Spring 2022

“Forward—Upward—On!”: Black Student and Educator Experiences in the Early Years of School District Five of Lexington and Richland Counties

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"FORWARD—UPWARD—ON!": BLACK STUDENT AND EDUCATOR EXPERIENCES IN THE EARLY YEARS OF SCHOOL DISTRICT FIVE OF LEXINGTON AND RICHLAND COUNTIES

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

Education Administration

College of Education

University of South Carolina

2022

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DEDICATION

One of my earliest memories was watching my mother, Sara Holden, walk across the stage in the stadium at East Carolina University when she earned her Masters degree. I don't remember the whole day, just snapshots of a stadium, purple robes, and smiling faces. When I began my doctoral program four years ago, I imagined a nice bookend to that moment. A family photo with me at the center, all dressed up in my academic regalia, surrounded by my wife, children, and parents. A picture just like the one from that sunny day in Greenville almost four decades ago. As Andre Benjamin once said, "You can plan a pretty picnic, but you can't predict the weather."[1]

In the months that followed my mother's passing last May, I observed "I could probably write 5,000 words a day on my grief, but writing fifty words on anything else seems impossible most days." A quick look at the word count on this document will show that I have moved beyond that phase of the grieving process but still not a day passes without me thinking of her, our last few days together, or the ways I could have been a better son. Mom deserved more than what I gave, but, despite my faults, she never hid her love for me. I used to be embarrassed when she bragged to friends and family about what I had done in school, what my teachers had said about me, or what new award I had picked up. It has taken time for me to understand how proud she was of me even in the days when I wasn't very proud of myself. For the first time in my academic journey, I

[1] "Ms. Jackson," MP3 Audio, track 5 on OutKast, *Stankonia*, LaFace, originally recorded in 2000.

finally feel I measure up to the person she believed I was for all those years. She won't be physically present when I walk across the stage for my hooding, but I will be thinking of Mom and imagining her telling anyone who will listen about her son, the doctor.

Now that I am a parent, I better understand the joy my mother found in all of her children's triumphs. I am amazed by how my children's minds work, the questions they ask, and the observations they make. Margot, Gus, Jack, and even Lily constantly boast that they are smarter than me, and they probably are. I have no doubt that their achievements will soon eclipse mine. Maybe they will follow my path and earn fancy robes, hoods, and tams of their own, or perhaps they will end up in professions where medals and plaques represent the highest levels of learning. Wherever their individual journeys may take them, I hope that they realize the certificates and trophies they pick up along the way are just tangible reminders of the unseen parts that really matter--their learning, their personal development, and their commitment to improving their communities and our world.

Like so many nights and weekends during my doctoral work, they are playing in the next room as I write these words, the last part of a project I have spent four years obsessing over. It is possible that they think the hardest part of this process for me has been dealing with all the noise they made as they laughed, played, pretended, wrestled, watched television, ran, jumped, fell down, cried, and squabbled on the other side of what I have discovered is a very thin wall. The reality is that the biggest obstacle to being able to read all of the articles and write the papers has not been the volume in the other room but the fact that I just wanted to be in there with them contributing to the chaos.

I often reflect on the improbability of me becoming a father of four remarkable children as well as a teacher, principal, and doctor. Whenever I think about those long odds I also think of the only reason any of those things ever happened, Dr. Laura Eiseman Holden. When I asked Laura to marry me in 2004, I had an idea what it meant to be husband and wife, but I did not grasp what it meant to be someone's partner. She helps me better understand that concept every day. My completion of this degree would not have been possible without her support and sacrifices.

The world and our lives have changed dramatically since I began this program in 2018. We had no idea that we would be blessed with our fourth child in April 2019. We did not imagine a world in which terms like quarantine, distance learning, and remote work would enter our everyday vocabulary. I do not know how Laura has managed being a leader in a healthcare system, mother, and wife to a doctoral student during a pandemic, but she has handled each challenge with incredible grace and skill. She doesn't always understand or appreciate just how good she is at being a leader, mother, and wife, but I do. I am so thankful that she took a chance on me in 2001 on the fifteenth floor of Capstone and that she has stuck with me through all these years and degrees. I am the man I am because of her support and love. I love you, Laura.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I was fortunate to be surrounded by supportive colleagues and professors who shared their knowledge with me and offered me encouragement as I navigated the doctoral program. The friendship I developed with Frank Gause and Theresa Harrison over several classes and years challenged my thinking and writing, and I will forever be grateful for the support system we created. Quin Cureton, Jason Pollock, Davida Price, and Julius Scott connected me with alumni and former educators, and this research would have been considerably less in substance and value without their assistance. Erin Strange and Sybil Stowers were kind enough to share their knowledge and time with me whenever I asked questions about our district's history.

Though I do not consider myself to be a fan of inspirational quotes, I own two framed posters that frequently remind me where I am and where I am going. The first, a gift from Dr. Stephen W. Hefner, reminds me that "Learning never ends," and the other, "Strive for progress not perfection," was given to me by Dr. Christina S. Melton who has frequently recited those words to me over the years. I try to keep both thoughts at the front of my mind every day. Though there is no poster to commemorate one of the most important pieces of advice I have ever received, I am also grateful to Dr. Allison B. Jacques for reminding me there is a time and a place for jogging.

Over the years, I have sometimes felt that I was trying to be who others wanted me to be, but Dr. Michael R. Harris has helped me see and work towards being the person, educator, and leader that I want to be. Last May, as I looked back on all of the

illnesses, quarantines, and daycare closures of the prior twelve months, he reminded me that I was “still standing.” As has often been the case with his advice and leadership, I didn’t know how much I needed to hear that until Dr. Harris said it.

Aside from my wife, Michelle Estridge has endured more ramblings about my research than anyone else. In the little office space we share, she has suffered through countless discussions that probably weren’t actually discussions about an article I recently read, a letter I reviewed the night before, a story that had been previously shared with me, or how some issue we were working through that day was actually very similar to this other issue that the district experienced fifty years ago. I’m sure it was always a fascinating conversation for one of us. The university should probably award her an honorary doctorate for her troubles.

I am also thankful to have benefited from the guidance of numerous professors at the University of South Carolina. I was fortunate to have studied with Dr. Daniel Spikes and Dr. David Martinez during my first semester in the doctoral program, and they helped me think through my initial ideas, consider the framing of my research, and refine my research questions. During my second semester, Dr. Katie Cunningham and Dr. Spencer Platt allowed me to pursue projects which laid the groundwork for the dissertation and provided critical feedback that improved my work. I am also thankful to Dr. Suzy Hardie for her patience and support over the last three years, to Dr. Daniella Ann Cook for helping me to understand the importance of and relationship between strong methods and theory, and to Dr. Valinda Littlefield for serving on my committee and sharing her time, energy, and expertise with me.

Dr. Christian Anderson saw the potential in my work during my second year, and he will likely never know how it felt to have a real historian tell me that I had both an idea worth exploring and the ability to do it well. He later agreed to work with me on an independent study that improved my understanding of historical analysis, helped me think through how to present my findings, became my advisor, and chaired my committee. I had many ideas and thoughts on what I wanted to do with my doctoral research, but I lacked the ability to organize those ideas or plan a pathway to the end of the program. Dr. Anderson helped me resolve those issues and frequently reminded me that "a good dissertation is a done dissertation." I would say we have accomplished something far better than "good" here and that would not have happened without his guidance and feedback over the last three years.

I have now completed five degrees at the University of South Carolina, with four of those coming from the College of Education. One more and the university will award me a complimentary set of steak knives. Despite my membership in the exclusive Five-Timers Club and the number of credits I have earned from the university over the last twenty-two years, Dr. Allison Anders is the only professor I have studied with in four different courses. I am fortunate that so much of my time in my final program of study was spent with one of the best teachers I have ever had. The readings, discussions, and assignments in her courses made me a better thinker, researcher, and writer, and her influence on my work can be seen throughout this dissertation.

After my mother's passing, I wasn't sure how I would finish the *Narrative Inquiry* course with Dr. Anders let alone the rest of the program. I took an "Incomplete" for the first time in my academic career. In the weeks that it took me to complete the final paper

for that course, there were days where I sat down to write and nothing came out. I tried to organize the ideas and words I already had down and closed my computer each day feeling that I was further from completing the paper than I had been at the start. It took me an additional month to finish that paper. At the same time, I began a previously-scheduled independent study with Dr. Anders, Frank, and Theresa but was mentally unready to do anything except stare at my ceiling. During those months, Dr. Anders always seemed to strike the right balance between the academic demands of the coursework and supporting me as I worked through the mental and emotional issues that were impacting every area of my life.

I will never know exactly how challenging it was to teach and reach me during that time period, but I know it was beyond what is expected of a professor. I later learned I was not the only student Dr. Anders was helping through a difficult time. Looking back, her efforts stand out not just because of her extraordinary work with all of us but her ability and willingness to do so while simultaneously shouldering intense burdens of her own. Not only was Dr. Anders supposed to be on sabbatical that summer, she was being publicly attacked by state and national leaders for her work related to Critical Race Theory. I imagine most people would have withdrawn due to the pressure and threats she faced, but Dr. Anders redoubled her commitment to her students, organizing discussions, sharing her wisdom and experiences with us, and providing us with opportunities to improve our practices and scholarship. Most importantly, she listened and helped several of us on our paths to recovery as we struggled with the effects of personal tragedies as well as the cumulative toll of ongoing injustices in our community and world. Dr. Anders took care of us at a time when most people would have needed someone else to take care

of them. I hope I am able to summon a similar strength for my colleagues, friends, and family when they need me.

ABSTRACT

This research utilized historical analysis, narrative inquiry, and oral history to document and analyze Black educational experiences in the Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo communities during segregation and desegregation. Archival materials from the local school district offered insight into district leaders' attitudes towards Richlex, the only public school available to the area's Black students between 1953 and 1966, as well as the conditions that district leaders created for Black students and educators. Former students' stories were centered in both the examination of what the local Black communities accomplished in spite of the unequal conditions of the segregated era and in the analysis of Black student experiences during desegregation. Richlex's educators and community created a school celebrated by participants for its nurturing and gifted teachers, the sense of kinship fostered within the school, and the meaningful, long-lasting relationships between families and educators. Richlex built on the traditions of Black education, engaged students in the ongoing struggle for racial equality, and supported students in their endeavors after Richlex. As the district desegregated, however, the board and administration failed to build on Richlex's extraordinary successes. Black students developed supportive relationships and gained access to new opportunities and resources during desegregation, but they also experienced abuse, anxiety, and racial isolation. The number of Black teachers decreased as the district desegregated, and the effects of Black educator displacement were felt by Black students. This study concludes with an exploration of contemporary issues influencing the experiences of Black students and

educators in the district. More than fifty years later after desegregation, segregation and desegregation-era inequities persist and continue to influence Black educational experiences. Though there are signs of progress, there is considerable work left to do if we hope to fulfill the vision of the Richlex alma mater and propel our students "Forward—Upward—On!"

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The schools of the Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo communities in South Carolina make up School District Five of Lexington and Richland Counties (District 5). The district has a proud history of academic, athletic, and artistic achievements. It is regularly ranked among the top districts in the state on accountability assessments, and the district's results on national tests such as the ACT, SAT, and Advanced Placement are well above state and national averages. More than three hundred students have been named National Merit Scholars. Student-athletes have won more than 130 athletic championships, and the band programs have earned seventeen state championships. Alumni include a Rhodes Scholar, an Olympic gold medalist, an Emmy Award winner, and star athletes at the collegiate and professional levels. Eleven schools have won the Palmetto's Finest Award, and ten have been awarded the National Blue Ribbon. The faculty and administration have produced four state teachers of the year, six state principals of the year, one national teacher of the year, and one national principal of the year.[2] The popular history of the district is thus one of educational excellence.

This narrative, however, generalizes students', teachers', and staff's experiences which vary based on a range of factors. Gender and socioeconomic status explain some of the variation in educational experiences, but race has emerged as a key factor for

[2] The author is also the Director of Planning and Accountability for the school district. Much of this information comes from his files and information he has assembled as part of his professional responsibilities.

researchers' seeking to understand educational experiences and inequities.[3] A preliminary examination of District 5's early policies and enrollment trends illustrates the need for a more thorough analysis focused on the experiences of Black students and educators in the district's early years.

Created out of three smaller districts in 1952, District 5 operated a segregated school system for all students until 1966. District 5 began to desegregate its schools midway through the 1965-66 school year and fully desegregated during the 1968-69 school year.[4] Changes to the district's race-based school assignment plan coincided with other changes in the Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo communities. District 5 initially served 950 students but was home to 10,412 students by the 1982-83 school year.[5] This information reveals that the district experienced a substantial increase in enrollment in the thirty years after its founding, but questions pertaining to and analysis of when the district's population growth occurred as well as the characteristics of the new students reveals a more detailed picture about the district's enrollment changes. Enrollment data from the district's first two decades provides a clearer picture of when the growth began.

TABLE 1.1. Student enrollment in District 5 in 1952-53, 1962-63, and 1972-73

School Year	Enrollment
1952-53	1,196
1962-63	1,597
1972-73	5,803

Source: *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1953-54 and 1963-64; Lexington County District #5 Board Minutes, February 19, 1973.

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[3] Gloria Ladson-Billings and William F. Tate, "Towards a Critical Race Theory of Education," *Teachers College Record* 97, no. 1 (Fall 1995): 51.

[4] Lexington County District #5 Board Minutes, December 7, 1965, January 18, 1965, May 27, 1968. Lexington County District #5 Board Minutes will be abbreviated to "Board Minutes" as only one district's board minutes were included in this research. Though the name "Lexington County District #5" is used on the digitized meeting minutes, it is listed as "School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties" in the "References" section as this is the current name of the school district.

[5] *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1952-53, 1982-83.

The district's enrollment grew by 401 students in its first decade but increased by 4,206 students in its second decade.

Student demographic data offers a more complete understanding of the increasing enrollment.[6]

TABLE 1.2. Student enrollment in District 5 by race,1964-65 and 1972-73

School Year	1964-65	1972-73
Number of Asian Students	n/a	3
Number of Black Students	617	643
Number of Hispanic or Latino Students	n/a	1
Number of White Students[7]	1,248	5,315
Percentage – Asian	n/a	0.1%
Percentage – Black	33.1%	10.8%
Percentage – Hispanic or Latino	n/a	0.0%
Percentage – White	66.9%	89.1%

Source: *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1965-66; Board Minutes, June 18, 1973[8]

Between 1964-65 and 1972-73, the number of Black students in District 5 increased by twenty-six. During that same time period, the number of White students in the district more than quadrupled, increasing by 4,067. The surge in White student enrollment led to a massive shift in the enrollment and demographics of the district. Where 33.1% of the district's students were Black in 1964-65, just 10.8% of the students were Black in 1972-73.

[6] 1964-65 data was included as this was the last year of full desegregation in the district, and the *School Directory of South Carolina* separated schools based on students' race at that time. District 5 schools partially desegregated during the 1965-66 school year, and the School Directory does not appear to account for the fact that some Black students attended previously all-White schools during the second semester.

[7] The report in the June 18, 1973, minutes lists the racial or ethnic groups as "Negro," "American Indian," "Spanish-Surnamed American," "Portuguese," "Oriental," "Alaskan Native," "Hawaiian Natives," and "Non-Minority." For this table, it is assumed that "Spanish-Surnamed American" is similar to the modern category of "Hispanic or Latino" but excludes "Portuguese." A similar assumption was made about the "Oriental" classification and its relationship to the modern category of "Asian." "Non-Minority" was assumed to mean "White."

[8] Board Minutes from February 19, 1973, reflect slightly different enrollment numbers. These minutes state that there were 533 Black students and 5,270 White students. The June 18, 1973, numbers were used as the enrollment data from those minutes appears to have been used in official documentation submitted to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The February 19, 1973, data appears to have been for internal planning.

The district's enrollment changes occurred as District 5 and other local districts desegregated. Neighboring Richland School District 1 (Richland 1) began desegregating in 1965 and fully desegregated in August 1970.[9] While District 5 experienced a population increase and a dramatic increase in the number of White students in the district as it desegregated, 1,760 White students left Richland 1 prior to the 1971-72 school year. The percentage of Richland 1's students who were Black grew from 49% to 54% within one year and increased to 59% in 1973-74.[10]

Research Questions

District 5 experienced rapid population growth beginning in the late 1960s, launching an era of accolades and achievements for its students, teachers, and schools, but this general narrative homogenizes student and educator experiences. Derrick Aldridge states that one of the roles of the historian is "asking questions that others failed to ask."[11] The historian must carefully consider how their questions are framed as the questions influence the entire research process. Asking the wrong question can cause the researcher to focus on "short-term solutions that are unlikely to address the long-term underlying problem."[12] The questions we ask also influence the completeness of our answers.[13] This research seeks to expand the narrative surrounding the district's history by documenting and analyzing particularities in the educational experiences of Black

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[9] Warner M. Montgomery, *Columbia Schools: A History of Richland County School District One, Columbia, South Carolina 1792-2000* (Columbia, SC: The R.L. Bryan Company, 2002), 69.
[10] Montgomery, *Columbia Schools*, 83, 85, and 93.
[11] Derrick P. Alridge, "The Ideas and Craft of the Critical Historian of Education," in *Critical Approaches to the study of higher education: A practical introduction*, ed. by Ana M. Martinez-Aleman, Brian Pusser, and Estela Mara Bensimon (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 110.
[12] Gloria Ladson-Billings, "From the Achievement Gap to the Education Debt: Understanding Achievement in U.S. Schools." *Educational Researcher* 35, no. 7 (October 2006): 4.
[13] Vanessa Siddle Walker, *Their Highest Potential: An African American School Community in the Segregated South* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 5.

students and educators in the Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo communities. A focus on the experiences of Black students and educators in District 5 during the periods of segregation and desegregation adds layers of new understandings related to the district's development and may help us better understand the historical roots of modern issues in education and the district. The research questions for this study are:

1. What were the segregation and desegregation-related experiences of Black students and educators in the Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo communities of South Carolina between 1952 and 1975?
2. How does this history inform the present-day learning opportunities for Black students in those communities?

The study focuses on the years between 1952 and 1975 because 1952 was the year of the district's founding, the district fully desegregated in 1968, and Black students at Irmo High School organized a series of protests in March 1975 to express their concerns with the policies, practices, curriculum, inclusivity, and faculty in the desegregated schools.

The research is divided into three phases. The first phase is an examination of the history of segregated, Black education in the Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo communities which comprise School District Five of Lexington and Richland Counties. This includes a focus on Black student experiences and opportunities during the district's segregated era as well as an analysis of archival information on education in the communities. The second phase is an analysis of the school district's desegregation plan and policies as well as Black educational experiences during desegregation. The final phase analyzes contemporary issues in the district with an emphasis on opportunities, experiences, personnel, and race. All three phases center the stories, narratives, and experiences of

Black students and educators. The final section, included as an appendix, also includes elements of autoethnography as the author reflects on experiences working and living in the district as well as his family's history in the community.

Background

Throughout American history, Black communities have demonstrated their desire to educate their children and create schools that reflected their vision for Black education. This has occurred in spite of the oppressive actions of White political, educational, and community leaders who have continuously worked to undermine these efforts and assert control over Black education.[14] Black students, educators, and communities have consistently resisted White supremacy and subversion.

Black communities secretly founded schools in New Orleans and Savannah prior to the Civil War despite the fact that southern states made it illegal to teach reading or writing to enslaved children.[15] Mary Peake, a Black teacher, founded a school for Black students in Virginia in 1861.[16] By the late 1860s, Black educators had established schools throughout the South, including Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia.[17]

In 1866, Savannah, Georgia was home to sixteen schools that were run by Black school boards, staffed by Black teachers, and supported by the Black community.[18]

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[14] Gloria Ladson-Billings, "Can We at Least Have Plessy - The Struggle for Quality Education." *North Carolina Law Review* 85, no. 5 (June 2007): 1289.
[15] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 2 and 7. Anderson's 1988 book is a foundational text for those seeking to understand the history of Black education in the South. A significant portion of this introduction relies on his writing in order to establish key themes that inform similar scholarship as well as to demonstrate the need for continued research and writing on the history of Black education.
[16] Ibid., 7.
[17] Ibid., 8.
[18] Ibid., 11.

Avery Institute was founded in Charleston, South Carolina in 1866 and became one of the most highly-regarded Black high schools in the South.[19] Black families and community members in Camden, South Carolina had founded twenty-two schools for more than four thousand children by 1867.[20] Several elementary schools for Black women could be found in Charleston in the late 1800s.[21] These schools educated Black students and helped prepare the next generation of Black teachers. Students such as Mamie Fields would enter the teaching profession after completing their studies and apply the lessons learned in their teacher preparation programs to better meet the needs of their students and communities.[22] Black politicians supported these efforts by advocating for universal public education during Reconstruction.[23]

Whites were not in support of expanding educational opportunities for the Black community. In North Carolina, 90% of White farmers supported a compulsory school law for Whites but not for Blacks because Whites felt that education would make Blacks "valueless" as manual laborers on the state's farms.[24] This was a view held by southern White leaders, educators, and farmers who felt that educating Blacks would do little to address the economic interests of Whites.[25] White leaders in the South also realized that a literate Black population presented a challenge to White domination of political processes.[26] This resulted in a climate in which White leaders were required to offer a "separate" system of education to Black students during the *Plessy*-era but failed to fund

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[19] R. Scott Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation: African American Struggles for Educational Equity in Charleston, South Carolina, 1926-1972* (University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 25, 27.
[20] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South,* 8.
[21] Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, 2.
[22] Ibid, 3-8.
[23] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 19.
[24] Ibid., 96.
[25] Ibid., 96-97.
[26] Ibid., 98.

them at a level that was "equal" to how they funded White schools. During the 1921-22 school year, Black students made up more than half of the student population in South Carolina's public schools but received just 10.67% of the state's expenditures.[27] These trends continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s and are also present in the state's spending for higher education.[28] In 1943, the state of South Carolina allocated $1.1 million for White higher education but just $100,000 for Black higher education.[29] Other southern states engaged in similar practices.[30]

When White leaders allocated funds or offered any support to Black students, educators, and schools, they did so with the aim of perpetuating existing racial inequalities in political power and economics. This meant a focus on industrial education, training and experience in unskilled, manual labor. White leaders like Samuel Chapman Armstrong created schools to subordinate Blacks by focusing on manual labor instead of traditional academic education.[31] One of Armstrong's primary objectives at Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute was to develop teachers who would leave the school and spread Hampton's values and emphasis on hard labor to Blacks throughout the South.[32] Hampton graduate Booker T. Washington would come to exemplify this, founding Tuskegee Institute on the ideals and teachings of Hampton.[33]

Northern White philanthropists raised funds with the General Education Board (GEB) to support the spread of the Hampton-Tuskegee model, education in industrial

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[27] *School Directory of South Carolina*, 1922-23, 81-82.
[28] *School Directory of South Carolina*, 1923-24, 1925-26, 1928-29, 1929-30, 1930-31, 1935-36.
[29] Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, 72.
[30] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, 154.
[31] Ibid., 55.
[32] Ibid., 47.
[33] Ibid., 73.

labor, as they viewed this as economically beneficial to White business interests.[34] Black labor offered a cheaper alternative to the White labor unions.[35] The GEB, John F. Slater Fund, and the Anna T. Jeanes Fund directed the efforts of White Northern philanthropists to create an adequate supply of teachers who believed in the Hampton-Tuskegee model.[36]

The Julius Rosenwald Fund was first established as a way to assist Washington's Tuskegee with the construction of six small schools in rural areas.[37] It later expanded and contributed partial funding to 4,977 schools.[38] The Rosenwald funds came with strings attached even though they were not typically the primary source of funding for the communities utilizing the fund. Local Black contributions accounted for a larger share of the construction costs than the Rosenwald fund, while taxes collected from the Black community accounted for the majority of the funding.[39] Black communities utilizing assistance from the Rosenwald fund were required to have the building approved by Tuskegee and to deed the school and land to the local school district despite their work to obtain the land, provide funds, and help with the construction.[40]

South Carolina's 481 schools financed in part by the Rosenwald fund followed a similar trend. [41] Black donations accounted for 17.56% of the costs of the Black schools while the Rosenwald fund contributed 15.68%. Black families mortgaged their homes to raise money.[42] Taxes generated 58.99% of the funds, and donations from the White community accounted for the remaining 7.76%. The Black community's fundraising

[34] Ibid., 86 and 92.
[35] Ibid., 91.
[36] Ibid., 137.
[37] Ibid., 158.
[38] Ibid., 153.
[39] Ibid., 153.
[40] Ibid., 158.
[41] Ibid., 155.
[42] Ibid., 170.

efforts required extensive effort and significant sacrifices and are an indication of their commitment to the education of their children. It should also be noted that White public education was funded entirely with tax money and did not rely on external donations while Blacks were forced to pay taxes, make donations, and seek out additional funding sources.[43]

The Hampton-Tuskegee model and White vision for Black education were not consistent with what all Black families and educators wanted for their students and communities. Hampton students and parents stated that the students did not receive an education or training in skilled trades but instead spent three years in hazardous conditions as they were prepared for lives of manual labor.[44] Black newspapers argued against industrial education, noting that it would perpetuate the existing economic system rather than advance the Black community.[45] Washington's ideas were rejected by W. E. B. Du Bois, William Monroe Trotter, and John Hope.[46] Du Bois and his followers formed the Niagara Movement to advance civil rights and educational opportunities for Blacks, and theirs soon became the preferred educational philosophy in the Black community.[47] Black educators resisted the efforts of the state supervisors who wanted Black schools to implement an industrial curriculum as they knew this would prepare Blacks for subordinate roles in society.[48] Black students entering teacher-training programs chose schools focused on academics rather than those based on the Hampton-Tuskegee model.[49]

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[43] Ibid., 183.
[44] Ibid., 60-61.
[45] Ibid., 65.
[46] Ibid., 104.
[47] Ibid., 105, 108.
[48] Ibid., 142.
[49] Ibid., 145.

Black communities and educators created schools that were respected and reflected their vision for education in spite of the environment created by White leaders. The segregated Black schools have been celebrated for their "1) exemplary teachers, 2) curriculum and extracurricular activities, 3) parental support, and 4) leadership of the school principal."[50] Black teachers possessed more years of college education than their White peers, established relationships with their communities, were dedicated professionals, demonstrated care for their students, and ensured their lessons were relevant to students.[51] The teachers also fought for social change and equality.[52] Black principals were instructional leaders and were critical to the recruitment and development of Black teachers.[53] They also served their communities in a variety of ways, providing financial and family advice, serving as role models for Black children, and leading and advocating for their communities.[54]

The trend of Black communities and educators creating and realizing their own vision for Black education can be seen in Charleston, South Carolina. Burke Industrial School was constructed using the Peabody and Slater Funds in 1910.[55] The White vision for the school was that it would be an industrial school, supplying the city with maids, cooks, bricklayers, and other workers while reinforcing White dominance over the local

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[50] Vanessa Siddle Walker, "Valued Segregated Schools for African American Children in the South, 1935-1969: A Review of Common Themes and Characteristics." *Review of Educational Research* 70, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 264.
[51] Vanessa Siddle Walker, "African American Teaching in the South: 1940-1960." *American Educational Research Journal* 38, no. 4 (Winter 2001): 769-771.
[52] Derrick P. Alridge, "Teachers in the Movement: Pedagogy, Activism, and Freedom." *History of Education Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (February 2020): 4.
[53] Walker, "Valued Segregated Schools for African American Children in the South, 1935-1969," 274-275.
[54] J.C. James, "Another Vanishing American: The Black Principal." *The New Republic*, (September 26, 1970): 18; Linda C. Tillman, "(Un)Intended Consequences? The Impact of the Brown v. Board of Education Decision on the Employment Status of Black Educators." *Education and Urban Society* 36, no. 3 (May 2004): 283.
[55] Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, Ibid., 24.

economy.[56] Black parents and educators fought back, demanding social science and foreign language programs. Black teachers worked around White attempts to limit the programs for Black students by creating after-school programs in the arts and other clubs unrelated to their teaching assignments.[57]

These programs and efforts ensured that Black students received opportunities that would have otherwise been denied to them by White leaders. The students embraced the academically-oriented curriculum. During the 1942-43 school year, most Burke students chose three to four academic courses and only one vocational course.[58] George Stanyard, a former Burke student, noted that, "teachers knew what we needed to know. The courses were not as inferior as they would have been if we had left them to the powers that be."[59]

The absence of government support and funding for Black schools meant that not all students were able to participate in the type of programs found at Burke. County training schools offering the Hampton-Tuskegee model were the only source of secondary education for Black students in 293 of the 912 counties in the southern and border states in 1933.[60] Nearly half of all Black high school age children lived in counties where the only secondary option was the county training school, secondary schools designed to train future teachers in the Hampton-Tuskegee model.[61] In South Carolina, 47.9% of Black high school age children lived in a county where the county training school was the only option available to them.[62]

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[56] Ibid., 24, 41.
[57] Ibid., 42.
[58] Ibid., 41.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Anderson, *Education of Blacks in the South*, 145.
[61] Ibid., 147.
[62] Ibid.

Though Black educators created a quality education for Black children in spite of White efforts to subvert them, the White community's continued refusal to provide equitable resources to segregated Black schools led Black leaders to push for school desegregation as a means of obtaining these resources.[63] White Southern leaders made it clear that they planned to maintain control over public education for White and Black students even as opposition to the segregated system grew. The first phase of this was a series of tactics designed to maintain the dual system as long as possible.

Blacks who publicly supported desegregation faced retaliation from the White community.[64] Harry Briggs lost his job after signing his name to a desegregation petition in Clarendon County, South Carolina.[65] Black educators lost their teaching jobs and their families were blacklisted from the profession if they took similar stances.[66] Whites applied economic pressure to Blacks in Orangeburg, South Carolina, forcing thirty Blacks from their jobs and putting significant financial hardship on other Black businesses by October 1955.[67] Despite these efforts, most of the Black community supported desegregation, and the attempts to silence the Black community in Orangeburg were met with a counterboycott of White businesses.[68]

While some actions targeted individuals in the Black community or specific Black-owned businesses, segregationists also advocated for and implemented policies that would have a state-wide impact. White leaders and newspapers like the *News and*

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[63] Jerome E. Morris. "Research, Ideology, and the Brown Decision: Counter-Narratives to the Historical and Contemporary Representation of Black Schooling." *Teachers College Record* 110, No. 4 (April 2008): 717.
[64] Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, 109.
[65] Ibid., 93.
[66] Ibid., 119.
[67] Ibid., 116.
[68] Ibid., 109.

Courier in South Carolina called for the privatization of education.[69] An associate editor of *The State* newspaper, also in South Carolina, called for secession.[70] The Gressette (South Carolina) and Umstead (North Carolina) Committees were formed to develop policies that would prevent or delay desegregation.[71] Governor James Byrnes of South Carolina encouraged districts to consolidate and gerrymander their lines in order to create Black and White school districts.[72]

Other policies were designed to undercut arguments that the government was doing little to provide an equal education to Black students. Governor Byrnes created the Educational Finance Commission and the first state sales tax to provide funding for the construction and equalization of Black schools.[73] The purpose of the program was to maintain the segregated system by providing the courts with some evidence that White leaders were working towards equal funding and resources for Black students.[74] Despite its intention of providing evidence that the state was equalizing the dual system, Whites only temporarily and superficially addressed the needs of Black students before diverting attention and resources away from the Black community.[75] Only 46.1% of the $214,000,000 in the program was allocated to Black schools.[76]

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[69] Ibid., 32, 98, 102, 160.
[70] Vernon Burton and Lewie Reece. "The Palmetto Revolution: School Desegregation in South Carolina," in *With All Deliberate Speed: Implementing Brown v. Board of Education*, ed. Brian J. Daugherity and Charles C. Bolton, (University of Arkansas Press, 2008), 74.
[71] Sherick Hughes, *Black Hands in the Biscuits not in the Classrooms: Unveiling Hope in a Struggle for Brown's Promise* (Washington, D.C.: Peter Lang Inc., 2006), 22; Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, 94.
[72] Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, 170.
[73] Ibid., 94, 98.
[74] Ibid., 94. The equalization school program was created just prior before the *Briggs v. Elliott* case was heard. The policy was intended to impede the argument that the segregated system in South Carolina was unequal.
[75] Ibid., 98.
[76] Rebekah Dobrasko, "Upholding 'Separate but Equal:' South Carolina's School Equalization Program: 1951-1955." (M.A. Thesis, University of South Carolina, 2005), 36.

In addition to the state's work to make it look like they wanted to equalize existing schools and programs, they also sought to delay desegregation by creating new, segregated programs for Black students instead of admitting them into the existing White programs. The law school at the University of South Carolina was created in 1867 and began admitting Black students in 1873. The law school graduated eleven Black students before the university was closed in 1877, reopening as a Whites-only institution in 1880.[77] In an effort to prevent the desegregation of the law school at the University of South Carolina, White leaders hastily opened a law school at what is now South Carolina State University in September 1947.[78] Whether or not to utilize such programs was a source of tension within the Black community. Some leaders advocated against such programs as they provided equal education in name only.[79] Students, however, were forced to choose between having no pathway to their chosen profession or accepting the under-resourced law school in order have any hope of becoming a lawyer.[80]

White leaders also enacted policies to silence support for desegregation, and educators were a key group targeted by such policies. The state's teacher tenure law was repealed in 1955.[81] Act 741 was passed in 1956 and prohibited members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) from being employed by

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[77] W. Lewis Burke, Jr. "The Radical Law School: The University of South Carolina School of Law and Its African American Graduates, 1873-1877," in *At Freedom's Door: African American Founding Fathers and Lawyers in Reconstruction South Carolina*, ed. James Lowell Underwood and W. Lewis Burke Jr., (University of South Carolina Press, 2000), 90; Alfred D. Moore, III and Christian K. Anderson, "A Thorn in the Side of Segregation: The Short Life, Long Odds, and Legacy of the Law School at South Carolina State College," *American Educational History Journal* 45, no. 1 (2018): 72-73.
[78] Moore and Anderson, "A Thorn in the Side of Segregation," 72.
[79] Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, 79.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Michael Fultz, "The Displacement of Black Educators Post-Brown: An Overview and Analysis." *History of Education Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (2004): 11–45; Linda C. Tillman, "(Un)Intended Consequences? The Impact of the Brown v. Board of Education Decision on the Employment Status of Black Educators," 19.

a school district or local government.[82] Whites who supported desegregation also faced consequences for their actions. Dr. Chester C. Travelstead, dean of the College of Education at the University of South Carolina, was fired during the 1955-56 school year for publicly supporting desegregation.[83] White state leaders collaborated with Citizens' Councils to organize efforts to delay desegregation at the local level by threatening the employment of and refusing to do business with Blacks involved in desegregation efforts.[84]

Desegregation

Nearly a decade after the United States Supreme Court ordered the desegregation of school systems in 1954's *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision, South Carolina began to slowly dismantle de jure systems that prevented Black children from attending schools with White children. On September 3, 1963, eleven Black students desegregated Charleston's schools.[85] Districts implemented freedom-of-choice plans that would allow Black parents to apply for their children to attend White schools, but these applications were frequently denied. [86] In 1970, the courts ordered the immediate desegregation of Darlington and Greenville counties and then-Governor Robert E. McNair refused to stand in the way of the court order and vowed to keep the schools open.[87] Though the integration of the schools held the promise of equitable facilities,

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[82] Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, 113.
[83] Maxie Myron Cox, Jr. "1963 -- The Year of Decision: Desegregation in South Carolina." (Doctoral Dissertation, 1996), 71-78.
[84] Candace Cunningham, "'Hell Is Popping Here in South Carolina': Orangeburg County Black Teachers and Their Community in the Immediate Post-Brown Era," *History of Education Quarterly* 61, no. 1, (February 2021): 41-44.
[85] Ibid., 157.
[86] Burton and Reece, "The Palmetto Revolution: School Desegregation in South Carolina," 87.
[87] Ibid.

curricula, access, and opportunities, the implementation of desegregation policies often had lasting negative consequences on Black communities.[88]

Hughes notes that the stature of the Black schools changed following desegregation.[89] In northeastern Albemarle counties, Marian Anderson School, a once proud high school for Black students, was converted into a junior high school. This process repeated itself in districts throughout the South. Charleston decided to close Avery, the state's oldest Black high school, one week before the *Brown v. Board* decision.[90]

Black educators were forced from the profession. During the 1950s, a total of 500 Black teachers lost their jobs in South Carolina, including 21 of the 24 teachers in Elloree.[91] More than 38,000 Black educators in the southern and border states were ultimately displaced during desegregation.[92] The number of Black high school principals in South Carolina declined from 142 in 1963-64 to 46 in 1972-73, and there were no Black high school principals in twenty-two of the state's forty-six counties in 1972-73.[93]

Desegregation significantly impacted the lives of Black students as they endured isolation as well as verbal and physical abuse in the desegregated schools.[94] In Lamar, South Carolina, a violent White mob overturned school buses carrying Black students to

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[88] Fultz, "The Displacement of Black Educators Post-Brown," 280-303.
[89] Hughes, *Black Hands in the Biscuits not in the Classrooms*, 21.
[90] Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, 102.
[91] Ibid., 114.
[92] Samuel Ethridge, "Impact of the 1954 Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education Decision on Black Educators." *Negro Educational Review* 30, no. 4 (October 1979): 224.
[93] Jeremiah Floyd, "A Study of Displaced Black High School Principals in the State of South Carolina: 1963-1973."
(PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1973), 109.
[94] Marion Orr and Hanes Walton, "Life on the Leading Edge of Democratic Reform: Student Perspectives on School Desegregation." *PS - Political Science and Politics* 37, no. 2 (April 2004): 219–24.

a newly desegregated school.[95] Millicent Brown was part of the first group of Black students to desegregate Charleston's schools. Though she remained academically successful at the desegregated Rivers High, she was ostracized and harassed by her White peers.[96] Her status as a student in a desegregated school also resulted in her rejection within the Black community. When she visited the all-Black Burke High for events, she did not feel welcome or included as she once had.[97] Ultimately, Brown was hospitalized due to the pressure she felt and treatment she received at Rivers.[98] She noted that

> The flaw that came from early integration is that physical integration was superficial. Black bodies being under the same roof as white bodies is not integration. And harm has been done to our psyche, and to our feeling of self-worth, because we somehow thought if we could just be with white children that was going to alleviate our ills. Somebody had to do what we did, but it posed new questions and new dilemmas.[99]

Methods and Framework

The traditions of historical analysis, narrative research, and oral history were the methods for the first two phases of this research. The historical analysis phase relied on the examination of archival materials, interviews, maps, newspaper articles, photographs, board meeting minutes, and other primary sources. The narrative research phase focused on both collecting and analyzing oral histories as well as the development of a narrative of change in the district over time. The oral histories were collected through interviews

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[95] "Officers, Students Injured: School Buses Overturned in Disturbance at Lamar," *Florence Morning News*, March 4, 1970.
[96] Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, 164.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid., 165.

with Black graduates and former students who experienced segregation or desegregation as students in the school district. Field notes from the period in which interviews were conducted were incorporated into this phase of analysis.[100]

The final phase examined opportunities for Black students and educators in the district in the decades following desegregation. This included an emphasis on the stories and experiences of Black educators who were once students in the school district. These stories were collected through interviews, and other information was collected from archives, published data sets, newspapers, maps, and other sources. During this phase, the author also examined his positionality as a White, male husband, father, administrator, and resident in the school district. This incorporated elements of autoethnography. All phases were rooted in the tenets of Critical Race Theory. The methods and framework are outlined more fully in subsequent sections.

Historical Analysis

Bloch described history as an "endeavor toward better understanding."[101] The processes of examining or reexamining evidence and drawing new conclusions about the past is essential to this endeavor, but this process is complicated by the incalculable number of people, events, interactions, and ideas which precede us. Out of this chaos, the historian is charged with making some sense of the actions that have led us to the present.[102] This research attempted to better understand the history of the school district through the collection of information and sources, evaluation of evidence and artifacts,

[100] Walker, *Their Highest Potential*, xiii.
[101] Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, trans. Peter Putnam (New York: Vintage Books, 1953), 12.
[102] A.R. Louch, "History as Narrative." *History and Theory 8*, no. 1 (1969), 61.

development of conclusions, and creation of a narrative based on the analysis and conclusions.

During the first stage, documents and information were gathered. These included primary sources, interviews, oral histories, maps, newspaper articles, and photographs.[103] Archived material served as a source, and documents and information from local experts and sources were also examined. Like most histories, one limitation of the research was the absence of artifacts. Some documents related to Black education and educators have been intentionally destroyed.[104] In other cases, written documentation may not exist because of the long-lasting impacts of laws designed to prevent Blacks from learning to read and write.[105] The primary sources that have survived are often those of the dominant group, that support the dominant group's narrative of history, or that reinforce the dominant group's position in society. To correct for this, historians should seek out people and stories from marginalized communities.[106] Alridge notes that the passage of time imposes limits on who can share their stories.

> Fifty years after the civil rights movement, the students of that era are now in their sixties and seventies. Their teachers who are still with us are fewer in number, in their eighties, nineties, and in some cases a hundred years or older.[107]

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[103] Thomas Andrews and Flannery Burke, "What Does it Mean to Think Historically?" *Perspectives on History* (January 2007), available at https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/january-2007/what-does-it-mean-to-think-historically
[104] Walker, "Valued Segregated Schools for African American Children in the South, 1935-1969," 264.
[105] Candace Cunningham, "'I Hope They Fire Me:' Black Teachers in the Fight for Equal Education, 1910-1970," (Doctoral Dissertation, 2018), 22.
[106] Jerome E. Morris and Benjamin D. Parker, "CRT in Education: Historical/Archival Analyses," in *Understanding critical race research methods and methodologies: Lessons from the field*. ed. Jessica T. DeCuir-Gunby, Thandeka K. Chapman, and Paul A. Schultz (New York: Routledge, 2019), 29.
[107] Alridge, "Teachers in the Movement: Pedagogy, Activism, and Freedom," 22.

Sources were examined and cross-examined during the analysis phase.[108] When conflicting information was found in the sources, additional analysis was conducted in order to determine if a source should be included, included along with information on the discrepancy, or excluded.[109] Though some historians are focused on cause and effect, the primary intentions of this analysis were to examine change over time and the relationships between events, people, and ideas. [110] The conclusions from this stage were used to develop narratives that were situated within both their historical context and contemporary issues related to race and racism.[111]

Sources

Archival material, government publications, newspapers, books, journal articles, theses, dissertations, letters, photographs, pamphlets, interviews, policies, laws, and documents from the schools and district were used in this research. This was similar to the methods and sources utilized by James D. Anderson in *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935*, Vanessa Siddle Walker in *Their Highest Potential: An African American School Community in the Segregated South*, R. Scott Baker in *Paradoxes of Desegregation: African American Struggles for Educational Equity in Charleston, South Carolina, 1926-1972*, and Sherick A. Hughes in *Black Hands in the Biscuits, Not in the Classrooms: Unveiling Hope in the Struggle for Brown's Promise*. These works are exemplars for research and writing focused on the history of Black education.

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[108] Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, 65; Ibid., 90; Morris and Parker, "CRT in Education: Historical/Archival Analyses," 27.
[109] Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, 112.
[110] Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, 197; Edward Hallett Carr, *What is History?* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 117.
[111] Morris and Parker, "CRT in Education: Historical/Archival Analyses," 30.

Anderson, Walker, and Baker relied heavily on sources from archived collections from different universities and centers around the country. The three scholars utilized government publications, newspapers, books, journal articles, theses, and dissertations. Letters, photographs, pamphlets, and other primary sources were referenced. Unlike the others, Hughes focused on archival material in only one chapter.

Walker, in her writing on Caswell County in North Carolina, also relied heavily on archived materials from the University of North Carolina, the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, and the Caswell County Administrative Building. Many of the manuscripts referenced by Baker in his work on Charleston and South Carolina came from Charleston's Avery Research Center, the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Charleston County School District, and the University of South Carolina.

Morris and Parker advocated for the use of material and artifacts not found in these collections.[112] School board meeting minutes, parent teacher association reports, principal's reports, letters, photographs, and speeches served as primary sources for Walker. Some of Baker's sources included gradebooks, transcripts, photographs, court cases, and meeting minutes.

Walker, Baker, and Hughes relied heavily on interviews. Walker conducted multiple rounds of interviews with students, teachers, parents, administrators, and leaders between 1989 and 1995. Baker conducted extensive interviews between 1989 and 1991. More interviews were conducted in 2003. Interviews conducted by other researchers were also included in Baker's work. Hughes's research incorporated a series of multi-generational interviews with families.

[112] Morris and Parker, "CRT in Education: Historical/Archival Analyses," 25.

Anderson, Walker, Baker, and Hughes also include secondary sources such as books and journal articles as source material. Hughes included texts written from a social science rather than a historical perspective. Like the historical sources of the other authors, Hughes's sources examined Black experiences in education. Hughes referenced several methods texts, something that was not done by the other authors.

Archived materials found in the Lexington County, Richland County, and desegregation collections at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History were analyzed. In addition, the school district's internal records such as founding documents, board meeting minutes, and letters between the school district leaders and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare were examined. Other primary sources such as the *School Directory of South Carolina*, yearbooks, and district planning documents were used for additional information. Enrollment and personnel statistics from the South Carolina Department of Education were incorporated.

Secondary sources, books, and journal articles helped situate the events and information within a broader context of Black education and desegregation. Like Walker, Baker, and Hughes, information gathered from interviews served as a source of information. Former students as well as former and current educators in the school district were interviewed. As the information was gathered, analyzed, and presented, individual artifacts were situated within their "particular context" in order to ensure they had meaning.[113]

[113] Morris and Parker, "CRT in Education: Historical/Archival Analyses," 25.

Narrative Research and Oral History

The interviews were gathered and analyzed utilizing practices associated with narrative research and oral history. Narrative research is a form of qualitative research in which the researchers and participants examine "the ways humans experience the world."[114] Connelly and Clandinin distinguish between story and narrative by stating that lives are storied and people tell stories, but "narrative researchers describe such lives, collect and tell stories of them, and write narratives of experience."[115] Narrative research focuses on the change that occurs during the story.[116] Events are seen as parts of an "ongoing process" and "part to whole" rather than simply independent causes and effects, even if some events have direct causal relationships.[117]

Narrative research is useful in part due to the degree that story-telling and meaning-making are embedded in the human experience. This is a point argued by Connelly and Clandinin who note, "The main claim for the use of narrative in educational research is that humans are storytelling organisms who, individually and socially, lead storied lives. The study of narrative, therefore, is the study of the ways humans experience the world."[118] Polkinghorne agrees that narrative is a form "uniquely suited

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[114] F. Michael Connelly and D. Jean Clandinin, "Stories of Experience and Narrative Inquiry." *Educational Researcher* 19, no. 5 (June-July, 1990): 2.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Donald E. Polkinghorne, *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences* (SUNY Series in Philosophy of the Social Sciences. Albany NY: State University of New York Press, 1988), https://search-ebscohost-com.pallas2.tcl.sc.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e900xww&AN=7662&site=ehost-live, 117.
[117] Mark Freeman, "History, Narrative, and Life-Span Developmental Knowledge." *Human Development* 27, no. 1 (January-February 1984): 8-9.
[118] Connelly and Clandinin, "Stories of Experience and Narrative Inquiry," 2.

for displaying human existence as situated action."[119] Story is so integral to experience that the study of life requires a narrative structure.[120]

There are two forms of narrative research which can be described as analysis of narratives and narrative analysis.[121] Analysis of narratives is a method in which researchers collect and analyze stories. Researchers engaged in this method gather narratives and then look for themes in the narratives.[122] The authors rely on excerpts from participants' interview responses and narratives. Rather than inserting selected quotes, narrative researchers include complete stories and statements from their participants. The participants in these studies offer a rich, deep description of events. The second method, narrative analysis, occurs when researchers collect information and then create a "coherent developmental account."[123] This research included elements of both types of narrative research.

Both the researcher's and participants' voices were used in the telling of stories with the aim of situating the researcher and participant as equals rather than as researcher and subject.[124] The relationship between the participant, researcher, and the published work in narrative research necessitated specific ethical considerations during the research and writing processes. In addition to following guidelines on participant consent, the

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[119] Donald E. Polkinghorne, "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 8, no. 1 (1995): 5.
[120] Freeman, "History, Narrative, and Life-Span Developmental Knowledge," 3.
[121] Polkinghorne, "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis," 12.
[122] This style of narrative research is seen in articles such as Michael J. Dumas, "'Losing an Arm': Schooling as a Site of Black Suffering." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 17, no. 1 (2014): 1–29; Michèle Foster, "The Politics of Race: Through the Eyes of African-American Teachers." *Journal of Education* 172, no. 3 (1990): 123–41; Sonya Douglass Horsford, "From Negro Student to Black Superintendent: Counternarratives on Segregation and Desegregation." *The Journal of Negro Education* 78, no. 2 (Spring, 2009): 172–87.
[123] Polkinghorne, "Narrative Configuration in Qualitative Analysis," 15.
[124] Connelly and Clandinin, "Stories of Experience and Narrative Inquiry," 4.

researcher was respectful and compassionate towards participants.[125] The interview process unearthed painful experiences and memories for some participants.[126] As participants often shared deeply personal experiences and memories, the researcher protected the privacy of participants during reviews and analysis. This included involving participants in determining whether or not to use pseudonyms, fictionalize locations, or omit specific stories that were deemed too personal to include in the final publication.[127]

Oral history is a form of narrative and interview inquiry that focuses on historical events, skills, ways of life, or cultural patterns.[128] In Western scholarship, the origins of oral history are often attributed to Allan Nevins's work documenting the lives of the elite. However, the method also developed out of the focus on self-reflection at the Highlander Folk School and Citizenship Schools. Members of the working class, oppressed groups and individuals, and activists have been the focus of oral histories for decades.[129] Oral history can be a collection of stories from one person or a group of people sharing their firsthand experiences.[130] Janesick describes a type of oral history project called collective oral history, "Here you may find many individual stories around a particular theme or stories in which all people share a particular experience."[131]

Morris and Parker note that many readily available sources contain a bias because they omit marginalized voices.[132] Oral history provides a "vehicle for the outsiders and

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[125] Ruthellen Josselson, "The Ethical Attitude in Narrative Research: Principles and Practicalities," in *Handbook of Narrative Inquiry*. ed. D. J. Clandinin (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2007), 539.
[126] Ibid., 543.
[127] Ibid., 542.
[128] Corrine Glesne. *Becoming Qualitative Researchers*, 5th ed. (New York: Pearson, 2016. Kindle), 298.
[129] Daniel R. Kerr, "Allan Nevins Is Not My Grandfather: The Roots of Radical Oral History Practice in the United States." *Oral History Review* 43, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 2016): 367–91.
[130] Valerie Janesick, *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher: Choreographing the Story* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2010, Kindle), 2.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Morris and Parker, "CRT in Education: Historical/Archival Analyses," 29.

the forgotten to tell their stories" by centering previously marginalized perspectives.[133] The method also adds depth to the understanding of history and the consequences of specific events, and Alridge states that the information shared in oral histories "cannot be found in documents."[134] The method allows for the researcher and broader community to document and begin to understand diverse experiences.[135]

These stories do not simply tell us information about the past. The collection and analysis of new narratives and oral histories enhances our understanding of the world we live in. The historian examines both "the dead and the living."[136] This is a sentiment echoed by Carr who argued that the historian is focused on the relationship between the past and the present, "learning from history is never simply a one-way process. To learn about the present in the light of the past means also to learn about the past in the light of the present. The function of history is to promote a profounder understanding of both past and present through the interrelation between them."[137] Oral histories "illuminate the present situation" and require "us to make sense of who we are."[138] Oral histories also correct myths that justify the current state of racial and economic affairs.[139]

The reliance on participants' memories in the retelling of stories in qualitative research presents some challenges. Hughes notes that participants may omit some details, use others to reinforce their positive traits, or simply forget some information.[140]

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[133] Janesick, *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher*, 15.
[134] Morris and Parker, "CRT in Education: Historical/Archival Analyses," 25; Alridge, "Teachers in the Movement: Pedagogy, Activism, and Freedom," 8-9.
[135] Janesick, *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher,* 15.
[136] Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, 47.
[137] Carr, *What is History?*, 85.
[138] Janesick, *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher*, 15.
[139] George W. Noblit, "Introduction: School Desegregation and White Domination," in *School Desegregation: Oral Histories Toward Understanding the Effects of White Domination*. ed. George W. Noblit (Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers, 2015, ProQuest Ebook), 2.
[140] Hughes, *Black Hands in the Biscuits not in the Classrooms*, 50.

Participants may remember and share stories which highlight some values and ignore others.[141] This argument against oral history is undercut by the fact that these limitations are present in the social construction and writing of any history. Carr notes that "the facts speak only when the historian calls on them: it is he who decides to which facts to give the floor, and in what order or context."[142] Historians choose the sources, stories, voices, and time period to include in their writing, and this means that oral history's limitations are the same as any other method of writing history.[143]

Another criticism of oral history is that, in some instances, participants are nostalgic about the events of their lives. This can occur because participants are coping with losses or changes, noting a feeling or theme that was once present but is now missing, validating the strengths of their community, or as a "critique of the present."[144] These perceived deficits, however, provide additional information that may be useful to the researcher and audience. They allow researchers to understand how participants make meaning of specific events. This also provides researchers with an understanding of participants' reflections as well as how participants process information with the knowledge they possess in the present day.[145]

Janesick notes, "A person's lived experience is impossible to invalidate."[146] Lived experiences offer counterstories to dominant ideologies and narratives.[147] Stories and

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[141] George W. Noblit and Van Dempsey, *The Social Construction of Virtue: The Moral Life of Schools* (Albany NY: State University of New York Press, 1996), 21.
[142] Carr, *What is History?*, 9.
[143] Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*. (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991), 51-52.
[144] Barbara Shircliffe, "'We Got the Best of That World': A Case for the Study of Nostalgia in the Oral History of School Segregation." *Oral History Review* 28, no. 2 (Summer - Autumn 2001): 84.
[145] Ibid., 62.
[146] Janesick, *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher*, 7.
[147] Sonya Douglass Horsford, "Mixed Feelings about Mixed Schools: Superintendents on the Complex Legacy of School Desegregation." *Educational Administration Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (August 2010): 307.

narratives allow the world to understand others' beliefs and values.[148] They also document everyday examples and impacts of race and racism.[149] Oral histories allow us to document the stories and experiences of specific people and groups of people. They provide a pathway for understanding others' lives and experiences as well as the world we live in. Perhaps participants do omit details, but, as noted, this is true of all historians and storytellers. The focus here, however, is on what the participant remembers, how they remember it, why they remember it, and what meaning they assign to those memories.

The point of oral history is not to create a comprehensive history of human experiences. Instead, oral history "preserves the teller from oblivion."[150] "Remembering is an act of power," and providing the space and time to share oral histories provides a platform for the marginalized to be heard, providing counter stories in defiance of the majoritarian histories that do not represent the narratives of those who lived through the events.[151]

Interviews

Most participants participated in one round of unstructured, open-ended interviews.[152] In some cases, multiple rounds were conducted. The open-ended questions

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[148] Ashlee Cunsolo Willox, Sherilee L. Harper, and Victoria L. Edge, 'My Word' Storytelling and Digital Media Lab, and Rigolet Inuit Community Government, "Storytelling in a Digital Age: Digital Storytelling as an Emerging Narrative Method for Preserving and Promoting Indigenous Oral Wisdom." *Qualitative Research* 13, no. 2 (April 2013): 133.
[149] Maria C. Malagon, Lindsay Perez Huber, and Veronica N Velez, "Our Experiences, Our Methods: Using Grounded Theory to Inform a Critical Race Theory Methodology." *Seattle Journal for Social Justice* 8, no. 1 (2009): 257.
[150] Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories*, 59.
[151] George W. Noblit, "Preface," in *School Desegregation: Oral Histories Toward Understanding the Effects of White Domination*. ed. George W. Noblit (Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers, 2015, ProQuest Ebook), x.
[152] Foster, "The Politics of Race: Through the Eyes of African-American Teachers," 124.

for the interviews were built on the assumption that "a 'simple question' can produce hours of data and information."[153] Roulston also argues that, when both the interviewer and participant feel comfortable, four or five questions can generate at least one hour of data and information.[154] The conversational style of the interview was intended to help both the researcher and the participant feel more comfortable.

The interview questions utilized in this study were similar to what Janesick described as descriptive, follow-up and clarifying, experience/example, and closing.[155] Participants were asked to describe different situations and experiences as well as to provide details that illustrated general ideas. Follow-up questions were asked to bring clarity to previous responses or to expand on an idea, theme, or story that was briefly described. Closing questions were asked to provide time and space for participants to add information or ideas left unsaid or provide feedback to the researcher. Interview questions can be found in Appendix A. Each interview lasted at least sixty minutes, and some lasted up to 180 minutes. The length of each interview was determined by the stories and details shared by the participant.

Nine students and educators who were part of District 5 between 1952 and 1975 were interviewed. Four current administrators in the district were interviewed. Participants were selected through personal and professional connections to the researcher. A description of interview participants, descriptions, and formats is included in Table 1.3.

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[153] Janesick, *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher*, 45.
[154] Kathryn Joy Roulston, *Reflective Interviewing: A Guide to Theory and Practice*. *Reflective Interviewing: A Guide to Theory and Practice*. (Sage Publications, 2010, ProQuest Ebook Central), 18.
[155] Janesick, *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher*, 47.

TABLE 1.3. Interview participants, descriptions, and formats

Participant	Description	Role in District 5	Method of Selection and Recruitment	Interview Format
Mr. James Washington	Black male who graduated from Richlex School in 1965 (segregated)	Former Student (segregated)	Participant spoke at a celebration of the Rosenwald School and Richlex School; A colleague of the researcher facilitated the connection	In-Person
Mr. Larry Haltiwanger	Black male who graduated from Richlex School in 1967 (segregated); Became a school board member in the district	Former Student (segregated) and Former School Board Member (desegregated)	Participant is a former member of the school board and is active in the community; A colleague of the researcher facilitated the connection	Telephone
Mrs. Norma Jean Corley Mackey	Black female who attended Richlex School (segregated) and graduated from Irmo High School in 1971 (desegregated)	Former Student (segregated and desegregated)	Participated in a panel discussion of desegregation experiences in District 5; The moderator of the panel discussion facilitated the connection	Telephone
Mrs. Pamela Price Parks	Black female who attended Richlex School (segregated) and graduated from Chapin High School in 1974 (desegregated)	Former Student (segregated and desegregated)	Participant is the aunt of a colleague of the researcher; The colleague of the researcher facilitated the connection	Telephone
Dr. Shirley Portee Martin	Black female who attended Richlex School (segregated) and graduated from Irmo High School in 1972 (desegregated); Became a teacher in the district	Former Student (segregated and desegregated) and Teacher (desegregated)	Participated in a panel discussion of desegregation experiences in District 5; The moderator of the panel discussion facilitated the connection	Telephone
Dr. Deborah Jones Davis	Black female who attended a segregated school in a neighboring district and desegregated schools in District 5; graduated from Irmo High School in 1974 (desegregated)	Former Student (desegregated)	Mentioned during a panel discussion of desegregation experiences in District 5; The moderator of the panel discussion facilitated the connection	Telephone
Mr. Mike Reeves	Black male who graduated from Richlex School in 1967 (segregated)	Former Student (segregated)	Participant is the uncle of a colleague of the researcher; The colleague of the researcher facilitated the connection	Video-conference

Participant	Description	Role in District 5	Method of Selection and Recruitment	Interview Format
Ms. Melanie Harris	Black female who attended and graduated from District 5 schools in 2001, became a teacher in the district, and is now an assistant principal in the district	Former Student (desegregated), Former Teacher (desegregated), Current Educator	Participant is a colleague of the researcher and agreed to be interviewed	In-person
Mr. Jason Pollock	Black male who attended and graduated from District 5 schools in 1997, became a teacher in the district, and is now a principal in the district	Former Student (desegregated), Former Teacher (desegregated), Current Educator	Participant is a colleague of the researcher and agreed to be interviewed	In-person
10	Withdrew			
Mr. Julius Scott	Black male who is now the principal of Dutch Fork Elementary, the site of the segregated Rosenwald School and Richlex School	Current Educator	Participant is a colleague of the researcher and agreed to be interviewed	Video-conference
Mrs. Gay Wanda Portee Ferguson	Black female who attended Richlex School (segregated) and graduated from Irmo High School in 1976 (desegregated)	Former student (segregated and desegregated)	Identified by the researcher during review of archival documents; Found after searching for information about the participant (is also the sister of another participant but was unaware of this prior to the interview)	Telephone
Mrs. Patricia Caldwell	Black female who was the first Black teacher at Chapin High School when she joined the faculty in 1967	Former Teacher and Administrator (desegregated)	Mentioned by another participant; A colleague of the researcher facilitated the connection	Telephone
Mrs. Telicious Kenly Boyd	Black female who taught at Richlex School (segregated)	Former Teacher (segregated)	Interview included in the Tom Crosby Oral History Collection	Archive

Some interviews were conducted in pilot projects for various classes in the researcher's doctoral studies, and additional participants were sought in order to document and better understand a variety of perspectives and educational experiences. However, the only Richlex graduates to be interviewed were Black men, and the participants who attended

both the segregated and the desegregated schools in the district were all Black women.[156] Only one Black student from the Chapin community was interviewed. All of the former students who were interviewed completed high school, and almost all of the participants earned an undergraduate degree. Missing from the narratives were the experiences of students who did not experience this level of academic success. Some former students were understandably not interested in discussing their experiences due to a variety of reasons including a lack of time, the pain of their stories, or the researcher's positionality as a White, male administrator in the school district and outsider in their community. Thus, some perspectives and stories were not be documented during this research.

Additional interviews were sought from individuals outside of the Black community. For example, the White principal of Irmo High School during desegregation was interviewed for a pilot project to discuss his perspective on hiring practices and racial issues in the district during his time as principal. One of the researcher's White family members who attended the desegregated schools in the district was interviewed for the autoethnographic component of the research. This was done to help understand how Whites experience and construct their meanings of race and racism as well as how those experiences have shaped my life.

Following the interviews, the transcripts were coded. For research questions regarding lived experiences, Saldaña suggests coding methods such as "In Vivo, Process, Emotion, Values, Dramaturgical, and/or Focused Coding, plus Themeing the Data."[157] This project utilized emotion coding, in vivo coding, versus coding, and themeing.

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[156] Richlex School was the name of the district's segregated school for Black students between 1953 and 1968.
[157] Johnny Saldaña, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, 3rd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2016, Kindle), 71.

Focused coding was employed following the initial coding cycle. Excerpts were selected for inclusion after the coding rounds and were presented based on a combination of the chronology and themes in the interviews.

Participants were included in the meaning making process, review of drafts, and feedback process. Scholars utilizing other qualitative methods have discussed the importance of continual feedback as well as discussion between the researcher and the participant in order to create shared meaning and understanding.[158] Such processes equalize the participant and researcher.

Cunningham notes but does not elaborate on a potential obstacle in finding interviews for this kind of research. In some cases, the teachers who were fired from Elloree Training School moved out of state to find new jobs.[159] Finding those teachers and documenting their stories is difficult. Additionally, Hooker noted that many displaced educators did not come forward to discuss their experiences.[160] This could have been due to fear of further reprisal by Whites. As Alridge notes, the passing of time also limits who is available to share stories.[161]

Autoethnography

Histories are not just a reflection of what historians have discovered about the past, they are records of their own thoughts about the past and what has been discovered. Historians' perspectives and worldviews frame their work as they collect and question

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[158] Sherick Hughes, "Maggie and Me: A Black Professor and a White Urban School Teacher Connect Autoethnography to Critical Race Pedagogy." *Educational Foundations* 22, no. 3 (Summer-Fall 2008): 88; Elena Torre, "Participatory Action Research and Critical Race Theory: Fueling Spaces for Nos-Otras to Research." *Urban Review* 41, no. 1 (March 2009): 112.
[159] Candace Cunningham, "'Hell Is Popping Here in South Carolina,'" 54.
[160] Robert Hooker, "Displacement of Black Teachers in the Eleven Southern States," (1970), 2.
[161] Alridge, "Teachers in the Movement: Pedagogy, Activism, and Freedom," 22.

information, evaluate evidence, and draw conclusions.[162] The researcher's positionality is a "variable in the research process."[163] Freeman notes that "it is ultimately impossible to deny the interpretive nature of dealing with historical data."[164]

The historian must acknowledge but remain undeterred by "the impossibility of total objectivity."[165] Carr therefore remarks that, in our initial analysis of a history, "our first concern should not be with the facts which it contains but with the historian who wrote it."[166] He adds that the audience "cannot fully understand or appreciate the work of the historian unless you have first grasped the standpoint from which he himself approached it; second, that that standpoint is itself rooted in social and historical background."[167] Historians should acknowledge their worldviews, the facts and values they bring to their research, and the relationship between the facts and values of their lives and those they study. This process can be iterative and has the potential to bring more objectivity to the analysis and findings.[168]

The fields of ethnography and autoethnography provide the researcher with methods to engage in these discussions. Ethnography is a field in which researchers "describe a people or cultural group."[169] This approach is used to examine the "rules,

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[162] Carr, *What is History?*, 5.
[163] Morris and Parker, "CRT in Education: Historical/Archival Analyses," 25.; Sonja L. Lanehart, "Can You Hear (and See) Me Now? Race-ing American Language Variationist/Change and Sociolinguistic Research Methodologies," in *Understanding critical race research methods and methodologies: Lessons from the field*. ed. Jessica T. DeCuir-Gunby, Thandeka K. Chapman, and Paul A. Schultz (New York: Routledge, 2019), 36. Lanehart echoes the sentiment expressed by Morris and Parker. She adds, "who is in the room has a lot to do with what questions are asked and what decisions are made about those who are not allowed in the room."
[164] Freeman, "History, Narrative, and Life-Span Developmental Knowledge," 6.
[165] Carr, *What is History?*, 163.
[166] Ibid., 24.
[167] Ibid., 48.
[168] Ibid., 174.
[169] Glesne, *Becoming Qualitative Researchers*, 21.

norms, and acts of resistance associated within cultural groups."[170] In the discipline's early years, Westerners' travelled to other societies, observed members of that society, assigned meaning to the behaviors and customs they observed, and presented impersonal, evidence-based findings to other Westerners.[171] Early ethnographers' practices and philosophies were rooted in an imbalanced power dynamic between the researcher and the researched as well as the West's desire to exploit people and their lands.[172]

Ethnographers have pushed the field in new directions in recent decades. Rather than attempting to depict so-called objective truths about an entire society, ethnographers now focus on "narrative ethnographies of the particular," "stories about particular individuals in time and place."[173] Modern ethnographers also eschew practices that attempt to assimilate other cultures into Western constructs. These include the translation of other cultures into Western languages or attempts to assign meaning to others' lives, behaviors, or experiences.[174]

The new ethnographer is self-reflexive.[175] Writing about the researcher's life, who the researcher is, and how the researcher got to be that person are considered an

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[170] Sherick Hughes, Julie L. Pennington, and Sara Makris, "Translating Autoethnography Across the AERA Standards : Toward Understanding Autoethnographic Scholarship as Empirical Research," *Educational Researcher* 41, no. 6 (August/September 2012): 209.
[171] Vincent Crapanzano, "Hermes' Dilemma: The Masking of Subversion in Ethnographic Description," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 52-53; Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight." *Daedalus* 101, no. 1 (Winter 1972): 1–37.
[172] Glesne, *Becoming Qualitative Researchers*, 22; James Clifford, "Introduction: Partial Truths," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 9; Talal Asad, "The Concept of Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 148; Lila Abu-Lughod, "Writing Against Culture," in *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, ed. Richard G. Fox (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1991), 139.
[173] Abu-Lughod, "Writing Against Culture," 153.
[174] Crapanzano, "Hermes' Dilemma," 157.
[175] H. L. Goodall, Jr., *Writing the New Ethnography* (Oxford: AltaMira Press, 2000), 196.

"obligation."[176] This is not focused merely on retelling but on connecting experiences and stories to larger patterns.[177] When done properly, this type of self-reflection can push the scholar towards greater levels of understanding.[178]

Ellis, Adams, and Bochner define autoethnography as "an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze (graphy) personal experience (auto) in order to understand cultural experience (ethno)."[179] The researcher "inquires into the self as part of a sociocultural context."[180] This method addresses the issues with the researcher's positionality and subjectivity by placing them in the center of the conversation rather than ignoring these characteristics. This type of examination may help break down the "larger cultural norms that comprise dominant ideologies."[181]

Writing about Creative Analytical Practice Ethnography, Richardson identifies five criteria for critiquing scholarship that intends to examine the self. The work must contribute to our understanding of social life while demonstrating "a deeply grounded social-scientific perspective," possess artistic qualities, show reflexivity, impact the audience, and demonstrate a lived experience and reality.[182] Hughes, Pennington, and Makris add analytical and methodological layers to evaluating autoethnography. They propose that autoethnographies should be judged in their success in four areas: "formulating social scientific problems," "facilitating critical, careful, and thoughtful

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[176] Ibid., 23.
[177] Ibid., 41-42. This is an idea that was discussed in the section on narrative research.
[178] Ibid., 198.
[179] Carolyn Ellis, Tony E. Adams, and Arthur P. Bochner, "Autoethnography: An Overview," in *Handbuch Qualitative Forschung in der* Psychologie, ed. Günter Mey & Katja Mruck, (Wiesbaden, Germany: VS Verlag/Springer, 2010), 1.
[180] Glesne, *Becoming Qualitative Researchers*, 23.
[181] David L. Wallace, "Out in the Academy: Heterosexism, Invisibility, and Double Consciousness," *College English* 65, no. 1 (September 2002): 65.
[182] Laurel Richardson, "New Writing Practices in Qualitative Research," *Sociology of Sport Journal* 17, no. 1 (January 2000): 15-16.

discussion of methodological choices and claims," "offering multiple levels of critique, naming privilege, penalty, units of study, and classifications; and criteria for selected units and classifications," and "credible analysis and interpretation of evidence from narratives and connecting them to researcher-self via triangulation member-checks and related ethical issues."[183]

By engaging with autoethnography, I gave myself the space to reckon with my positionality as well as my relationship with our Black community, the district, and the larger society. I am a White, male, husband, father, and administrator who lives and works in the school district I researched. My grandparents and other relatives moved to this community in 1971. I became an administrator in the district in 2012 and have served in a variety of capacities over the last decade. My family moved to this area in 2015. In those ways I am an insider. In relationship to our Black students, educators, and community, however, I am an outsider. [184] During my time in the district, I have helped to both perpetuate and disrupt policies and practices that are harmful to marginalized students and communities. Autoethnography forced me to be as critical of myself as I was of others and required me to question myself about how my actions and beliefs connect to our history as well as the current state of our community and district.[185]

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a framework that examines the impact of race and racism, originally in legal contexts but since expanding into education and other fields.[186]

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[183] Hughes, Pennington, and Makris, "Translating Autoethnography Across the AERA Standards," 216.
[184] Bryan McKinley Brayboy and Donna Deyhle, "Insider-Outsider: Researchers in American Indian Communities." *Theory Into Practice* 39, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 163–69.
[185] Hughes, "Maggie and Me," 78.
[186] Marvin Lynn, "Foreword: Moving Critical Race Theory in Education from a Problem-Posing Mindset to a Problem-Solving Orientation," in *Understanding critical race research methods and methodologies: Lessons from the field*. ed. Jessica T. DeCuir-Gunby, Thandeka K. Chapman, and Paul A. Schultz (New

CRT provides a "theoretical framework and methodological instrument for collecting and understanding the perspectives of marginalized groups" and is thus helpful in historical analysis and narrative research.[187] Solorzano and Yosso identified key elements of critical race theory and methodology. These include "the intercentricity of race and racism with other forms of subordination," "the challenge to the dominant ideology," "the commitment to social justice," "the centrality of experiential knowledge," and "the transdisciplinary perspective."[188] This study's connections to four of these tenets are briefly presented in Table 1.4 and further discussed in this section.

TABLE 1.4. Tenets of Critical Race Theory and their connections to this study

CRT Tenet	Method	Connection to the Research
Intercentricity of race and racism with other forms of subordination	Narrative Research, Oral History, and Historical Analysis	During the analysis of interview transcripts and archival material, the researcher looked for the ways in which race and racism intersect with other forms of subordination including but not limited to gender, class, ability status, and sexuality.
Challenge to the dominant ideology	Narrative Research, Oral History, and Historical Analysis	This research focused on the experiences of Black students and educators in District 5. Their stories and the archival analysis may disrupt popular narratives of the district's development and history as well as broader narratives on segregated and desegregated schools.
Centrality of experiential knowledge	Narrative Research and Oral History	This research centered the stories and experiences of Black students and educators in District 5. Participants were included in the meaning-making process as well as reviews of drafts of the research.
Commitment to social justice	Historical Analysis	Historical research is essential to those seeking to understand modern-day inequities in education, and historical research informed by CRT places racialized inequalities and disparities in a historical context allowing researchers and practitioners to more fully understand current issues and their causes.

Source: Solorzano and Yosso, "Critical Race Methodology," 25-57.

The examination of the artifacts and oral histories was done from the perspective that race and racism are central issues in the experiences of students and staff. Though

York: Routledge, 2019), viii; Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, "Twenty Years of Critical Race Theory: Looking Back to Move Forward," *Connecticut Law Review* 43, no. 5 (July 2011): 1256; Ladson-Billings and Tate, "Towards a Critical Race Theory of Education," 47–68.

[187] Morris and Parker, "CRT in Education: Historical/Archival Analyses," 25.

[188] Daniel G. Solorzano and Tara J. Yosso, "Critical Race Methodology: Counter-Storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research," *Qualitative Inquiry* 8, no. 1 (February 2002): 25-27.

race and racism were a key focus, the analysis attempted to include an emphasis on forms of subordination related to gender, class, and sexuality as well as their intersections with racism.[189] This prevented the flattening and homogenization of people and their experiences and allowed for discussions related to differences within the community.[190]

In Western society, histories play a pivotal role in the communication of the dominant ideology. They are used to assimilate people into the state, promote nationalism, and play a role in how members of the state see themselves and their place in the state.[191] Histories, however, do not contain universal truths. Morris and Parker explain that "The reconstructed product termed 'history' is not the Truth, but rather the conclusions drawn from the resources employed, and the researcher's interpretation of those resources."[192] Histories are written using the resources and methods from specific moments in time and reflect the values, worldviews, and eras of their writers so much so that Carr notes that "The point of view of the historian enters irrevocably into every observation which he makes."[193]

These perspective-influenced decisions are present in every phase of historical research. Historians must first identify the questions they seek to answer, and this choice is influenced by their worldview.[194] They select the types of sources they will use in their analysis and writing.[195] Louch recognized that historians select which events and people

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[189] Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (July 1991): 1242.
[190] Abu-Lughod, "Writing Against Culture," 152-153.
[191] Joyce Appleby, "The Power of History," *American Historical Review* 103, no. 1 (February 1998): 10.
[192] Morris and Parker, "CRT in Education: Historical/Archival Analyses," 24.
[193] Carr, *What is History?*, 90.
[194] Jerome E. Morris, "Forgotten Voices of Black Educators: Critical Race Perspectives on the Implementation of a Desegregation Plan," *Educational Policy* 15, no. 4 (September 2001): 580.
[195] Alridge, "The Ideas and Craft of the Critical Historian of Education," 122.

will be centered in their story.[196] In addition, any telling of history requires the selection of specific facts and events from the infinite number of those available to the historian.[197]

How a historian analyzes sources is also influenced by their positionality. The Dunning school's history of Reconstruction, for example, was informed by White supremacy and dominance, and their version of the history of Reconstruction reflects this orientation.[198] W. E. B. Du Bois subsequently challenged their narrative using the same evidence but with an analysis informed by a different perspective.[199] Historians' observations and decisions have lasting consequences. Kendi describes the racist ideas of Gomes Eanes de Zurara, Leo Africanus, and Aristotle and explains how their work perpetuated racist stereotypes, scholarship, and exploitation centuries after their initial publication.[200]

The combination of narrative research, historical analysis, and CRT allows for further challenges to the dominant ideology and story because "narrative is counter-storytelling" in CRT, and the use of counter-narratives has the potential to disrupt both the academy and the wider community.[201] This is because narratives and story-telling are easily understood by all audiences as "humans are storytelling organisms who, individually and socially, lead storied lives."[202] CRT-informed research presents thorough and direct challenges to the dominant narratives about race, racism, and

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[196] Louch, "History as Narrative," 58.
[197] Ibid, 61.
[198] Alridge, "The Ideas and Craft of the Critical Historian of Education,"106, 113.
[199] Ibid, 107-108.
[200] Ibram X. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (New York: Bold Type Books, 2016), 17, 22-24, 28-29.
[201] Theodora Regina Berry and Elizabeth J. Bowers Cook, "Critical Race Perspectives on Narrative Research: Centering Intersectionality," in *Understanding critical race research methods and methodologies: Lessons from the field*. ed. Jessica T. DeCuir-Gunby, Thandeka K. Chapman, and Paul A. Schultz (New York: Routledge, 2019), 88.
[202] Connelly and Clandinin, "Stories of Experience and Narrative Inquiry," 2.

education and helps audiences to understand the relationship between the past and the present, an essential function of history.[203]

Morris and Parker state that "Critical historians apply frameworks like CRT to examine and contest the standing record, identify the power structures that determine 'winners' and 'losers,' and consider new ways to conduct meaningful and impactful research."[204] The disruption of dominant ideologies informed by skewed interpretations of history can present challenges. Personal attachments to history develop, and members of a state can be "peculiarly nostalgic about historical knowledge and thus repeatedly horrified when historians disturb prior accounts of an event."[205] Majoritarian narratives constructed without considering the stories and experiences of marginalized individuals and groups should, however, be disrupted.

In addition to challenging dominant ideologies, historical research situated within CRT is essential to social justice. Alridge notes that a failure to understand and address history is "crippling" to those working to address the current inequities in our world.[206] Donnor echoes this and calls for increased attention to historical analysis, "A particularly glaring omission within the current education critical race scholarship is the lack of a theorizing of race that incorporates history and the legal literature, along with a discussion of the legacy effects of White racism on Black people's present-day learning opportunities."[207] Historical research informed by CRT situates current challenges and

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[203] Carr, *What is History?*, 85.
[204] Morris and Parker, "CRT in Education: Historical/Archival Analyses," p. 26.
[205] Appleby, "The Power of History," 11-12.
[206] Alridge, "The Ideas and Craft of the Critical Historian of Education," 103.
[207] Jamel K. Donnor, "Understanding the Why of Whiteness: Negrophobia, Segregation, and the Legacy of White Resistance to Black Education in Mississippi," in *Understanding critical race research methods and methodologies: Lessons from the field*. ed. Jessica T. DeCuir-Gunby, Thandeka K. Chapman, and Paul A. Schultz (New York: Routledge, 2019), 13-14.

racialized disparities in a "historical continuum," creates new questions, and develops "fresh answers to old questions."[208] This study helps to address this gap in the research that is informed by CRT.

The centering of the stories and oral histories of the area's Black community helped to better understand the present state of our community and placed an emphasis on experiential knowledge. Data collection methods in narrative research and historical analysis allowed for a focus on marginalized voices and stories. These included interviews, the examination of documents that focused on the lived experiences of participants and those at the center of the story, and allowing participants to make meaning of their experiences and lives. The reliance on oral histories was necessary because many readily available sources are biased due to "the great likelihood that these might not include perspectives from the marginalized."[209] The inclusion of these experiences and stories in the narrative lifted up the people and history that were previously ignored by the academy, furthering the aim of challenging the dominant narrative. The utilization of grounded theory and CRT allowed historians and researchers to "interpret the perspectives and voices of the narratives that remain unacknowledged, invalidated, and distorted in social science research."[210] In addition, CRT-informed methods frequently position participants and researchers as co-participants seeking to make meaning of events and experiences together.[211] This emphasizes the idea that participants and their knowledge and experiences are essential to the story.

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[208] Alridge, "The Ideas and Craft of the Critical Historian of Education," 110; Donnor, "Understanding the Why of Whiteness," 15.
[209] Morris and Parker, "CRT in Education: Historical/Archival Analyses," 29.
[210] Malagon, Huber, and Velez, "Our Experiences, Our Methods," 259.
[211] Hughes, "Maggie and Me," 88; Torre, "Participatory Action Research and Critical Race Theory," 112.

Conclusion and Timeline

This study centered the stories, experiences, and histories of Black students, educators, and education in School District Five of Lexington and Richland Counties through historical analysis, narrative inquiry, and oral history. The information and analysis were used to develop a historical narrative of Black educational experiences in the school district during segregation and desegregation, a narrative that adds needed layers and complexity to the dominant narrative of the district's early history. The particular events and experiences in District 5 were situated within historical trends in the state and nation during these time periods to better understand both the district's place within and contributions to broader narratives. The timeline below outlines the progression of the research.

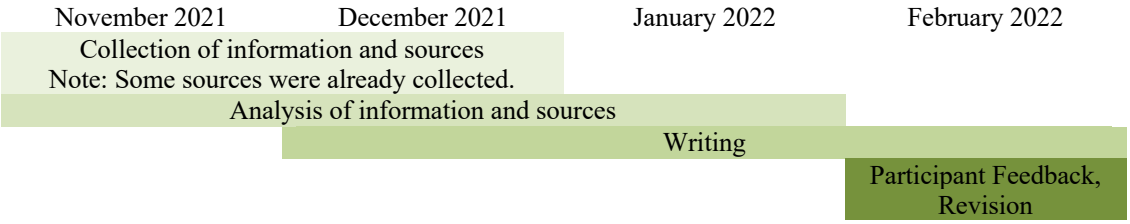

FIGURE 1.1. Timeline of research.

This research also brought the past into the present through an examination of the relationship between the district's history and the present-day opportunities of Black students and educators in the district as well as a critique of the author's contributions to the current state of the district.

CHAPTER 2

PRE-DISTRICT 5 HISTORY

Black education in the Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo communities predates the founding of District 5, and the histories of the schools founded in the area prior to 1952 demonstrate both the Black communities' commitment to ensuring their children were educated and their vision for the type of education they wanted for their children. Black schools such as Harbison Agricultural College, Rosenwald School, and Pine Grove Rosenwald School developed in spite of forces that sought to undermine and control Black education. An examination of the context from which these schools emerged and their contributions to Black education helps to better frame the discussion of Black education in the Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo communities between 1952 and 1975.

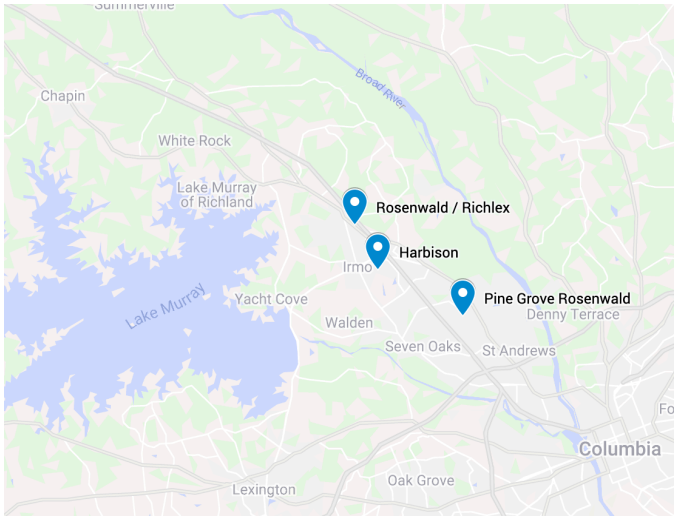

FIGURE 2.1 Map of Rosenwald/Richlex, Harbison, and Pine Grove Rosenwald.[212]

[212] This map was created using Google Maps. Rosenwald is also labeled as Richlex because the school on that site was called Rosenwald School from 1918 to 1953, and Richlex was the name of the school that served local Black students on that site from 1953 to 1968. Richlex is the focus of other chapters.

Members of Abbeville's White community were resistant to the school's continued existence and success. These tensions resulted in Rev. Amos being forced out in 1906. Rev. Calvin M. Young was appointed as Harbison's new leader, and Rev. Young closed the school for four months to help deescalate the situation and made other efforts to improve the school's relationship with the local White community. After a fire destroyed a building on the school's campus in 1907, the board and Rev. Young made public statements that the fire was not intentionally set and thus not the work of the school's detractors.[213]

The reports issued by the Board of Missions and Rev. Young during that period, however, may actually represent conciliatory efforts aimed at placating those who wanted to see the school permanently closed.[214] Regardless of the motives of the school's leaders, White resistance to Harbison continued to mount and culminated in the tragic events of March 17, 1910. Arsonists burned the school's Harbison Hall while students were sleeping. Students Carl Duckett, Samuel Jenkins, and Edward Dubose were killed in the blaze, and other students were injured as they jumped from the burning building.[215] In a shift from their previous language of appeasement, the Board of Missions announced that the 1910 fire was intentional.[216]

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[213]Alexia Jones Helsley, "Harbison College: Metamorphoses of a Dream," *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association: 1988-1989*, (1988): 16-17; Lewis K. McMillan, *Negro Higher Education in the State of South Carolina* (1952), 57.
[214] Doria Dee Johnson, "Shhh...Big Momma and Dem' Left Last Night: Shifting Violent Memories and the African American Chain Migration, Abbeville, South Carolina to Evanston, Illinois, 1910-1940" (master's thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2009), 26.
[215] Helsley, "Harbison College," 18.
[216] Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Forty fifth annual report of the Board of Missions for Freedmen of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (1910), 10-11.

The school and its commitment to educating Black children continued in spite of this violence, leaving Abbeville for a 4,100-acre site in Irmo, South Carolina.[217] In its new home just northwest of the state capital, the school became an important site for community events and connected the local Black community to essential resources. Former students have described the positive impact of the Harbison teachers on their development and lives as well as the familial relationships developed among the students and teachers.[218]

In the years after Harbison's arrival in Irmo, other schools serving Black students were founded in the communities near the school. In 1918, Rosenwald School was established a few miles northwest of Harbison after St. Peter Baptist Church donated land for a school serving Black children.[219] Pine Grove Rosenwald School opened to Harbison's southeast in 1923.[220] Line School and Boyd Hill School opened in the 1930s.[221] While the funding sources of Line and Boyd Hill are unknown, both Rosenwald schools required contributions from the Black community.

TABLE 2.1. Rosenwald school funding sources

Funding Source	Rosenwald School - 1918	Pine Grove Rosenwald School - 1923
Blacks	$525	$285
Whites	$600	$315
Public		$1,200
Rosenwald Fund	$500	$700

Source: Fisk University *Rosenwald Fund Card File Database*.

[217] Helsley, "Harbison College," 22.
[218] Helen B. Kingkade, *In Their Own Words: A History of Harbison Institute: 1911-1958*, 2006, YouTube video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KzU80HbAuqc.
[219] R. L. Floyd Foundation, Inc., *Richlex High School Anniversary Yearbook: 1956, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1967 (*1996); Fisk University, *Rosenwald fund card file database* (2001), http://rosenwald.fisk.edu/.
[220] Fisk University, *Rosenwald fund card file database;* Richland County Recreation Commission (website), "Rosenwald School," accessed November 28, 2021, https://richlandcountyrecreation.com/rosenwald-school/
[221] Warner M. Montgomery, *Columbia Schools: A History of Richland County School District One, Columbia, South Carolina, 1792-2000* (The R.L. Bryan Company, 2002), 305 and 335.

Harbison organized fundraisers to pay teachers in the Pine Grove area for two additional months of work as the students in the area were only attending school for four months.[222] These issues are representative of the overall trend of "double taxation" to pay for Black education during this time period.[223] In order to ensure that Blacks students, educators, and schools received goods and support that were automatically provided to their White counterparts, Black communities were expected to pay taxes and contribute additional funds.

Despite the expansion of educational opportunities for Black children in Lexington and Richland counties and the Black community's support for their local schools, Harbison would offer the only high school for Black children in the Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo communities until the 1950s.[224] Harbison's teachers and students created a legacy that would impact education on the local and national levels for decades beyond its 1958 closing.[225] Harbison alumni such as Telicious Kenly Boyd, Princetta Harris, Thomas Kenly, Zadiee Morris, Vernetta Riley, and Rubie Nixon Schumpert became educators in the local community, serving students as teachers, counselors, coaches, and professors.[226] Clarence Stephens graduated from Harbison in 1934, became the ninth Black student to earn a Doctor of Philosophy in Mathematics, developed methods of advanced mathematics instruction, and worked to improve the experiences of

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[222] Kingkade, *In Their Own Words*.
[223] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 156.
[224] Kingkade, *In Their Own Words*.
[225] The school closed in 1958 following two fires in the early 1950s and a period of declining enrollment. The creation of the area's first public high school for Black students, Richlex, is one of the factors that may have led to the decreased enrollment at Harbison. Richlex is the focus of later chapters.
[226] R. L. Floyd Foundation, Inc., *Richlex High School Anniversary Yearbook*; Kingkade, *In Their Own Words*; 115 Cong. Rec. E1583 (daily ed. November 16, 2017) (Tribute to Mrs. Rubie Ella Nixon Schumpert).

students from marginalized backgrounds as they navigated higher education.[227] Harbison graduate Harold Boulware, son of the school's long-time dean, was the lead attorney in *Briggs v. Elliott*, a case that sought equal resources for Black students in Clarendon County and was eventually consolidated with other cases into *Brown v. Board of Education*.[228]

The Black communities of Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo accomplished these successes in spite of gross funding inequalities that were persistent in South Carolina throughout the "separate but equal" era. Black students consistently represented around fifty percent of all students in the state during this time period but received less than thirteen percent of the state's education-related expenditures. The funding issues resulted in several challenges for Black students, educators, and schools during segregation. The Black student-teacher ratio in South Carolina was typically double the White student-teacher ratio, Black students received fewer instructional days than White students, and Black school buildings and equipment were valued at far less than those of White students.[229] This created the climate that resulted in legal challenges to the segregated school systems.

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[227] James H. Kessler et al., *Distinguished African American Scientists of the 20th Century*. (Oryx Press, 1996), 298-301.
[228] *Quest for Civil Rights: Judge Harold R. Boulware, Sr.* (1980). University of South Carolina. Moving Image Research Collections.
[229] See Appendix B.

CHAPTER 3

THE CREATION OF DISTRICT 5

Resistance to the segregated school systems grew during the 1930s and 1940s, and Black leaders led successful legal challenges against these inequalities in pivotal cases in Maryland in 1936 and in Missouri in 1938.[230] John H. Wrighten applied to South Carolina's College of Charleston in 1943 and was followed the next year by thirty-two other Black students. In 1946, Wrighten and Daniel George Sampson challenged the admissions policies at the University of South Carolina Law School.[231] Following a 1947 NAACP seminar encouraging South Carolina's Black leaders to push for equality on issues including school bus transportation, Rev. Joseph A. De Laine began organizing such efforts in Clarendon County.[232] Thurgood Marshall and Harbison alumni Harold Boulware soon became involved, and the work occurring in Clarendon County eventually evolved into the *Briggs v. Elliott* case.[233]

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[230] R. Scott Baker, "Schooling and White Supremacy: The African American Struggle for Educational Equality and Access in South Carolina, 1945-1970," in *Toward the Meeting of the Waters: Currents in the Civil Rights Movement of South Carolina During the Twentieth Century*, ed. Winfred B. Moore, Jr. and Orville Vernon Burton (The University of South Carolina Press, 2008), 301; Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, 30-32.

[231] Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, 64 and 76; Moore and Anderson, "A Thorn in the Side of Segregation," *75-78.*

[232] Orville V. Burton, Beatrice Burton, and Simon Appleford, "Seeds in Unlikely Soil: The *Briggs v. Elliott* School Segregation Case," in *Toward the Meeting of the Waters: Currents in the Civil Rights Movement of South Carolina During the Twentieth Century*, ed. Winfred B. Moore, Jr. and Orville Vernon Burton (The University of South Carolina Press, 2008), 180-188.

[233] Darlene Clark Hine, "The *Briggs v. Elliott* Legacy: Black Culture, Consciousness, and Community Before *Brown*, 1930-1954," *University of Illinois Law Review* (2004), 1062-1063.

As Black leaders ramped up their efforts to desegregate the schools, South Carolina's White leaders redoubled their commitment to the segregated systems. [234] The White political leaders in the state pushed a series of policies designed to both convince the courts that the state was addressing long-standing inequity in public education and to thwart attempts at school desegregation. This campaign was guided by Governor James Byrnes, and his impact can be seen in many laws and policies of the 1950s. This included Section 5406 of the Code of 1951 which called for "the creation and enlargement of central high school districts."[235]

Referencing the 1938 *Gaines v. Canada* decision in Missouri, South Carolina Attorney General T. C. Callison stated that courts would likely order White high schools to enroll Black students if the districts failed to provide Black high schools.[236] Callison recommended that smaller districts consolidate, share resources, and establish Black high schools as a means of preventing desegregation.[237] This argument was put forth under the premise that if a district offered a Black high school they would be able to argue that there would be "little else which can be done to equalize facilities."[238] Governor Byrnes recommended that consolidation occur along racial lines in order to create segregated districts. Evidence of this can be found in Charleston County's enrollment data where the consolidation plan created eight districts with distinct, racialized enrollment patterns.[239]

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[234] Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, xvi.
[235] T. C. Callison, "Answer to questions involving different phases of the 1951 School Reorganization Act" [July 6, 1951], School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties Records, Irmo, SC, 2-3.
[236] Tolliver Cleveland Callison Papers, "Biographical or historical note" [no date], South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina; Callison, "Answers to questions involving different phases of the 1951 School Reorganization Act," 2-3.
[237] Callison, "Answers to questions involving different phases of the 1951 School Reorganization Act," 2-3
[238] Ibid., 3.
[239] Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, 170.

TABLE 3.1. Racial composition of public school enrollments, Charleston County School Districts, 1967

District	Percent White	Percent Black
1	13	87
2	58	42
3	69	31
4	72	28
9	35	65
10	84	16
20	14	86
23	21	79

Source: Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation,* 170.

One month before the *Briggs v. Elliott* case, Governor Byrnes introduced the Educational Finance Commission (EFC), another attempt to delay desegregation in the state. The EFC's purpose was to provide funding for the construction and equalization of South Carolina's Black schools, providing the state with the ability to argue that it was making progress towards equal educational opportunities for Black and White students.[240] The EFC also sought to "effect desirable consolidations of school districts throughout the entire state."[241] The EFC used the promise of additional money to encourage consolidation by requiring districts to have an approved reorganization plan prior to submitting funding requests.[242]

It was in this context that smaller districts in Lexington and Richland counties consolidated and District 5 emerged. On March 14, 1950, a ballot measure was taken up to create the following districts in Richland County[243]:

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[240] Ibid., 94.
[241] Ibid., 94, 98; "Criteria for School District Reorganization," n.d., School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties Records, Irmo, SC, 1. This document was found in a folder containing files related to the district's founding. The author is unknown. The "effect desirable consolidations of school districts throughout the entire state" language is still present in the South Carolina Code of Laws, though it gives the responsibility to the South Carolina Board of Education as the successor to the State EFC. This can be found in South Carolina Code of Laws. SECTION 59-5-100 (https://www.scstatehouse.gov/code/t59c005.php).
[242] "Criteria for School District Reorganization." n.d., 3.
[243] South Carolina R805, H2056. Signed into law on February 20, 1950, School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties Records, Irmo, SC.

TABLE 3.2. Richland County school district consolidations, 1950

Previous Districts	New District
Columbia No. 1 Hyatt Park No. 2-A Hyatt Park No. 2-B Edgewood No. 3 Rosewood No. 4-B Fairlawn No. 21-A Camp Ground No. 25 Wayside No. 26 St. Andrews No. 27	Columbia School District No. 1
Fort Jackson No. 15 Messers No. 16 Park No. 17 Pontiac No. 19	Dentsville School District No. 2
Level No. 21-B Bellview No. 22 Blythewood No. 23 Holly Grove No. 24	Blythewood School District No. 3
Olympia No. 4-A	Olympia School District No. 4
Lykesland No. 5 Hopkins No. 6 Horrell Hill No. 7 Bellwood No. 8-A Gadsden No. 8-B Eastover No. 10 Garners Ferry No. 11 Union Chapel No. 13	Lower Richland School District No. 5
Dutch Fork No. 29	Dutch Fork School District No. 6

Source: R805, H2056. Signed into law on February 20, 1950.

On November 12, 1951, the Richland County Board of Education passed a resolution supporting the merger of Dutch Fork School District 6 (Richland County), Irmo School District 8 (Lexington County), and Chapin School District 9 (Lexington County) pending the approval of the Lexington County Board of Education.[244] The potential inter-county merger was the subject of a previous conversation between the Richland County Superintendent of Education and the Chairman of the Lexington County Board of Education. [245] On November 19, 1951, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Dutch Fork School wrote the Chairman of the Lexington County Board of Education

[244] W.H. Cobb (Superintendent of Education, Richland County) to Charles V. Harman (Chairman, Lexington County Board of Education), 20 November 1951, in District 5 Records.
[245] Ibid.

to inform him that the Dutch Fork board unanimously supported the plan to merge the three districts.[246] The next day, the trustees of the Irmo school district recommended that the Lexington County Board of Education consider the consolidation of the three districts.[247] The letter from the Irmo trustees references state guidance, noting that the new district would "be ideally organized from a geographical standpoint to provide for efficiency in administration and instruction, and could be adequately supported from a financial standpoint. Adequate school facilities could be provided for both races." Alternate proposals in the November 20 letter from the Irmo trustees included joining Columbia School District No. 1 or merging with all Lexington County school districts to form a county-wide school system.

The Lexington County Board of Education adopted an order of reorganization on November 26, 1951. The plan went into effect in 1952.[248]

TABLE 3.3. Lexington County school district consolidations, 1951

Previous Districts	New District
Lexington District #1 Pelion District #6 The major portion of Gilbert District #5 A portion of Fairview District #7	Lexington District #1
Brookland-Cayce District #2	Lexington District #2
Batesburg-Leesville District #3 A portion of the Fairview District #7	Lexington District #3
Swansea District #4	Lexington District #4
Irmo District #8 Chapin District #9 Dutch Fork District #6 (Richland County)	Lexington District #5

Source: Chas. V. Harmon and A.L. Harmon, "Order of School District Reorganization," November 26, 1951.

[246] E. P. Shedd (Chairman, Board of Trustees of the Dutch Fork School) to Charles V. Harmon (Chairman, Lexington County Board of Education), 19 November 1951, in District 5 Records.
[247] Trustees Irmo Schools to Charles V. Harman (Chairman, Lexington County Board of Education), 20 November 1951, in District 5 Records. The misspelling of the last name "Harmon" is included in the letter.
[248] "Order of School District Reorganization," November 26, 1951, School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties Records, Irmo, SC.

The superintendent of the Chapin district wrote to the chairman of the Dutch Fork district on December 11, 1951, explaining a lack of communication prior to that point and her feelings about the merger.

> We were always very proud to know that you folk were willing to work with us, It was just that we were trying to wait until we could tell just what the County Board was going to accept as a recommendation for us.[249]

Lexington District #5 is the only district noted in these documents as being formed from smaller districts from both counties. One reason for this atypical combination is the geography of the region. Chapin is located in the northwest corner of Lexington County, and Irmo is located in northern Lexington County, east of Chapin. Prior to the construction of the Dreher Shoals Dam, Chapin and Irmo were connected via land, and the Saluda River separated the Chapin and Irmo communities from the southern portion of Lexington County.

FIGURE 3.1. Map of Lexington County, ca. 1890.[250]

[249] Virgie C. Hite (Superintendent, Chapin Public Schools) to E. P. Shedd, 11 December 1951, in District 5 Records. Punctuation included in original.
[250] J.R. Fennell (Museum Director, Lexington County Museum), email message to author, February 21, 2022.

With the construction of the Dreher Shoals Dam and the creation of Lake Murray, Chapin was separated from the rest of the county by the lake. The lake also disrupted the land connection between Chapin and Irmo. A section of Richland County, home to Dutch Fork District #6, was situated in between the Chapin and Irmo districts.

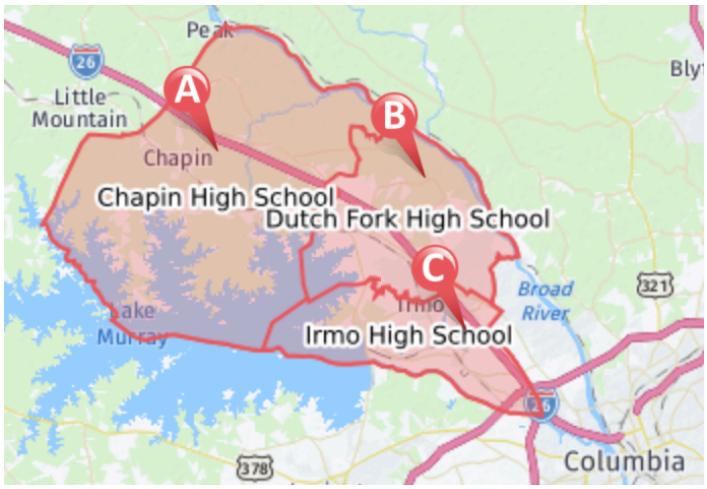

FIGURE 3.2. Map of School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties showing Lake Murray and the three high school attendance zones, 2022.[251]

While the geography of the region offers one reason for the district to cross the county lines, other factors likely contributed. As noted, Governor Byrnes encouraged educational leaders to create segregated districts, and his calls were echoed in administrative documents such as *Criteria for School District Reorganization* which called for districts to consider factors beyond county borders.

> In many instances reorganization of administrative units (consolidation of school districts) can best be effected by disregarding county lines for school district purposes. Nearly every county will have small border areas where children have been attending schools in the adjoining county. School districts should conform as

[251] "SchoolSearch for Lexington-Richland School District 5," School District Five of Lexington and Richland Counties, accessed February 21, 2022, https://app.guidek12.com/lexrich5sc/school_search/current/.

nearly as possible with natural socio-economic boundaries of a community. County Boards of Education of adjoining counties should meet together and work out desirable consolidations where over-lapping occurs.[252]

The Trustees of the Irmo Schools referenced the "socio-economic" language in their November 20, 1951, letter to Charles V. Harman of the Lexington County Board of Education. They stated that "The geographic area embraced by the proposed district has throughout the area the same socio-economic pattern. The people in the communities are similar in their industrial, occupational, social and spiritual activities."[253]

Whether the district was created due to geographic reasons, "socio-economic" factors, or a combination of the two, the result was clearly racialized. This is evident in the enrollment data from the 1951-52 school year.

TABLE 3.4. Enrollment in Lexington and Richland counties, 1951-52

District	Black Student Enrollment	White Student Enrollment	Black Student Percentage	White Student Percentage
Lexington District #1	418	2,082	16.7%	83.3%
Lexington District #2	798	3,218	19.9%	80.1%
Lexington District #3	678	1,354	33.4%	66.6%
Lexington District #4	255	729	25.9%	74.1%
Lexington District #5	143	807	15.1%	84.9%
Columbia School District No. 1 or Richland 1[254]	7,257	12,691	36.4%	63.6%
Dentsville School District No. 2 or Richland 2	127	1,100	10.4%	89.6%
Blythewood School District No. 3 or Richland 3	500	408	55.1%	44.9%
Lower Richland School District No. 5 or Richland 5	2,164	738	74.6%	25.4%
Lexington County School Districts – All	2,292	8,190	21.9%	78.1%
Richland County School Districts – All	10,048	14,937	40.2%	59.8%
Lexington and Richland Counties – All	14,590	27,210	34.9%	65.1%

Source: School Directory of South Carolina: 1952-53.

[252] "Criteria for School District Reorganization." n.d., 2.
[253] Letter from Trustees of Irmo Schools to Charles V. Harman, 20 November 1950, School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties Records, Irmo, SC.
[254] The Olympia schools are listed with Richland 1 in the *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1952-53. It can be assumed that Olympia School District no. 4 joined Richland 1 sometime between 1950 and 1952.

During the 1951-52 school year, 84.9% of the student enrollment in Lexington District #5 was White. This was greater than any district in Lexington County, and the second highest percentage of any district in either county.

One possible reason for the low number of Black students enrolled in some parts of the two counties is the lack of opportunities offered to Black students in those areas during the 1951-52 school year. The private high school at Harbison was the only high school available to Black students in the areas near Irmo for several decades.[255] The first years of consolidation did little to address this issue. Only 626 Black students attended high schools in Lexington County in the 1951-52 school year.[256] Lexington District #5 served the smallest number, thirty-eight. In 1953, District 5 paid $525 for Black students in the eleventh and twelfth grades to attend high school in the town of Lexington.[257]

The district addressed the lack of high school opportunities available to Black students by converting Rosenwald School, founded in 1918 after the donation by St. Peter Baptist Church, into an all-grades school for the district's Black students.[258] Other Black schools within District 5's attendance lines were closed and the properties were sold or given away in favor of the centrally-located Rosenwald School.[259] In 1953, Rosenwald School was renamed Richlex School, and it graduated its first Black students in 1954.

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[255] Kingkade, *In Their Own Words*.
[256] *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1952-53.
[257] Board Minutes, February 12, 1953.
[258] R. L. Floyd Foundation, Inc., *Richlex High School Anniversary Yearbook*.
[259] The Pleasant Springs school building and land that previously served Black students in the area was authorized to be sold for $1,255 (Board Minutes, February 24, 1953). The Pineywoods deal appears to have fallen through because it was discussed that the district would check the title after the July 13, 1953, meeting and that if no deed or title could be produced that the district would relinquish its claim to the property to interested members of the Black community (Board Minutes, January 19, 1953; February 24, 1953; July 13, 1953). The district later gave up its claim to the Providence school that served Black children (Board Minutes, August 27, 1953). The Boyd Hill school was advertised for sale after the January 25, 1954, meeting and sold less than a month later (Board Minutes, January 25, 1954; February 23, 1954). In 1954, the board discussed what could be done with the "Chapin Colored School," and the school was sold in 1956 for $200 (Board Minutes, January 25, 1954; September 24, 1956).

CHAPTER 4

INEQUALITY IN THE DISTRICT'S EARLY YEARS

Though Black students made up just fifteen percent of Lexington District 5's student enrollment in 1951-52, both the number of Black students and the percentage of Black students in the district's enrollment increased greatly by the end of the 1950s. While this was part of a pattern of increasing enrollment for Black and White students in all districts in Lexington and Richland counties, the enrollment did not change uniformly in every district.

TABLE 4.1. Enrollment in Lexington and Richland Counties, 1959-60

	Black Student Enrollment	White Student Enrollment	Black Student Percentage	White Student Percentage
Lexington District #1	585	3,032	16.2%	83.8%
Lexington District #2	1,165	6,395	15.4%	84.6%
Lexington District #3	888	1,579	36.0%	64.0%
Lexington District #4	559	783	41.7%	58.3%
Lexington District #5	526	918	36.4%	63.6%
Richland District 1	10,753	19,559	35.5%	64.5%
Richland District 2[260]	1,156	2,761	29.5%	70.5%
Richland District 5	3,389	1,386	71.0%	29.0%
Lexington County School Districts – All	3,723	12,707	22.7%	77.3%
Richland County School Districts – All	15,298	23,706	39.2%	60.8%
Lexington and Richland Counties – All	19,021	36,413	34.3%	65.7%

Source: School Directory of South Carolina: 1960-61.

Between the 1951-52 and 1959-60 school years, the combined enrollment in the school districts of Lexington and Richland counties increased by 13,634. The number of students, number of Black students, and number of White students increased in every

[260] Richland 2 (Denstville) and Richland 3 (Blythewood) merged.

school district in the two counties during that time period. Though the percentage of Black and White students in the two counties changed by just one percent during those years, the racial makeup of some districts' student populations changed more than others. The number of White students increased at a higher rate in districts such as Lexington District #1, Lexington District #2, Richland District 1, and Richland District 5. This resulted in Black students accounting for a smaller percentage of the student population in those districts in 1959-60 than they had in 1951-52 despite the increasing Black student enrollment.

By the 1959-60 school year, however, the number of Black students in Lexington District #5 increased to 526, and Black students made up 36.4% of the student population.[261] Black students in the district made up a higher percentage of their district's student population than Black students in all but two other districts in Lexington and Richland Counties. This was a major change from 1951-52 when District 5 had the second highest percentage of White students of any district in either county.[262]

The enrollment changes in District 5 were not consistent across all schools. Richlex served all Black students in the district until 1965 while White students attended Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo schools.

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[261] *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1960-61.

[262] The addition of the first public high school for Black students in the Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo communities and the subsequent closure of the private Harbison in 1958 were likely factors in the changes to the enrollment of Lexington District #5. Dr. Deborah Jones Davis attended schools in District 5 as a student, and her family members were long-time residents of the district. She also noted that some Black students in the area may have attended schools in surrounding districts prior to 1953. She and other members of her family, for example, attended Richland District 1 schools even though their property was later determined to be zoned for Lexington District 5. This was mentioned by Dr. Davis in a personal communication with the author on February 5, 2022 during participant review of the findings.

TABLE 4.2. Enrollment in District 5 schools, 1952-53 to 1965-66

School	Richlex	Chapin	Dutch Fork	Irmo	Irmo Elementary	Irmo High
Race	Black	White	White	White	White	White
Grades	All	All	1-7	All	1-6 (1-8 in 1965-66)	7-12 (9-12 in 1965-66)
1952-53	384	356	181	275	n/a	n/a
1953-54	429	345	178	275	n/a	n/a
1954-55	447	356	183	307	n/a	n/a
1955-56	447	367	175	326	n/a	n/a
1956-57	472	387	176	345	n/a	n/a
1957-58	495	396	177	333	n/a	n/a
1958-59[263]	502	402	185	360	n/a	n/a
1959-60	526	388	176	354	n/a	n/a
1960-61	532	394	188	398	n/a	n/a
1961-62	553	383	214	453	n/a	n/a
1962-63	567	364	187	479[264]	n/a	n/a
1963-64[265]	593	362	147	n/a	250	329
1964-55	617	354	156	n/a	341	397
1965-66[266]	625	362	189	n/a	571	391

Source: School Directory of South Carolina: 1953-54 through 1966-67.

By 1952-53, Richlex was the largest school in the district, and it would remain the largest school through the 1965-66 school year.[267] The number of Black students in District 5 increased almost every year between 1952-53 and 1965-66, with Richlex's enrollment

[263] Richlex's data from 1958-59 (the 1959-60 directory) appears to contain an error. The Directory notes that 228 elementary age students were served by nine teachers at Richlex. The prior year, the elementary school served 313 students, and the 315 students were served the following year. There were nine elementary teachers in each of the three years. It is unlikely that enrollment fell by almost one hundred students in one year. Further analysis revealed that 315 students were included in grades 2-8 in the 1959-60 yearbook, *The Cylcops*. These students would have been in grades 1-7 in 1958-59. It was assumed that the elementary enrollment at Richlex that year was closer to the yearbook estimate than the School Directory. Therefore, the Richlex yearbook information replaced the Richlex Directory information in this analysis.
[264] The School Directory of 1963-64 (representing enrollment data from 1962-63) lists Irmo High and Irmo Elementary separately. However, the two schools did not split until the 1963-64 school year, and their enrollment has been combined here to reflect this.
[265] The Irmo schools split into Irmo Elementary and Irmo High beginning in the 1963-64 school year.
[266] The district's freedom-of-choice plan began partway through the 1965-66 school year, but the data is displayed here as it appeared in the School Directory of 1966-67, listing Black and White schools separately. Only five or six Black students in District 5 participated in freedom-of-choice in 1965-66 (number varies by source), and the Black students did not enroll in previously all-White schools under the freedom-of-choice plan until the second semester of the 1965-66 school year. The freedom-of-choice data will be discussed in later sections.
[267] Even if the 1963-64 enrollment of Irmo Elementary and Irmo High are combined, Richlex served more students than the two Irmo schools during that school year.

increasing by 241 students during that time. The enrollment in the all-White Chapin school grew by six students between 1952-53 and 1965-66, while the enrollment in the all-White Dutch Fork school increased by eight. Of the district's all-White schools, only Irmo experienced an increase near the level of Richlex, growing by 204 students between 1952-53 and 1962-63 before adding another 483 students between 1963-64 and 1965-66. Between 1952-53 and 1965-66, the percentage of students in the district who were Black ranged from 29.2% to 36.4% while the percentage of students in the district who were White ranged from 63.6% to 70.8%.

TABLE 4.3. Proportion of student enrollment by race, 1952-53 to 1965-66

	Black Student Enrollment	White Student Enrollment	Black Student Percentage	White Student Percentage
1952-53	384	812	32.1%	67.9%
1953-54	429	798	35.0%	65.0%
1954-55	447	846	34.6%	65.4%
1955-56	447	868	34.0%	66.0%
1956-57	472	908	34.2%	65.8%
1957-58	495	906	35.3%	64.7%
1958-59	502	947	34.6%	65.4%
1959-60	526	918	36.4%	63.6%
1960-61	532	980	35.2%	64.8%
1961-62	553	1,050	34.5%	65.5%
1962-63	567	1,030	35.5%	64.5%
1963-64	593	1,088	35.3%	64.7%
1964-55	617	1,248	33.1%	66.9%
1965-66	625	1,513	29.2%	70.8%

Source: School Directory of South Carolina: 1953-54 through 1966-67.

The increasing enrollment of Black students in the district and Richlex's status as the largest school in the district did not result in the school board placing the needs of Black students and teachers on equal footing with those of their White peers. The school board's decision-making and worldview seem to rest on the premise that their responsibilities and commitments were almost exclusively to the district's White community. During its first decade, the board's use of the term "the district" in meeting

minutes was frequently used in reference not to the entire district but exclusively to the White students, schools, and community.

This viewpoint informed the board's decision-making and actions. For example, at the February 12, 1953, board meeting, the trustees "re-affirmed" that there would be "one football team for the district."[268] The board hired a band director for "the district" in 1955.[269] When the board considered consolidation of the high schools in 1954, it was clear that it meant consolidation of the White schools.[270] When the district later considered building a consolidated high school, it "expressed a sincere interest in all the children in the district."[271] In each of these instances, the board used the term "the district" and "all" to mean all White students and schools.

This mindset impacted their treatment of Black students and educators. During the first years of District 5, the school board and district administration consistently created unequal learning conditions for Black and White students. Though Black students made up about one-third of the district's enrollment, bills paid for Black education accounted for less than sixteen percent of the district's bills in April 1954 and less than eleven percent of the district's bills in November 1960.[272] The practice of prioritizing spending on White education at the expense of Black education impacted staffing and student-

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[268] Lexington County District #5 Board Minutes, February 12, 1953. All other board meeting minutes referenced in this chapter and in others will be abbreviated to "Board Minutes" as these are the only district's board meeting minutes analyzed in this research. This was stated in a previous footnote but is included again here as a reminder due to this chapter's frequent references to board meeting minutes. Though the name "Lexington County District #5" is used on the digitized meeting minutes, it is listed as "School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties" in the "References" section as this is the actual name of the school district.
[269] Board Minutes, June 14, 1955.
[270] Board Minutes, November 22, 1954.
[271] Board Minutes, February 23, 1962. The underlining was present in the original text.
[272] Board Minutes, April 22, 1954, and November 21, 1960.

teacher ratios, educator pay, facilities, and resources and programs. Enrollment data from school directories and the minutes of the school board meetings lay these issues bare.

Inequalities in Staffing and Student-Teacher Ratios

For each of the school years between 1952-53 and 1965-66, Black teachers were under-represented among the district's faculty when compared to the percentage of Black students in the district.

TABLE 4.4. Proportions of student enrollment and teacher count by race, 1952-53 to 1965-66

	Black Student Percentage	White Student Percentage	Black Teacher Percentage	White Teacher Percentage
1952-53	32.1%	67.9%	28.0%	72.0%
1953-54	35.0%	65.0%	26.9%	73.1%
1954-55	34.6%	65.4%	26.8%	73.2%
1955-56	34.0%	66.0%	30.9%	69.1%
1956-57	34.2%	65.8%	30.4%	69.6%
1957-58	35.3%	64.7%	30.4%	69.6%
1958-59	34.6%	65.4%	31.0%	69.0%
1959-60	36.4%	63.6%	31.7%	68.3%
1960-61	35.2%	64.8%	30.2%	69.8%
1961-62	34.5%	65.5%	30.8%	69.2%
1962-63	35.5%	64.5%	31.3%	68.7%
1963-64	35.3%	64.7%	31.3%	68.7%
1964-55	33.1%	66.9%	29.1%	70.9%
1965-66[273]	29.2%	70.8%	28.2%	71.8%

Source: School Directory of South Carolina: 1953-54 through 1966-67.

The difference between the district's percentages of Black students and Black teachers between 1952-53 and 1964-65 ranged from 3.1% to 8.1%. In 1965-66, the difference fell to 1%. The reason that the 1965-66 difference is less than other years is likely due to the

[273] Please refer to a previous footnote on the district's freedom-of choice program beginning in 1965-66. The School Directory of 1966-67 continued to separate schools based on race, but faculty desegregation had begun by the 1965-66 school year. As such, the faculty data in the school directory is likely a representation of faculty assigned to all-Black schools and previously all-White schools. To address this, the 1965-66 teacher data comes from a letter from John E. Tolbert, Acting Education Branch Chief of the Office for Civil Rights, to District 5 Superintendent W.C. Hawkins dated 1 March 1973. This letter is found in the School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties Records.

sudden increase in the number of White students in the district. The White student enrollment increased from 1,248 to 1,513 between 1964-65 and 1965-66, with the percentage of White students increasing from 66.9% to 70.8% and the percentage of Black students decreasing from 33.1% to 29.2%. Even with this sudden reduction in the percentage of Black students in the district, Black teachers were underrepresented in the district's faculty when compared to the district's percentage of Black students.

This discrepancy between the percentages of Black students and Black teachers resulted in higher student-teacher ratios at Richlex than at the White schools.

TABLE 4.5. Student-teacher ratios in all grades, 1952-53 to 1965-66[274]

	Richlex	Chapin	Dutch Fork	Irmo	Chapin, Dutch Fork, Irmo
Race	Black	White	White	White	White
1952-53	27.43	23.73	25.86	19.64	22.56
1953-54	30.64	23.00	25.43	17.19	21.00
1954-55	29.80	22.25	26.14	17.06	20.63
1955-56	26.29	24.47	25.00	20.38	22.84
1956-57	27.76	24.19	25.14	21.56	23.28
1957-58	29.12	24.75	25.29	20.81	23.23
1958-59	27.89	23.65	26.43	22.50	23.68
1959-60	27.68	22.82	25.14	20.82	22.39
1960-61	28.00	21.89	26.86	20.95	22.27
1961-62	27.65	23.94	30.57	20.59	23.33
1962-63	27.00	21.41	26.71	21.77	22.39
1963-64	28.24	21.29	24.50	25.17	23.65
1964-55	26.83	16.86	26.00	25.45	22.29
1965-66[275]	26.04	16.45	27.00	27.49	23.64

Source: School Directory of South Carolina: 1953-54 through 1966-67.

Student-teacher ratios were greater at Richlex than at any of the district's White schools in every year except the 1961-62 and 1965-66 school years. If the data is separated by elementary and high school, similar trends are revealed.

[274] The student-teacher ratios were calculated using data from the *School Directory of South Carolina*. A school's enrollment was divided by its number of teachers. To calculate the data in the final column (the student-teacher ratio of Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo), the sum of the enrollment at all White schools was divided by the sum of the number of teachers in all White schools.

[275] This data relies on the School Directories as the directories listed the number of teachers by school.

TABLE 4.6. Student-teacher ratio at the elementary level, 1952-53 to 1965-66[276]

	Richlex	Chapin	Dutch Fork	Irmo	Chapin, Dutch Fork, Irmo
Race	Black	White	White	White	White
1952-53	36.56	32.00	25.86	20.83	26.50
1953-54	32.78	31.83	25.43	18.00	25.11
1954-55	32.67	32.67	26.14	18.33	25.74
1955-56	32.33	31.17	25.00	21.00	25.68
1956-57	33.22	29.17	25.14	22.83	25.68
1957-58	34.78	29.83	25.29	18.83	24.68
1958-59	35.00	30.83	26.43	22.67	26.63
1959-60	36.11	29.33	25.14	21.17	25.21
1960-61	37.89	29.83	26.86	27.00	27.84
1961-62	34.60	30.67	30.57	28.14	29.75
1962-63	35.20	27.50	26.71	26.00	26.67
1963-64	34.00	25.83	24.50	31.25	27.60
1964-55	31.82	23.17	26.00	28.42	26.50
1965-66	29.50	19.71	27.00	33.59	28.97

Source: School Directory of South Carolina: 1953-54 through 1966-67.

Though Dutch Fork had a higher student-teacher ratio than Richlex's overall student-teacher ratio in 1961-62, Richlex's elementary level student-teacher ratio was greater than Dutch Fork, an elementary school, during that school year. Chapin's elementary level student-teacher ratio was equal to Richlex's in the 1954-55 school year, and Irmo's elementary level student-teacher ratio was greater than Richlex in 1965-66.

The high school data shows minor fluctuations in which school had the largest student-teacher ratio. Richlex's high school student-teacher ratio was the largest in the district in nine of the fourteen years. Chapin had a lower student-teacher ratio and Irmo had a higher student-teacher ratio than Richlex in 1958-59, 1959-60, and 1964-65. Richlex had the lowest high school student-teacher ratio in just two of the fourteen years, and one of those years may reflect inaccurate data.

[276] The elementary student-teacher ratios were calculated using data from the *School Directory of South Carolina*. A school's elementary enrollment was divided by its number of elementary teachers. To calculate the data in the final column (the elementary student-teacher ratio of Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo), the sum of the elementary enrollment at all White schools was divided by the sum of the number of elementary teachers in all White schools.

TABLE 4.7. Student-teacher ratio at the high school level, 1952-53 to 1965-66[277]

	Richlex	Chapin	Irmo	Chapin and Irmo
Race	Black	White	White	White
1952-53	11.00	16.50	18.75	17.63
1953-54	26.80	17.11	16.70	16.89
1954-55	25.50	16.00	16.42	16.23
1955-56	19.50	20.00	20.00	20.00
1956-57	21.63	21.20	20.80	21.00
1957-58	22.75	21.70	22.00	21.85
1958-59	20.78	19.73	22.40	21.00
1959-60	20.10	19.27	20.64	19.95
1960-61	19.10	17.92	18.15	18.04
1961-62	20.70	19.90	17.07	18.20
1962-63	19.55	18.09	19.36	18.80
1963-64	23.00	18.82	21.93	20.62
1964-55	22.25	14.33	23.35	19.13
1965-66	22.58	14.93	21.72	18.64

Source: School Directory of South Carolina: 1953-54 through 1966-67.

The enrollment and staffing information for 1952-53 indicates that the elementary level student-teacher ratio was 36.56 and the overall student-teacher ratio was 27.43 at Richlex. It seems unlikely that the ratio was eleven at the high school, and it seems more likely that at least one Richlex teacher was incorrectly counted in the directory. One of the possibilities is that a teacher may have been assigned to work at both the elementary and high school levels during that school year, and the directory may not accurately reflect this type of dual assignment.

The higher student-teacher ratios at Richlex resulted in larger class sizes, and this had a direct impact on students. Mr. James Washington, the valedictorian of the Richlex class of 1965, reflected on the district's inadequate staffing of Richlex and its impact on his future studies and endeavors.

[277] The high school student-teacher ratios were calculated using data from the *School Directory of South Carolina*. A school's high school enrollment was divided by its number of high school teachers. To calculate the data in the final column (the high school student-teacher ratio of Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo), the sum of the high school enrollment at all White schools was divided by the sum of the number of high school teachers in all White schools.

> When you've got thirty-one people in your class, or thirty-two in my class, and we didn't have separate groups of academic levels, you couldn't go to the end of a book. You had to bring the entire group along, as opposed to picking out the academic track and the maybe skill track, for lack of a better word. And because of that, I don't ever remember going to the end of a math book. We always stopped about halfway or somewhere.
>
> So when I got to engineering school in South Carolina State, I had to spend a lot of time in tutoring and bringing the math, because engineering for the most part is math, I had to bring those skills up, and a lot of it was rote memory because I didn't have time to get all the background I needed and stuff like differential equations, and Algebra 2, factoring. It was a struggle, but I made it.

If the district staffed Richlex according to the student-teacher ratios of the White schools, the number of teachers at Richlex would have increased. This was true of both staffing methods used in this analysis.[278] An equalized staffing plan would have increased the number of teachers at Richlex in every year between 1952-53 and 1965-66. The median difference in Method 1 would have resulted in an additional four teachers at Richlex, and the median difference in Method 2 would have provided three additional

[278] The data on Richlex's staffing in Table 4.8 came directly from the *School Directory of South Carolina*. The equalized staffing data was calculated via a multi-step process using data from the *School Directory of South Carolina*. First, the enrollment in White schools was divided by the number of teachers in White schools. This generated the student-teacher ratio for each year. The enrollment at Richlex was then divided by the student-teacher-ratio for White schools and rounded to the nearest whole number. This was repeated for each year, producing the data in the column titled "All (Method 1)." As the district's files do not indicate if elementary and high schools were staffed according to different student-teacher ratios, the elementary and high school student-teacher ratios in White schools were then calculated. The Richlex elementary and high school enrollment was divided by the corresponding student-teacher ratio in White schools and rounded to the nearest whole number. The elementary and high school numbers were then added together to produce the data in the column titled "All (Method 2)."

teachers to Richlex. The additional positions would have reduced the student-teacher ratio at Richlex and generated additional wealth for the local Black community.

TABLE 4.8. Richlex staffing – Actual vs. Equalized, 1952-53 to 1965-66

	Actual Richlex Staffing			Equalized Richlex Staffing			
Level	All	Elementary	High	All (Method 1)	All (Method 2)	Elementary (Method 2)	High (Method 2)
1952-53	14	9	5	17	15	12	3
1953-54	14	9	5	20	20	12	8
1954-55	15	9	6	22	20	11	9
1955-56	17	9	8	20	19	11	8
1956-57	17	9	8	20	20	12	8
1957-58	17	9	8	21	21	13	8
1958-59	18	9	9	21	21	12	9
1959-60	19	9	10	23	23	13	10
1960-61	19	9	10	24	23	12	11
1961-62	20	10	10	24	23	12	11
1962-63	21	10	11	25	24	13	11
1963-64	21	10	11	25	24	12	12
1964-55	23	11	12	28	27	13	14
1965-66	24	12	12	26	27	12	15

Source: *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1953-54 to 1966-67.

In addition to failing to hire Black teachers and equally staff the Richlex classrooms, the board refused to hire Black workers for specific positions at the schools. Irmo's principal requested the board's input on the hiring of a Black man for a custodial position, and the board minutes noted that "It seemed to be the feeling of the board that an effort should be made to find a white man before employing a negro."[279] The White community in Chapin objected to the hiring of a Black married couple for custodial positions, and the board stated that it would leave the decision to the superintendent and principal.[280] Though the final decision is not included in board meeting minutes, the 1961-62 Chapin yearbook indicates that a married White couple held the custodial positions at Chapin.[281] Though the board and administration seemed generally opposed to

[279] Board Minutes, May 19, 1958.
[280] Board Minutes, July 18, 1960.
[281] Chapin High School, *Eagle's Nest*, 1962.

hiring Black workers for White schools, Estelle Geiger may have been the district's first Black employee in a White school, serving in Irmo High's cafeteria along with two White cafeteria workers during the 1955-56 school year.[282]

By February 1961, a Black woman had been hired to assist Dutch Fork's custodian with sweeping the floors.[283] Board meeting minutes from later in the year indicate that the board's decision to hire Black staff members in White schools was not the result of a shift in their beliefs or attitudes.

> Some of the board members expressed the opinion that a negro would be better for a janitor since it might be difficult to get a good white man to do this type of work. A suggestion was made that if the superintendent was unable to find a good prospect in a white man that he might employ a negro for the work.[284]

It is likely that the board's decision to hire Black custodians for White schools was a result of an inability to find White custodians rather than the recognition that the district's hiring practices were discriminatory.

Board members also advocated for the removal of Black staff members over the removal of White staff members. After the county lunchroom supervisor noted that the Irmo lunchroom was in a deficit in 1966 and that one worker needed to be let go, "It was pointed out that the one to go would be a negro worker." Mr. Ballentine, a board member, then made a food-related pun about the plan to fire the Black worker, "The board seemed to agree with the suggestion from Mr. Ballentine that the board 'fish' them out at the end of the school year if necessary."[285] The decision to make a joke about the firing of an

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[282] Irmo High School, *The Yellow Jacket*, 1956.
[283] Board Minutes, February 20, 1961.
[284] Board Minutes, June 12, 1961.
[285] Board Minutes, March 18, 1966.

employee and then document the joke in the board's meeting minutes is a reflection of the board's overall attitude towards the Black community.

The district's staffing plan failed to provide Richlex with an appropriate number of teachers between 1952-53 and 1965-66. As a result, Richlex's student-teacher ratios were consistently higher than the all-White Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo schools. This inequality impacted student experiences and learning. In addition, the district discriminated against Black applicants and employees in its hiring and dismissal practices.

Inequalities in Educator Pay

Despite managing larger student-teacher ratios than their White peers, Black educators at Richlex were consistently paid less than White educators in District 5. This trend was apparent in the district's general expenditures as well as specific policy decisions made over time. The school board meeting minutes between 1952-53 and 1965-66 provide consistent documentation of years of discriminatory pay that impacted Black educators as a group as well as instances targeting individual Black educators. These inequalities in pay applied to administrators, supplements for teachers and coaches, and support staff.

Salaries paid to Black educators accounted for a smaller percentage of the district's spending than it should have based on the district's percentage of Black students.

TABLE 4.9. Teacher salaries in District 5

	April 1954	November 1960
Black Teacher Salaries	$4,640.30	$9,521.44
White Teacher Salaries	$11,816.15	$20,093.05
Black Teacher Salaries as a Percentage of the District's Total Salary Expenditures	28.2%	32.2%
Black Student Enrollment as a Percentage of the District's Total Enrollment	35.0%	36.4%

Sources: Board Minutes, April 22, 1954, November 21, 1960; *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1954-55, 1960-61.

Black teachers were paid less per student than their White peers.

TABLE 4.10. Teacher salaries in District 5 per student

	1953-54	1960-61
Black Students	429	532
White Students	798	980
Black Teacher Salaries per Student	$10.82	$17.90
White Teacher Salaries per Student	$14.81	$20.50

Sources: Board Minutes, April 22, 1954, November 21, 1960; *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1954-55, 1960-61.

If Black and White teacher salaries were equalized based on the equal rates of pay per student, then the spending on Black teacher salaries would have increased to $6,352.29 in April 1954 and $10,907.66 in November 1960.[286] Black teachers were paid more per teacher, but this statistic is slightly misleading because Richlex was never staffed at the same level as White schools, resulting in the higher student-teacher ratios outlined in previous sections.

TABLE 4.11. Teacher salaries in District 5 per teacher

	1953-54	1960-61
Black Teachers	14	19
White Teachers	38	44
Black Teacher Salaries per Teacher	$331.45	$501.13
White Teacher Salaries per Teacher	$310.95	$456.66

Sources: Board Minutes, April 22, 1954, and November 21, 1960; *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1954-55, 1960-61.

[286] This was calculated by multiplying the Richlex enrollment by the White Teacher Salaries per Student.

If the pay per teacher is applied to the equalized staffing numbers from Table 4.8 then the spending on Black teacher salaries would have increased to $6,219.03 in April 1954 and $10,959.85 or $10,503.19 in November 1960.[287]

Pay disparity also existed in the coaching ranks. Thomas C. Kenly from Richlex had been with the district since at least 1956. He made just $24 more than the lowest paid White coach in the district in 1961.[288]

TABLE 4.12. District 5 coaches' pay, 1961-62

	1961-62 Pay
Chapin Coach 1	$4,951
Chapin Coach 2	$4,605
Irmo Coach 1	$5,005
Irmo Coach 2	$4,951
Irmo Coach 3	$4,200
Richlex Coach	$4,224

Sources: Board Minutes, April 17, 1961, and July 17, 1961.

The only coach who made less than Mr. Kenly in 1961-62 was the third coach at Irmo, the assistant baseball and football coach. Two White coaches in the district were paid $5,635 and $5,572 in 1962-63.[289] In 1964-65, Mr. Kenly's salary of $5,500 was still less than what the White coaches were paid in 1962-63.[290] In another example of unequal compensation and opportunities for Black educators, the minutes listed just one coach for Richlex. This was despite Richlex being the largest school in the district and the fact that Mrs. E. T. Evans and Mr. Fred C. Godbold coached the girls' basketball team at different times. Mr. Godbold also assisted Mr. Kenly with the football team.[291]

[287] This was calculated by multiplying the equalized number of Richlex teachers by the White Teacher Salaries per Teacher. $10,959.85 is the figure if equalization Model 1 is used. $10,503.19 is the figure if equalization Model 2 is used.
[288] Board Minutes, April 17, 1961, and July 17, 1961.
[289] Board Minutes, May 12, 1962.
[290] Board Minutes, May 15, 1964.
[291] R. L. Floyd Foundation, Inc., *Richlex High School Anniversary Yearbook*.

Principal salary

At the April 27, 1953, board meeting, the board began a long-standing tradition of paying the district's Black principal less than the White principals. After agreeing to pay the White principals in the district between $3,800 and $4,380, the board asked the superintendent to hire a principal for Richlex but to spend no more than $3,600.[292] The board set this condition prior to considering any applicants or their qualifications. Mr. Robert Lee Floyd was elected to the position of Richlex principal, and he was paid $3,300 in his first year.[293] Though Mr. Floyd possessed a graduate degree and had served as a teacher, coach, and vice-principal for eighteen years in Calhoun County, his pay was less than the maximum previously approved by the District 5 board.[294] After approving a salary of $4,100 for the Chapin principal in April 1953, a new principal was named in June 1953. The new principal's salary was set at $3,800.[295] Subsequent board meeting minutes document a continued pattern of paying Mr. Floyd less than his White peers.

TABLE 4.13. District 5 principals' pay

School	1953-54	1954-55	1959-60	1962-63	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67
Richlex	$3,300	$3,500	$4,800	$6,000	$7,344[296]	$7,650	n/a
Chapin	$4,100 (planned), $3,800 (revised)	n/a	$5,600	$6,671	n/a	$8,334	n/a
Dutch Fork	$3,800	$3,800	n/a	$5,000	n/a	$6,900	n/a
Irmo	$4,380	n/a	$5,600	$7,130	n/a	n/a	n/a
Irmo High	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	$8,334	$10,000
Irmo Elem.	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	$7,695	n/a

Sources: Board Minutes, April 27, 1953, June 19, 1953, June 21, 1954, March 16, 1959, April 20, 1959, May 12, 1962, May 15, 1964, July 2, 1965, and July 19, 1965.

Prior to the start of the 1956-57 school year, Mr. Floyd requested a raise from the board and received an increase of $200 for the year.[297] It is not known if he received a

[292] Board Minutes, April 27, 1953.
[293] Board Minutes, June 21, 1954.
[294] R. L. Floyd Foundation, Inc., *Richlex High School Anniversary Yearbook*.
[295] Board Minutes, June 19, 1953.
[296] This includes $192 in travel expenses for the 1964-65 school year.
[297] Board Minutes, June 12, 1956.

similar pay increase prior to the 1955-56 school year. Even if it is assumed that Mr. Floyd received a $200 raise for the 1955-56 school year, Mr. Floyd's 1956-57 pay would have been $3,900. This is less than what the veteran Irmo and Chapin principals were scheduled to make in 1953-54. This pay also failed to appropriately compensate Mr. Floyd as the leader of the district's largest school.

The board continued this practice as it hired new principals. When a new White principal was hired at Irmo in 1956, the board started him at the same pay as the Chapin principal.[298] Though the minutes do not provide the salary for every principal and every year, it can be assumed that the new Irmo principal made more than Mr. Floyd as the Chapin principal was paid more than Mr. Floyd in every year that the principal salaries were documented. When Mr. Floyd was the second lowest-paid principal in 1962-63 and 1965-66, he was the leader of the largest school in the district. The only principal paid less than Mr. Floyd during either year was the principal of Dutch Fork School.[299] Richlex's enrollment was 380 students greater than Dutch Fork's in 1962-63 and 436 greater in 1965-66.

The board also approved supplements for additional administrators at the all-White Chapin and Irmo schools. A Dean of Girls was hired at Irmo in 1953 and paid $50 per month for nine months. The Chapin principal was authorized to hire a grammar school principal in 1953, and this employee received the same $450 supplement.[300] The meeting minutes do not show that Richlex received similar administrative positions despite having a larger student body than Chapin and Irmo.

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[298] Board Minutes, March 23, 1956.
[299] Board Minutes, July 2, 1965.
[300] Board Minutes, April 27, 1953.

Supplements

Beginning in 1954, White grammar school teachers in the district received a $35 per month supplement.[301] At one point, the board spent time debating what it should do about the "problem" of the salary supplement for Black teachers.[302] In 1957, the board decided to provide all White and Black teachers with the $35 per month supplement.[303] In July 1958, the superintendent provided a supplement of $50 to all White high school teachers.[304] The supplement difference upset White grammar school teachers, and they complained to the board. The minutes from the meetings do not reflect the board listening to similar concerns from any Black teachers, but the board continued to discuss the White teachers' concerns for several months.[305] Other supplements were offered at White schools. For example, senior class advisors at Chapin and Irmo received salary supplements, but there was no discussion of a similar supplement for Richlex.[306]

The superintendent and the board discussed providing men with a salary supplement greater than women on May 17, 1958.[307] Eventually, this led to the men receiving a supplement of $200 per year.[308] The Black women on the faculty at Richlex were thus the victims of two forms of discrimination. First, they lost out on the $35 per month supplement available to White teachers. Later, they were not provided with the $200 supplement for men. The $200 supplements for men remained in place until the end of the 1961-62 school year.[309]

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[301] Board Minutes, March 29, 1954.
[302] Board Minutes, February 25, 1957.
[303] Board Minutes, May 20, 1957.
[304] Board Minutes, July 14, 1958.
[305] Board Minutes, October 20, 1958, and December 15, 1958.
[306] Board Minutes, June 13, 1960.
[307] Board Minutes, May 17, 1958.
[308] Board Minutes, March 16, 1959.
[309] Board Minutes, May 16, 1960, and June 11, 1962.

Support Staff

These trends were also present in the district's pay to staff members. When custodial pay was discussed during an April 1953 board meeting, the salaries for custodians at Irmo and Chapin were set but the board did not mention similar pay or positions for the Black school.[310] The board agreed to a supplement for the cafeteria supervisor at Chapin at the same meeting. Again, Richlex was not mentioned. The custodial salaries at Richlex were discussed in 1960, and the meeting minutes reflect that the Richlex custodian was paid less than White custodians. Chapin and Irmo's custodians were paid $190, and a maid was paid $60. The Richlex custodian was paid $175 per month, the same salary that Irmo's custodian was paid in 1953.[311]

The Irmo High secretary asked for a raise in 1965, and the board subsequently increased the salaries of the Irmo Elementary, Irmo High, and Chapin secretaries by five dollars per week. The Richlex secretary was not mentioned in this discussion.[312] When the board approved the 1966-67 salaries for secretaries and bookkeepers, it was decided that the Irmo High secretary would be employed for twelve months of the year and paid $3,200. The secretaries at the other schools serving high school students were ten-month employees and paid $2,400.[313] The Richlex secretary was paid at the same monthly rate as the Chapin secretary, but the Irmo secretary was paid a higher monthly rate and received two additional months of pay. The district did not consider the enrollment of the

[310] Board Minutes, April 27, 1953.
[311] Board Minutes, April 27, 1953, and June 13, 1960.
[312] Board Minutes, August 16, 1965.
[313] Board Minutes, July 17, 1966.

schools in determining the months of employment or annual pay. Richlex served 540 students in 1966-67, 146 more than Irmo High and 171 more than Chapin.[314]

Facilities Inequalities

The board meeting minutes reflect a similar lack of investment in the Richlex facility. As the district made improvements to White schools, it did not make similar improvements to Richlex. The district also failed to plan for the growth of Richlex, only adding to the facility in extreme situations.

The intention of the Educational Finance Commission (EFC) was to delay desegregation by providing evidence that the state was equalizing Black and White school facilities across the state. However, the majority of the EFC funds were ultimately spent on White schools.[315] District 5's board frequently appealed to the EFC for assistance with White schools. In 1955, the district asked the EFC for money to construct five classrooms and a new cafeteria at Chapin, to improve the Dutch Fork cafeteria, to convert the heating system at Irmo from coal to oil, and to light an athletic field at Dutch Fork that would be available to Black and White teams.[316] The bid from the construction company for the new Chapin building indicates that the district planned to spend $70,451.00 on the new classrooms.[317] The district revised its EFC request for Chapin, asking the state for an additional $3,000.[318] The district also used EFC funds to provide new desks at Dutch Fork and remodel the entrance to Chapin's high school building.[319]

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[314] *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1967-68.
[315] Dobrasko, "Upholding 'Separate but Equal,'" 36.
[316] Board Minutes, February 15, 1955.
[317] Board Minutes, July 18, 1955.
[318] Ibid.
[319] Board Minutes, February 17, 1958, and May 1, 1958.

The board delayed decisions on installing canopies over the doors at Richlex, and it is unclear if the school ever added the canopies.[320]

The district requested funds for repairs and equipment at Irmo and Chapin when requesting EFC support for two new classrooms at Richlex in 1957.[321] The new Richlex classrooms were added only after it was noted that Richlex students were forced to attend class in the cafeteria due to lack of space.[322] Ultimately, the request for repairs and equipment at the White schools evolved into a more substantial request. By May of 1957, the superintendent had increased the request to add two new rooms at Chapin and dressing rooms at Irmo.[323] The classroom additions at Chapin became band and home economics rooms.[324]

These projects do not appear to be solely influenced by increasing enrollment. Richlex's eighty-eight student enrollment increase between 1952-53 and 1956-57 was nearly equal to the combined growth of 101 students at Irmo and Chapin. The amount of money spent on the projects is also not proportional to the enrollment. The Richlex renovations cost $11,900.[325] While the meeting minutes do not state the final cost of the projects at Irmo and Chapin, it was noted that projects for the White schools cost $22,000 less than estimated.[326] This indicates that the board originally planned to spend substantially more for the Irmo and Chapin improvements than the Richlex addition.

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[320] Board Minutes, July 18, 1960, and August 15, 1960.
[321] Board Minutes, April 22, 1957.
[322] Ibid.
[323] Board Minutes, May 20, 1957.
[324] Board Minutes, May 1, 1958.
[325] Board Minutes, July 1, 1957.
[326] Board Minutes, April 20, 1959

Further upgrades were required at Richlex as the population continued to increase.[327] As the district added to Richlex, it also improved the White schools. Board meeting minutes from the 1959-60 school year indicate that the board continued to spend more on improvement projects at White schools than at Richlex. When Irmo's cafeteria and dressing rooms needed improvements, one board member remarked that the district should go "first-class."[328] A walk-in refrigerator at Irmo cost the district an additional $2,260. Bids to add much-needed classrooms to Richlex ranged from $17,416 to $20,284, while the bids to improve Irmo's cafeteria were between $33,838 and $38,679.[329] This spending plan is the inverse of what would be expected based on enrollment as Richlex served 172 more students than Irmo during the 1959-60 school year.

The board also discussed brand new facilities for White students. In 1961, the board discussed plans to build an elementary school for White students with nine classrooms, a library, a multipurpose room, and a kitchen at a cost of $215,000.[330] The district decided it would wait to construct the new elementary school in Irmo until the elementary enrollment there reached 330.[331] Richlex's elementary enrollment was 341 in 1960-61 and 346 in 1961-62, but there were no discussions about adding another elementary school for Black students.[332] During the 1964-65 school year, the elementary enrollment at Irmo finally exceeded the limit of 330 students previously set by the board, and the board resumed discussions of the new elementary school with a revised anticipated cost of $300,000.[333]

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[327] Board Minutes, October 19, 1959.
[328] Board Minutes, February 8, 1960.
[329] Board Minutes, May 16, 1960.
[330] Board Minutes, April 25, 1961.
[331] Board Minutes, October 3, 1961
[332] *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1961-62, 1962-63.
[333] Board Minutes, February 6, 1965.

Plans to construct a new high school for White students at a cost of $550,000 were approved in 1961.[334] Echoing the language from the 1960 cafeteria discussions, the board expected the new high school to be a "show place" and added "that they would be satisfied with nothing less than first quality in workmanship and material."[335] The board reviewed facilities-related details including brick color, water, sewage, fencing, and flooring plans in 1963.[336] This is in contrast to the lack of attention the board paid to the construction of Richlex a decade earlier. When the plans for Richlex School were developed and ready to be sent to the EFC in 1953, the board approved them without examination.[337] The board's focus on White schools is even evident in their process for naming new schools. The board took just one meeting and noted one proposal when Rosenwald School was renamed Richlex School in 1953.[338] The board discussed at least three proposals for the school that became Irmo High School.[339]

The board meeting minutes regularly document other improvements to the White schools without mentioning Richlex. Landscaping experts were hired to work with Dutch Fork and Irmo.[340] In 1961, several updates were made to White schools. Dutch Fork received a new auditorium for $8,000 and a sound system for $760.[341] Fire alarms were purchased for a total of $405 following the fire marshal's visit to the White schools.[342] Improvements were made to Chapin agricultural building for $2,280, and new cabinets

[334] Board Minutes, May 8, 1961.
[335] Board Minutes, January 11, 1963.
[336] Board Minutes, March 18, 1963, and April 5, 1963.
[337] Board Minutes, March 9, 1953.
[338] Board Minutes, September 28, 1953.
[339] Board Minutes, May 6, 1963.
[340] Board Minutes, October 17, 1960.
[341] Board Minutes, February 20, 1961, and July 17, 1961.
[342] Board Minutes, May 8, 1961.

were also added to the school.[343] The board did not discuss improvements at Richlex during any 1961 meeting, and the board's pattern of attending to the needs of Richlex only during a crisis was demonstrated again in January 1962 after the water pipes at the school failed.[344] When the board filed an application with the EFC to update the water system at Richlex, it put Richlex's needed water system second on the list. The first item was an application for Chapin's school to purchase more land and add a folding partition for its cafeteria.[345] This is another indication that the board considered the wants of the White schools ahead of the needs of the Black school.

White schools were also prioritized in the district's use of funds from a 1965 bond referendum. In May 1965, a resolution calling for a bond election was issued after the Board of Trustees said it had examined the needs of the school district and identified two facilities priorities.

> …the sum of Five Hundred Fifteen Thousand Dollars ($515,000) is needed in order that the School District may
>
> > (a) defray the cost of a site and constructing and equipping thereon a new elementary school building in the Whitehall-Woodland Hills area; and
> > (b) construct and equip a school building to replace one of the existing buildings at Richlex school[346]

The bond referendum was held and passed on June 15, 1965. Three days later, the board determined that "it would be well to postpone replacing the concrete building at Richlex

[343] Board Minutes, August 14, 1961, and September 18, 1961.
[344] Board Minutes, January 15, 1962.
[345] Board Minutes, July 6, 1962.
[346] Board Minutes, May 10, 1965.

School with a new building."[347] One year later, the board finally collected bids on the project at Richlex and approved a contract to replace the building at a cost of $78,317 after discussing whether or not as much as $40,000 from the EFC would be available.[348] The district spent $462,758.21 on what would become Seven Oaks Elementary and $84,516 on Richlex. The board raised funds under the premise that it would benefit Richlex but allocated just 15.4% of the total spending on the subsequent projects to Richlex.

Inequalities were present in the maintenance of the facilities. After it was reported that the Irmo school had termites in 1955, three firms inspected the school even after the principal denied there was an issue.[349] A few months later, Richlex was found to have termites in the baseboards. The board refused to spend any money to address the issue, advising that the baseboards should remain in place unless the school started to look bad.[350]

The district's spending disparities were also on display in its management of athletic venues. During the discussion of adding lights to the Dutch Fork field in June 1955, it was noted that Irmo parents would oppose the Dutch Fork lights unless Irmo also received lights.[351] No discussion was had about what Richlex parents might want.[352] The district ultimately decided to add lights to both the Dutch Fork and Irmo fields in 1955.[353] Richlex students were not provided with lights on their field until 1962.[354] The district

[347] Board Minutes, June 18, 1965.
[348] Board Minutes, June 28, 1965.
[349] Board Minutes, November 21, 1955.
[350] Board Minutes, May 21, 1956.
[351] Board Minutes, June 14, 1955.
[352] Ibid.
[353] Board Minutes, August 22, 1955.
[354] Board Minutes, July 21, 1962.

added outdoor toilets at the Dutch Fork baseball field, updated the rear of the gym at Chapin, and provided bleachers at Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo, but improvements to the Richlex athletic facilities were not discussed.[355] When Richlex was set to receive $200 for athletic field improvements, a board member asked where that money would come from.[356] The same question was not asked of the money being spent on White schools.

The board was willing to finance upgrades to athletic facilities it did not own when the beneficiaries were White students and teams.[357] The district planned to pay the Town of Chapin $1,000 for improvements to fields and a lease, but this did not occur because the town opted to let the teams play there without a lease. The board agreed the district would be willing to give surplus revenue from athletics to the town.[358] The board's concession to Black student-athletes during this time period was that they were allowed to use the Dutch Fork fields.[359] However, the board eventually revisited the topic and decided to postpone action on whether or not Black students could use the Dutch Fork fields.[360]

Mr. Washington, Mr. Larry Haltiwanger, and Mr. Michael Reeves, graduates of Richlex, noticed the district's focus on White athletic facilities. Mr. Washington pointed out the issues with the field, "The football field had two grandstands. And usually just a few people would be in the football stand. And the field had no grass. Rocks and dirt." Mr. Haltiwanger, a 1967 graduate, saw issues with the fields, lighting, and equipment.

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[355] Board Minutes, March 23, 1956, February 17, 1958, April 17, 1961, December 8, 1962, and July 23, 1964.
[356] Board Minutes, April 23, 1956.
[357] Board Minutes, March 23, 1956.
[358] Board Minutes, May 21, 1956.
[359] Board Minutes, February 15, 1955.
[360] Board Minutes, October 22, 1956.

> Matter of fact, I don't believe we became aware of very much in terms of segregation, and I'll speak personally, until probably, I would say, maybe around the ninth, tenth grade you became interested in certain things like that. I'm an athlete, I played football, basketball and then I played baseball in the summer in the community. We began to notice the difference in the equipment, the difference in the field, the turf, the lighting. Like I said, the equipment, your uniforms and things like that. That's probably when it became apparent to me, that something was wrong here.

The seating for Richlex spectators was also inadequate compared to what was available at White schools according to Mr. Haltiwanger.

> When you have a facility where you have, I think it was probably, it may have been six pole lights on an entire football field with two lights on each pole. Again, when you go to Irmo and realize that, "Hey, this is quite different. Better lighting here." And you've got a couple of bleachers and not really a stand, any place for anybody to sit. Most people had to stand up, because they were only a couple of bleachers for them sit down. Things like that, you begin to realize that. But again, if the board knew that then, if they ever visited the facility, they saw where it was inadequate in terms of that.

Mr. Reeves, another 1967 graduate, attended games at Irmo during the freedom-of-choice era in order to see former Richlex students.

> The whole thing with that was that we noticed a difference in the facilities, of course, the stadium just looked so much like something that…it was opulent-looking to us with a scoreboard and everything and an announcer which we didn't

> have anything like that. And so we got a chance of looking at things from a different perspective and said, "Wow, those people must be very rich over there." That's the way it looked. And it got to be a concept with us that maybe that's the way it's going to be for every place that we go. If Whites are going to be about, it's going to be something like that. If we're going to be about, it's going to be something that's diminished like this.

This is an indication that Black students were aware that race was the primary factor in the facilities available to the students. Mr. Reeves pointed out that he would have preferred to have similar facilities at Richlex while also noting his pride in what the school developed without such resources.

> I wished that it was something that, I always had this jealous thing of saying, "I wish that could have been me." Enjoying some of the fruits of that instead of being where we were. I wished it at that point, but I was looking at it from a materialistic standpoint as opposed to what we had. We didn't realize how rich our culture was until later on. But at that time, if you were young, if you were below the age of twenty, you were thinking more materialistically than you were what things were from any other standpoint.

Programming Inequalities

The board and district administration prioritized curriculum, instruction, and programs for White students. This included decisions on when to pursue accreditation for schools, and the pattern of putting the needs of White students over those of Black students was seen in decisions related to classroom resources and arts programs. Like the

student-teacher ratio and facilities inequalities, these issues were noticed by Richlex students.

The Chapin and Irmo schools appeared on the *School Directory of South Carolina*'s list of state-accredited schools as early as the 1939-40 edition. Richlex first appeared on the list of state-accredited schools in the *School Directory of South Carolina*'s 1954-55 update. The District 5 superintendent and the "high school principals" proposed applying for accreditation with the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (Southern Association) in April 1955.[361] It was not explicitly stated that the "high school principals" referred only to the White schools, but this can be inferred from the meeting attendees. The three White principals attended the meeting when accreditation was discussed, but Mr. Floyd was not present. Chapin and Irmo participated in external reviews with the Southern Association in September 1957 and were admitted to the association by November 1957.[362] Membership in the Southern Association positively impacted the staffing and programs at member schools, as districts were forced to address specific issues in order to maintain membership. The superintendent noted this in his proposal to add a teacher at Chapin in August 1958, pointing out that without the additional teacher the school might not be in compliance with the "class load" requirements of the Southern Association.[363]

A few months after Chapin and Irmo received their accreditation, the board finally directed the superintendent to investigate how Richlex could earn membership in the Southern Association.[364] Richlex would not be given the opportunity to have a site

[361] Board Minutes, April 19, 1955.
[362] Board Minutes, September 23, 1957, and November 18, 1957.
[363] Board Minutes, August 17, 1958
[364] Board Minutes, February 17, 1958.

visit until November 7, 1960.[365] The association's feedback indicated that the district had not treated Mr. Floyd the same as his counterparts at Chapin or Irmo. They relieved Mr. Floyd of his teaching duties and hired an additional teacher at Richlex to ensure the school could join the Southern Association.[366] The school was admitted to the Southern Association by the end of 1961.[367] Similar to what transpired at Chapin, the board's preference for District 5 schools to be members of the Southern Association forced improvements that might not otherwise have been considered. The board and district administration's decision to delay Richlex's accreditation several years is itself an example of their bias towards the White schools, and the association's requirement that Richlex receive additional staffing following the accreditation visit is evidence that the board's unequal treatment of Black and White schools was obvious to other educators.

Former students and the board's meeting minutes also noted that the district administration's emphasis on the White schools impacted the resources available to students in the classroom. Federal funds were used to develop new programs at Irmo High. The programs were open to all high school boys who had completed physics and algebra, and the district provided transportation. Again, the meaning of "all high school boys" likely meant "all White high school boys" as it does not appear the program was open to Black students.[368] While the board discussed new science room purchases for Irmo and Chapin, similar purchases were not mentioned for Richlex.[369] The superintendent noted that the proposed equipment for the White schools was expensive,

[365] Board Minutes, October 17, 1960.
[366] Board Minutes, November 21, 1960.
[367] Board Minutes, December 15, 1961
[368] Board Minutes, December 14, 1959.
[369] Board Minutes, February 8, 1960.

and the board asked for more details on the cost before making a decision. He returned the following month with a request to add $8,000 to the budget for math and science equipment.[370] It is not stated if the follow-up request was for the White schools, but it can be assumed that this was the case given that the initial request was for Irmo and Chapin. Mr. Reeves described the resources in the science classrooms at Richlex.

> I was interested in science, even though in our science lab, we had one Bunsen burner and one beaker, a fairly large beaker and one test tube. One. That had been used so long that it was singed so much on the side that you could barely see through it…We had one microscope in the science lab now, and this was our science lab. We brought items to the science lab ourselves. We used to catch snakes and bring them to the science lab. And put them in the formaldehyde jars ourselves.

The condition of the Richlex textbooks was mentioned by Mr. Washington, "Most were used and clearly identified with the previous owner's name deeply visible on the book's edges, pages and cover. Pencil and pen underlining and page notes in most books were already done."[371] Dr. Shirley Portee Martin attended Richlex through sixth grade, and she also noted the condition of the textbooks.

> I'd always noticed that when they said we're getting new textbooks, well, we got new textbooks, there were already five, six or seven names already in that textbook, which clearly indicated that they'd been used a lot of times before they got to us. Those things were very dated.

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[370] Board Minutes, March 21, 1960.
[371] James Washington, "Dutch Fork Elementary Speech" (Dutch Fork Elementary Centennial, April 2019, transcript from James Washington).

The hand-me-down textbooks did not contain the most recent information, a situation brought to light by Mr. Reeves.

> The books that we had, I could tell you this. I knew of some of the people that were older Whites that lived in the community because of the books that we had as our current books. These people were like, these were books from the 1930s and stuff like that. Then you see the Amick's name in there, the Meetze people. Who was dating so-and-so-and-so. There was the Eleazers. There was an Eleazer, "Judy Eleazer is dating Brian Amick." I found out later on that these people had kids that were my age in school. Brian Amick and the Eleazer person got married and they had a child. So I'm looking at their book at this point, because the books that we have were the hand-me-down books. And they had all of these writings in them and stuff like that. It gave you pause for cause, but we thought that was the way it was supposed to be actually. World War II wasn't in any of our history books at the time. I never forget that. 1919. They were talking about in the history books, they were talking about how the stock market was starting to crash, which was 1929-30, things like that.

The board and district administration also prioritized White student-athletes over their Black peers. Early evidence of this discrimination against the Black athletic programs helps illustrate the board's previously described view that "the district" was just the "White students and schools in the district." In early 1953, the board authorized "one football team for the district," but this really meant "one White football team for the district" as the board noted the players were from the White Chapin and Irmo schools.[372]

[372] Board Minutes, January 26, 1953, and February 12, 1953.

A coach from Irmo High was the head coach of the "District football team," again showing the board's belief that "the district" meant "the district's White schools and students." The district administration developed criteria by which football players would be awarded a varsity sweater with the letters "I-C" for Irmo and Chapin, and the board approved the purchase of the sweaters for the players who met the criteria.[373]

In 1957, the "district" football team was split into Chapin and Irmo. The Chapin and Irmo football teams were each given $1,200 in January 1958.[374] The two football teams were allowed a budget of $750 for 1962.[375] This support continued in spite of "difficulties arising in connection with the Irmo-Chapin football game" that led to the two schools suspending play against each other in any sport between November 1960 and January 1962 unless it was to determine the Conference Championship.[376] The two schools only resumed play when the high school league determined that schools must play all members of the conference every year in order to be considered for the conference championship, and play began again on the condition that the games between Irmo and Chapin be held on neutral ground.[377] The district supported baseball teams at both Irmo and Chapin and a girls' basketball team at Irmo as early as 1953.[378]

Unlike Chapin and Irmo, no record of Richlex student-athletes or fans creating issues with other schools was discussed by the board. Also missing from the records was any district support for the Richlex athletic programs, but the yearbooks indicate that Richlex organized its own athletic teams. In 1956, the school offered basketball teams for

[373] Board Minutes, January 25, 1954, and April 23, 1956.
[374] Board Minutes, January 20, 1958.
[375] Board Minutes, August 18, 1962.
[376] Board Minutes, November 21, 1960, and January 15, 1962.
[377] Board Minutes, January 15, 1962.
[378] Board Minutes, January 26, 1953, and November 23, 1953.

boys and girls.[379] By 1960, the athletics program had expanded to also include football and cheerleading.[380] Both Mr. Haltiwanger and Mr. Reeves mentioned that baseball was played in the local Black community, but Richlex did not have a baseball team even though baseball was played at the White schools and coaches were paid to lead those programs. In the absence of the board support provided to the White teams, the school and community found their own ways to provide equipment such as uniforms. Mr. Washington indicated that, like the textbooks, the uniforms were second-hand, "Our first basketball uniforms were donated by Allen University, an HBCU. Richlex colors were maroon and blue but the uniforms were blue and gold."[381]

The board and district administration also provided preferential treatment to the arts programs in White schools. The superintendent was authorized to hire a music teacher and band director in 1953.[382] Minutes from later years note that the board approved a band instructor prior to the 1955-56 school year.[383] By January 1956, band instruments had been purchased from the Surplus Property Procurement Division.[384] The district purchased thirty band uniforms the following year, and the board engaged in discussions about having majorettes in the band.[385] White students also had other opportunities for formal music education. When the superintendent decided to discontinue the Irmo piano classes in order to shift to general music or a glee club, he

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[379] R. L. Floyd Foundation, Inc., *Richlex High School Anniversary Yearbook*.
[380] Ibid.
[381] James Washington, "Richlex Reunion Speech" (Richlex Reunion, December 10, 2016, transcript from James Washington).
[382] Board Minutes, April 27, 1953.
[383] Board Minutes, June 14, 1955.
[384] Board Minutes, January 3, 1956.
[385] Board Minutes, February 25, 1957, and March 25, 1957.

shared with the board that there were plans in place to ensure that Irmo students who wanted to receive piano lessons were able to participate in them.[386]

In cases such as the 1955 decision to hire a band instructor, the board does not explicitly state which schools would receive these services. Other evidence from the board meeting minutes supports the claim that when the board discussed making improvements it only meant them for White schools unless it was explicitly stated that Richlex was involved. For example, Mr. Floyd's January 1958 request for a part-time band teacher is an indication that Richlex did not receive a band teacher when one was provided to the White schools. Upon receiving the request, the board directed the superintendent to examine the costs and timeline though such considerations were not mentioned when hiring the band director for the White schools.[387] The board's reluctance to invest in the Richlex band did not stop Mr. Floyd. Mr. James Washington, a 1965 Richlex graduate and trumpet player on the band, pointed out that Richlex hired students from Allen University to teach band, "That was a cheap way of getting band directors, basically. I'm sure they were paid, but who paid them and how they got paid? But most of them were students."

The board approved uniforms for Richlex in 1960, but they did so with a note of caution, asking that the superintendent "notify the principal to see that the band uniforms were taken good care of."[388] It is not clear that Richlex ever ended up with the uniforms. At the July 17, 1961, meeting, it was discussed that Richlex was willing to accept second-hand band uniforms from the other schools, and the board assured the school that if they

[386] Board Minutes, February 17, 1958.
[387] Board Minutes, January 20, 1958.
[388] Board Minutes, November 21, 1960.

did this that they would get new uniforms within two years.[389] Mr. Washington confirmed that the band uniforms at Richlex were previously used by Irmo High.

> The band uniforms were used from a local high school, they got new ones…the identifying evidence was the school's name still attached to the upper sleeves. Again, Richlex colors were maroon and blue; the uniform colors were military blue with white trim.[390]

Mr. Larry Haltiwanger, Mrs. Pamela Price Parks, and Mr. James Washington pointed out another way that the board's policies favored White students in the arts and athletics. White students attended schools closer to their homes, but Black students were bused from all over the district to Richlex. Mrs. Parks attended Richlex through fifth grade and lived in the Providence area of Chapin, about thirty minutes from Richlex assuming that the roads were in good condition. The distance between her home and the school prevented her from being active in afterschool activities.

> I always wanted to play in the band because, Richlex, their band was like dynamite, but being from Chapin…we were bused so far, I never realized that I could ever be on the band because I would have to stay after school and my parents would have to try to come and get me.

She also noted that the district did not take any steps that would have allowed Black students who lived far from the school to participate in extracurricular activities. Even if students like Mrs. Parks lived thirty minutes from the school by car, the busing system took far longer to get to and from school. Mr. Washington provided specifics on how the buses worked.

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[389] Board Minutes, July 17, 1961.
[390] Washington, "Richlex Reunion Speech."

> Charles Rhett with his 72-passenger bus…Before the time change, in the winter when the daylight hours were shorter…he would leave in the early morning darkness at 25 MPH which was the maximum speed for school busses during that period…to drive to Chapin. Pass the White schools in Irmo, pass the White school at Ballentine, pickup Richlex students in the area around the White school in Chapin, pass the Ballentine School on the way back the get the Richlex at eight o'clock. It also would be dusk dark when he arrived home in the evening. A (1) hour and 15-minute ride.[391]

The inefficiency of passing a school close to students' homes in order to get to the centrally-located Richlex was also noticed by Mr. Haltiwanger.

> We had students that came from past Chapin, out where Chapin High School is now, actually going down where the new school is going to be…I went to school with kids that came from down that road, and even on up further to it, the Newberry lines. They would come, I would say, "Well, why are these students..." because I was born about five minutes from Spring Hill High School down Freshly Mill Road. They had to come from the Chapin area to pick us up where I lived, to come to Richlex. I began to think, I said, "Why are they passing Chapin High School? Well, why are you passing Chapin to come to Richlex?" Those kinds of things you began to think about it, and begin to think that something's not right with this. That's probably when I started to realize there's nothing equal about this.

[391] Washington, "Richlex Reunion Speech."

The decision to pursue accreditation for Chapin and Irmo before Richlex was an indication that the board and district administration believed that the White schools were superior to Richlex and possibly an acknowledgment they had created the conditions which would lead White schools to be more successful in pursuing accreditation. One of these conditions was the consistent failure to provide Black students with the same classroom resources as White students. In addition, the school district both under-funded the arts and athletics at Richlex and limited options for Black students to participate in such programs by locating the school in a central part of the district that was far from some students' homes. Both of these practices were in contrast to how the board and district administration treated White students and schools.

Conclusion

Even though White state leaders claimed that efforts were being made to equalize the segregated systems, the District 5 board and administration's decisions during the segregated area created inequalities in its Black and White schools. Black students experienced greater student-teacher ratios than White students, and Black teachers were not appropriately compensated based on the number of students they served. Black teachers were not hired at the same rate as White teachers, and Black workers were denied employment opportunities. Pay disparities were frequently noted in the principal and coaches' salaries, supplements for teachers, and support staff pay. The facilities-related needs at Richlex were frequently ignored by the board and administration unless there was an emergency, emphasizing the requests and needs of schools serving White students instead. The board and administration's prioritization of White students and schools resulted in delays to Richlex's accreditation as well as a failure to provide Black

students with equal academic, athletic, and artistic resources and opportunities. The impact of these decisions was felt by Black students.

CHAPTER 5

STUDENT EXPERIENCES AT RICHLEX

As Mr. Haltiwanger noted, there was "nothing equal" about the "separate but equal" era of School District 5. In spite of the consistent neglect by the school board, the Black community, educators, and students created a school that former students celebrated for its family environment, talented teachers, caring school climate, and a range of extracurricular activities.[392] Former students also observed that the school's teachers rooted their work in the traditions of Black education, while addressing the current needs of their students and ensuring students were supported as they navigated life beyond Richlex. Each of these dimensions is explored using the stories and remembrances of Richlex's former students as well as evidence from the school's yearbook, *The Cyclops*. The rich descriptions of the school by those who knew it best help to better understand what Richlex accomplished in the face of years unequal treatment.

Family and Community

The participants who attended Richlex noted a strong sense of community and family in the school and discussed several factors that contributed to that environment. The Richlex educators often had extensive relationships with the community. The teacher-student relationships were deepened by all students attending the school for their

[392] This analysis builds on the framing described by Walker on page 5 of *Their Highest Potential*.

entire education. The school also helped build a broader sense of community by hosting events and serving as a place that brought Black people from all over the district together.

Mr. Washington described the school as "a big family," and Dr. Martin shared a similar description recalling the school's "sense of family" and that "there was just that kind of closeness." The school and the buses were key places where students were able to make friendships, as Dr. Martin noted that the students were often far away from one another when they returned to their homes.

> It was almost like a social gathering on the buses, because we would ride home together and all. That was fun, because you didn't have the technology you have now, so when you got home, you were not in a community.

Mrs. Ferguson also felt that the students at Richlex were "one big group" and that the school was the kind of place where "everybody looked out for each other."

The teachers were present in the community and knew the students' parents, and Mr. Reeves pointed out the importance of the churches and how these relationships outside of school impacted what happened inside the classrooms.

> So the way the classes were at Richlex and the way the teachers were, it was a family affair more than it was a structural affair. These were family, and you saw these guys... I saw Mr. Kenly at Pine Grove AME church. He was the bass guy. He sung bass on that choir, and so, you saw him at his church, you saw him at our church when they came to visit or something like that. You saw Ms. Riley the same way when she was at St. Peter right nearby Dutch Fork. You saw her, saw Ms. Corley at Pleasant Spring. You saw Ms. Bowman at Pine Grove. You know, things like that. I could go to all the teachers and tell you where they went to

> church, and they knew things about you that... if you messed up at school during the day, sometimes they would hold classes and put you in their car and go home with you. And so what that meant was that, they'd pull up and said, "Well, I know your father's working on a job over on such and such and Creek Road, Nancy Creek Road, so I'm going to take you over there because you're just a little bit to manage for your britches."

Mr. Haltiwanger shared that the teachers "were like our parents away from home. They knew our parents personally, most of them did, because they lived in the area." This language describing the teachers as the students' parents while they were at school was also used by Mr. Washington who added, "These administrators were extensions of our parents. They knew our families and our families knew them."[393] Mrs. Norma Jean Corley Mackey attended Richlex through ninth grade before graduating from the desegregated Irmo High in 1971, and she also described the family environment at Richlex.

> To me, it was more of like a big huge family. Because everyone knew everyone. And even though it was a huge, a large family, it was almost as if you knew each, every... not just knew them by name, but you *knew* knew them. You knew their families. They knew your families. Most of the teachers knew the kids and knew the kids' families, knew where they lived. And didn't seem to have a problem if they needed to, to go ride to the kid's house if there was a problem or something going on within the school. They just had that kind of relationship with the parents.

[393] Washington, "Dutch Fork Elementary Speech."

The community took care of the teachers, and Dr. Martin described her family's support of the teachers at Richlex.

> My granddaddy was also a farmer. At certain times of the year, whatever he'd farm, he'd send bags of that to my teachers. I knew that when I got on the bus, I'd have five brown paper bags of collard greens that I've got to deliver to Ms. Outten, Ms. Ritter, and Ms. Corley.

The presence of the educators in the community and their knowledge of the students' families created an atmosphere in which Richlex faculty and staff looked after the students everywhere they went at all hours of the day. This is illustrated in a story told by Mr. Reeves about a time when he ran into Mr. Bowers, the Richlex custodian, after a baseball game.

> Richlex wasn't a school. It was a community, and that's the way I looked at it. And Richlex wasn't just a community, it was a family of communities with all of these areas. And I'll put it this way too, Mr. Holden, if somebody from Chapin, an adult, saw me misbehaving downtown Columbia or something, that person would stop their car, get out of the car, "Young man, come over here. Now, I'm going to make sure that Reverend Reeves or Ms. Reeves know that you are out here misbehaving and smelling your own piss." That's what they used to say.
>
> I want to make sure that that happened. And before you got back home, that was done. And that's somebody from Chapin, now.
>
> And the reason I'm saying it, because it happened to me once. We had gotten some beer and we were down near where Dutch Square is now. Now, it used to be cut through right there, used to be a Black community back in there, way back in

> the day, before Dutch Square was even there. And so we were back there after our baseball game that happened not too far away. Well, there were a couple of people from Chapin there because it was that that community was playing Chapin in baseball. We had Black baseball at the time. Well, Mr. Bowers the guy that I mentioned that was a janitor at the school came up to me and said, "Now, y'all give me all that beer you got, put it in my car, and I'm going to take it to Roll's house and tell him this is what y'all buying with your money like this. This not something you supposed to be doing. And especially if you go to school at Richlex, I'm not going to let it happen."
>
> It was the talk of the town! Everywhere around, "Well, you know Michael and so and so bought some beer and Mr. Bowers found it and took it home."

The relationships established in the school and the community built on one another, creating a stronger community within the school and in the area around the school and ensuring the success of the students.

The length of the teachers' relationships with students and families also enhanced the ties between the school and those it served. All Black students in the district attended the school, and this meant that the Richlex teachers had the opportunity to teach students and their siblings. This allowed the teachers to engage with the same families for several years, and Dr. Martin shared how this helped her at Richlex.

> My brother is twelve years older than me, so when I was in first grade, he was a freshman in college. He had been the valedictorian at Richlex and all. It was very easy for me in a lot of ways, because they'd say, "Oh, that's James's sister." There was just a lot of respect and support.

Mr. Haltiwanger also observed this and discussed how the connections grew between the teachers over time, "You're talking about everybody from first grade to twelfth grade went to the same school. So it was a small, intimate group of people, and so were the teachers. I mean, you could tell the bond that they had." Mrs. Mackey stated that she was one of six children and that she also felt "very meaningful relationships" developed over time because "you had all your siblings there regardless of what grade they were in." Mrs. Mackey also described the relationships that Mrs. Martha Corley, her aunt and a first grade teacher at Richlex, had with students.

> She was able to be there in the one building with these students from first grade, many of them on through high school. There was that relationship, not just with that one student, but with probably that student and all of their siblings. There was that connection there. You knew certain things not to do, certain behaviors not to display because you knew that relationship, you knew that these teachers knew that.

The teachers' relationships with students and their parents sometimes pre-dated Richlex and were formed over several decades and multiple generations. Mrs. Margaret Boulware taught at Line School in Richland County before joining Richlex, and Mrs. Sarah Russell Young worked at Harbison with her husband, President Calvin M. Young, before moving to Richlex.[394] Another long-time teacher in the area was Mrs. Emma Bowman, and Mr. Reeves described his family's relationship with Mrs. Bowman.

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[394] Jones and Young Family Papers, "Biographical Sketch" [no date], South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina; Johnson C. Smith University (formerly Biddle), *Fifty-Sixth Annual Catalog 1923-24*, 59; Johnson C. Smith University (formerly Biddle), *Fifty-Seventh Annual Catalog 1924-25*, 56. This information was also shared by Mr. Reeves during his interview.

> She was my mom's teacher and my dad's teacher. So, when I was in first grade, my mom wanted Ms. Emma to be my teacher too. But the class was so crowded that Ms. Martha Corley said, "Well, I'll teach him," and she said, "Okay." So, that's why I wasn't a legacy under Emma at the time. But my mom always remained a loyalist to Emma all the way throughout her life.

This was true of other teachers such as Mrs. Martha Suber, with Mr. Reeves sharing that "Everybody's parents had Ms. Suber at one point. Everybody's parents that I knew of that went to school with me, she taught them."

In some cases, the teachers were directly related to the students. Dr. Martin mentioned that her aunts taught at the school. Mrs. Martha Corley was Mrs. Mackey's aunt and neighbor, and she was also the first cousin of Mrs. Ferguson's mother. One of the reasons Mrs. Mackey said she followed the Richlex teachers' expectations was because she "knew that they knew my aunt, and my aunt was my daddy's sister." These family relationships ensured quick communication between the school and the home, something that was highlighted by Mrs. Ferguson.

> By the time you got home, your mom was going to get a phone call along what you did at school that day. So if you were talking or doing something you shouldn't have, definitely she would call your parents.

Mr. Larry Haltiwanger's brother, Mr. Cecil Haltiwanger, was a 1960 Richlex graduate who later became a science teacher at Richlex.

> Kids would ask me, they'd say, "Well, Larry, your brother's teaching this class, you should be able to help us out a little bit more because, first of all, you live with him." He still lived at home. I said, "No, my brother's, and you guys know,

> he's tougher on me than he is on you guys." He didn't give me any leeway. Not at all. I respect him, even though he's gone, I respect him to this day for that in terms of it. People say, kids back then, "Well maybe you can get the test, and you can get the answers." No. No, he didn't do that kind of stuff.

In each of these instances, the former students noted ways in which the family relationships influenced their performance at school.

The concepts of "family" and taking care of one another at Richlex was inclusive of those who did not have children in the schools. Members of the Lorick family were supportive of the school and the students, and Mr. Reeves discussed their involvement.

> They were just active in the community a lot. And they spent a lot of time around the school too, boosting. Even before the cafeteria was there functioning at Richlex, and brought food to the school back in the trunks of the cars, pulled around the backside of the school there, brought out things in the trunks of the cars so that people could eat. And these were people that didn't have a kid anywhere near Richlex. And sometimes there were relatives of those people who took pride in it from that standpoint. I was just saying that to say that the older perspective has a richness about the pride side of Richlex and the community around Richlex.

Part of the reason for the involvement of families such as the Loricks and the pride these families felt in the school may have been that Richlex hosted events for the entire Black community. One such event was the May Festival. Mr. Washington discussed the activities that were part of the May Festival.

This maypole was let's say twelve feet high and had a series of multi-colored strings tied to the top. These strings were usually material that was red, white, and blue or some other colors, green, yellow, and red. And they had a series of people that would pull the strings out and, let's just say twenty, and they would hold these strings and go over and march in opposite directions, over and under each other, in order for those strings to be plat on the top of the maypole, until you get about halfway down. And it just made, the people were in similar uniforms, going in one direction and another uniform in the other one, dress I should say, not uniforms. And it made for a group, a series of students that would be involved in making something that's pretty. And that was called the platting of the maypole. And this same thing, we had this spring carnival, if you want to call it a carnival. We had all the classes, Richlex high school was from first through twelfth grade, African American school. And each class was responsible for having some kind of event that would be just about all inclusive for the entire class. No one was left out. We had some features, I was telling Mr. Holden, I was little boy blue. My mom made me a little short pants set that was all blue. And I had a little plastic trumpet-looking horn in my hand. And they pulled a big pile of straw on a tarp, out in the middle. And they sang songs.

And when they said, "Little boy blue, come blow your horn. The sheep's in the middle and the cow in the corn." I crawled out from under the hay and blew my horn. And I got a strong round of applause. But the maypole, we had a rhythm band set, with drums and triangles and shakers. They'd have a record, at that time it was record players. They'd have a record player and the player would play the

bass line and the entire class and sometimes two classes, would have all the cymbals and the triangles and the sticks. And we would have the rhythm section. By the time we got to the May Festival, the record would almost not be heard. The sound of the rhythm section would steal the entire gymnasium.

That's just a couple items that we had. We had a May Queen, we had a May King. It wasn't no money type thing. It was voted from the elementary school to the high school to the middle school and the high school, all was in the same school. But everybody in the schoo''s voted on who should be the queen. And it had nothing to do with your economic success, it had to do with how well you were doing in school. Were you involved? How was your attendance? That's kind of what the May Festival was all about.

The May Festival drew a large crowd to the school according to Mr. Washington.

It was in the gymnasium and the stands would be, we had grandstands on each side of the gymnasium. And the performance was in the middle of the gymnasium, not necessarily on the stage. A few was on the stage, the choirs and that sort of thing. But most of it was in the middle of the gym on the floor. And I would say that gym, I'm going to say the gym holds probably 1,000 people. We'd have 700, somewhere between 700 to 1,000 people. The stands would be full. The problem we had is that we had to use some of the stands for all the 550 people to sit in. And a lot of them would stay outside when the weather was nice until their time comes to perform. And then they'd go back to their classrooms. So, it was a great affair. It was *the* affair. We had some sports affairs, but the sports affairs were usually at night.

Mr. Reeves also discussed the maypole and associated festivities at Richlex.

> We used to plant the maypole at the schools. We get together and the school, the communities would get together at Richlex on the ball field on May 1st, or if it was over the holiday, over the weekend, we would get together on Friday or whenever May 1st was. And we would plant the maypole, all the communities got together to plant that maypole and have May Day festivities, and it was a way for all the communities to get together. We'd have food they would bring, it was a lot like a community-style based picnic. It was great, great kind of stuff. I remember that from early on, I knew that Richlex became the social hub for everything that went on and all the communities. Whether it was Chapin, whether it was Pleasant Spring, whether it was Hopewell and whether it was Oak Grove, whether it was Pine Grove or whether it was middle Irmo, itself. It had all of those elements in it. And so the school was a community center for all of the social activities when there was a play or anything like that. All the communities, we didn't know it at the time, but when I look back on it, all the communities were represented in the play. We had Ellen Bowers from Chapin, Brenda Eichelberger from Pleasant Spring, you had Rosetta Brannon from right there in Irmo, right off Irmo Drive, down that way. You had James Washington, Pine Grove, you had Mike Reeves from right there on Oak Grove. And then Hopewell, you had Bertha Eargle or somebody like that, in the play. We didn't know it at the time, but then when you look back and say, oh wow, we had all of these people from all the…. So when it came time for that play or the operetta, the whole community was there as one group in the gymnasium or on the ball field, with all that kind of stuff. So whether

> they did it by accident or whether it was just by plan, it gave a sense of community that it was one big community and not segregated communities or segmented communities so much.

As noted by Mr. Reeves, the Richlex activities featured students from all over its attendance area, reinforcing the bonds between the school's geographically-distant Black communities.

In some cases, however, this sense of community was not felt by all students. Mrs. Parks, the only participant who attended Richlex and Chapin provided a perspective that was not discussed in other interviews. Mrs. Parks said she felt Richlex "didn't really care because they considered us the country Blacks and they probably had in their mind, 'they ain't going to be worth nothing, anyway.'" She also stated:

> I don't think there was enough caring about the Blacks who lived more so, as they say, in the country area. But my mom cared enough to make sure when the buses couldn't pick us up when they got stuck in the mud or in something, she would take her van and gather up as many kids as she could. She had a work van and she would pick us up and take us to school. And the teachers cared about it. So my experience with Richlex in elementary to me was very, very positive. The bad experience was we were bused so far to get there, there was probably some days we didn't even get to school.

Mrs. Parks's experience demonstrates the complexity of Black educational experiences in District 5. While noting that she had a positive experience at Richlex, that the school had "high spirits" when she attended it, and that the teachers cared about what her mother did to get the students to school, she pointed out that the distance from the school created a

hardship and divide. It is possible that it was the conditions created by the board and district administration, not the actions and practices of the Richlex educators, that led to Mrs. Parks's mixed feelings about the school. Additionally, her mother's use of her work van to drive students to Richlex is evidence of the Black community's commitment to ensuring the education of their children in spite of the conditions that White leaders created for them.

Exemplary Teachers and Staff at Richlex

Former Richlex students shared fond memories of their teachers, coaches, and administrators. They noted that the teachers were gifted, multi-talented, and caring, frequently sharing their admiration for their teachers. The teachers were also described as being strong disciplinarians who commanded the respect of their students. Students remembered that the teachers taught in ways that were relevant to the students, emphasized Black history, and helped the students to understand the on-going fight for equality.

Mr. Washington felt the teachers were experts in their content areas, "I think the knowledge base of the teachers was sound. It was sound. Math teachers, history teachers' backgrounds, very, very knowledgeable." This content-area expertise was undergirded with a focus on preparing the students for success after completing their education, with Mrs. Parks stating, "the teachers cared about helping the students achieve and getting a positive experience to carrying themselves forward to the future." Every student shared memories of specific teachers, and Richlex teachers of all grade levels and content areas were referenced in these stories, a reflection of the school's consistent excellence.

Mrs. Parks noted her love for teachers like Mrs. Jeanetta Outten and Mrs. Miriam Taylor, describing Mrs. Taylor as "a sophisticated teacher," adding that "I loved the way she carried herself." Mrs. Outten was also mentioned by Mrs. Ferguson for her humor and teaching ability.

> Ms. Outten, who lived in the city more so than we did, was my second grade teacher. She was kind of plump, so she would always make fun of her own self about being overweight, "I don't know if I can fit in this chair," and all kinds of stuff, but she was an excellent teacher. Excellent at teaching you to read. She put a lot of emphasis on reading, and that's what I remember about Ms. Outten a lot.

Teachers also understood their students and built around their strengths. Mr. Reeves shared that Mrs. Sarah Young "was probably my favorite elementary teacher simply because she allowed me to do a lot of things in the class as far as what my gifts and talents were." Mrs. Ferguson shared that Mrs. Corley "taught us everything we needed to know," and she described Mrs. Carmen June as "wonderful" and elaborated on Mrs. June's role in introducing her to new ideas and skills.

> She was brought on as a music teacher/dance teacher. So that was the first time I was exposed to dancing and she exposed us to dancing…we did the little umbrella thing. So we had a good time. She exposed us to things we hadn't been exposed to living in the rural Irmo area.

Mrs. Juanita Floyd, the principal's wife, was described by Mr. Haltiwanger as "a very good teacher." The school's coach and social studies teacher, Mr. Thomas Kenly, was mentioned by Mr. Haltiwanger and Mr. Reeves. Mr. Haltiwanger listed Mr. Kenly as one of his favorite teachers, and Mr. Reeves described the number of roles performed by Mr.

Kenly at Richlex as well as one of the stories that led to Mr. Kenly having such an impact on his life.

> My favorite teacher overall of everybody at Richlex was a gentleman by the name of Mr. Thomas Kenly. Thomas Kenly was my guy for everything. Even if I never had a class under him, I still probably would have admired him for who he was. He was a veteran, number one, from World War II. He had lost a couple of fingers in the war. He was a football coach at Richlex. He was also the basketball coach at Richlex. He was also a PE teacher at Richlex. He was also a history teacher at Richlex. He was also a geography teacher at Richlex. He was also a guidance guy, to augment Ms. Riley. And he also was sort of the guy that would get up at the end of assembly or chapel to make remarks, and he always had an interesting story to wrap your attention in anytime that he talked. And so, he was a perfect gentleman.
>
> And I saw him one day. I never forget this story. I was just getting off the school bus right there in front of the flagpole. And as it was, in the beginning, in the morning when you got off school bus, if it was early enough, school hadn't convened yet, so everybody was out almost like it was recess or something. And so around the flag pole, and the flag had just gone up, and as it went up, caught some wind and it dislodged. It came loose from the chain and it was floating over and going away from us and going away from where Mr. Kenly was too. And he dropped everything, his books went one way and he went the other way, going toward that flag, and he caught it before it hit the ground. He caught it before he

> hit the ground, and was wrapping it up and he was all wrapped up in the flag, just trying to keep it from touching the ground, and it never touched the ground. I'll never forget it, and kids not knowing what's going on was looking at this, "Look how crazy Mr. Kenly is" at first but later on it meant a whole lot more to me, what he did. Never forget it. And I'm pretty sure that you could probably tell that story to some other people, they'd probably remember it too, but that was more poignant to me than him giving me a civic lesson at the time. That instantly caught my... I would say I was probably in about eighth, ninth grade, something like that. All I knew was I wanted to be in his class wherever it was, and I wanted to be a basketball player or football player under him, and when he taught PE he had us doing, "Left face, right face, forward, huh!' That kind of thing, just military style. And I kind of liked that. I just liked it. He had everybody doing it, including the girls at the time. And so, he would be, odds all, my favorite teacher.

The stories of Mr. Kenly indicate that he did more than teach skills and concepts to students. He had the ability to capture students' attention during assemblies and he set the example for his students. The respect for Mr. Kenly led at least one student to be involved in the school's athletic programs.

Mr. Kenly was not the only teacher who held multiple roles at Richlex. The Richlex teachers were often gifted in many areas, and Mr. Washington recalled that they shared their passions and strengths with their students.

> All the teachers had dual roles. Teacher-coach, teacher-musician, teacher-choral leader, teacher-nurse. There was no such thing as security personnel or medical personnel in the school. So I think one of the things invigorated the teachers was

> that you had to be extraordinary to get your foot in the door. So they impressed that very, very much from a African-American standpoint.

Mr. Washington elaborated on the teachers' various responsibilities.

> Every teacher had a separate role, had a role in addition to their academic role. And they expected you, not only to be good in academics, but also to be able to provide ... have skills and sewing. All the girls went through this class that they could sew. The techniques that they use in class to learn was transferred to us to do other things at home. If you had 231 students in a high school and you had a band and a choir and a basketball team and a football team, somebody had to do double duty.

The teachers' relationships with their students and wide-range of skills had a positive impact on their students. Mr. Reeves shared an example of this in his description of the support provided by Mrs. Young, his sixth grade teacher.

> You know how it is with new music, and you get this music and all, and so by the time you got to band, you really needed to have studied or played it a little bit, or could clap it out, beat it out, and do things like that with it and then play it, what you see, not what you hear. And so she would take me to the piano, Mrs. Young would take me to the piano and play...
>
> Excuse me, play my music and play it by pointing. She would have that one finger, she'd be point (humming/singing a song) playing at the same time, and she would only do two or three measures. And she said, "Okay, do you see that?" And I would go back and play something on my trumpet. She says, "No, you trying to play what you heard. Let's play what you see."

> "You see that quarter note there? You see that changed chords right here, or you changed keys, or you changed a flat to a sharp here? Let's think about that. That's coming up in this measure. So look at it, look at it, look at it." And so you got to a point where you're thinking a measure ahead of what you were playing. That's what she was trying to get me to do. And so I got to a point I could do that, and at the same time, I get to a point where I played along with her at some point, and by the time I got to band, I'm the super, super expert now, and everybody's trying to figure out, "How did he get to learn that? How did he get to do that?" Well, it was because Mrs. Young.

Mrs. Margaret Boulware was another teacher who taught multiple subjects. The Richlex yearbooks note that at various points she taught third grade, music, and reading, and Mr. Reeves discussed her multiple teaching assignments.

> Not only were we taught by her, and then she had chorus and everything too, in addition to that. So fifth period after big recess, during part of growing up, we had chorus. If you were eleventh or twelfth graders, you went to chorus during that time.

The descriptions of Mr. Jasper V. Hailey, the school's agriculture teacher, demonstrate both the excellence of the teachers and their commitments to their communities. Mr. Washington described Mr. Hailey's work with students during and after the school day.

> He was an agriculture major from South Carolina State college. So he had the background of horticulture and all the plants and animals. He also I think was an inspector for the county, having to do with farms and machinery. There were two organizations of agriculture. This whole area was an agrarian area. The two

organizations was the FFA, which were the Future Farmers of America that still exists today. But the Black organization was the New Farmers of America. And South Carolina State housed the convention for the New Farmers of America. And we had almost the same, if you planted crops and you could turn in the little report, you got awards to be a New Farmer, a Progressive Farmer, a Master Farmer, this sort of thing, in high school. But you had to have chickens, you had to have a farm, a garden. That garden had to produce X amount. And Mr. Hailey would actually ride around and see these gardens and give you pointers of what you should do to get more produce and this sort of thing. He also was the shop teacher at Richlex. And we had a joiner, a table saw, we had hand tools. And I think in one of my speeches, I talked about how you need to be able to fix things, you need to be able to repair things. And how he would go out and show us how to check a battery in a car, to change a battery in a car. To look where the oil was. How you make sure that your spark plugs, where they are. All that was a part of teaching you that as a man, that he had the men, as a man, you needed to know something about your environment and how to maintain it.

Mr. Hailey visited the students' homes and created class projects to benefit the students.

He went up to [a student's] house, and he find out that at night, there wasn't no air conditioning, they had to open the windows. And they had curtains and things to kind of keep the mosquitoes out, because they're trying to sleep. Well, he bought wood and screens, I think it was five or seven screens, that he put in certain windows to keep the mosquitoes out. That was the kind of guy he was.

> And we made them in the shop. [The student] made them in the shop. Cut them, put the screens on them. Now they weren't aluminum screens, this was a screen that had wire and you'd staple the wire to the frame. It was a screen. And they put them up. I can't tell you, I don't remember, I'm sure it had some kind of positive effect. But whether it was just, man, that's all we needed, I can't tell you that. All I know is we made them in the shop.

The excellence at Richlex was not limited to the faculty. The food in the cafeteria led Dr. Martin to comment, "The ladies in the cafeteria were such good cooks. I'd always go home and say, 'Why can't y'all cook like those ladies in the cafeteria.'" Mr. Washington also shared his memories of the wonderful food in the cafeteria.

> We had three cooks in our kitchen. I remember two distinctly. Mrs. Rhett and Mrs. Brannon. Every lunch was not a lunch, it was a meal. That's one thing that I think the district did, was to provide fresh vegetables and that sort of thing for Richlex. I mean, cornbread. Almost every lunch was a full meal. And they were great. They were great meals.
>
> There were two African American women that did all the cooking. And they had all of the pots, now also they would use some of the students in their activity period to do some of the things, like peel potatoes. And that was almost a joy, to go up and get out of class so you can peel potatoes for half an hour or an hour. Man, that was great. They wouldn't keep you up there all day. They'd have four or five people come up. I did that for a time or two. It was great.

The school facility, often neglected by the board, was well-cared for by its custodian, Mr. Bowers. Mr. Reeves shared his impression of the work done by Mr. Bowers, the man who caught him drinking beer in the community.

> Yeah, well, it was just... the smell of the green paint on the yellow and green configuration on the walls. It was a dark green paint that was razor sharp all the way throughout the whole complex, about maybe five feet off the floor, and the rest of it was a yellow sort of paint. And I'll just never forget it. Every day, I would come in, I would pay attention to how shiny the green paint looked.
> It was something that caught my attention, and how slick the floors were with the tile there. That was the first time I ever seen tile floors, at that particular time. And it was something that amazed me. And a gentleman by the name of Mr. Bowers was the janitor, and he took absolute care of everything there.

Caring and Nurturing Climate

The former students frequently described the teachers and climate at Richlex as caring. This feeling impacted the students in ways beyond their academic growth, with Mr. Washington sharing, "We had teachers that nurtured us as opposed to academics as well as they cared for you as a whole person." The overall feeling, according to Mrs. Ferguson, was one in which everyone "cared about each other." Dr. Martin remembered a similar atmosphere in the school, "What I remember, my memories of the teachers were that they were extremely nurturing. A lot of that could have been because they knew my family and my aunts taught there and all of that. But it was a very nurturing, caring environment."

The caring environment seems to have led to a general respect towards the faculty and staff, and this was observed by Mrs. Mackey who said "It seemed like with pretty much most of the kids, you didn't have that... any gross disrespect, you didn't see that with any of the teachers, the students." Mrs. Parks similarly remarked that, "There was discipline." In some cases, the discipline was due to how the teachers carried themselves. Mrs. Parks remarked on her observations of Mrs. Suber and Mrs. Taylor:

> Miss Suber was a strict disciplinarian. I mean, you didn't talk. You didn't speak. You didn't say nothing in Miss Suber's class. But Miss Taylor was more sophisticated. She was a sophisticated teacher and I loved the way she carried herself. I loved the way she looked and I loved the way she had a soft-spoken voice, but then when it came to doing discipline, she did it in a caring manner.

Mr. Washington attributed the discipline in the school to the comparable teachings and environment in their churches stating, "The church was a big thing. Decorum, how you acted, came from church settings. Your disciplinary issues was at home and church. The church played a valid part in what we did and how we did it and how we acted." The positive school climate may have been related to a previously discussed factor, the teachers' connections to the parents and community. The description of Mrs. Martha Suber by Mr. Reeves seems to offer a balance of the caring environment described by students and their overall discipline at the school. He described that Mrs. Suber was "a gruffy but soft-hearted person. She was very gruffy if you didn't get to know her. And then later on, when you knew her, you knew she was a soft, bleeding heart."

A final factor in the discipline at the school stands in contrast to the idea of a caring environment, the threat of corporal punishment. Mr. Haltiwanger alluded to this in

his comments, "Of course, some of the teachers were very strict. I mean, you just didn't say and do anything you wanted to do. And then, because of the laws…teachers could use the power, I'll say the power of the sword." Mrs. Parks and Mrs. Ferguson also mentioned paddling at Richlex. The practice was also alluded to by Mr. Washington, "I must mention that the old building had a boiler room where corrective action was delivered often, which now is called 'child abuse.' Time out had not been invented yet."[395]

Extracurricular Activities

The Richlex faculty organized several activities and programs to support their students and encourage them to develop life-long passions. These programs included those in the arts, athletics, academics, life after high school, and other areas of interest. Over time, the school expanded its programs for students.[396]

The 1956 yearbook indicates that the school created arts clubs such as the Dramatics Club, the Glee Club, and the Rhythm Band in its early years. The rhythm band was a musical group for younger students. Mr. Washington remembered that the group "had sticks that you hit together, had tom toms, had triangles, had paddles, little rattle paddles, just rhythm." The Choral Club appears to have replaced the Glee Club at some point prior to the publication of the 1960 yearbook. A quartet was also featured in the yearbook beginning in 1960.[397] By the 1966-67 school year, the school offered a Senior Chorus as well as a chorus for younger students. The school added a full band in 1960,

[395] Washington, "Richlex Reunion Speech."
[396] The findings in this section come from the R. L. Floyd Foundation, Inc. *Richlex High School Anniversary Yearbook* unless otherwise noted.
[397] The yearbook indicates that the quartet was affiliated with the New Farmers of America. Subsequent yearbooks make the musical focus of the quartet more explicit.

and the band is pictured in its uniforms in 1962. The 1967 yearbook shows that the school eventually offered an Art Club.[398]

The boys' and girls' basketball teams were in place by 1956. Over time, the athletic programs expanded to football and cheerleading. The basketball, football, and cheerleading teams are referenced in the 1960, 1962, 1964, and 1967 yearbooks.

Extracurriculars with an academic emphasis also appeared in the 1956 yearbook and included the Health Club, Language Club, Library Club, and Science Club. Honor Society was added by the 1959-60 school year. However, after initially appearing in the 1956 yearbook, a group focused on languages would not appear in the yearbook again until the French Club was documented in the 1967 edition.

Students also participated in clubs that emphasized life after Richlex. These included the Commercial Club, New Homemakers of America, and New Farmers of America. Each of these programs was pictured in every edition of the Richlex yearbook. Notes in the yearbook associated with the Commercial Club indicate that this club was focused on preparing students for potential careers. These included quotes such as "Practice, then production," "Don't learn the tricks of the trade--learn the trade," and "Research, experience, and close consideration of what is best for today's business world lie behind the information received." By 1960, the school also offered the Future Teachers of America program.

Other clubs focused on specific areas of interest. The 1956 yearbook indicates that the school had a yearbook staff, Student Council, 4-H, safety patrol, and a Miss

[398] Chapin and Irmo added visual arts courses in the 1964-65 school according to the Board Minutes from April 7, 1964. A visual arts teacher is never mentioned in the Richlex yearbooks. The Art Club may be another example of the Richlex faculty creating opportunities to encourage students' passions and interests when the school was denied the same resources as the White Schools.

Richlex pageant. Each of these programs is included in all subsequent yearbooks except safety patrol although "patrols" are mentioned in the 1962 and 1964 yearbooks. The yearbook also notes that the school crowned a "Queen of the May" and celebrated elementary and primary representatives during the 1955-56 celebration. The 1960 yearbook indicates that the Miss Richlex pageant eventually expanded to include primary and elementary winners, and the school continued to crown a "May Queen." Other competitions included a Miss Annual, first mentioned in the 1962 yearbook. A Girls Club was present at the school by the 1959-60 school year but was replaced with the all-girls Y-Teen club prior to the 1961-62 school year.

Focus on the Past, the Present, and the Future

The school and teachers emphasized Black history, shared their vision for Black education, and taught their students about the struggle for Blacks to receive treatment equal to Whites. It did so in a way that was "sympathetic to Blacks' learning," according to Mrs. Parks, indicating that the teachers' philosophies and methods were rooted in a common vision for Black education. In his 2016 address at the Richlex reunion, Mr. Washington elaborated on the lessons his teachers imparted.

> Then there were the teachers whose life stories and instruction I remembered most. They taught with passion, at time with parables . . . a deep desire to get the point across. The first is Mrs. Sarah Young who told us the story of Booker T. Washington . . . and how while being considered for admission to Hampton Institute in Virginia was asked to clean a room. In the requester's absence he mopped it three times . . . dusted it twice . . . lined up the desk perfectly . . . and put everything in the room in its proper place. Needless to say, he was admitted

> and eventually founded Tuskegee University. I remember her words to this day: "Everything you do, do it with might, things done half way are never done right." Booker T. Washington was overwhelmingly accommodating. The lesson: Approach each endeavor with a great desire to do it good, right, the best that you can do. If you do, most of the time your efforts will yield reward and if not you certainly will feel good about your efforts.
>
> Mrs. Russell that said that she was going to follow Mary McCloud Bethune who said in 1937 that, "We must teach our children their real history . . . how we had triumph over adversity and to teach it continually form the cradle to the grave." Ms. Bethune continually battled for education for African American children and was an advisor to the President Roosevelt and founder of Bethune-Cookman College.
>
> And then she told us about Joseph A. De Laine of Clarendon County in South Carolina filed the initial suit in the courts that the African-American school are absolutely not equal. Poor to no lighting, no plumbing, little funding for instructional material, and substandard salaries. This case was the preamble to Kansas versus The Board of Education which ruled that 'separate but equal' was unconstitutional.

The teachers connected their students to the long history of Black education and shared their vision for Black education with generations of students.

Richlex educators also connected their students to the ongoing struggle for racial equality. Mrs. Margaret Boulware's husband was Harold Boulware, the attorney involved in the *Briggs v. Elliott* case, and Richlex students benefited from this connection. Mr.

Reeves shared that he and other Richlex students visited her home on the weekends, "She was the one that brought us into her house on Saturdays. She would invite us over, and there were various things going on Saturday mornings at her house." Mr. Reeves recalled some of the conversations that occurred at the Boulware house.

> …(Mrs. Boulware) talked about who was being active and it was in an inactive way of activating us, if you kind of catch it a little bit. Matthew Perry was one of the associates that we used to hang around a lot. He used to be there with the Boulwares a lot. And she would introduce, she said, "You know who Matthew is now, don't you? You know he's involved with..." such and such and such. "This case that TM"... They called Thurgood "TM." They used to call him "TM." "TM" and "Pops." Judge Boulware was called "Pops." And she said, "Pops, TM, and Matthew are working on those cases," and all that kind of stuff. "It's down in the country. It's down in the country, but it's going to be coming this way." That's what she used to always say, she said, "Pay attention, pay attention. It's going to be coming this way."

Mrs. Boulware used her multiple roles as an educator, parent, and wife of a prominent attorney to make sure her students understood what was happening in the state and the nation.

The teachers also showed concern for and helped plan for their students' futures. The multiple talents of the Richlex teachers were described by Mr. Washington, and he noted that the teachers helped students develop an array of skills and gifts that helped them in life, "You were multi-talented when you came out of Richlex." He added how the education provided at Richlex influenced his pathway after high school.

> My beginnings of becoming a civil engineering student at South Carolina State started at Richlex. And I can't tell you whether that would've happened had I had all of the amenities that a White student had. I just don't know. But it shaped me because of those teachers and because I was pushed. I was valedictorian of my high school class. And I truly believe that it was because of those teachers that took an interest in how I would turn out.

Mr. Haltiwanger explained that Mr. Kenly "carried me to my first college football game. He and my brother, we went to South Carolina State. I remember too, he carried about me and a couple of guys to our first college football game." Mr. Haltiwanger would eventually play football at South Carolina State. Mr. Kenly's presence in his former students' lives continued after the students graduated, and Mr. Reeves described Mr. Kenly's role in helping him secure a job.

> When I first went in the military, the last person I saw from Richlex was Mr. Kenly. The first person I saw when I got back was Mr. Kenly. The person that caused me to get the job that I did, that caused me to leave Columbia and come to Atlanta, was based on a referral from Mr. Kenly.
>
> They asked for references at this pharmaceutical company. I only put down one person. I said, "The only person that knows me better than anybody else in this whole world is a guy named Mr. Kenly." And so, the vice president of Sandoz Pharmaceuticals, Worldwide Sandoz Pharmaceuticals, met me one day on Bush River Road because he was coming to USC to a job fair for pharmaceuticals. And I was at a gas station. It used to be a Shell gas station on Broad River Road near I-20 right there. And I was getting gas and he was asking directions. He had

gotten off I-20 but he had gotten lost. This is way back in the day. This is 1979 when this happened. This is February of '79. And so, he and the district manager for the southeastern United States were going to this job fair. They weren't going to hire anybody, they was just going to the job fair to let people know about the advances in pharmaceuticals and things like this is a German company. They had over a billion dollars of sales, even in 1979 on one drug at that time. But they had about twenty drugs in their arsenal. Anyway, this guy came, asked me for directions to USC.

And I said, "Well, if you going to USC," I said, "that's where I went to school," and that kind of thing. "And if you need me to follow you down that way..." And I'm in jeans and everything like that. And so I said, "There's a easier way to get there if you want to get to the Coliseum," that's where he was going. And I said that, "I could tell you how to get there, but you would need to get back on 20 and go to 26." And I was giving him directions. I said, "Better yet, just follow me, I'll show you exactly where it is." So when we got there, I pulled over, he said, "Listen, do you have a piece of paper or something like that you can write down some things? We want to wait right here about 30 minutes and let you write..." "Unless you have a resume with you. You finished school here?" "Yeah, I did." So the guy got my name and so my resume was written on some notebook paper that was pulled out of a notebook, raggedy looking and everything. And I wrote my name, address, and just things that you would write on just a brief resume or bio kind of thing. And so, that was on a Thursday. They were there that Thursday and Friday, leaving to go back to New Jersey, Germany, those guys were. And so,

I get a call that Sunday night, and guy says, "I'm getting ready to go back to Germany. But this guy named Bill Russell wants to talk to you." Not the basketball player, but…

Holden: Yeah. So that's a name known for one thing.

Reeves: Yeah. He sounded like that. And he said, "Listen, I'm going to send you an application. Please fill it out for me, and let me know if you interested in a job," obviously. He said, "We don't have a position open, but just let me know." I sent it off. I got it that same day, and I sent it right back off, however you did the post office at the time, person to person or whatever, that kind of thing, verify, proceed, or whatever. And so, I put that reference on there of Mr. Kenly, and they talked to Mr. Kenly the next week, and I was hired that next week. And I asked him later on, I said, They flew me to New Jersey that next week, and I said, "Well, what was the game changer that made you guys hire me?"

He said, "Mr. Kenly was the reason we hired you. See, we talked to that guy, he was the most amazing man we'd ever met. We'd never met anybody like that. Then he talked about you and he said that you had a brother that played pro ball at that time, that was the first Black to play at Clemson, but that I was probably the better ball player out of the group." Then they immediately went on into character references, and so he just became my guy. I went from a job making, at that time, about $6,000, which was okay at the time, to a job where I was making $30,000 with a company car and everything, and then bonuses on top of that. Ended up being that first, second year, around $45,000, which was great money. And so, I was ever indebted to him for that.

The stories of Mr. Haltiwanger and Mr. Reeves provide evidence that Richlex teachers like Mr. Kenly helped students navigate their post-secondary lives, and this included taking them for college visits and helping them secure jobs.

Conclusion

There is abundant evidence that Richlex was under-resourced and that the school's faculty and staff were not compensated equally to their White peers. The stories of Richlex's former students add needed layers to this narrative, showing that not only was the pay unequal but it also failed to account for the extraordinary work accomplished by the schools' teachers and staff. Richlex educators worked with their community to create a family within the school, connect the surrounding areas, and strengthen the community. Gifted teachers established meaningful relationships with their students and families, and they created a caring and nurturing environment. The talents and commitment of the teachers led them to create a range of extracurricular offerings that would not otherwise have been made available to the students. Stories shared by former students connect Richlex to the traditions of Black education and the unending struggle to achieve equality while also providing evidence of how the educators supported the students for future success. These dimensions were often interconnected, building on and providing support to the schools' many strengths. Richlex School lived up to the words of the alma mater, carrying students and the community "Forward – Upward – On!" in spite of the conditions created by the board and district administration.[399]

[399] Juanita Floyd, "Richlex Alma Mater," no date, *Richlex High School Anniversary Yearbook.*

CHAPTER 6

DESEGREGATION PLAN

Momentum for school desegregation grew throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, and White leaders slowly exhausted their options for maintaining the segregated systems. Desegregation in South Carolina first occurred at the university-level, with Harvey Gantt enrolling at Clemson University in January 1963. On September 3, 1963, eleven Black students in Charleston, South Carolina became the first in the state to attend previously all-White elementary, middle, or high schools. Later that month, Henrie Monteith, Robert Anderson, and James Solomon, Jr. became the first Black students to enroll at the University of South Carolina since the end of Reconstruction.[400] In 1965, eleven years after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision and two years after the first South Carolina schools desegregated, District 5 began work on its own desegregation plan. The first phase of desegregation was the district's freedom-of-choice program, and this was soon followed by full desegregation.

Resistance to Desegregation and Freedom-of-Choice

Prior to 1965, the District 5 board engaged in limited discussions about Black and White students attending the same school. As White leaders in the state continued to delay desegregation in the 1950s, the board adopted resolutions written by the South Carolina Association of School Boards. In these resolutions, the board claimed that it

[400] Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, 148, 149, and 157.

would remain segregated in order to continue receiving state funds. The school board also stated that in spite of the existence of the *Brown v. Board Education* ruling it felt that the legal conflict between the state and federal government must be resolved before proceeding with desegregation. The resolutions also affirmed the board's desire to keep the schools open and seek clarity on new laws.[401] On December 15, 1958, the board amended a 1956 policy to specify that White students in Richland County would attend Dutch Fork.[402] The previous version of the policy had not specified the race of the Richland County students allowed to attend Dutch Fork.[403]

The board was cautious in accepting federal aid due to fears that this would force them to comply with federal orders. A board member questioned whether or not new federal funds from the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) would require the district to desegregate, but the superintendent and principal of Irmo High replied that the contracts were between schools and the state, not the schools and the federal government.[404] The superintendent applied for some funds from the NDEA but was later directed by the board to stop utilizing this funding source.[405] Ultimately, he was able to explain to the board that participation in NDEA funding would pose no greater risk to the White leaders' desire to maintain segregated schools than their continued acceptance of federal money for agriculture, home economics, or the lunch program. The board then agreed to allow the district administration to apply for NDEA funds.[406]

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[401] Board Minutes, January 19, 1959. The official title of the document states that the meeting was held on January 20, but the meeting appears to have been held on January 19. This is written in the minutes. The Board typically met on Mondays, and January 19, 1959, was a Monday.
[402] Board Minutes, December 15, 1958.
[403] Board Minutes, October 22, 1956.
[404] Board Minutes, April 20, 1959.
[405] Board Minutes, August 17, 1959.
[406] Board Minutes, September 21, 1959.

The District 5 board enacted policies on transfers following the desegregation of Charleston's schools. The transfer procedures were outlined in a 1964 policy amendment written with the assistance of the South Carolina Department of Education.

> All pupils will be expected to continue attendance in the school in which they were previously enrolled. This is necessary for orderly planning. Enrollments must be known well in advance so that assignment of teachers might be properly made. Parents or guardians of children of school age who desire their children to attend specific schools other than the school in which the child has been previously enrolled shall file written application to the chairman of the Board of Trustees through the superintendent of the school district at least two months in advance of the opening of the school concerned.[407]

The language of the policy attempted to shift the discussion from desegregation to "orderly planning." This policy was again discussed at the start of the 1965-66 school year with the intention seeming to be a reminder that parents were required to submit transfer requests two months in advance of the school year.[408]

South Carolina's superintendents were told that failure to comply with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act or to submit a desegregation plan giving students the freedom-of-choice would result in the loss of federal funds and likely lead to a lawsuit.[409] The District 5 superintendent commented that he would prefer to wait to see what other Lexington County districts did before acting on this information.[410] By February 5, 1965, the district leaders had come to terms with the fact that desegregation was going to occur

[407] Board Minutes, October 19, 1964.
[408] Board Minutes, August 16, 1965.
[409] Board Minutes, January 15, 1965.
[410] Ibid.

and reluctantly began work on the desegregation plan.[411] The initial plan submitted by the district was rejected.[412] The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) sent the district a model integration plan later that year, but the board elected to do nothing on the matter.[413]

Meeting minutes from the Spring of 1965 also reflect the board's attitude towards desegregation. A White family submitted a request for their children to transfer from Dutch Fork to Irmo. The board noted that they could not approve a request from a White family and then reject one from a Black family, and the request was rejected. This laid the groundwork for their denial of the request of a Black parent to send her child to Irmo High School in June 1965. The board rejected this request on the grounds that the parent had applied for her son to attend seventh grade at Irmo High School the following year but seventh grade would not be offered at Irmo High in the 1965-66 school year. Though the district had historically offered seventh grade at Irmo High, it was moved to Irmo Elementary for 1965-66 in order to reduce overcrowding.[414] In a letter dated June 7, 1965, the parent was given until June 25 to submit an updated request.[415] No other information on this request was noted in the board meeting minutes.

The district eventually took some steps towards student desegregation. Black students were allowed to attend a Future Farmers of America event at Irmo High in 1965.[416] In September 1965, the board amended its desegregation plan to allow freedom

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[411] Board Minutes, February 5, 1965.
[412] Board Minutes, May 10, 1965.
[413] Board Minutes, August 16, 1965.
[414] The enrollment at Richlex was greater than Irmo High and Irmo Elementary in 1964-65 and 1965-66, but the district took no action to reduce overcrowding at Richlex.
[415] Board Minutes, June 4, 1965.
[416] Board Minutes, August 16, 1965.

of choice applications for at least seven days.[417] Three Black children applied to attend Irmo Elementary School, but all were rejected due to overcrowding.[418] Until that year, however, Richlex had been the most crowded elementary school and its students were required to remain there. The students were allowed to apply to Dutch Fork. Over the next few weeks, the superintendent went back and forth with HEW about the desegregation plan.[419] The district's initial plan was approved by the board on November 12, 1965, and the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on December 2, 1965.[420]

The new desegregation plan led to fourteen applications from Black students to attend White schools. Three of the applicants lived in Columbia City Schools and were rejected. The district decided to review the validity of other transfer applications. Students not living in the district were to be immediately notified of this issue and then given the remainder of the year to stay in the District 5 schools.[421] Thirty-eight Richlex students were identified as living in a different county and were informed of the policy.[422] Black students attempting to desegregate the schools thus faced the risk of being removed from the district on the grounds that they did not live there even though they had previously been allowed to attend Richlex.

One Black child applied for Dutch Fork, two applied for Irmo Elementary, and four applied for Irmo High. The principal at Irmo High wanted to reject one student due

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[417] Board Minutes, September 6, 1965.
[418] Board Minutes, September 20, 1965.
[419] Board Minutes, October 13, 1965.
[420] Board Minutes, November 12, 1965; Henry Loomis (signed for Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education) to Sam T. Smith (District 5 Superintendent), 2 December 1965, School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties Records, Irmo, SC.
[421] Board Minutes, December 7, 1965.
[422] Board Minutes, December 14, 1965.

to attendance. All seven applications appear to have been approved at the February 11, 1966, meeting.[423] Subsequent documents indicate that only five Black students enrolled in previously all-White schools during the 1965-66 school year.[424]

Faculty Desegregation

The first instances of the District 5 board and administration addressing policies related to Black teachers occurred as it worked to navigate new state laws designed to drive Black teachers from the profession. Following the passage of a law that banned all members of the NAACP from the teaching profession or positions in local, county, or state government, the board discussed that they would take no action because they had no proof that any District 5 teachers were members of the NAACP.[425] This was a different approach than what was used in Elloree, South Carolina where the board required teachers to complete a questionnaire, and White leaders refused to re-hire twenty-one Black teachers who refused to comply with their district's interpretation of how the new law should be applied.[426] Later, the District 5 board discussed a new law requiring all applicants to disclose their professional affiliations and memberships.[427]

District 5 utilized the National Teacher Examination (NTE), another tactic used to drive Black teachers from the profession. The superintendent was given the approval to request NTE scores in 1960.[428] The district initially planned to use the test to determine teacher salary.[429] However, it soon specified a minimum score that all new applicants

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[423] Board Minutes, February 11, 1966.
[424] Board Minutes, August 8, 1966. The minutes indicate that one Black student enrolled in fifth grade at Dutch Fork Elementary, one Black student enrolled in fourth grade at Irmo Elementary, two Black students enrolled in ninth grade at Irmo High, and one Black student enrolled in 10th grade at Irmo High.
[425] Board Minutes, April 23, 1956; Candace Cunningham, "'Hell Is Popping Here in South Carolina,'" 45.
[426] Cunningham, "'Hell Is Popping Here in South Carolina,'" 36.
[427] Board Minutes, May 20, 1957.
[428] Board Minutes, March 21, 1960.
[429] Board Minutes, July 12, 1963.

would have to meet going forward.[430] This was despite the fact that there was no relationship between success on the NTE and success in the classroom.[431] Rather than improve the quality of teachers in the classroom, the NTE's most significant contribution to public education was as a means of displacing Black educators.[432]

Mrs. Margaret Kurtz, a teacher at Irmo High, was hired to teach a professional development course in "New Mathematics." In the proposal to employ Mrs. Kurtz in this capacity, the superintendent noted that she would teach the White elementary and high school teachers who planned to teach mathematics in the 1963-64 school year. Mrs. Kurtz also stated that she was willing to offer the course to the district's Black teachers, and the superintendent asked the board for their opinion on the issue. The board did not reach consensus, but the majority of the board members felt that the decision should be left to Mrs. Kurtz.[433] When discussing holding integrated faculty meetings in 1965, "there seemed to be no objection" to the practice but no motion was passed in support of this idea.[434] Though it is unclear if this occurred in 1965, at least some of the district's meetings were desegregated by the 1966-67 school year as Black and White teachers began meeting monthly in November as part of integrated Curriculum Study Committees.[435]

On March 18, 1966, the board discussed faculty desegregation, noting that if the district allowed teachers from Dutch Fork and Chapin to transfer to the new elementary school it "might be forced" to give Richlex teachers the same opportunity.[436] This

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[430] Board Minutes, September 16, 1963.
[431] Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, 56.
[432] Hooker, "Displacement of Black Teachers in the Eleven Southern States," 12.
[433] Board Minutes, May 6, 1963.
[434] Board Minutes, August 16, 1965.
[435] Board Minutes, November 14, 1966.
[436] Board Minutes, March 18, 1966.

language is an indication that the district did not want to extend such opportunities to Black teachers. The district announced its first steps towards assigning a Black teacher to a predominantly White school and a White teacher to the all-Black Richlex School when it noted that Carmen June (Black) and Joan Beamer (White) would team teach at the predominantly White Irmo Elementary and the all-Black Richlex during the 1966-67 school year.[437] This plan was submitted to the United States Office of Education. United States Commissioner of Education Harold Howe, II informed Superintendent Hawkins that while the 1966-67 plan was an improvement over what the district had done in 1965-66, it was not adequate in meeting the requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act or the mandates of "recent decisions of the court under the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution."[438] Howe referenced recent guidance provided to school officials that "a reasonable beginning" towards faculty desegregation would "be achieved by the assignment of at least one staff member to each school in the district on a desegregated basis." Guidance from the Office of Education warned, however, that a teacher may feel alone, be singled out by parents, or lack a professional support network when they are the only teacher of their race at a school.[439] Howe stated that additional steps were required of the district, and the district was asked to share any special problems they might encounter in desegregating the faculties.[440]

An updated proposal for faculty desegregation was developed by the district administration and approved by the board in August 1966. This plan outlined that a Black

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[437] Board Minutes, May 16, 1966.
[438] Harold Howe, II (U.S. Commissioner of Education) to W.C. Hawkins (Superintendent), 29 July 1966, Board Minutes, August 8, 1966.
[439] Office of Education, "Suggestions for School Officials Starting Faculty Desegregation" (May 31, 1966), Board Minutes, August 8, 1966.
[440] Harold Howe, II (U.S. Commissioner of Education) to W.C. Hawkins (Superintendent), 29 July 1966, Board Minutes, August 8, 1966.

teacher or librarian would be transferred to Irmo High to serve as the school's second librarian, one White teacher or librarian would be moved to Richlex, one White nurse would be employed at Richlex, a White remedial reading teacher would teach at Richlex, and one psychologist would serve all schools. The proposal also revised the plans for the music classes, with Ms. June and Mrs. Beamer team teaching at Irmo Elementary and Mrs. Boulware and Mrs. Beamer team teaching at Richlex.[441]

Ultimately, the district implemented some of these plans. Mrs. Helen J. Barham taught reading, Mrs. Verta Watkins served as the school nurse, and Mrs. Beamer was one of the music teachers at Richlex in 1966-67.[442] However, the plan to place a Black librarian at Irmo and a White librarian at Richlex in the 1966-67 school year appears to have fallen through. The August 1966 proposal mentioned Mrs. Sarah Bowman (Black) as the possible librarian for Irmo. However, Mrs. Bowman taught sixth grade at Richlex in 1966-67. Mrs. Eva Trezevant (Black), employed at Richlex since at least 1955-56, continued to be the Richlex librarian for the 1966-67 school year. [443] Internal curriculum committee assignments also indicate that both Mrs. Trezevant and Mrs. Bowman were employed at Richlex in 1966-67.[444] There were no Black teachers at the Chapin school during the 1966-67 school year.

The board approved a new faculty desegregation plan for 1967-68 on August 24, 1967.

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[441] Board Minutes, August 8, 1966.
[442] R. L. Floyd Foundation, Inc., *Richlex High School Anniversary Yearbook.*
[443] Ibid.
[444] Board Minutes, November 14, 1966.

TABLE 6.1. Faculty desegregation plan, 1967-68

Site(s)	Faculty/Staff Desegregation
District Office	One White superintendent and one White assistant superintendent that serve all six schools and a "fair portion of their time is allotted to each school." A White teacher to serve as director of the Adult Program which meets at Richlex School, Coordinator of Title I, and Director of Testing. Two White counselors to spend two days per month at Richlex. One Black counselor to spend an equal amount of time at the two predominantly White high schools.
Chapin High and Elementary School	One full-time Black teacher to be on the faculty in 1967-68 and teach girls physical education, driver education, and study hall. The school did not have a black faculty member in 1966-67.
Richlex High and Elementary School	One White reading teacher, one White librarian, one White elementary teacher (fourth grade), and one White nurse-social worker to work at Richlex.
Dutch Fork School	One Black librarian to serve this school full-time and become the school's first Black faculty member.
Irmo High School	One Black librarian to serve this school full-time and become the school's first Black faculty member.
Area Vocational School	All students in the district allowed to attend a vocational education school outside the district at district expense. Tuition and transportation expenses to be paid for by the district. The faculty in the vocational school was desegregated.
Seven Oaks Elementary, Irmo Elementary School	One Black teacher to teach music on a part-time basis in both elementary schools and become Seven Oaks Elementary School's first Black faculty member.

Source: W. C. Hawkins (District Superintendent) to Dewey Dodds (Equal Education Program, U. S. Office of Education), School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties Records, Irmo, SC.

This 1967-68 plan followed through on some of the intended actions that were not implemented during the 1966-67 school year. The plan to send a White librarian to Richlex and a Black librarian to Irmo High appears to have been implemented in the 1967-68 school year with Mrs. Trezevant being assigned to be the assistant librarian at Irmo High during the 1967-68 school year.[445] The 1967-68 plan also included a Black teacher at Dutch Fork, Irmo High, and Seven Oaks for the first time. While it is not stated, the addition of one full-time Black teacher at Chapin High and Elementary was the first Black faculty member in the school's history.

[445] Board Minutes, March 18, 1968.

Despite this progress in faculty desegregation, just eleven of the 104 members or 10.6% of the district's professional staff in 1967-68 were assigned to schools in which their race was not the same as the majority of the students and staff.[446] Additionally, only seven of the 104 professional staff members, or 6.7%, were assigned full-time to a school in which their race was not the same as the majority of the students and staff. Of those seven, three were classroom teachers with two White teachers assigned to Richlex and one Black teacher assigned to Chapin. No Black full-time classroom teachers were assigned to Dutch Fork or any of the Irmo schools in 1967-68. The faculty desegregation plan of 1967-68, though an improvement on the 1966-67 plan, thus failed to make meaningful progress towards the full desegregation of the district's faculty.

The Limitations of the Freedom-of-Choice Era

Like other freedom-of-choice plans around the state, District 5's initial desegregation plan did not fully desegregate the schools, but full desegregation was never the intent of the White policymakers and superintendents in charge of the desegregation plans. Instead, these leaders were focused on minimal acts of compliance that would stave off immediate legal or federal action. The Executive Committee of the South Carolina Association of School Superintendents (SCASS) met with Governor Robert McNair, State Superintendent Jesse T. Anderson, and South Carolina Attorney General Daniel McLeod on July 29, 1966. The notes from this meeting were shared with SCASS members. During the meeting, the state leaders promised to assist districts who were found to be in non-compliance with the desegregation guidelines from the Department of

[446] The data on the total professional staff in 1967-68 comes from the letter from John E. Tolbert (Acting Education Branch Chief, Office for Civil Rights) to W. C. Hawkins (District 5 Superintendent), 1 March 1973, School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties Records, Irmo, SC. This calculation assumes that the counselors, librarians, and nurse/social worker are included in the total professional staff.

Health, Education, and Welfare. SCASS leaders encouraged members to "'hold the line' at present and not go beyond what constitutes an honest effort to comply with the 'Guidelines' in both pupil and faculty desegregation."[447] The superintendents stated that they had gone as far as they intended to go in 1966-67.

The question of how far District 5 intended to go was settled by April 29, 1966. District 5 advertised to parents that the period to choose their child's school for the 1966-67 school year would last thirty days, opening on March 31 and closing on April 29, 1966.[448] Fifty-two Black students applied to and were approved to enroll in previously-all White schools. No White students applied to attend Richlex. The district enrollment in 1966-67 was 2,390, and the 1966-67 freedom-of-choice plan resulted in just 2.18% of students attending a school outside of the district's racially segregated school assignment pattern.[449]

TABLE 6.2. Black student enrollment in predominantly White schools,1966-67

Grade	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
Chapin Elementary and High	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Dutch Fork Elementary	1	1	3	2	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	14
Irmo Elementary	0	3	2	0	1	2	2	5	0	0	0	0	15
Irmo High	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	4	4	1	19
Seven Oaks Elementary	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
District	1	5	5	3	5	4	4	5	11	4	4	1	52

Source: Board Minutes August 8, 1966.

Other internal documents indicate that not all of the fifty-two Black students approved to attend previously all-White schools ended up enrolling at those schools. A "Pupil Integration" table indicates that fifty Black students enrolled in "Predominately

[447] Tom Carrere (President of SCASS) to All Members of SCASS, 2 August 1966, Board Minutes, August 8, 1966.
[448] Samuel T. Smith (District Superintendent) to Parents, March 30, 1966, School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties Records, Irmo, SC. Though Smith was superintendent, the board named W.C. Hawkins superintendent-elect in March 1966. Hawkins was a member of the SCASS Executive Committee that participated in the July 29, 1966, meeting.
[449] *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1967-68.

White Schools" in District 5 in 1966-67.[450] Another document states that fifty-eight Black students attended the predominantly White schools during the 1966-67 school year.[451] The "Pupil Integration" table indicates that the fifty students in 1966-67 represented 8% of Black students in the district. While this was an improvement over the 0.8% of Black students attending "Predominately White Schools" in 1965-66, it is an indication that the freedom-of-choice plan in District 5 did not desegregate the schools. The number of Black students in grades one through eight who attended a predominantly White school increased from thirty-two in 1965-66 to fifty-seven in 1967-68.

TABLE 6.3. Black student enrollment in predominantly White schools, grades 1-8, 1967-68

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
Chapin Elementary and High	0	2	1	1	0	2	1	2	9
Dutch Fork Elementary	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	5
Irmo Elementary	6	9	6	4	3	4	4	3	39
Seven Oaks Elementary	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	4
District	8	12	10	6	4	7	5	5	57

Source: Unlabeled enrollment documents.[452]

Another source indicates that a total of seventy-one Black students attended predominantly White schools in 1967-68.[453] The district administration acknowledged the failures of the freedom-of-choice plan in a grant application for its school desegregation plan. The application stated "It has become quite evident that the Freedom

[450] "Pupil Integration" (no date), School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties Records, Irmo, SC.
[451] "A Project to Effectively Desegregate the Public School System of Lexington County School District Number Five in Such a Manner That the Quality of the Educational Program May be Maintained or Enhanced," Board Minutes, March 18, 1968.
[452] This information comes from an unlabeled and unfiled document. Though it does not explicitly state the enrollment year, overall enrollment data roughly matches the data in the *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1968-69. The 1968-69 edition presents the 1967-68 enrollment data. The documents referenced here did not document enrollment in grades 9-12.
[453] "A Project to Effectively Desegregate the Public School System of Lexington County School District Number Five in Such a Manner That the Quality of the Educational Program May be Maintained or Enhanced," Board Minutes, March 18, 1968.

of Choice Plan has not successfully achieved the goal of eliminating the dual school system in this district."[454]

Freedom-of-choice plans failed to desegregate the schools because the White leaders who created the plans never intended for them to do so. Participation in freedom-of-choice plans was also a significant risk for Black families and students. Black families in South Carolina who fought for improved educational opportunities for their children in the 1960s were fired from their jobs or subjected to other acts of economic reprisal.[455] The Klan burned crosses in the yards of Black students who chose to attend formerly all-White schools in North Carolina.[456] These conditions resulted in Noblit and Hughes noting that "Freedom of choice was neither free, nor much of a choice for blacks in rural North Carolina schools."[457] Similar factors may explain the limited participation in District 5's freedom-of-choice plan, and Black student experiences in District 5 during desegregation will be fully explored in later sections of this research. Low Black participation in the freedom-of-choice plan may also be another indication of the student and parent satisfaction with Richlex School despite the lack of funding and resources provided to the school.

The Full Desegregation Plan

Following the failure of the freedom-of-choice plan, the administration considered options for the full desegregation of District 5. The district superintendent outlined a proposed desegregation plan in an August 31, 1967, letter to the Equal Education

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[454] Ibid.
[455] Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, 93, 110.
[456] Hughes, *Black Hands in the Biscuits not in the Classrooms*, 75.
[457] Noblit and Hughes in Hughes, *Black Hands in the Biscuits not in the* Classrooms, 24 (personal communication detailed in the text).

Program (EEP) at the United States Office of Education and requested feedback from EEP.[458] In his letter, the superintendent included a board-approved desegregation plan which stated that the district would desegregate ninth grade across the district during the 1968-69 school year. The desegregation plan would extend to tenth grade for the 1969-70 school year. During the 1970-71 school year, grades 7-12 would be desegregated.[459] The plan stated that two Black teachers would be moved to other secondary schools in the district during the 1968-69 school year. An additional two teachers were to be moved during the 1969-70 school year. By the 1970-71 school year, it was stated that "all members of the professional staff at Richlex High School will be placed in the schools where they are needed."[460]

Just a few months later, however, the district dramatically accelerated its desegregation timeline. On October 16, 1967, the District 5 Board of Trustees voted to fully desegregate its schools during the 1968-69 school year.[461] The board and administration discussed which school buildings would continue to serve students after the schools desegregated, what their grade level configurations would be, and what the schools would be named. Four plans were developed, and these plans considered the current enrollment, enrollment projections, the number of classrooms available, the number of classrooms under construction, and the number of classrooms needed to accommodate students.

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[458] W.C. Hawkins (District Superintendent) to Dewey Dodds (Equal Education Program, U.S. Office of Education), 31 August 1967, School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties Records, Irmo, SC.
[459] Ibid., 6.
[460] Ibid.
[461] "A Project to Effectively Desegregate the Public School System of Lexington County School District Number Five in Such a Manner That the Quality of the Educational Program May be Maintained or Enhanced," Board Minutes, March 18, 1968.

TABLE 6.4. Desegregation plans in District 5

	Plan Summary	Classroom Shortages
Plan I	Closing Richlex School	Shortage of 23-24 classrooms: 13 classrooms in Irmo area (grades 1-8), 6 classrooms in Irmo High (grades 9-12), 0 to 1 classrooms in Dutch Fork area (grades 1-7, dependent on pupil distribution), and 4 classrooms in Chapin area (grades 1-6)
Plan II	Convert Richlex School to District Junior High School (Grades 7-8)	Shortage of 10 classrooms: 6 classrooms in Irmo High (grades 9-12) and 4 classrooms in Chapin area (grades 1-6)
Plan III	Convert Richlex School to Junior High for Irmo Area and Dutch Fork Area – Grades 7-8 (Grades 7 and 8 from Irmo Elementary and Grade 7 from Dutch Fork)	Shortage of 10 classrooms: 6 classrooms in Irmo High (grades 9-12) and 4 classrooms in Chapin area (grades 1-6)
Plan IV	Convert Richlex School to Junior High School for Irmo Area – Grades 7-8-9 (Grades 7 and 8 from Irmo Elementary and Grade 9 from Irmo High School)	Shortage of 5-6 classrooms: 0-1 classrooms in Dutch Fork area (grades 1-7, dependent on pupil distribution), 4 classrooms in Chapin area (grades 1-6), 1 classroom and Irmo area (grades 7-9)

Source: Board Minutes, October 16, 1967.[462]

None of the plans considered by the board called for Richlex School to continue serving high school students, but all four plans allowed for the predominantly White schools to continue serving students in roughly the same grade levels as they had prior to desegregation. Ultimately, the all-White school board selected Plan IV. The superintendent and district attorney were directed by the board to take the plan to the United States Office of Education. This plan was approved on November 6, 1967.[463]

Subsequent plans called for the Richlex campus to be renamed Irmo Junior High.[464] The decision to change the school's name was unpopular in the Black community. The board received a petition from 201 Richlex parents, teachers, alumni, students, and patrons to preserve their school's name and rename the building Richlex

[462] Plan IV noted that Chapin's shortage of four classrooms could be solved by dividing auditorium into four classrooms. This solution was only included with Plan IV but likely applied to all plans.
[463] "A Project to Effectively Desegregate the Public School System of Lexington County School District Number Five in Such a Manner That the Quality of the Educational Program May be Maintained or Enhanced," Board Minutes, March 18, 1968.
[464] Board Minutes, January 15, 1968 and March 18, 1968.

Junior High School in May 1968.[465] The superintendent argued that "the school itself, and not the building, has been named Irmo Junior High by the board," denying the district was erasing the name of an important site for the Black community and Black educational history.

The school board noted in its October 16, 1967, decision that steps needed to be taken to renovate Richlex School prior to it becoming the desegregated Irmo Junior High in the 1968-69 school year.[466] This included a recommendation that the district hire an architect to develop renovation plans. In its press release regarding the desegregation plan, the board noted that "The Richlex School will be converted into adequate facilities for a junior high school for the 1968-69 school year. In converting this facility, some remodeling will be necessary."[467]

The district subsequently discussed plans to improve the Richlex facility by adding locker rooms and toilets, remodeling the exterior of the building in three areas, installing new ceilings and carpet in the halls, painting certain areas, making general repairs, adding an exterior wall near the cemetery, paving the parking lot and driveways, improving the landscaping, and upgrading the bus stop, entrance, and exterior concourse. The initial planned cost of these improvements was $111,000.[468] Plans were later revised and estimated to cost $50,000, and the final planned cost of the changes was $60,800 with a ten percent contingency.[469] Mr. Larry Haltiwanger questioned the implications of the decision to remodel the school, "Why would you make that decision then if it wasn't

[465] Board Minutes, May 27, 1968.
[466] Board Minutes, October 16, 1967.
[467] Board Minutes, May 27, 1968.
[468] Board Minutes, March 18, 1968.
[469] Board Minutes, April 24, 1968 and May 20, 1968.

good enough? If it wasn't good enough at that point, then obviously it wasn't good enough a few years back either." The decision to renovate Richlex before it became Irmo Junior High implies that the school board knew that the facility was not equal to those serving White students and that it only intended to address these deficiencies once the Richlex campus began serving White students.

Even after the renovations, the facility needed additional work in order to bring it up to state instructional standards. An inspection by the state's supervisor of physical education after the initial changes recommended ten further improvements that needed to be made to the school in order to create a facility that is "necessary for the instructors to administer an acceptable indoor program."[470] It is worth questioning what such an inspection might have revealed prior to 1968 when the school served elementary, junior high, and high school students. It can be assumed that the district's neglect of the school and its students would have been deemed less than "acceptable" to the state's standard.

Ultimately, the district did not plan to use Richlex as a junior high for a significant length of time. Just three months after deciding that the school would become a junior high, the board discussed its plan for a new middle or junior high school in the Irmo area.[471] In his discussion of the Richlex community's request to keep the school's name, the superintendent stated that he planned to move the junior high to the Irmo area when the new building was ready and that he ultimately planned for the Richlex building to become an elementary school.[472] The district was thus willing to spend tens of thousands of dollars to make a school appropriate for junior high students even when it

[470] Harold J. Schreiner (Supervisor, Physical Education, South Carolina Department of Education) to W.C. Hawkins (Superintendent), 13 August 1968, Board Minutes, August 19, 1968.
[471] Board Minutes, January 15, 1968.
[472] Board Minutes, May 27, 1968.

was only to be used as such temporarily, but the board and administration were only willing to do so when White students were to be served at the school. For sixteen years, Black students were expected to make due with an elementary, junior high, and high school facility that was deemed to be inadequate for White junior high school students.

Professional Development Plan

The district administration proposed a professional development series for teachers, counselors, and administrators to assist with the desegregation plan.[473] The stated objectives of the program were:

> To provide teachers with the instructional skills necessary for dealing effectively with individual students and student groups representing wide ranges of academic ability, and more particularly with students handicapped by serious educational deficiencies; to prepare teachers, guidance personnel and administrators to facilitate the assimilation of Negro students into the curricular and extra-curricular programs of all schools within Lexington County School District #5; to prepare teachers to work cooperatively in attacking problems and understanding situations that may arise due to the desegregation of the district; to inform principals, school guidance personnel, and teachers as to the impact of cultural, social, economic, and educational backgrounds upon attitudes toward and achievement in educational institutions.

The wording of the plan's objectives illustrates the worldview of the plan's creators. The language of "assimilation" indicates that the Black students were expected to fit into the

[473] "A Project to Effectively Desegregate the Public School System of Lexington County School District Number Five in Such a Manner That the Quality of the Educational Program May be Maintained or Enhanced," Board Minutes, March 18, 1968. This section focuses on the analysis of the project, and the information in this section comes from this document unless otherwise noted.

predominantly White schools. Other conferences and professional development for educational leaders advocated against assimilation. The superintendent attended the Superintendents Work Conference held at the Teachers College at Columbia University in July 1969. Attendees were encouraged to follow guidelines for dealing with student and community unrest during desegregation.[474] The conference identified that "the values of the predominately accepted middle class is being seriously questioned by certain groups" and suggested that schools "cease to see themselves as the 'melting pot' which assimilates all children into the dominant (white middle class); a pluralistic response is needed for a pluralistic culture."

In other areas, the district's plan does indicate that the administration wanted to address the needs of Black students during desegregation. The district administration noted the need to examine and revise the curriculum. It also noted that, because teachers had little experience working with children of a different race, they

> do not fully appreciate and understand the differences that exist between persons of varied cultural, social, economic, and educational backgrounds, and the impact of these factors upon attitudes toward, and achievement in educational institutions.

The district's professional development plan was intended to assist administrators, counselors, and teachers as they addressed these issues. Two five-day seminars were planned for the summer of 1968, and eight additional five-hour workshops were planned for Saturdays during the 1968-69 school year. The first five-day seminar targeted the fifteen people in the district tasked with instructional leadership, administration, and

[474] "Twenty-eighth Annual Superintendents Work Conference," July 7-18, 1969, Board Minutes, October 27, 1960.

guidance. The district administration intended for all staff members to attend the second summer session unless they were enrolled in summer classes at a university and planned for seventy-five participants in the Saturday workshops. This meant that only 58.1% of the district's 129 professional staff would receive training through the weekend professional development. Anticipated topics included:

1. Individualizing Instruction for Educational Advancement of All Students.
2. Working with the Disadvantaged Child.
3. What Research Says about the Disadvantaged Child.
4. The Changing Curriculum: What Does It Mean to Teachers and Students.
5. Educational Leadership in the Desegregated School.
6. Equal Educational Opportunities for All Youth.
7. The Nature of Intelligence, Achievement, and Ability.
8. The Changing American Culture and Education
9. Dealing with Discipline Problems Involving Students of Different Backgrounds.
10. Cross-Cultural Communication.
11. The Anthropologist and Race.
12. Caste and Class in America.
13. An Education Sociologist Looks at Desegregation.
14. An Educational Psychologist Looks at Desegregation.

Martin Ramsey, Assistant Superintendent for Special Services, later became the project's leader and was tasked with evaluating the program's effectiveness.[475] No record of the

[475] A revised version of the file found in the district's desegregation documents lists Ramsey as the director of the program.

program evaluation was found in the board meeting minutes. Also missing was information on the implementation of the professional development program.

CHAPTER 7

THE DESEGREGATION EXPERIENCES OF BLACK EDUCATORS IN DISTRICT 5

The conversion of Richlex from an all-grades school into a junior high school impacted the Richlex educators. The district determined new placements for the Richlex teachers and staff, and several of the district's Black teachers left the district during desegregation. The Irmo schools experienced rapid population growth during desegregation, and the district needed to hire teachers for its new students. These processes greatly impacted the racial makeup of the district's faculty.

Black Educator Displacement During Desegregation

On March 18, 1968, the board reviewed plans for Richlex educator assignments for the 1968-69 school year. The final assignments for 1968-69 were discussed at the October 21, 1968, board meeting. The district offered conflicting reasons for the upcoming departures of three Black teachers, Mrs. Kenly, Mr. Hailey, and Mrs. Davis. The district first stated in March 1968 that there was no vacancy for the teachers. [476] The superintendent then stated at the same meeting that Mrs. Davis and her husband planned to move midway through the 1968-69 school year and that the district should not hire teachers for half of the year.[477]

[476] Board Minutes, March 18, 1968.
[477] Ibid.

TABLE 7.1. Richlex and Black teacher assignments, 1968-69

Teacher or Staff Member[478]	1967-68 Assignment	1968-69 Planned Assignment[479]	1968-69 Actual Assignment
Mrs. Patricia Caldwell (B)[480]	Chapin School	Chapin School	Chapin High School – Physical Education, Driver Education[481]
Mr. Cecil Haltiwanger (B)	Richlex School – Science	Chapin School – Science	Irmo High School – Science
Mrs. Emma Bowman (B)	Richlex School – 1st grade	Chapin School – Elementary	Chapin Elementary School – 4th and 5th grade combination
Mrs. Vernetta Riley (B)	Richlex School – Guidance and Office Occupation	Irmo High School – Commercial and Guidance	Irmo High School – Guidance and Office Occupation
Mrs. Joyce Walker (B)	Richlex School – French and English	Irmo High School – English (Team Teaching Possibility)	Irmo High School – English
Mr. Fred Godbold (B)	Richlex School – Physical Education and Math	Irmo High School – Boys Physical Education – Study Hall – Possibly General Math	Irmo High School – Physical Education
Mrs. Margaret Hall (B)	Richlex School	Irmo High School – Secretary – If Title IV project approved, Mrs. Hall would be assigned to the Title IV project. If not, she would be assigned to Irmo High.	District Office – Secretary – Title IV and Headstart[482]
Mrs. Lottie Johnson (B)	Richlex School – English and Social Studies	Irmo High School – Assistant Librarian	Irmo High School – Librarian
Mrs. Jeanetta Outten (B)	Richlex School – 2nd Grade	Seven Oaks Elementary School – Elementary (Departmental)	Seven Oaks Elementary School – 4th grade
Mrs. Miriam Taylor (B)	Richlex School – 5th grade	Seven Oaks Elementary School – Elementary (Departmental)	Seven Oaks Elementary School – 5th grade
Mrs. Juanita Floyd (B)	Richlex School – The Richlex yearbook indicates that Mrs. Floyd's teaching assignments were in 2nd grade (1956, 1960), English (1962, 1964, 1967), and Guidance (1962, 1964).	Seven Oaks Elementary School – Elementary (Departmental) – The plan indicates that either Mrs. Floyd or Mrs. Patterson would be assigned to this position and that Mrs. Floyd applied to Newberry County Schools because it was where she lived.	Gallman High School – Newberry County[483]
Mrs. Johnnie Mae Patterson (B)	Richlex School – 4th and 5th combination		Seven Oaks Elementary School – 6th grade

[478] In some cases, the spelling of a name in the board meeting minutes is different than how the teacher was listed in the Richlex yearbook.
[479] Board Minutes, March 18, 1968.
[480] A note of "(B)" indicates the teacher is Black. A note of "(W)" indicates the teacher is White.
[481] Chapin High School, *Eagle's Nest*, 1969.
[482] Board Minutes, April 21, 1969.
[483] Board Minutes, June 17, 1968.

Teacher or Staff Member	1967-68 Assignment	1968-69 Planned Assignment	1968-69 Actual Assignment
Miss Martha Corley (B)	Richlex School – 1st grade	Irmo Elementary School – Elementary (Departmental)	Irmo Elementary School – 4th grade
Miss Thelma Ritter (B)	Richlex School – 3rd grade	Irmo Elementary School – Elementary (Departmental)	Irmo Elementary School – 5th grade
Mrs. Estelle Evans (B)	Richlex School – Driver Education and Science	Irmo Elementary School – Elementary (Departmental)	Irmo Elementary School – 6th grade
Mrs. Esther Dorrah (B)	Richlex School – 6th grade	Dutch Fork Elementary School – Elementary (Departmental)	Dutch Fork Elementary School – 6th grade
Mrs. Rhudene Ashford (B)	Dutch Fork Elementary School (Librarian and Secretary)	Dutch Fork Elementary School – Elementary (Departmental)	Dutch Fork Elementary School – Librarian[484]
Mrs. Mary Clifford (W)	Richlex School	Dutch Fork Elementary School – Elementary (Departmental)	Moved out of state[485]
Mr. Robert Lee Floyd (B)	Richlex School – Principal	District Office – Title I, attendance teacher, transportation services, preparation of requisitions for bids, keeping statistics on pupil growth in the district and other duties assigned by superintendent.	District Office – Administrative Assistant – Coordinator of Federal Programs, Coordinator of Transportation System, Coordinator of Pupil Attendance
Mrs. Verta Watkins (W)	Richlex School – Nurse	District Office – Registered Nurse – Title I	District Office – Nurse – Title I[486]
Mrs. Dot McAulay (W)	Richlex School	District Office – Continue in Title I reading	District Office – Reading Coordinator – Title I[487]
Mrs. Zaidee Morris (B)	Richlex School – Math	Irmo Junior High School – Math – 7th and 8th grades	Irmo Junior High School – Math
Mr. Thomas Kenly (B)	Richlex School – History	Irmo Junior High School – Social Studies – 7th and 8th grades	Irmo Junior High School – History
Mrs. Margaret Boulware (B)	Richlex School	Retiring	Retired
Mrs. Georgia Levan (B)	Richlex School	Retiring	Retired
Mrs. Eva P. Trezevant (B)	Irmo High School	Retiring	Retired
Mrs. Helen Barham (W)	Richlex School	Not teaching in 1968-69	Not employed

[484] Board Minutes, February 24, 1969. Though the official status of Mrs. Ashford in 1968-69 was not officially stated in the October 21, 1968 Board Minutes, the February 24, 1969 Board Minutes state that the principal of Dutch Fork Elementary recommended Mrs. Ashford continue at the school for the 1969-70 school year.
[485] Board Minutes, June 17, 1968.
[486] Board Minutes, April 21, 1969. Though it is not officially stated what role Mrs. Watkins held in 1968-69, the proposed budget for 1969-70 indicates that Mrs. Watkins would be the district nurse in 1969-70. This is likely a continuation of her proposed role for 1968-69.
[487] Board Minutes, April 21, 1969. Though it is not officially stated what role Mrs. McAulay held in 1968-69, the proposed budget for 1969-70 indicates that Mrs. McAulay would be the Reading Coordinator in 1969-70. This is likely a continuation of her proposed role for 1968-69.

Teacher or Staff Member	1967-68 Assignment	1968-69 Planned Assignment	1968-69 Actual Assignment
Mrs. Sarah Bowman (B)	Richlex School	Unassigned	Not listed
Mrs. Telicious Kenly (B)	Richlex School	No vacancy available	Not employed
Mr. Jasper V. Hailey (B)	Richlex School	No vacancy available	Not employed
Mrs. Carmen June Davis (B)	Richlex School	No vacancy available – Planned to move to Spain after the first semester of 1968-69	Not employed

Source: Board Minutes, March 18, 1968, October 21, 1968 (Letter from W.C. Hawkins to Elridge W. McMillan, Chief of Education Branch Office for Civil Rights, September 6, 1968). June 17, 1968.

In subsequent documentation provided to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the district stated that Mrs. Kenly and Mr. Hailey left the district to "seek employment elsewhere" and Mrs. Davis "married and moved away.[488] The superintendent does not mention that they did not have a vacancy for any of the three teachers for the 1968-69, nor did the superintendent discuss previous notes that Mrs. Kenly and Mr. Hailey were not allowed to continue in their previous positions because they preferred White teachers with higher NTE scores and certificate levels.[489] Mrs. Kenly Boyd, who had a degree in home economics and had been qualified enough to serve as the Richlex home economics teacher since at least 1960, shared that she left the district because she did not have the certificate preferred by the district and did not want to teach the grade level that was offered by the district.[490]

[488] W. C. Hawkins (District Superintendent) to John E. Tolbert (Acting Education Branch Chief, Office for Civil Rights), 6 April 1973, School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties Records, Irmo, SC.
[489] W. C. Hawkins (District Superintendent) to Elridge W. McMillan (Chief of Education Branch, Office for Civil Rights, 6 September 1968, Board Minutes, October 21, 1968.
[490] R. L. Floyd Foundation, Inc., *Richlex High School Anniversary Yearbook*; Telicious Kenly Boyd, interview by Tom Crosby, 16 May 2008, Tom Crosby Oral History Collection, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina.

Telicious Kenly Boyd: I was still teaching home ec at Richlex. They integrated and I was uncertified but (unintelligible) so they wanted me to teach elementary and I told them no.

Tom Crosby: You hadn't had that experience?

Telicious Kenly Boyd: No and I didn't want that. So I didn't go. Most of them went into Irmo High School. My husband taught there. Well, at that time they had to find me a job. They had to give me a job and I wouldn't take elementary. And I didn't feel bad because naturally they weren't going to take the home economics teacher from over there and give it to me. She would have been out of a job. So then they had to find me a job. So the person in charge, she went to the University of South Carolina and I think her name was Mrs. (unintelligible). She found me a job at family court. I worked at family court and it was the most rewarding job that I've ever had. They built it up you know. That was the only family court that had a home economics teacher in the United States and I enjoyed it.

Mrs. Kenly Boyd's story indicates that the district asked her to teach something she had not previously taught, and that she did not want to do that. Few Black teachers in District 5 continued teaching the same grade level or departments following desegregation. Of the Black elementary school teachers in District 5 in 1967-68, only Mrs. Taylor and Mrs. Dorrah taught in the same grade level in both 1967-68 and 1968-69 school years. Of the Black high school teachers in District 5 in 1967-68, only Mrs. Caldwell, Mr. Haltiwanger, Mrs. Riley, Mr. Godbold, Mrs. Morris, and Mr. Kenly taught in the same department in both years. However, it is not clear if these teachers taught the same courses within that content area.

The district's correspondence with the United States Office of Education reflects the cumulative impact that the desegregation plan had on Black faculty.

TABLE 7.2. District 5 staffing,1965-66 to 1972-73

	Full-time Classroom Teachers				Total Professional Staff			
	Black	White	Total	% Black	Black	White	Total	% Black
1965-66	22	56	78	28.2%	24	64	88	27.3%
1966-67	21	70	91	23.1%	21	86	107	19.6%
1967-68	21	73	94	22.3%	21	83	104	20.2%
1968-69	14	102	116	12.1%	17	112	129	13.2%
1969-70	13	131	144	9.0%	15	152	167	9.0%
1970-71	13	154	167	7.8%	15	183	198	7.6%
1971-72	13	192	205	6.3%	15	203	228	6.6%
1972-73	13	220	233	5.6%	15	247	262	5.7%

Source: John E. Tolbert (Acting Education Branch Chief, Office for Civil Rights) to W. C. Hawkins (District 5 Superintendent), 1 March 1973, School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties Records, Irmo, SC.[491]

In the 1965-66 school year, the first year of freedom-of-choice in District 5, Black teachers represented 28.2% of the district's full-time classroom teachers.[492] This number fell to 12.1% in the first year of full desegregation and 5.6% in 1972-73. Black educators made up 27.3% of the district's professional staff in 1965-66, but this number declined sharply during desegregation. By 1968-69, Black educators represented 13.2% of the professional staff, and this number declined to 5.7% in 1972-73.

The district experienced rapid enrollment growth between the 1965-66 and 1972-73 school years, resulting in the creation of new teaching and professional staff positions.

[491] The original letter contains rounding differences of .1% from what has been included here. The Total Professional Staff in the original also appears to contain an error. The file indicates that there were 188 total professional staff in 1970-71. This has been amended to 198 in the chart included here as this is the sum of the Black and White professional staff. This denominator also allows for the percentage in the final column. In addition, the letter may contain differences from other sources due to its specification of "full-time classroom teachers" and "total professional staff." Definitions for these categories are not provided but may be the reason why other counts vary slightly from the information in the Tolbert letter. One such difference occurs in the "A Project to Effectively Desegregate the Public School System of Lexington County School District Number Five in Such a Manner That the Quality of the Educational Program May be Maintained or Enhanced" which states that there were twenty-five Black teachers and ninety-three White teachers in the 1967-68 school year.

[492] John E. Tolbert (Acting Education Branch Chief, Office for Civil Rights) to W. C. Hawkins (District 5 Superintendent), 1 March 1973, School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties Records, Irmo, SC.

The number of full-time classroom teachers in the district increased by 155 between 1965-66 and 1972-73. However, this change did not benefit all teachers. Between 1965-66 and 1972-73, the number of Black full-time classroom teachers in the district decreased by nine. As Black teachers were displaced, retired, or left the district, their positions were filled by White teachers. The number of White full-time classroom teachers in the district nearly quadrupled, increasing by 164. The number of professional staff in the district increased by 174. Again, Whites were the sole beneficiaries of this change with the number of Black professional staff decreasing by nine and the White professional staff increasing by 183.

Though the White student enrollment increased during desegregation, the changes were not proportional to the changing faculty demographics in the district.

TABLE 7.3. Student enrollment in District 5 by race,1964-65 and 1972-73

School Year	1964-65	1972-73
Number of Asian Students	n/a	3
Number of Black Students	617	643
Number of Hispanic or Latino Students	n/a	1
Number of White Students[493]	1,248	5,315
Proportion – Asian	n/a	0.1%
Proportion – Black	33.1%	10.8%
Proportion – Hispanic or Latino	n/a	0.0%
Proportion – White	66.9%	89.1%

Source: *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1965-66; Board Minutes, June 18, 1973.[494]

Black students made up 10.8% of the district's student body in 1972-73, but Black full-time classroom teachers represented just 5.6% of all full-time classroom teachers in the

[493] The report in the minutes lists the racial or ethnic groups as "Negro," "American Indian," "Spanish-Surnamed American," "Portuguese," "Oriental," "Alaskan Native," "Hawaiian Natives," and "Non-Minority." For this table, it is assumed that "Spanish-Surnamed American" is similar to the modern category of "Hispanic or Latino." A similar assumption was made about the "Oriental" classification and its relationship to the modern category of "Asian." "Non-Minority" was assumed to mean "White."

[494] The Board Minutes from February 19, 1973 reflect slightly different enrollment numbers. These minutes state that there were 533 Black students and 5,270 White students. The June 18, 1973 numbers were used as the enrollment data from those minutes appears to have been used in official documentation submitted to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The February 19, 1973 data appears to have been for internal planning.

district. This was a continuation of a long-standing trend in the district, with Black teachers being consistently underrepresented in the district's faculty based on the proportion of Black students in the district.

The reduction in the number of Black teachers and the proportion the district's teachers who were Black was primarily the result of the district's hiring practices. In 1971-72, only one of the district's sixty-seven new hires was Black even though there were forty-five Black candidates for the positions. In 1972-73, the district hired sixty-eight people, but only one was Black.[495] One reason for the change in the hiring practices is the displacement of a key figure in the hiring and retention of Black educators, the Black principal. Mr. Floyd was responsible for personnel decisions at Richlex for its entire existence and played a key role in bringing Black teachers to the district. Mrs. Patricia Caldwell was the first Black teacher in the history of the Chapin schools, and she recalled the story of Mr. Floyd recruiting her to the district in 1967.

> We moved back to Newberry and I taught over to, it was Fairfield Central High School for one year, schools still being segregated. And (her husband) got a job as an insurance agent with Independent Life and Accident Insurance Company. During that time, they were integrating as well. So we bought a house and really, I didn't like to travel from Newberry to Winnsboro. I thought it was a little bit far. And so Mr. Floyd, he was at Richlex at the time, and they would have these sunrise services at the church that they went to, and my husband usually participated, and we'd have a little breakfast afterwards.

[495] John E. Tolbert (Acting Education Branch Chief, Office for Civil Rights) to W. C. Hawkins (District 5 Superintendent), 1 March 1973, School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties Records, Irmo, SC.

They would, and we would attend before going to service at our church. And so he said that one morning, that Sunday morning he says, “Ms. Caldwell,” because I had no intentions of going back to Fairfield for another year. I just was there one year. He says, “They’re looking for a Black PE teacher in Lexington District Five.” I said, “Well, they are?” And he says, “Well, that’s your major.” I said, “Yeah. I taught PE, taught health, taught science.” And I said, “Well you know, if you don’t mind, just tell them about me, I would appreciate it. I don’t have a job for another year.” And he said they had a new principal coming in, Mr. Proctor at the time, new superintendent coming in, Mr. W. C. Hawkins, and looked like Mr. Addy was making the transition to the district office, but they were shifting people around.

And Mr. Proctor was the principal at Chapin when I went there. And the schools, there was grades one through twelve, but going back to talking to Mr. Floyd about the position, I said, “If you just tell him about me.” So, unexpectedly one day, the phone rang and it was Mr. Hawkins. And he said that Mr. Floyd had told him about me, and said that he would like me to come down for an interview. So, my husband and I went down on a Saturday morning and we talked to Mr. Hawkins about things. And he asked, how did I feel about integration, and about working with White teachers and working with White students? Well, to me, because I had some experience because I had gone to, when I lived in New York, the schools were integrated and I had some White teachers and had some Black teachers and went to school with Black and White kids.

> And so I said, "Well, I really don't have a problem." And then, we talked about salaries, and we talked about the little bit of travel and all. And when I kind of weighed out, because I had applied for a position here in Newberry, and they were a little bit slow moving for their own various reasons. And I really didn't know why, but I know that this was coming. It was inevitable, integration was coming, but they didn't move as fast as Lexington District Five. So we talked about money and travel, and even with travel, I was going to make more money if I worked in Lexington District Five at Chapin High School. So, I told Mr. Hawkins that I had applied for a position here in Newberry, and I was just waiting on them to get back to me, to let me know whether or not I had a job.
>
> So in the meantime, I got another call from Mr. Hawkins after the interview. And he says, "Well, Ms. Caldwell, if you want the job, the job is yours." And I was so surprised. I said, "It is?" He said, "Yes." So, we made arrangements for contract signing and things like that. Well, I went down and took a look at the school, and I knew that it was grades one through twelve at that particular time. And I said, "Well you know, this would be okay." And as far as when I started out, unless those kids that I taught had gone to school in the north somewhere, then they really hadn't had a Black teacher before. And I had always been under the idea and rule of thumb that nobody knows any more about what I can do than I know. And my position, I knew that I was qualified regardless of what school I went to. I felt that my qualifications could match anybody else's qualifications, as far as the job that I was doing and the job that I expected to do.

Mrs. Caldwell's story identifies Mr. Floyd as the person who was aware that she was a

teacher, knew her certification and the openings in District 5, and connected her with the district superintendent. It also provides an example of the networks that connected Black principals and Black teachers. The district's decision to move Mr. Floyd to a district office position may have limited his influence in the hiring process during the first years of desegregation.

The hiring of Mrs. Caldwell was an exception to the district's hiring practices during desegregation. She was one of the few Black teachers hired in the district as the schools desegregated, the enrollment increased, and the district added new teaching positions. As Black teachers retired or left the district, they were replaced by White teachers. These practices resulted in a reduction in both the number of Black teachers in the district as well as the proportion of the district's teachers that were Black.

The Experiences of Patricia Caldwell

Mrs. Patricia Caldwell's hiring at Chapin made her the first Black teacher in the school's history and one of the first Black teachers to teach in a Predominant White school in District 5. Mrs. Caldwell graduated from Allen University with a degree in physical education and began teaching in 1961, working in segregated Black schools in Union, Spartanburg, and Fairfield, South Carolina before joining District 5. She later received a master's degree in guidance and counseling from South Carolina State and earned thirty hours beyond her master's. Mrs. Caldwell shared that she formed positive relationships with students, families, and teachers but also noted some negative incidents involving specific individuals.

Mrs. Caldwell described the early interactions with members of the Chapin faculty, noting that some members of the faculty made an effort to build a relationship with her while others would not talk to her.

> I was of the mindset that as long as you pay me what you're supposed to pay me, I'm going to give you a good day's work. I'm going to do what I'm supposed to do, regardless of what anybody says or how it happens. And that was my upbringing, because my aunt used to tell us all the time, "Whenever you go into a job, you do the very best that you can do." And my mindset was that, "Hey, I'm going to do what I'm supposed to do. Whether you speak to me or not, that doesn't matter." And there were some challenging times because you were left to eat by yourself, or to sit by yourself or when they had things, and everybody's moving out from around you as if you are poison or something. And it was one lady in particular, I can't think of a first name, but she was Ms. Hoskins, and she was the wife of a military person. They had traveled around a lot.
>
> We had lunch at the same time, and she always made it a point that I would never be left alone. She was just a really wonderful person. She was, and I knew what she was doing, and I appreciated what she was doing. But now, that's a part for the teachers. And they passed right by and in the hall and they wouldn't speak. I said, "Well, don't make no difference to me. If you don't speak to me, I'm not speaking to you." And I keep on going about whatever I'm doing, whatever I had to do.

This story notes that Mrs. Caldwell was initially isolated and ignored by the other faculty members but that one White teacher did eat lunch with her and keep her company. Mrs. Caldwell also shared that she felt the relationships and environment changed over time.

> It was little rocky in the beginning, but things began to smooth. Things change, and then some of the ones that I stayed there with much longer, we became best of friends. But it was different for them too. And I can understand, because they hadn't worked with a Black teacher before.
>
> And it was just something different for them. But just like I said, as things went on, things just kind of worked itself out and most of them became my, I would say best of friends, and maintained that friendship until today. Just like Jimmie Ruff and I talked this morning. And then as years went on, once retired and Jimmie was doing trips, we'd go on trips on the bus. And you know, she did these trips for seniors. Well, I was always on the bus with them.

One of the "rocky" incidents in the beginning involved an interaction with the school's principal, but Mrs. Caldwell also described how a conversation she initiated with him influenced their relationship.

> I'll tell you about one thing about [the principal], and I really pride myself in this because I tell you that I've always had a strong personality. Very, very strong. We had pigeon holes. Now, this is when I first went to Chapin where you put your mail for teachers in it. So, this particular time it was payday. And I was in the gym, and he sent my check by [another teacher], and it was not an envelope, and [he] handed it to me. So I thanked him for it. I left the gym, and I went straight to the office and I told [the principal] I wanted to have a conference with him. So I

> told him I did not appreciate him sending my check by anybody, particularly not in an envelope or anything. That I had a pigeon hole. I'd like for you to put it there like you put everybody else's, and don't make a difference with mine.
>
> I said, "I worked for this check. [The other teacher] didn't work for this check. I don't appreciate you sending it. I don't appreciate it. And don't you ever do it again." Now, that was my conversation with him. And he understood from whence I was coming. He never did that for my check anymore, but this was, I felt to make me feel like a lesser person, and I didn't appreciate it, and I wasn't going to have it. And he understood where I was coming from. Had no more problems with Mr. Proctor about anything. None.

Mrs. Caldwell also discussed her interactions with the students at Chapin and how the positive relationships she developed with students influenced how parents perceived her.

> And because of the kids that I taught that I came in contact with, they hadn't had a Black teacher, but they went home and they told their parents about a lady named Ms. Caldwell, and it kept going on and parents wanted to meet Ms. Caldwell. So you know, "My child comes home and my child talks about Ms. Caldwell all the time." And she said, "Well, I just wanted to meet Ms. Caldwell, just to see." I said, "Well, this is me." But it was the kids. And that was how, I don't know how anybody else sold themselves, but it was through the children. And with those kids, my husband and I, we could take those kids anywhere. The parents had that much confidence in us, that we were going to take care of their children and that

> nothing would happen. And they supported me, and they supported me in everything that I did.

The parents' perception of Mrs. Caldwell may have been influenced by her extensive involvement in the school's extracurricular activities. Despite never playing sports in high school, Mrs. Cadlwell was involved in nearly every sports program at Chapin, coaching three sports, helping start the tennis program, and introducing students to badminton tournaments. Her work with the Chapin teams required an extraordinary time commitment. Recalling a conversation with the athletic director, Cecil Woolbright, Mrs. Caldwell described wanting to give up coaching one of the three sports but ultimately continuing with all three because of the possibility of winning a championship.

> I told Cecil, I said, "Cecil, I'm coaching three sports. Got a husband, got a son, and teaching, it's just a bit much to me." He said, "Well, okay Pat, which one of these sports do you want to let go?" I said, "I think I'll let that volleyball go." He said, "Well, okay." I said, "So I'll have at least one season that I'm not doing anything. One sporting season that I'm not doing anything." And I said, "I'll keep the gymnastics and I'll do the track and field." And during that summer with the high school league, this is when they sectioned off, you could have a championship, A, AA, AAA and AAAA. I found that out and I was going to those meetings and all. And I said, "Hey, wait a minute." Because I knew the girls that I had, and I felt that I could win a championship with. So went back Cecil and I said, "Coach, you got to give me them girls."

Over time, Mrs. Caldwell believes parents and students came to see her as a teacher not as a Black teacher.

I really don’t think from the way that the kids, the students, treated me and the way that the parents treated me, I think they didn’t look at color after I got there. And we started going, it was just Ms. Caldwell. It wasn’t that Ms. Caldwell was Black…Not because I was a Black person teaching whatever, coaching, that kind of thing. It was just Ms. Caldwell. And when I see students now, they always remember things that I did and things that I tried to do, and what I tried to do with all my students, whether they were Black, White, was to treat the children, do my job, treat them like I’d want somebody to treat my child. And I always had a listening ear and when I got my degree in guidance and counseling…I wasn't a counselor because we had a counselor. But when you're coaching, you still do some counseling as well, because you have differences among team members and you're trying to work out differences.

That's where I was able to use my counseling skills along with my coaching skills, and that helped just a whole lot so that you didn't have friction among your team members. Because if you have friction, then they're not going to work together, and it just doesn't work out. It doesn't. So, I was able to use my counseling skills with the students.

The school’s principal eventually selected Mrs. Caldwell to move into an administrative role, and she described how this situation came about.

Well, I had a principal certificate and a certificate in administration, and I just never sought those out, but whenever I could get certain kinds of certifications, I never knew when I wanted to move into something different. So I said, “Well, if you’re certified, then your chances are better to move into different positions, and

> maybe your money would be different." So, I always kept that in the front of my mind too, as to what I wanted to do. And [the assistant principal] was over discipline, and [he] had a heart attack and he was going to be out for a while. So [the principal] came to me and asked me, would I be willing to fill in or for [the assistant principal]?
>
> And that they would do something with the PE classes, and I could do administration. Part administration then part PE. That's the way that I got started in it. And when [the assistant principal] was able to come back, then [he] and I, they let me stay where I was, and I just kept two classes, and I could still do my coaching because I liked the coaching. I wanted to do that. And so [he] and I, as far as discipline is concerned, we teamed up when things came about. If you had to sign a detention hold for slips that were coming in, disciplinary slips, those slips went to me. If you were doing in-school suspension, those slips went to him and we just kind of divided up the duties. And that was the way that we did it, and I did that until we retired because [he] and I retired at the same time.

The administrative duties were part of Mrs. Caldwell's regular assignments by the 1986-87 school year.[496] When asked what the principal's rationale for moving her into administration may have been she offered that, "I really think from [the principal's] standpoint, he really saw not only that I was certified, but he saw the command that I had of students in my class because I had good discipline." She also mentioned that the two had known each other as her son attended the school where the principal previously served as principal.

[496] Board Minutes, June 16, 1986.

> We had a very good relationship, and just like I said, my son went to Chapin Elementary and I was involved with things that they were doing there because of my son. So when [he] transferred over, then it wasn't like I didn't know him and he didn't know me.

Her work during her time at Chapin earned numerous accolades. Mrs. Caldwell was named the state Volleyball Coach of the Year and the Secondary Physical Education Teacher of the Year, and her writing was published in *Women's Coaching Clinic*.[497] She was later inducted into the school's hall of fame and shared, "When they had the hall of fame for the teachers, Jimmie Ruff and I were the first two females inducted into the hall of fame. And I was the first African-American inducted in as a faculty member."

Although there were a few specific instances in which Mrs. Caldwell recalled negative interactions near the beginning of her time in Chapin, she felt that the overall experience was positive.

> My years at Chapin High School, my twenty-nine years or so, they were great years. They were. I taught great children and I worked with good parents. I did, but it didn't start off like that now. And just like I said, I got to the parents through the children. The children believed in me and they believed in their children.

She also remarked that she and the faculty developed and changed over time and that a key indicator that things improved was that she stayed at Chapin even though she could have been hired in other schools or districts.

[497] Board Minutes, November 20, 1978 and November 11, 1983.

> It was growing for me, a growing experience for them, and a growing experience for me as well. But we were able to mesh the two together, and if we hadn't been able to do that, I don't think I would've stayed twenty-nine years. But I think the testimony itself is a length of time that I stayed. Because if things were not right, I felt that I had different kinds of certifications under my belt that I could move somewhere else.

Mrs. Caldwell's stories of Chapin are important because they offer an underrepresented viewpoint on desegregation and also illustrate what other Black educators may have accomplished had they been hired as the district desegregated.

Conclusion

During desegregation, both the number of Black educators in the district and the proportion of the district's educators who were Black steadily fell. While some Black teachers received different teaching assignments in the desegregated schools, others retired. At least three Black teachers were not rehired by the district as the schools desegregated, and the district's official statements provide conflicting information on how and why these three teachers lost their positions. The district sometimes noted that no positions were available, used certification and test scores to explain why the educators would not be rehired, and told the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare that the teachers left the district to seek employment elsewhere or got married and moved away. The district also failed to hire Black teachers as new positions were created to keep up with the increasing student enrollment.

Black educator displacement in District 5 was part of the larger trend that saw more than 38,000 Black educators displaced in the Southern and border states during

desegregation.[498] Mr. Floyd, the principal who led Richlex and was previously responsible for hiring and retaining Black educators, also lost his principalship and was reassigned to a position at the district office during desegregation. Other Black principals throughout South Carolina lost their positions during desegregation, with the number of Black high school principals in the state falling from 142 in 1963-64 to 46 in 1972-73.[499] The displacement of the Black principals was likely a factor in the failure to hire and retain Black teachers.

Mrs. Patricia Caldwell was hired to teach in the district during this time period. Though Mrs. Caldwell felt isolated and ignored by her colleagues at first, she developed lasting relationships at the school, moved into administration, stayed at the school until her retirement, and was inducted into the school's hall of fame. Her successes during desegregation may have been the result of several factors. At the time of her hiring, she was already a veteran teacher with experiences in segregated and desegregated schools. Mrs. Caldwell's coaching duties demonstrated a significant commitment to the school and its students and required her to sacrifice time with her own family. She also possessed education beyond a master's degree and developed relationships with other administrators in the district. Mrs. Caldwell was hired at a time when District 5 was not hiring other Black educators, and she became the first Black teacher at Chapin. As such, Mrs. Caldwell's stories offer an important view of school desegregation.

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[498] Samuel Ethridge, "Impact of the 1954 Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education Decision on Black Educators." *Negro Educational Review* 30, no. 4 (October 1979): 224.
[499] Jeremiah Floyd, "A Study of Displaced Black High School Principals in the State of South Carolina: 1963-1973." (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1973), 109.

CHAPTER 8

THE DESEGREGATION EXPERIENCES OF BLACK STUDENTS IN DISTRICT 5

The district's professional development plan for the 1968-69 school year noted that teachers had limited experience in working with students from other races. As Black teachers were displaced and more White teachers were hired by the district during desegregation, the effects of this problem would be felt primarily by Black students. The stories shared by the former students demonstrate the complexity of educational experiences during desegregation. Students noted new opportunities and friendships in desegregated schools, but they also described painful incidents, isolation, pressures, and anxiety. While some Black students had an overall positive experience during desegregation, the desegregation experiences were not the same for every student. The events at Irmo High School in March 1975 provide a window into some of the issues Black students experienced during desegregation in District 5.

Dr. Shirley Portee Martin began attending desegregated schools in Irmo during the 1967-68 school year, graduated in 1972, and remarked, "I don't have a lot of negative memories of my high school years. Most are positive. That was from both racial groups." Her family often checked in with her to see how she was feeling in the desegregated schools, and she recalled that she "never felt like I was in an awkward situation. I just felt like I was becoming a part." When Seven Oaks Elementary opened, Dr. Deborah Jones

Davis was one of three Black students to attend the school before moving up to Irmo Junior High and Irmo High and graduating in 1974. Dr. Davis shared she felt like she was a part of the Irmo community but also stated that there were times when she experienced difficulties.

> I have to give Irmo that, and it was really strange because during the time I was there, one of the Reeves guys actually was a president of the student body. So the White kids had to vote for him. You know what I mean? Because it wasn't enough of us to vote for him. So my viewpoint of Irmo was it was so few of us there, so what? I think most of the kids were like, "So what?"
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> But it was a time where you were trying to figure out who you were sexually, figure out who you were mentally, educationally. Irmo was like that kind of school. I mean, it really was a great place to be. Some people might not think so, but despite all of that, to me, it was a great place to be. But I have to say, there were many a times at Irmo where I felt adversity, as much adversity from some of the African-American students that sometimes was just as hurtful as from some of the White students.

Dr. Davis noted that part of the reason she felt disconnected from other Black students at Irmo was because she had grown up on a farm far from the other Black students, had attended a church in a different part of town, and had little interaction with children from outside of her family growing up.

The students who attended desegregated schools typically noted specific educators who were supportive of them. Mrs. Pamela Price Parks began attending Chapin

in 1967-68, graduated in 1974, and spoke of the love she still has for Mrs. Frick, her first teacher at Chapin.

> Well, Miss Frick was my teacher, sixth grade. And she was wonderful. You know when they say you give people their flowers while they're living? She was one person I should've gave her flowers before she died. She was wonderful as a teacher, but of course, she had to have her restrictions because, at that time, again, we lived in Chapin.

At Irmo, Dr. Martin observed that there "were a lot of teachers who were really nurturing and cared." She also shared the importance of the teachers who checked in with her, "teachers like Ms. Osborne and Fedor and all that, I don't want to undervalue those people, because they were constantly checking to make sure that I was okay." The importance of the school's principal, Mr. Phil Spotts, was also mentioned by Dr. Martin who stated "I couldn't have asked for a better principal than Phil Spotts." Dr. Davis also shared that she had teachers who tried to make sure she was a part of the classroom community.

> I think my fifth grade teacher, she was very nice to me. She always made sure that I was included, and she even took me home one day from school when I missed the bus or something like that, me and my brother.

The students described new resources and experiences in the desegregated schools. The quality of the textbooks, equipment, and desks at Irmo were noted by Dr. Martin.

> I felt that things I was getting for the first time, I would be, "My name is the first name going in this book. I've not had that option before, or I'm working with this

> kind of material for this class." We didn't have science labs. We didn't have, there was so many things that were first for me that I just wasn't privy to in a segregated school. Everything was of better quality. Everything was better. Even the desk we get at the Black schools, you could see where others had had them and scribbled on them. I was getting new everything. That was just all awesome to me. I felt for the first time like, "You really are equal. You really are worthy."

When Mrs. Mackey went to Irmo High, she was a part of the chorus and was able to go on field trips to perform. These opportunities were only available to her because she went to the desegregated school.

> I was on the chorus at Irmo High. We would go to the State House for the lighting of the Christmas tree, whatever they called that. The carol lighting or whatever. We did that every year, and that was an experience for me. And I was just out of this world with excitement. And I knew then, I never would have been able to, would have been afforded the opportunity at Richlex to do something of that sort. But mainly because we were with the group, we were there with the Whites, and they were going, so we... we had to be included.

Mrs. Mackey established relationships through positions she held in the school and extracurricular activities.

> By the second year, I was a school bus driver. My confidence level was higher and all of that. I'm more involved by then too, I think about that second year…You're doing a little bit more, a lot more socially with the White students that you knew. We had what they called the powder puff team, and I was involved in that, with the powder puff. The level of involvement. And it seemed like by

> then I was working, I guess it was during my study hall time or sometime, I was doing some work in the office. I think it was with the assistant principal or whatever. Doing stuff of that sort.

The transition to a school closer to her home opened up new opportunities for Mrs. Parks. She lived too far from Richlex to participate in the band, and the district did not provide additional support or resources to Black students to offset the issues that it created by providing one, centrally-located Black school instead of regional schools as they had done for White students.

> So coming to Chapin, it gave me the experience, "Hey, I could be on the band." So it was such a positive experience for me to do that. And that was the way it was with a lot of Blacks in Chapin. We did not participate in extracurriculars because we were so far away from the school. And there was never any provisions made by the district to make sure we could do the extracurricular activities.

Dr. Martin also described forming friendships with other students through extracurricular activities such as cheerleading.

> It was interesting to me at one point that my year as a cheerleader, when my parents would get a new car, I'd get the old car. They didn't trade them in back then, I guess. I had this Chevy Super Sport my senior year. When we traveled as cheerleaders, we drove. We traveled to Saluda or wherever. All the girls would ride with me or whomever was driving. Our relationship in terms of the cheerleaders, we got along extremely well. There were a couple that I could tell

> were not sure how to act, how to treat me. Chances are, I didn't know how to treat them either. But for the most part, we got along really well.
>
> I think overall, I'd have to say I had, there was, W.C. Hawkins was a superintendent at the time. What was his name? McCrary or something was the assistant principal. Again, his daughter was a basketball player. I was a cheerleader. We all got along really well. I think a lot of what you saw at Irmo was probably not typical.

The process of becoming the school's first Black cheerleader, however, illustrates several issues Dr. Martin encountered in the desegregated setting.

> Every time there was something that we were going to be a part of for the first time, Ms. Riley and Mr. Haltiwanger would call me to their room and say, "Okay, you've got to represent us." It was almost like they wanted me to be the face for the Black community, and as a result, that's what happened. When they said, "It's time for a Black cheerleader, who can we get to run?" They came to me. I was a very introverted person, but I think because my skin was lighter, that they felt it may be easier for acceptance to occur, if that makes sense…
>
> … I was really introverted. But Ms. Riley even came to my house to let my family, parents know that, "She really needs to run. We need to do this. It's time for the school to have a Black cheerleader." We were starting the Civinettes, which was a group, and I think it was Mr. Haltiwanger came or Godbold saying, "Again, we need to integrate this group. We need someone who will do this for us. Shirley needs to be that person." That's how all of that would happen. Of course, my mom felt, "Well, you need to do this." And so I did.

Though Dr. Martin's experiences are another example that Black students were allowed to participate in different activities at Irmo, her story also illustrates the pressures she faced during desegregation. In addition to the challenges of being a high school student and navigating a desegregated environment, Dr. Martin was asked to take on roles as a representative of her community. It was also somewhat against her nature to step into those roles, and she sometimes resisted being thrust into these positions.

> Ms. Riley would call me in and say, "Hey, you need to handle…" I'd say, "You know what? I don't really want to handle this." She'd say, "Well, you don't have an option. You're the voice they're listening to." I guess I did what was equivalent to what a sixteen- or seventeen-year-old would do. I always felt that I had to do my best, but I had to do that because that was the expectation from home also. Also, felt that I was being watched, because in some strange way, I've been told that, "You're pretty much letting them know that the Blacks are equal," when there were a lot of other very capable Blacks, but that's what they felt.
>
> At that time, if your skin was lighter, there was always, or I was told later, that there was always preferential treatment for you. I can remember cheerleaders saying to me sometimes, "Oh, your skin is not much different from mine. We're the same." So evidently, it was a little bit easier to digest me than some of my darker colored people's color. And so I did, I gave them my best. I always felt that I had to be prepared. I always felt that in this formation or this cheer, I've got to make sure I'm perfect. I've got to make sure I'm perfect.

Instead of progressing through high school like other students, Dr. Martin had to contend with pressures of being perfect for everyone that was watching her, proving that Black

students were equal to their White peers, and providing a voice for Black students at the school.

Her stories of being recruited to become a cheerleader also highlight the role of Black faculty in the desegregated schools. Mrs. Riley, Mr. Haltiwanger, and Mr. Godbold taught at Richlex and were transferred to Irmo High when the schools desegregated. Though in some cases it created additional burdens for Dr. Martin, it is also clear that the former Richlex teachers believed in and supported her during her years at Irmo High. She described checking in with them to see how she was doing.

> I would go to Ms. Riley, like I said, or Mr. Haltiwanger or Mr. Godbold. Because he was a physical education teacher, because I cheered, I sometimes would go by his office and just ask, “Mr. Godbold, am I okay? Am I doing okay?" He was always there for football games and all.

These check-ins occurred even though Dr. Martin never had a class with the three teachers she named or any other Black teachers during her high school years, providing an example of the Richlex community continuing in the years after desegregation. The strong bond between the former Richlex teachers and their community is evidenced in Mrs. Riley visiting her home to make the case for her being a cheerleader. The Black teachers at Irmo provided Dr. Martin with support and reassurance. The absence of Black teachers on the district’s faculty after desegregation meant that other students may have lacked this important support system, or it may have spread the remaining Black teachers too thin as they tried to support all of the former Richlex students and fulfill their other responsibilities at their new schools.

Like Mrs. Riley, Mr. Haltiwanger, and Mr. Godbold, Mr. Spotts, the White Irmo principal, checked in on Dr. Martin to see how she was doing.

> Like I said, Mr. Spotts was extremely supportive. He would check and make sure everything, "Are you okay? Are things going good." I almost felt like the litmus test for, like I said, for people of color, but there were many others.

She was also asked to provide the viewpoint of Black students when there were incidents between Black and White students at the school.

> Sometimes it would be just calling me in to ask, "How are things going? Do you feel like you're being treated okay? Are there things going on in the school that's not making you guys feel comfortable and not making you feel a part?"
>
> Sometimes it was just very generic. I can remember a couple of times when there were fights between Blacks and Whites. They'd call me in and say, "Well, how are you guys feeling about this?" It was more just a making sure. I always had the impression that he wanted to make sure that we were being treated fairly and we felt like we were part of the school.

Like her recruitment to become the school's first Black cheerleader, the administration's reliance on her to articulate the views and concerns of the Black students is another example of the pressures placed on Dr. Martin.

While participants offered generally positive recollections of their time at Irmo, they also described problems that existed in the school. There were fights between Black and White students, as mentioned by Dr. Martin. Dr. Davis stated, "But we did have problems. I'm not going to say we didn't have racial problems. We did have them." In addition, participants dealt with anxiety surrounding desegregation, negative experiences

with White faculty and students, isolation from other Black students, and issues between Black and White students.

Black students were apprehensive about desegregation, unsure of what they might encounter in the previously all-White schools. Dr. Martin began attending the Irmo schools during the freedom-of-choice period, and she recalled the tension in her house on the first day she was to attend a desegregated school. Her brother, James, had returned from Michigan.

> It was interesting because he never came, because he lived in Farmington Hills, Michigan. He never came home that time of the year. The first day of school, a couple of days before the first day of school, he said, "Oh, I'm going to come home for a visit." I thought it was strange. I said, "Why is he coming at the beginning of the school year? We can't do fun things because we're going to be back in school." That first morning he was in the driveway washing his car. It was early morning as we waited on the school bus. The school was very close. My sister and I could have easily walked to the school, because our home is right there on Lake Murray Boulevard.
>
> Yeah, and he was there that first day. That was interesting. I think that first week he was there home for that entire week. I just, that was interesting. Now in retrospect, I know that was out of concern. And possibly some fear of, well, what may happen.

Her brother's presence is a sign of the fear felt by some members of the Black community during desegregation.

In addition to the general fear in the air and the anxiety this produced, Black students encountered teachers who doubted their ability to perform academically. Dr. Martin shared a story of a teacher refusing to believe that she could have written an essay.[500]

> I had an English teacher. I guess that was the most shocking thing. We had to…Everybody your first day back at school your first week of school they want you to write about your summer vacation. Well, we all did that. Somehow, when she read my paper, she felt that I couldn't have written that for some reason. I don't know why to this day other than maybe….I won't speculate. So she moved me to the front of the class. So I thought, "well, if I copied someone's paper, then I would have the same experiences from the summer." I didn't realize what had happened there, but it was almost like she doubted that I was capable to do what I was capable to do. And that was okay because it was new for them too. That's how I looked at that.

The teacher's questioning of Dr. Martin's work occurred despite the essay being written in class and her work containing personal information that differed from her classmates. Later on, Dr. Martin reflected on the experience and what may have led to it.

> I think maybe the writing of those experiences may have been something that they just didn't think this little Black girl had experienced this summer. I think that could have been part of it, because I remember later saying that to my mom or someone. They said, "Well, they probably don't feel that you had those experiences."

[500] This story was shared during a panel discussion on desegregation in District 5 and was discussed during the interview with Dr. Martin.

Others doubted her ability to produce her work during her time at the desegregated school, "I can remember at several points, people would say to me, 'Well, that's not true. You're lying about things.' I'd be, 'No, I'm not.' I felt it was just not expected, if that makes sense."

Stories from Dr. Martin and other Black students who participated in freedom-of-choice made it back to the students at Richlex. Mrs. Mackey described hearing stories of her Black friends at Irmo being called names, threatened, and hit with spitballs and the anxiety she felt preparing for the transition in 1968.

> And we'd already had a group of them that integrated, was it two years before? Yeah, that small scale that people that went, but you got to realize they came from the family of Richlex. We was still communicating with them. We were still getting daily reports almost of what was going on…and some of the students took it as "okay, well, I got to go in and make like I'm a, excuse the language, a bad ass. But show them that I'm not afraid of them." Even though, like I said, I know I was. I was just afraid of the situation of not knowing. It was different. It was change. And change frightens us.

Preparation for and anxiety surrounding desegregation was also a topic of conversation in the classrooms at Richlex according to Mrs. Mackey.

> It was a very frightening experience. And I don't think it helped a whole lot not knowing, I mean, it was just so much you just didn't know. I can tell even with the teachers that it was possibly, they had, there was a high level of anxiety for them…No one ever told me that, but just thinking back on preparing to go, at least that year before we actually went, I mean, the teachers were constantly

> saying, "Okay, y'all better come go on and get this here work done. You better do this because come next year, you going..." It was almost like "well, you're going to be thrown out there into the fire. We won't be here." We heard a lot of that. A whole lot of that from the teachers, so you just kept saying, "Oh my God, what is this? Where is it they sending us? Where is it we have to go? And why?"

When they went to Irmo, Mrs. Mackey said the Black students were on the defensive because of what they had been told, and once she was there she experienced some of the verbal and physical abuse her friends warned her about. She also noted that she felt the teachers at Irmo tried to address these issues.

> I did experience the spitball throwing, not much of the name calling. Like I said, you felt isolated in the classrooms because most of them you were the only one in there. I did see in teachers, it appeared that just kind of... I guess went overboard, tried to make you feel comfortable because you the only one there, and they knew, I guess could empathize with us being there, and being in that situation, so they tried their best, it appeared, to try and keep you safe and tried to look out to make sure no one was throwing spitballs in your head and stuff of that sort. That didn't last, like I said, very long. It was, like I say, you was afraid walking the hallways, and not knowing who going to say what to you, or stuff of that sort.

Mrs. Mackey elaborated on the isolation she felt from other Black students and the fear of what might happen, noting that this created a situation in which it was difficult to focus and learn.

> Very frightening times to be in those classrooms by yourself, number one. And then they expected you to try and learn because here you sitting there, I'm afraid,

> I'm scared to death, I'm pulling spitballs out my hair, and they want me to learn the information on the same level of all these here White kids that's surrounding me. That was, I guess, one of the most frightening things too about being in that setting is just feeling that I was inadequately prepared to function on the level with them and deal with the fear. To deal with the pressures of you walk down the hall, they look at you like you was somebody from out of space, maybe laughing at you. Just dealing with that. Like I say, that was definitely within that first year.

The isolation continued during group work, with Mrs. Mackey describing group members who sometimes acted like she was not there.

> It seems like I can recall a situation of being in a group, having to do something in a group where as it seems like you were just there as almost like the chair being a fixture simply because they said you was part of the group.

Dr. Martin felt isolated at Irmo during the freedom-of-choice era, and this included isolation from other Black students during the school day and the teachers she had grown up with.

> I think they did some kind of placement tests for us and put us in classes. I'm sure it wasn't something that was exclusively done for us, because they did groupings at that time. I didn't have any others in my class, but there were fifteen of us at Irmo, that elementary/middle school, that first year…
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> …At first I was just a little bit overwhelmed, because the teachers weren't there with us. I felt a different level of comfort when it was totally integrated and you brought the teachers over from Richlex and you had more people that you could go to if you had a concern. There were some teachers though that, I think, went

> above and beyond to make sure you felt welcomed. There were others that I felt resented our being there. I had one teacher, and I may have said that it, that if we were testing or something, I almost felt like I was being isolated to make sure that my answers are my answers. I even had a teacher, but that was in high school, who questioned my essay. It was almost like the expectations for some, now, please know that wasn't the overwhelming majority, but the expectations were not very high.

Racial isolation was felt in the elementary schools as well, with Mrs. Gay Wanda Portee Ferguson recalling that "I didn't see a lot of people look like me in the classrooms." Mrs. Ferguson, a 1976 graduate of Irmo High who attended Richlex for a period as a child, remarked that only one other Black girl was in her class.

> I got along, I made lots of friends at first, it was staying off. It was two Blacks in class, two females, Libby Simon and myself. And I never forget, my mom came to pick me up from school early one day. My mom is darker than Libby's mom. And they brought Libby, because she's a little bit, just a shade, two, darker than me, they brought her. When my mom came to pick up, they assumed Libby was my mom's child, and when they brought her, my mom said, "No, that's not mine. The other one is mine in there."

Mrs. Ferguson's story illustrates the racial isolation she experienced, the positive relationships formed with other students, and the loss of relationships from the Richlex-era. While former Richlex students remarked on the family and community feel at the segregated school, the staff members at Irmo Elementary did not know the Black families well enough to distinguish the Portees from the Simons.

Dr. Davis attended a segregated school in a neighboring district before transferring to District 5's Seven Oaks Elementary during the freedom-of-choice era. She also discussed the feeling of isolation in the desegregated schools, beginning at the newly opened Seven Oaks Elementary and continuing through her time in District 5.

> It was a very small elementary school. And in fact, I can tell you exactly, there were three African-Americans in the school, myself, my younger brother Charles and Lamar Ray who lived in Pine Grove, which was along our bus stop. We were the only African-American students in that school for two years.

She further described specific instances of isolation and exclusion at Seven Oaks.

> I do remember that my first several weeks at Seven Oaks were very depressing because nobody would talk to me. I had no friends. But as children always do, one thing that I can do that the other kids did not is I could play jacks, jack and balls. I would beat everybody. I would beat everybody. But that was what we did over at Roosevelt Village. We had these little tournaments where you just played jackstones.
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> And so I was pretty good at playing jackstones and I was whipping everybody and they just couldn't believe that this little girl could beat the guys, beat the girls. And that kind of broke the water on me because one girl, she sat right behind me…she liked to play jackstones, as well. And so she befriended me and we would play jackstones in the mornings and during recess. And she was really the only person that was that friendly to me through elementary.
>
> I do remember that the hardest thing for me was that they were... They... It was Halloween or something, and every class had to do a play. Every class was

> directed to do a play during the auditorium. And of course I was the only African-American in my class. Of course, there were only three of us in the whole school. But when the teacher was picking out people and giving them parts, she didn't give me a part. In fact, I was not in the play. I was part of the school, but I wasn't in the play. And God has his hand on everything. Three days before we were supposed to do the play, one of the kids who was in the play got sick and had to withdraw from school for some of the thing. And I was the only other student and she had to put me in that place. And I just thought that that was kind of strange, but it was kind of hurtful when you would go to the practices and you'd be sitting in the auditorium and everybody in your class that you knew, the girls all had a part. What difference would it have made to have one other person stand? That was just the way of things then. And I think that was when I began to understand that, I'd always heard my parents talk about, my grandmother was always telling us to be careful and she was really our protector, but that was probably the first time that I had a close encounter with... Yeah. My skin really does make a difference.

Like other students, Dr. Davis described the isolation she felt from other students and the role of some teachers in creating this problem.

Mrs. Mackey recalled that many Black students wanted to go back to Richlex because of the issues they were facing in the Irmo schools. Mrs. Mackey's aunt, Mrs. Corley, who was then teaching at Irmo Elementary, talked to the students and helped them through the experience. Mrs. Mackey recalled what one of the students told her about her experience at Irmo.

> I think she, from what the way I was taking it, she started feeling some way overextended, excited because of what they were dealing with and hollering, "We want to go back, we don't like it here." And she said, and [Mrs. Corley] contributed to her sanity for that day. My aunt came in and talked with the group that was just so angry, and disgusted, and wanted to go back to Richlex. And she said, "Ms. Corley saved my day."

Like the support Dr. Martin received from Black teachers at Irmo High, Mrs. Corley's relationships with and understanding of her former students was essential to their success. Students throughout the district might have benefited from having more Mrs. Corleys during desegregation. Dr. Davis shared her perception of the faculty makeup.

> We needed more African-American teachers. We needed more diverse teachers. Not just African-Americans, but we need Hispanic teachers. We didn't have any of that. You were either White...But we did have a couple of African-American teachers that came from the old Richlex over to Irmo. And I remember one of them was a librarian, Ms. Johnson. Of course, she didn't teach anything, she was a librarian. And then Mr. Godbold, who was a coach and he taught some class and I can't remember it because it wasn't a class that I would take. And then we had our guidance counselor, Ms. Richardson.[501] She was awesome. She would identify those students who were heading to college and that she felt like should be going to college. And she was instrumental in making sure that we were filling out our applications and things like that.

[501] Mrs. Riley was referred to as "Ms. Richardson" by Dr. Davis. This is because Dr. Davis's family knew Mrs. Riley, and she grew up referring to her by this name. This was mentioned in a personal communication with the author on February 5, 2022 during participant review of the findings.

> And then there was, oh, my gosh, there was one other. He was a key person. He taught a class, drivers ed or something like that and he actually... Mr. Kenly. And those were the only African American teachers or people that looked like us that we can actually go to.

Mr. Spotts, the Irmo High principal, echoed his former students' concerns, saying "We had some Black faculty. Probably didn't have enough."

Mrs. Parks began her education at Richlex and moved to Chapin as a sixth grader during the freedom-of-choice period. Like the Irmo students, she felt isolated from other Black students during the day.

> It was only like three of us in college prep classes, and I was one. I wasn't a dummy. And they would segregate the Blacks to their own classes at Chapin. And I didn't want that because I wanted to go to college.

She described her memories of the placement process that separated the students.

> They created classes that specifically had put Blacks in them, especially the ones they did not like. They didn't learn things. They created classes and they created something they call "adjunct." They called it "adjunct" classes and they would put all the Blacks in there. And they would put the Whites that were more than likely autistic, they would put them in there.
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> It may not have been but maybe three Whites in that class with all Blacks and they didn't teach them. This is terrible. I said something about it, but all I was told was that was none of my business. That's what [the administrator] does. He was the principal. He kept me in detention because he didn't like me. I didn't like him either.

The available data on the counts of children served in special education and with "educable" learning disabilities in 1971-72 offers more evidence of what Mrs. Parks saw as a student and shows that the issue was not specific to the Chapin schools.

TABLE 8.1. District 5 students served in special education,1971-72

	Black	White
Percentage of District 5 Students Identified as Being Served in Special Education	85.48%	14.52%

Source: Board Minutes, February 19, 1973.

TABLE 8.2. District 5 students identified as having "educable" learning disabilities, 1971-72

	Black	Non-Minority
Percentage of District 5 Students Identified as Having "Educable" Learning Disabilities	86.17%	13.83%

Source: Board Minutes, June 18, 1973.

During the 1971-72 school year, 553 or 11.2% of the 4,938 students in District 5 were Black, but Black students represented more than eighty percent of students in special education or identified as having "educable" learning disabilities.

Mrs. Parks also described the verbal and physical abuse at the hands of White students when she went to Chapin. Some told her to take a Clorox bath while others tried to isolate her and called her a racial slur.

> You would get the other kids who wanted to lash out and call us names, "Don't sit by us," and all that kind of stuff. By the time I got to the twelfth grade, there were very few people who actually used the n-word right in your face. And I'll tell you why. One called me the n-word and I told my friends and said that he was going to beat me up. It was a male. And when I told my friends, he got his butt beat. And I never had a problem with any of him or his buddies calling me the n-word anymore

This story provides complexity to narratives of Black students during desegregation. Mrs. Parks endured racist treatment from some White students while receiving support from others.

Mrs. Parks's experiences and needs were ignored by White teachers and school administration. When students hit her in class, she reported the behavior to the teacher, but nothing was done. "I got kicked in my back so many times… And I would tell the teacher and she'd tell me, 'Go sit down. Go sit down.'" Mrs. Parks recalled what the school principal said to her when he suspended her.

> [The principal's] favorite thing was to tell me before he would put me out of school, "Sticks and stones may break your bones, but words will never hurt you." That's a lie. I heard that so many times, I was sick of it. So I said, "Okay. So he pushed me. I pushed him back. So why are you not putting him out of school?"

When asked what response she was given to that question, Mrs. Parks said she was told "'You started it.' I didn't. I was walking down the hallway and they called me the n-word and I said, 'Don't call me that,' and he came and pushed me. But it didn't matter." The principal's comments have had a lasting impact on Mrs. Parks. "(If he was still alive) I'd go to him and tell him, 'You know what? You made my life hell, but I made it.'" These issues highlight the abuse Mrs. Parks received from White students and the lack of support she received from the school's administration.

Mrs. Parks's stories also mention unequal consequences and enforcement of the discipline code during desegregation. Data on the 125 suspensions during the 1971-72 school year shows that Mrs. Parks's experiences were not unique among the Black students in the district.

TABLE 8.3. Suspensions in District 5 by race, 1971-72

	Black – Percentage	White – Percentage
Chapin	72.22%	27.28%
Irmo Middle	36.84%	63.16%
Irmo High	15.71%	84.29%
District 5	35.20%	64.80%

Source: Board Minutes, June 18, 1973.[502]

This data was also available by race and gender.

TABLE 8.4. Suspensions in District 5 by race and gender, 1971-72

	Black – Female	Black – Male	White – Female	White – Male
Chapin	22.22%	50.00%	0.00%	27.28%
Irmo Middle	10.53%	26.32%	5.26%	57.89%
Irmo High	2.86%	12.86%	22.86%	61.43%
District 5	9.60%	25.60%	13.60%	51.20%

Source: Board Minutes, June 18, 1973.

Black students received 35.2% of all suspensions in the district during the 1971-72 school year, with Black males receiving more suspensions than Black females. A review of the overall enrollment in District 5 indicates that Black students received a disproportionate share of the referrals.

TABLE 8.5. Black student enrollment in District 5 schools, 1972-73[503]

	Number				Percentage			
	Asian	Black	Hispanic or Latino	White	Asian	Black	Hispanic or Latino	White
Chapin Elem.	2	86	0	408	0.40%	17.34%	0.00%	82.26%
Chapin High	1	86	0	431	0.19%	16.60%	0.00%	83.20%
Dutch Fork Elem.	0	173	0	480	0.00%	26.49%	0.00%	73.51%
Irmo Elementary	0	72	0	693	0.00%	9.41%	0.00%	90.59%
Irmo High	0	92	0	1,214	0.00%	7.04%	0.00%	92.96%
Irmo Middle	0	99	1	1,156	0.00%	7.88%	0.08%	92.04%
Seven Oaks Elem.	0	35	0	933	0.00%	3.62%	0.00%	96.38%
District 5	3	643	1	5,315	0.05%	10.78%	0.02%	89.15%

Source: Board Minutes, June 18, 1973.

[502] The minutes do not indicate which grade levels were included for Chapin, but it is assumed that the Chapin suspension data is for middle and high school students as the other data included is from Irmo Middle and Irmo High.

[503] The 1972-73 data has been selected for comparison as it most closely matched other records such as the *School Directory of South Carolina*. The 1971-72 enrollment data from internal planning documents did not appear to match other sources. It is assumed that, while the district was experiencing increasing enrollments every year, the proportion of students of a given racial or ethnic group would not have fluctuated significantly between 1971-72 and 1972-73.

Black students made up just 10.78% of the district's population during the 1972-73 school year but received 35.2% of the suspensions in 1971-72. The overrepresentation of Black students in the suspension statistics was most severe at Chapin High where Black students made up 16.6% of the 1972-73 student population but received 72.22% of the 1971-72 suspensions.[504]

In some cases, verbal and physical abuse did not come just from students. In band class, Mrs. Parks was told she could not play the flute because of her lips. She stated she was later able to win awards for playing the flute and was an all-state musician. Mrs. Parks described a teacher who used racial slurs in class.

> There were teachers who did not accept the integration and didn't care about showing it. So it made it really rough. They had the right to call you names and they didn't face any repercussions for it. Now, you take my English teacher in high school, (omitted), she speaks English, but "Negro" is a word that's easy to pronounce, I would think, but she called us "niggers." And it was permitted and we would say something about it and we either got punished or sent to detention for saying, "If you're not going to say 'Black,' at least say 'Negro.'" And it was permitted. So of course, it made us have bad days because that's what we were called. And we had no recourse on it. I was one of the ones who was very vocal, so I was put out of school so many times.

The teacher's brother-in-law was an assistant principal according to Mrs. Parks. Her geography teacher threatened to send her to Russia every day in an effort to "beat me down." Another teacher excluded Black students from the rest of the class.

[504] The comparison is to the high school enrollment at Chapin due to the likelihood that the suspension data is for middle and high school students.

> She didn't want to teach us, so she put all of us in a group and me with them. And I bucked back at it and I said, "Why are you doing this?" So I was sent home. I was punished. I was sent to detention.

She described the experiences with these teachers as "horrible."

The teacher who ignored Mrs. Parks getting kicked in the back during class, continued her mistreatment of Mrs. Parks and her family outside of school. The Parks family owned a dry cleaning business in Chapin.

> Now, when she would come to the cleaners, we had to serve her like we were slaves. She didn't get out her car and she blew her horn and she made us serve her. And my parents would do it and we did it because that was our place of business. We may have had two customers like that. Then the other customers treated us just like we were human beings. So why is she treating me like that at school? Now that I reflect, she treated me like that because she didn't care. Now I realize, where I thought she would've helped to protect me at school, I found out, once I got to the school after integration, she didn't care. She just came to us because we were the only dry cleaners. If she probably would've had another one, she would've went there.

Dr. Davis also discussed the ways in which racism in the community impacted her education, identifying the attitudes of White parents as a cause for the isolation she experienced.

> The difference between my White friends and my Black friends was I was always welcomed in my Black friends' homes, churches. That's different for your White friends. In fact, I remember we were doing a project and one of the girls, she lived

> in Whitehall, and she had offered the house, "Come to my house and we're going to all work on the project.' And all the girls were invited to the house to work on the project. I mean, this was probably the first time of many times that that happened to me growing up.
>
> And my mother got me to the house because of course, Whitehall was one of my father's service areas. He intimately knew Michael J. Mungo and stuff like that.[505] And so we got to the house and she came outside and she told me I couldn't come in. And the other girls were arriving and going in. I didn't blame her. She's just like her parents won't let Black people or colored people, is what she said, colored people into their house. And of course, I just got in the car, my mother just took me home.
>
> But that wasn't the first time that happened. That happened again when I was in college. But yeah, those kinds of things happen. And so you weren't as received in your White friends' homes like you were received in your African-American homes and, and that's the biggest difference to me. And some of them wanted to be friends. In fact, some of the girls I actually went on to college with, and two of the girls out of my class, actually, we ended up at MUSC together at the medical university in Charleston together. But sometimes it wasn't the kids so much, it was their parents. And they had to do what their parents said they had to do. So I'm sure they were in bewilderment as we were in bewilderment.

This was not the only instance Dr. Davis recalled of White parents attempting to derail her friendships with their children.

[505] Michael Mungo is a home builder.

> I had a very good friend. She was White and I was Black, but we were like two peas in a pod and we were both smart and I thought we were both going to medical school, but one day, she just stopped being my friend. And I thought it was something that I said, something that I did, but years later she and I had lunch. She called me one day…out of the blue. And we had not spoken to each other in thirty years, thirty-plus years.
>
> And she said, "I got your name from this group that I'm attending, this diversity group that I was working, and they mentioned your name. And I was like, 'oh, I know her. I went to school with her. I wonder if she ever became a doctor. She wanted to be a doctor.'" And I was like, "Yeah, she's a doctor. She's this person." And she was like, "I heard it. I didn't know that was her.' And so we went to lunch together and she said, "I wanted to tell you this." And she said, "I didn't know how to tell you this in high school." But she said, "My father told me I had to stop being friends with you because you were Black and I was White." And she told me that's why she stopped being my friend. And we were everywhere together.

Though Black students like Dr. Davis were able to form friendships with White peers, some White parents actively worked against these bonds and relationships. This may have further isolated Black students as they navigated the Predominant White schools.

March 1975

Participants frequently described the overall positive climate at Irmo High and support from the Irmo High teachers and administrators. However, Black students at Irmo High felt the cumulative impact of a decade of isolation, anxiety, overt acts of racist

abuse, and the loss of key Black educators and support systems. The tensions reached their peak the week of March 3, 1975 with a series of protests, arrests, suspensions, and meetings to address the concerns of Black students.

Mrs. Gay Wanda Portee Ferguson was a student at Richlex before attending the desegregated schools in Irmo. Mrs. Ferguson described making friends, dating, and working with White students in Irmo, but she also observed the lack of Black teachers in the desegregated classrooms stating, "I saw Black bus drivers, mainly I saw more Blacks in a custodial role or in the kitchen, but very few... I probably could count on one hand that were in a classroom."

Mrs. Ferguson also felt that Black and White students were not treated the same. She observed, "As you get older, you see, 'Well, maybe I'm not getting opportunities that are out there, and I don't have that same opportunity as my White counterpart. They can get away and do certain things, but I can't.'" When two Black students were accused of breaking in to a car, Mrs. Ferguson and other Black students organized and went to the school's administration with their concerns.

> We approached [the assistant principal] I think. When we went in the office, I think, as I recall, his office was right there on the right. And we did a sit-in, and we just went and got, just letting them know "Why you arresting? Why you bothering them? They didn't do it." But they did do it, but we didn't know the whole story. And that gave us our opportunity to start speaking up. And we've seen some things, but we hadn't acted out. We talked amongst our little group, but we never did anything. And that gave us our opportunity, the door's open so let's walk in the door, and we picked that opportunity, a little sit-in that afternoon.

I think we sit around the walls or something in one of those little areas maybe it was the guidance, somewhere. And then I came home that afternoon, my grandmother and her sister were at home and I asked them, I said, "How does it feel to be Black? Being looked over for things. And how did you feel, and da, da, da?" I said, "Do we have a voice? Can I say stuff?" And my aunt, of course, very vocal, said "Yes."

…And I was asking what could happen, all kind of stuff, not knowing they didn't know I was going to school the next day. I done got on the phone, called my friend, "We're going to do another sit-in tomorrow, we rioting, we coming." We're planning this on the phone, the next day, when I go to school, now I got an opportunity to say what I want to say.

I had to take a test under the coach, and everybody was waiting outside the door, because I'm very vocal, "We can't start without you." So I hurry up and take my test and I get outside. And I guess we are in the front of the school, Blacks on one side, Whites on the other. And I'm very vocal, so I'm saying you know… But I got White friends too. I remember these same people that I work with on my part-time job are on that side too. I've been a cheerleader, so I knew all these people…I've been to my girlfriend who got married, who was a White chick, I was in her wedding just so it's interesting. I got friends on both sides…Anyway, it gets vocal, and I don't remember what happened, but everybody started to run. And we were running down the hallway and I was with [another student]. I can remember that part, I was coming down the other side, and the police was standing down there, so we walked into our class and they arrested me. I said,

“What are you arresting us for?” “Resisting arrest.” “Resisting arrest? But what are you arresting me for? I’m walking.” Anyway, long story short, they said “disturbing the peace, assaulting a police officer.” My charges got bumped up, so by the time I got to Lexington, I got there and I found out other Blacks had been arrested. No Whites ever showed up there. All I remember is us there. And it must have been seven to nine of us there, I can’t remember the exact number, but they put us all together.

And of course we talking. “Why they arrest us? Why you think?” And it was told to us that our names were down to be arrested. Don’t know how true that is to this day. Mr. Spotts was the principal. Long story short, my mom, when I finally got out of jail that night, they take me to Cayce, and me and two other people go to Cayce because they claim they can’t get in contact with our parents, all that’s not true. But long story short, I go to Cayce for about an hour and a half in a jail cell, and they bring me dinner. They bring me back to Lexington, my dad is waiting there for me. And he said, “You got the wrong one.” And got me out the car himself, and he was carrying a gun that night. And he told the guy, “Uh-uh. I got this one. You got the wrong one.”

We go in, John Harper has been called from the NAACP, from my understanding, to represent us. Ike Williams was working with NAACP, but he was afraid to come to Irmo to help us. He was afraid. We go to jail that night, we sit on the back row, all other people sit on the front row. And my dad tells my mom, “We not even staying in here, we’re not even listening to this. Let’s go.” I left before, and I know a judge or somebody, somebody came out and was talking to, but my

dad said we were leaving, so we left. So that part I kind of missed out on. All I knew is I was suspended from school.

My boss called my mom and told my mom that he heard I had been arrested because I was supposed to go to work that night. And he tells me to come to work the next day, "Ain't no need in me sitting home, come to work." And I go to work, from that point on I went to work every day. Until I reentered school, I was at work every day. But I will tell you this, when I got home that night, my grandmother's sister, again, at the house with the gun, her son sitting out in the car, and when I get home, they having this dialogue with people, "Why did you do it? What happened? Da, da, da. It could've been handled a different way. Let us speak up for you." And I said, "I'm sorry, but I spoke up for myself."

I think the next night, or next day, they had a meeting at the school with all the parents, all the Black parents. We were not allowed to come. My mom wasn't allowed to come. None of my parents were allowed to come. We were not invited. So we didn't go. And my mom's first cousin sits on the school board, [name of board member]. We called him [nickname]. And he voted in with them to suspend me. And so of course that caused some friction in the family, because he voted to do this. But a long story short, Ms. Riley, she was a guidance counselor, called my mom and talked to some people. She was very vocal, very active in getting us back in school. But I had to write a letter and apologize, and I said "I'm not apologizing, I did nothing wrong." And she said, "Well, they suspended you all from all your activities." We couldn't hold no office, whatever. They just stripped us of everything. If you played basketball, you couldn't play ball anymore, just

> stuff like that. They just wouldn't allow us any activities, that's one thing. They did to all those that were arrested.
>
> Anyway, I didn't write the letter, but I was called to come to the school, my mom takes me to the school. Ms. Riley has written the letter, and I am forced to sign the letter. "You will sign the letter. If not, this will happen." So, I'm signing the letter saying I apologize for my behavior and da, da, da, da. Of course the charges got dropped, and I go back to school about a week and a half later, like nothing ever happened. Well, it was some friction there. Now we are segregated. We are splitted again, but that's what I experienced and afterwards, Mr. Kenly became assistant principal.

Mrs. Ferguson's account indicates that the Black students' frustrations had been growing for some time, and she noted her concerns with the lack of Black teachers at Irmo. The arrest of two Black students was the tipping point that led the students to take action. Black students organized multiple protests, and Mrs. Ferguson noted at least one instance of a verbal confrontation between Black and White students. These events resulted in several Black students and no White students being taken to jail. The jailed students were subsequently prevented from participating in student activities, and their parents were prevented from attending subsequent meetings between Black parents and school leaders.

The administration at Irmo High offered a similar view of the incidents that began on March 4, 1975. The principal was off campus at a meeting with the South Carolina Department of Education when he received a call that a group of Black students was waiting to meet with him.[506] The students were waiting outside the assistant principals'

[506] "Disturbances at Irmo High School," Board Minutes, March 10, 1975.

offices and the Lexington County Sheriff's Department was discussing the arrest of two students earlier that day. The principal and the district's Director of Secondary Education returned to the campus and met with the students. While the arrest of the two students sparked the discussion, the district report stated that the students discussed the following issues during the March 4 meeting:

> "(1) a need for more Black teachers, (2) a need for more Black administrators, (3) a need for more Black cheerleaders, (4) a need for representatives among top offices of the Student Council, (5) opposition to the discussion of slavery in history class, (6) a need for a black history course, and (7) the use of certain instructional materials which they considered offensive to black students."[507]

The initial concerns shared by the protesting students were related to the hiring of Black teachers and administrators, Black representation in student activities and leadership positions, and curriculum and instruction. These issues would continue to be highlighted in subsequent meetings.

The following day, Black students gathered after homeroom and refused to report to their next class, and this also matches Mrs. Ferguson's account. The superintendent met with the students for seventy-five minutes in the school cafeteria, and the students held a short discussion of their own to discuss the meeting and next steps. The group stated that, rather than have a committee formed to articulate their concerns, they all wanted to be involved and asked for a written agreement that their previously-shared "requests would be granted."[508] Another meeting with district administrators and students was arranged for Thursday, March 6, and the principal informed the students

[507] Ibid.
[508] Ibid.

that their parents were allowed to attend. The students were told to report back to class. During lunch, White and Black students gathered at the front of the building and "a verbal confrontation began and the situation became very tense."[509] The administration ordered the students to return to class.

Nine students were then arrested for "creating a disturbance." [510] Not all of the "arrests" were handled the same way. Two White students were arrested but were released without being taken to jail.[511] Mrs. Ferguson's report indicates that all of the students who were taken to jail were Black. One student reported being arrested after being given permission by a school administrator to check on a sibling who was being arrested. The administrator was "unable to confirm" that he had given the student permission.

The following morning, Black students and parents met with the superintendent, principal, and eight other members of the district and school administration, and this is likely the meeting that Mrs. Ferguson mentioned her parents and the parents of other suspended students were prevented from attending. Students and parents who were allowed to attend raised the following concerns:

(1) The school should have more black teachers and a black administrator.

(2) The curriculum should include a black history course. This issue was raised by a student. In later discussion, Dr. Glover opposed a separate history course but felt that black history should be given more emphasis in the history courses already offered. He felt that black literature should be given

[509] Ibid.
[510] Ibid.
[511] "Committee Report on Possible Violations of the 'Standards of Pupil Conduct'" 11 April 1975, Board Minutes, May 19, 1975.

more emphasis in the present literature courses in the current curriculum. Dr. Glover offered to coordinate the efforts of Allen University and Irmo High School on this curricular project.[512]

(3) Students object to the use of certain racially offensive words in the novel, Huck Finn.

(4) There should be black bus drivers going into white areas and vice versa. Also, buses should be switched so that no one driver has a new bus all the time. The opinion was that black students were being discriminated against by being given old buses.

(5) Student suspensions should become effective at the end of the school day or parents should be called to come for the students. Students should not be sent home when parents are not there.

(6) White faculty members allegedly discourage the gathering of blacks during school hours.

(7) There should be more opportunities for black cultural experiences such as an all black band.

(8) The students never see [the principal].

(9) [The assistant principal] is "unkind" to black students.

(10) The question concerning the placement of black teachers after desegregation was raised.

(11) The question concerning the athletic trophies of Richlex High School was raised.

[512] Dr. Glover likely refers to Dr. Benjamin Glover, the president of Allen University, and the parent of an Irmo High School student.

(12) The issue of renaming Richlex after desegregation was brought up. One parent asked if Dutch Fork School could be renamed Richlex.

(13) A question was raised concerning the number of black members on the Board of Trustees.

(14) Several parents expressed concern over possible disciplinary action against the nine students who were arrested on Wednesday, March 5, 1975.[513]

This list shows the wide range of issues Black students and parents felt during desegregation. The decline in the number and percentage of Black educators in District 5 was noticed by the parents and students, and the curriculum and instruction in the desegregated schools were offensive at times and not culturally relevant or inclusive at others. The students and parents were also concerned that Black histories and traditions had been erased, from the name of Richlex itself to the trophies earned by its students and teams. Issues such as the renaming of Richlex were not new. The community originally brought a petition to the board to preserve the Richlex name in 1968.[514] Additionally, the group noted problems with representation on the school board, discriminatory actions by the faculty, and discipline practices that resulted in unsafe situations for students. Even the busing plan, a concern for Black South Carolinians since Irmo's Harold Boulware led the *Briggs v. Elliott* case, continued to advantage White students over Black students.

The minutes from the March 6 meeting indicate that Black students and parents requested that Black history and literature be included in the curriculum, and the minutes note at least one offensive text that the Black community objected to. A story shared by

[513] "Meeting with Black students and Parents," 6 March 1975, Board Minutes, March 10, 1975.
[514] Board Minutes, May 27, 1968.

Mr. Reeves may offer insight into why Black parents and students wanted Black cultural experiences such as an all-Black band.

> They were still playing "Dixie" when the schools were integrated. They really were. Matter of fact, when we would go to Irmo High for a game, when we were still at Richlex, as soon as we entered the stadium, sometimes the band would crank up "Dixie," as we were walking down the stands to sit down. And some of us would leave, of course, and then before halftime again, they would play it again. And they would play it about two or three times during the football game or something like that. And so, there were things that culturally were not accepted that we knew were grating against us.

The request to add cultural experiences or allow Black students to form their own band is understandable in light of the fact that the Irmo band continued to play minstrel songs associated with the Confederacy after desegregation. The request for Black cultural experiences thus appears to stem from a failure to include elements of Black culture and educational traditions at Irmo. This is another example of the district's overarching view that desegregation was supposed to assimilate Black students into the White schools rather than integrate the students, teachers, histories, and traditions of both the Black and White educational institutions.

The meeting on March 6 did not resolve the issues at the school. Black and White students engaged in a verbal confrontation during lunch that day, but school administration and sheriff's deputies were able to resolve the issue with no arrests.

Student absences increased as rumors of fights and weapons circulated among students and the community, but only two knives were confiscated during the week.[515]

White students requested to meet with the principal on March 7, and he held two meetings, one with the White ninth and twelfth graders and a second with White tenth and eleventh graders. The White students made a list of requests, and the principal provided them with an overview of the week's events. White students felt that the discipline policy was not being strictly enforced with Black students.[516] The suspension data in Tables 8.3 and 8.4, however, indicates that this was not the case. The White students reportedly felt "resentment toward what they considered special attention being given to Black students." One White student stated, "The blacks want more power but if they get what they want they will want more and more."

In reality, the Black students and community had been excluded from decision-making in the district for nearly its entire existence. The attempt to claim "more power" was really an attempt to have any voice within a system that had long ignored its Black community. Black families did not have a say in the desegregation plan that closed their school, and Black educators were excluded from key leadership positions in the desegregated schools. The complaints of the White students ignored the fact that they had long benefited from a disproportionate share of the district's resources. These statements also overlook the power that the White community held within the district. Until the appointment of a Black community member in 1971, all of the formal power in the district rested exclusively with Whites. At the time of the 1975 protests, every

[515] Ralph Karpinos, "Students, School Officials Seeking Answers to Problems at Irmo High," *The Journal*, March 12, 1976, Board Minutes, April 28, 1975.
[516] Karpinos, "Students, School Officials Seeking Answers to Problems at Irmo High."

administrative position and all but one all but one seat on the school board was held by a White administrator or community member.[517]

Law enforcement were called to campus at the request of school administration as tensions increased during the day on March 7. As many as one hundred law enforcement officers from Lexington County Sheriff's Department, South Carolina Highway Patrol, State Law Enforcement Division, and the county civil defense office were present on campus that day.[518] After lunch, a group of Black and White girls met with the principal for forty-five minutes to hold a "very positive" discussion of the problems and potential solutions, and the group met again on Sunday afternoon, this time with an assistant principal and the guidance director.[519] When students returned on Monday, March 10, the principal announced that if issues continued during lunches, the lunch period would be restructured to allow less free time. One Black and one White student made announcements "aimed at helping the school get back to normal operation."[520]

John Harper, II was retained as counsel by Mrs. Ferguson and some of the other students arrested on March 5. He filed his first letters with the District 5 school board on March 11 and attended the board's meeting on March 17.[521] Mr. Harper requested a meeting to discuss:

(a) charges preferred against our clients in petitions before the Lexington County Family Court, and

(b) Grievances of our clients and other black students of Irmo High School.[522]

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[517] Mr. Robert Lee Floyd retired in January 12, 1972, and passed away on June 7, 1972.
[518] Karpinos, "Students, School Officials Seeking Answers to Problems at Irmo High."
[519] "Disturbances at Irmo High School," Board Minutes, March 10, 1975.
[520] Ibid.
[521] Board Minutes, March 17, 1975.
[522] John R. Harper, II to Board of School Commissioners, Lexington County School District Five, 11 March, 1975, Board Minutes, March 17, 1975.

The superintendent responded on March 13 that the board would meet with Mr. Harper on March 17 in the Irmo Middle School cafeteria, but the letter stated that the school board was not the appropriate party to engage with related to the charges against the students. The district's stated reason for this was that the arrests were made by Lexington County law enforcement officers and not the school district. This was despite the fact that the arrests occurred on school grounds, that the arrests were made as students voiced concerns about the district's policies and practices, and that the district had worked with law enforcement throughout the week.

During the March 17 meeting, Mr. Harper shared *Grievances of Black Students of Irmo High School*. This document shared similar concerns to those noted during the March 4 meeting with Black students and the March 6 meeting with Black students and parents.

1. There is a need for more black teachers, staff persons, and administrators.
2. Better, more efficient school buses are needed to transport students who are bused from predominantly black neighborhoods.
3. (a) Textbooks and assigned reading materials which contain defamatory references to black people should be replaced or eliminated.

   (b) Course materials do not adequately treat the accomplishments of black people in World and United States History.

   (c) Teachers' interpretations of current instructional materials are biased and reflect inadequate preparation with reference to black culture, history, and accomplishment.

(d) There is a need for inclusion of black literature into curricula to balance literature which contains contrary and negative representations of black people.

(e) A black studies program should be developed and offered to all students.

4. Activities at the school reflect little overall consideration of black students, for example:

   (a) Black oriented cultural clubs and events not allowed.

   (b) Black representation in beauty pageants is not permitted.

   (c) Little or no opportunity is accorded for black students to captain athletic teams.

   (d) Inadequate representation on cheerleading squad.

5. There are disproportionate numbers of suspensions and expulsions of black students. Black students are discriminated against by disciplinary procedures.
6. The principal has refused to hear black students' grievances and to deal with them forthrightly.
7. There is inadequate representation of blacks in student government. There are no student government officers, no members on Class Boards, and no class officers.
8. There is disparity between discipline policies administered to black students and those administered to white students.

Mr. Harper also objected to the board's decision to limit his discussions to the grievances and ignore the charges against his clients. Bruce Davis, an assistant attorney general for the state who was present at the March 17 board meeting, advised the board that they

should "investigate any grievances that may be ultimately interpreted as a possible dereliction of duty by selected Irmo High School or district administrators but not to conduct an ad hoc inquiry into any substantive matters regarding the stipulated merits of the charges." After reviewing the grievances, Mr. Davis "indicated that if factual substantiation of these allegations could be made, Mr. Harper's contentions would be more tenable." The board indicated that the superintendent, absent from the March 17 meeting due to illness, would respond with the district's position to each grievance listed by Mr. Harper. The board noted that the superintendent and Mr. Davis "would soon collaborate on a written reaction." Following the meeting, Mr. Harper said his intention was to see "what the board could do to try to get the charges dropped, but they wouldn't discuss it."[523]

The school convened a faculty committee on March 11 to review the incidents, determine if the students had violated the "Standards for Pupil Conduct," and recommend consequences.[524] Mrs. Vernetta D. Riley, Mrs. Rose Bozard, Mrs. Sylvia Chitty, Mr. Fred Godbold, Mrs. Lottie S. Johnson, Mr. Dale J. Krueger, and Col. Thomas E. Lamb served on the committee. The faculty was not allowed to interview the police officers but interviewed most of the students.

The committee completed its work and submitted its findings to the principal on April 11. The findings were prefaced with a note that the committee had kept "in mind the unusual circumstances leading up to and surrounding these arrests." After reviewing the incident and the "Standards for Pupil Conduct," the committee recommended:

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[523] Ken Webb, "Hearings Occupy District Five School Board Meeting," *The State*, March, 19 1975, Board Minutes, April 28, 1975.
[524] "Committee Report on Possible Violations of the 'Standards of Pupil Conduct'" 11 April 1975, Board Minutes, May 19, 1975.

a. these students be found in violation of The Standards
b. these students be suspended for ten days but that such suspension be deferred indefinitely pending future conduct (1974-75 school term)
c. If these students repeat these violations or incur other violations, the above suspensions be implemented and their cases be referred to the Board of Trustees with recommendations for expulsion.

Though the suspensions were described as "deferred," Mrs. Ferguson's account notes that she spent several days out of school following her arrest. A "minority of the committee" recommended a five-day, non-deferred suspension, and this was included in the notes of the committee but not implemented. A five-day suspension would have been in addition to the days the students were already removed from school. The final recommendation of the committee was that the "Standards for Pupil Conduct" include "inciting to demonstrate or riot," "participating in a demonstration or riot," and "failure to obey a school official or teacher in the execution of their offices" in future revisions. [525]

Board meeting minutes and district artifacts provide evidence of the school and district's investigation of the protests and students' actions. However, evidence of the district's actions to address the Black students' and parents' concerns were not present in the board meeting minutes. The district's failure to substantively attend to the needs of its Black community is explored in the next section.

Conclusion

The experiences of Black students in District 5 varied during desegregation. The former students were provided with new opportunities and resources during

[525] Ibid.

desegregation, but they also noted the loss of Black teachers during this time period. They described positive interactions with White students, and they discussed feelings of isolation as well as instances of racial abuse as they entered Predominant White classrooms. Some White teachers and administrators were supportive of the Black students while others demeaned them and ignored their concerns. New friendships and bonds were discussed, but participants also described the forces that prevented some friendships from lasting.

Black student and parent concerns with the district's desegregation policies and practices grew over time and culminated in protests on the Irmo High campus in March 1975. Though the arrest of two students on March 4, 1975 kick-started the protests, the Black students' and parents' concerns did not come out of a sudden realization that there were problems at Irmo. Dr. Benjamin Glover's son was a student at Irmo High in 1975 and his daughter attended the school previously. Black students held and voiced concerns for several years according to Dr. Glover, who was quoted as saying, "This didn't just happen yesterday." One of the students' primary concerns was that the process of desegregation had excluded them from being a part of the school community and having a voice. Dr. Glover said "The students feel they are left out and the fact is they are not included." He noted they "are not asking for a fight. They want to be considered a part of the program at Irmo High School."

The concerns shared by parents and students indicated that not only did Black students feel separate from Irmo High, they also felt that the Black community had been excluded from key leadership roles in the desegregated district. White domination of educational policy and decision-making was a key factor in the creation of the unequal

segregated systems and the fight to tear down the dual systems. As Thurgood Marshall noted in his arguments during *Briggs v. Elliott* "all your state officials are White. All your school officials are White. That's not just segregation, its exclusion from the group that runs everything."[526] In District 5, this remained the status quo for another two decades and resulted in the exclusion of Black leaders during desegregation. Though one Black community member was appointed to the board by 1971, this was after the district had fully desegregated and came at a time when there were no Black administrators in the schools and just one Black administrator at the district level.

These historically-rooted tensions were felt by students and may have influenced their post-secondary plans. Mrs. Norma Jean Corley Mackey began attending Irmo High as a sophomore during the 1968-69 school year. She noted positive experiences during her junior and senior years, but Mrs. Mackey described the factors that led to her decision to attend Benedict College, a historically Black college in Columbia, after graduating from Irmo.

> Like I said, even though I can say my first, those last two years at Irmo, I'd adjusted, and was able to maneuver within that setting okay and all. And like I said, I was a bus driver, and loved doing that. But it was just almost as when I left Irmo, it was almost like I just needed to go to a predominantly Black school, like I needed that breather. It was almost like I had been... I don't know if you call it confined or imprisoned.

Mrs. Mackey was successful at Irmo, joining the chorus, playing on the powderpuff team, and driving a school bus. Yet she ultimately decided to attend a Predominant Black

[526] Baker, *Paradoxes of Desegregation*, 96.

school following high school graduation because she felt the Predominant White Irmo had been so restrictive that she felt “imprisoned.” If that is how an involved Black graduate felt, then how might a student who experienced less success at Irmo have felt during desegregation?

CHAPTER 9

PRESENT-DAY EXPERIENCES OF BLACK STUDENTS AND EDCUATORS IN DISTRICT 5

While Black students and educators shared stories that demonstrated the complexity of their experiences during segregation and desegregation, several themes emerged from the stories that were also seen in other sources. While the Richlex facility and programs were under-funded, Black educators and the community created a school that former students celebrated for its family-feel, talented teachers, caring environment, and ties to the past, present, and future of Black education. Desegregation offered new opportunities and resources for Black students but also resulted in racial isolation in classrooms around the district. Black students were over-represented in special education and discipline data, and they raised concerns about the curriculum, instruction, discipline policies, and extracurricular activities in the desegregated schools. Though some Black educators found success in the Predominant White school system, Black educators were displaced as the district desegregated.

The stories and information presented thus far improve our understanding of the past but should also be used to inform our understanding of the relationship between our past and our present.[527] This section attempts to fill a current deficit in critical race scholarship by offering "a discussion of the legacy effects of White racism on Black

[527] Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, 47; Carr, *What is History?*, 85; Janesick, *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher*, 15.

people's present-day learning opportunities" a half-century removed from the desegregation of District 5. [528] This is accomplished through an analysis of data and stories intended to illuminate the extent to which historical issues remain present in the district. This examination relies on teacher and student enrollment data from the South Carolina Department of Education, documents from the district's 2020-21 strategic plan needs assessment, special education and discipline data from the 2017-18 Civil Rights Data Collection, a district-commissioned external evaluation of school facilities, and the stories of current administrators in District 5.

Student Enrollment

As noted in Table 1.1, the district experienced a population increase between 1962-63 and 1972-73, and data from Table 1.2 shows that this was primarily the result of White students moving into the district. The number of White students in District 5 increased by 4,067 students between 1964-65 and 1972-73, and the percentage of the district's students who were White increased from 66.9% to 89.2%. Enrollment information from Table 8.5 indicates the percentages of Black and White students were relatively consistent across all schools and attendance clusters in District 5.[529] Dutch Fork Elementary was the only school in the district in which the percentage of students who were Black, 26.49%, differed by more than ten percent from the percentage of students in the district who were Black, 10.78%.

[528] Donnor, "Understanding the Why of Whiteness," 13-14.
[529] The attendance lines in the district are generally divided into what are referred to as "attendance clusters." Figure 3.2 shows the general borders of the clusters. Schools in the Chapin High zone are referred to as the "Chapin Cluster," and schools in the Dutch Fork and Irmo zones are similarly referred to as the "Dutch Fork Cluster" and "Irmo Cluster."

Since 1972-73, the district's enrollment has increased by more than 10,000 students. The district has added new schools during that time period, and new trends have emerged in school and district enrollment (Table 9.1). Though the district's enrollment has declined since 2016-17 due to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on public school enrollment, the district's enrollment has increased since 2012-13. This growth has not occurred consistently across all attendance clusters (Table 9.2). Since 2012-13, the number of District 5 students enrolled in Chapin schools has increased by 922 students while the number of students enrolled in Irmo and Dutch Fork schools has decreased.[530] The percentage of District 5 students enrolled in Chapin schools has increased from 27.1% in 2012-13 to 33.9% in 2020-21 (Table 9.3). This is in contrast to the enrollment changes that occurred in the district in the decades that followed desegregation when the Irmo attendance cluster was the site of most of the district's growth.

TABLE 9.1. District enrollment, 2012-13, 2016-17, 2020-21[531]

School	Attendance Cluster[532]	2012-13	2016-17	2020-21[533]
Ballentine Elementary[534]	Dutch Fork	725	631	653
Chapin Elementary	Chapin	841	732	875
Chapin High	Chapin	1,331	1,309	1,522
Chapin Intermediate	Chapin	n/a	766	811
Chapin Middle	Chapin	1,129	871	979

[530] This is partially due to the opening of Spring Hill High, but the opening of Spring Hill does not fully explain the enrollment decline as Chapin students can also attend Spring Hill.
[531] Active Enrollment includes students who are active and funded: PowerSchool: Enterdate and Exitdate reflect active enrollment as of the 135th day, Entercode is not "eei" and Included in State Reporting = "Y."
[532] District 5 schools are organized into attendance clusters. Generally speaking, students in an attendance cluster typically move up to the middle school and high school that serves their cluster. For example, H. E. Corley Elementary students are zoned to attend Dutch Fork Middle and Dutch Fork High.
[533] Public school enrollment declined statewide from 769,130 in 2016-17 to 763,254 in 2020-21. This is most likely attributable to events and trends associated with the COVID-19 pandemic. The 135th day of the 2019-20 school year occurred at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic. The public school enrollment in South Carolina on the 135th day of the 2019-20 school year was 782,638. The public school enrollment in District 5 on the 135th day of the 2019-20 school year was 17,511. The state and District 5 enrollment both declined after the pandemic began.
[534] Ballentine Elementary is located within the Dutch Fork attendance cluster. Some Ballentine students attend Chapin schools in grades 5-12, but the majority of Ballentine students attend Dutch Fork schools in grades 7-12. It is grouped with Dutch Fork here as this is the appropriate attendance cluster for most Ballentine students.

School	Attendance Cluster	2012-13	2016-17	2020-21
CrossRoads Middle/Intermediate[535]	Dutch Fork and Irmo	946	815	714
Dutch Fork Elementary	Dutch Fork	535	538	476
Dutch Fork High	Dutch Fork	2,067	1,697	1,632
Dutch Fork Middle	Dutch Fork	1,045	1,043	969
H E Corley Elementary	Dutch Fork	557	588	564
Harbison West Elementary	Irmo	494	697	586
Irmo Elementary	Irmo	510	511	542
Irmo High	Irmo	1,670	1,387	1,185
Irmo Middle	Irmo	911	889	973
Lake Murray Elementary	Chapin	880	1,010	916
Leaphart Elementary	Irmo	459	460	442
Nursery Road Elementary	Irmo	513	452	438
Oak Pointe Elementary	Dutch Fork	671	642	546
River Springs Elementary	Dutch Fork	641	581	475
Seven Oaks Elementary	Irmo	468	638	481
Spring Hill High[536]	n/a	n/a	1,073	1,123
District - Total	n/a	16,393	17,330	16,902

Sources: South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race, or Ethnic Origin - 135-day Headcount: 2012-13, 2016-17*; South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race or Ethnic Origin and Pupils in Poverty - 135-Day Headcount: 2020-21.*

TABLE 9.2. District enrollment by attendance cluster[537]

Cluster	2012-13	2016-17	2020-21
Chapin	4,181	4,688	5,103
Dutch Fork	6,241	5,720	5,315
Irmo	5,025	5,034	4,647
District	16,393	17,330	16,902

Sources: South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race, or Ethnic Origin - 135-day Headcount: 2012-13, 2016-17*; South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race or Ethnic Origin and Pupils in Poverty - 135-Day Headcount: 2020-21.*

[535] CrossRoads Middle was renamed CrossRoads Intermediate for the 2015-16 school year. Sixth grade students in the Dutch Fork and Irmo attendance clusters are zoned for CrossRoads but have been eligible to apply to attend sixth grade at Irmo Middle since 2015-16.
[536] Spring Hill High opened in 2013-14 as a non-zoned magnet school. All students in the district are eligible to apply to attend Spring Hill High, and placement occurs through a lottery system. Spring Hill is not a part of the district's attendance clusters.
[537] CrossRoads Intermediate/Middle and Spring Hill High have been excluded from the attendance cluster data as they do not fit into one cluster.

TABLE 9.3. Proportion of District 5 enrollment by attendance cluster

Cluster	2012-13	2016-17	2020-21
Chapin	27.1%	30.4%	33.9%
Dutch Fork	40.4%	37.0%	35.3%
Irmo	32.5%	32.6%	30.8%

Sources: South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race, or Ethnic Origin - 135-day Headcount: 2012-13, 2016-17*; South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race or Ethnic Origin and Pupils in Poverty - 135-Day Headcount: 2020-21.*

A review of demographic data also indicates that the changes in enrollment have not occurred uniformly across all racial or ethnic groups.

TABLE 9.4. District enrollment by race or ethnic group, 2012-13, 2016-17, 2020-21

	2012-13	2016-17	2020-21
American Indian (AI)	117	37	32
Asian (A)	568	511	506
Black or African-American (B/AA)	4,933	4,840	4,818
Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (H/OPI)	n/a	51	53
Hispanic or Latino (H/L)	539	755	1,049
Two or More Races (TMR)	n/a	767	1,055
Students of Color (SoC)	6,157	6,961	7,513
White (W)	10,236	10,369	9,389
Total # of Actively Enrolled Students	16,393	17,330	16,902

Sources: South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race, or Ethnic Origin - 135-day Headcount: 2012-13, 2016-17*; South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race or Ethnic Origin and Pupils in Poverty - 135-Day Headcount: 2020-21.*

While the enrollment data of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s focused exclusively on the Black/White binary and showed that the district's White population increased over time, modern enrollment data is inclusive of other subgroups and shows a different trend. The number of White students in the district declined by 847 between 2012-13 and 2020-21 while the number of students of color increased by 1,356.

TABLE 9.5. Racial or ethnic group enrollment as a percentage of District 5 enrollment, 2012-13, 2016-17, 2020-21

	2012-13	2016-17	2020-21
% AI	0.7%	0.2%	0.2%
% A	3.5%	2.9%	3.0%
% B/AA	30.1%	27.9%	28.5%
% H/OPI	n/a	0.3%	0.3%
% H/L	3.3%	4.4%	6.2%
% TMR	n/a	4.4%	6.2%
% SoC	37.6%	40.2%	44.5%
% W	62.4%	59.8%	55.5%

Sources: South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race, or Ethnic Origin - 135-day Headcount: 2012-13, 2016-17*; South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race or Ethnic Origin and Pupils in Poverty - 135-Day Headcount: 2020-21*.

The percentage of students in the district who were students of color was 44.5% in 2020-21, and the percentage of students in the district who were White was 55.5%. In the three years in which data was analyzed, the percentage of students in the district who were Black ranged from 27.9% to 30.1%. This was similar to the pre-desegregation percentage of Black students in District 5 (see Table 4.3).

The enrollment of Black and other students of color is not consistent across the district.

TABLE 9.6. District enrollment by race or ethnic group by attendance cluster, 2012-13, 2016-17, 2020-21

	Chapin			Dutch Fork			Irmo		
	12-13	16-17	20-21	12-13	16-17	20-21	12-13	16-17	20-21
AI	34	6	5	37	15	10	42	13	8
A	61	60	127	264	205	196	211	197	133
B/AA	222	201	269	1,966	1,722	1,704	2,361	2,424	2,336
H/OPI	n/a	6	5	n/a	10	11	n/a	30	30
H/L	98	200	275	182	242	361	229	248	334
TMR	n/a	156	245	n/a	257	393	n/a	278	333
SoC	415	629	926	2,449	2,451	2,675	2,843	3,190	3,174
W	3,766	4,059	4,177	3,792	3,269	2,640	2,182	1,844	1,473
Total	4,181	4,688	5,103	6,241	5,720	5,315	5,025	5,034	4,647

Sources: South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race, or Ethnic Origin - 135-day Headcount: 2012-13, 2016-17*; South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race or Ethnic Origin and Pupils in Poverty - 135-Day Headcount: 2020-21*.

TABLE 9.7. District enrollment by race or ethnic group in non-clustered schools, 2012-13, 2016-17, 2020-21

	CrossRoads			Spring Hill	
	12-13	16-17	20-21	16-17	20-21
AI	4	1	3	2	6
A	32	26	20	23	30
B/AA	384	330	339	163	170
H/OPI	n/a	2	6	3	1
H/L	30	34	35	31	44
TMR	n/a	44	49	32	35
SoC	450	437	452	254	286
W	496	378	262	819	837
Total	946	815	714	1,073	1,123

Sources: South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race, or Ethnic Origin - 135-day Headcount: 2012-13, 2016-17*; South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race or Ethnic Origin and Pupils in Poverty - 135-Day Headcount: 2020-21*.

This information is displayed in Table 9.8 as a percentage of total enrollment in each attendance cluster by year.

TABLE 9.8. Racial or ethnic group enrollment as a percentage of attendance cluster enrollment, 2012-13, 2016-17, 2020-21

	Chapin			Dutch Fork			Irmo		
	12-13	16-17	20-21	12-13	16-17	20-21	12-13	16-17	20-21
AI	0.8%	0.1%	0.1%	0.6%	0.3%	0.2%	0.8%	0.3%	0.2%
A	1.5%	1.3%	2.5%	4.2%	3.6%	3.7%	4.2%	3.9%	2.9%
B/AA	5.3%	4.3%	5.3%	31.5%	30.1%	32.1%	47.0%	48.2%	50.3%
H/OPI	n/a	0.1%	0.1%	n/a	0.2%	0.2%	n/a	0.6%	0.6%
H/L	2.3%	4.3%	5.4%	2.9%	4.2%	6.8%	4.6%	4.9%	7.2%
TMR	n/a	3.3%	4.8%	n/a	4.5%	7.4%	n/a	5.5%	7.2%
SoC	9.9%	13.4%	18.1%	39.2%	42.8%	50.3%	56.6%	63.4%	68.3%
W	90.1%	86.6%	81.9%	60.8%	57.2%	49.7%	43.4%	36.6%	31.7%

Sources: South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race, or Ethnic Origin - 135-day Headcount: 2012-13, 2016-17*; South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race or Ethnic Origin and Pupils in Poverty - 135-Day Headcount: 2020-21*.

TABLE 9.9. Racial or ethnic group enrollment as a percentage of non-clustered schools' enrollment, 2012-13, 2016-17, 2020-21

	CrossRoads			Spring Hill	
	12-13	16-17	20-21	16-17	20-21
AI	0.4%	0.1%	0.4%	0.2%	0.5%
A	3.4%	3.2%	2.8%	2.1%	2.7%
B/AA	40.6%	40.5%	47.5%	15.2%	15.1%
H/OPI	n/a	0.2%	0.8%	0.3%	0.1%
H/L	3.2%	4.2%	4.9%	2.9%	3.9%
TMR	n/a	5.4%	6.9%	3.0%	3.1%
SoC	47.6%	53.6%	63.3%	23.7%	25.5%
W	52.4%	46.4%	36.7%	76.3%	74.5%

Sources: South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race, or Ethnic Origin - 135-day Headcount: 2012-13, 2016-17*; South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race or Ethnic Origin and Pupils in Poverty - 135-Day Headcount: 2020-21*.

The percentage of Chapin students who are students of color has increased since 2012-13, and students of color represented 18.1% of the total student population in Chapin in 2020-21. This was similar to the 1972-73 percentage of Chapin students who were Black. However, 18.1% was less than half of the percentage that students of color represented in the Dutch Fork and Irmo attendance clusters in 2020-21. The percentage of Dutch Fork students who were students of color increased by 11.1% between 2012-13 and 2020-21, and students of color represented slightly more than half of all students in the Dutch Fork schools during the 2020-21 school year. The Irmo schools experienced rapid growth in the 1960s and 1970s due to White students moving into the community, but the percentage of Irmo students who were White declined from 43.4% in 2012-13 to 31.75% in 2020-21.

Further analysis also shows that students from specific racial or ethnic groups are more heavily concentrated in some schools and attendance clusters than others.

TABLE 9.10. Percentage of race or ethnic group enrollment by attendance cluster, 2012-13, 2016-17, 2020-21

Year	Race or Ethnic Group	Chapin	Dutch Fork	Irmo	CrossRoads	Spring Hill
2012-13	AI	29.1%	31.6%	35.9%	3.4%	n/a
	A	10.7%	46.5%	37.2%	5.6%	n/a
	B/AA	4.5%	39.9%	47.9%	7.8%	n/a
	H/OPI	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	H/L	18.2%	33.8%	42.5%	5.6%	n/a
	TMR	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
	SoC	6.7%	39.8%	46.2%	7.3%	n/a
	W	36.8%	37.1%	21.3%	4.9%	n/a
2016-17	AI	16.2%	40.5%	35.1%	2.7%	5.4%
	A	11.7%	40.1%	38.6%	5.1%	4.5%
	B/AA	4.2%	35.6%	50.1%	6.8%	3.4%
	H/OPI	11.8%	19.6%	58.8%	3.9%	5.9%
	H/L	26.5%	32.1%	32.9%	4.5%	4.1%
	TMR	20.3%	33.5%	36.3%	5.7%	4.2%
	SoC	9.0%	35.2%	45.8%	6.3%	3.6%
	W	39.2%	31.5%	17.8%	3.7%	7.9%
2020-21	AI	15.6%	31.3%	25.0%	9.4%	18.8%
	A	25.1%	38.7%	26.3%	4.0%	5.9%
	B/AA	5.6%	35.4%	48.5%	7.0%	3.5%
	H/OPI	9.4%	20.8%	56.6%	11.3%	1.9%
	H/L	26.2%	34.4%	31.8%	3.3%	4.2%
	TMR	23.2%	37.3%	31.6%	4.6%	3.3%
	SoC	12.3%	35.6%	42.2%	6.0%	3.8%
	W	44.5%	28.1%	15.7%	2.8%	8.9%

Sources: South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race, or Ethnic Origin - 135-day Headcount: 2012-13, 2016-17*; South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race or Ethnic Origin and Pupils in Poverty - 135-Day Headcount: 2020-21*.

The percentage of the district's Black student enrollment who attended a school in the Irmo cluster increased between 2012-13 and 2020-21. This means that while Irmo's total enrollment has declined, it serves an increasing percentage of the district's Black students. Since 2012-13, less than six percent of the district's Black student enrollment has been in any school in the Chapin attendance cluster. The percentage of the district's White student enrollment that attended Chapin schools increased from 36.8% in 2012-13 to 44.5% in 2020-21.

The recent enrollment trends in the district differ greatly from the district's desegregation era. Once the site of White flight and a rapidly increasing White student population, the number of White students in the district has decreased in recent years. These changes, however, are not consistent across attendance clusters. Students of color now represent more than half of all students in two attendance clusters. Enrollment in the Chapin attendance cluster has increased in recent years, and 45.5% of all White students in the district were enrolled in Chapin schools in 2020-21 even though Chapin represented just 33.9% of the district's total enrollment that year. These are indications that the district's student enrollment is resegregating along attendance cluster lines, with an increasing number of the district's White students moving to Chapin and a high percentage of the district's students of color attending Dutch Fork and Irmo schools.

Academic Opportunities

In addition to the rising segregation by attendance cluster, student enrollment is segregating within schools. The district offers advanced courses in grades three through twelve. These courses include the Academically Gifted Program (AGP) for students in grades three through five, honors programs for students in grades six through twelve, and Advanced Placement (AP), International Baccalaureate (IB), and Dual Enrollment classes for students in grades nine through twelve. The racial and ethnic data on students in the classes indicates that some groups are underrepresented while others are overrepresented in the courses.

TABLE 9.11. AGP enrollment by racial or ethnic group – Grades 3-5, 2016-17 to 2020-21[538]

	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20	2020-21
American Indian or Alaska Native (AI or AN)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Asian (A)	5.0%	5.0%	5.0%	5.0%	5.0%
Black or African American (B/AA)	13.0%	14.0%	15.0%	13.0%	13.0%
Hispanic/Latino (H/L)	3.0%	4.0%	3.0%	3.0%	4.0%
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (NH/OPI)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Two or More Races (TMR)	4.0%	5.0%	5.0%	6.0%	8.0%
White (W)	75.0%	73.0%	72.0%	72.0%	70.0%

Source: School District Five of Lexington and Richland Counties, "District 5 2020-2021 Needs Assessment Gifted and Talented Committee."

In grades three through five, White students accounted for a 75% of the students in AGP classes in 2016-17 but represented just 59.8% of the district's population during that school year. The percentage of students in AGP classes who were White fell to 70% in 2020-21 but the percentage of students in the district who were White also fell from 59.8% to 55.5% during the same time period.[539]

A similar trend exists in grades six through eight and nine through twelve. The data is presented in separate tables due to the different courses available to students in those grade levels.

TABLE 9.12. Enrollment in honors courses in grades 6-8 by racial or ethnic group, 2016-17 to 2020-21

	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20	2020-21
AI/AN	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
A	4.0%	4.0%	4.0%	4.0%	4.0%
B/AA	18.0%	17.0%	17.0%	17.0%	18.0%
H/R	4.0%	4.0%	4.0%	5.0%	4.0%
NH/OPI	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
TMR	3.0%	4.0%	4.0%	6.0%	5.0%
W	71.0%	71.0%	70.0%	68.0%	68.0%

Source: School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties, "District 5 2020-2021 Needs Assessment Gifted and Talented Committee."

[538] Data from this section comes from district reports prepared for the 2020-2021 Needs Assessment Gifted and Talented Committee.

[539] While the racial and ethnic data on AGP enrollment is broken down by grade level groups such as grades 3-5, it is being compared here to the racial and ethnic data on the district's enrollment across all grade levels as racial and ethnic data by grade level is not publicly available. This is done to provide a general comparison.

TABLE 9.13. Enrollment in honors, AP, IB, Dual Enrollment courses in grades 9-12 by racial or ethnic group, 2016-17 to 2020-21

	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20	2020-21
AI/AN	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
A	3.0%	4.0%	4.0%	4.0%	4.0%
B/AA	20.0%	21.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%
H/L	4.0%	4.0%	5.0%	5.0%	5.0%
NH/OPI	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
TMR	3.0%	3.0%	3.0%	4.0%	4.0%
W	70.0%	68.0%	68.0%	66.0%	66.0%

Source: School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties, "District 5 2020-2021 Needs Assessment Gifted and Talented Committee."

During each year in which data was made available and across all grade level configurations, White students were overrepresented in the district's advanced courses.

The percentage of students within each racial or ethnic group who participate in AGP, Honors, AP, IB, or Dual Enrollment courses also shows that students from some groups are placed into advanced courses at higher rates than students from other groups. Tables 9.14, 9.15, and 9.16 display the percentage of students within specific racial and ethnic groups who were placed into at least one advanced course.[540]

TABLE 9.14. Percentage of students within racial or ethnic groups who participate in at least one AGP course, Grades 3-5

	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20	2020-21
A	48.0%	45.0%	49.0%	56.0%	55.0%
B/AA	15.0%	15.0%	15.0%	13.0%	14.0%
H/L	21.0%	21.0%	16.0%	15.0%	20.0%
TMR	25.0%	27.0%	27.0%	27.0%	34.0%
W	41.0%	39.0%	40.0%	40.0%	39.0%

Source: School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties, "District 5 2020-2021 Needs Assessment Gifted and Talented Committee."

[540] The data in the tables contains the percentage of students within each racial or ethnic group who are enrolled in at least one AGP, Honors, AP, IB, or Dual Enrollment course. This information is broken out by grade level grouping and year. Racial and ethnic groups with less than twenty students in a specific grade level configuration were omitted from these tables.

TABLE 9.15. Percentage of students within racial or ethnic groups who participate in at least one honors course, Grades 6-8

	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20	2020-21
A	73.0%	65.0%	67.0%	70.0%	80.0%
B/AA	34.0%	32.0%	31.0%	33.0%	32.0%
H/L	45.0%	41.0%	41.0%	40.0%	40.0%
TMR	38.0%	46.0%	43.0%	57.0%	51.0%
W	66.0%	67.0%	68.0%	68.0%	68.0%

Source: School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties, "District 5 2020-2021 Needs Assessment Gifted and Talented Committee."

TABLE 9.16. Percentage of students within racial or ethnic groups who participate in at least one honors, AP, IB, or Dual Enrollment course, Grades 9-12

	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20	2020-21
A	75.0%	81.0%	84.0%	85.0%	82.0%
B/AA	44.0%	48.0%	45.0%	46.0%	46.0%
H/L	61.0%	61.0%	61.0%	61.0%	62.0%
TMR	60.0%	56.0%	54.0%	57.0%	57.0%
W	74.0%	76.0%	76.0%	76.0%	76.0%

Source: School District 5 of Lexington and Richland Counties, "District 5 2020-2021 Needs Assessment Gifted and Talented Committee."

The percentage of Black or African-American students, Hispanic or Latino students, and students coded as Two or More Races who were placed into at least one advanced course was less than the percentage of Asian and White students placed into at least one advanced course. This was true of all grade levels. The percentage of students within each racial or ethnic group who participate in the advanced courses increases in the upper grades, but the opportunities to participate are still unequal across all racial or ethnic groups.

The two methods of quantifying participation in the advanced courses reflect the same trend. The advanced courses serve a greater percentage of White students than would be expected based on the district's enrollment. In addition, Asian and White students are placed into the advanced courses at higher rates than Black or African-American students, Hispanic or Latino students, and students coded as Two or More

Races. These trends lead to racial isolation in specific classrooms within the increasingly segregated schools.

Special Education and Discipline Data

During Mrs. Parks's discussion of her experiences in Chapin, she recalled receiving suspensions after altercations with White students but also noted that White students did not receive consequences for their role in such situations. Students involved in the March 1975 protests also pointed out the inequitable application of the district's discipline policies.[541] Data from district records showed that this issue impacted Black students throughout the district, with 35.2% of all 1971-72 suspensions being assigned to Black students despite Black students representing just 10.78% of the student population in 1972-73. [542] Mrs. Parks also shared that Black students in Chapin were typically placed into special education "adjunct" classes. Like the suspension data in district records, the special education data found in the district records also indicated that Black students were overrepresented in special education classrooms, accounting for 85.48% of all students served in special education in 1971-72 and 86.17% of all students identified as having "educable" learning disabilities in 1971-72.[543]

Enrollment, suspension, and special education data are now reported in the biennial Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC), and this data source provides key information on present-day discipline and special education placement data. Due to the on-going effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, the last year of available data from the CRDC was the 2017-18 school year.

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[541] Board Minutes, March 17, 1975.
[542] Board Minutes, June 18, 1973, February 19, 1973.
[543] Board Minutes, February 19, 1973, June 18, 1973.

TABLE 9.17. Enrollment, discipline, and special education data from Civil Rights Data Collection, 2017-18

	Enrollment[544]	Students who Received In-School Suspensions	Students who Received Out-Of-School Suspensions	Students who Received Expulsions	Students with Disabilities Served under IDEA
American Indian / Alaska Native (AI/AN)	0.2%	0.1%	0.1%	0.9%	0.4%
Asian (A)	3.1%	0.8%	0.6%	0%	1.7%
Black (B)	27.5%	59.1%	59%	63.2%	36.1%
Hispanic (H)	4.9%	3%	2.9%	0.9%	4.9%
Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander (NH/PI)	0.3%	0.2%	0.2%	0%	0.3%
Two or More Races (TMR)	4.9%	6.5%	6.2%	4.3%	4.6%
White (W)	59.1%	30.4%	30.9%	30.8%	52.1%

Sources: United States Department of Education, *Civil Rights Data Collection: 2017-18*, "Discipline, Restraints/Seclusion, Harassment/Bullying," "LEA Characteristics and Membership," "Students w/Disabilities (IDEA)," https://ocrdata.ed.gov/profile/9/district/31897/summary.

This data indicates that Black students continue to receive a disproportionate share of the district's most severe discipline consequences. Black students made up 27.5% of the district's enrollment but represented 59.1% of the students who received in-school suspensions, 59% of the students who received an out-of-school suspension, and 63.2% of students receiving expulsions. No other racial or ethnic group was over-represented in all three areas. The percentage of students who received in- or out-of-school suspensions who were coded as Two or More Race was greater than the percentage that students coded as Two or More Races represented in the district's enrollment. The percentage of students who received expulsions who were coded as American Indian / Alaska Native was greater than the percentage that students coded as American Indian / Alaska Native

[544] Civil Rights Data Collection utilizes different reporting rules than sources such as district reports and the 135-Day Active Student Headcounts. This results in slight variations in enrollment data. Despite these differences, the data is useful in examining trends.

represented in the district's enrollment. White students, who made up more than half of the students in the district, made up less than one-third of the students receiving in-school suspensions, out-of-school suspensions, or expulsions.

The CRDC data on students with disabilities served under IDEA illustrates similar trends. Black students made up 27.5% of all students in the district and 36.1% of all students with disabilities served under IDEA. The only other group to be overrepresented on this measure was students coded as American Indian / Alaska Native. CRDC also contains data on the percentage of students within each racial or ethnic group who were identified as students with disabilities served under IDEA (SWD-IDEA).

TABLE 9.18. Percent of Students within Racial/Ethnic Group Identified as SWD-IDEA

	2017-18
AI/AN	29%
A	7.2%
B	17.7%
H	13.5%
NH/PI	10.9%
TMR	12.7%
W	11.9%
All	13.5%

Source: United States Department of Education, *Civil Rights Data Collection: 2017-18*, "LEA Characteristics and Membership," "Students w/Disabilities (IDEA)," https://ocrdata.ed.gov/profile/9/district/31897/summary.

While 13.5% of District 5 students were identified as SWD-IDEA, 17.7% of Black students received this identification. Only students coded as American Indian / Alaska Native were identified at a higher rate than Black students.

Other data from CRDC reflects that students from marginalized groups are placed into special education programs for different reasons than their White peers. These distinctions are important because the types of services received by students varies in part due to the type of disability. The CRDC reports include data on specific special education

categories and the number of students served in each category. This data is disaggregated by the race or ethnicity of students in each category.

TABLE 9.19. Percentage of students in each Students with Disabilities category by race[545]

Category	% A	% B	% H	% TMR	% W
Autism	3.21%	34.86%	4.59%	4.59%	52.75%
Developmental delay	2.22%	32.59%	2.22%	8.15%	54.81%
Emotional disturbance	0.00%	37.50%	2.50%	10.00%	50.00%
Intellectual disability	2.74%	43.84%	4.11%	8.22%	41.10%
Other health impairments	0.56%	36.80%	3.65%	5.90%	53.09%
Specific learning disability	0.76%	47.50%	3.93%	4.69%	43.12%
Speech or language impairments	2.54%	27.01%	4.31%	4.11%	62.04%

Source: United States Department of Education, *Civil Rights Data Collection: 2017-18*, "Students with Disabilities, by Disability Categories (2009+)," https://ocrdata.ed.gov/flex/Reports.aspx?type=school.

Determining overrepresentation and underrepresentation within this dataset is difficult because two groups of students from the total enrollment are excluded from this analysis. However, it appears that White students were under-represented within each category except Speech or Language Impairments. It also appears that Black students made up a larger than expected share of each category except Speech or Language Impairments, and students coded as Two or More Races are likely overrepresented in every category except Autism, Specific Learning Disability, and Speech or Language Impairments.

There are also variations in the placement of students from each racial or ethnic group.

[545] Racial and Ethnic Groups with less than twenty students in the Students with Disabilities with Services Under IDEA have been excluded from these calculations but are included in the CRDC data. The categories with less than twenty students were also excluded from these calculations. Thus, this table only reflects data on racial and ethnic groups with more than twenty students served in the specified categories. Additionally, the data on the CRDC website displays <=2 in many places in the data set. While this would seem to indicate that the number in the table is less than or equal to two, the dataset contains several instances in which one or two students are identified. It was assumed that <=2 in the "Students with Disabilities, by Disability Categories" tables represents a zero. This was confirmed during a phone call to the CRDC support team on February 9, 2022

TABLE 9.20. Students with Disabilities Served Under IDEA – Percentage of students in each racial or ethnic group served in each category[546]

Category	Asian Students	Black Students	Hispanic Students	Students Coded as Two or More Races	White Students
% Autism	21.21%	10.05%	12.66%	9.52%	11.09%
% Developmental delay	9.09%	5.82%	3.80%	10.48%	7.14%
% Emotional disturbance	0.00%	1.98%	1.27%	3.81%	1.93%
% Hearing impairments	3.03%	0.79%	1.27%	0.95%	0.68%
% Intellectual disability	6.06%	4.23%	3.80%	5.71%	2.89%
% Other health impairments	6.06%	17.33%	16.46%	20.00%	18.23%
% Specific learning disability	15.15%	41.53%	32.91%	29.52%	27.48%
% Speech or language impairments	39.39%	18.25%	27.85%	20.00%	30.57%

Sources: United States Department of Education, *Civil Rights Data Collection: 2017-18*, "Students with Disabilities, by Disability Categories (2009+)," https://ocrdata.ed.gov/flex/Reports.aspx?type=school.

Specific Learning Disability was the most common categorization for Black students, Hispanic students, and students coded as Two or More Races who were identified as SWD-IDEA. The percentage of students identified as SWD-IDEA who were categorized as Specific Learning Disability was almost ten percent greater among Black students identified as SWD-IDEA than among any other racial or ethnic group. Speech or Language Impairments was the most common categorization for White and Asian students identified as SWD-IDEA.

Data from the 2017-18 CRDC indicates that racialized discipline and special education trends that were present in the district fifty years ago are still factors in students' experiences in the present-day. Black students make up a disproportionate share of the students who receive in- and out-of-school suspensions and expulsions. Black students and students coded as American Indian / Alaska Native are over-represented in the special education population and are placed into special education programs at a

[546] Racial and Ethnic Groups with less than twenty students in the Students with Disabilities with Services Under IDEA have been excluded from these calculations but are included in the CRDC data. The categories with less than twenty students were also excluded from these calculations. Thus, this table only reflects data on racial and ethnic groups with more than twenty students served in the specified categories.

higher rate than students from other racial and ethnic groups. There are also racialized disparities in the students' placement categories, and this indicates that the types of services commonly received by students identified as SWD-IDEA vary by race or ethnic group.

Facilities Data

During the segregated era, the Richlex facility was consistently neglected by the district's board and administration in favor of White school facilities. This impacted academic and athletic experiences at Richlex. Ultimately, the board decided to renovate the building before it became Irmo Junior High and began serving both Black and White students in 1968. School facilities were evaluated in 2019 as part of a District-Wide Facilities Need Assessment (DWFNA). This report was commissioned by District 5 and was performed by M. B. Kahn Construction Co., Inc.[547] The findings of the DWFNA and recent enrollment data indicates continued inequities in the quality of school facilities.

The DWFNA reported that the average age of school facilities in District 5 was thirty-five years. The report also categorized the facilities by age.

TABLE 9.21. Age of facilities, 2019

Age of School	Number of Schools
0-20 Years	4
20-39 Years[548]	7
40-59 Years	8
60+ Years	2

Source: DWFNA.

The majority of the facilities in the district were between 20 and 59 years old in 2019.

[547] M. B. Kahn Construction Co., Inc., *District-Wide Facilities Need Assessment*. (2019), https://www.lexrich5.org/cms/lib/SC01916806/Centricity/Domain/5036/District-Wide%20Facilities%20Need%20Assessment%202019.pdf

[548] The categories come from the DWFNA. The duplication of the twenty in the first two groups appears to be accidental. As no facilities were nineteen or twenty years old at the time of the report, this error does not impact the basic data provided.

The age of facilities can also be compared to the DWFNA's analysis of each facility's condition and student enrollment.

TABLE 9.22. Facility condition, construction/renovation date, and student enrollment, 2021-22[549]

School	Attendance Cluster	Facility Condition	Originally Built	Reno./ Add.	% Students of Color	% White
Ballentine Elem.	Dutch Fork	Good	2002		37.03%	62.97%
Chapin Elem.	Chapin	Good	1977	2010	23.56%	76.44%
Chapin High	Chapin	Fair	1971	2015	18.14%	81.85%
Chapin Inter.	Chapin	Good	1990		18.00%	82.00%
Chapin Middle	Chapin	Excellent	2015		19.28%	80.72%
CrossRoads Inter.	Dutch Fork /Irmo	Fair	1971		63.76%	36.23%
Dutch Fork Elem.	Dutch Fork	Fair	1953		67.38%	32.64%
Dutch Fork High	Dutch Fork	Fair	1992	2014	54.34%	45.67%
Dutch Fork Middle	Dutch Fork	Good	1998		51.71%	48.28%
H E Corley Elem.	Dutch Fork	Good	1990		66.89%	33.10%
Harbison West Elem.	Irmo	Poor	1980		77.82%	22.18%
Irmo Elem.	Irmo	Good	1935	2012	33.45%	66.54%
Irmo High	Irmo	Poor	1964	2015	74.93%	25.07%
Irmo Middle	Irmo	Fair	1976		66.19%	33.82%
Lake Murray Elem.	Chapin	Good	1997		16.81%	83.19%
Leaphart Elem.	Irmo	Good	1974	2010	75.33%	24.68%
Nursery Road Elem.	Irmo	Poor	1979		61.98%	38.02%
Oak Pointe Elem.	Dutch Fork	Good	2006		41.71%	58.29%
Piney Woods Elem.[550]	Chapin	n/a	2021		14.70%	85.30%
River Springs Elem.	Dutch Fork	Good	1997		38.85%	61.15%
Seven Oaks Elem.	Irmo	Fair	1966	2011	88.64%	11.35%
Spring Hill High	n/a	Excellent	2013		27.83%	72.18%

Sources: DWFNA, South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race, or Ethnic Origin and Pupils in Poverty - 45-day Headcount: 2021-22*.

The district's schools were constructed between 1935 and 2021. Irmo Elementary School, listed as the oldest building in the report, underwent significant renovation in 2012. A more accurate range of the years of construction would be 1953 to 2021. Dutch Fork

[549] Enrollment data comes from the South Carolina Department of Education's *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race, or Ethnic Origin and Pupils in Poverty - 45-day Headcount: 2021-22* report. Due to the amount of data and the need to fit the table on one page, students coded as American Indian, Asian, Black or African American, Hispanic or Latino, Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, or Two or More Races were included in the Students of Color group. Active Enrollment includes students who are active and funded: PowerSchool: Enterdate and Exitdate reflect active enrollment as of the 45th day, Entercode is not "eei" and Included in State Reporting = "Y."

[550] Piney Woods Elementary School opened in the Chapin attendance cluster in August 2021. It was not included in the DWFNA but would likely be rated as "Excellent."

Elementary, the former Richlex School, is listed in the DWFNA as the oldest non-renovated school.

Breaking down the facility condition of each school by attendance cluster shows that the condition of the school facilities varies by attendance cluster.

TABLE 9.23. Facility condition by attendance cluster

	Chapin	Dutch Fork	Irmo	n/a
Excellent	1			1
Good	3	5	2	
Fair	1	2	2	1
Poor			3	
n/a	1			

Source: DWFNA.

The only facilities in the district rated as "Poor" are located in the Irmo cluster. Irmo is the only cluster in which the majority of facilities are rated as "Fair" or "Poor." Eight of the ten facilities rated as "Good" were located in the Dutch Fork and Chapin attendance clusters. The only school facilities rated as "Excellent" were Spring Hill High, the all-district magnet school, and Chapin Middle, located in the Chapin cluster.

Building condition also varied by the racial or ethnic makeup of the student body in 2021-22.

TABLE 9.24. Facility condition by racial makeup of student body, 2021-22

	Predominantly SoC Enrollment	Predominantly White Enrollment
Excellent	0	2
Good	3	7
Fair	5	1
Poor	3	0
n/a	0	1

Sources: DWFNA, South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race, or Ethnic Origin and Pupils in Poverty - 45-day Headcount: 2021-22*.

The only two facilities in the district that were rated as "Excellent" served predominantly White student populations during the 2021-22 school year. Of the facilities rated "Good," seven out of ten served predominantly White student populations. All but one of the

facilities in “Fair” condition and all three facilities rated “Poor” had an enrollment that was predominantly students of color.

The age of the facilities in 2022 was also compared to the racial and ethnic makeup of the student body.

TABLE 9.25. Age of facility by racial makeup of student body, 2021-22

	Predominantly SoC Enrollment	Predominantly White Enrollment
Average Age of School if Using Original Construction Date	45.36	28.91
Average Age of School if Using Renovation Date	31.36	14.91
Median Age of School if Using Original Construction Date	46	25
Median Age of School if Using Renovation Date	32	12

Sources: DWFNA, South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race, or Ethnic Origin and Pupils in Poverty - 45-day Headcount: 2021-22*.

The average and median ages of the predominantly White schools were less than the average and median ages of the schools in which the student body was predominantly made up of students of color. This was true even if the renovation dates were used for schools serving a student body that was predominantly students of color and original construction dates were used for schools serving a predominantly White student body.

These are continuations of trends that have existed in the district for decades. During the segregated era, White students and schools benefited from the board and administration’s focus on White school facilities. New schools were constructed in District 5 to keep up with the rapidly increasing White student enrollment, and Black students benefited from this investment only because the school district desegregated in 1968. Years later, new school construction and improvements have followed White students as they have migrated to the western half of the district. The students who attend schools in the Irmo attendance cluster are served by the lowest-rated school facilities in

the district, and these facilities are also the schools with enrollments that are predominantly students of color.

Teacher Data

The district's faculty experienced rapid change in its racial makeup during desegregation. The percentage of District 5's full-time classroom teachers who were Black decreased from 28.2% to 5.6% between 1965-66 and 1972-73. This occurred as White students migrated into the district, new teaching positions were created, Black teachers retired or were displaced during desegregation, and nearly every new position and vacancy was filled by a White teacher. There were 233 full-time classroom teachers in District 5 in 1972-73, and the number of teachers in the district has increased by more than one thousand since that time with 1,286 teachers employed by the district in 2019-20. This section examines whether or not the district's faculty has changed as the district has grown and its student population has changed.

Like student enrollment data, modern racial and ethnic data on teachers has progressed beyond the Black/White binary.

TABLE 9.26. District 5 teachers by race, 2008-09 to 2019-20[551]

Year	Asian	Black	Hispanic	Indian	White	Race Not Reported	Total
2008-09	2	101	12	3	1,095	77	1,288
2009-10	2	98	12	2	1,046	75	1,234
2010-11	3	91	12	1	1,030	72	1,209
2011-12	3	88	15	1	1,015	73	1,194
2012-13	4	96	12	3	1,045	80	1,240
2013-14	5	104	16	3	1,052	72	1,252
2014-15	5	102	18	2	1,029	66	1,222
2015-16	8	107	22	2	1,017	58	1,214
2016-17	8	113	24	2	1,038	57	1,240
2017-18	11	121	24	2	1,063	55	1,275
2018-19	11	122	24	2	1,061	49	1,270
2019-20	12	128	24	2	1,074	46	1,286

Source: South Carolina Department of Education, "Professional Certified Staff File."

[551] The categories come directly from the South Carolina Department of Education files.

TABLE 9.27. District 5 teachers by race as a percentage of all teachers, 2008-09 to 2019-20

Year	Asian	Black	Hispanic	Indian	White	Race Not Reported
2008-09	0.16%	7.81%	0.93%	0.20%	84.96%	5.95%
2009-10	0.16%	7.90%	0.97%	0.13%	84.79%	6.05%
2010-11	0.25%	7.54%	0.99%	0.08%	85.21%	5.92%
2011-12	0.25%	7.36%	1.24%	0.08%	84.98%	6.08%
2012-13	0.30%	7.77%	0.94%	0.24%	84.28%	6.48%
2013-14	0.38%	8.33%	1.30%	0.24%	83.98%	5.77%
2014-15	0.38%	8.37%	1.48%	0.16%	84.21%	5.39%
2015-16	0.63%	8.80%	1.84%	0.16%	83.76%	4.80%
2016-17	0.62%	9.07%	1.92%	0.16%	83.65%	4.58%
2017-18	0.84%	9.49%	1.88%	0.16%	83.34%	4.29%
2018-19	0.88%	9.63%	1.89%	0.16%	83.56%	3.87%
2019-20	0.95%	9.94%	1.87%	0.16%	83.55%	3.54%

Source: South Carolina Department of Education, "Professional Certified Staff File."

The percentage District 5 teachers who were Asian, Black, or Hispanic increased between 2008-09 and 2019-20. The percentage District 5 teachers who were Black experienced the most growth, increasing by 2.13%. The percentage of White teachers in the district declined by 1.41%.

While this is progress towards a faculty that is more representative of the students served in the district, it does not match the changes in the district's student population. Between 2012-13 and 2020-21, the percentage of District 5 students who were White decreased by 6.9%. The percentage of District 5 teachers who were White decreased by 0.73% between 2012-13 and 2019-20. A half-century after substantial changes to the racial makeup of the district's faculty and in the midst of the changing racial makeup of the district's students, teachers of color continue to be under-represented in the district's faculty.

The Experiences of Black District 5 Graduates who Became Educators

The students who attended District 5 schools during desegregation reported a range of experiences and emotions when discussing their education. These included

positive experiences associated with specific teachers, new relationships, and different opportunities, and the former students also described negative experiences such as isolation, anxiety, and abuse. Participants noted the absence of Black educators in the desegregated environment, and archived material from the time period documents the concerns that Black students and parents had with the district's curriculum, transportation, and discipline practices. Initial analysis on current enrollment, academic opportunities, discipline, special education, facilities, and teacher demographics indicates that many historical inequities are still present in the district's schools today.

The stories of two Black District 5 administrators who grew up in the Chapin and Irmo communities were explored in order to document the lived educational experiences of the district's Black students and educators in the decades since desegregation. Another long-serving Black principal in the district was interviewed due to his involvement in preserving the history of Richlex School, and he shared some of his experiences as a Black administrator in the district during the interview. Though the intention was to document the unique educational and professional experiences of current Black administrators in the district, their stories frequently mentioned issues that were similar to the experiences of Black students in the generations that preceded them. These stories are grouped based on the different roles that the participants have held in District 5 over time: students, educators, and parents.

Participants' Student Experiences

Ms. Melanie Harris attended the Chapin schools, graduating in 2001. Her grandmother, Mrs. Princetta Harris, graduated from Harbison and was a long-time teacher at Chapin Elementary, retiring when the younger Ms. Harris reached third grade.

The elder Mrs. Harris was a key influence on the younger's education even though the two never shared a classroom.

> I would like to think my experience is probably a little bit different than most African-American students. My grandmother was one of, or was the only Black teacher at Chapin El. when I started there up until I went to third grade, when she retired. She taught in Lexington, with Rosenwald Schools, and then came over to Chapin and was there for about thirty years. But given that, very highly respected in the community and there was always a family expectation that you were to perform at school, you were to do what you're supposed to do, be where you're supposed to be, all that goodness, just because that was the family expectation. So getting in trouble, not getting good grades was not necessarily an option, but I picked up on very early on that I was one of the very few African-American students in my class. A girl and I were best friends from first to sixth grade and probably on but we were the only two Black students in our class every year from first to sixth grade. And so not a lot of African-American students at all. Maybe, probably about a pod of twenty. Maybe not in the whole grade level. Maybe, probably about 15 in the whole grade level and that shrunk, and shrunk, and shrunk the older that we got. A lot of my classmates that were African-American moved within, not very far away, Irmo, Dutch Fork-area, Newberry, that kind of thing, came back, in and out that kind of thing. But when I ended up graduating in 2001, there were 11 of us. I want to believe 11 of us that graduated that year.

Both Harris women experienced racial isolation in the Chapin schools, with Mrs. P. Harris being the only Black teacher at Chapin Elementary and Ms. M. Harris being one

of the few Black students in Chapin. Ms. Harris recalled the challenge of trying to remain active in the predominantly White school environment while maintaining her connections to her Black friends and the larger Black community.

> I was always characterized more as the Black girl that was the White girl, because I did band. I started cheering in seventh grade. I was the only middle school, it was me and my best friend and then she dropped out of cheerleading, eighth grade, ninth grade. And it was just me. And then there was one more in 10th grade. And then it was just me again for the next year or two years. But the family expectation is that you were academic and you were involved in the school. So student body, student government, and having an office there, those kinds of things. That was the expectation. And those were things that I enjoyed, don't get me wrong, but it was hard being able to have a social life here with doing those things, but still maintaining my ties to the Black community, and my friends that were Black, and those kinds of things. And I see my own child struggle with it right now.

Ms. Harris further described learning to find her way through the predominantly White spaces in Chapin and at Winthrop while remaining conscious of her racial identity and connection to her family, church, and community.

> So my ties to my friends that were African-American, and my church family, and those kinds of things were really what kept me grounded in, "You're a Brown person. You're a Black person. Don't forget that. But you still need to go do well at school." And just learning how to navigate that. I ended up going to Winthrop for my undergrad. And again, my sister and I had the exact same experiences,

> almost, except just different in age-wise, we're six years apart. She ended up going to South Carolina State loved an HBCU, all about it. That's just, "Hey, cool, good." Me, on the other hand, I didn't want anything to do with that. My mom worked at Benedict, and I was like, "I'll go for summer school, but I'm not going." That just wasn't my cup of tea kind of thing. But still trying to keep my connections and my ties there.

Her stories also reflect the differences in experiences within the Black community as well as the influence of socioeconomic status and education levels on those experiences.

> There was a little bit of, I can't say entitlement, but just, "Those are those Harris girls from the other side of the track. They don't really fit in with us." So then not only was it a little bit of segregation racially-wise, but then within our race, there's even more, like, "Uh." And it wasn't necessarily that if I heard one time, I heard 10,000 times that we thought we were better than everyone else. And that was not the case.
>
> But I still hear it as an adult. They're like, "Oh, y'all always thought y'all were better than that. Right?" I'm like, "No." Well that just wasn't the expectation, that wasn't the family culture. That wasn't what we were supposed to, there were some things my parents just weren't going to let us do, that kind of thing. Not a lot of race conversation, but you could tell, and I think even still remains, you could tell conversations hushed as you walked into rooms, or changed very quickly, or that kind of thing. And that is also sad too because I don't see a lot of that has changed in Chapin either, because just as with the African-Americans, there are still a lot of White people that are there that have laid their roots down

> there and have been there for some time. And so the Fricks and the Derricks, the Haltiwangers, the Cannons, that crew and now their kids and grandkids are having kids, those kinds of things. So you have, I think, a separation and segregation on that side too because you have those that have already been there, and always been there, and have family roots and ties there. But then you have what I like to call the rush of immigrants into Chapin. And so some of them bring their own biases and some of them have adapted the ways of the old school ones that have been there. And some of them have brought their own new, "Well, this is Chapin, and this is what we do. And this is what we don't do. And we don't have that in Chapin." And I'm like, "But you haven't been here. I've been here longer than you have." You know?

While Ms. Harris actively worked to stay connected to the Black community, this was complicated by both the existing divides among Black students and the racial isolation she experienced during the school day. Ms. Harris also pointed out that, like some of the area's White families, some Black families have lived in Chapin for generations, and she noted that more recent immigrants to the town sometimes fail to see or understand this part of Chapin's history.

Like Ms. Harris's families ties to the Chapin area, Mr. Jason Pollock's family has lived in the Dutch Fork community for multiple generations. Mr. Pollock attended Dutch Fork Elementary School and Irmo Middle School before graduating from Dutch Fork High School in 1997. Though his family and other Black families had long-standing ties to the area, Black students were greatly outnumbered by White students when Mr. Pollock was a student.

> And most of the Black communities, like I know the Eichelbergers and the Reeves and the Meggetts and a whole lot, all of that was on that side. So all of us were pretty much at Dutch Fork Elementary but still there wasn't many.

He described trying to fit in as a Black student in a predominantly White school during his elementary school years.

> And I remember, and it was this picture I had, I wish I had bought that book of my class. I remember I had five, I think it was five Black kids in my class. I was like, "Dude, where did all the Black people go in that class?" It was fifth grade, I'll never forget it, sixth grade. And I was like, "Dude, how?" I don't even remember that…I remember being so tight-knit with just a few of them and the others, we felt like had completely just adopted the dominant culture. Like we tried to reserve some of that ourselves. We couldn't give you completely everything.

His description of feeling as though he had to assimilate into the White, middle-class community while trying to maintain some part of his own identity and culture is similar to what was shared by Ms. Harris.

Mr. Pollock grew up with the knowledge that there were consequences associated with being Black and attempting to speak up for yourself or not assimilating in some way. In some cases, these were issues he experienced directly, while in other instances they were stories that had been passed down through the generations. Mr. Pollock shared what his great-grandfather endured after he spoke up to a member of the White community.

> A prominent White man that's in the community at that time comes around. He says something to my great-grandfather, and he says something back. The next thing they know he's picked up, taken off, put on the chain gang, he's gone for years. That's just, I mean.
>
> So you say something and then that basically transcends to, now you say the wrong thing, there's a repercussion for that. And so he's going to the chain gang, and they bring him back. And eventually, I mean, they start taking out parcels of land. I mean, they sell off his land for cheap.

Some of these lessons were passed down to Mr. Pollock by his parents. They created rules for where he was allowed to go and how late he was allowed to be there, and they also told him how to act in specific situations with law enforcement. His parents' rules and lessons were informed by their racial experiences in the community.

> My parents had to talk with us, but it was not just the talk, but it was a constant, always be mindful, always know who you are, always know where you are. Like I said, when I was young and we used to ride our bikes, you didn't go past the Hardee's in Ballentine. That was the limit. You didn't get caught after sundown that way. You always made sure you were back towards the house, going back that way, by the time the sun started to go down.
>
> When I started driving, I'll never forget. I got stopped right there, right at the beginning of Friarsgate, like off of 76, and me and my cousin, and he was... The total different reactions we were had to the police stopping us. And he was like, "Man, what is going on? Like, why..." I'm like, "Dude, did nobody have the talk with you? You can't behave like this." And I remember him getting us out of the

car. I'm like, it's completely unnecessary. Knowing what I know now it was completely unnecessary, but then it was like conform. Just whatever he says, do. You have to get back home. And I remember telling the police officer, I said, "I live right across the highway, just right over there on Kennerly Road. I promise you it'll take me two minutes to get there."

I mean, nothing really happened other than he bothered us a little bit, but that was typical. I mean, that was the conversation, just like you said. If White people were having a conversation, like this would be typical for us. Like, "Yeah, we got harassed. The police said this and this, and they got us out the car, didn't need to," but that was just normal. That was a normal life. But being able to just consent to what they said and did, you did it just so you could get home. I guess people will say that's tiresome, but I mean, dude, you build up a stamina to where that's who you are and it made you fight harder. The saying of you got to work twice as hard to get half as much, that's what it was.

My parents instilled that in us. Like, "Dude, you got to do twice as much as they do just to get half of what they got." And that's the mantra we lived off of. And of course that might have been extra, that might have been overthinking it, but that got us in positions that "successful" in the society because, dude, you had to adapt and you had to work hard. There was no in between, because we had examples on our road of family members and cousins and just people that live near you that they're not going to conform to what was going on around here. They're going to rebel, they're going to do it their way. And dude, you don't have enough power,

> enough say, to be successful in doing what you're doing, because they're going to cut the rug out from under you as soon as you try to do things your way.

Previous generations of Black students in District 5 experienced the consequences associated with standing up for themselves. Mrs. Parks was frequently disciplined for questioning her teachers and administrators, and seven Black students at Irmo High were arrested and taken to jail for organizing protests aimed at improving the school's inclusion of and responsiveness to the needs of Black students.

The multi-generational knowledge passed down to Mr. Pollock and his ability to navigate the predominantly White community and schools did not insulate him from racism, but it prepared him to navigate interactions with law enforcement and spaces filled with racial abuse. He described instances of verbal abuse in restrooms and on school buses, a conflict with a White student over an interracial relationship, how he handled those situations, and his reflections on those experiences now.

> And so you used to be in a class, usually by yourself with one, and I remember going to the bathroom several times and kids being in the bathroom saying the n-word and call you the n-word. And I was like, "Dude." I told my mom, I remember I didn't want to ride the bus, because you just had no control over what they were going to say and what they were going do.
>
> One was in high school, my senior year, I think. And a kid said the n-word, he called me that, he called it, he said it to me…I was dating this White girl, I was dating a lot of White girls that time, but I was dating this White girl. And of course he did not like that, a lot of people didn't like that at the time. And so he said it, and so I approached him about it, and I did not do anything. Everybody

> thought we were going to fight, we didn't. My cousin did, he was standing behind me. So at 6'2, 250, he handled that problem.

Students half his age also felt comfortable directing racial abuse towards Mr. Pollock.

> But in my junior year, we were doing a baseball camp at Dutch Fork High School. And so Coach Barry had all the players running the camp, and I'll never forget, me and my cousin, we were both Black obviously, but we had the seven and eight-year-olds. And we were running the kids around, running the kids around, and they were tired, and I was like, "Dude," I was like, "Yeah, come on guys, you all got to keep going." And this kid just stopped and goes, "Hey, why don't you get that mud off your face?"
>
> And I was like, "What?" I was blown away. And so we kept that like, I mean, I was 16, 17, so I was like, "Dude, this is crazy, but this is hilarious that this little kid thinks that is mud on my face." He goes, "This is what my parents said, you just got mud on your face." I was like, "Oh my God. I can't believe that. That's what you were being told." And who knows where that kid is and what he thinks now. But that was in 1995, '96. Like, "What?"

Mr. Pollock also noted the presence of underlying racial tension on the teams.

> Of course you had cliques in high school and you had these kind of redneck, not redneck, but cowboy, camo kind of group. And because of, I think, athletics and just the involvement of what we were, we kind of crossed those lines and mended those lines with sports. So everybody was kind of okay with each other, but you knew underlying it was guys like that who would smile in your face, but of course they didn't mind saying things about you or to you. Not so much to you, but about

> you and using language that they shouldn't. So we didn't see it often, but you knew it was there. And you knew when you walked in, it was like the record stopping, like "Oh yeah, probably not the place I need to be."
>
> And you had kids, and I think we had formed so many, like I said, I've been here for so long. I got the same group of guys that I was in elementary school with. And that small clique of kids were really tight-knit. And so they would always look out and they would be mindful of situations they would put you in as well, because they were going to take you somewhere like, "Dude, I know they don't like your kind here."

The idea of a "record stopping" when he walked into the room was similar to Ms. Harris's feeling that certain conversations "hushed" when she entered some spaces, and both are indications of the ever-present racial tensions lurking just beneath the surface during their years as students. Mr. Pollock's stories mention racial abuse he endured as a student at Dutch Fork as well as bonds he formed with some White students who were aware of racial issues in the community and avoided putting him in positions or environments where he would not be safe.

These stories of verbal abuse and racial isolation occurring concurrently with the development of supportive relationships are similar to those shared by Black students who attended District 5 schools during desegregation. The more recent participants also noted the lack of Black teachers in the district as they grew up. Mr. Pollock had two Black teachers at Dutch Fork Elementary and two Black teachers at Dutch Fork High while Ms. Harris did not have any Black teachers until she was in Mrs. Bonita Gurham's

class in middle school. Decades after the week-long protests at Irmo High, the district had done little to address one of the primary concerns of Black students and parents.

This is in contrast to the promises made by the school board and administration. On March 10, 1975, the District 5 school board stated that it:

> …is and will continue to be appreciative and receptive to constructive suggestions that may improve either the quality of education or the educational environment in our schools. To this end we are willing to listen and give thoughtful attention to any requests, grievances, or suggestions that may be presented to us by any interested or concerned group; however, it must be pointed out, and should be fully understood, that the public schools exist to serve the public interest.[552]

The statement continued:

> This board recognizes that from time to time there will be valid grievances, and we expect the school administration to address itself to these grievances in a positive forthright manner to solve the problem both fairly and quickly. If any party is not fully satisfied that a grievance, complaint, or request has been handled properly by the normal administrative channels, then this board will consider the question at the earliest time appropriate to the situation.

In the case of the Black community's rightful frustration with the lack of Black teachers in the district, concerns were addressed neither fairly nor quickly. Commenting on the March 1975 protests, Dr. Benjamin Glover shared that issues had been building for several years. Based on the stories of Ms. Harris and Mr. Pollock, it appears that at least

[552] Board Minutes, March 10, 1975.

some of those concerns continued to impact Black educational experiences in the district for several decades.

The inability or refusal to address the concerns of the district's Black community may be the result of another long-standing issue with the school board and its worldview. During the district's segregated era, the board repeatedly used the term "the district" to refer to White students and schools. The continued presence of a primary issue highlighted in the 1975 protests indicates that the "public interest" referenced by the board in its March 10, 1975, statement was not inclusive of the interests of Black students and parents.

Participants' Professional Experiences

The stories of the current Black administrators reflected a range of professional experiences, positive and negative. Participants discussed supportive administrators and mentors, progress in the district over the years, and professional networks and supports. The leaders also reflected on harmful incidents that stood out to them. Building on issues that they referenced in their stories of growing up in District 5, participants also shared their experiences in trying to navigate predominantly White spaces while preserving their identities and values.

As a student in District 5, Ms. Harris knew she wanted to become a teacher, and the district's Teacher Cadet program provided her with the opportunity to return to Chapin Elementary School to work with younger students.

> As long as I could remember I've always wanted to be a teacher. So it was never a question about it. I did Teacher Cadet in high school. I did your early childhood classes. I went back to Chapin El. and did Teacher Cadet with my third grade

> teacher. So it was never a question about what I wanted to do. I knew I always wanted to be a teacher. I didn't have any other aspirations to do anything else.

After graduating from Winthrop, she returned to District 5 as a teacher at Oak Pointe Elementary and noted that the school had more Black teachers than she expected based on its student enrollment.

> Going to Oak Pointe, I think I was one of maybe five certified teachers, five or less when I went there. And I was intrigued that there were so many in a school that wasn't very Black. And then, that held pretty consistent for a few years. And then a couple left and that kind of thing. But then when I went back to Chapin, there was one, I think one certified teacher when I got back to Chapin El. as an administrator. Maybe two. One, I think Krista McMillan was the only one.
>
> I think she may have been the only one and had been there for a few years. And I actually had interaction with her. Her daughter went to Oak Pointe at the time. So that's how we knew prior to. But I think there was only one, and even sitting on interview panels, there just isn't the recruitment of African-Americans.
>
> I don't know that there are many in teacher programs at all. I don't know that there's really many. There's some, but there isn't many. But we never really interviewed a lot of African-Americans. That pool didn't come through HR, you would see a lot of school counselors and those kinds of things at recruitment fair, and maybe even secondary. But honestly, in my years as an administrator, I haven't seen a lot of African-Americans come through recruitment fair. And if they do, they're wanting to transfer in from another district, not so much coming out of new teacher prep programs. But just being one of a few at Chapin, that was

> somewhat hard. And it was hard in the sense too, that there was probably a handful of teachers still there that was there when I was a little girl. So now being a supervisor, that I was like, "Oh, man."… Or ladies that had taught with my grandmother, that, you know worked under her, those kinds of things. But there was very few and that saddened me because when my grandmother left, I was going into third grade. Kim Taylor was still there, who's at Lake Murray, third grade teacher at Lake Murray. So she actually did her student-teaching under my grandmother. Got a job at Chapin El. the next year. So there were two, then. And so that was '84, '85-ish. Only reason I know is because I was a baby and my sister was there. But so then when they opened Lake Murray, she went to Lake Murray. And then they've had a couple others, Tarsha Wingfield, and Brenda Weeks, I think, that ended up going to Lake Murray. But I don't think there's been a whole lot that come to Chapin and stay.

Ms. Harris grew up in District 5 knowing she wanted to become an educator, but she acknowledged the difficulty she and others have faced in recruiting and retaining Black teachers in the district. As she progressed through her early years in the profession, Ms. Harris decided to pursue an administrative degree.

> I always had a drive for, to do a little more than just be in a classroom, to have a greater impact on more students than just boxed in a classroom. And that doesn't sound very nice, but I wanted to have more of an impact than the twenty I had in front of me. And I often connected a lot with the students that I didn't have, than the ones I did have. Go figure. I was always the one, they sent them to my room. I'm like, "Okay. If I had wanted…" But I think the wanting to do the overall

> operations and the big picture of things was my Virgo personality of being very analytical, and detail-oriented, and stuff like that. So I went for my Masters. I had started it before I left Oak Pointe. So I worked through my program while at Chapin El.

Though she was hired the day before teachers returned and immediately thrust into action, she recalled very few issues with the teachers and staff at Chapin Elementary. Ms. Harris felt that the factor of growing up in the district was more of an issue than her race in her first years as an administrator, "It was more, 'I remember you when you were a little girl.'"

Like Ms. Harris, Mr. Pollock returned to the community after graduating college, and he described a different way that the relationships he developed as a student and student-athlete influenced his professional path. Mr. Pollock's first position in the district was as a part-time physical education teacher and part-time special education assistant at Dutch Fork Middle, and he recalled the interview process for the job.

> You work hard and build up a name for yourself that they couldn't take away. And so I think when I came back, it was easy to... because I probably was qualified. Now, I was fresh out of college. I didn't know what I was doing, but Coach Jerry Richardson, God rest his soul, he was one of the most brilliant PE teachers. Just a great man, worked at Irmo High School, coached at Irmo High School, worked at Irmo for like 30 years, 40 years. Came over to Dutch Fork Middle. I didn't even speak in my interview. I didn't even speak at it. He was there and my cousin, Tammie Hardy, she was at Irmo Middle School for years. I

> sat in the middle. They were there and the principal across and they both just spoke on my behalf, and so I never really interviewed.

As Mr. Pollock noted, the name and reputation he built for himself in the community over several decades could not be taken away. The relationships he formed with community members, teachers, and coaches eventually became supportive relationships with colleagues and administrators, and this too benefited Mr. Pollock in his professional advancement.

> I took a job in Chesnee. Chesnee, South Carolina and I was coaching. I was going to coach and coach football and baseball and started that summer. And I was living in Laurens with my brother... long story, but living in Laurens with my brother, driving back and forth. And in August, Bill Kimrey, the athletic director at Dutch Fork called me. He was like, "Look, we have a AA position that is open." I said, "Coach, I don't even know what that is. I'm good. I just got settled here, blah, blah, blah." He said, "Son, bring your butt down here."
>
> And he had developed that relationship with me. He could talk to me like that. He's like, "Get your butt down here. You've got to come interview on Monday." I said, "Coach, I am settled. I am fine. I'm gonna go ahead and start this thing up here at Chesnee." And just so happened, I came home that weekend and he called me again and he said, "Monday morning, be there for an interview." I said like, "All right, I'll do it." I went in for the interview, and I was like, "Dude, what is an AA? What's happening? Did y'all just make this up? And this is going to be gone next year?" And so I interviewed with Ron Cowden and Mike Satterfield, interviewed for like 30, 40 minutes. Mike... walked around the school... I was

like, “I just left like six years ago. I’m familiar with it.” And I was coaching while I was at Dutch Fork Middle School. I was coaching football over there and track. And so I was like, “No, I’m good.” And I walked out of there like, “Dude, why did I even do that? Wasted my time.” Noah Dixon called me and goes, “Man, how did the interview go?” I’m like, “Coach, I ain’t talked to you in a year. How do you know I’m interviewing?” By the time I got back to the car I’d already gotten the job. Found out the long way that they had hired a guy and in August he didn’t show up and they started calling him. He was like, “Yeah, I took another job somewhere else.” So they had to fill that right then.

In addition to pointing out the role of people like Bill Kimrey in recruiting him to the administrative position at Dutch Fork, Mr. Pollock also stressed the importance of Dr. Cowden in retaining him, helping him secure a promotion, and addressing issues that deeply mattered to Mr. Pollock.

So first two years, I taught classes and was administrator at the same time. And that was hard. And I’m coming in, dude, like I said, just went to the school a couple years ago, so there was a lot of the teachers that were there that had taught me. It was hard trying to win them over, but I could tell a lot of times there was a lot of second guessing of what I was saying and what I was doing. And they should have initially, because I had no clue. I stood under Mike Satterfield’s wings and had to trust what he was telling me and what he was doing, just so I can make it through. But after a while you get discipline, books, and butts, and buses, so that’s what I focused on though, and I knew that. So after a while, you couldn’t tell me that I didn’t know.

But I could tell there was a lot of teachers who felt like especially White women, just especially the ones that had me, were always questioning what I was saying, what I was doing. And I went back to that mantra, "Dude, you got to work twice as hard to get half as much." So you've got to know what you're doing. You've got to study. Now, I went back to grad school, got a degree and walked into Ron Cowden's office. I'll never forget it, I said, "Dr. Cowden, appreciate this opportunity. I got some opportunities in Richland 2 as an assistant principal that I would love to look at." I respected Ron Cowden so much because he did what was right and he didn't care how he went about it. I said, "Man, I want to go. Can you write me a letter of recommendation?" He goes, "Yeah. Yeah, I'll get to that." I wrote on a piece of paper. I said, "Will you write it?" He goes, 'Yeah, yeah, I'll do that." He said, "Just come see me tomorrow."

And the next day I walked in, he goes, "How would you like to be assistant principal here?" "That'd be great. Wouldn't have to move." But he was a guy who just, he would put it so blatantly, like we were starting to talk about the number of students who were in AP and honors class, the number that weren't in there. Yeah. And he would just be frank. He was like, we were sitting in the admin meeting. I never forget. He goes, "How do we get these Black kids in the class? How do we get them there?" I was like, "Dude, we just need to say it. Just say what it is. And then we can't beat around the bush." How many minorities in there? No. "How do we get these Black kids in there, especially these Black boys. How do we do it? How are we targeting?" And I respect that. I was like, "Dude, let's address problems like that from here on out. Let's stop sugar coating this

> thing." And as the years go on, you had couple other principals that just... I mean, they, they never wanted to address things. They never wanted... Let's say something, let's put a different sticker. Let's put a different stamp on this. I liked him because he would say, "Hey, how do we do this? How do we address this? Jason, we got this, this Black issue. How do we address it? Let's talk about it, bring it up." And I'm like, "Dude."
>
> But, same time he was 60-something years old, knew he was on his way out and didn't care about any consequences you give him for speaking out or saying the wrong thing. I don't know. When people get comfortable and know that they can't necessarily be touched, for lack of a better term, but what you going to do? What were you going to do to him? He had already established himself. Had a tremendous career, been Principal of the Year, South Carolina. I mean, done all the things you wanted a principal to do. So, he was able to speak out and say things that other people weren't able to say. Because there was no repercussion. And I don't think as long as I live or long as I'm in education, I will never be able to have that opportunity to be just that blatant and that blunt about things and situations that come up. I can't do that, I can't any current event that that happens and things that have been happening before. You couldn't be that open and honest. I can't be that open and honest.

Mr. Pollock's story notes the presence of multiple supportive mentors who recruited him into administration and helped advance his career. However, Mr. Pollock also shared that he felt White administrators like Dr. Cowden are able to discuss issues that Black

administrators are not allowed to openly confront, an indication of an unspoken pressure that he faces as a Black leader and professional.

Not all members of the faculty were as supportive as Dr. Cowden, and Mr. Pollock recalled some teachers having more confidence in an inexperienced White administrator who did not actually understand how to be an administrator.

> I know when we hired this guy, ain't going to say his name, but hired another guy, and he came in, he was an older, White male and I had just started. I became an assistant principal, that was my third or fourth year. And hired another guy the next year, and I remember teachers going to him, just cause he was older White guy figured he had had more knowledge, more understanding of being an administrator. And I was like, "This dude has no clue, this is his first admin job."…
>
> …And I was like, "What?" But it was just his presence and just the bias that you naturally have. I come to expect that this White man who's a little bit older…that he has an understanding of what it takes to be, and this guy doesn't.

Two other incidents stood out to Mr. Pollock as he recalled his early years in administration.

> There's this one teacher and I had her in tenth grade. I had her in tenth grade, and I did not like her as a teacher when I was a student. I did not like this lady. And when I became an administrator, I was over her. She was in my area to do formal observations. And of course, I mean, I was still learning as I was going. But I never forget, she wrote a kid up, send me the referral. I saw the kid, met with the kid. It was a Black kid. We had a conversation how he felt so uncomfortable. And

> I was like, "Oh my gosh, I was you." And I knew I was, sometimes I was in the role, but he explained the situation. I said, "You know what, dude, I completely understand. You need to know how to be in her class and do X, Y, and Z." Of course, I gave him the political correct answer, that politically correct answer he should go back with.
>
> But also, "Hey, as a young Black man, you need to make sure that you work twice as hard to get half as much." But just that whole thing. And so I sent him back with a warning and she came back and me like, "Why does he just get a warning?" And she went absolutely ballistic. And I never forget, I looked at her and I said, "Once you write that referral, it's mine, I handle that. So if there's a problem that persists, by all means, if you reached out to the parents, well." Gave you that whole spiel. But I felt so vindicated.

While the teacher was not pleased with the consequence assigned by Mr. Pollock, his discussion with the student successfully changed the students' behavior in the classroom.

> But I remember letting that and that she never had another problem with that kid because he understood this. I honestly had been where you would been before and five or six years ago, six, seven years ago I was right there and, she did not like that. She did not.
>
> So anytime she wrote a referral, she tried her best to get it around me to get to another administrator so that they would deal with it because she felt like I was going to give kids a break. And especially I was going to give Black kids a break. Now I wasn't giving them no break. But I wanted to hear them out before we made past judgment on what we were going to do.

This was not the only time that a White teacher expected a harsh reaction from Mr. Pollock in addressing concerns with Black students.

> We were at lunch duty, and kids were at lunch. We arrive at the door to go into the commons. And there was a group of kids, Black guys and girls, because they were always kind of sectioned out, like I say, have your group. And they were being loud. And of course he said something to them and one of the kids said something back. So I said, "Guys, you all take it over there and get out of here." And he was like, "That's it? That's all you going to say to them?" And he began to get loud with me. And he was like, "Well, that's all he going to do with why the hell am I on lunch duty?" And he walked off.

Mr. Pollock described a tense discussion with the teacher afterwards, and he felt that the situation would have not have occurred had a White administrator been involved, "He felt comfortable enough to question. And had that been Dr. Lempesis, I don't know if he would've reacted that way."

In both stories, Mr. Pollock's actions were effective in changing students' behaviors. In the first situation, he immediately identified with the student's situation as he himself had been in the same classroom just a few years prior, and he attempted to help the student learn how to navigate that space. Following the conversation, the student's behavior improved. Similarly, he was able to deescalate the situation in the cafeteria and resolve the teacher's initial concern. Mr. Pollock's ability to appropriately address and change student behavior is an example of what is possible when educators attempt to understand their students and their experiences. Hiring and retaining educators

who possess the abilities to identify with all students may disrupt long-standing inequities in discipline practices.

As was the case with Mr. Pollock, even when the work of Black administrators produces the desired results, they may continue to experience situations in which their judgment and ability are doubted. In some instances, this can be because faculty and staff pre-judge the Black educator and his or her fitness for the position. Mr. Julius Scott has served as an administrator in District 5 for almost two decades and is now one of the longest-serving Black principals in the district. During his years as an assistant administrator and into his time as principal of Dutch Fork Elementary School, Mr. Scott encountered multiple situations in which others mistook him for a custodian instead of an administrator.

> I'll say a couple of very overt situations. One when I was at River Springs Elementary, so, of course, they're just one year and this must have been the August prior to the start of the year. I know it was very early. I rarely wear jeans, man. Rarely. I mean even outside, I just don't. I'm not a jeans wearing type of guy. And so I may have had on jeans one day. Shirt was definitely tucked in, so I'm not walking around with like... And I remember the person to the name. I won't call it, but she walked up to me and her immediate words were, "You must be our new custodian." And I'm like, "Wow, dude." I'm going to be honest, at that time, I didn't have the wherewithal to really come back at somebody. Just knowing, okay, I'm new to the system trying to... But the gall to just make the assumption that I had to be the newest custodian at River Springs Elementary to me was absolutely just mind blowing. Mind blowing. Mind blowing.

So similar situation, I'm trying to think. Was I already principal? So we're going to fast forward. We'll come back to that. Fast forward, I think I was principal here at Dutch Fork. Was at a meeting, I think at the CATE Center. I don't remember what it was for, Spring Hill High. One of the two. And I think David and Scott was here at the time, so it was a host of maintenance folks and they had a person, I don't know who... She was with some outside company, some service company that provided goods to us. So they all know her. She doesn't know me.

And her first words were, "Oh, are you keeping our floors clean?" And they were like, "No, he's the principal at Dutch Fork Elementary." Again, I don't have on a... I don't even know what a janitor looks like in person, man. I don't know what that looks like. So I don't know if I have janitor on my face, but she had the gall to, again, say, "Are you keeping my floors clean?" I'm like, "dude, what the..."

Mr. Scott recalled the district's superintendent, Dr. Stephen Hefner, warning him of the issues he might experience as a Black principal in the district.

Let me also say this too, and I want to be cautious, but I will say one of the things that even Dr. Hefner said, and now certainly my respect and admiration for him is high.[553] And he said to me upon initially recommending and board approval, he said, "Julius, there are a couple things I want to tell you." I was thirty-four at the time. He said, "I don't think you're going to have any issues because you're young." He said, "But I definitely think you're going to run into challenges because you're Black." And, and so there are elements that just being a Black principal that are predominantly White faculty and staff…it has its own... I

[553] Dr. Stephen W. Hefner served as superintendent from 2011 to 2018.

> could... I can certainly spend even more time along that. I won't, but what he said was absolutely true, man.
>
> I mean, you come across people who, for whatever reason, just the notion that you are brown, you can say "this is purple" and "I'm going to disagree simply not because I disagree this is purple, but I don't want to ever give you the notion that I'm for you." He would say this like, "Hey, everybody is not rooting for your success, man." And, and I know that's true across all folks, right? So that's not just because you're Black. You can be White and still have White folks who don't root for you.
>
> But I will tell you just the impact of just from families and definitely staff, man, man. It was real. I would say definitely during my early stages being here, just because it was new, it was a novelty and it... Some stress, stressful moments, bro. I will tell you that.

Like the experiences shared by Mr. Pollock, Mr. Scott's story indicates that he also feels there are times when his race influences how others perceive his decisions and thoughts. His recollection of the advice Dr. Hefner gave him is an indication that some White leaders are aware of the issues Black leaders face and offer support and guidance as they progress through their careers.

By the time of Mr. Pollock's hiring as principal of H. E. Corley Elementary, Mr. Scott had served several years as a principal in the district. He recalled turning to Mr. Scott and other Black principals for guidance and support.

> When I became a principal, Julius Scott, and I loved Julius because Julius was absolutely what I needed when I became a principal. I needed someone around

> my age, who had been in the game who could tell me how to get started, what to watch for, where to go. And never forget being in that first principals' meeting, and I sat next to him and [a White principal], you know [her], you know how [she] is and Dr. Hefner said something and [she] goes, "That's my jam. Blah, blah." Doing it all crazy. And Julius Scott looked at me and goes, "You can't do that." And I was like, "Got it." And basically to say, "Dude, that's certain ways they can act, and say, and do. You just can't do that. You can't do that. You bring you to the table and do you, but you can't do you out loud like that."
>
> And then the next great bit of advice I got was from Gerald Gary.[554] He was like, "Stay your ass off the radar. Don't do anything to draw attention. Of course, you work, promote your school and do everything the right way, but anything that brings attention to self, don't do it. Don't do that." That keeps you, in that safe space where people like, "All right, yeah, he's good to go. We can trust him with this, because we know he won't go that far." Prime example, I could not do what, what [a White principal] does at board meetings. I can't, I could not do that. Not to keep my job, but not people question my abilities from being around. I couldn't do it.

This story is another indication that, despite his success, Mr. Pollock is conscious of the ways in which he does not have the freedom to be himself or say things that others are allowed to say. It also highlights the importance of having a supportive network of administrators. Mr. Pollock further elaborated on the network of Black administrators and

[554] Dr. Gerald Gary is the principal of Dutch Fork High School and previously served as the principal of Leaphart Elementary School and Dutch Fork Middle School.

seeing other Black administrators move into the principalship, signs of progress in the district.

> I will give credit to Stephen Hefner to Dr. Hefner, that as a district and how we are seen and viewed changed. I mean, because of the dynamic and he, during his tenure, I saw more Black administrators than I've ever seen in my twenty years of being in this district as an as employee. And I was like, "I didn't know that was a possibility." When I started, I think it was me, I can name them. Me, Julius. Me and Julius started at the same time. Secaida? Was it Secaida Howell?[555] Harbison West, and think, what's his name, who was principal at Harbison West was around then too. But it was only like three or four of us. And I remember thinking, dude, "I am in an elite company, how did I get here?" After that first year, I was like, "I am in the wrong place, I should not be an AA, at a high school, in this district." But I was like, "I'm fortunate." I told him, "I got to take advantage of this opportunity." But it always looked the same. Every Superintendent Summit, it always looked the same and looking around that room. And when Dr. Hefner came, it looked so much different. And I felt so much empowered, that, "Hey, I can be a principal." Because guess who was the old principal? Gerald Witt…Again, I think Gerald Witt was the only one and but I can't even think get anybody else who's there, was no other principals outside of Gerald Witt…I think so.[556] I mean, that's within ten, fifteen years. We're, not

[555] Dr. Secaida Howell was the principal of Harbison West Elementary School.
[556] Mr. Gerald Witt was the principal of Irmo High School. He was likely the first Black principal in the district after desegregation.

> talking the ages ago. You couldn't see, just like we asked our kids. We have a lot of these Black administrators, especially in our Title I.

As Mr. Pollock noted, there were few other Black administrators in the district when he was hired, but the district has hired Black principals at several schools since that time. The leadership opportunities for Black principals have not been limited to high poverty schools with a large proportion of students of color in their student body. Mr. Pollock recalled the surprise of his uncle, a Richlex graduate, when he learned that there had been not one but two Black principals in Chapin.

> Ed and Akil.[557] They proved that wrong. God, oh my God. Me and Ed and Jay Clark were at my parents'.[558] We had a little lake house and Mike was there, my Uncle Mike was there. And he was talking to us and he was like, "Where do y'all work at?" And at the time Ed had just gotten into Chapin Intermediate. And he said, "Chapin Intermediate." And Mike was like, "What?" He said, "I thought with the one brother, Akil, they lost their mind, but they doing it again." He's like, "This is a Chapin I don't know anything about." And that just blew his mind. And it's still a different type of Chapin, but just the fact that we would take that risk. And I know that was more so Dr. Melton, but just the presence that we had with those administrators there, and it felt like you could see ourselves being that just like we have this many, like I said, in Title I minority schools that our kids look and see, "Hey, I can be an administrator, I can be a teacher. It is okay. It is

[557] Mr. Ed Davis is the principal of Chapin Intermediate School. Dr. Akil E. Ross, Sr. was the principal at Chapin High School and became the first Black superintendent in the district on February 1, 2022.
[558] Mr. Jay Clark served as an assistant and associate principal in the district.

> cool to be successful."[559] And, I saw that from the AP and AA status of looking at these principals, like, "Dude, I can do that." I didn't know, it was just reserved. We can be more than APs, that is. But until you see it. Like Gerald Witt was still like, "Eh, I think that's a test, let's hold off before we really commit to that." But I think what I loved about Hefner was he saw the of credibility of a man. If you could do the job, "I don't care what you look like, do the job and know that there's going to be some challenges that others don't have to face, but if you're willing to do so, I'm willing to give you that opportunity to do so." So like the Akil thing blew my mind, I still didn't believe that one.

Mr. Pollock shared the importance of Black children seeing people who look like them in classrooms and leadership positions, and he also described how the hiring of other Black principals in the district helped him see new professional possibilities. These stories also reflect the growing diversity among school leaders in the district.

Learning how to navigate predominantly White spaces was a recurring theme among the participants' stories as students. As noted by Mr. Pollock in his recollection of advice from Mr. Scott and Dr. Gary, these are tensions he continues to feel as a Black adult and leader. These issues surfaced in other stories and influence Mr. Pollock's level of comfort in specific settings and addressing issues in the school and community.

> Learn how to, like I said earlier, reserve some of what you truly feel, but hey, let's do it their way. Let's navigate these waters the way that they would want you to, just to see a little bit of success and you can cut out your slice of the cake at your

[559] Dr. Christina S. Melton was the district's superintendent from 2018 to 2021, the first woman to hold the position. She also served as a principal, Director of Elementary Education, and Chief Instructional Officer in the district.

> house. You can't go outside to celebrate, but you can do that within confines of your house and your community. And that essentially what, if I was talking with Larry Haltiwanger right now, I think he would say exactly the same thing. You work hard, you do everything you do, you're a Christian and follow the Lord, do everything you're supposed to do, but don't test things that don't need to be tested.

After discussing the rules his parents created to help him navigate the world as a child, Mr. Pollock circled back to the rules that allow him to move and succeed in predominantly White spaces as an adult as well as the limitations associated with his successes. Mr. Pollock feels that there are certain things he knows he will never be allowed to challenge, and he shared a story about a recent conversation related to these constraints.

> I would talk to my pastor who speaks a lot at that board meetings speaks occasionally at board meetings. And I was like, "Dude, those of us who are inside cannot do this. We cannot be the lead of this movement." I said, "We need allies to be able to do so."

As a child, Mr. Pollock was taught where and when he could write his bike. As he grew up, the teachings included how to act when interacting with police officers and working twice as hard to get half as much as others. As an adult and a principal, he has continued to learn how to navigate a space that was not created with him in mind, determining what issues can be challenged and how to celebrate little victories without drawing attention to yourself.

The need to tread lightly and be constantly mindful of a myriad of unwritten rules creates intense amounts of stress for participants. They described the pressures and scrutiny that come with these leadership roles. Mr. Pollock described the tension he feels playing the part of Principal Pollock, losing himself in that role, and only finding himself again when he returns home to his family.

> I'm not free to be me. And I think in all honesty, we've had conversations with me and Julius and no, actually, all of our APs, I mean, all of our principals last year had that conversation. And I said, "You get so engulfed in playing this role that you get lost and nobody really don't know." Sometimes I don't know the real me until I get home. And really man, having children, having a daughter has been the only way that's got me grounded to say, this is who you are. You, you are who you are, you do what you do because of her. But when you are in this moment and you are in the school, you're these meetings you're, I'm playing this role. I am Principal Pollock, I am doing the things that Principal Pollock would do. I'm behaving and politicking because this is what it takes. And so you don't have time to sit there and think and internalize and feel and just be wild. No, you can't. That is not allowed.

The stress of navigating leadership positions in a space that has only recently begun accepting Black leaders has led Mr. Pollock to question whether he can be himself during workday, and he noted the importance of his home life in restoring him and helping him remember who he is.

While the district has hired more Black educators and administrators in recent years, there is still more progress to be made. Current educators in the district described

several situations that could be described as either overtly racist or heavily influenced by race. Participants described the anxiety and pressure that they feel as they lead while attempting to navigate predominantly White spaces. With the increasing number of Black administrators in the district, the growing network that has accompanied these leadership changes, and supportive colleagues and allies, it is possible that these tensions may ease in future years.

Participants' Parental Experiences

Ms. Harris and Mr. Pollock grew up in District 5, became teachers in the district, and are now leaders. In addition to their roles as alumni and educators, they are parents of current District 5 students. They described how their experiences as students and educators have shaped how they have prepare their children to navigate predominantly White classrooms, schools, and careers.

When Ms. Harris was a student in Chapin in the 1990s and early 2000s, she was one of the few Black students in her grade level. She noted her frustration and disappointment in the persistence of the issues of racial isolation a generation later, and she described her experiences in helping her son navigate the experience of being the only Black student in his classes in Chapin.

> So as I got older and I've noticed this with my own child, who's an eighth grader at Chapin Middle. He actually went to Oak Pointe first and then we went to CIS in sixth grade. And he's been on an honors track since going to Chapin Middle. There aren't any African-Americans in his class. And I experienced, and my sister experienced the same thing when we were there. Just one, maybe two, but not as many.

> And it's disheartening. It's disheartening as someone that grew up in the district that it hasn't gotten any better. It's disheartening that we don't have that diversity. And I can't say it's not welcomed, but you don't see a lot of African-Americans moving to Chapin. And if you do, they don't usually stay long, or they find another avenue out, or something like that. I feel like the ones that are there have family ties or have roots there. And they pretty much stay. But much hasn't changed, unfortunately. When I went back to Chapin Elementary as an administrator, I thought things had changed and they haven't.

The racial isolation Ms. Harris experienced as a student in Chapin continues to be an issue for students including her son in the present-day, and this has resulted in Ms. Harris considering issues beyond academic placement.

> And I see my child struggling with it now, trying to navigate that. And so it's been hard, his father and I have lots of conversations about whether we want to keep him at Chapin or whether we want to transfer him to Dutch Fork. And I've always said I want him to experience more diversity than what Chapin has to offer.
>
> Not in a bad way, but he's on an honors track. He's very smart. And he needs that push, but I also don't want him to get to Dutch Fork with some of his friends and then not be able to excel, and do what he needs to do. But it was, like I said, it was hard. I had this circle of friends over here, cheer, student government interacting. We got class projects and doing this kind of thing. And then on the other side, it was my Black friends that we hung out with every now and then, but not too much.

Ms. Harris's considerations are informed by her experiences as a Black student on the honors track in Chapin and provide a window into the various concerns Black parents have to weigh in deciding the optimal academic pathway for their children.

Mr. Pollock identified similar areas of concern in trying to help his daughter navigate a predominantly White community and schools, and he described wanting her to be aware of the persistence of racial tensions.

> Those things stick with you, like man, before you go this far, know that you could be, it ain't so much taking your land and taking you away, but it is, dude, how can I affect you and your job or your family's job? Or, you know what I'm saying? So it's always that understanding. And I will pass those stories on to my daughter just to say, "You know what, be mindful that there is still that thought process of some that are still out there." Because I'm sure some of those thoughts are being passed down, just like I'm passing down these to my children.

As she encounters these issues, Mr. Pollock described wanting his daughter to see the value and worth she possesses.

> And that's what I hope I do pass along to my daughter, is just, "I want you to know, I want you to be aware, I want you to be open, but make sure you reserve something and reserve some consciences of who you are and what you are because when it happens and it's going to happen, whenever that is challenged, I want you to know that you still have worth, you still have value and they can never take that away from you." And I hate that, it's like the talk, I hate you have to have the talk, but you got to have the talk. If you want to put yourself in the best position to not find yourself on a t-shirt, as they say. You don't want to find

> yourself on a t-shirt, then dude, you got to make sure you navigate these worlds correctly.

As students in predominantly White schools, both Ms. Harris and Mr. Pollock felt the pull to be a part of the dominant culture and their struggle to preserve their racial identity. As Mr. Pollock's daughter navigates a similar space, he wants to make sure she is able to "reserve" some part of her identity as well. Mr. Pollock also noted that the lessons he shared with his daughter go beyond navigating classrooms, schools, or a career; the decisions she makes as a Black woman in America could have life-or-death consequences. Even as he pointed out the need to have "the talk" with his daughter, he noted signs of progress since his childhood and his hope that situations would continue to improve for his daughter.

> It's a difference between assimilation and code-switching. And so I want to teach my daughter, and she knows how to code-switch, she knows when I pick up the phone and it's my brother, it's "What the heck you and blah, blah, blah." And then if Melanie or Julie calls me, it's, "Yes, I can handle that situation quickly." So I want to show you that this is how I reserve me, this is who I truly am, but you've got to operate in this world, in this way.
>
> And I want her to be, I try to be a little bit more open. I remember we were talking, this is what we were talking about, me and Melanie, we were talking about how we adapted and assimilated too, and adopted and code-switched and all that growing up. But I was telling her about my brother and how he is, my oldest brother, he's a little bit more assimilated than me, because as growing up, we never were able to stay with our White friends, like never. Never.

I did it one time, and I still remember that was the greatest spending the night party I ever had before in my life. We watched *The Neverending Story*. Absolutely one of my greatest nights of my life, man. Seriously? And this is so sad. I was like, "White people have it so good." Because I mean, they played badminton just on a Saturday. I was like, "Who the hell has badminton?" Like, I've heard of tennis. It was the craziest Saturday ever. I was eight.

But I never get that. There was just like, I didn't know that you could have fun and they can just love you and treat you as an equal, because my parents had scared us so much. But of course they had to because of things that they have seen and heard, so we can't let you venture out, but so far. And so my older brother, he's completely just, I mean everybody and everybody is, I think everybody has some good in them, but you always got to kind of keep your shield up just a little bit. But I think, I feel like he's completely lets his down and anybody is able to come and go in his house and he sends his children off… "Dude, you don't know everybody- You can't know everybody." So my daughter, she stays next door with my next door neighbor who's White, a great guy, he teaches in the district. And the first time I did it, I was like, we are so tight that I was like, "Dude yeah, she's able to stay." And then I was like, "She's staying at a White person's house, I didn't even notice that."

And I was like, "What are you doing? You're letting your guard down internally." I was like, "No, dude, you got to trust. You got to trust some people, but I'm going to get to know you before I do that." And so, it's absolutely nothing about to happen, but I was like, "Dude, I didn't realize that I had come that far in my

> thinking, because my parents, I'm just thinking, thirty, forty years ago they never would have allowed that." Never would have allowed that. So we've come a long way to step, just like everybody at the cliche, we still got so far to go.
>
> I don't know how we get there, I think we're kind of stuck in this trend now where everything is so polarized, everything is a hot button issue, and you have to choose a side, you have to either agree or disagree. I don't know, man, I don't want to put myself or our family or our situation in a place where you've got to choose sides. Being able to code-switch and assimilate and just stay on the outside of things is safest. It's safest.

While Mr. Pollock shared that there are specific relationships and situations that show how things have improved since his childhood, he also still feels the need to keep his "shield up just a little bit" and maintain the ability to code-switch and stay on the outside in order to remain safe.

While the Black parents who participated in this study may be able to rediscover themselves and relax at home, another type of work begins once they stop worrying about the scrutiny they face as they navigate their professional lives. Their attention turns towards their children and helping them navigate the challenges they will face as Black students and adults in predominantly White spaces. They pass down the lessons they were taught by their parents, teach new lessons shaped by their own racialized experiences in the world, and hope that their children will grow up surrounded by a community that accepts them and allows them to flourish.

Conclusion

In the half-century since desegregation in District 5, racial inequities persist across a variety of domains. Almost half of the students in the district are now students of color, but the student population has begun to resegregate within the Chapin, Dutch Fork and Irmo attendance clusters.[560] Students of color make up more than two-thirds of the students in the Irmo attendance cluster, one half of the students in the Dutch Fork attendance cluster, and less than one fifth of the students in the Chapin attendance cluster. The quality of school facilities varies greatly by attendance cluster. Irmo High was designed to be a "show place" with the highest quality "workmanship and material," but Irmo school facilities are now among the oldest in the district and tend to be in worse condition than Chapin and Dutch Fork school facilities.[561] The enrollment in the Irmo schools is now predominantly students of color, and 42.2% of all students of color in the district attend Irmo schools. Thus, the resegregation of the district impacts the quality of school facilities available to students of color.

Racialized disparities also exist in the academic opportunities, special education placement, and discipline data in the district. Students coded as American Indian or Alaska Native, Black or African American, Hispanic/Latino, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, or Two or More Races tend to be underrepresented in the district's advanced courses. Students coded as Black or African American, Hispanic/Latino, or Two or More Races are placed into the advanced courses at lower rates than Asian and

[560] District 5 schools are generally grouped by cluster. A student is assigned to an elementary school, and that elementary school generally feeds into an intermediate, middle, and high school. For example, Nursery Road Elementary students are zoned to attend CrossRoads Intermediate, Irmo Middle, and Irmo High while Lake Murray Elementary students are zoned to attend Chapin Intermediate, Chapin Middle, and Chapin High. See Table 9.22 for a full list of schools and attendance clusters.
[561] Board Minutes, January 11, 1963.

White students. Students coded as American Indian / Alaska Native or Black or African American are identified as being students with disabilities served under IDEA at higher rates than other groups, and the trends in the disability categories assigned to students of color suggests a need for future examination and discussion. In addition, a disproportionate number of in-school suspensions, out-of-school suspensions, and expulsions are assigned to the district's Black students. These special education and discipline trends perpetuate historical racial inequalities in the district.

The makeup of the district's Board of Trustees is also an area of racial inequity as only three Black trustees have served on the board since the district's founding. Mr. John N. Corley was appointed to be the first Black member of the board, but he was voted off in 1977.[562] Since that time, only two Black men, Mr. Sherman Anderson and Mr. Larry Haltiwanger, and no Black women have won election to the board.[563] Both Mr. Anderson and Mr. Washington served one term. As of February 2022, there are no persons of color on the seven-member school board though students of color represent almost half of the district's student population.

The district has made some progress in hiring educators who are representative of the community it serves. Black teachers represented 9.94% of all teachers in the district in 2019-20, up from 5.6% in 1972-73. Teachers of color made up 12.92% of all District 5 teachers in 2019-20. Despite these gains, the district's faculty is still not representative of and has not kept pace with changes to the district's student enrollment. There are, however, signs of progress with participants observing the increasing number of Black administrators in the district in recent decades.

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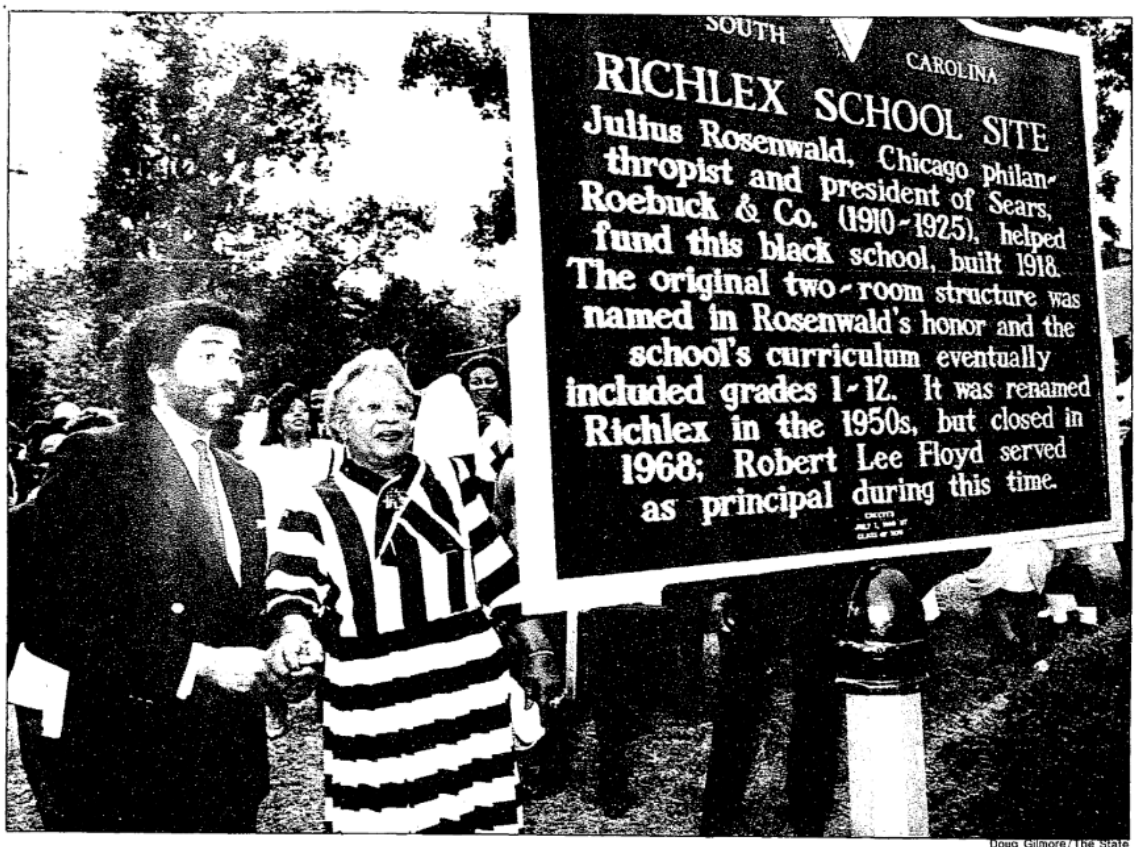
[562] Board Minutes, March 2, 1977.
[563] Board Minutes, November 9, 1992 and November 10, 2014.

The stories shared by students who attended District 5 schools in the decades after desegregation reflected themes similar to those noted in the analysis of Black students experiences in the 1960s and 1970s. Like those who came before them, Black students who attended district schools in more recent decades detailed feelings of racial isolation, recalled instances of racial hostility and abuse, and commented on the limited number of Black teachers in the district as they grew up. They also shared their experiences of learning to navigate predominantly White spaces while maintaining their identities and connections to the Black community. One of the current administrators who grew up in the district discussed negative interactions that were likely influenced by race but also shared stories of support from mentors and colleagues as well as the benefits of the growing network of Black administrators in the district. Similar to Mrs. Caldwell's views on the instances in which she was mistreated because of her race in the 1960s and 1970s, the current administrators' overall experiences in the district did not appear to be defined by specific racial incidents.

By turning to the past, the district may find itself better able to address present-day inequities. Fortunately, the opportunities to learn from the long history of Black education in our community are abundant as Richlex's alumni and friends have successfully fought for decades to preserve the school's legacy. The efforts to restore the Richlex name did not stop after the board and administration ignored the 1968 petition or the 1975 requests. A historical marker to commemorate the school's history and importance to the Black community was unveiled on the former site of Rosenwald/Richlex in 1990.[564]

[564] Board Minutes, January 13, 2003.



Doug Gilmore/The State

Former student Sherman L. Anderson and Mrs. Robert Lee Floyd look at marker unveiled during reunion

FIGURE 9.1. Historical marker for Rosenwald and Richlex at Dutch Fork Elementary School.[565]

When the district opened a new high school in the early 1990s, Mrs. Shirley Haltiwanger petitioned the board to name the new school Richlex.[566] During the 2002-03 school year, members of the community requested that the district bring back the Richlex name by renaming Dutch Fork Elementary School, the school that now occupies the former Richlex site. This effort was unsuccessful, but it resulted in signage being added to the building to indicate that the campus was the "Historic Richlex-Rosenwald School Site."[567] Alumni continue to gather to celebrate their school and community, and Dutch

[565] Bhakti Larry Hough (writer) and Doug Gilmore (photographer). "Black School's Alumni Remember Struggle to Learn," *The State*, July 2, 1990, https://infoweb.newsbank.com, accessed March 23, 2022.
[566] Board Minutes, May 7, 1990.
[567] Board Minutes, January 27, 2003.

Fork Elementary School celebrated the school's history with a centennial celebration in 2018. Principal Julius Scott recalled his experience with the centennial.

> One of the things that was also a byproduct of this year-long inquiry was an original song that was created by our fifth graders in 2018. And I'm going to tell you, when our staff heard the song, there were nothing but tears, man, in the audience. And I mean from White teachers, Black teachers, just thinking about the history and just how we were able to envelop that. And even now when we hear it, it's like, "Dude, back up a little bit." Just because when you understand the context of what has happened, and just understanding again that what we have sought to do and bringing those two worlds together, man. I'm going to always rest my hat on that. That too was a pretty phenomenal experience. To listen to these kids sing that song, it's a tear-jerker, man.
>
> I will say this, even when we brought new staff and we talk about this element, literally I just think about the summer. Had new staff members who were crying, like, "Man, what is this place? I feel like I'm having a spiritual experience." And not that we're teaching religion or, but it's just, dude, we want to be a part of a place that is about trying to take care of all people, no matter who you are and where you come from. And not trying to get philosophical, man, but if we're going to make the world a better place, it starts with caring about people, man, and caring about the people that come into our building and seeing that they all have value and they can make our school better. So I would say that that also has been pretty powerful, man.

The centennial experience has had an enduring impact on staff, and Richlex continues to influence Mr. Scott's commitment to his students and his goals for the school.

> I think one of the things, man, is you realize the amazing resolve and the ability to problem solve and to be critical thinkers, given the circumstances, right? You got hand me downs and less than. I mean, you're really placed in the condition where you weren't really set up to be successful, right? You just weren't. And in spite of those circumstances, right. Man, these folks weren't down on themselves and wasn't poor us and oh, I can't make it. There was a sense of pride to say, "We're going to show folks that we're not less than, and we're going to be absolutely committed to ensuring that we take advantage of the educational opportunities that we have."
>
> And I'm going to go back to the dynamic today, right? So my school's predominantly Black. The conditions aren't the same. And what I now see at times is you have kids and families like that same level of passion. It's not matched, right? When I think about the stories that I hear, man, we take such pride in who we are and where we come from. Taking our learning serious is not going to be something that we compromise. And today, it's almost like sure, I got these great opportunities and I'm not limited in what to I'm exposed to. But if I do, I do, if I don't, I don't, and it's not that big of a deal. And that is, when you know what people have fought for literally, man, it really does bring that message home. What is my responsibility as a Black administrator? I'm not the end all, be all for Black families and Black educators, but I think I bring a unique experience to say, how do we get that back? And, and I'm going to say this too, man. I've

> been at a Title I school, I'm not going to make excuses for where we are from an academic standpoint, but it's just the attitudes toward learning and what's a priority, bro. It is, it's just different. It's not less than.

This statement is a testimony to what educators stand to learn from analyses of Black educational history and how those learnings might shape our practices going forward.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

The narratives and stories of Black educators and students in what is now School District Five of Lexington and Richland Counties help illustrate general themes in Black educational history while also illuminating the particular lived experiences of the individuals who shared them. The rich history of Black education in the Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo communities dates back more than a century, with Black parents and community members founding schools decades before the creation of District 5. The local Black communities' efforts during the segregated era demonstrate numerous examples of their commitment to the education of Black children as well as their ability to find successes in the face of massive White resistance. The period of desegregation brought with it new opportunities and resources for Black students, but it also resulted in a loss of old traditions, the displacement of Black educators, and the onset of other trends that persist in the district today, a half-century after desegregation.

Harbison Junior College relocated from Abbeville, South Carolina to Irmo in 1911 after years of local White opposition to its presence and the murder of three Harbison students when one of its buildings was set on fire. In the years after Harbison's arrival in Irmo, other Black schools including Rosenwald School and Pine Grove Rosenwald School were established. The schools' construction and operations required donations of land, labor, and money from the Black community, evidence of the unfair "double taxation" burden placed on Black communities throughout the state and region as

they sought to educate their children.[568] Black schools throughout the state were severely under-funded during the "separate but equal" era, creating situations in which Black students in South Carolina experienced larger class sizes, were provided with limited classroom equipment and supplies, and received fewer days of instruction than their White peers. Black educators also experienced the effects of the discriminatory funding system, receiving less than half of the average pay of White teachers while teaching more than twice as many students per teacher.

As Black South Carolinians organized to secure equal educational funding and resources for their children, the state's White leaders enacted policies to hinder their efforts. The intention of the new programs was to delay desegregation by generating evidence that showed schools and districts were making progress towards equalization. The Education Finance Commission, for example, allocated funds used to improve school buildings serving Black students and let White state and local leaders argue that the segregated facilities were also equal. The EFC also encouraged the consolidation of smaller districts and the creation of Black high schools. However, the high schools were only offered to Black students so that White leaders could claim that the segregated system provided equal opportunities to Black and White students and undermine legal arguments that would have allowed Black students to apply for enrollment in White high schools. Amid these statewide efforts, the Lexington districts of Chapin and Irmo combined with the Dutch Fork district of Richland County to form Lexington District 5 (now School District Five of Lexington and Richland Counties). After serving the Black community since 1918, Rosenwald School was converted into Richlex School, a

[568] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South*, 156.

centralized school for all Black students in District 5 and the first public Black high school in the area.

Bell's theory of interest-convergence argues that the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision was the result not of White policymakers' desire to achieve racial equality but their realization that desegregation would advance White interests.[569] Interest-convergence also contends that the interests of Blacks and Whites eventually diverge, and Thompson Dorsey and Venzant Chambers furthered the theory by noting that divergence is followed by White imperialistic reclamation.[570] The equalization movement in South Carolina illustrates an example of the convergence-divergence-reclamation (C-D-R) cycle that occurred alongside *Brown v. Board of Education*. After denying equal funding to Black schools and students for decades, White leaders' interest in preserving the segregated system converged with Black communities' demands for equal treatment and opportunities for their children. Even though Governor Byrnes and other White leaders implemented policies such as the EFC to support their claims that districts were addressing long-standing inequalities in educational funding and programming, the actions of White leaders quickly diverged from the needs of Black communities and South Carolina's White students and schools received the majority of the EFC's funds.[571] The District 5 board and administration's requests to the EFC provide several examples of how White district leaders prioritized improvements at White schools over the needs

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[569] Derrick A. Bell, "*Brown v. Board of Education* and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma." *Harvard Law Review* 93, no. 3 (1980): 524-525.
[570] Dana N. Thompson Dorsey and Terah T. Venzant Chambers, "Growing C-D-R (Cedar): Working the Intersections of Interest Convergence and Whiteness as Property in the Affirmative Action Legal Debate." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 17, no. 1 (2014): 56–87. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2013.812628.
[571] Dobrasko, "Upholding 'Separate but Equal,'" 36.

of Black schools. The state plans thus reinforced the discriminatory practices and realities of the *Plessy* era instead of correcting them.

Guided by the belief that White students and schools were "the district," the actions of the District 5 board and administration during the segregated era also serve as examples of the divergence and reclamation periods of a C-D-R cycle. The district's White leaders provided unequal resources to Black and White students throughout its segregated years. Black students made up between 29.2% and 36.4% of the district's student population in every school year between 1952-53 and 1965-66, but the district consistently provided the Black students at Richlex School with less than their proportionate share of the available resources. Richlex had fewer teachers than expected based on student enrollment, with Black teachers never making up more than 31.7% of the district's faculty. The district's staffing plan resulted in a higher student-teacher ratio at Richlex than at the district's White schools.

The board and administration's discriminatory practices and worldview impacted employment opportunities for Black workers, the salaries of Black educators, facilities-related investments for Richlex, and resources and opportunities available to Black students. The board refused to hire Black workers for its White schools and favored White employees when considering potential staffing cuts. White administrators, coaches, and staff were paid more than their Black peers, Black teachers were paid less per student than White teachers, and Black educators were denied supplements that were provided to White teachers. The White leaders of District 5 also failed to adequately invest in the Richlex facility when it served Black students, and this impacted the academic and athletic facilities available to Black students. In a sign that it was aware of

the facilities inequities it had created, the board approved renovations to the Richlex campus as the school was converted into a junior high for all Irmo students when the district fully desegregated in 1968. Throughout the segregated era, the board and administration also created inequalities in the instructional programs, classroom materials, and extracurricular offerings available to Black and White students, denying opportunities in some cases and providing the Black students with used materials and resources from White schools in other instances. Richlex students felt the effects of these decisions throughout their education.

The rich descriptions and stories of Richlex offered by its former students provide insight into what was accomplished at the school in spite of the years of unequal treatment by the district's leaders. The Black communities and educators of District 5 worked together to create a successful and beloved school that was rooted in the traditions of Black education in the South. Richlex brought together Black students and communities from all over the district, creating a sense of family within the school and serving as a center of community activity. The students were cared for and nurtured by a team of excellent, multi-talented teachers. Through relationships that sometimes spanned several decades, the Richlex teachers and staff developed strong bonds with the parents and community. The Richlex faculty and staff also leveraged their immense and wide-ranging skills to provide students with experiences that would have otherwise been denied to them. The school and its educators served as a bridge between generations of Black educational advancement by building on the practices and philosophy of the Black teachers who preceded them, raising students' awareness of the ongoing struggle for

racial equality, preparing students for the future, and assisting students as they navigated life after Richlex.

Though themes were identified in the former students' stories, relying exclusively on the commonalities in students' narratives homogenizes individual experiences which were sometimes shaped by decisions that were beyond the control of the Richlex educators. The central location of the school and its distance from the far western parts of the district, for example, left some students unable to participate in extracurricular programs, and Black families in Chapin were forced to develop alternative transportation solutions when the road conditions prevented buses from making it to all students. For at least one former student, this created questions about the school's commitment to Black students from the Chapin area. Mrs. Parks also shared positive experiences with Richlex teachers and, reflecting on her experiences in the desegregated schools, added "I'm one of the people to say, 'Why did integration happen?' The should've left us where we was." The complicated feelings discussed by Mrs. Parks demonstrate that individual students' memories of their education are shaped by a range of experiences and feelings. They serve as a reminder that one story or anecdote cannot be used to accurately capture the individual experiences of one student let alone all students within a group.

Despite the extraordinary efforts and achievements described by Richlex's former students, the inequalities created by White leaders during the "equalization" era proved that equal educational opportunities would never be provided in the segregated system. The district was forced to begin complying with desegregation orders in 1966, more than a decade after the 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision. Like the district's consolidation and offering of a high school to Black students, the board and

administration's initial desegregation plans were attempts to meet the minimum requirements of the law and led to little progress towards the desegregation of the schools. The full desegregation of District 5 in 1968 was also an act of compliance with the law rather than a commitment to equal educational opportunities.

Instead of considering the needs and concerns of all students or addressing long-standing inequalities in the district's practices and procedures, the desegregation of District 5 occurred exclusively on the terms of its White leaders. The Richlex name was erased as the district quickly converted the campus into Irmo Junior High. The district's professional development plan outlined efforts to prepare administrators, counselors, and teachers for desegregation, and the plan acknowledged that the district's students came from diverse backgrounds and noted that most teachers in the district had limited experience working with students from other racial or ethnic groups. Despite this knowledge, District 5 failed to retain and recruit Black educators during desegregation. Mr. Robert Lee Floyd, the principal of Richlex since 1953, was assigned to a new role at the district office in 1968 as the district desegregated. Some Black teachers retired or were forced from their positions. As White students moved to District 5, the district added new positions and nearly every vacancy was filled by White teachers. These decisions led to a change in the makeup of the district's faculty. Between 1965-66 and 1972-73, the percentage of full-time classroom teachers in the district who were Black fell from 28.2% to 5.6%.

Recruited by Mr. Floyd, Mrs. Patricia Caldwell was one of the few Black teachers hired in the district as it desegregated. While she experienced some initial difficulties in the predominantly White Chapin schools, she developed strong relationships with her

colleagues, students, and parents and remained at the school for several decades. Mrs. Caldwell's experiences offer an underrepresented point-of-view on desegregation in District 5 and a glimpse into what may have been accomplished had the district recruited and retained more Black educators during desegregation.

Former students noticed the absence of Black educators in desegregated schools and shared a range of desegregation experiences that cannot be summarized through a simple binary. Participants described both positive and negative experiences: instances of encouragement and abuse; feeling welcomed and isolated; supportive and harmful relationships; new opportunities and a loss of old traditions. Even supportive relationships sometimes created anxiety and pressure for the students as they attempted to find their way through the desegregated schools, friendships, and life.

Unequal treatment of Black and White students during desegregation was discussed by former students and was also seen in the overrepresentation of Black students in suspension and special education data. Growing frustration with the environment in the desegregated schools resulted in the March 1975 protests at Irmo High, and the aftermath of the protests, in which seven Black students were arrested and jailed while two White students were arrested and released before leaving school grounds, further demonstrates the unequal treatment of Black and White students. The lists of concerns and issues shared by Black students and parents during the protests offer substantial evidence that the desegregated schools failed to incorporate the values, practices, and resources that were developed and refined by local Black educators over several decades.

Analysis of the present-day opportunities for Black students and educators indicate that the district has failed to resolve long-standing inequities. The student enrollment has become increasingly segregated over the last decade. As the schools have resegregated, students of color are concentrated in school facilities that are in worse condition than those serving predominantly White student populations. The district's academic programming has created racial isolation within schools, with advanced courses enrolling disproportionate numbers of Asian and White students. Students coded as Black or African-American, Hispanic or Latino, and Two or More Races are placed into the advanced courses at lower rates than Asian and White students. Black students over overrepresented in the number of the students in the district who receive suspensions, expulsions, and special education services, and the special education placement data reveals racialized trends about the reasons that students are placed into special education programs. While teachers of color make up a larger percentage of the district's faculty than they did in 1972-73, this increase has failed to keep up with changes to the racial or ethnic diversity of the district's students.

Current Black administrators who grew up attending District 5 schools shared stories that referenced many of the same themes that were noted in the stories of Black students enrolled in the district during the desegregated era. In the decades that followed desegregation, participants felt the effects of racial isolation in schools and classrooms as well as the need to maintain their racial identity and connections to the Black community. The absence of Black teachers and instances of racial abuse were also discussed in the administrators' stories of their years as students.

Similar to the complexity of Black student experiences during desegregation, the participants' professional experiences in District 5 transcended either/or binaries. Black administrators discussed supportive mentors and a growing network of colleagues but also identified specific incidents in which race influenced how they were perceived and treated. Participants also described the pressure of navigating the predominantly White environment as Black leaders, finding ways to cope with stress, and holding on to their sense of self. As they raise their own children in the slowly changing district, the participants have passed down the lessons they learned as students and educators in order to help their sons and daughters traverse the persistent issues that impact Black educational experiences in District 5. These stories add necessary and complicated layers that connect historical discussions of Black educational experiences in District 5 to present-day opportunities for Black students and educators.

Even with the abundance of resources and narratives included in this analysis, this research does not present a representation of all Black educational experiences in District 5. The closing of Richlex resulted in the loss of important artifacts and resources from the school's history, exemplified by the 1975 protestors' questions about the whereabouts of Richlex's trophies. As Alridge noted, the students who attended schools during the eras of segregation and desegregation are now in their sixties and seventies, and fewer and fewer of the students and their teachers are with us and able to share their stories.[572] The participants in this project shared unique experiences and stories but also shared important characteristics. Every participant graduated high school, and almost every participant earned a college degree. Participants' family members were often business

[572] Alridge, "Teachers in the Movement: Pedagogy, Activism, and Freedom," 22.

owners or educators. Despite decades of overrepresentation in the district's suspension and special education data, only two participants shared personal experiences with the district's discipline policies. Opportunities for future research include a focus on diverse perspectives within the Black community in order to document the particularities of Black educational experiences in District 5. This includes but is not limited to the stories of non-college attendees.

The broader impacts of the district's discriminatory practices offer other areas of potential scholarship. More research is needed into how the district's policies and procedures shaped the educational and career pathways of Black students in the decades after desegregation. While three participants attended District 5 schools and became educators, further examination of the district's influence on the pipeline of Black educators is needed. The economic consequences of decades of racist hiring and pay practices in the district are worthy of study as are the cumulative health-related effects of the stress, isolation, and anxiety experienced by Black students, educators, and parents as they navigate predominantly White spaces.

While there are countless unanswered questions and implications, the journeys and achievements of Black students and educators in the Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo communities contain valuable lessons for those seeking to improve educational opportunities and outcomes for students from marginalized populations. The Black educational experiences documented so far offer insights into the history of Black education in our community, what was accomplished in spite of efforts to inhibit the success of Black students and educators, and practices that might help reshape our system and better serve our students. Schools and communities must establish long-term,

mutually beneficial partnerships in which the community provides support, and the schools in turn strengthen the surrounding communities and serve as centers of community activity. Educators and staff members should cultivate familial relationships within the school, foster a caring environment, and establish deep and meaningful relationships with students and parents. The unique and wide-ranging talents of gifted teachers should be utilized in ways that build on students' strengths and enrich educational experiences. Educators, schools, and systems must learn from and incorporate the traditions and historical values of Black education while engaging in the ongoing fight for equality and remaining focused on our students' futures. The lessons from Richlex offer a vision and a blueprint that the district and its schools should consider as they strive to create equitable educational experiences that are responsive to the needs and interests of *all* students.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Former District 5 Students Who Attended Segregated Schools

1. Do you give permission for me to record this conversation?
2. What is your name?
3. What schools did you attend?
4. During what years were you there?
    a. What year did you graduate?
5. Were any of these schools segregated?
    a. Can you tell me a little bit about the overall experience at Richlex with resources, facilities, or any other information?
    b. Can you tell me a little bit about the teachers that you experienced or what your classes were like?
    c. Are there any stories you feel comfortable sharing about your experiences at Richlex?
6. How do you feel about what happened to Richlex following desegregation?
7. In doing this research and sharing this information with others, how can I make this process meaningful to you and the community? Maybe you have thoughts on how the information should be communicated or presented.
8. Is there anyone else you think I should speak with about this?
9. Is there anything I haven't asked that you would like to tell me?
10. Is there anything you think I can do for the community as an act of reciprocity?

Additional Questions for Former District 5 Students Who Attended Segregated and Desegregated Schools

11. Were any of the schools you attended desegregated?
    a. About how old were you when you began attending desegregated schools?
    b. Can you tell me a little bit about the overall experience at (name of desegregated school) with teachers, resources, facilities, or any other information?
    c. Are there any stories you feel comfortable sharing about your experiences in the desegregated schools?

Additional Questions for Former District 5 Students Who Attended Irmo High School during the 1974-75 School Year

12. Were you a student at Irmo High in March 1975?
    a. What grade were you in?
    b. What do you recall about the events of that month?
    c. What specific events led up to the issues on campus?
    d. Are there any stories related to the protests and arrests that you feel comfortable sharing?
    e. What happened after the arrest?
    f. What meaning do you make of it now?

Former District 5 Faculty

1. Do you give permission for me to record this conversation?
2. What is your name?
3. Please outline your educational background.
4. Please outline your professional background.
5. How did you come to (name of school)?
6. What stories do you recall of your interactions with:
    a. Students?
    b. Staff?
    c. Administration?
    d. Parents and community?
7. In what ways does race influence your interactions with:
    a. Students?
    b. Staff?
    c. Administration?
    d. Parents and community?
8. In doing this research and sharing this information with others, how can I make this process meaningful to you and the community? Maybe you have thoughts on how the information should be communicated or presented.
9. Is there anyone else you think I should speak with about this?
10. Is there anything I haven't asked that you would like to tell me?
11. Is there anything you think I can do for the community as an act of reciprocity?

Former Principal of Irmo High School

1. Do you give permission for me to record this conversation?
2. What is your name?
3. Can you tell me about your career?
    a. What years were you principal at Irmo High?
    b. When were you hired?
    c. Why were you hired?
4. What types of conversations were being had in the district about desegregation when you were hired?
    a. How did teachers feel? Are there any specific stories you feel like you could share?
    b. How did administrators feel? Are there any specific stories you feel like you could share?
5. What types of training were teachers and administrators provided with as the district prepared to desegregate? What about after desegregation?
    a. Was there training related to race?
6. Did the district discuss hiring practices during this time period? For example, I have noticed that the number of Black educators in the district as well as the proportion of Black educators in the district dropped significantly. Why do you think that was?
    a. Have you seen the letter from John Tolbert (HEW) to Superintendent Hawkins from March 1, 1973?
    b. What do you think about the statement about Black applicants and their hiring?
7. What conversations were had with students about race and desegregation?
    a. Dr. Shirley Portee Martin mentioned that you spoke with her on several occasions about how things were going. Why did you make that a part of your practices?
    b. Did you meet with other students?
8. In doing this research and sharing this information with others, is there anything you think I should be aware of? Maybe you have thoughts on how the information should be communicated or presented.
9. Is there anyone else you think I should speak with about this?
10. Is there anything I haven't asked that you would like to tell me?

Current School Administrators Who Attended District 5 Schools

1. Do you give permission for me to record this conversation?
2. What is your name?
3. Which schools did you attend in District 5? During which grade levels?
    a. What year did you graduate?
4. How would you characterize your experiences with teachers, resources, facilities, or any other information as a student in District 5?
    a. Are there any stories you feel comfortable sharing about your experiences as a student?
5. How did you experience race as a student in the school district? This can be with teachers, students, or community members. This can also be with policies, practices, or conversations led by a school or the district.
    a. Are there any stories that you think of when you think about race and racialized experiences as a student in District 5?
6. What experiences or beliefs led you to become an educator?
7. How have you experienced race as a staff member in the district?
8. Do you have children in the district?
    a. How have you experienced race as a parent?
9. In doing this research and sharing this information with others, how can I make this process meaningful to you and the community? Maybe you have thoughts on how the information should be communicated or presented.
10. Is there anyone else you think I should speak with about this?
11. Is there anything I haven't asked that you would like to tell me?
12. Is there anything you think I can do for the community as an act of reciprocity?

Current Principal of Dutch Fork Elementary School - Formerly Rosenwald School, Richlex School, and Irmo Junior High

1. Do you give permission for me to record this conversation?
2. What is your name?
3. Please outline your educational background.
4. Please outline your professional background.
5. How long have you been principal at Dutch Fork Elementary School?
6. How many Black principals were in the district when you became a principal?
    a. Did you have any personal or professional relationships with them?
7. How have you experienced race as a staff member in the district?
8. How did you originally learn about Dutch Fork Elementary's history?
9. Can you describe the different events you have been involved in that have preserved or celebrated the school's history?
10. Do any stories or experiences from those events stand out? If so, please describe.
11. What have you learned about the community, the school, or education through these experiences?
12. How has your understanding of Richlex grown or evolved over the years?
13. In doing this research and sharing this information with others, how can I make this process meaningful to you and the community? Maybe you have thoughts on how the information should be communicated or presented.
14. Is there anyone else you think I should speak with about this?
15. Is there anything I haven't asked that you would like to tell me?
16. Is there anything you think I can do for the community as an act of reciprocity?

APPENDIX B

STATISTICS ON SOUTH CAROLINA'S SCHOOLS DURING SEGREGATION

TABLE B.1. Pre-desegregation enrollment in South Carolina by race

	1916-17	1921-22	1924-25	1929-30	1934-35
Number of Students	407,940	479,309	480,596	469,370	677,587
Number of Black Students	212,828	243,774	234,977	221,170	332,890
Percentage of Black students	52.17%	50.86%	48.89%	47.12%	49.13%
Number of White Students	195,112	235,535	245,619	248,200	344,697
Percentage of White Students	47.83%	49.14%	51.11%	52.88%	50.87%

Sources: *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1917-18, 1922-23, 1925-26, 1930-31, 1935-36.

TABLE B.2. Pre-desegregation expenditures in South Carolina by race

	1916-17	1921-22	1924-25	1929-30	1934-35
Total Expenditures – All Students	$3,887,294.94	$9,517,968.21	$15,538,809.76	$16,187,318.74	$12,162,350
Total Expenditures – Black Students	n/a	$1,015,567.16	$1,704,722.67	$1,769,868.79	$1,555,824
Percentage of Expenditures for Black Students	n/a	10.67%	10.97%	10.93%	12.79%
Total Expenditures – White Students	n/a	$8,502,401.05	$13,834,087.09	$14,417,449.95	$10,606,526
Percentage of Expenditures for White Students	n/a	89.33%	89.03%	89.07%	87.21%

Sources: *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1917-18, 1922-23, 1925-26, 1930-31, 1935-36.

TABLE B.3. Pre-desegregation teacher counts and student-teacher ratios in South Carolina by race

	1916-17	1921-22	1924-25	1929-30	1934-35
Number of Teachers	8,680	10,814	12,371	13,480	11,191
Number of Black Teachers	3,077	3,575	4,032	4,592	4,005
Percentage of Black Teachers	35.45%	33.06%	32.59%	34.07%	35.79%
Student-Teacher Ratio – Black	69	68	58	48	83
Number of White Teachers	5,603	7,239	8,339	8,888	7,186
Percentage of White Teachers	64.55%	66.94%	65.50%	65.93%	64.21%
Student-Teacher Ratio – White	35	33	29	28	48

Sources: *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1917-18, 1922-23, 1925-26, 1930-31, 1935-36.

TABLE B.4. Pre-desegregation teacher salary in South Carolina by race and gender

	1916-17	1921-22	1924-25	1929-30
Average Teacher Salary – Black Men	$129.83	$245.27	$347.40	$402.79
Average Teacher Salary – Black Women	$111.03	$224.00	$284.32	$303.84
Average Teacher Salary – All Black Teachers	n/a	$228.88	$296.84	$320.26
Average Teacher Salary – White Men	$630.36	$1,114.93	$1,436.29	$1,664.35
Average Teacher Salary – White Women	$349.40	$710.31	$867.34	$941.75
Average Teacher Salary – All White Teachers	n/a	$771.40	$950.37	$1,048.01
Average Teacher Salary – All Teachers	n/a	$592.05	$737.37	$800.00

Sources: *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1917-18, 1922-23, 1925-26, 1930-31.

TABLE B.5. Pre-desegregation average length of school session in days in South Carolina by race

	1916-17	1921-22	1924-25	1929-30	1934-35
Average Length of School Session in Days – Black Schools	67	77	114	117	122
Average Length of School Session in Days – White Schools	136	140	167	173	172

Sources: *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1917-18, 1922-23, 1925-26, 1930-31, 1935-36.

TABLE B.6. Pre-desegregation values of schoolhouses and equipment in South Carolina by race

	1921-22	1922-23	1924-25	1927-28
Value of Black Schoolhouses / Buildings	$1,721,432	$2,129,240	$2,685,187	$3,723,933.59
Value of White Schoolhouses / Buildings	$16,635,385	$17,868,170	$23,310,601	$28,629,793
Value of all Black School Equipment	$191,255	$285,168	$317,351	$437,416.59
Value of all White School Equipment	$1,705,372	$1,981,902	$2,522,291	$3,639,073.59

Sources: *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1922-23, 1923-24, 1925-26, 1928-29.

TABLE B.7. Pre-desegregation library expenditures in South Carolina by race

	1922-23	1924-25	1928-29	1929-30
Library Expenditures – Black Schools	$85.59	$387.49	$918.60	$1,458.72
Library Expenditures – White Schools	$1,310.03	$28,144.06	$16,816.87	$30,180.25

Sources: *School Directory of South Carolina*: 1923-24, 1925-26, 1929-30, 1930-31.

APPENDIX C

NOTES FROM THE AUTHOR ON POSITIONALITY

The issues described in this paper are not stories, information, and data that I have gathered and observed from some distant, objective vantage point. I am a parent and administrator in the district. Over the last decade, I have both perpetuated *and* disrupted many of the inequities identified in this research. My personal and professional experiences shaped every observation and decision made during the research and writing process, and a discussion of my point of view and background may help others better understand my analysis.[573] This phase of analysis also allows me to be at least as critical of myself as I am of those who came before me.[574]

My family has been part of both waves of White migration in the district. My grandfather's job was transferred from Massachusetts to Columbia, South Carolina in 1971. After working in the area for a few months, he bought a Mungo home a little more than two miles from Irmo High. My uncle and aunt attended and graduated from the Irmo schools. In 2012, I accepted an assistant principal position at Chapin Middle School (CMS), and three years later I was named the first principal of Chapin Intermediate School (CIS). We purchased property, built a home, and moved to Chapin midway through my first year as principal.

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[573] Carr, *What is History?*, 48, 90.
[574] Hughes, "Maggie and Me," 78.

During the *Advanced Critical Race Theory and Education* course I took with Dr. Daniella Cook, I constructed an educational journey map that highlighted the racialized spaces in my life, focusing on the alternating periods of integration and segregation in my education and career. My professional and personal experiences over the last decade have been solidly on the predominantly White side of that map. The decision to raise my children in the predominantly White Chapin community has been a source of anxiety for me. I spend a lot of time thinking about what my children are learning about race in predominantly White environments and what I should be doing to ensure that they learn to understand, appreciate, and empathize with people who come from different racial or ethnic backgrounds.

In 2018, I brought my oldest daughter, Margot, with me to the Dutch Fork Elementary School Centennial Celebration. The performances that night featured mostly Black and Brown students, and Margot, who was six at the time, questioned why the students at Dutch Fork looked different than the students in her classes. Prior to that evening, it is likely that Margot assumed all classrooms looked like Chapin's. Margot and my twin boys, Jack and Gus, moved to the district's newest school this year, and 85.3% of the students in their school are White.[575] Margot is served in classrooms that further segregate her within the school. The twins will likely be placed into similar classes when they reach that age. Lily, our youngest child, will probably attend the same school, and she may well end up in the same classes as her older siblings.

[575] South Carolina Department of Education, *Active Enrollment in South Carolina Public Schools by Gender, Race, or Ethnic Origin and Pupils in Poverty - 45-day Headcount: 2021-22*. https://ed.sc.gov/data/other/student-counts/active-student-headcounts/.

I am conscious of all the ways in which I am actively participating in the resegregation of our district and classrooms, and yet I do not know that I will sell our house, relocate to a new neighborhood, and find more integrated opportunities for my children. It is even less likely that I will remove them from the advanced courses even though I am fully aware of how these courses further segregate our classrooms. If these are the choices I have made for my kids, how do I build in time to correct misconceptions or supplement what they haven't learned at school? I struggle to answer that question and make time for those conversations the way we prioritize dance class, soccer practice, piano lessons, and read-alouds. Throughout the last year of my doctoral studies, this issue frequently surfaced as I collaborated with my friends and colleagues Frank Gause and Theresa Harrison on a group ethnography. I also reckoned with these decisions during some of my final interviews for this study, and the transcripts show that the conversations with my colleagues and friends inevitably veered away from the interview protocol laid out in the appendix.[576]

Though I grew up visiting my grandparents' house off St. Andrews Road and have been well-acquainted with the area since my childhood, my first professional experiences in District 5 were as a student-teacher and coach at Dutch Fork Middle and Dutch Fork High School in 2004-05. I returned to District 5 during the 2012-13 school year as an assistant principal at CMS and became the school's assistant principal for curriculum and instruction the following year. In 2015-16, I was named principal of CIS.

My advancement into the principalship was only possible because of the population surge that occurred as White families moved west into the Chapin area. By the

[576] I am nothing if not a mediocre interviewer.

mid-2010s, the Chapin-area elementary and middle schools had reached capacity, and the district decided to use money from the 2008 bond referendum to open a new CMS serving Chapin-area students in grades seven and eight. The new CMS opened in 2015, and the old CMS was converted into CIS, a school for Chapin's fifth and sixth grade students. This reconfiguration reduced the size of the middle school and relieved overcrowding in the two elementary schools by shifting fifth grade students to the intermediate school campus.

As an assistant principal and principal in the district, the schools I led were predominantly White.

TABLE C.1. Enrollment data from Civil Rights Data Collection, 2013-14, 2015-16, 2017-18

	2013-14	2015-16	2017-18
	CMS	CIS	CIS
Grades	6-8	5-6	5-6
Enrollment	1,112	723	859
% American Indian or Alaska Native	0.2%	0.3%	0.5%
% Asian	0.6%	1.8%	1.5%
% Black or African American	4.9%	3.0%	4.4%
% Hispanic or Latino	2.2%	4.3%	4.8%
% Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	0.4%	0.3%	0.2%
% Two or More Races	2.8%	3.9%	2.6%
% White	88.8%	86.4%	86%

Sources: United States Department of Education, *Civil Rights Data Collection*, "School Characteristics and Membership," 2013-14, 2015-16, 2017-18.

Discipline data from the Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC) reflects that CMS and CIS contributed to the decades-long racial disparity in suspension statistics. In every year in which I served as a school administrator and CRDC data was available, students of color at my schools were over-represented in the population of students who received in-school and out-of-school suspensions. Black students in particular made up a disproportionate share of the students who received suspensions, most glaringly in 2013-14 when they

made up 4.9% of the CMS population but represented 38.1% of the students who received out-of-school suspensions.

TABLE C.2. Discipline data from Civil Rights Data Collection, 2013-14, 2015-16, 2017-18

	2013-14		2015-16		2017-18	
	CMS		CIS		CIS	
	ISS	OSS	ISS	OSS	ISS	OSS
% American Indian or Alaska Native	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.0%	n/a
% Asian	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	6.2%	n/a
% Black or African American	17.1%	38.1%	7.7%	18.2%	18.8%	20%
% Hispanic or Latino	5.7%	9.5%	7.7%	n/a	6.2%	n/a
% Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0.0%	n/a
% Two or More Races	n/a	n/a	7.7%	n/a	6.2%	n/a
% White	77.1%	52.4%	76.9%	81.8%	62.5%	80%

Sources: United States Department of Education, *Civil Rights Data Collection*, "Discipline, Restraints/Seclusion, Harassment/Bullying," 2013-14, 2015-16, 2017-18.

The special education placement information from the schools I led also reflects a continuation of historical trends. The racial and ethnic makeup of students receiving special education services was not consistent with the whole school population. Black students made up a greater than expected proportion of the students with disabilities served under IDEA subgroup in all three years, and students coded as Hispanic or Latino were over-represented in two years. Black students were typically placed into special education programs at higher rates than students from other groups. The special education placement rates of students coded Hispanic or Latino and American Indian or Alaska Native were also higher than the school averages in specific years.

TABLE C.3. Students with Disabilities Served Under IDEA by Race/Ethnicity from Civil Rights Data Collection, 2013-14, 2015-16, 2017-18

	2013-14	2015-16	2017-18
	CMS	CIS	CIS
% American Indian or Alaska Native	n/a	n/a	1.2%
% Asian	n/a	n/a	n/a
% Black or African American	11%	4.7%	12%
% Hispanic or Latino	n/a	8.1%	6%
% Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	n/a	n/a	n/a
% Two or More Races	n/a	4.7%	n/a
% White	89%	82.6%	80.7%

Sources: United States Department of Education, *Civil Rights Data Collection*, "Students w/Disabilities (IDEA)," 2013-14, 2015-16, 2017-18.

TABLE C.4. Percent of Students within Racial/Ethnic Group Identified as Students with Disabilities Served Under IDEA

	2013-14	2015-16	2017-18
	CMS	CIS	CIS
American Indian or Alaska Native	n/a	n/a	25%
Asian	n/a	n/a	n/a
Black or African American	20%	18.2%	26.3%
Hispanic or Latino	n/a	22.6%	12.2%
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	n/a	n/a	n/a
Two or More Races	n/a	n/a	n/a
White	9%	11.4%	9.1%
All Students	9%	11.9%	9.7%

Sources: United States Department of Education, *Civil Rights Data Collection*, "Students w/Disabilities (IDEA)," 2013-14, 2015-16, 2017-18.

These statistics tell a part of the story, but I also wonder about specific interactions I have had over the years and the ways in which individual incidents have perpetuated inequities. As participants shared their stories, I thought about the intentional and unintentional things I have said or done which have inflicted scars on yet another generation of students, parents, and educators. I frequently relive some of these failures in my mind, things can't be undone or unsaid. One of the conclusions from this dissertation is that our district needs to continue to focus on historical and present-day inequities, but

I also have a good deal of work to do personally and professionally in order to ensure that my words and actions are consistent with what I say are my beliefs and values.

My flaws and shortcomings were not held against me when I was promoted to Director of Accountability for District 5 in 2018 or when I became Director of Planning and Accountability in 2019. Maybe no one wanted to single me out about problems that were prevalent throughout the district. Perhaps no one noticed. It is also possible that very few leaders feel comfortable discussing racial opportunities and outcomes or the problems we have created over the years. During our conversation about his experiences in District 5, Mr. Pollock praised his former principal, Dr. Cowden, for being explicit in his focus on improving academic opportunities for Black male students at Dutch Fork. Later that day, we also discussed a presentation I once gave to school and district leaders in which I shared data on stakeholder perceptions of a significant issue in our community. Rather than break the perceptions down by attendance cluster as is often done when we want to speak in code about issues of race and ethnicity, I compared the variation in perceptions to the proportions of Black students, students of color, and students in poverty served at each school. Mr. Pollock recalled his feelings of that presentation and the naming of race as a variable, "We never felt more liberated, like somebody is saying it."

I continue to see leaders at all levels of our system struggle to develop solutions to the multi-generational problems that plague our district, most recently as I led the district through the development of a new five-year strategic plan. A team of sixty-nine parents, teachers, support staff, community members, and administrators came together to conduct a needs assessment, identify goals for our new plan, and recommend strategies

that would assist the district in reaching those goals. Participants in the Teacher/Administrator Quality needs assessment noticed the lack of diversity in the district's faculty and called on the administration to identify steps to support the recruitment and retention of teachers who are historically underrepresented in our classrooms. Members of the Gifted and Talented committee observed the racial disparities in students' placement into advanced courses. This led to the creation of a goal to increase the percentage of students coded as Black or African American, Hispanic or Latino, or Two or More Races who were placed into at least one advanced course. These strategies and goals are a sign of progress and willingness to name and confront key issues, but they have also led to questions and conversations that have helped me understand how we ended up here in the first place.

Administrators have frequently asked if the strategies to recruit and retain teachers who are underrepresented in our classrooms can be the same as their strategies for the recruitment and retention of all teachers. This request ignores the strong possibility that purportedly race-neutral, one-size-fits-all approaches to recruitment and retention have likely contributed to our inability to address the racial and gender imbalances in our faculties over the last few decades.[577] Veteran administrators have also repeatedly questioned me on the legality of putting practices in place that would allow us to focus specifically on the recruitment and retention of specific racial, ethnic, or gender groups. The legality of the system that allowed the lack of representation to ever exist, however, is never questioned. The goals for the Gifted and Talented section of the plan

[577] While there are many characteristics to consider in ensuring our classrooms are staffed in ways that are representative of the communities we serve, the only publicly reported characteristics of teachers are race, ethnicity, and gender. As such, these characteristics were at the center of discussions on recruitment and retention of teachers who are traditionally underrepresented in our classrooms.

were intentionally crafted to focus on increasing access to advanced courses for students from underrepresented groups. Some school leaders have stated they do not see how it will be possible to make meaningful progress on this issue over the next five years, and they have offered various explanations for why they feel this is the case.

While all schools have agreed to focus on these issues, I worry we lack the commitment to improve representation in our classrooms and balance the enrollment in specific courses. Acts of compliance have historically created new problems instead of addressing existing inequities. Perhaps the end result of the focus on student placement will lead to more students from all racial or ethnic groups enrolling in the advanced courses, and the placement disparity between groups will remain. What if I am a part of the beginning of a new C-D-R cycle?

The issues I have encountered leading the strategic planning process have been frustrating, but I need to acknowledge and celebrate that, while specific, negative incidents stand out to me, very few administrators have actually balked at the results of the stakeholder-driven needs assessment and goal-setting process. I also find some hope in knowing that, for the first time in the district's history, there is a consistent, district-wide focus on critical problems which we have failed to resolve for generations. The racial disparities in our district have been discussed in vague, coded terms for years, and we are where we are today in part due to our past inabilities to name the issues or sustain a system-wide focus on correcting racial inequity. Perhaps this time around, we *will* make substantive progress towards addressing at least two of the long-running historical inequities in District 5, academic opportunities and ensuring that students see more teachers who look like them in their classrooms.

I am also optimistic that this type of research holds some promise for future scholarship. Without the knowledge I have built up over the last decade in the district, it would have been difficult to locate the sources that provided the basis for any phase of this research. Scholars from outside the district wouldn't know where to look, who to ask, or what to ask for. My position as an administrator helped me better understand the existing resources and what documents might be available for this analysis. As I discussed my research with colleagues, new resources were shared with me. I will never forget the day that coworkers brought me boxes of old documents that had been hidden away in some storage area for years because they thought some of the files might be of use to me.

Early analysis of the letters, meeting minutes, planning documents, and data I found showed that my research would lack depth if I relied exclusively such documents. I first read the March 1, 1973 letter from John Tolbert to Superintendent W.C. Hawkins as part of my research for Dr. Kathleen M. W. Cunningham's *Advanced Educational Policy Analysis* course, and this experience led to the discovery of the limitations of my initial research question and historical studies that rely exclusively on school districts' official records. In one concise table, the Tolbert letter answered my initial question about the impact of the district's desegregation plan on Black educators' employment status. Rather than serving as a stopping point for my research on the school district's desegregation, I realized that other essential questions about segregation and desegregation in District 5 remained unanswered. The documents and data provided documentation of the conditions related to the education of Black students and the employment of Black educators, but they did not reflect the actual experiences of Black students and educators.

Dr. Christian K. Anderson, Dr. David G. Martinez, and Dr. Daniel D. Spikes helped me refine my research question and expand my focus to center the lived experiences of students and educators. This pivot required me to reflect on issues such as positionality, interview approaches, and the framing of questions, analysis, and findings. I was fortunate to study with and learn from Dr. Allison K. Anders as I examined these issues, planned my research and framework, and reflected on my scholarship. The readings from her courses have served as important reference points for me as a White male scholar studying the history of Black educational experiences in my community. The scope of this section, a modest attempt at reflecting on my positionality and role in the proceedings, is heavily influenced by our discussions of insider/outsider dynamics.[578]

While my role in the district gave me the knowledge of what archival material existed and might be made available to me, my outsider status as a White male administrator presented early challenges as I worked to document and analyze the stories of Black students and teachers. I did not have personal relationships with any members of the Black community who attended District 5 schools during segregation or desegregation. While I was not connected to the network of Richlex's former students before I began my research, my professional and academic network again benefited me, helping me to identify and recruit participants. Colleagues such as Jason Pollock, Davida Price, and Julius Scott from District 5, Quintavis M. Cureton from the University of South Carolina, and Dan Koon from the South Carolina Human Affairs Commission helped me establish connections with many former students and educators who agreed to be interviewed for this research. Though I initially lacked direct contact with potential

[578] Brayboy and Deyhle. "Insider-Outsider," 168.

participants, I knew enough to know who to ask, and that made all the difference in the end.

My experiences are likely typical among practitioner-scholars. We have the ability to be well-connected within and possess nuanced understandings of the communities where we live and work. We observe phenomena at the ground-level and are in close proximity to the events and interactions we study. Even in situations in which the practitioner-scholar is not a member of the group in question, our networks open up conversations and opportunities for learning that are not possible for those without any connection to the community. Our commitments to our communities present us with opportunities to disrupt the injustices we see and complicate dominant narratives that typically reflect only a portion of a community's story. The knowledge gained from living, working, and studying within a specific community adds important layers to the researcher's analysis and the audience's understanding. The space at the center of the practitioner, community-focused researcher, and Critical Race scholar venn diagram thus holds vast potential for future scholarship.

I understand the fear, however, that other practitioner-scholars may have as we hear more about proposed anti-truth, anti-CRT legislation. The threats to our employment and academic freedom are real and are themselves a continuation of historical issues in education and our state, but I believe the sources, analysis, and methods used here offer a model for practitioner-scholars who want to utilize CRT as a framework in their research. The school board's own words were the basis for the finding that the district's leaders created disparate educational conditions for Black and White students, and the stories and narratives shared by Black community members showed how Black students and

educators experienced those unequal conditions. The methods of historical analysis, narrative inquiry, and oral history are well-suited for research within the framework of CRT, and practitioner-scholars who employ rigorous methods to analyze robust sources leave little room for CRT-detractors to question the validity of our findings.

The practitioner-scholar paradigm offers those who are intimately involved in educational systems the opportunity to reflect on our work and bring about more just practices and policies. It also has the potential to add new and necessary layers to our understanding of our communities and their histories. My feelings about and perceptions of this district have been shaped over decades of visiting my grandparents' house on Finsbury Road, driving past Irmo High's imposing W.C. Hawkins Stadium, watching the Irmo band win competition after competition, and staring up at plaques that thanked the Wendy's on Lake Murray Boulevard for its support of the Yellow Jackets' soccer dynasty and its platinum-blonde championship teams.

My office was temporarily relocated to CrossRoads Intermediate on St. Andrews Road a few weeks ago. I frequently think back to my grandparents' descriptions of the old Irmo Middle as I drive to work, how there were so many students that it required two separate buildings, Campus I (now CrossRoads) and Campus R (now Irmo Middle). We opened the windows in our office/classroom last week to let in some fresh air, and I heard the horn of a train as it rolled down St. Andrews. It was the same horn I used to hear as I drifted off to sleep in the front bedroom of my grandparents' house.

The experiences shared by former students and educators have added significant depth to my understanding of our students, district, and history. The participants told stories of historical inequities that continue to influence contemporary experiences in our

district, but they also helped me understand the traditions of Black education and the extraordinary achievements of generations of Black educators in the Chapin, Dutch Fork, and Irmo communities. My new awareness of this history has increased the appreciation and affection I feel for my community. I'll never drive down Harbison Boulevard without thinking of the historically Black school that gave the road its name or the Harbison teachers that have influenced educational experiences in this area for more than a century. I won't forget what I have learned about the Richlex family, the school's caring and gifted teachers, and what the school and its community accomplished in spite of a board and administration that were indifferent to its existence or success. As we continue to work towards creating practices, schools, and systems that effectively reach and support *all* students, my colleagues and I need to build on rather than ignore those stories, values, and traditions.