voluntary and it is up to you to decide to participate in the research project. If you agree to participate at any time in this project you may stop participating without penalty.

What if I have questions?

You can ask Margaret Reliford ([mereliford@uncg.edu](mailto:mereliford@uncg.edu)) or Dr. Levenson ([zblevens@uncg.edu](mailto:zblevens@uncg.edu)) anything about the study. If you have concerns about how you have been treated in this study call the Office of Research Integrity Director at 1-855-251-2351

## APPENDIX B: IRB SCRIPT

While most of my conversations will be with the admins of the Glenwood Neighborhood Association page, I am going to get IRB approval and then ask the Admins for permission to post on their wall. For those posts I will follow the guidance or templates they give me.

To the individuals I message separately I will use the following text:

“Hi my name is Margaret and I am a student in the graduate program at UNCG. I am doing research on the impact of UNCG’s expansion into this neighborhood and wanted to include the residents of Glenwood in this.

I would love to schedule a Zoom interview with you to discuss this further. Please let me know if this sounds like something, you’d be willing to participate in or if you have any questions.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Thank you,

Margaret R.

Script for emails:

Hi XXXXX,

My name is Margaret Reliford and I am doing a research project that looks at the impact of UNCG's expansion into the Glenwood neighborhood over the past 10 years. Throughout my research I have come across some interesting things and now I am looking to further discuss these points with you (the GGNA members, the Greensboro Council member over beautification, the GGNA historian, the members of the Glenwood neighborhood whose emails I am able to locate). The goal is to learn as much as possible about the impact on the neighborhood from as many people and angles as possible.

If you are willing and available, then I would like to schedule a Zoom interview with you to further discuss this topic.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Best,

Margaret Reliford

Facebook post script:

For those of you who might not yet know me, my name is Margaret Reliford. I am currently working on a research project at UNCG that looks at the impact that campus expansion has had on the Glenwood community.

The goal is to include as many responses and angles from within the community as possible, so if you are interested in participating please feel free to interact with this post (like or comment) or send me a message.

Actual script:

My name is Margaret Reliford. I am a current student at Uncg and I am doing a research project that looks at the impact of UNCG's expansion into the Glenwood neighborhood over the past 10 years. Throughout my research I have come across some interesting things and now I am looking to further discuss these points with you The goal is to learn as much as possible about the impact on the neighborhood from as many people and angles as possible.

If you are willing and available, then I would like to schedule a Zoom interview with you to further discuss this topic.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Best,

Margaret Reliford